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A SYNTAX
OF
THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE
OF
ST. THOMAS MORE

BY
F. TH. VISSER

A. THE VERB

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PROMOTOR: PROF. DR. AUR. POMPEN O.F.M.

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OF
THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE
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ST. THOMAS MORE

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ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT TER VERKRIJGING VAN
DEN GRAAD VAN DOCTOR IN DE LETTEREN EN WIJS-
BEGEERTE AAN DE KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT VAN
NIJMEGEN, OP GEZAG VAN DEN RECTOR MAGNIFICUS,
VOLGENS BESLUIT VAN DEN SENAAT IN HET OPENBAAR
TE VERDEDIGEN IN DE AULA DER UNIVERSITEIT OP
WOENSDAG, 17 SEPTEMBER 1941, DES NAM. TE 3 UUR
DOOR

FREDERIKUS THEODORUS VISSER
GEBOREN TE ENSCHEDE

*Gedrukt met steun
van het Dr. van Gils-fonds.*

*Aan mijn Vrouw
en Kinderen*

INTRODUCTION

Syntax has long been the most neglected part of the historical studies of the English language. Of late years, however, a vivid interest in it has been spreading rapidly among students of English in all parts of the world, and at present the conviction that, though various good or specious reasons may be adduced for this neglect in the past, the history of syntactical constructions is at least of equal importance for a scientific study of the language with that of its phonology and its accidence, seems to have become general. In a certain sense it is of more importance. For it contributes directly, at any rate more directly than the other two, to a proper understanding and a reasoned appreciation of the great writers of the past, and perhaps even of the present. Experience has repeatedly proved that passages in a certain author which seem dark, strange or corrupt find their natural explanation when viewed in the light of earlier periods, and grammarians have repeatedly committed themselves to wrong statements and conclusions owing to their ignorance of earlier usage. It is e.g. unavoidable for assertions concerning the style of an author living in the past to be jejune or fallacious before the way in which words and word-groups were generally used at the time has been comprehensively, if not exhaustively, described, an author's personal style being mainly characterized by his own choice from and handling of existing possibilities in linguistic usage. Certain features in the language of a particular writer have often been called idiosyncrasies until they appeared to be common to the diction of the period and consequently not typical of the author's individual usage at all. Thus, for instance, the trick of duplication and triplication of synonyms may be found mentioned as an individual characteristic of more than one 15th and 16th century writer, whereas it was nothing but a recognized figure of rhetoric at that time and long before. For one striking instance of the enlightening character of the study of the history of language-structure the reader may be referred to § 547, where the adduced evidence makes it clear that Shakespeare's conciseness in "Many have and others must sit there" (Rich. 2 V. v. 27) is neither a stylistic freak nor a hapax legomenon.

It stands to reason that for the study of historical syntax to be of use as a basis for comparison of earlier, later or contemporaneous usage it must not restrict itself to a few selected periods or to capita selecta, but ought to extend its activities over all those writings that

may be considered as trustworthily reflecting the language in its successive stages. With this in mind it may safely be said that the study of the history of the syntax of the English language is still in its initial stage. In spite of the not inconsiderable amount of work already done — especially during the last few decennia — more than one gap needs filling up. Chaucer has had numerous syntactical studies devoted to him ; Shakespeare's language has been amply described in W. Franz's well known grammar. But the period between has been left practically unsearched. Only that part of it that lies before ± 1500 has aroused a certain amount of interest ; but the result mainly consists of monographs and articles dealing with individual points of syntax, and of scattered observations in the introductions to critical editions or in general works on historical syntax (such as Einenkel's *Gesch. der Eng. Spr. II* ; *Hist. Synt.* 1916 ; Trnka's *On The Syntax of The English Verb from Caxton to Dryden* 1930). Two publications, however, of a less unpretending nature, are of outstanding merit : H. J. v. d. Meer's *Main Facts Concerning the Syntax of Mandeville's Travels* (1929) and A. Dekker's *Some Facts Concerning The Syntax of Malory's Morte D'Arthur* (1932). In them, at least, two of the fifteenth century authors have been given their due.

As to the other part, the sixteenth century, but for G. Klausmann's *Formenlehre und Syntax des Verbums in der Froissart-Übersetzung von Lord Berners* (1919) and R. E. L. Weyl's *Syntactical Studies in Bishop Fisher's English* (1937), the territory still lies fallow, so that of the period that leads up to the great Elisabethans next to nothing is known syntactically. The wonder of it is, of course, that St. Thomas More, of all others, should have escaped attention, St. Thomas, who, according to no less a critic than Prof. R. W. Chambers (*On The Continuity of Eng. Pr.* 1932 p. liii) "was the first Englishman to evolve an effective prose, sufficient for all the purposes of his time : eloquent, dramatic, varied." Of no one can it be said with more truth than of Saint Thomas More, that he occupies a key-position in the history both of English literature and of the English tongue. It has been demonstrated by the same critic that his language, especially that occurring in the numerous passages of dramatic dialogue, is the direct ancestor of the prose-style of the great English dramatists, not excluding that of Shakespeare. This is so true that for many purely syntactical constructions in the Elisabethan drama that seem to defy analysis the clue is to be found in the natural and untrammelled language of the man who, in his youth, was connected with the begin-

nings of the English drama in the household of Cardinal Morton, where, at the Archbishop's Christmas feasts, he "would... suddenly sometimes step in among the players, and never studying for the matter, make a part of his own there presently among them" (W. Roper, *Life* p. 8), and who, later, undoubtedly helped and advised John Rastell in the building of the first stage for play-acting on English soil.

About St. Thomas More's eminence as a prose-writer men of his time had no doubt. Even Tyndale's objection to his "painted poetry, babbling eloquence" contains nothing depreciatory in this respect, referring as it does to the good-humoured lightness of manner in the treatment of serious matter occasionally indulged in by his opponent. There is abundant proof that for a long time after St. Thomas' death his fame as a stylist was not forgotten. Shakespeare himself underwent his influence and must have been an observant reader of his works. It is well known that for his *Richard The Third* and *Henry The Sixth* (at least its third part) he is largely indebted to St. Thomas More and that the number of almost verbatim borrowings is not small. And when Ben Jonson wants illustrative evidence for his *Grammar*, he takes it by preference from St. Thomas More's English writings, because, as Dr. Johnson, in the Introduction to his famous dictionary, says, "they were considered as models of pure and elegant style."

How deeply the stamp of St. Thomas' genius is impressed on his language can be seen by every reader who is so privileged as to have access to the complete works. One of the first things of which he will become aware is the amazingly great versatility of St. More's art. Indeed almost all the different genres of literary prose will be found represented. If he seeks for lively historical narration, he has only to open *The History of Richard III* at random ; if for legends, parables, allegories, short tales or animal stories, he will find them in no small number in *The Boke of Comforte Agaynste Tribulation*. For St. Thomas as a biographer he may turn to his *Life of John Picus*. St. Thomas the humorist peeps round the corner in numerous places in *The Confutation of Tyndal* and is not to seek even in the works written in prison. What his ironical pen can do may be seen in *The Apology*, *The Debellation of Salem and Byzance*, *The Dialogue of Heresies*, *The Supplication of Soules*, *The Answer To The Poisoned Book* and *The Confutation of Tyndal*, where St. Thomas also shows himself as an accomplished controversialist. *A Treatice To Receive The Blessed Body* and *A Treatice Vpon The Passion* testify to St. Thomas' mastership as a writer of devotional prose, while, at the

same time, they are rich in instances of sublime lyricism. Dramatic dialogue abounds in *Richard III* and *The Boke of Comfort*. More touching examples of the familiar-letter genre than those which St. Thomas wrote to his daughter Margaret shortly before his execution are not on record.

Space forbids going into details here. Only one point, perhaps, requires, and deserves, illustration. It does not appear to be generally known that the Theophrastic art of "character-writing" was practised long before Overbury, Bishop Hall and Francis Bacon by St. Thomas More. But whoever will turn to *The Four Last Things* or to *The Boke of Comfort* can find some indubitable specimens. To quote only two examples. Here is part of a description of the Envious Man :

... the sicknes of enuy, which is vndoutedly both a sore torment & a very consumpcion. For surely enuy is suche a torment, as al the tyrants in Sicil neuer deuised a sorer. And it so drynketh vp the moysture of the body, and consumeth the good bloode, so discoloreth the face, so defaceth the bewty, so dysfigureth the visage leuing it al bony, leane, pale, & wan, that a parson wel set awork with enuy, nedeth nome other image of deth, than his own face in a glasse. This vyce is not onely deuilish, but also very folysh. For albeit enuy where it may ouer, doth al the hurt it can, yet sith the worse most commonly enuieth the better, & the febler the stronger, it happeth for the more parte, that as the fire of the burnyng hyl of Ethna burneth only it self, so doth the enuious parson, fret, fume, & burne in his owne hert, without ability or power to do the tother hurt (Wks. p. 85).

And this is More's picture of the Scrupulous Man :

Thus fareth lo the scrupulous person which frameth himself mani times double the feare that he hath cause, and many times a great feare, wher there is no cause at al, and of that that is in dede no sinne, maketh a venial ; and that that is venial, imagineth to be deadly, & yet for al that falleth in them, being namelye of theyr nature such, as no man long liueth without. And then he feareth that he bee neuer full confessed, nor neuer full contrite, and then that his sinnes bee neuer ful forgiuen him, and then he confesseth and confesseth again, and combreth him selfe and his confessor bothe. And then euery prayer that he saith, though he say it as the frayle infirmitie of the man wyll suffer, yet is he not satisfied,

but if he say it againe, and yet after that agayne. And when he hath sayd one thing thryse, as litle is he satisfied with the last, as wyth the first, and then is hys hart euer more in heauynes, vnquyet, and in feare, ful of dout and dulnesse, withoute comfort or spiritual consolacion (Wks. 1182).

Great as St. Thomas More's versatility appears to be in his handling of various literary genres, his mastership of the most diversified styles and ways of writing, of nearly all the idiomatic and syntactical possibilities of the English language is no less astonishing. For vivacity, directness, variety, resourcefulness and ease it is difficult to find his equal among early sixteenth century writers. His prose is energetic, racy and frequently thoroughly colloquial ; it is impassioned or dispassioned, as the occasion demands. Now it is playful, now honest and straightforward, now concise, now rhetorical, now objective. In many places it smoulders with the slow fire of subdued irony or it flares out with passionate indignation into an eloquent diatribe, and sometimes it even rises to mystic rapture like wreaths of incense. How rich an instrument the English language was at the time we learn when this maestro plays on it.

That this great man, though a Humanist and a friend of Erasmus, should write most of his works in the vernacular, was for him the most natural thing in the world. In his character there was nothing of the cloistered scholar, and when the first literary exercises were over, he never pretended to write for Humanists or scholars. The man "of the greatest virtue this kingdom ever produced," as Dean Swift (Wks. ed. Temple Scott III 301) calls him, the enthusiastic champion of the faith and of liberty of conscience, the "hero of whom the whole of England is proud" (R. W. Chambers, Th. M. p. 351), the saint "with a power of detached and selfless vision vouchsafed in such a degree to no other Englishman of that age" (Campbell, Pref. to *The Wks.* p. xii), who besought our Lord to "brethe of his holy spirit in to the readers breste, whiche inwardely may teache hym in harte, without whom little auayleth all that the mouthes of the worlde were able to teache in mennes", this man, naturally, chose the medium which would enable him to reach the ears and the hearts of all his countrymen who could read English, in order to teach them, as Wyllyam Rastell says in the Dedication of the 1537 edition of *The Workes*, "not onelye the eloquence and propertie of the English tonge, but also the trewe doctryne of Christes catholike fayth, the confutacion of detestable

heresy, or the godly morall vertues that appertaine to the framinge and fourminge of mennes maners and consciences, to live a vertuous and deuout christen life". And not solely for this reason. For however much he may have loved the classic languages, St. Thomas undoubtedly loved his own language best and considered it in no way their inferior. Richard Mulcaster's words, "I honor the Latin, but I worship the English", might have been spoken by St. Thomas More. He rejected as "but a fantasy" the idea that English could not suffice for every purpose :

For as for that our tong is called barbarous, is but a fantasie. And if they would call it barayn of wordes, there is no doubt but it is plenteous enough to expresse our myndes in anye thing wherof one man hath vsed to speke with another (Wks. 243).

It is a fact that More exercised considerable thought and care when using the vernacular. He frequently gave proof of this by acting the schoolmaster towards a writer who misused English words or phrases, by elucidating the meaning of words and expressions, or by establishing some subtle grammatical distinction :

And then sayth he here : "But it reygneeth now betweene spyrytuall men and temporall men." — I am content to let hys "but" alone, and wyll not shote ther at for this ones. Howbeit surely hys "but" being a preposicion aduersative, standeth more properlye to shote at betweene hys twoo "nowes" then it would if it were turned into some coniunction copulative (Wks. 876).

But "the" sygnifieth oftentimes some speciall thing, and dyuideth it from the general (Wks. 447).

the article... declareth that the worde wherto it is set, signifieth not a thyng generally and confuse at large, but some special thing determinate of that kind (Wks. 449).

thys woorde "nouum", seemeth not there to bee putte for an aduerbe, but is a nowne adiective (Wks. 1328).

Tyndall hath been so long out of Englande, that he could not tell howe to use these english aduerbes (Wks. 1106).

"oportet"... is translated also into english, not only by this word "must" which yet signifieth not all way an impossibility of the contrary, but often times by this worde "it behoueth" which worde signifieth that it is to bee done for our behoofe and com-

moditye, and not that it can in no wise be auoyded but that it must nedes be (Wks. 838).

I woulde not here note by the way, that Tyndal here translath "no" for "nay", for it is but a trifle and mistaking of the englishe worde : sauing that ye shoulde see that he, whych in two so plain englishe wordes, and so common as is "naye" and "no", can not tell when he should take the tone, and when the tother, is not, for translating into englishe, a man very mete... And thys thing, lo, though it be no great matter : yet I have thought it good to give Tindall warning of, because I would have him write true one way or other, that though I can not make him by no meane to write true matter, I would have him yet at the lest wise write true englishe (Wks. 448).

After what has been said above it may seem strange that St. Thomas should have had to wait four hundred years for his real importance as a writer to be universally and fully understood. Apart from the fact that the only complete edition of his works, that of 1557, was never reprinted during all those years, most of the reasons for the delay lie outside the domain of literature. For the most important of these the reader may be referred to the Epilogue of Prof. R. W. Chambers's *Th. M.* (pp. 351—400). It must, moreover, be remembered that for a long time literary historians were only too apt to look upon St. Thomas principally, or even exclusively, as a Humanist. The attention was chiefly concentrated on the *Utopia*, which he wrote in Latin, and his English writings were left in the shade, so that most readers hardly knew of their existence. As a matter of fact it is only recently that his very important historical work *The Life of Richard III* has become recognized as authentic, thanks, especially, to the learned studies of O. Hübschmann (*Tekstkrit. Untersuchungen* 1910) and Prof. R. W. Chambers (in *The Works of St. Th. M.* ed. Campbell, Vol. I 1935 pp. 55 ff.).

Many modern scholars have collaborated or even rivalled with each other in making up for the four centuries of neglect. Algernon Cecil, Henri Bremond, T. E. Bridgett, M. Grünziger, Mgr. Ph. E. Hallett, W. H. Hutton, Chr. Hollis, Fr. Bede Jarret, Fr. Vincent Mc Nabb, Sir J. R. O'Connel, Prof. Phillimore, G. R. Potter, E. M. G. Routh, D. Sargent and C. E. S. Shebbeare, each in his own field, have been contributive towards the exploding of a multitude of prejudices and towards the revelation of St. Thomas More's greatness. A. S. Taft has supplied

a modern critical edition of *The Apology*, Dr. E. V. Hithcock correct texts of Harpfield's and W. Roper's *Lives*, and Dr. Elis. F. Rogers a Calendar of the Correspondence of St. Th. M. (in the Eng. Hist. Rev. 1922 pp. 546—64). In his *Early Tudor Drama* Prof. A. W. Reed has shown us how much St. Thomas had to do with the origins of the Tudor drama. Prof. W. E. Campbell has undertaken the task of reediting *The English Works*, and as a result of his labours two magnificent volumes, with introductions and notes by A. W. Reed, R. W. Chambers, W. A. G. Doyle Davidson and B. White, together with facsimile reproductions of the 1557 text, modern versions and apparatus, are already at the readers' disposal.

But the two scholars that have done most for revealing the significance of St. Thomas as a writer of English are Prof. R. W. Chambers and Prof. Joseph Delcourt. The former — the latest and greatest authority on More — whose *Thomas More* (London 1935) is the standard modern Life, has given us, in *On The Continuity of English Prose* (originally written as an Introduction to E. V. Hitchcock's Harpsfield) the explanation of the greatness of the prose of St. Thomas, thus throwing light where light was most needed: "When Thomas More determined to be an author, not merely in Latin, but in English also, he had not to make an English prose. He found it ready to hand: not in Chaucer's Parson's Tale, not even in Malory, whose book he may perhaps never have opened, but in the living tradition of the English pulpit, and in the large body of devotional vernacular literature dating from the Fourteenth Century and the early Fifteenth."

The second, Prof. Joseph Delcourt, the writer of the admirable study *Essai sur la Langue de Sir Thomas More* (Paris 1914), has laid every lover of English under a debt by his detailed discussion of the principal aspects of St. Thomas' language and especially by his masterly observations on St. Thomas' style. How high St. Th. More as a writer of English stands in his estimation appears from the following passage, which is to be found at the end of his chapter on *Le Style*: "le style que nous avons essayé de décrire n'en reste pas moins un composé unique, particulièrement riche en tendances et en promesses d'avenir, et dont aucun des écrivains du commencement du seizième siècle n'offre vraiment l'équivalent. Et quand on se rappelle que, parmi les différents œuvres en prose de ce temps, aucune presque n'est antérieure aux premières manifestations du talent de More, on reconnaît qu'il n'est pas trop injuste d'affirmer qu'il fut bien le

premier maître qu'ait eu la prose anglaise et en un sans le fondateur de la littérature anglaise moderne."

That Prof. Delcourt, for reasons that must be respected, should not have chosen to enlarge his stray observations on *Tournures* into a more complete syntax is a matter of regret, for no one would have been more capable of such a work than the learned author of the *Essai*, in spite of his assertion that "en passant de la morphologie de More à sa syntaxe, on a un peu l'impression qu'on fait un saut dans l'inconnu". And if then, in the following pages, I have taken over this task, I am well aware of the audacity thereof, for which perhaps the only excuse is : the fact that the work badly needed doing, and the consideration that "if no man should dooe it, but he that might sufficientlye dooe it, no man should dooe it." (Wks. 2).

In what follows, I have tried to give a complete analysis of one feature, but a central feature, of the language of St. Thomas More, namely the verb, its meanings and functions. I have made this investigation without committing myself to any linguistic theory, aiming only at the greatest possible objectivity. I have endeavoured to lay before the reader all the constructional forms to be observed in the English works of St. Thomas More and, remembering that the study of syntax is essentially a study of context and situation, I have done my best to adduce only full-length quotations. Though it has been my primary concern to give a synchronic description, I have considered it a part of my duty to find out, whenever possible, how far More's usage agrees or disagrees with that of earlier and later times. For this purpose I have not only gone through a fair number of Old and especially Middle English texts, but have also made extensive and grateful use of the immense store-house of the Oxford English Dictionary and of the results obtained by other workers in the field of syntax. Apart from a few recapitulations, I have refrained from attempting a synthetic summing up, deterred as I was by the almost complete absence of informative data concerning the usage in contemporaneous authors.

My method of treatment may require a few words of explanation and justification.

Taking form, and not meaning or function as a starting-point, I have divided the word-sequences into groups with one, or with more verbal forms as their centre, and have given them the name of syn-

tactical units. This term comprises sentences, clauses, infinitive- and participial constructions, "free adjuncts" and the like. A classification of these units according to the number of verbal forms they contained led to the following sub-divisions : syntactical units with one verb (e.g. *I go* ; *seeing him*) ; syntactical units with two verbs (e.g. *I shall go* ; *I had seen* ; *he was writing* ; *I saw him go*) ; units with three verbs (*I shall have gone* ; *he was allowed to go* ; *I have seen him go*) ; further : units with four verbs, etc.

It is especially in dealing with the syntactical units containing two or more verbs that I have followed an order for which I cannot appeal to any authoritative precedent. It is hoped that the obvious objectivity of the procedure and the results obtained by it will be deemed a sufficient excuse. All combinations of two or more verbs have been reduced to two classes : they consist either of a simple juxtaposition of verbal forms as in *shall be done*, or they consist of verbs formally separated, but syntactically united by an intervening (pro)noun with a bilateral function, as in *I saw him go*. Examples of the first class have been grouped under the title **direct nexus of two (three, etc.) verbs**, the term **indirect nexus of two (three, etc.) verbs** being employed for constructions of the second class. Both direct nexus and indirect nexus are again classified according to the form of the last verb, which may be an infinitive (e.g. *I shall go* ; *I saw him go*), a past participle (e.g. *I have gone* ; *I saw it done*) or a form in *-ing* (e.g. *I am reading* ; *I saw him coming*). Further subdivisions arise from the nature of the first verb.

As to the grammatical terminology adopted, a little elucidation may seem imperative, and sufficient. The time-honoured terms designating the different parts of speech and the parts of the sentence (such as subject, predicate, object and adjunct) have been kept, apart from a few deviations of minor importance. So have the terms "present tense", "preterite", "infinitive" and "part participle", though I am not convinced that they are sufficiently objective and was at first tempted to replace them by more neutral appellations, such as "the unmodified invariable stem" (for *infinitive*), "the unmodified variable stem" (for *present tense*), "the modified invariable stem" (for *past participle*) and "the modified variable stem" (for *preterite*), or by even more pasigraphic terms, such as Form I, Form II, Form III etc. Practical considerations, however, have led me to relinquish this plan. The term "Form in *-ing*" is used to denote the form of the verb *to come* in "He is coming", as well as in "On his coming home...".

Apart from the terms "Direct Nexus" and "Indirect nexus" (see above), the collocations of two or more verbal forms are left without a name and are merely referred to by mentioning the type of construction. This procedure has been adopted not only because the number of existing appellations is too limited to cover all the various combinations, and many of them (e.g. Future Tense ; Progressive Form) are misleading in that they designate only one of the possible functions of a special combination, but also because the application of the traditional labels almost inevitably leads to the discussing of only such combinations as correspond to forms with similar meaning in Latin or other, preferably classical, languages, with the result that many groups of purely English or Germanic origin remain nameless and consequently run the risk of being overlooked.

It is possible that this study might have been improved by a systematic counting of the frequency of the separate syntactical features (as is done e.g. in G. K. Zipf's *Psycho-Biology of Language*, London 1936). I have attempted to compensate for the absence of statistical data by the use of such qualifying adjectives as unique, rare, exceptional, frequent, etc.

No one is more conscious than myself of the drawbacks of a system which attempts to arrange the phenomena of a language into set divisions, subdivisions and paragraphs, and consequently traces lines of demarcation where in reality, owing to the protean character of many constructions, the boundaries are fluid and vague. Wherever necessary or advisable I have indicated the more or less arbitrary nature of the classification, and the very full Table of Contents and the various Indexes may partly remedy the unavoidable evils consequent on grammatical divisions of any sort.

One redeeming quality of my work will be apparent at least to every reader who can appreciate racy English. For St. Thomas's words, lavishly sprinkled over nearly every page, will stand the most exacting tests. May this great writer and Saint not look down with disfavour upon my attempt to subject his language to a process of vivisectional analysis and to use his lively sentences as illustrations of dry-as-dust expositions of grammatical facts.

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**THE EDITIONS OF ST. TH. MORE'S WORKS,
FROM WHICH THE QUOTATIONS HAVE BEEN TAKEN.**

TITLES	EDITIONS	QUOTED AS
A Mery Jest	The Wks.; W. Rastell 1557	Jest
Nyne Pageauntes	" "	Pageants
A Riful Lamentation	" "	Lament.
Certain Meters... For the Boke of F.	" "	Boke of F.
The Lyfe of Jhon Picus	" "	Picus
The History of Kyng Richard the Third	" "	Rich.
A Treatice Vppon The Four Last Things	" "	Last Th.
A Dialogue Concerning Heresies	" "	Dial. Her.
The Supplication of Soules	" "	Supplic.
The Confutation of Tindales Answere	" "	Conf. Tynd.
The Aunswere to Frithes Letter	" "	Lett. Fryth
The Debellation of Salem & Byzance.	" "	Debell.
The Answer to The Poysoned Booke	" "	Answer
A Treatise to Receyue the Bless. Body	" "	Bless. B.
A Treatice Vppon the Passion	" "	Passion
A Godly Instruction	" "	Instr.
A Godly Meditation	" "	Med.
A Devout Prayour	" "	Prayer
Certen Letters	" "	Lett.
The Apologie Of Sir Thomas More	" "	Apol. (Wks.)
	A. Taft. 1930 E. E. T. S.	Apol.
A Dialogue Of Comforte	The Works ; Rastell 1557	Dial. C. (Wks.)
	Every M.'s Library 1928	Dial. C.
Autograph Letters	J. Delcourt, Essai 1914	Aut. L.

ABBREVIATIONS

(Among the writers on syntactical subjects to whom I am indebted for illustrative evidence of earlier and later usage, there are a few on whom I have too often drawn for repeated acknowledgments to be practicable. Their names are given below with the abbreviations by which the quotations are designated. For full titles see the Bibliography).

B. = Buchtenkirch, E. 1889.	K. = Kenyon, J. S. 1909.
Co. = Courmont, A. 1912.	Kl. = Kellner, L. 1890/1913.
C. = Curme, G. O. 1931.	Kla. = Klausman, 1919.
D. = Dekker, A. 1932.	Ko. = Koziol, H. 1932/5/6.
De. = Deutschbein, M. 1931.	Kr. = Kruisinga, E. 1931/2.
Di. = Dietze, H. 1895.	L. = Lichtsinn, P. 1913.
E. = Einkenkel, E. 1916.	M. = Meer, H. J. v. d. 1929.
En. = Engblom, V. 1938.	Mo. = Mossé, F. 1938.
F. = Franz, W. 1924.	P. = Poutsma, H. 1914 etc.
G. = Gaaf, W. v. d. 1904 etc.	Pr. = Preussler, W. 1914.
Gf. = Graaf, A. 1888/9.	R. = Redepenning, E. 1906.
Gz. = Grünziger, 1909.	S. = Sugden, H. W. 1936.
H. = Hüttmann, 1914.	T. = Trnka, B. 1930.
Hi. = Hittmair, R. 1923.	W. = Weyl, R. E. L. 1937.
J. = Jespersen, O. 1928/32.	Z. = Zickner 1900.

OED = Oxford English Dictionary.

ERRATA

p. 1	l. 8	from bottom.	For <i>beasted</i> read <i>beastes</i> .
p. 2	l. 2.		For <i>Rich.</i> read <i>Last Th.</i>
p. 2	l. 2.		For <i>vagraunt mind</i> read <i>vagaraunte minde</i> .
p. 4	l. 18	from bottom.	For 9 read 8.
p. 7	l. 13.		Insert <i>with</i> between <i>stand</i> and <i>your</i> .
p. 28	l. 10	from bottom.	For <i>ennnuy</i> read <i>enemye</i> .
p. 28.			Dele ll. 1 and 2 from bottom.
p. 29.			Dele ll. 1—6.
p. 41	l. 8.		For <i>Dial. Her.</i> read <i>Dial. C.</i>
p. 42	l. 14	from bottom.	For <i>occured</i> read <i>occurred</i> .
p. 42	l. 12	from bottom.	For <i>first</i> read <i>last</i> .
p. 45	l. 19/20.		Dele from <i>Apol. 82</i> to <i>Apol. 104</i> .
p. 51	l. 7.		Insert <i>do not</i> between <i>verbs</i> and <i>seem</i> .
p. 53	Footnote.		For <i>nor</i> read <i>mo</i> .
p. 69	l. 1.		For <i>ione</i> read <i>ioine</i> .
p. 76	l. 12.		For <i>occurence</i> read <i>occurrence</i> .
p. 92	l. 14.		For <i>conuyte</i> read <i>conuyct</i> .
p. 93	Running title.		For <i>subjective</i> read <i>objective</i> .
p. 97	l. 15	from bottom.	For <i>look ; at</i> to read <i>look at ; to</i> .
p. 120	l. 19	from bottom.	For <i>oft hem</i> read <i>of them</i> .
p. 149.			Dele ll. 9—12.
p. 153	l. 7	from bottom.	For <i>so</i> read <i>se</i> .
p. 155	l. 16.		Insert <i>a</i> between <i>lose</i> and <i>good</i> .
p. 218	l. 3.		For PREPOSITIONAL read INDIRECT.
p. 340	l. 4.		For <i>dreed us</i> read <i>us dreed</i> .
p. 433	l. 14	from bottom.	For <i>conversing</i> read <i>conversion</i> .

PRELIMINARY NOTE

1. Owing to the strong analytical tendency of English, leading to the morphological levelling of different parts of speech, a verb can in many cases be distinguished from other kinds of words only by its function in a syntactical unit. As this cannot always be done without arbitrariness, a few doubtful cases will be discussed first.

2. The following kinds of words have not been looked upon as verbs and have consequently been excluded from this study :

a. parasynthetic formations.

Last Th. 96 G 7, *gorebelyed* glotony. | Rich. 57 D 12, she is now in the more beggerly condicion, *vnfrended* and worne out of acquaintance. | Rich. 62 C 12, *harde hearted*. | Dial. C. 344, *feble faythed* folke. | Conf. Tynd. 736 C 5, *asseheded*. | Bless. Body 1272 G 14, *sylver buttoned*. | Last Th. 92 E 12, *highe harted*. | Last Th. 73 A 2, *daynty stomaked* | Rich. 37 C 8, *ill fetured* | Dial. C. 152, *meane wytted* men. | Rich. 37 D 3, hee came into the world with his feete forwarde ... and also not *vnlothed*. | Apol. (Wks.) 1072 C 15, *styffenecked*.

b. nouns or adjectives + -ed.

Rich. 57 A 10, *visaged*. | Dial. Her. 201 B 1, *witted* men. | Last Th. 77 C 12, the *wretched* affecciions of the body. | Last Th. 93 D 10, his hed hanging in his bosom and his body *croked*. | Rich. 71 E 1, *horned* beasted.

c. words like *fall*, *cure*¹⁾, preceded by an adnominal word [*a*, *the*, *his*, etc.].

Dial. C. 139, to be preserued from the *fal* in temptacion. | Dial. C. 134, the *cure* of that persone is in a maner desperate.

d. original past participles no longer realized to be such.

Dial. Her. 246 F 1, sicke folke often haue such a *corrupt* tallage. | Rich. 67 E 7, *suspect*. | Conf. Tynd. 525 F 2, *elect*.

¹⁾ The use of the vicarious *to do* in the following quotation shows the strongly pronounced verbal character of words of this kind : Conf. Tynd. 430 C 11, So hath he ... taughte them holye ceremonies to be vsed about hys blessed sacramentes ... to the *encrease* of christen mennes deuocion, as in dede it *doeth* what soeuer Tyndall bable.

e. original present participles ending in *-ant*, *-aunt*, *-ent*, etc.

Rich. 76 D 13, a *vagraunt* minde. | Dial. C. 198, wee may fynde that eyther of them is *incydente* into the other. | Dial. Her. 147 B 5, [Christ] wyll bee to the worldes end present and *assistent*. | Dial. C. 128, whiche wee moore feare then all the *remenaunt*. | Dial. C. 222, then shal he be thereby so specially *participant* of Gods passion. | Picus 3 D 5, Now had he ben .viii. yere *conuersant* in these studies. | Conf. Tynd. 583 G 3, Manne can not tourne vnto him without ... *concurraunte* helpe of goddes especial grace.

f. words like *marriage*, *reimpression*, *deliverye* (« nouns of action »).

Rich. 59 C. 13, The only widowhed of Elisabeth Gray though she wer in al other things conuenient for you, shold yet suffice as me semeth to refrain you from her *marriage* ¹⁾.

g. words ending in *-ing* that are clearly thing-words (doubtful cases will be discussed).

Dial. Her. 135 A 10, [they] wer fain to throw their *offring* ouer their felowes heddes for prease. | Pageants (title), Mayster Thomas More in his youth deuysed in hys fathers house ... a goodly *hangyng* of fyne paynted clothe.

3. The following kinds of words have been included as verbs.

a. original past participles ending in *-ate*, *-at*.

Dial. Her. 137 B 9, the general consails ..., *comprobate* and *corroborate* by the whole body of christendom. | Lett. to P. Giles, not studied for, but sudden and *unpremeditate*. | Dial. Her. 134 H 15, she was houseled in sight of the people with an host *vnconsecrate*. | Dial. Her. 124 D 1, [it is] wel knownen that the worship of saints and ymages ben alowed, *approbate*, & accustomed for good ... vertues. | Dial. Her. 121 D 10, holy places, not by enchauntement *dedicat* to the deuill, but by goddys ordynance ... consecrated vnto him self. | Dial. C. 345, *satiare*. | Picus 18 F 6, if the world were *adnihilate*.

b. original past participles ending in *-it*, *-ute*.

Rich. 52 G 14, there were *adhibit* very few. | Dial. Her. 161 D 13, saturdaye, which was the sabbaoth day *institute* by God among the Jewes. | Picus 63 F 14, the right ... is by the iust course of enheritance ... *deuolute* and comen vnto the most excellent prince.

c. past participles like *contract*, *infect*.

Rich. 40 G 5, kindness sodainely *contract*. | Last Th. 80 B 1, many a man is *infect* with the great sicknes.

¹⁾ Her is the object of the « noun » *marriage*; the meaning is : to refrain you from marrying her.

I. — SYNTACTICAL UNITS WITH ONE VERB

4. Under the term « syntactical unit » are comprised : sentences, clauses, clause equivalents, free adjuncts, participial and infinitive constructions, elliptic sentences, etc. According to the number of verbal forms occurring in these units, they are called : syntactical units with one verb, syntactical units with two verbs, syntactical units with three verbs, and so on, and are consequently dealt with in this order.

The paragraphs on syntactical units with one verb not only contain a discussion of the functions and meanings of the infinitive, present tense, preterite, past participle and form in *-ing*, but also deal with the various ways of combining the verb with its subject and its objects.

1. VERB AND SUBJECT

5. As in earlier and in later usage, the subject in More's language is expressed in various ways, viz., by nouns, pronouns, syntactical units, etc. A few instances will suffice :

noun. Rich. 71 E 2, What fole q[uoth] the fox thou maist abide wel enough, *the lyon* ment not by thee.

pronoun. Dial. C. 151, *they* agree together in profession of Christes name.

for + *noun* (preceding an infinitive). Picus 5 B 13, *it* were not possible *for a man* to vitre ... more conning.

syntactical unit (simple or compound). Last Th. 98 G 15, *to tell us ... the wordes of holy wrytte*, is but a dul profe. | Dial. C. 218, *comforting of her* could haue no place. | Dial. C. 163, *that god gaue him here in this world all thyng double that he lost*, litle toucheth mi mater.

IT AS SUBJECT

6. To denote the different kinds of *it*, the following terms will be used :

the conceptional (= the unspecified, notional) *it*, as in :
it rains ;

the concrete it (referring to a previously mentioned thing or being) ;

the summarizing it (referring to the contents of a preceding syntactical unit) ;

it in the emphasizing formula *it is my father who* ;

the proleptic it (developed in a following syntactical unit, as in : Dial. Her. 251 A 1, *it is no meruail though his wife be well teeming*).

7. THE CONCEPTIONAL *IT* AS SUBJECT.

Dial. Her. 194 H 17, *if it be a fayre day...* | Some Lett. 322, *It is now my good doughter late.* | Dial. Her. 157 A 2, *they knew when it was time.* | Dial. C. 157, *it is but earely dayes.* | Dial. C. 218, *ere it was very long after, she hong her selfe.*

Aut. Lett. xxi, 20, *beseching the kinges highnes ... how so euer it shold happe to fall betwene hym and Spayne yit to considre his aun-cient amite.* | Jest p. 3 F 4, *It hath with me, Bene better than it is.* | Dial. C. 236, *Thus fareth it in this temptacion.* | Dial. C. 255, *here would it fare by the poore man, as it fared by the woman in one of Esopes fables.* | Picus 13 C 4, *it is written : In what measure that ye mete, it shalbe mette you again.* | Picus 1 F 1, *which workes I wolde require you gladly to receiue : ne were it, that they be such, that ...* | Rich. 64 D 2, *were it for wonder or feare ... : not one word was there answered.* | Rich. 37 B 13, *whose death Kyng Edward (al be it he commanded it) ... pitiously bewailed.*

The same usage before and after *More* ; *ne were it, were it, it fareth* are obsolete now.

9. THE CONCRETE *IT* AS SUBJECT.

Last Th. 85 B 1, *enuy where it may ouer, doth al ye hurte it can.* | Dial. Her. 126 (Margin)¹⁾, *Glasse and wherof it is made.* | Aut. Lett. ix, 11, *as towching the veneson ... he was very gladde that hit lyked yor grace so well.*

This pronoun *it* has an anaphoric function and usually refers to non-personal nouns. That it may also refer to persons is proved by the following instances :

Dial. Her. 131 H 7, *she was ... delyvered of a fayre boy & forsoth it was not than ... passing the length of a fote.* | Dial. Her. 166 G 5, *Nowe quod I this man that god byddeth you go to, ... will it make any chaunge ... whether it be man or woman ?* | Answer 1130 B 9, *matster Masker ... make as many straunge faces ... as it were an olde riueld ape.*

In the last quotation Pres. D. Eng. would prefer *he*, since the nominal predicate has a descriptive rather than an identifying function. In the following quotation *there*, instead of *it*, would perhaps be used now :

¹⁾ The marginal references are probably by Rastell.

Dial. Her. 167 H 10, if any woulde after take the contrary waye, were *it* one or mo, were *it* fewe or many ... yet can I nothing doubte which parte to beleue.

He refers to a thing in : Apol. 149, For amendes *the law* geueth him none against any of theym, nor *it* wer not well done *he* sholde. | Debell. 979 D 13, their *othe* shall not be what *hee* is in dede, but what themselfe thinke of hys othe.

9. THE SUMMARIZING *IT* AS SUBJECT.

it booted. Rich. 44 F 4, at whiche dealinge he wepte ... but *it booted* not.

it forceth. Dial. Her. 130 F 4, Whyther they be miracles, ... or meruayls ..., *it forceth* not for this purpose of ours. | Dial. Her. 215, G 14, no man can tell who nor whither : *it forceth* not for our wyse case.

it liketh me. Rich. 59 F 9, I mary where *it liketh me*

it pleased them. Rich. 42 F 1, they sente awaie...whom *it pleased* them

it were a token. Dial. C. 220, If he were fouden of the first fashion, *it were a token* that the dyuel hath puffed him vp.

it is to your pain. Pageants, Deth l. 6, Witsafe to sende (though *it be* to your payne) to me a fole, some of your wise brayne.

Here, just as in the preceding section, the pronoun *it* is anaphoric : it refers back to the preceding syntactical unit, the contents of which it repeats or summarizes in condensed form. The two syntactical units may also, however, be joined without the summarizing pronoun :

Dial. C 163, that god gaue him here in this world all thyng double that he lost, *little toucheth* mi mater.

The use or omission of *it* seems to have been arbitrary, perhaps to the same extent as it is in Pres. D. Eng., where the two constructions occur side by side, though the construction with *it* seems to be the more usual one now. Compare : Pilot 1905, 14/5, Whether the change ministers to the comfort of those whom it most influences, *is hard to say*. | Walpole, Fortitude I, How far cards might have helped him *it is difficult to say*.

It forceth and *it liketh (me)* are obsolete now. A few earlier and later instances follow :

a 1400-50 Alexander 2001, þen how fale be att þe flote, *it forcez* bot lityll. | a 1450 Knt. de la Tour 66, The poor soule cried ... but *it hoted* not. | 1603 Owen Pembrokesh. 150, Whose soeuer they be *yt forceth* not. | 1604 Shak. Oth. II, iii, 49, *it dislikes* me.

10. *IT* AS SUBJECT IN THE EMPHASIZING FORMULA *it is (my father) who*.

Dial. Her. 206 A 10, *It was* not the scripture that made them beleue

that. | Dial. Her. 276 G 2, *it is* not the clergy that laboreth to haue them punyshed by death. | Dial. Her. 254 F 8, *it was* not it [scil. the council] that he appeled vnto. | Rich. 71 E 3, *it is* none horne that is in thine head. | Dial. Her. 236 D 3, thys manne *it was* that told me so. | Dial. Her. 139 C 9, Onely God *is it*, that geueth all good.

This construction serves to make a certain word in the proposition conspicuous; it breaks up a single idea (e. g. *the scripture made them beleue...*) into two syntactical units, and places the subject in extra-position in the form of a clause. *It* has a proleptic character, except in the last two of the above quotations, which show inversion ¹⁾.

The construction was in regular use before More's time:

a 1250 Owl & Night. 1163, Her vore *hit is* that me the shuneth. | c 1420 Sir Amadas 284, *Hyt is* in the deyde name that I speyke (OED).

In Pres. D. Eng. it is quite common: *It is* but seldom that he comes our way. | *It is* not everybody who can afford to buy a car.

11. THE PROLEPTIC *IT* AS SUBJECT.

a. with verbs of complete predication ²⁾:

it appereth. Picus 10 E 9, *It appereth* by this epistle, that...

it (be)falleth. Last Th. 95 D 8, so *falleth it* daylye, that the eye is... |

Picus D 7, if it happily so *befal*: that he may not as he would...

it booteth. Lament. Stanza 9 l. 6, *it booteth* not for me to wepe or cry.

| Rich. 59 A 9, *it hoted* not greatly to say nay.

it ensueth. Rich. 76 E 10, *it must* thereof, *ensue*, that we shal... do good...

it foloweth. Dial. Her. 149 A 12, *it foloweth of* necessite that the church doth not misse vnderstand those textes | Dial. Her. 156 D 4, Holy scripture ... is such as I haue sayed, and yet nothinge *foloweth it*, that God hath not caused it to be wryten well. | Dial. Her. 172 D 13, *it consequentlye foloweth* that the church all wayes hath and all wayes shall haue the knowledge ... of such thinges. | Dial. Her. 177 G 16, *it should* els *folow*, that the church had a wrong beliefe. | Picus 19 G 8, *It foloweth* in the psalme: Funes ceciderunt...

it forceth. Apol. 848 (Wks.) E 4, *it shall not force* greatlye whiche one... [they shall read].

it fortuneth. Dial. C. 307, if *it so fortune* ... that the Turkes shall eyther be well withstanden... | Dial. Her. 192 B 11, *it mai fortune* ... that of one hedde there may be sondry partes.

¹⁾ They seem to contradict Curme's statement (1933, p. 9) on this use of *it*: "When we desire to call especial attention to the subject we often withhold it for a time, causing the feeling of suspense".

²⁾ I. e., subjective verbs and other verbs not requiring a complement.

it goeth to theyre hearte. Last Th. 86 G 2, *it goeth to theyre hearte*, whan they see any manne lesse esteeme them.

it happeth. Dial. C 184, so *happed it* ... that his wyfe and he together dyed.

it longeth. Jest, p. 3 C 4, *it longeth* for our order, To hurt no man.

it nedeth. Dial. Her. 181 B 12, *It nedeth* not to assigne any place, wher the very churche & true christen congregacion is. | Dial. Her. 195 E 5, *It nede*¹⁾ not to tel you that euery man laughed than.

it rennes in mannes myndes. Dial. Her. 200 E 6, *it renneth in mannes myndes* that miracles may be fained.

it semeth. Picus 1 C 12, *it semeth* that their frendship is but fleshly,

it standeth with your pleasure. Rich. 49 D 6, the council [would] be content..., if *it might stand your pleasure* to be in such place.

it suffiseth. Rich. 38 H 6, For *it suffiseth* not that al you loue them, yf eche of you hate other. | Rich. 62 D 17, *it sufficed* ... to haue ben of kinred ... with any of those.

The word *it* in these constructions has a proleptic function : it announces or anticipates the subject which is developed in the following syntactical unit ²⁾. Most of these developed subjects appear in the form of a 'that' clause ; some of them are units containing an infinitive (e. g. *it nedeth...to assigne* ; *it sufficed ... to haue been*).

All the above quotations contain subjective verbs. With other verbs the construction is not so often met with ³⁾ :

Last Th. 76 H 11, *What auailleth it* to knowe that there is a God...if... | Dial. Her. 121 A 6 *it smelleth of ydolatry*, to visit this place.

In the latter case front position of the full subject seems more usual :

Dial. C. 163, that god gaue him here in this world all thyng ... litle toucheth mi mater.

The following quotation contains a very peculiar use of the construction *it shold* (with proleptic *it*) :

Apol. 922 (Wks) E 5, if euer *it shoulde* ... by such colde slouth and neglygence on the catholique parte, ... that the heretykes parte should hap to growe so strange, as thei should conspyre to...

¹⁾ Contamination of *I nede* and *it nedeth* ?

²⁾ There is some resemblance between the function of this proleptic *it* and that of the determinative words, as in : Apol. 6, yf *this* were vntrew that I say. | Dial. C. 144, As good a medicine must *this* nedes be that preserueth our helth. | The difference lies in the absence of stress on *it*.

³⁾ Compare, however, the constructions with a 'dative' object (it boted him, it yrketh me) § 17.

The construction is so very exceptional that it cannot be far wrong to assume that a word (sc. *happe*) has fallen out, perhaps owing to the fact that another "shold *happe*" occurs in the next unit. This might then be called a case of syntactical haplology.

There are no innovations in More's language in the usage of the proleptic *it* with verbs of complete predication, as may be gathered from the following historical data.

it appeareth. c 1374 Chaucer, Boeth. V, iv, 162, þat *it* may *apere* þat þe prescience is signe of this necessite (OED).

it (be)falleth. c 1175 Cott. Hom. 231, þa *be-fel* *hit* swa þat hym a þance befell. | c 1340 Cursor M. 11929, *hyt fille* vpon an holiday...lhesu and othir childryn insamen went hem by the river to gamyn (OED).

it boteth. c 1400 Roland 499, *It botes* not to abide (OED).

it foloweth. 1449 Pecoock. Repr. III, iv, 304, *It foleweeth* that it ston-dith weel with the proces (OED).

it forceth. a 1400-50 Alexander 2001, þen how fele be att þe flote, *it forceth* bot lityll (OED).

it fortuneth. 1460 Past. Lett. n° 461, II, 115, *It so fortuneth* your seid besecher coud not performe the said apoyntment (OED).

it goeth to my herte. 1481 Caxton, Reyn. 88, I trowe *hit shold* not moche *goe to my herte* so that another dyde it (OED).

it happeth. c 1400 Maundev. xxv, 118, *If it happe* þat any man ... dye by þe way (OED).

it longeth. a 1400 Prymer 73, God to whom *it longeth* alone to haue mercy (OED).

it nedeth. 13... K. Alis. 6525, *Hit nedeth* nothing to wond. | 1387, Trevisa, Polychr., Cott. Ms, 35, *it nedeth* not to telle you (OED).

it semeth. c 1386 Chaucer, Mel. 355, And al be it so that *it seme* that thou art in seker place, yet... (OED).

it suffiseth. 1422 Yonge, tr. Secr. 178, *Hit suffichyth* that ... we fyndyth y-writte, that... (OED).

Of *it ensues* and *it avails* ¹⁾ no instances anterior to More

¹⁾ The absence of these verbs, as well as of *to appear*, *fall*, *suffice*, *bote*, *long*, *follow*, in the sections on impersonal and quasi-impersonal verbs in Dekker's Syntax of Malory's Morte Darthur (1932, § 311 ff) seems due to the fact that he restricts the meaning of quasi-impersonal verbs to: "verbs governing a noun or pronoun in the dative or accusative and often used quasi-impersonally". Occasionally, however, he seems to have lost sight of this definition; see, e. g. § 321, *it fortuneth he was sore hurte*. | § 328, *hit nedeth* not to reherce them.

have been found. The earliest quotations in OED are dated 1581 and 1538 respectively.

In Pres. D. Eng. the usage is restricted to a small number of the above verbs; only *it seems* and *it appears* may be called current now. *It forces*, *it needs* are obsolete. *It boots*, *it ensues* are rare. In archaizing style *it haps*, *it falls*, *it fortunes*, *it stands with your pleasure*, are occasionally met with. *It suffices* is often followed by *for*.

12. THE PROLEPTIC IT AS SUBJECT.

b. with *to be* + adjective.

it is according. Picus 13 C 2, Verelye *it is accordyng*, that god should despyse thee being a man.

it is amisse. Dial. Her. 105 G 7, so *were it* not much *amisse* ... to provide for the worse.

it is better. Apol. 12, But yf the precher proue that *it were better* for a man to kyll hym selfe than dye... | Dial. Her. 211 G 9, *better wer it* the faute to be quytte, than the fautles to be punyshed.

it is like. Dial. Her. 135 F 12, *it is more like* that he will suffer no such thinges longe lye hid.

it is likely. Dial. Her. 140 G 1, *it is likely* that he set great ... impositions vpon them.

it is long. Last Th. 72 C 4, *Long would it be* to take the beste of theyr woordes. | Picus 5 B 7, *longe it was* or he could be brought therto.

it is mete. Dial. Her. 243 F 11, *it wer mete* for men vnlearned to be busy with...

it is requisite. Apol. 190, yf *it were requisite* I coulde bryng forth wytnesses mo then men wold wene.

it is trewe. Dial. Her. 139 G 14, yf *it were trewe* that ye defende the thynges withall...

There is nothing in this construction, as such, that calls for comment: it was in use before More's time and is still employed in ordinary diction in Pres. D. Eng. For *it is according*, *it is like*, *it is mete* see the following data:

EARLIER	LATER
<i>it is according</i> .	
1483 Caxton, Gold. Leg. 399.3, A clerke sayd <i>it was</i> not honest ne <i>according</i> to mysentrete the holy body (OED).	No later quotations in OED. Not in Schmidt, Shak. Lex. In Pres. D. Eng. <i>obsolete</i> .

it is like.

c 1375 Barbour Bruce xvi, 324,
It wes weill lik... That he myght
 haff conquerit... The land of
 Irland (OED).

1733 E. Elskine, Serm., Wks. II,
 152, The temple where *it is like*
 Isaiah got the manifestation (OED).
 In Pres. D. Eng. only *dial.*

it is mete.

a 1300 Cursor M., 3675, Sco...
 cled him, *sum it was mete*, wit
 his broþer robe þat smelled
 suete (OED).

1846 French, Mirac., Introd. 38,
It was only meet that his Son
 should be clothed (OED).
 In Pres. D. Eng. *archaic.*

13. THE PROLEPTIC *IT* AS SUBJECT.

c. with *to be* + preposition + noun.

it is in vain. Rich. 62 H 1, *it is in vain* to keep in counsel that thing
 that all men know.

it is in question. Dial. Her. 257 A 12, *if it were in question* whither
 the scripture were eydent for him.

it is without peril. Dial. C. 146, *it is not without peril* a man to think
 otherwise.

OED has no earlier quotations. *It is in question* is obsolete
 now.

14. THE PROLEPTIC *IT* AS SUBJECT.

d. with *to be* + noun.

it is almyse. Conf. Tynd. 446 B 6 al their heresies fully be burned
 vp and fal as flatte to ashen as *it were almyse* all obstinate
 heretiques dyd. | Rich. 45 (= 44) E 10, *it were almoise* to hang him.

it is no cause. Dial. Her. 245 B 2, *it is no cause* to kepe the corps of
 scripture out of the handes of anye Christen people.

it is his dishonestie. Picus 7 F 4, *it was his dishonestie* and rebuke
 ... that his negligence ... gaue his seruauntes occasion of disceit.

it is a do. Apol. 173, *it wolde be* somewhat a do to finde many suche.

it is doubt. Dial. Her. 167 G 11, yet *is it no doubte* but if I wil beleue
 the Churche I must beleue them.

it is folý. Picus 21 B 9, *folý it is* to looke for heauen with pleasure
 and delight.

it is a fransey. Apol. 42, that were a thyng whereof yt *were a very*
fransey to doute.

it is guyse. Boke of F. p. 7 C 1, *it is fortunes guyse*, to graunt no
 manne all thyng that he wyll axe.

it is grief. Dial. C. 163, *was it no grief* then when he muste cast out
 the mother and the chylde both?

- it is your hap.* Dial. Her. 203 F 1, *it has been your happe* to be there.
- it is labour.* Dial. Her. 224 A 14, so *were it ... litle labour ...* to translate the ... booke.
- it is good manner.* Dial. C. 260, so *is it very good manner* that a man of your age ... lette his slepe not slippe away.
- it is mastery.* Dial. Her. 109 E 7, *it were no mastery* to make it seme that...
- it is meruail.* Dial. Her. 251 A 1, *It is no meruail* though his wife be wel teeming. | Dial. Her. 184 F 5, *it is more than meruel* that...
- it is nede.* Apol. 184, *It was well perceyed* that great *nede it was* euer after to repressse ... suche sedycyouse heresies. | Dial. Her. 156 H 4, *nede was it* in the begynning to geue them knowledge therof.
- it is pity.* Dial. Her. 225 H 9, *it is pytye* that we see suche lyghte so sielde.
- it is praise.* Picus 7 A 3, he perswaded that ... *it was no praise* to gather richesse.
- it is prooffe.* Dial. Her. 230 A 10, *more prooffe is it* of a wyse gouernour to rule well fyue wyues than one.
- it is reason.* Dial. Her. 138 G 13, *than is it reason* that we shew you some such case. | Dial. Her. 132 G 6, *no reason wer it*, to withdrawe his thank. | Dial. Her. 275 E 9, *yet is it no reason* to loke that Chrysten princes should suffer ¹⁾.
- it is his rebuke.* See *it is his dishonestie*.
- it is an old said saw.* Dial. Her. 105 B 2, *It is an olde said saw*, that one bysynes begetteth another.
- it is a common saying.* Picus 5 C 1, *it was a common saying* with him, that such altercacions were for a logician, and not metely for a philosopher.
- it is shame.* Picus 14 E 13, *it were shame* to abide stil in the better...
- it is surety.* Rich. 66 B 10, *it was no surety* to retreat.
- it is a tale.* Dial. Her. 269 F 2, *it is but a tale* to saye that...
- it is trouth.* Dial. Her. 218 H 6, *trouth it is* that a mannes othe receiveth interpretation.
- it is an untowardnes.* Dial. Her. 133 H 16, *it is a great untowardnes ...* to mystrust all them that say they haue sene it.
- it is comen usage.* Boke of F. p. 5 A 4, Of this poore sect, *it is comen usage*, onely to take that nature may sustayne.

¹⁾ Also without *it* in the collocation *as reason is*: Debell. 985 A 1, And so lye there *as reason is* sometyme some for felonye to, repried vpon causes from one session to another. Now obsolete. Latest quot. in OED 1671 (Milton).

it is wisdom. Dial. Her. 109 H 12, *it were wisdom*, not to call them Lutherans.

it is wonder. Last Th. 98 E 3, *wonder it is* that the worlde is so mad.

it is a worlde. Dial. Her. 184 E 12, *It is a worlde* to see what boste the mad man maketh.

This section is a real treasure-trove of the obsolete and the archaic. The frequent absence of the indefinite article *a* (*it is shame*) is especially conspicuous. The following list shows the result of an attempt to ascertain to what extent these idioms were known before and after More's time. Owing to the scarcity of syntactical investigations and the regrettable gaps in OED, a number of lacunae could not be filled up.

EARLIER

it is almyse. c 1430 Lydg. Bochas Prol. 30, *It is almes* to correct and amend the vicious folke (OED).

it is cause. ———

it was his dishonestie. ———

it is a do ¹⁾. ———

it is dout. 1398 Trevisa, Barth. De P. R. xvi, 569, No man shal wene that *it is dout* or fals that god hath sette vertue in precyous stones (OED).

it is foly. c 1400 Lanfranc's Chirurg. 212, *it is folle* for to lete him blood (OED).

it is fransey. ———

it is grief. ———

it is guise. (1420 Pall. on Husb. II 68, To wede ek cornys drie, *is no good guise* : OED).

it is hap. c 1420 Pall. on Husb. III 710, *Hit is bot happe* of a plaunte a tre to gete (OED).

LATER

1623 Sanderson, 35 Serm. Wks. I 87, If he be hungry, *it is alms* to feed him, but if he be idle..., *it is alms* to whip him (OED).

In Pres. D. Eng. obsolete.

(Cf. 1548 Udall, Erasm. Par. Matt. V 42, *There is no cause why* to cut off the members) (OED).

Not in OED; but : Shakesp. Rich². II, i, 299, deposed 'tis *dout* he will be.

Not instanced in OED, but is permissible in Pres. D. Eng. : *It is folly* even to think of such a thing.

a 1529 Skelton, Ph. Spar. 1251, *It were no gentle gyse* This treatyse to despyse.

In Pres. D. Eng. obsolete.

(1813, Scott, Frierm. III, Introd. III, *Be it hap*, or be it harm : OED.)

In Pres. D. Eng. obsolete.

¹⁾ Properly an infinitive preceded by Norse *at* = Eng. *to*. It is doubtful whether it still has this verbal character in the quotation from More.

it is labour. c 1400 Destr. Troy 10770, *Hit were labour* to long hir lotis to tell (OED).

it is ... manner. No earlier quotations in OED.

it is mastery. 13... Sir Beues (A.) 1738, 'So me helpe God' queþ Beues þo, 'Hit were no meistri, me to slo.'

it is meruail. c 1380 Wyclif, Wks. 265, *It is greit meruaile þat god ... distroyeþ* not all þis cursid peple.

it is nede. c 1175 Lamb. Hom. 9, *Hit is muchel neot þet we þonkien ure drihten* (OED).

it is pity. 1470-85 Malory, Arthur I, xxii, *It were grete pyte to lese Gryflet* (OED).

it is praise. —

it is proof. —

it is reason ¹⁾. 1340 Hamp., Pr. Consc. 6891, þarfor *it es reason* and ryght þat þai ay se þat grysely syght (OED).

it is his rebuke. —

it is an old said saw. 1470-85 Malory, Arth. X, lxi, 519, Euer

Not in OED; but cf. Shakesp. Compl. 239, *what labour is 't* to leave the thing we have not.

1530 Palsgr. 415, 1, *it is no good manner* to abrayde me therof (OED).

In Pres. D. Eng. obsolete (in singular).

1601 B. Jonson, Discov. Ingen. discrim. I, *It is a little maistry* to know them (OED).

In Pres. D. Eng. obsolete.

1545 Brinklow, Compl. xi, 26, *It is meruel ...* that fyre descend not down. | 1647 Clarendon, Hist. Rep. I, § 19, *it is no Marvail ...* that he could think of no better way (OED).

In Pres. D. Eng. obsolete.

1676 Hale Contempl. I 351, The best of men are visited with them and *it is* but *need* they should (OED).

In Pres. D. Eng. obsolete.

1593 Shaksp. 3 Henr. vi, IV, i, 22, and 't were *pittie* to sunder them. This is the latest quot. in OED; but see the title of John Ford's play (1633): 'Tis *pity* she's a whore.

In Pres. D. Eng. obsolete.

Not in OED; but cf. Shakesp. Troilus II, ij, 145 so to be valiant *is no praise* at all.

1864, Manning, Let. to Pusey, 28, *It is*, however, but *reason* that I should rejoice. (OED)

In Pres. D. Eng. rare.

1861, Flor. Nightingale, Nursing 50, *It is an ever ready saw* that an

¹⁾ Influence of Old French *il est raison, c'est (bien) raison* ?

- hit is an old sawe guye a chorle rule and thereby he wyll not be suffysed* (OED).
it is a common saying. —
it is shame. c 1380 Wyclif, Wks. 72, *It is schame to written it* (OED).
it is surety. —
it is a tale. The only quotation in OED is our quotation from More.
it is trouth. —
it is an untowardness (= obstinacy).
it is usage. 13... Sir Beues (A.) 3470, *Ase hit was lawe & riȝt vsage* (OED).
it is wisdom. c 1420 Hoccleve, Min. Poems xxiv, 215, *Is it wysdam as þat it seemeth yon, were it on your fyngir continually?* (OED)
it is wonder. c 1100 Brut I, 1, *it was wonder to wete...* (OED)
it is a worlde. c 1440 Generydes, 2205, *It was a world to here the sperys breke.* (OED)
egg is equivalent to a lb. of meat (OED).
 1839, Scott, *Ivanhoe* XL, *It were shame to our profession were we to suffer it* (OED).
 In Pres. D. Eng. poetical.
 — — —
 Not in OED ; but cf. 1843 Haliburton, *Attaché* II, vii, 128, *Fact I assure you, it's gospel-truth.*
 — — —
 1831 Scott, Ct. Rob. xviii, *It is wisdom to choose a better protector.* (OED)
 In Pres. D. Eng. archaic.
 c 1520 Skelton, *Magnyf.* 85, *And it is wonder that your wyld Inso- lence can be content.*
 All the later quotations in OED have *a, no* etc. before *wonder*.
 1596 Shak., Tam. Shr. II, i, 313, *'tis a world to see How tame a wretch can make the cursest shrew.*
 1881 Leicester, Gloss. *It's woo'd to see that theer little un order the big ones.* (OED)
 In Pres. D. Eng. obsolete or dial.

15. THE PROLEPTIC *IT* AS SUBJECT.

e. with to be + infinitive.

- it were to pray.* Dial. G. 161, *it were to pray that they shoulde neuer haue temptacion.*

Of this type only one instance has been found ¹⁾. In Old English, Latin gerunds (e. g. *dicendum est*) were translated by adding an infinitive + *to* to the verb *to be* (e. g. Greg. 263, 9, *þæt is to cyþanne*). It is probable that the type *it were to pray* has descended from this type and that at a certain time ²⁾ the vaguer *it* was substituted for the more distinct *that*. It is not plausible to regard as prototype the O. E. constructions with a dative pronoun (e. g. c 897 Ælfred, C. P. 269, *Us is to witenne*; c 1000 Ælfric, Hom. I, 308, *Us is to smeagene*), since in these collocations the dative pronoun was regularly replaced by a nominative in Middle Eng. (e. g. c 1122 O. E. Chron. an. 1083, *þa muncas nyston hwet heom to donne were* > 1380 Wycl. Sel. Wks. I, 120, *he wist what he was to do*).

The voice of the infinitive *to pray* in *it were to pray* may be called activo-passival (cf. § 413), since the construction allows of being interpreted in two ways: either *it were a good thing for us to pray* or *it is to be prayed*.

The following quotations prove that the idiom was known before More:

c 1400 Maundev. Tr. 34, 20, wherefore *it* is not *to beleue* þat... | c 1412 Occleve, De R. Pr. 121, *It is to leeve and deeme*, yf an kyng shyne In vertu, that his sone shalle sue And to his faders maners enclyne. | 1456 Sir G. Haye, Law Arms (S. T. S.) 271, For *it is to se* that the provour has begunnyn his clame... | c 1480 Malory, M. Arth. 141, 9, *hit is to suppose*... | idem 445, 27, *it is to understand*...

Berners (Froissart) has: vi, 154, *it is to suppose* that the great puissance... abashed the Yrisshemen. R. E. L. Weyl (1937, § 235 a) has found only one instance in St. John Fisher: 302, 16, Moche rather *it is to suppose* that... The fact that More and Fisher only rarely avail themselves of this construction warrants the supposition that the idiom was already obsolescent. It seems to have died out in the century after them ³⁾. The latest

¹⁾ For similar constructions introduced by other words than *it* (e. g. *that is to wille*) cf. § 412.

²⁾ It does not seem to be on record when this substitution took place. H. Boch (1931, p. 206) does not mention it; he discusses the development of *þæt is to ȝeþencanne*, *þat þing sint to donne* > *þey beþ to be blamed*.

³⁾ Not so in Dutch and German: *het ware te wenschen*; *es wäre zu wünschen*.

quotation in OED is : 1528 Perkins, Prof. Bk. I § 36, 16, how *it is to show*. In Shakespeare we find : II Henry VI, III, ij, 2, We have dispatched the duke ... O! that *it were to do*, in which, however, *it* is not proleptic ¹⁾; he has numerous constructions with other subjects than *it* (e. g. Troilus III, ij, 124, *What's to do*; Lover's C 101, such a storm As oft 'twixt May and April *is to see*). Pres. D. Eng. has *to be* + past participle (e. g. *it is to be expected*). These longer groups were frequently used by More too (e. g. Apol. 78, *it is to be fered*. | Dial. C. 222, *it is to be considered*.) See the paragraphs on Syntactical Units with Three Verbs (§ 666).

16. THE PROLEPTIC *IT* AS SUBJECT.

f. with *to be* + past participle.

α. it was ment. Dial. Her, 272 F 10, *it was not ment* that euer theyr sinnes tourned them to good.

it was mervayled. Some L. XII, p. 331, *it was mervayled* that I stacke so much in my conscience.

it was ordeyned. Apol. 118, *it was ordeyned* that the clergy sholde kepe a lenger lent.

it is ... well done. Dial. Her. 105 G b, *it is well done* to deme the beste.

it was written. Dial. Her 179 C 10, as *it was written* in the Actes of the Apostles, Erat multitudo credentium...

β. it was answered. Dial. Her. 264 A 7, then *was it answered* hym that...

it was asked. Dial. Her. 264 A 2, and then *was it asked* hym whither...

it was informed. Debell. 996 F 10, after *it were informed* the iudges, that they reuoked theyr first saying.

it is lefte. Dial. C 139, *it is lefte* vs by Gods ordinaunce to striue againste it.

it was objected. Dial. Her. 265 G 11, *it was objected* vnto that man...

it was said. Dial. Her. 263 C 11, therefore *was it sayd* to him : Yf ye...

it was thought. Rich. 48 G 4, the Lorde Cardinal shewed vnto her, that *it was thought* vnto the protectour... ²⁾ that her keepyng of the kinges brother in that place was...

¹⁾ An early instance with non-proleptic *it* is found in Chaucer : Can. Yeom., Prol. & T. 321, The Philosophres stoon ... I warne yow wel, *it is to seken* euere.

²⁾ Compare *it thinketh me* in § 17.

All these quotations contain passive constructions. The usage was no innovation :

1390 Gower, Conf. I 15, Bot *it is said* and evere shal, Betwen two stoles lyth the fal. | 1497 Bp. Alcock. Mons. Perf. C j 6/2, Cryst cam into ye worlde, as *it is wryte*. | 1470-85 Malory, Arth. VI, VIII, For as *it is enformed* me thou ... hast done grete despyte and shame vnto knyghtes of the round table.

As the OED only records this usage with a very few verbs, it is difficult to trace the fate of this idiom after More's time ¹⁾. The latest quotation of *it is informed us* is dated 1548 (Hall, Chron. Henr. VIII, 61, *It is informed* us that your young and ryotous people will ryse.)

Our quotations show two kinds of constructions : α those without an indirect object (*it was ordeyned*); β those with an indirect object (*it was answered him*). Type α is still found in Pres. D. Eng., but type β seems to have died out.

It is interesting to compare what Trnka (1930, p. 56) says concerning these constructions : « The passive impersonal construction of the type *it was sent for me*, *it is informed me* were turned into the personal *I was sent for*, *I was informed* at the beginning of the sixteenth century, while they were preserved if the personal object was not expressed ». — The above quotations show that there is something wrong in Trnka's statement. If the transition into the personal construction did occur in the 16th century, it must at any rate have been after More's time.

17. THE PROLEPTIC *IT* AS SUBJECT.

g. in the type *it happed me*.

it abhorreth his hearte. Dial. C. 346, *it shall abhorre* hys hearte to think on them.

it becometh us ²⁾. Dial. Her. 189 E 5, *it becommeth vs* and well *behoueth vs* to make frendes of such as he hath in fauor. | Answer 1115 H 9, *it as properlye becommeth* the manne to taunte, as *it becommeth* a camel to daunce.

¹⁾ For the usage in St. John Fisher, see Weyl, 1937, § 73.

²⁾ Also occurs with an auxiliary : Dial. C. 294, hys promise, which for his owne honoure *it can not become him* to break. | Apol. 927 F 10, *it may become him*.

- it behoveth us.* Answer 1124 B 3, But let oportet signifye, he must or it behoueth hym to dye. See also *becometh*.
- it belongeth to God.* Dial. C. 253, To God *it belongeth* to gouern the tonge.
- it boted him.* Rich. 54 F 15, *It boted* him not to aske why. | Dial. C. 134, *it booteth* no man to speake to them.
- it delyted him.* Apol. 72, yet *hath it delyted* ... hym to laye these lawtes to the clergyes face.
- it forthinketh me.* Conf. Tynd. 438 G 13, as we say in english *it forthinketh* me or I forthinke, and I repent or *it repenteth* me.
- it may fortune you.* Dial. Her. 130 C 8, *It maye* ... fortune ... you, to liue so long. | Dial. Her. 155 A 6, What if *it shold* fortune him to finde some texte of scripture that...
- it greueth you.* Dial. Her. 159 E 3, What *greueth it* you..., which name God by the prophete hath geuen to all good men. | Dial. Her. 152 G 10, *it greueth* not reason to looke thereon. | Lament. Stanza 8, God wolte full oft *it greued hath* my minde, That ye should go where we should seldome mete.
- it happed me.* Dial. Her. 262 E 3, *It happed* me to bee lately present. | Dial. Her. 131 F 5, *it happed* them ... the one to cast the mind to the other. | Rich. 55 C 18, *it happed* the Lord Chamberlen by the way to stay his horse. | Dial. C. 208, *it happed* my mynde to fall sodaynly from that. | Dial. C. 223, Of the matter may you gather if *it haue happed* hys reuelacions before to proue false.
- it liked her.* Dial. C. 217, *it liked* her wel to thinke thereon. | Dial. Her. 165 H 7, *it liked* him ... to bring you out of such a great perplexitie. | Aut. Lett. (stereotyped beginning), *Hit may like* yor good Grace to... | Dial. Her. 159 A 8, so *hath it lyked* our lorde ... to prouide, that...
- it makes no matter to you.* Dial. Her. 238 A 6, *it makes no mater* to you which way they stand.
- it pleased him.* Dial. C. 331, a feaste, that *it pleased* hym ... to prepare for them. | Rich. 48 (= 45) E 10, yf it please hym to take the payne. | Dial. Her. 152 A 7, *it shall please* our lorde ... to reuele it. | Dial. Her. 165 A 14, my prayour ... that *it might please* his goodness ... not to leue me perplexed.
- it repenteth mee, see forthink.*
- it semeth me.* Dial. Her. 169 A 9, *It semeth* me ... that all this goeth well.
- to whom it suffised.* Rich. 60 E 15, to whom *it suffised* to haue somewhat to say.
- it thinketh me.* Dial. Her. 163 E 1, me *thinketh it* wel said that ye haue said ¹⁾.

¹⁾ For a quotation with *it was thought onto the protectour* see § 16 β.

it yrketh me. Answer 1135 B 11, *It yrketh me to looke vppon the place agayne*. | Apol. (Wks.) 847 E 7, *It is lyttle meruayl that it seme long and tedious vnto them ..., whome it trketh to dooe so much as loke it ouer*.

The fact that this type of construction (*it thinketh me*) has two semantic equivalents — *me thinketh* (§ 18) and *I think* — shows clearly how unsettled English usage was in this respect in More's time. There is nothing which affords a certain clue to decide whether More had a predilection for any of the three constructions. The quotation with *forthink* is rather instructive; it might be inferred from it that *me forthinketh*, *me repenteth* were already felt as obsolescent by More. As a matter of fact no quotations with these two verbs in the last-mentioned construction have been discovered. The same, however, cannot be said of the other verbs.

Both the types *it thinketh me* and *I think* are developments of one and the same construction, viz. of *me þinkeþ*, *me licaþ*, *me grevez*, *hym happed*, and it can therefore not be maintained ¹⁾ that the type *I think* is a transition-form of both *it thinketh me* and *me thinketh*. The reasons commonly mentioned for the transition (v. d. Gaaf, 1904, §§ 32 ff; Trnka, 1930, p. 57) are not valid in both cases, since it is evident that the presence of the subject-word *it* prevented the noun-object (orig. dative) from being mistaken for a nominative, as it happened in e. g. *mi lord likes to have*. As a matter of fact the type *it thinketh me* had a rather long life ²⁾; with some verbs it survived into Pres. D. Eng. (e. g. *it behoves us*, *it grieves me*, *it becomes me*); with others it is now used as an archaism only; there is a quotation in OED dated 1628 of *it should fortune each*; another dated 1613 of *like it your grace*; another dated 1690 of *it will not boot you*. Those

¹⁾ As V. d. Gaaf, 1904, seems to do, who among the constructions that underwent the change from the "impersonal" to the "personal" constructions also mentions some that are of the type *it thinketh me* (Type A. e. g. *it happed hym*, p. 18; *it mystreth me*, p. 20; *yet it plesse yow*, p. 22, etc.). In his subsequent discussion of the general causes of the transition (§ 32), however, he never mentions them again.

²⁾ V. d. Gaaf, 1904, p. 143, says that the A-construction of *hap(pen)* [= *it happened me*] became obsolete about 1500. The quotations show that More still used it frequently.

constructions that stressed the non-subject function of the (pro)noun by developing the preposition *to* before it, were sure of survival (*it seems to me, it belongeth to God*).

The reason for the ultimate falling into disuse of a great number of these constructions lay in their redundancy by the side of the constructions with a full subject (e. g. *I like ; he happened*), it being a well-known fact that a language does not suffer two words or constructions of absolutely the same meaning to exist simultaneously, but always discards one of them in the long run, if no differentiation sets in.

EARLIER	LATER
<i>it abhorreth me</i> . Not in OED.	1541 Elyot, Im. of Gov. 7, <i>It abhorreth me to expresse his beastly lyuyng</i> (OED). In Pres. D. Eng. obsolete.
<i>it becometh us</i> . OED has no quotations with plain object. with <i>to</i> . c 1175 Lamb. Hom. 45, Nu <i>bicomeþ hit ... to unwilchen cristene monne to haligen þenne dei</i> (OED).	1661 Marvell, Corr. xxviii Wks. II 66, There are nakednesses which <i>it becomes us to cover</i> (OED). 1826, Scott, Lockhart viii, 230, I thought <i>it became me to make public how far I was concerned</i> (OED). 1879 T. Hardy, F. F. M. Cr. xxix, <i>It doesn't become you to talk about him</i> .
<i>it behoveth us</i> . 1388 Wyclif 2, Sam. IV 10, <i>it behofte me to yeue mede</i> (OED).	1611 Bible, Hebr. II 17, In all things <i>it behooved him to be made like vnto his brethren</i> (OED). 1855 Reed, Lect. Eng. Lit. I 28, What books <i>does it behoove me to know</i> (OED). without object : 1821 Keats, Isabel xlix, Here <i>it doth not well belong To speak</i> (OED).
<i>it belongeth to God</i> . 1413 Lydg., Pylgr. Sowle I, xii, Neuer ne left he... his burdon, as <i>tt bylongeth to a good pylgrym</i> (OED).	1690 Walker, Idiom Anglo-Latin, 65, <i>It will not boot you to say so</i> (OED). In Pres. D. Eng. archaic.
<i>it hoted him</i> . No quotations in OED ¹⁾ .	

¹⁾ OED has only earlier instances of the types *it hotes not to abide* (without object), and *him booteth* (without it).

it delyted him. Not in OED.

it forethynketh me. 1393 Langl. P. Pl. cxxi, 92, *Sore hit me forthynketh of þe dede þat ich haue don* (OED).

it may fortune him. 1487 Will. Surrey, Archeol. Coll. III 163, *At that auter before which it shall fortune me to be buried* (OED).

it greveth you. a 1300 Cursor M. 10443, *It greves me wonderly sare, I se þe leudy ma suilk care* (OED).

it happed me. 1385 Chaucer, L. G. W. 634, *Cleopatras in the see hit happed him to mete* (OED). 1509 Hawes, Past. Pleas. xvi, 30, *It may me happe a remedy to finde* (OED).

it liked her. c 1205 Lay. 8746, *Hit þe likede wel þat þu us adun læidest* (OED).

it makes no matter to you. No quot. in OED with object or with object + *to* (cf. 1478 W. Paston, P. Letters III 237, ... *how corse so euer it be it makyth no matyr.*)

it pleased hym. 1388 Wyclif, Esther ix, 13, *If it plesith the kyng* (OED). 1406 Hoccleve, La male regle, 416, *If it thee lyke and plese...* (OED).

it repenteth me. a 1400 Morte Dart. 1391, *I salle repent vs fulle sore and we ryde forthire* (OED).

Not in OED.

1588 A. King tr. Canis. Catech. Conf. 12, *It forthinkes me sore that I haue sinned.*

(Latest quotation in OED).

In Pres. D. Eng. archaic.

1628 Digby, Voy. Medit. 3, *If it should fortune each to loose other.*

(Latest quotation in OED).

In Pres. D. Eng. obsolete.

1852 Mrs. Stowe, Uncle T. C. xxv, 239, *It really grieves me to have you be so naughty* (OED).

No quotations later than 1509 in OED.

In Pres. D. Eng. obsolete.

1613 Shakesp. Henry VIII, I, i, 100, *Like it your grace. The state takes notice.*

(Latest quotation in OED).

In Pres. D. Eng. obsolete.

Not in OED. Shakespeare has only 1) *it is no matter for that...*; 2) *no matter* (see Schmidt, Shak. Lex. s. v. *matter* 6).

In Pres. D. Eng. archaic.

1822 B'ness Bunsen in Hare Life I, vi, 196, *Wherefore he follows this plan it has never pleased him to explain* (OED).

1560 Daus, tr. Sleidane's Comm. 147, *It shall not repent them of yt service.*

1878 Swinburne, Tri. Tim. xxi, *Will it not one day in heaven repent you?* (OED).

In Pres. D. Eng. archaic.

it semeth me. c 1489 Caxton, Sonnes of Aym. xxii, 400, Yf *it semeth* you that I haue doone amys... (OED).

1439 E. E. Wills, 128, ... *it shall seme* hem necessarie (OED).

it sufficeth me. c 1400 Rom. Ros. 6005, Therfore *it suffiseth* me Her good herte and her beaute (OED).

it thinketh me. c 1386 Chaucer, Knt. T. 2183, Thanne is it wysdom, as *it thyneketh* me to maken vertu of necessitee (OED).

it yrketh me. The earliest quot. in OED is our quot. from More. Not mentioned by Dekker, Kellner, V. d. Gaaf.

1584 B. R. tr. Herodotus I 6 b., *it semed* them best to deale so roughly wt them (OED).

Later quotations in OED only with *to* before the object, as in Pres. D. Eng. e. g. 1908 Bagot A. Cuthbert ix, 86, *It seems* to me that looking into holes... (OED).

In OED no quotations later than 1400. The other quotations illustrate the use with a full subject or the type *me sufficeth*.

In Pres. D. Eng. obsolete.

The latest quotation in OED is dated 1386, but : Shakesp. Hamlet V, ij, 63, does it not, *thinks't* thee, stand me now upon.

In Pres. D. Eng. obsolete.

1552 Latimer, Sermon. Lincoln, IV, 88, *It irked* them that they should pay tribute. (OED)

1850 Hawthorne, Scarlet L., III, 84, *It irks* me... that the partner of her iniquity should not stand on the scaffold by her side (OED).

In Pres. D. Eng. archaic.

THE TYPE : ME THINKETH

18. The number of verbs which in older English could be used in constructions consisting of a verb in the third person singular preceded by a noun or pronoun in the object-case and followed by the « real » subject in the shape of an infinitive construction or *that*-clause, had become much smaller in the course of the Middle English period. The few survivals of this usage which have been met with in More, are given below. The quotations in the second column illustrate More's use of the same verbs in transitional constructions, i. e. in such in which the function of the (pro)noun preceding the verb is not recognizable on account of its neutral form. The third column contains quotations in which the verbs occur in « personal » constructions.

« IMPERSONAL » —	TRANSITION —	« PERSONAL » —
me abhorreth. (Dial. Her. 258 E1, the abominable bestes (which <i>abhorreth me</i> to think on) not abhorred to fyle in the pixus.)	Dial. C. 221, <i>the man</i> shoulde not <i>abhorre</i> to heale it. Passion 1274 (=1276) E 8, <i>their heartes abhorred</i> to be beholden and sene.	Dial. C. 223, <i>he whom he</i> woulde helpe, should <i>abhorre</i> him and be loth to heare him.
them be seeme. (Dial. C. 131, vsynge them in such order as shall <i>bee seeme them.</i>)		
me lacketh. (Dial. Her. 270 E 11, I haue labored and strie- uen a good strife,... now <i>lacketh me</i> no more for me, but the crowne of iustice.)	Last Th. 90 G 10, if <i>thou</i> <i>lacke</i> thou shalte labour to thy power. Boke of F. p. 4 C8, <i>whose</i> <i>country lackt</i> defence. Apol. 924 (Wks.) H 16, least ... <i>hys scollers</i> <i>shoulde ... lacke</i> theire learnyng.	Rich. 61 H1, that thyng that... <i>ye haue long time</i> <i>lacked.</i> Dial. Her. 265 B 5, <i>the</i> <i>manne lacked</i> you there.
me list; me lust. Boke of F. p. 1 B 8, <i>me</i> <i>lyst</i> not frendly on them loke. Dial. C. 280, the Almain tong wherin... <i>me listed</i> to shewe my cunnyng. Picus 7 G 5, I know wel ye haue mought oftenti- mes, & yet may desceye an <i>ye list</i> . Dial. G. 313, the libertie to bee where <i>hym lyste</i> .	Boke of F. p. 2 C 4, as soon as <i>Fortune list</i> to laugh agayne. Dial. C. 166, as long last- ing as <i>hymselfe lust</i> . Dial. C. 224, God maye... bothe lycence and com- mand... if <i>hymself list</i> . Picus 30 A 5. For certes <i>who so list</i> , he may puruay to beare his body in earth.	Picus 10 G 6, such ser- uice as <i>she list</i> to put vnto them. Boke of F. p. 6 C 7, <i>she</i> renneth loose, and turn- eth where <i>she lyst</i> . Dial. Her. 123 H 7, <i>we</i> <i>lyst</i> not ones go moue our fote thitherwarde. Dial. C. 263, conveying them whyther <i>hee liste</i> .
me nedeth. Pageants p. 7 A 5, <i>me</i> <i>nedeth</i> not to bost.	Apol. 74, <i>a man nedeth</i> neuer to study for occa- sions therof. Dial. Her. 109 F 12, <i>What</i> <i>nedeth</i> to call him a Lutherane?	Dial. C. 127, So shall <i>we</i> <i>nede</i> ...such good worde. Rich. 62 D 5, <i>we nede</i> not...to rehearse any mo.

me rueth.

Picus 34 B 9, Graunt me
fro Sathanes seruice to
astart with whom *me*
rueth so long to haue be
thrall.

me semeth.

Last Th. 81 E 10, it is *me*
seemeth trewe...that...

Rich. 59 E 4, *him semed*
that this marriage was
not vnprofitable...

Rich. 51 C 11, *her semed*
the Cardinal... redy to
depart.

Last Th. 77 G 4, thou
wouldest as *thee* than
semed, haue bene con-
tent with such a chaunge.

Dial. Her. 130 H 4, by
which *ye would seme*,
that it were well pruned.

Passion 1328 G 2, yet
semeth me that the tother
exposycion is muche
more apte.

Dial. Her. 124 D 14,
whiche thinge sith *ye*
seme to impugne, I shall
...make you answere
therunto.

Dial. C. 321, *the thing*
semeth me so plain.

Rich. 70 G 8, *he* rather
semed him to folow hym
than to lead him.

me thinketh, me thought.

Dial. Her. 169 D 13, *me*
thynke ... he byddeth *me*
beleue them.

Last. Th. 89 B 5, god and
nature loketh not as *me*
thinketh much farther.

Dial. C. 338, *Me think* we
shall be strong ynough.

Rich. 49 B 5, *me thinketh*
it were as great commo-
ditie to them both.

Last. Th. 92 E 8, *me*
thoughte alway that...

Jest p. 2 A 11, *Him*
thought, That way was
nought.

Picus 15 C 11, the company
...descanted therof to his
rebuke, as *them thought*.

Apol. 129, yf thys be thus
...whyche I trow no man
thynketh.

Apol. 98, it appareth by
these wordes, that ney-
ther *hymselfe thinketh*,

nor hath herde so muche.

Aut. Lett. xiv, 107, If the
townys be so easy to be
wonne... than *thinketh*
his grace that...

Apol. 66, wolde she
thinke you beleue him ?

Last Th. 78 C 6, *Thinke*
ye not now that it will
be a pleasure ?

Rich. 70 A 13, *many..men*
think it vnlikely yt...

Dial. Her. 238 C 3, What

Last Th. 79 G 10, when
we be sick ... than *we*
think how meri a thing
it wer.

Picus 5 C 13, *He thought*
that vterly it could
vnneth be.

Jest p. 3 E 7, No harme
she thought.

Some Lett. I p. 279, Now
al was it so, that in mine
own mind *me thought*
*my self*¹⁾ not concluded,
yet this argument semed
me...so sutle...that I
could againe aunswere
nothing.

thought your selfe therin?
Apol. 152, such sinnes...
as *ye thinke* were good
to growe.

me were lief; lever.

Rich. 63 A 8, *them were*
leuer to leese all...then
to haue suche a villany
done them.

Boke of F. p. 6 D 4, Lo, in
this ponde be *fyshe* and
frogges both, Cast in
your nette : but *be you*
liefe or *lothe*, Hold you
content as fortune lyst
assyne.

(Last Th. 78 H 11, *he had*
leuer double his own
payn, than suffer vs to
scape from pain.)

him was (were) good ; best ; well.

Jest p. 2 G 4, of an offcerc,
Than gan enquere, What
him was best to do.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1124 H 5, a
man were almost as good
lack both as haue both.

Apol. 152, excepte...*such*
synnes ... as *ye thinke*
were good to growe.

Dial. C. 140, How many
men attayne helth of
body *that were* better for
their soules helth were
sick.

Dial. C. 255, *Some man*
that hath not two du-
cates ... *were* better for-
beare.

Dial. C. 242, Wel *were*
himself that euer was he
born.

Dial. C. 286, *They were*
in manner as good be
dead at once.

Dial. Her. 123 H 5, surely
we were worse...if we
would be so negligent.

(Apol. 65, *I wysse* such
wordes were well done
to be left on both sydes.)

me yrketh.

(Dial. C. 169, of beauen
and of hell that *yrked*
them to think of.)

Rich. 38 D 8, *This discen-*
cion beetwene hys fren-
des *yrked* hym.

¹⁾ This emphasizing of the person concerned by means of a reflexive pro-
noun in *-self* after *me thought* is very interesting. No other examples of this
phenomenon have been observed. Cf. the quot. from Dial. Her. in the second
column.

(woo worthe him).

Rich. 43 E 2, Ah woo worthe him, quod she.

Rich. 63 H 15, Woe is that Realme, that hathe a chylde to theyre kyng.
Dial. C. 154, Wo may you be that laughe now.

Dial. C. 136, Wo may they be, whych in tribulacion lacke that mynde.

19. Of the following verbs no constructions of the *me think* type have been found : *become*, *behove*, *be loth*, *eyl*, *fare*, *fayle*, *force*, *(mis)fortune*, *greve*, *grudge*, *(mis)hap(pen)*, *(mis)like*, *(fore)long*, *ought*, *please*, *reck*, *suffyse* and *thurst*. They only occur in transitional constructions and (or) in constructions with a full subject, as appears from the following list. (For *I forthynk* and *I repent* see § 17.)

TRANSITIONAL

« PERSONAL »

to become.

Pageants, Manhod l. 5, *These thynges become* a very man in dede.

to behove.

Last Th. 90 G 10, thou shalte labour... to geate *that* thee and thyne *behoueth*.

to be loth. Last Th. 92 H 2, *beggers that be* as loth to spend ought.

Dial. C. 156, *he would be loth* to haue any such grace at al.

to eyle. Dial. C. 207, What *eyleth this gyrl*.

Rich. 54 A 7, What *thing should* him aile.

to fare. Last Th. 72 G 13, *folk fare* commonly as he doth that...

Last Th. 79 E 10, surely so *fare we* by death.

Last Th. 100 F 3, in this *we fare* ...like a leude master of a ship.
Boke of F. p. 1 B 10, Thus like the fox *they fare*.

to fayle. Picus 11 D 2, as though that now...*the deceitfull worlde*, and *the cursed deuill failed*...

Rich. 67 H 3, euen *those fayle* me.
Rich. 55 A 12, *frendes fayle* fleers.

to force.

Picus 7 B 5, *he litle forced*, whether his workes went out vnder his owne name or not.

Dial. C. 263, how fewe scape and liue *he litle forceth*.

to (mis)fortune.

Apol. 7, the reder sholde in euery place where *he fortuneth* to fall in redynge...

Dial. C. 243, when *he missefortuneth* to falle.

to greue.

Apol. 45, this is the thyng whych *greueth* this blessed bretherhed a little more.

to grudge.

Dial. C. 212, *mi conscience grudgeth* me not of any thinge.

to (mis)hap(pen). Aut. Lett. xiv, 100, if *these townys happen* to proue lyke so that without long siege....they will no be (wo)nne.

Dial. C. 165, yet wyll he that we shal eat our meat when *we can happe* to get it.

Aut. Lett. xiv, 196, they might releue his ouerthrow if *he so myshapped*.

to (mis)like. Aut. Lett. xii, 55, *His grace liketh* not that themperor setteth on so slowly.

Dial. C. 260, we will assaye how *oure diner shall lyke* vs.

Picus 12 H 14, no man recketh whether *god lyke* hym or not.

Some Lett. x, p. 320, *That you feare your owne frayltie*, Margret, nothinge *misliketh* me.

to (fore)long. Answer 1036 D 11, this maketh *many folke long* to se.

Dial. C. 168, than *they lie and long* for day.

Dial. C. 135, I speake here of him *that longeth* to be comforted.

Rich. 68 A 4, *the man ... forelonged* vpwarde.

ought. Apol. 112, *Men ought* with reuerence to receyue him.

Dial. Her. 169 B 14, more *ought I* to beleue God.

to please. Jest p. 3 F 16, But I would now, comen with you,.. *yf you please*.

Boke of F. p. 6 C 5, that *the aunswere please* you not alway, Blame ye not me.

to reck. Picus 12 H 14, *no man recketh* whether god lyke hym or not.

to suffice. Picus 28 A 8, *The loue* that is deuided among many, unneth *suffiseth* that euery part haue any.

Apol. 43, *thys myche...suffiseth* for this poynt.

to thyrst. Rich. 45 (= 44) H 2, *the protectoure* so soore *thyrsted* for the finishynge of that he hadde begonne, that...

Rich. 40 E 11, whither *they sorer thyrsted* after their own weale, or our woe...it wer hard to gesse.

20. The number of constructions of the type *me thinke(th)* is not great; only *seem*, *think*, *list*, *beseem*, *need*, *doubt*, *rue*, *were leuer* and *were best* appear to have withstood the general attack on this construction in the Middle English

period. Indeed, the first three resisted so successfully that they do not give the impression of being in a state of decadence at all. These constructions are very much alive and are copiously used by More; moreover they are not exclusively found with the pronoun *me*, but take other pronouns as well (*hym, her, them, ye, thee*).

This last fact shows the erroneousness of some of the statements regarding this usage in V. d. Gaaf, Transition. In § 12 he says: « *thinketh, thought*,... accompanied by other pronouns than *me* became obsolete about 1500... The only 16th century writer that still occasionally uses such constructions is Gavin Douglas »; in § 79: « In the 16th century works the old construction [i. e. *me list*] only occurs sporadically »; and in § 66 [on *rue*]: « The A-construction [i. e. *me rueth*] kept its ground till about the end of the 15th century. »

21. The construction in quot. Rich. 63: *them were leuer*, with the verb *to be*, has a semantic equivalent in the collocation with *to have*: *we had leuer*. Of these two constructions the latter seems to have been the commoner, to judge from the great number of constructions with *had* that have been found: ¹⁾

Last Th. 98 E 3, Wonder it is that the worlde is so mad, that we *had leuer* take sinne with pain, than vertue with pleasure. | Last Th. 78 H 11, he *had leuer* double his own payn, than suffer vs to scape from pain. | Apol. 63, he *had as leue* his ennuy were let alone. | Apol. 150, then *had I as leue* the iudge might do that as they. | Dial. C. 328, Some man shall you see that abideth dedly torment, and suche as *some other had leuer dye* then endure.

Of these constructions the last one deserves special notice; the construction clearly betrays its origin, and the meaning of *some other had leuer dye*, etc. is easier to grasp if *some one* is looked upon as a « dative » object instead of as a subject.

Another case of contamination or blending is contained in the following quotation:

¹⁾ For a discussion of the blending of the three constructions (*them were lever*, *they were lever*, *they had lever*) the reader may be referred to Hall 1881, Stoffel 1887, and especially to the exhaustive treatment in V. d. Gaaf 1904, § 44 ff.

Dial. C. 140, How many men attayne helth of body that *were* better for their soules helth *were* sick.

Since in the other quotations the collocation *were better*, *were leuer* is followed by an infinitive, the form *were* in *were sick* seems exceptional. We should expect : *men that were better be sick*.

22. There are in the quotations in the first column of § 18 a few doubtful cases, viz. those with *yrketh them* and *abhorreth me*. If the words *that* (hell *that* yrked them to think of) and *which* (bestes *which* abhorreth me to thinke on) may be looked upon as subjects, the construction properly belongs in the third column. It is, however, more plausible to assume that *that* is an object *to think of* and *which* an object *to thinke on*, so that the clauses are equivalent to *[it] yrked them to thinke of that (= hell)* ; *[it] abhorreth me to think on them (= bestes)*. And so their place in the first column is defensible.

23. Most of the causes of the transition of the construction *me thinketh* to the present-day idiom *I think* are found instanced in the second column (transitional constructions) :

a. In the majority of the cases the object was not a pronoun, but a noun (woe is that *realme*; the *protectour* thyrsted). This noun could catachrestically be looked upon as a subject, as its object-character was no longer to be inferred from its form, and as there was virtual concord between subject and verb. Even in the case of plural nouns this concord seemed to exist, since a verb in *-eth* could also have a plural subject in More's language. (Picus 10 E 1, Here *foloweth* the epistles. | Dial. C. 175, the wordes *soundeth*. | Dial. Her. 115 G 9, as the wordes of the scripture *showeth*. | Dial. Her. 128 C 8, they twaine...*doth* and truely shewe me ¹⁾). With the verb *list* there was nearly always concord, as it did not take endings as a rule. The same may be said of the forms ending in *-ed* and the other preterites (with the exception of the *thou*-forms).

Quite naturally in all these cases the pronouns *he*, *she*, *they*, etc. interchanged places with the nouns. The change

¹⁾ Cf. Staden 1903, pp. 41 ff; Grünziger 1909, § 234; Knecht 1911; Delcourt 1914, p. 153-4; Franz 1924, § 156.

from *thinketh*, *seemeth*, into *think(e)*, *seem(e)* was probably due to analogy with the *list*-forms ¹⁾.

b. In such forms as a man *were* almost as good lack both misunderstanding of the original meaning was increased by the fact that the form *were* («subjunctive») agreed with all kinds of subjects.

c. The invariability of words like *that* (Last Th. 92 H 2, beggers *that* be loth) facilitated the progress ²⁾.

d. The forms *myself*, *himself*, etc., were in equally frequent use as subjects and as objects, e. g. : Dial. C. 222, a certayne apparicion shewed vnto hym, as hymselfe saith... | Dial. C. 218, and hymself is ... such as I reken for ryght honest. | Dial. C. 228, Besides this, hymselfe...seeth and perceiue the thing. | Dial. C. 139, Ourself can better tell then he. It was therefore impossible to realize the exact function of these words in units like : Dial. C. 224, God may bothe licence and commaund if hymself list ³⁾.

e. As, with the wearing off of inflectional endings, a fixed word order had become essential for the recognition of the functions of the words in a unit, it had become more and more natural to consider the pre-verbal word in declarative sentences as the subject. Hence the eventual ousting of *me*, *him*, etc., from this front-position.

f. Another cause of the transition is to be found in the not infrequent juxtaposition of the two constructions :

Apol. 98, it appereth by these wordes that neyther *hymselfe thinketh*, nor *hath herde* so much. | Dial. Her. 215 C 4, *himself liked* it, and *allowed* it, and therefore wrote it out. | Conf. Tynd. 725 F 4, these heretikes receiue such as *lyke them* and refuse such as *they list*. | Debell. 934 C 11, ...*me thought* and yet *thynke* ⁴⁾. | Rich. 68 A 4, *the man had* a high heart and *forelonged vpwarde*.

24. So far only one kind of transition has been dealt with, viz. the change from *me thinketh* to *I think*, in which the new construction consists of subject + verb, but has no «da-

¹⁾ Trnka 1930, p. 55

²⁾ V. d. Gaaf 1904, § 36

³⁾ This cause of the transition is not mentioned in V. d. Gaaf 1904. Nor in Trnka 1930.

⁴⁾ If, however, *thinke* stands for *thinketh* (as it often does) this instance is not to the point.

tive » object. It is clear that constructions consisting of subject + verb + object (This discension yrked hym ; if the answer please you ; our dinner shall like us ; these things become a man ; conscience grudgeth me ; the thyng whych greueth us) cannot be explained in the same way, as the original « dative » objects are still there ¹⁾. It cannot therefore be said that here also the original « dative » was replaced by a « nominative ». Evidently these constructions are direct descendants from the *it*-constructions, so that the development is : *it yrked him* > *that yrked him, the discension yrked him* | *it greueth me* > *this greueth me, the thing greueth me*. This kind of transition would then be much easier to account for than the other.

SUBJECT NOT EXPRESSED

25. Before *being*.

There are a few instances in More of *being*, instead of *they being, I being, it being*, etc., as an introductory word to a clause-equivalent :

Dial. Her 214 H 11, But howe coulede that be so against so many proues sworne, and deposyng the matter vpon theyr othes, *beyng* though they were but men, yet men of wit and honestye.

Dial. C. 280, I lyked my selfe the better, because mee thoughte my woordes *beeynge* but a straungyer, wente yet with some grace in the Almain tong.

Aut. Lett. V 25, after that his grace was cummen home hither and had dined *being* VI of the clokke in the nyght I offred my selfe agayne to his grace.

The first of these quotations is the earliest instance of this usage recorded in OED. From this, it may perhaps be inferred that this idiom was not yet very old in More's time. Later instances are : c 1590 Marlowe, Faust, this makes me wonder above the rest, that *being* in the dead time of winter ... how you should come by these grapes. | 1597 Shakesp. 2 Henry iv, II, i, 203, You loyter heere too long, *being* you are to take souldiers up. | 1641 Best. Farm. Bks. 120, They went all for halfe gates, *beinge* that they coulede not bee discerned.

In Pres. D. Eng. the usage is archaic or dialectical.

¹⁾ The « dative » sometimes appears in the form of a prepositional group with *to* : Pageants, Chyldhood l. 4, But would *to God* these hateful bookes all, were in a fyre brent to pouder small.

it being is used in the following passage : Passion 1349 A 12, he discerneth not the bodie of our lorde, that is to wit, considereth it not ... as he ought to dooe, *it being* the body of our lorde as it is.

26. After *as*.

Dial. C. 221, whyche kynde (scil. of lies) S. Hieron. *as* by diuers places in his boks *apereth*, taketh not fully for so much. | Last Th. 99 D 5, nature ... is sustained with right litle (*as* wel *appered* by the olde fathers.) | Dial. Her. 189 G 13, Saint Austine *as is written* by possidonius ... cured another with his prayour.

Though there are numerous instances besides the above, in More, of the "absence" of a subject-word after *as*, the "absence" may not be looked upon as a regular feature :

Picus 15 C 11, the company of the court ... diuersly (*as it is* their vnmanerly maner) descanted therof to his rebuke. | Picus 15 D 8, his vnclie ... comforteth and encorageth him, *as it is* in the course therof eident. | Rich. 58 E 7, After that king Edward the fourthe had deposed kinge Henry the Sixt, ... determining himself to mary, *as it was* requisite bothe for himself and for the realme, he sent...

Sometimes the word *as* can be looked upon as the subject, as in the following quotation :

Apol. 152, excepte there be any such synnys ... *as ye thinke were good to growe*.

27. After *so*.

Dial. Her. 156 D 17, as it was wryten by men, *so was* indited by God. | Dial. Her. 171 E 7, I wil ... proue you the trueth ... of the church by the trueth of them. And *so semeth* me good reason.

If the word *so* is considered the subject, these quotations are not relevant. Pres. D. Eng. would seem to require *it* here : Tennyson, *Dora*, 26, But in my time a father's word was law, And *so it shall be* now for me.

28. After *and* and *but*.

Apol. 92, yf they were inuited in to relygyon on the other fashon, and *were* sayde vnto them thus :... | Apol. 179, when that after I sealed a commissyon and sent it vpon the assaye, it made theyr hartes fainted and *were* so well come downe that they layed all the wyght to a fewe lewde fellows. | Conf. Tynd. 655 H 15, but as the church of Christe is but one so be there of those a vengeable maynye, and *be* not comprehended vnder any one church. | Conf. Tynd. 367 A 12, ... as Moises for necessitie left the children of Israel vncircumcised, and *were* yet thought to be in no worse case than they that were circumcised. | Conf. Tynd. 439 D 8, Here seemeth a godlye thyng, and *is* in dede very

deuelishe. | Apol. 149, For amendes the law geueth him none against any of theym, nor it wer not well done he sholde *but may* whan he is after by other. xii. acquyte, goe geatte hym home and be mery.

Delcourt ¹⁾ suggests that this word *and* has the value of a pronoun, so that we may read : Here seemeth a godlye thyng *which* is in dede verye deuelishe. This explanation tallies with the quotations he mentions himself, but it is impossible to account in the same way for the usage in the first two quotations of the above collection. It would be better to ascribe the absence of the subject to the possibility — greater than in Pres. D. Eng. — of omitting the subject if it could be easily gathered from the context. There is plenty of evidence that this kind of syntactical economy was the established usage in older English. Compare : Aelfr. Hom., þe gelicode gode þeos ben, *and cwæþ* to Salome... Chaucer, And efter that hire thought gan for to clere, *and sayde*... | In Shakespeare we find : Wint. T., IV, iv, 168, They call him Doricles, *and boasts* himself To haue a worthy feeding.

In Pres. D. Eng. this omission of the subject is not possible.

29. Before *to be*.

Dial. Her. 161 E 9, By what scripture *is* evidently knowen that euery man and woman hath power to minister the sacrament of baptisme ? | Dial. Her. 243 E 12, al these thinges *which is* not possible for vnlearned men to attayn vnto. | Picus 5 B 12, where he so behaved him self, that was wondre to beholde, how all the audience reioyced to heare hym. | Apol. 115, this thousand yere was neuer the tyme that all so dyd.

Properly speaking it is not correct to assume absence of the subject here, as it is really expressed in the unit that follows. It may be said that in the first three cases Pres. D. usage would require *it* before the verb, and in the last the word *there*. The words *which* and *that* (quotations 2 and 3) may also play a part.

30. In units opening with *as for*.

Apol. 71, *as for* the fawtes of some partyculare partys, ... *is* nothing that oughte of reason be rekened for the cause of this diuysyon. | Apol. 77, For *as for* the speche of folys *is* not to be compted for a prove. | Last

¹⁾ 1914, pp. 196 : "il n'y a en apparence aucune raison pour que la ... conjonction ne prenne pas toute la valeur d'un pronom".

Th. 82 G 15, *As for* wrathe and enuy *be* the knowen children of pride. | Last Th. 93 B 5, *As for* the gloten *is* redy to here of temperance...when his hely is wel filled. | Dial. Her. 236 B 1, *as for* these thre matters ... *proued* very tryfles. | Jest 2 C 5, *As for* the price *could* him not miscontent. | Rich. 59 G 4, *As for* possibilitie of more inheritance ..., *is* often the occasion of more trouble. | Dial. Her. 115 C 4, *as for* the richesse of the temple..., *coude* make no matter to the people. | Apol. 51, *as for* all the landes & fees that I haue in all England ... *is* not ... worth yerely ... the somme of full fyfty pounde. | Debell. 936 B 11, But *as for* me to peruse hys whole book of deuision thorow was no part of my purpose.

Delcourt (1914 pp. 214, 215), Reed (1931 Phil. Notes p. 207), and OED (s. v. *as for*, 33 b) apparently share the opinion that the subject is missing in these constructions. They evidently compare this usage after *as for* with the usage in Pres. D. Eng., no doubt assuming that *as for* had the same meaning in More's time as it has now, viz. *as regards*; — which seems rather doubtful. What the exact meaning was, is difficult to state. But it may have been felt as an emphasizing attribute to the following noun, in some respects resembling the word *now* in e. g. 1597 Hooker, Eccl. Pol. V, XIX § 2, *Now* the principal thing required in a witness is fidelity. | 1881 Jowett, Thucid. I, 150, *Now* the Archarnians are famous for their skill in slinging.

Besides, to speak of omission in constructions that never ¹⁾ occur in another form seems illogical and as fallacious as the statement that in contact-clauses (e. g. this is the boy we spoke of) the word *that* is missing.

That there is nothing omitted in the constructions with *as for* is still more clearly brought out by the fact that the noun immediately following *as for* is hardly ever repeated in the form of a pronoun, whatever function in the sentence it may have. Cf. Apol. 125, But *as for* his myche people I sette not myche by. A. I. Taft, who (in his edition of The Apology, 1929, 27) interpolates the word *hym* after the words *I coude* in the following unit : 134 l. 6, and *as for* Constantyne hymselfe I coude [*hym*] in good faith no thanke, misunderstands this interesting idiom.

The construction with *as for*, as instanced here, seems to

¹⁾ See 197 C 12; 114 C 8; 211 A 7; 285 A 13; 217 F 1; 673 D 8; 858 H 5; 1226 C 8; 236 H 5.

date from More's time, the earliest quotation in OED being dated 1525 : *Ld. Berners, Froiss. II, cxlvi, 756, As for these townes wyll neuer tourne frenche* | The latest is : 1586, *Cogan, Haven, Health, 203, As for herbs and fruits, especially raw, at all times are to be refused.*

The usage does not occur in Shakespeare. (Cf. Schmidt, 1902).

31. In commands.

In syntactical units expressing a command, the lexicographical form of the verb is used without subject word.

Last Th. 75 A 1, *Looke vpon his holy apostles* | Picus 7 G 8, *If I be ought in your dette, I shall paie by and by. If ye be in myne, paye me, either now ... or hereafter.* | Apol. 186, *yl this tynker were detected ... and therupon sent for ... he sholde ... say bring me forth mine accuser* | Apol. 186, *suppose me now that a tynker ... were now become hymselfe an vssher* | Boke of F. p. 5 B 7, *Now haue I shewed you bothe : chese whiche ye lyst.* | Apol. 68 *Lo thus yt begynneth.*

It appears from these quotations that this construction was not only used in commands, but also in exhortations, directions, cautions ¹⁾, etc. The non-expressed subject is the person(s) spoken to. The usage was no innovation ; it has survived into Pres. D. Eng. Only the word *lo*, profusely used in More's argumentative prose, is archaic now.

32. The following set of quotations shows that it was not exceptional for the subject to be expressed in commands, exhortations, etc.

a) Last Th. 89 D 3, *Seke ye fyrste for the Kingdom of heuen ...* | Boke of F. p. 6 C 5, *If that the answere please you not alway, Blame ye not me* | Picus 13 A 3, *Come ye my blessed children, possesse ye the kingdome that hath been prepared for you* | Picus 15 C 3, *Fare ye well.* | Picus 15 F 12, *If the worlde ... hate you : know ye, that it hated me before you.* | Apol. 180, *feare ye not for that syr* | Picus 12 D 11, *But crie thou therfore with the prophete : ...* | Picus 16 C 12, *goe thou boldly forth thy journey.* | Picus 16 D 11, *Let dead men alone with dead men, folow thou me.* | Picus 12 E 15, *Wherefore my child, goe thou neuer about to please them, whom vertue displeseth.*

¹⁾ To express disapprobation More often uses the exclamation *go to*. *Debell. 1023 C 12, Well goe to now : let vs rehearse hys owne wordes againe.* Also 47 F 13 ; 673 E 8 ; 1031 F 13 ; 1107 B 9.

b) Picus 13 A 1, our lord shall say : *Go ye cursed people* into euer-lasting fyer. | Last Th. 84 F 11, Nowe *come* foorth *ye proude prisoner*.

c) Picus 13 E 8, myne ignorances, *remembre* not *good lorde*.

The subject always follows the verb and is in a) the pronoun *ye* or *thou*, in b) the pronoun *ye* + noun or *thou* + noun, and in c) noun only.

Pres. D. Eng. has both front- and post-position of the subject, e. g. *You take* it from me that he lies. | *Come you* here, my boy ¹⁾.

33. The character of the collocation verb + pronoun is doubtful in : Apol. 66, I pray you good man ... *gete you* shortly hense | Pageants, Fame l. 1, Fame I am called, *maruayle you* nothing. | Rich. 53 B 13, My lord, quod the lord Hastings, neuer *doute you*.

It is possible to look upon *you* in these units as a reflexive pronoun. Compare : Dial. C. 216, the man waxed wroth ... and bode her *get her* in. | Dial. C. 338, I *fear me* when I heare that. | Apol. 180, And with suche good hope the good man *goeth hym* home. (See the paragraphs on reflexive objects.)

34. The usage illustrated in the following quotations deserves further discussion :

Last Th. 85 G 11, enuy is ... the doughter of pryde in so farreforth that as *this holy doctor sayeth*, *strangle the mother and* thou destroyest the doughter. | Dial. Her. 120 F 1, *loke me* thorow christendome, *and ... ye shall finde the frute of those*. | Apol. 58, *loke me* dyalogue ... *and ye shall clerely se that ...* | Picus 27 A 1, *Take* euery sporte, that menne can thee deuise, *And among them all ... Thou shalt no pleasure comparable finde*. | Debell. 980 C 2, *reade the stories who so will, and he shall finde bothe by Platina and Cronica ... that ...*

It is evident that the verbs in these quotations have not the same function as those in the quotations of § 32 : they do not express a command, an exhortation, etc. The passages consist of two syntactical units connected by *and* and resemble hypothetical statements, the protasis containing the condition,

¹⁾ The usage in the Rolle and Wyclifite Psalters and in the Auth. Version is discussed by Muir, 1935. On p. 306 he says : " Another peculiarity of W. [= the Wyclifite Ps.] is the insertion of the subject after imperatives. Therefore when R. [= Rolle's Ps.] and A [= Auth. V.] have 'Aske of me' W. reads 'Aske thou of me' "

the apodosis the conclusion or the consequence ¹⁾. The non-expressed subject of the protasis can be gathered from the apodosis, in which as a rule it is expressed. This is, however, not necessarily so : Rich. 51 F 15, *kepe* one safe and both be sure. | Dial. C. 293, *Break* one of his commandementes and break al. *Forsake* one poynte of hys faythe and forsake al.

The usage was known before More and has survived into Pres. D. Eng.

35. All the above quotations show that More had only one form for the singular and the plural ; he does not make use of the form in *-eth*, *-es*, when addressing more than one person, a usage common in older English, e. g. c 897, Ælfred, Cur. Past. 343, Nime ge and *settath*. | 971 Blickl. Hom. 241, *Behealdaþ* eow and *zeseoþ* hine. | 13 ... Cursor M 15233 (Cott.), *Takes* and *etes* o þis bred. The usage seems to have dropped into disuse not long before More. It may be inferred from the following evidence that vacillation set in about the middle of the 15th century.

a. with *-eth*. c 1425 Cursor M. 661 (Trin.), *Beþ* ware & *takeþ* good entent. | c 1440 Gesta Rom. I, 4, (Harl. Ms.), *seith* nowe, goode men. | 1482 Monk of Evesham (Arb.) 27, *Settith* before vs the bred (OED).

b. without *-eth*. c 1440 York Myst. xxxi, 146, *Saie* ! beene venew in bone fay, Ne plesew et a parle remoy.

36. The unchanged form of the verb could also be used to express a command, a wish, an exhortation, etc., in reference to the first person plural (cf. French *donnons* ; Italian *diamo*).

971 Blickling Hom. 11, *Arweorþian* we Crist on binne asetene. | a 1250 Owl & Night. 177 (Cott.) Ac *lete* we awei þos cheste. | 1593 Shaksp. Rich³. I ii 6, *Put* we our quarrell to the will of heauen (OED).

Of this usage only one instance has been found in More ; it is slightly different, owing to the absence of the pronoun *we* :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1263 B 6, When we feele vs to bolde : *remember* our owne fieblenesse. When we fele vs to faynte : *remember* Chrystes strenthe (<*viz.* strength).

¹⁾ Jespersen 1924 p. 315 uses the term « imaginary imperative » to denote this construction ; Kruisinga 1931 § 178, points out that in Pres. D. Eng. rising intonation at the end of the first sentence makes it clear that « the function of the stem is that of a subordinate clause ».

INTRODUCTORY *THERE*

37. a) Picus 2 D 10, *there appeared a fierye garland*. | Picus 31 C 8, oft from his eyes *there falleth* many a tere. | Picus 1 E 8, The workes are suche, that ... I suppose ... ther commeth none in your hande more profitable. | Last Th. 85 F 8, Whan this condicion was offered, than *began there* som courtesye betwene the enuyous and the couetyse. Picus 6 E 9, *fell there* neuer so great misaduenture ... he could neuer ... be moued to wrath.

b) Rich. 66 E 10, With this *there was* a gret shout, crying King Richarde. | Picus 5 A 4, it might appere, *there were* nothing in any of them, that were vnknown. | Dial. Her. 195 A 13, vp in a wood *is there* a chapel. | Dial. C. 142, *ther was* dew to that synne ... a far greater punishment. | Rich. 49 (= 46) B 8, from that tyme hytherwaide, was *there* neuer so vndeouwle a kinge, that durst that sacred place violate. |

c) Picus 4 B 9, *ther were* in them many thinges straunge.

Though in some of these quotations there is still a certain reminiscence of the old local or demonstrative character in the word *there* [as in : vp in a wood is there a chapel], in the majority of cases *there* seems to have been reduced to a mere anticipatory element serving to occupy the place of the subject which comes later. It differs from the proleptic *it* in that the verb agrees in number with the following subject.

This usage with *there* as an introductory subject is exclusively found a) with verbs that do not require a complement (*fall, come*), and b) with the verb *to be*, forming what Jespersen calls "existential sentences". Here, as with the proleptic *it*, the end-position of the full subject is not always in the first place due to a desire to create a feeling of suspense and thus attract attention more forcibly to the subject, but rather to the fact that front-position of the subject would not make a properly balanced unit ¹⁾.

38. Constructions like the following, in which *it* takes the place of *there* have not been met with : c 1300 Havelok 154, *nis it* no corn... ? | c 1603 Beggar's Dau. Bedn. Gr. I, 1, *Itt was* a blind beggar, had long lost his sight ... | 1798 Coleridge, Anc. Mar., *It is* an ancient mariner, And he stoppeth one of three.

¹⁾ This is also brought out by the fact that *there* is not used where a proper balance can be created in another way : Picus 8 B 9, he answered, that he had leuer take him to mariage, as that thing in which was lesse seruitude, and not so much ieopardie.

39. One kind of units opening with *there* deserves special notice.

Picus 5 D 4, *There was* nothing passed him ... of those captious subtilties and canillacions of sophistrie. | Dial. Her. 208 D 10, *There is* a meane *may* serve betwene both. | Conf. Tynd. 513 D 13, *Then was there* yet one texte remayned. | Dial. Her. 212 H 4, And therefore if his iudges wronged him, *there was* neuer man *had* right.

Here is a case of grammatical economy, *nothing* in *There was nothing passed him* performing a function in two syntactical units. This is an instance of what Jespersen (1928 pp. 132 ff) calls "contact clauses", Kruisinga (1931 § 2293) "unconnected clauses", and Curme (1933 p. 236) "paratactic clauses".

The usage was known before More's time ¹⁾, as the following evidence proves :

a 1366 Chaucer, Rom. Rose 1239, *Ther is* no cloth *stllet*h bet on damiselle, than doth roket. | 1470-85 Malory, Arth. xiii, 616, *There was* no knight *knewe* from whens he came. | 1470-85 Malory, Arth. 212, 4, *there were* many knyghtes *bare* hym record *nyghe* thre score.

In the earlier Middle Eng. texts, however, instances do not frequently occur. Jespersen (1928 p. 135) points out that one of the reasons may lie in the character of these texts, which is far from being colloquial. More's using the construction so frequently is rather striking, as contact clauses are often said ²⁾ to be avoided by such writers as are strongly influenced by Latin syntax. It is well known that Samuel Johnson called the omission of the relative a colloquial barbarism.

In Pres. D. Eng. such contact clauses are profusely used in unconstrained diction.

TWO SUBJECTS

40. It often happens that a subject standing in the first part of a sentence is repeated by means of a personal pronoun farther on in the sentence.

Dial. C. 168, *But some men* nowe whan thys calling of god causeth them to be sadde, *they* be lothe to leaue *theyr* synneful lustes. | Rich. 47 F 3, Howe bee it *much*e of *this* *mischiefe* if wyse menne woulde sette

¹⁾ In Malory instances are frequent (Dekker 1932 § 107).

²⁾ Jespersen 1924 p. 136.

their handes to, it ¹⁾ myghte bee amended. | Last Th. 97 C 2, The holy scripture rehearseth, that in desert *the children of Israel* when they had sitten down & wel eaten & dronken, then roose *they* vp & playd the ydolaters. | Debell. 930 D 2, *this piece* it was told me that in the new aunswere *it* was reasoned at length, & set forth very lustely.

Instances abound. This usage may not be looked upon as a grammatical solecism; it finds its natural explanation in the fact that in lively language the subject springs forth in the speaker's mind as the most important thing before it is felt as a subject ²⁾ and is then repeated in the form of a personal pronoun in its regular place immediately preceding or following the verb, especially when a lengthy group of words intervenes. The repetition is, however, not necessary, as appears from those passages in which More avoids this kind of pleonasm, e. g. Apol. 909 (Wks.) D 7, And *myselfe* whan I was chaunceler, vpon such secret informacion *haue* put some out of commission.

Though it is dangerous to make statements concerning intonation and stress, it seems almost certain that this usage afforded a device to emphasize the most important word: Dial. Her. 163 H 13, The *wordes* that God speake to Moyses, where *thei* not goddes wordes all...? | Dial. Her. 122 G 14, *those* which be the best temples of god in their soules, *thei* most vse to come to the temple of stone. If this is true, Delcourt's statement (1914 p. 222) that in these cases "le pronom personnel répète sans raison un sujet" would be wrong.

More does not deviate from older practice:

c 1400 Mandeville, 129, 13, *Men of þat contree* whan here frendes ben seke þei hangen hem vpon trees (M). | 1470-75 Malory, 222, 25, But at the laste *the black knyght* within an houre and a half *he* felle doune of hors in swoune (D).

The following quotations illustrate the usage in St. John Fisher and in Spenser: Fisher, Eng. Wks. EETS., 305, 20, *This same noble prynces yf* she had contynued in this worlde, *she* sholde dayly haue herde & sene mater & cause of sorowe. | Spenser, F. Q. I, 2, 9, But subtil *Archimago*, when his guests He saw divided ... *he* praised his devilish arts (S).

¹⁾ Note the place of the comma.

²⁾ Compare: Dial. C. 140, *Some yonge lonely lady*, lo that is yet good inough, God seeth a storm come toward *her*. | Apol. 154, And therefore *thys patche of thys pacyfyer* ... euery wyse man may bere wytnesse that there is lytle wyt *theryn*. — What at first sight seems the subject turns out to be an adjunct.

In Pres. D. Eng. the construction is still used in popular and colloquial speech, e. g. : William Allen White, *A Certain Rich Man*, Ch. viii, Now, they ain't many women that would just let a man stand up like that and give her daughter away under her nose, but *my wife, she's been well trained* (C.).

Special attention should be given to those cases in More in which the emphasizing character of the repetition is incontestable, as in : Dial. Her. 346, he careth not to haue his flesh shyne *he*, nor like a sparke of fyre to skippe about in the skye. | Dial. Her. 197 H 10, Beleue in the deuill quod *he*, nai nai syr I haue work ynough to beleue in god *I*.

This usage is frequently met with in the prose passages in Ben Jonson's plays : Ev. Man Out of His H. IV, v, 16, Nay, we have no art to please our friends, *we* ! | Poetaster III, i, 603, I have stood up and defended you, *I*. | Poetaster III, i, 624, I'll make a gathering for him, *I*.

41. After the relative *but that* More expresses the subject by means of a referring word :

Picus 18 E 4, There is no creature *but that it needeth* other creatures. | Conf. Tynd. 643 D 1, He shall not lyghtly fynde any of those olde, *but that he vsed* allegories.

This seems to be a neologism dating from More's time. OED has no earlier instances (s. v. *but* 12 b.). In Pres. D. Eng. both *that* and the referring word are dropped, e. g. : 1866, Kingsley, Herew. xli, 495, Hardly one of the Frenchmen round, *but looked on* Hereward as a barbarian Englishman.

Note. — For the subject of the infinitive (Dial. C. 130, *the bodye not to feel* that it feeleth, all the witte in the worlde cannot bring about) and of the form in *-ing* (Picus 13 F 15, I haue passed now the boundes of a letter, *the mater drawing* me forth), see the chapters on these verbal forms.

CONCORD IN NUMBER BETWEEN SUBJECT AND VERB

42. In accordance with older and with Pres. D. usage, a singular subject requires a singular form of the verb and a plural subject a plural form of the verb.

Picus 15 H 9, *God hath* exalted him. | Dial. C 205, in the night eueri *bushe ... semeth* a theefe. | Dial. 201, than *are we* safe. | Boke of F. p. 6 D 14, in this ponde *be fryshe* and *frogges*. | Picus 4 A 5, those *conclusions were* good and standyng.

For exceptions, such as : Apol. 51, all the *landes* and *fees* that I have in all England ... *is* not at this day ... wurth yerely ... the somme of full fifty ponde, see § 48.

43. When the subject is plural, the verb not infrequently ends in *-(e)n*.

Dial. G 204, in the night *walken* all the beastes of the woods. | Conf. Tynd. 668 A 10, And frere Huskyn, Tindal, Suingles *glosen* it. | Rich. 36 F 10, al the bandes broken that *binden* manne and manne together. Picus 18 E 7, as philosophers and diuines *prouen*. | Dial. Her. 121 C 11, They that *gone* on pilgrimage. | Picus 19 D 2 ... euyll men *forsaken* reason, whiche standeth al in the soule, and folowen sensualitie, that standeth al in the bloode. | Also : Conf. Tynd. 411 G 2, *dependen* ; Conf. Tynd. 454 B 6, *preachen* ; Conf. Tynd. 540 A 8, *dwellen* ; Conf. Tynd. 599 D 11, *consenten* ; Answer 1103 G 5, *murmouren*.

This is evidently a survival of Middle English usage (Midland dialect) : c 1300 Debate Body & Soul (p. 48 in Emerson, Middle Eng. It.), þat alle þine frend *ben* fro þe fledde. | c 1300 Story of Joseph (Emerson, M. E. R. p. 12) þe lene *haven* þe fette freten.

In later English such endings are occasionally found in Spenser, Wyatt, Surrey, Lyly and Shakespeare. It is well known that Ben Jonson called the disappearance of the *-en* ending "a great blemish to our tongue".

43. There are a few instances of the plural ending *-(e)s*. Picus 30 D 1, [god] ... whom hell, earth, and all the heauen *obaise*. | Apol. 851 H 17 (Wks.), they *exercises* his lawe written in their heartes. | Passion 1499 G 1, some *thinke*s it was Saynte James | Passion 1380 B 6, whyle such persons ... *beginnes* lesse and lesse to mislyke it.

This form is probably due to the analogy of the singular form. In older English it occurred in the Northern and East Midland dialects ¹⁾, though rarely in prose texts ²⁾.

The first two quotations should be read with a certain reserve, since they are taken from the second part of « A Treatise vpon the passion ... » (pp. 1350-1405), which was perhaps not written by More in English ; it opens with the following introduction : « An exposicion of a parte of the passion of our sauour Jesus Christe, made in latine by syr Thomas More Knight (while he was prisoner in the tower of London) ».

The word *obaise* in the first quotation allows of a threefold interpretation. It may be the plural of the verb *to obey* and then its place in this section is justified ; it may be the uninflected form of the verb *obeis*, the latest quotation of which in OED is dated 1500. Or it may be the third person *singu-*

¹⁾ Wyld 1924 § 329.

²⁾ Delcourt 1914, p. 154 footnote 4.

lar in -s ¹⁾ of the verb *obay*, it being by no means exceptional for More to use a singular form of the verb after an enumeration. Cf. § 48.

For a few isolated plurals in -s in Shakespeare, see Franz 1926 § 155; in Spenser, Sugden 1936 § 208.

44. The third person plural of the verb frequently ends in *-eth*.

Last Th. 87 A 2, the lawes ... *consydereth*, *pondereth*, and *punisheth*, the trespasses done to euery manne. | Picus 12 A 11, the delites of this world, which in the seking wery vs, in the hauing *blindeth* vs, in the lesing *peineth* vs. | Picus 10 E 1, Here *foloweth* thre epistles of the saide Picus. | Last Th. 72 D 3, These wordes *geueth* vs al a sure medicine yf we *forslouth* not the receiuyng. | Picus 20 B 6, my raines ... not only now *enclineth* me not to sinne, but also *chldeth* me.

One of the striking features of More's English is this frequent use of the ending *-eth* in the third person plural, by the side of the uninflected form of the verb ²⁾). Though various scholars ³⁾ duly mention the occurrence of this form in *-eth*, and account for its origin, no attempt seems to have been made to find the reason(s) why in one case the short form, in another case the long form is used. The hypothesis seems untenable that so careful a writer as More should have used both forms at random and unsystematically. It is possible that in a language in which short forms were so often used to express or help to express modality, the forms in *-eth* afforded an efficient means to emphasize reality.

Plurals in -s or *-th* were both considered proper in the 16th century. Endings in *-th* repeatedly occur in Alex Barclay, e. g., Ship of F., Stanza 966 (Engl. Versions, p. 50); st. 257 (idem p. 60); st. 637 (idem p. 62). Even Spenser ⁴⁾ and Shakespeare ⁵⁾ occasionally use them.

¹⁾ There are a few indubitable cases of -s third person singular in More: Conf. Tynd. 612 A 14, right seldome *it happes* that ... | id. 539 E 6, the holye *gost that kepes* a mannes harte. | Boke of F. p. 3 B 2, *Fortune* alone ... vnstable here and there among them *flittes*.

²⁾ Sentences like the following are therefore quite regular: Rich. 40. H 4, I doubte not but *shee* nowe as sore *myndeth* it, as *we* the lette therof. At first sight the constructions seems to be sylleptic.

³⁾ Staden 1903; Bauch 1935 p. 234; Franz 1924 § 156; Wyld 1924 § 329.

⁴⁾ Sugden 1936 § 238.

⁵⁾ Franz 1924 § 153.

45. After the relative words *that*, *which*, *who*, as the verb agrees in number with the real subject expressed in the antecedent :

Dial. Her. 121 C 11, *They that gone* on pilgrimage. | Picus 5 H 10, let vs speake of *them that belonge* to the achening of noble actes. | Rich. 45 (= 44) D 2, *such of the Dukes seruantes* as rode with the cartes ... *that were taken* ... they shewed vnto the people. | Rich. 58 A 3, *such as had wit*, & *were* in auctoritic. | Picus 5 H 7, But now let vs passe ouer *those powers* of his soule, *which appertaine*, to vnderstanding and knowlage. | Rich. 47 B 8, *theeues*, of whiche these places bee full, and which neuer fall fro the crafte.

The following quotations illustrate concord in person after a relative pronoun.

Picus 32 C 7, O holy God ... whiche heauen and earth *directest* all alone. | Dial. C. 201, Hierusalem, Hierusalem, *that killest* the prophetes, and *stonest* vnto death them that are sent vnto the... ¹⁾

46. Constructions « ad sensum » ²⁾, in which a subject with a singular form and a plural meaning stands with a plural verb, are not infrequent.

Christendome. Dial. C. 151, al the corps of *Christendome* bi so manye hundred yeares *haue* believed the contrarye.

church. Dial. C. 157, we see that the whole *church* in the comun service vse dyuers collectes. | Dial. Her. 176 F 8, ye saide ye shoulde not beleue the *churche* telling a tale of *their owne* ...

clergy. Apol. 80, All the *clergy* do vse to agree together. | Apol. 104, the *clergy* punyssheth those that speke against the sacrament of matrimony & yet *they* punissheth those that ...

But : Dial. Her. 120 B 13, the *clergie* is glad to fauour theis waies. *comynalltie*. Apol. 89, the *comynalltie* were fallen in grudge. *corps*, see *christendome*.

counsayle. Letters 1425 D 13, the *counsayle* ... were fayne to bring forth a brief, by which *they* pretended those defawtes to be supplied.

folk. Picus 15 G 3, if *folk* backbite vs, and saie euill of vs : shall we so grenously take it, that lest *thet* should begin to do yuel ... ³⁾ | Last Th. 72 G 13, For *folk* fare commonly as he doth that goeth forth fasting.

¹⁾ A deviation from this « rule » is seen in : 1538 Bale, God's Promises III C ij, O most myghtye gouernours of thy people, ... that of two *maketh* one, vnynge the Jews with the gentyles in one churche.

²⁾ Sommer 1921 § 3, 3.

³⁾ The forms *backbite* and *saie* prove nothing in this respect, since the modality of the unit (after *if*) causes the short forms to be used.

Germanye. Dial. C. 151, all *Germanye* for all *theyr* dyuers opynions, ... as *they* agree together in profession of Christes name, so agree *they* now together in...

horse. Dial. C. 212, *horse* be dere in this country, specially such softe amblers.

jewery. Dial. Her. 238 D 1, the *Jewery* which *were* right honest men.

olde. Conf. Tynd. 613 D 1, He shall not lyghtlye fynde anye of those *olde*, but that he vsed allegoryes.

But : Conf. Tynd. 745 H 11, nor *the riche* is not contente to sitte with the poor.

part. Rich. 45 (= 44) E 7, Muche *part* of the common people *were* therewith verye well satisfied ¹⁾.

But : (Dial. Her. 121 E 7, all which holy thinges great *parte* whereof *was* from hande to hande left in the church) ²⁾; Dial. C. 129, eche *part* suffereth other to shyt for *it selfe*. | Rich. 70 D 1, He had bene fast vpon the part of King Henry while that *part* was in wealtb.

peple. Rich. 63 E 7, *Peple* *fal* at distance among *themselves*. | Picus I D 2, all faithfull *people* *are* rather spirituall then carnall. | Apol. 82, I neuer yet perceyued the *people* make so great offerynges ... that we sholde ... pytye greatly *theyr* coste. | Apol. 104, the *peple* haue an opinion, that...

posteritie. Last Th. 85 C 13, their *posteritye* goe crooked thereof.

realme. Rich. 63 H 15, Woe is that *Realme*, that hath a chyld to *theyre* Kynge.

remnant. Dial. C. 191, I haue laboured more then all the *remnaunt* haue.

richesse. Picus 7 A 3, he perswaded, that to a philosopher ... it was no praise to gather *richesse*, but to refuse *them*.

But : Dial. C. 254, without the danger of eternal damnacion, euen for hys *riches* alone, though he demened *it* neuer so wel.

thing. Picus 28 D 2, The third point of a perfit louer is, To make him freshe to see that *al thing* ³⁾ *bene*, Appointed wel, and nothing set a mis.

sect. Boke of F. p. 5 A 4, Of his poore *sect*, it is comen vsage, onely to take that nature may sustayne ... *They* be content, and of nothyng complayne.

¹⁾ *were* is perhaps due to attraction (§ 49).

²⁾ In this quotation *part* refers to things, in the other instances to persons.

³⁾ For the plural form *thinges* see : Picus 12 C 5, al these *thinges* be ... trewer than truth itself.

sorte. Rich. 47 C 12, And then see on the tother syde what a *sorte* there be commonlye therein, of them whome wyllfull vnthriftynesse hath broughte to nought. | Dial. C. 134, Another *sorte are* there, that will seeke for no comforte. | Dial. C. 134, For first one *sorte* there are... | Dial. C. 134, One *sorte are* those...

Compare : Dial. C. 130, Than *is* there another *kinde* of folke...

vitaille. Rich. 53 G 2, the kinges coronacion, of which the time appointed then so nere approached, that the pageauntes and suttelties *were* in making day and night at westminster, and much *vitaille* killed therfore... ¹⁾

Owing to the fact that the forms in *-eth* and the short forms in syntactical units with a modality of doubt, unreality etc., make decision in a great number of cases impossible if a referring pronoun (e. g. *they*) offers no help, it is not easy to illustrate this usage more fully. Indeed no attempt at treating this subject in a more exhaustive way has been made, as the question bears upon the character of the noun rather than upon the syntax of the verb and is therefore to a large extent beyond the scope of the present study. For the same reason a discussion of the separate instances as well as the adducing of historical data have been forgone.

47. If the verb precedes and the subject is plural or consists of two or more nouns connected by *and*, both the plural and the singular form of the verb may be used.

a. Boke of F. p. 6 D 4, in this ponde *be* *fyshe and frogges*...

b. Dial. C. 150, Verely, good vucle, this liketh me very wel, but yet *is* there ye wote wel *some of these things* now brought in question. | Dial. Her. 115 C 12, I would faine witte of him though there were no pore folke amonge them at the time of the makinge, *was* there neuer *none* amonge them after the time of the keping? | Dial. Her. 115 F 11, there *was* no pore *people* in his roialme...

Rich. 68 D 8, forthwith *was* the *prince and his brother* bothe shet vp. (Rich. 42 H 2, the *King ... was* taken, *her brother, her sonne and her other frendes* arrested, & sent no man wist whither.) ²⁾

Instances with a singular verb in this position (especially when the predicate is introduced by *there*) ³⁾ are not rare in

¹⁾ If we have a case of syllepsis here, and *was* instead *were* ought to be read after *vitaille*, this quotation is irrelevant (cf. also the word *much*).

²⁾ Perhaps syllepsis.

³⁾ Cf. Fr. *il y a*; Germ. *es giebt*; Sp. *hay*.

More. The usage may find its origin in a tendency for the speaker or writer to use a singular form of the verb if at the time it was spoken or written he was not yet fully aware of the exact form of the subject, or as Franz (1924, § 672) puts it: "Da er [sc. the writer] häufig ihre Zahl [= of the subjects] nicht von vornherein überschaut und ihre summierung immerhin einige gedankenarbeit erfordert, so bezieht er das prädikat auf das erste der subjekte oder auf dasjenige, das ihm am meisten in gedanken beschäftigen mag". Compare Jespersen 1928 p. 169 and Einkenkel 1916 p. 65.

Instances from earlier and later writers :

c 1400 Mandeville, 95, 27, And þanne after is Hircanye Bactice Hiberye & many oþer kyndomes (M). | a 1533, Berners, Huon, Now, *where's the Bastard's braves?* | 1600 Shakesp., As Y. L. I. I, ii, 104, *There comes an old man and his three sons.* | 1650 Baxter, Saints' R., I, i (1662) 3, *There's few will deny, that God knows* (OED).

48. When the subject precedes the verb and consists of a catenation of nouns connected by *and* or *with*¹⁾, the predicate may be either in the plural or in the singular.

a. plural. Rich. 68 H 4, *Very trouthe is it & well knowen, that ... bothe Dighton and he were examined.* | Last. Th. 84 E 9, in this prison of the yerth we driue forth a while ..., till that sodeynlye nothyng lesse lokyng for, *yong, old, pore & ryeh, mery & sad ...*, bee put to deth in diuers wise.

b. singular. Boke of F. p. 1 C 4, *myrth, honour and richesse*, much better is than penyry and payne. | Boke of F. p. 1 A 4, *Ye shall spye that richesse, worship, welth and dignitie, Joy, rest, and peace, and all thyng tynally ...*, is all at my deuyse and ordinaunce. | Dial. C. 151, in the meane whyle ... *contentions, despicions, wyth encharytable behautoure*, is prohibited and forboden.

Both the subjects are plural nouns in :

Apol. 51, for as all the *landes* and *fees* that I haue in England ... *is* not ... wurth yerely ... the somme of full fifty pounde.

The joining of a singular verb to a double or an enumerating subject, though a formal irregularity, is of course not a

¹⁾ In the case of *neither ... nor* the verb is in the plural : Rich. 60 F 2, it was ... concluded, that this doctour Sha should in a sermon ... sygnifie to the people, that neither king Edward himself, nor the Duke of Clarence, were lawfully begotten. [The earliest quot. in OED (s. v. *neither* A, 1, d) of *neither ... nor* with two subjects and plural verb is dated 1759].

logical incongruity, but as much a *constructio ad sensum* as a plural verb with a collective noun-subject. It is clear that the writer mentally summarizes the enumeration (actually done in the second quot. b), and substitutes e. g. *all this* in its stead as the logical subject.

In those cases in which the last of the subjects is a singular noun, the use of a singular verb may also be due to attraction, i. e. the tendency to make the verb agree with the last named of the preceding subjects. This tendency dates from before More's time and was perhaps due to Latin or French influence ¹⁾. The attraction may be so strong that it causes the verb to agree with a preceding noun even if this noun is not the subject of the sentence, as in :

Dial. C. 161, For trowe you Cosyn that the temptacions of the dyuel, the world and the fleshe, ... *is* not a great inward trouble and secret grieve to hys hart ²⁾.

That the practice of using a singular verb after a double subject or after an enumeration was known before More's time and held its ground after it, may be seen from the following evidence.

1300 Sir Gawaine 1, Siþen þe seze and þe assault watz sesed at Troye. | c 1400 Maundev. Trav. 115, 2, And the *arm* and the *hond* þat he putte in oure lordes syde ... *is* yit lyggyng in a vessell withouten the tombe (M). | c 1489 Caxton, Blanch. 119, 29, The kyng *Almodes* and all his oost *was* right sore affrayed (OED). | 1523 Berners, Froissart I 339, Therewith the *kyng* of Englaunde and the *prince* his sonne *was* redy at the gate. | idem II 247, [they] came to Burdeux, wher as the *Prince* and *Princesse* *was*. | 1575 Gammer Gurton N., Her *joye* and *life* *is* gone. | 1586 Marlowe, Tamb. 2166, Now *shame* and *duty*, *loue* and *feare* *pre-sents* A thousand sorrows to my martyred soule. | 1605 Shakesp. Lear III, iv, 141, Our *flesh* and *blood* *is* grown so vile. | 1590 Spenser, F. Q. I, i, 13, Whom *God* and *man* *does* hate.

In Pres. D. Eng. the usage is all but unknown, except in a few isolated cases, such as : the *long* and the *short* of the matter *is*, and of course when two subjects joined by *and* denote

¹⁾ See Paul 1920 § 96 and Brunot 1922 p. 264 : "Le verbe peut avoir plusieurs sujets. La tradition était de ne faire l'accord qu'avec le plus rapproché".

²⁾ It is difficult to account for the form *was* instead of *were* in : Dial. Her. 156 G 10, the preceptes that he gaue by mouth *was* thre. Twayne commaundyng generation and etyng. The thirde forbedyng the tre of knowledge.

one conception, as in : *A needle and thread was soon found. | His son and namesake and successor was an infant.*

49. It is also due to attraction that in the following instances the plural form of the verb is used in spite of the fact that the subject is in the singular.

Dial. Her. 124 D 1, it is wel knowen that the *worship of saints and ymages ben* alowed, approbate, & accustomed. | Dial. Her. 146 H 1, the *substaunce of those wordes* that he ment *bene* knowen, where some parte of the writing is vnkowen. | Dial. C. 294, the great *harm* that the *hauing of theym* do to your soule. | Conf. Tynd. 701 B 15, Nowe that ye see these twoo textes of scripture which he bringeth for hym, do nothyng make for hym in deede, and the *latter of the twaine* make against him.

The usage was not uncommon in older English. It seems to have died out in the course of the seventeenth century. Instances in Shakespeare are not rare (J. Caes. V, i, 33, The posture of your *blows* are yet unknown. | John III, i, 295, The *peril of our curses* light on thee).

In Pres. D. Eng. this kind of agreement would be looked upon as ungrammatical.

Although in the above quotations the subjects consist of a noun + *of*-adjunct, the usage should be kept apart ¹⁾ from that in which the noun in the compound subject is a collective (*swarm of...* ; *multitude of...*), as in : c 1400 Mandeville, Tr. 195, 10, And the most *part of hem* dyen withouten syknes (M.). | Bulw. L., The *brood of serpents* are in my hand. | 1703 Maundrell, Journ. to Euphr. (1732) 2, Here are a *multitude of Subterraneous Aqueducts* (OED).

In this case a plural verb is often idiomatic in Pres D. Eng. too. The following quotation illustrates this usage in More : Rich. 45 (= 44) E 7, Muche *part of the common people* were therewith verge well satisfied.

2. — THE VERB STANDS WITHOUT COMPLEMENT

SUBJECTIVE VERBS

50. The term *subjective verb* is used to denote “intransitive” verbs like *to demur*, *to forfare*, *to styte*, which do not require an object to complete their meaning. The “intransitive” verbs that are construed with a prepositional object,

¹⁾ Einkenel 1916, p. 65 neglects to make the distinction.

such as *to devise upon*, *to force for* are dealt with in the paragraphs on *objective verbs* (§§ 91-156).

No attempt at collecting and classifying the subjective verbs in More has been made. The following remarks refer only to those verbs that in some respect or other show peculiarities.

51. A number of subjective verbs seem to have been used before More's time; a few of them follow here — with the date of their earliest quotation in OED.

<i>accustom</i> . Conf. Tynd. 894 H 5 (1571)	<i>go above</i> (fig.). Apol. (Wks.) 877 F 4 (1577)
<i>appalle</i> . Dial. Her. 226 D 2 (1528)	<i>go by</i> . Dial. Her. 194 E 3 (?)
<i>auaunt</i> . Dial. C. 236 (1549)	<i>grase</i> . Apol. (Wks.) 901 H 2 (1579)
<i>ball</i> . Dial. C. 338 (1570)	<i>gyrn</i> . Conf. Tynd. 432 F 2 (1552)
<i>blunt forth</i> . Last Th. 76 C 7 (1535)	<i>hymp</i> . Conf. Tynd. 766 C 9 (1533)
<i>buskle</i> . Last Th. 81 F 9 (1535)	<i>intrude</i> . Conf. Tynd. 829 B 13 (1534)
<i>card</i> . Dial. C. 322 (1548)	<i>medle</i> . Dial. Her. 183 H 3 (1555)
<i>cheve</i> . Dial. C. 263 (1500)	<i>mammer</i> . Conf. Tynd. 342 B 6 (1535)
<i>demur</i> ¹⁾ . Dial. Her. 215 H 17 (1639)	<i>pule</i> . Last Th. 89 B 12 (1535)
<i>doctor</i> . Apol. 165 (1533)	<i>quaff</i> . Supplic. 331 E 11 (1523)
<i>drie up</i> . Conf. Tynd. 805 B 11 (1535)	<i>reel</i> ²⁾ . Supplic. 331 G 3 (?)
<i>fall out</i> . Rich. 59 D 7 (1562)	<i>relapse</i> . Apol. (Wks.) 889 E 2 (1570)
<i>famble</i> . Last Th. 77 E 11 (1577)	<i>reserve</i> ⁴⁾ . Dial. Her. 179 E 5 (1529)
<i>frame</i> ³⁾ . Conf. Tynd. 783 C 3 (1533)	<i>royl</i> ⁵⁾ . Last Th. 97 D 6 (?)
<i>freer</i> . Jest p. 3 A 15 (1525)	<i>succeed</i> . Passion 1347 F 8 (1537)
<i>fret</i> . Last Th. 85 B 7 (1551)	<i>taunt</i> . Rich. 57 B 9 (1513)
<i>fry</i> (fig.). Picus 27 B 1 (1573)	<i>wamble</i> . Last Th. 73 F 8 (c 1518)
<i>fumble</i> . Passion 1293 C 1 (1534)	<i>wind out</i> . Dial. Her. 164 F 2 (a 1569)
<i>fume</i> . Last Th. 85 B 7 (1522)	
<i>fyle</i> . Dial. Her. 258 E 3 (1560)	

52. The following list contains subjective verbs that are no longer so used or have become obsolete or archaic after More's time.

¹⁾ = to object.

²⁾ = to conform.

³⁾ = to waver in an argument.

⁴⁾ = to remain in existence.

⁵⁾ said of a drunken man.

to agryce = to shudder.

Dial. C. 268, their heartes *agryce* and shrynke in the remembrance of the payne.

Now obsolete. EQ. ¹⁾ a 1000 Laws of Cnut (Thorpe I, 374), þæt he for helle *agrise*. LQ. 1598 Sylvester, Du Bart. II, IV, III, 223, Already in each nook *agrising*, Fell, wall-break Famine ill-advising Howls hideously.

to appal = to lose flavour.

Dial. Her. 226 B 2, if the salt once *appalle*, the woorde muste nedes waxe unsauery.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED before More. LQ. 1568 North, Diall. Princes 622, 2, He found the wine wel watered before that it had stood *a pawling* long.

to arise = to rise in rank or eminence.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1252 G 4, Some by handy crafte ..., some by other kynde of liuing, *arise* & come forward in the world.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1340 Ayenb. 24, þe ilke þet zuo heȝe *arise* ine prosperite. LQ. 1756 J. Warton, Ess. Pope (1782) I, IV, 229, Obstacles, which might prevent his *arising* to that height.

to auaunt = to be off, to go away.

Dial. C. 236, making a crosse vpon their heartes, and byddyng the deuill *auaunt*.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1519 Coverdale, Erasmus, Par. Jud. 21, That they should not *auaunt* ... into the dongeon of eternal damnacion. LQ. 1601 Chester, Love's M. II, 83, It causeth them from thence for to *auaunt*.

to ball = to shout at the top of one's voice.

Dial. C. 338 These Turkes come yalping and *balling* vpon vs.

Still current in the form to *bawl*. EQ. 1570 Levins, Manip. 12 *Baull*, to cry, vociferare.

to become = to come (to a place), to arrive.

Answer 1037 A 4, the dyshe is so deare and so daintie, that euery christen man hath his hart bent therto, & therefore hys eye set thereon to see where it *becometh*.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 885 Ælfred, Oros. IV, VIII § 3, Hannibal to þam lande *becom*. | LQ. 1737 Whiston, Josephus' Antiq. VIII, III § 2, That they might *become* into one through another.

to buskle = to prepare oneself.

Last Th. 81 F 3, arte thou goynge out ... whan ... thou beginnest to set the firste foote forward to goe out, in what place of the house so euerye stand whan ye *buskle* forward.

Now obsolete. No quot. before More. LQ. 1602 Warner, Alb. Eng. XII, lxxvii. 313, Then *buskling* to his Sword cride Theeues.

¹⁾ All quotations from OED, unless otherwise stated. EQ. = earliest quotation; LQ. = latest quotation. a 1500 = ante 1500; c 1500 = circa 1500.

to cary = to drive, to ride, to move.

Last Th. 88 A 11, Who could ... be so very wroth ..., if we remembered that we be ... already laid in the cart *caryng* toward execucion.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1362 Langl. P. Pl. A. Prol. 28, Coueyte not in cuntre to *carien* aboute. LQ. 1513 Douglas, Aen. XII, XI, 136, Lat ws follow that way, and thidder *cary*.

cheuing = ending. *Evil cheuing* = bad luck.

Dial. C. 363, thei bee ... so handeled, that as for this worlde they comme to an euill *cheuing*.

Now obsolete (*to cheve*). EQ. c 1500 Cocke Lorelles B. 2, The people blesseth hym with evyll *chevyng*. LQ. 1596 Harington, Ulysses, You haue vsde a Doctour farre worse, and therfore look for ill *chieving*.

to come forward = to rise in rank.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1252 G 4, Some by handy crafte ... some by other kynde of living, arise & *come forward* in the world.

Now obsolete. Not mentioned in OED, sv. *come forward*.

to comen = to talk.

Rich. 70 F 12, perceiuing now this duke glad to *comen* with him, fed him with faire wordes.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1388 Wyclif, Eccl. XXVI, 9, Sche *comyneth* with all men. LQ. 1581 Savile, Tacitus' Hist. I, XV, 10, we two ... *common* plainly together.

to consent = to agree (to a doctrine or statement).

Conf. Tynd. 599 F 8, whereto *consenten* the wordes of our sauour hymself.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1382 Wyclif, Rom. VII, 16, I *consente* to the law, for it is good. LQ. 1788 Lond. Mag. 32 This is what all must *consent* to who have been obliged to ride on horseback ... after a hearty dinner.

to dase = to be bewildered, to be dazzled.

Dial. Her. 252 A 4, he could shewe a fayre law incorporate in the decrees of the church, which law ... wold make al theyr eyen *dase* | Supplic. 331 E 5, Whan his head first began to *dase*, of that evill drynke.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1325 E. E. Allit. P., C. 383, þer he *dased* in þat duste, with droppande teres. LQ. 1635 Quarles, Embl. III, I (1718) 125, Whose more than Eagle-eyes Can ... gaze On glitt'ring beams of honour, and not *dase*.

to draw (to) = to resort (to) ; to join the party (of a person).

Rich. 43 D 5, somme ... *drewe* to them that holpe to carrye a wronge waye.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1205 Lay. 10530, Alle heo wulleþ to me *drægen*. LQ. (1568) 1893 Nat. Observer 13 May 643/2, Like *draws* to like.

to enterpause = to pause in the midst of something.

Dial. C. (Wks) 1169 E 3, In talkynge so longe together withoute *enterpausing* betwene. | Ibid. 1199 H 12, Manye woordes ... spoken ... without *enterpausing*.

Now obsolete. No other quot. in OED.

to fall = to come to pass ; to happen ; to occur.

Dial. C. 330, The case ... *falleth* not very often, but yet sometime it dooeth. | Debell. 976 B 5, these cases *fall* so seldome.

Now obsolete, exc. poet. EQ. c 1290 S. Eng. Leg. I 16, 512, Mani miracle þar *feol* a-day.

to flour = (of persons) to be in the height of one's fame.

Dial. Tynd. 688 D 3, the vertuous that so *floured* in the church, that was in saint Austines time.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1340 Ayenb. 28, Ase ine yere þet wel *floureþ* ine guode. LQ. 1531 Elyot, Gov. I, XI, That noble clerke of Almaine, which late *floured*, called Agricola.

to fode ¹⁾ = to delay.

Dial. C. 209, But the Wolfe would not come to confession tyl he saw first Palme sondaye past : and then *foded* yet forth farther, until good Friday.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED. of this subjective use besides this one from More.

to forfare = to perish.

Boke of F. p. 5 D 6, ye may ... as easily ... in drye lande cause fishes to endure, And make the burnyng tyre his heat to spare, And all thys worlde in compace to *forfare*.

Now obsolete. EQ. O. E. Chron., an. 910, Hi þær mæst ealle siþþan *forforen*. LQ. 1578 Scot, Poems 16th C. II, 178, This world sall all *forfair*.

to frame = to suit, to fit, to conform.

Conf. Tynd. 783 C 3, How would then those wordes *frame*.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED. anterior to More. LQ. 1642 Rogers, Naaman 436, Bids us try the Unicorne whether he ... draw our cart ... meaning that his wildnesse will not *frame* to it.

to frampe = to revel (?) ; to indulge greedily (?).

Conf. Tynd. 716 C 13, which not content with ... manna ... murmured that they might not *frampe* in fleshe.

Now obsolete. No other quot. in OED.

to frote = to rub, to chafe.

Rich. 53 H 16, he returned into the chamber ... al changed with a won-

¹⁾ *to fode* also occurs as an objective verb in the sense *to lead on by raising delusive expectations* : Dial. C. 218, she wold no more suffer anye nor deceyue her, and *fode* her forth with delaies. Also obsolete.

derful soure angrye countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and *frotting* and knawing on hys lippes.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1225 Ancr. R. 284, þe caliz ... þaruh so monie duntēs & *frotunges*, to Godes biheue ... so swuþe ueire afeited. LQ. 1688 R. Holme, Armoury II 239, I, [To] *Frott* or Rub themselves as Hawks will do ... is to rub her eyes on her Wings.

to fyle (subjective verb) = to void excrement.

Dial. Her. 258 E 1, the abominable bestes ... not abhorred *to fyle* in the pixys.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1560 Becon, New Catech. Wks. (1844) 62, If doves, or any other fowls ... *file* upon their [i. e. the images] heads, they perceive it not. LQ. 1611 G. Wilkins, Mis. Inf. Marr. III in Old Plays (1825) V. 40, Oaths are ... like smoak from a chimney that *files* all the way it goes.

to fyst = to stink.

Dial. C. 1262 H 18, the bytyng of a lyttle *fysting* curre.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1000 Ælfric. Gloss in Wr. Wülcker 162, 43, Fesculatio, *fisting*. LQ. 1611 Cotgr., Venneur, a fizzler or *fyster*.

to game = to amuse oneself; to sport.

Answer 1048 A 7, God sent men hither to wake and work, and as for sleepe and *gaming* (if any *gaming* be good in this vale of miserye in this time of teares) it must serue but for a refreshing of the wearye ... body.

Now obsolete, exc. dial. EQ. c 1000 Ælfric, Gen. XIX, 14, þa wæs him æþuht, swilce he *gamnizende* spræce.

to gyryn = to show the teeth in laughing.

Conf. Tynd. 432 F 2, he laugheth but from the lyppes forwarde, and *gyrneth* as a dogge dooeth, when one porreth hym in the teeth with a slycke.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1552 Latimer, Sermon. Lincolnsh. V, 105, They goe with the corses *girling* and fleering. LQ. a 1711 Ken, Edmund, Poet. Wks. (1721) II, 299, Curs'd Satan *guerning* stood, the while he spake.

to gern = to snarl (cf. *gyrne*).

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1251 B 11, The bitch had founde the foote agayn : & on she came *gerning*.

Now only north. and Sc. EQ. 1375 Barbour, Bruce IV 322, Than lukit he awfully thame to, And said, *gyrnand*, 'hangis & drawis !'

to hove = a) to wait; b) to sit (on a throne).

Last Th. 93 D 4, I let passe olde men that *houe* and gape to be executors to some that be yonger than themselves. | Boke of F. p. 2 D 3, Fortune at them laugheth, and in her trone Amyd her treasure and waueryng rychesse, Prowdly she *houeth* as lady and empress.

Now obsolete. The verb was largely superseded by *to hover* in the 16th century. EQ. c 1220 Bestiary 525, [He] stireþ up and *houeþ*

stille. LQ. 1595 Col. Clout 666, The which in court continually *hooved*.

to iet = to walk, to stroll.

Passion 1359 H 6, suppose thou woldest ... while he sate stil & gaue good eare vnto thee, in the vttering of thy sute al the while *iet* vp & down before him, & when thou hadest *ietted* thy fil squat thee down fair & wel in a chaire...

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1420 Hoccleve, De Reg. Princ. 428, þogh he *iette* forth a-mong þe prees, And ouer loke euery poie wight. LQ. a 1777 Robin Hood & Q. Kath. XIX in Child, Ballads V, cxlv, Thus he *ietted* towards louly London.

to let = to live (in sin) ; to tarry.

Dial. Her. 272 F 7, he hath *letted* and sitte styl a while in sinne.

Now obsolete. This seems to be the weak subjective verb *to let*, illustrated (in approximately this sense) s. v. *let* v²†2 b. in OED. EQ. c 1385 Chaucer, L. G. W. 2167, Ariadne, And in that yle half a day he *lette*. | c 1386 Chaucer, Shipman's T. 250, And down he gooth, no lenger wolde he *lette*. LQ. c 1435 Torr. Portugal 2058, He bare it to the cite grett, There the kyng his fader *lett*, As a lord of jentille blood.

to lieue = to believe.

Conf. Tynd. 799, G 3, because it is a presumptuous hope, loking to be saued with damnable deuelyshe *lieuing*.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 900 O. E. Martyrol. 8 Nov. 202, þa *lyfde* se gode ond fulwihte onfeng. LQ. c 1570 Pride & Lowl. (1841), 67, And choose him how this matter he wyl *leeven*.

to linne = to stop, to cease.

Picus 26 A 3, This wretched life..., Sithe that houre, in which it did beginne, It holdeth on the course, and will not *linne*, But fast it runneth on...

Now obsolete. EQ. Beowulf 1478, Gif ic æt þearfe þinre scolde aldre *linnan*. — Still in Sc. (*lein, leen, lean*).

mammering. *To be in a mammering* = to be in a state of doubt (persons) ; to be yet unsettled (things).

Conf. Tynd. 343 B 2, He *was in a mamering* whether he would retourne agayn ouer the sea. | Dial. C. 193, when I was in Saxony, these matters *were in a maner but in a mammering*.

Now obsolete. The earliest quot. in OED is the first of the above quotations. LQ. 1639 Horn & Rob, Gate Lang. Unl. xc § 886 The one goes on forward ... without respit, the other staggers (*is in a mammering*).

to medle = to busy oneself, to act.

Dial. Her. 183 H 1, no man maye ... take vpon him to preache or *medle* as priest, til he be chosen by the congregacion.

The earliest quot. of *to medle* so used is dated 1555 (OED s. v.

meddle v. 8 b): Eden. Decades 9, They shuld *meddle* no further than their commission.

to misfortune = to happen unfortunately.

Apol. 94, Whych thyng to se so *mysfortune* betwene any two crysten folke, is a thyng myche to be lamented.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1466 Mann. & Househ. Exp. (Roxb.) 173, It mesfortened me ... to hurte my lege. LQ. 1615 E. Howes in Slow, Ann. Pref. § 7, The Queene after mariage was conceiued with childe, but it *misfortunated*.

to mishap = a) to happen unfortunately,

Apol. (Wks.) 872 F 4 A thing ... muche more to bee lamented, when it *myshappeth* to fall betwene a man & his wyfe.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1330 R. Brunne, Chron. Wace (Rolls) 13280, Grace til hym wold non bytide, But euere *mys happed* on his syde. LQ. 1647 Hexham, Misschieden, to *Mishap*, or to Fall out ill.

to mishap = b) to have the misfortune to...

Apol. (Wks.) 900 C 11, Mo men then so many, haue *mysse happed* to be ... *mys* punished.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1330 R. Brunne, Wace (Rolls) 4967, For þou *myshappedest* y þe first ende, Now schallow spede er þat þou wende. No later quotations in OED.

to plain = to complain.

Dial. Her. 157 B 8, god wold that we were lerned ... to suffer our sensuall parties *plaine* and mourne.

Now poet. and dial. EQ. 1297 R. Glouc. (Rolls) 3576, Mest in is herte was uor anguyssse to *playne*.

to pursue = to follow or come after in order.

Dial. Her. 145 F 10, so is yet again our purpose double proued, Fyrst ..., secondly (which *pursueth* there upon) by that he...

Now obsolete. EQ. 1485 Rolls of Parlt. vi, 332, 2 The Dede and Fyne, wherof the tenour *persueth*. LQ. 1688 Holme, Armoury. I, 1, 2, Lest ... scandal do arise and effusion of blood do *pursue*.

to reel = to waver (in an argument).

Supplic. 331 G 3, Yet said he therwith one thing or twayn, that could not stand therwith : and therby may ye see that he began to *reel*.

Now obsolete. No earlier or later instances in OED.

to remyt ouer = to resort to ; to have recourse to.

Apol. (Wks.) 817 H 10, I would that the reader shoulde in euerye place where he fortuneth to falle in reading, haue at his hande without *remytting ouer* elles where, ... as much as shall seme requisite.

Now obsolete. Not in OED.

to repugne = to be contradictory.

Answer 1121 B 9, Be thou content to knowe that goddes will, his worde, and his power, bee all one, and *repugne* not.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1374 Chaucer, Boeth. v pr. iii 119 (CamL.

MS.), It semyth quod I to *repugnen* and to contraryen gretly þat god knowit byfore alle thinges, and þat ther is any freedom of liberte. LQ. 1654 Z. Coke, Logick 68, Inseparable which is not easily separated from the subject, though to be separated nothing *repugneth*.

to reserve = to remain in existence.

Dial. Her. 179 E 2, yf their opinions hadde any where continuallye endured there woulde theyr bokes haue continually *reserued*.

Now obsolete. No quot. before More in OED. LQ. 1641 L'Estrange, God's Sabb. 26, Because it tainted against nature and miraculously *reserued* vpon other days.

to rown = to whisper.

Rich. 64 D 6, al was as styl as the midnight, not so much as *rowning* among them, by whych they myght seme to comen what was best to doe.

Now archaic (*to round*). EQ. c 1000 Aelfric, Gram. xxxvi, 217, *Susurro*, ic *runiþe*.

to royl = a) (said of a drunken man) to swing about with the whole body in trying to walk or stand.

Last Th. 97 D 2, Is it not a bestly thing to se a man that hath reson, so to rule himselfe that his fete may not beare him ? but when he cometh out he weneth that the skie wold fall on his hed ? & there *royleth* & releth till he fal downe the canel...

Now obsolete. Not in the OED.

to royl = b) to wander, to roam or rave about.

Conf. Tynd. 747 G 8, such apostatas woulde be bound to no cloyster, but haue all the worlde to *royle* in. | Dial. Her. 194 E 2, What say we then ... of the harme that goeth ... by *royling* aboute in ydlenes.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1308 Old Age in Rel. Ant. II, 175, Hail be 3e, freris, ... Euir 3e beth *roilend* the landis al a-boute. LQ. 1619 Bert Treat. Hawkes 57, If thy hawke will not come, or not abide company ..., or will *royle* or house.

to ronne at ryot = to disregard all limitations.

Dial. Her. 141 E 5, without which we wer like to walke wide in wordes, & *ronne at al ryot* so lose, that our matter could neither haue grounde, order, nor ende.

Now obsolete; now *to run riot*. EQ. 1530 Tindale, Answ. More, (Parker Soc.) 114, They ... either *run* altogether *at riot*, or keep the law with cautels and expositions of their own feigning. LQ. 1579 Tomson, Calvin's Sermon, Tim. 12, 1. So soone as a man beginneth to *runne at riot*, & leaueth the streight line.

to rowt — to snore.

Passion 1353 D 8, while the false dissembling Pharisey laye at his ease *rowing* in his soft bed ...

Now obsolete, exc. dial. EQ. c 725 Corpus Gloss. 1923, Stertens = *hrutende*.

to run out (against) = to launch out in profuse speech.

Debell. 942 C 13, his reason *runneth out* against euery kinde of men.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1554 in Strype, Eccl. Mem. (1824) III, Append.

XX, 56, Then he *ran out* against the late government. LQ. 1779

Mirror N° 4, They *ran out* in praise of French cookery.

to staker = to waver, to hesitate mentally in a state of indecision.

Apol. 91, Calanius perceuyng them begyn in the mater somewhat to *staker* and stay, persuaded them easily to concorde wyth those that they hadde byfore.

Now obsolete. EQ. (s. v. *stacker*) 1402, Pol. Poems (Rolls) II 40,

Every state *stakerth* unstable in him silfe. LQ. 1519 Coverdale,

Erasmus Par. Jas. 32, He whiche *stackreth* not to auenture in hys onely sonne whome he loued so syngularly.

to stint = to cease moving; to stop.

Bless. Body 1265 C 11, therwith the legion of deuyls maye gette leaue of Chryste, so to enter into vs, as they gate leaue of hym to enter into the hogges of Genezareth: and as they ran forth with them, and neuer *stinted*, til they drowned them in the sea.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1290 Becket 1118 in S. Eng. Leg. 138, Five

and twenti mile he wende ... Are he *stunte* in anie stude. LQ.

1818 Scott, Rob. Roy, XXI, But come on, what *stint* ye for?

to ston = to be amazed.

Answer 1112 D 4, then the disciples ... must nedes haue woondered, *stonned*, and staggered ... | Answer 1112 C 16, that thing must nedes haue made the apostles wonder, *stonned*, & stagger.

Now obsolete in this meaning. The only example in OED. is 1533

Tindale, Supper of the L. 13 b., Thei ... muste here nedis haue

wondred, *stonned* and staggerd.

to sty = to ascend.

Bless. Body 1266 B 6, the thirde daye gloriouslye did arise again to life, and with the soules of holy saintes ..., ascended and *styed* vp woonderfullye into heauen.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 825 Vesp. Psalter LXVII, 19, *stizende* in

heanisse. LQ. 1652 Benlowes Theoph. VI, XVIII, That She might

stye to th' Seat of Beatifick Mirth!

to succeed = to happen.

Passion 1347 F 5, prophesied by the verbe of the pretertemps or tyme passed, to signifye that the thyng prophecied sholde as surely *succeed* and be verified, as though it wer passed alreadye.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1537 Cromwell, in Merriman, Life & Lett.

(1902) II 63, Nothing is *succeded* sythens my last writing. LQ.

1653 tr. Carmeni's Nissena 78, She desired to be inform'd of ...

what had *succeded* since the Prince Doralbo's expedition.

to surmount = to mount, rise (above something).

Dial. C. 348, howe farre those heauenly ioyes shall *surmount* aboue

all the coumfort that euer came in the mind of any man liuing here vpon earth.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1430-40, Lydg. Bochas I, II, 15, 2, so hih a tour ... Which that sholde surmounte aboue the skie. LQ. 1563 Shute, Archit. F. II, If the piller surmount from 25 to 30 the height of the pillor must be deuided into 12 partes.

to sweat = to suffer waste or loss.

Debell. 1002 C 4, Hys soule is safe ynoughe, though hys purse may happe to *sweate*, if he bounde himself to prouide the timber at his own perill.

Now obsolete. No other quot. in OED.

to taunt = to make a smart rejoinder.

Rich. 57 B 7, a proper wit had she, & could both rede wel & write, mery in company, ... sometime *taunting* without displesure & not without disport.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1596 Dalrymple tr. Leslie's Hist. Scot. vii (S. T. S.) 8, This man tane in the feild the Bruse mirrillie *tantis*, and sayis, Welcome father, says he.

to the = to prosper.

Jest p. 1 B 5, he that ... can no skyl, Is neuer lyke to *the*. | Jest p. 4 F 14, Ill mote he *the*, That caused me, To make my selfe a frere.

Now obsolete, and already archaic in More's time (see OED). EQ. Beowulf 8, He ... weox under wolcnum, weorþ-myndum þah. LQ. 1573 Tusser, Husb. (1878) 19, Giue ouer to sudgerne, that thinkest to *thee*.

to tote = to peep.

Dial. Her. 225 D 4, euery man carieth a double wallet on his shoulder, and into the one that hangeth at his brest he putteth other folkes faultes, and therin he *toteth* and poreth often.

Now obsolete (exc. dial.) EQ. 1225 Ancr. R 52, Is hit nu so ouer vuel uor to *toten* utward? Auh *toten* vt wiþuten vuel ne mei nouþer of ou. LQ. 1603 Sir C. Heydon, Jud. Astrol. iv, 140, While the Astrologer *tooteth* vpward, and examineth in what signe is the Moone.

to variaunce = to disagree.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1224 H 12, thei that are in authoritie, be not al euer-more of one mynde, but sometyme *variaunce* amonge them.

Not in Pres. D. Eng. Not recorded in OED.

to vary (in something) = to differ in opinion; to disagree.

Dial. Her. 141 G 9, is ther any other thing *wherin* ye think that we shal vary, but the interpretacion of the scripture?

Now obsolete. EQ. ?1428 Rec. St. Mary at Hill (1905) 13, Yf the said parsons, wardeyns & iiij parissshens of the said Chirch ... *varye* of their said chosyng of the same preest ... & can nat

accorde. LQ. 1657 S. Purchas, Pol. Flying-Ins. 55, Give mee leave to *vary* from so learned an Author.

to voyd = to go away.

Rich. 35 H 3, Whose warres who so well consyder, hee shall no lesse commende hys wysedome where hee *voyded*, than hys mannehoode where he vainquished. | Dial. C. 133, we shall be able to commaund a great moyntayn of tribulacion to *voyde* from the place where he stode in our hert. | Passion 1275 (=1277) H 10, He *voyded* not at Gods commyng, but abode to see the sentence of theyr dampnacion.

Now obsolete. EQ. 13... Coer de L. 2192, The folk of the countre gan renne, And were fain to *void* and fenne. LQ. 1606 Holland, Sueton. 102, He caused all his traine and company to *voyd*.

to walk = a) to go away.

Dial. Her. 269 A 3, he would in the daye of iudgement speake to them that hadde by faith wroughte wonders in his name without good workes, and charitye, whom he would than bydde, *walke* workers of wickednesse.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1460 Towneley Myst. ii, 106, Leif brother, let vs be *walkand*. In Pres. D. Eng. only colloq. (= to go away perforce; to be turned out), also slang (= to die).

to walk = b) to go about in public, live, move (in a place or region).

Rich. 40 A 12, Robbers and riuers *walking* at libertie vncorrected.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1300 Curs. M. 17800, In mi cite of aramathi þar ar þai [sc. the risen dead] *walkand* witerli. LQ. 1559 Bp. Scot in Strype, Ann. Ref. (1709) I. App. x, 32, Upon the which Place St. Augustine wryteth thus, Christe tooke Fleshe of the blessed Virgin his Mother, and in the same he did *walke*.

to walk at rovers = to have no settled abode.

Dial. Her. 228 C 12, The order is rebuked by the priestes begging and lewde liuing, which either is fayne to *walke at rovers* and liue upon trentalles or worse, or...

Now obsolete. No other quot. in OED. For the obsolete *at rovers* cf. : Conf. Tynd. 786, 2, Either their dede and declaracion must nedes stande and be firme, or else all runne *at rouers* and nothing be certain or sure. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1200 H 5, I mene not, to let euery malefactor passe furth vnpunished, and frely runne out and rob *at rouers*. (Also 1347 A 2).

to walke followed by *a* + form in *-ing* = to go.

Answer 1076 (= 1078) H 5, Like as if a ryght great man woulde wantonly *walke a mumming*, and disguise hymself.

Now obsolete. No other quot. in OED.

to walk wide in words = to argue at cross purposes.

Dial. Her. 141 E 3, wherupon it will be requisite, that we firste bee both agreed : w(ith)out which we wer like to *walke wide in wordes* ...

Now obsolete. No other quot. in OED.

to walter = to roll to and fro.

Jest p. 4 C 7, they spye, The captaynes lye, Both *waltring* on the place. Now obsolete, except. dial. EQ. c 1400 tr. Higden (Rolls) VII, 203, He feled a þing þat was myzli and þicke *waltre* and turne a-twixe hym and his wif. | LQ. 1692 Ray, Disc. II, II. (1693) 87, The Globe cannot *walter* or reel towards any side.

to wamble (of the stomach or its contents) = to be felt to roll about (in nausea).

Last Th. 73 F 7, it maketh the stomak *wamble* and fare as it would vomit. | Answ. 1054 A 1, Theyr forefathers murmured in desert against Moyses for Manna, and sayde that theyr stomake *wambled* agaynst that light meate. | Passion 1274 (= 1276) D 10, Scant was the fruite passed downe theyr throtes, when it so began to *wamble* in their stomakes.

Now obsolete, except dial. EQ. c 1518 Skelton, Magnyf. 1617, A, howe my stomake *wambleth* ! I am all in a swete. LQ. 1834 Landor, Exam. Shaks., Wks. 1853 II 266/1, No wonder, Master Ephraim, thy entrails are moved and *wamble*.

to wind out = to extricate or disentangle oneself from a state of embarrassment.

Dial. Her. 164 E 9, if it so were, that in that dispicions ye coude not make your audience to discerne the truthe, ... what way wold ye *winde out* ?

Now obsolete. EQ. 1412-20 Lydg. Chron. Troy I, 2207, Love in his lawes often schulde erre, And *wynden out* of honestees cheyne. LQ. 1667 Milton, P. L. VI, 659, Long strugling underneath, ere they could *wind Out* of such prison.

wanyand. In the *wanyand* = with a vengeance.

Supplic. 306 G 17, He would of lykelyhoode bynde them to cartes and beate theym, and make theym wed in the *waniand*.

Now obsolete. *Waniand* is the north. pres. participle form of *wanten* = to wane. In the phrase in the *waniand* there is probably ellipsis of the noun *mone* (« on *waniizendum monan* »). The original meaning may have been at the time of the *waning moon* = in an unlucky hour (Cf. OED). EQ. a 1352 Minot, Poems V, 30, In þe wilde *waniand* was þaire hertes light. LQ. 1570 Levins, Manip. 25, 23, Ye *Wenyant*, in malam crucem.

to wink = to close one's eyes.

Last Th. 94 F 3, thei willingly *wink*, & liste not to loke at him.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 897 Ælfred, Gregory's Past. C. XXXIX, 287, Se stæpþ forþ mid þam fotum & *winkaþ* mid þæm eazum. LQ. 1816 Scott, Bl. Dwarf V, I thought I saw him still, though I *winked* as close as ever I could.

to wrable = to wriggle.

Answer 1041 G 4, the hotte fyre of hel shalbe so fast tyed in all theyr tayles *wrabelyng* there together, that neuer shal they get the fyre fro their tayles.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1513 Douglas, *Aeneid* VIII, X. 84, About hir palpis ... The tua twynnis ... Sportand full tye gan to *wrabill* and hing. — No quot. in OED. later than More.

to wrie = to go ; to turn.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1162 A 5, the grief of thys great pange pyncheth them at the hert, and of wickednes thei *wrie* awaye and fro this tribulacion thei turne to theyr fleshe for helpe and laboure to shake of this thought.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1310, in Wright, Lyric P. XV, 48, þat feyre ... wrief away as hue were wroht. — No later quotations in OED.

to wroote = to turn up the soil with the snout.

Bless. Body 1265 C 5, swyne, *wrootyng*e in the dirte, and wallowyng*e* in the myre.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 725 Corpus Gloss. § 689, subigo, *wrotu*. LQ. 1641 Best, Farm. Bks. 144, To lye it wheare it may bee well *wroten* amongst with swine and beasts.

VERBS OF MOTION FOLLOWED BY *IN* OR *INTO*

53. A rule that when verbs like *fall*, *renne*, etc., are used translocally ¹⁾ the adjunct of place must be preceded by *into* instead of *in* does not exist for More ; both prepositions are used indiscriminately.

to renne. Picus 4 C 6, that he *ranne* not *in* perpetuall infamy and sclandre.

to fall. Rich. 39 F 6, that we ... *fall* not *in* that occasion agayne | Dial. C. 340, he *falleth in* a so-dayn brayde. (Dial. C. 198 ; 142 ; 269 ; L. Th. 91 C. 8 ; 97 B 3 ; Picus 11 D 13 ; Rich. 70 A 12 ; etc.)

to come. Boke of F., 6 D 1, The rollyng dyse ... *came* neuer *in* myne hande. | Last Th. 76 G 10, Though we haue heard of hel, yet *came* we neuer *in* it.

to enter. Apol. 885 (Wks) B 6, *enter in*.

Picus 17 F 2, thei *renne* forth hedling *in* to all mischiefe. | Last Th. 85 G 9, redy to *run into* the fyre.

Apol. 168, by the passion of ire men *fall in* to manslaughter. Dial. C. 355, hell ..., *in* to whiche we *fall* while we flee from this. (Dial. C. 144 ; 206 ; etc.)

Rich. 60 E 14, John Dighton, about midnichte ... *came into* the chamber | Apol. 150, it often happeth that a man *cometh in* to a shoure.

Apol. 885 (Wks) B 4, *enter into* ...

¹⁾ The term is Behagel's [1921, II, p. 175]. He distinguishes « intralokale verba » and « translokale verba », the latter expressing motion from without to a point within limits of space, time, condition, circumstance, etc. and vice versa.

In Old English, the translocal meaning was expressed by *in* with the accusative, and so distinguished from the intralocal meaning, which was expressed by *in* followed by the dative. When the weakening and loss of case-endings in the course of the Middle English period made another means of differentiation necessary, the preposition *in to* or *into* came to be used when the sense implied motion or direction from without to a point within, or transition from one state or condition to another. There was, however, no uniformity, and for a long time the use of *in* and *into* remained arbitrary, even in such writers as are often said to be strongly influenced by Latin syntax, which so rigorously distinguishes the two cases by means of the locative (and dative) on one hand and the accusative on the other ¹⁾.

Compare the following evidence :

c 825 Vesp. Psalter XLVII, 9, *Stizende in heanisse*. · a 1300 E. E. Psalter XXIX, 12, þou *torned* mi weping ... *In blisse*. | 1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. XXI, v, 29, yf I *throwe* this ryche swerde *in* ²⁾ the water. | 1503 Thrissil & Rois, Stanza 7, Quhen this wes said, departit sho, this quene, And *enterit in* a lusty gairding gent. | 1513 Gawin Douglas, Prol. XXII Bk. Eneados 3, Dame Cynthia *down rollyng in* the see. | 1506 Stephen Hawes, Passelyme of Pl. XXXIII, 12, my crafty wytte is ... Love for to *bring in* perturbation. | 1533 J. Heywood, Pard. & Frere. 41, Yf that you *enter in* any hous any where. | 1520 Skelton, Magnyf. 1998, Fy, fy, that ever I sholde be *brought in* this snare. | 1523 Berners, Froiss. I, CXLIX, 177, He *fyll in* seruyce with a man of armes. | 1531 Elyot, Govern. Bk I, xviii, 22, and with a ioyfull maner to be *broughte in* the presence of him that is chiefe in the company. | idem xvii, 134, the horses *wente in* water to the necke. | 1535 Coverdale 2 Esdras III, 4, And hast *brethed in* him the breth of life. | 1540 Surrey, Transl. Aeneid B II 342, It was the time, when graunted from the godds The first slepe *crepes* most swete *in* very folk. | 1553 Udall, Royst. D. III 3, 31, He thinketh eche woman to be *brought in* dotage. | 1563 Sackville, Mirr. Mag. Induct. st. 5, The beare, that *in* the Iryshe seas has *dipt*. | 1590 Shakesp. Mids. N. II, i, 108, Hoared headed frosts *Fall in* the fresh lap of the crimson Rose (OED).

¹⁾ Note the translation of : *in ... desideria multa inutilia et nocua, que mergunt homines in interitum et perditionem*. (Dial. C. 245) : into manye desyres vnprofitable and harmefull, which *drownd* men *into* death and *into* destruction, and compare : Passion 1352 E 6, we ... *drown* us all to late *in* fruitlesse sorow & care.

²⁾ But : idem XXI, v, 32, he came ageyn vnto the king, and sayd he had ben at the water and had *throwen* the swerde *in to* the water.

SUBJECTIVE VERBS WITH QUASI-OBJECTS ¹⁾

54. Some adjuncts of place strongly resemble objects, so that it is difficult to decide whether the verb is subjective or not.

Picus 16 C 12, go thou boldely forth *thy iourney*. | Jest p. 3 E 2, [He] sayd mayden *go thy way*. | Rich. 55 B 12, God sende grace sir quod the messenger, and *went his way*. | Last Th. 93 A 12, he *went his way* heuily. | Dial. C. 128, *All the waye* that hys armye *cummeth*. | Picus 25 D 1, The pleasure, whiche thine euill worke doth contayne, *Glideth his way*, thou maist him not restraine. | Last Th. 76 D 11, the very face sheweth the mind *walking a pilgrimage*. | Boke of F. p. 4 A 7, she *fleeth her way*. | Dial. C. 171, howe manye madde wayes oure mynde *wandereth* the whyle. | Dial. C. 197, counsayle dare I gyue to no man, to *aduenture that waie* with him.

No deviation from older and later practice. *To walk a pilgrimage* is obsolete now.

Earlier examples :

c 900 tr. Beda's Hist. 1, xxiii, Hiȝ ... summe dæl þæs weȝes ȝefaren hæfdon. | c 1380 Wyclif, Wks. (1880) 32, No weddid man owiþ to leue his wife ... & *goo* many hundred myles in drede of þeues and enemyes (OED).

SUBJECTIVE VERBS WITH PREDICATIVE ADJUNCTS

55. Some subjective verbs have adjuncts which a) denote the state or condition of the subject during the action ; b) the state or condition of the subject in consequence of or after the action.

a) Dial. C. 143, he *died a very good man*. | Some Lett. ix p. 318, *his true subject wil I lue and dye*. | Dial. C. 301, we than stande in great ieopardye there to *lyue wretches* for euer. | Dial. C. 157, they let hym *lye lame styl* in hys fleshye lustes. | Conf. Tynd. 778 C 3, let it *lye bare*. | Jest p. 2 F 12, he *lay so sick* alway. | Apol. 100, he wolde *stycke styffe* in his obstynacy. | Picus 15 E 19, the apostles *went ioyfull and glad* from the counsell house. | Boke of F. p. 4 D 7, the fyrst can neuer cease but wepe, To see how *thick* the blynded people *go*. | Dial. Her. 126 A 8, the hole earth *bangeth* in the ayre, and men *walk fote against fote*, & shippes *saille bottom against bottom*. | Rich. 43 F 6, none coulde *passe vnserched*. | Apol. 176, heretykes may *go vnarrested*. | Last Th. 85 C 13, their posteritie *goe crooked* therof. | Picus 23 A 3, Enforce thyself not onely for to *stande vnuainquished* against the deuils might. | Dial. C. 203, hym that *suffreth dark and vnknewen*. | Instr. 1405 B 13, If he be nought, eyther he shall amende and *die good* ... or abyde nought and *die nought*.

b) Dial. C. 172, he thrise *fell prostrate* in his agonie.

¹⁾ For the type to *flow milk and honey* see § 93 s. v. *flow*.

The adjuncts are either nouns or adjectives. In a great number of these cases the verb is in a more or less advanced stage towards the copula state (cf. *to stand unvanquished, to remain unvanquished, to be unvanquished*) ¹).

The nature of the construction verb + adjunct is not always clear, since words like *styffe, thick*, were still used by More both as adjectives and adverbs. It is therefore from the context or situation only that we can gather whether the adjunct is adnominal or adverbial. In the following quotation the word *soft* can only be interpreted as an adverb adjunct, owing to the fact that it stands in juxtaposition with *easily* : Boke of F. p. 4 A 10, The head that late lay *easily* and full *soft*, In stede of pylows lyeth after on the blocke.

Earlier instances : a 1225 Ancr. R. 108, Heo ouh for to *deien martir* in hire mescise. | a 1215 St. Marher 18, Hit were þi gein þet tu *gest unblescet*. | c 1511, 1st Eng. Bk. Amer. (Arb.) Introd. 27, This people *goeth all naked* (OED).

Later instances : 1611 Bible, Acts XXVI, 5, After the most straitest sect of our religion, I *liued a Pharisee*. | 1859 G. Meredith, Juggling Jerry X, I ... have *lived no gipsy*. | 1856 Aytoun, Bothwell I, V, And yet — he bandies texts with Knox, And *walks a pious man* ! (OED).

Pres. D. Eng. often has *as* or *like* before the noun : They *live like goats* and *die like asses*.

VICARIOUS *To Do* REPLACING A SUBJECTIVE VERB

56. Dial. Her. 126 D 10, Than said he fether that yt was more meruayle that the fyre shall make yron to ronne as siluer or led *dothe*. | Last Th. 81 A 8, as sore laboreth to the dissolution of the whole body as other sicknes *do*. | Jest p. 3 B 11, The frere sayd, God spede fayre mayd, Here lodgeth such a man, It is told me : Well syr quod she, And yf he *do* what than. | Boke of F. 2 D 2, on whiche the mased people gase and stare, ... as dogges *doe* for the bone. | Dial. C. 183, between you and me it fared as it *did* once betwene a Nunne and her brother. | Dial. C. 125 ; 154 ; 162 ; 168 ; 169 ; 176 ; 182 ; 228, etc. ; Jest 4 B 16 ; Rich. 55 F 14 ; 37 G 10, etc. ; Last Th. 72 G 13 ; 85 H 5 ; Picus 26 A 3 ; 18 A 3, etc.

Although *to do* is a substitute for a subjective verb, its own character seems to be objective, the object being the contents of the preceding unit (in the majority of cases summarized by means of the word *as* : *as dogges doe*). It is also possible to

¹) See Jespersen 1928 p. 358 ("quasi-predicatives"); Curme, 1933 p. 26-27, 30 ("predicate appositives"); Poutsma 1926 LIX, 22, 23.

look upon *to do* as a semi-independent auxiliary ¹⁾ : *make yron to ronne as silver dothe [ronne]*.

The usage dates from the earliest periods : c 1000 Aelfric, Man. Astron. (Wright) 2, [seo sunne] scinþ under þære eorþan on nihtlicre tide swa swa heo on dæg deþ bufan urum heafdum.

In Pres. D. Eng. it is very common, e. g. He speaks as well as you *do*.

Constructions with substitutive *to do* as illustrated in the following quotation from More, are no longer possible : Dial. C. 162, though he were byryed where his father was, yet whether he went to the rest *that his father dyd*, ... I cannot tel.

SHALL, SHOULD, WILL, MAY AS SUBJECTIVE VERBS ¹⁾

57. Apol. 884 (Wks.) F 6, loe syrs these folke that are in religion *shall* oute, come you into relygion in theyre stedes. | Dial. C. 180, if god wil we *shal* hence, than dothe he much more for vs. | Lament. p. 1 D 3, O ye ... That so lyue here as ye *should* neuer hence. | Dial. C. 252, [he] geue him a greate bagge by his syde, filled euen full of gold, but geuing him this knot therwith that within a litle while, out he *shold* in his old ragges again. | Dial. C. 187, I know my lingering not likely to last longe, but out *wil* my snuffe sodainly some daye. | Rich. 54 F 13, for by saynt Poule (quod he) I *wil* not to dinner til I se thy hed of. | Dial. C. 192, when he saw it woulde not bee, but downe into the floude headlonge nedes he *shoulde* : in a sodeyn flight he cried out : | Last Th. 85 B 1, enuy where it *may* ouer, doth al the hurt it can. | Apol. 925 A 7, so that home *must* the tinker againe.

This is a remnant of the old use in which these verbs had a fuller meaning and could consequently be combined with adverbs denoting direction ; it seems therefore wrong to call this usage elliptical or quasi-elliptical, as OED. does. In Pres. D. Eng. the old idiom is occasionally found in literary language and in proverbs ; in spoken English it is now archaic. The latest quot. in OED with *may over* = *prevall*, is dated c 1430.

EARLIER	LATER
<i>shall</i> .	
Beow. 1179, þonne þu forþ scyle. idem 2817, ic him æfter sceal. 1297 R. Glouc. 7113, þe ssephurdes	1597. Shakesp. 2 Henry iv, V, i, 1, By cocke and pye, ... you <i>shall</i> not away to-night.

¹⁾ Cf. the semi-independent use of *will*, *can*, *may*, etc. § 61.

& þe ssep al so ssolleþ to þe pine
of helle.

should.

c 893 Aelfr. Oros. III, V, hie ...
wiston hwider hie *sceoldon*.

1377 Langl. P. Pl. XV, One ... tolde
me whyder I *shulde*.

will.

Beow. 318, Ic to sæ *wille*.

13 ... Curs. M. 20356, Furst my lord
was brought to dede ... And now
my ladi *wil* me fro.

may.

c 1430 Pol. Rel. & L. Poems, 197-03,
For & thou ouer me *mygtist*, as y
ouer þee *may*.

must.

c 1386 Chaucer, Man of L. T. 281,
Allas! vn to the Barbre nacion I
moste anon.

1828 Scott, F. M. Perth XXIX, Thou
shalt with me to Iona.

1598 Shakesp. Merry W. III, v, 14,
If the bottome were as deepe as
helle, I *shold* down.

1905 Humph. Ward. 83, a precipi-
tate exit lest the inward laugh
should out.

1590 Shakesp. Merry W. III, iii,
145, *Ile* in, *Ile* in.

1885-94, Bridges, Eros XVIII, I *will*
to thee o'er the stream afloat.

Pres. D. Eng. proverb: Murder
will out.

In Pres. D. Eng. obsolete.

1611 Shaks. Cymb. III, V, 2, My
emperor hath wrote, I *must* from
hence. — Now archaic.

OBJECTIVE VERBS USED ABSOLUTELY

58. The objective verbs occurring in the following quotations are used absolutely, i. e. their complements are not expressed, but are understood or can be inferred from the situation or the context.

Passion 1319 C 1, Jesus began *to do* and *to teach*. | Apol. (Wks.) 873 A 1, tyll you meeke your selfe and *amende* them, thys anger of your husband will neuer be well appeased. | Picus 5 C 4, He saide... that such disputacions greatly *profited*, as were exercised with a peasible minde. | Dial. C. 345, To him that *ouercometh*, I shal geue him to eate of the tree of life. | Picus 31 B 4, But *eate* he, *drinke* he, sitte, lye downe or walke, He burneth euer as it were with a fire. | Jest p. 2 E 9, There *spent* he fast, Till all was past. | Last Th. 89 C 14, they neither sow nor *repe*, nor *gather* to no barns. | Jest p. 1 C 13, The wayes to *buy* and *sell*. | Apol. 96, *fayn* | Dial. C. 214, *forbede* | Dial. C. 209, *begin* | Rich. 40 F 10 wyt | Jest p. 4 B 14, *turne* | Picus 31 B 10, *sing* | Last Th. 88 D 9, *leau* of | Last Th. 99 B 2, *minish* | Rich. 40 C 7, *build* | Rich. 48 (= 45) B 10, *keep* | Picus 34 C 10, *loue* | Dial. C (Wks.) 1259 G 11, *dilate*.

It is not easy to draw the line between subjective verbs on the one hand and objective verbs used absolutely on the other,

the distinction being of a syntactical rather than a semasiological kind. Through the suppression of the complement a verb is apt to change its status, since the centring of the attention on the verbal idea causes the verb to be felt as subjective; its meaning is then less concrete or special (cf. *The ways to buy and sell*).

More's usage is in agreement with earlier and later practice.

Earlier instances : 1382 Wyclif, Rev. III, 21, I shal giue to him that shal ouercome. | 1393 Gower, Conf. III 89, The wise man accompteth After the formal proprete Of alorismes a be ce (OED).

REFLEXIVE VERBS WITHOUT REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

59. In More's English we do not find many clear instances of reflexive verbs used absolutely. The restriction *clear* is necessary, for it is not difficult to interpret a number of what are usually called real subjective verbs in such a way that they denote a reflex action (arise = *se lever*; sit down = *s'asseoir*)¹). Clear instances occur in the following Pres. D. sentences : 1854 Poultry, Chr. I 49, Here the birds can *wash* | 1844 Dickens, Mart. Ch. XXVI, Even archbishops *shave*, or must be shaved, on a Sunday. It is this latter idiom that is seldom met with in More; as a rule he uses the reflexive pronouns, though the possibility of omitting them existed already before his time, at least with some verbs (*to wash*, earliest quot. in OED. dated 1175; *to rejoice* 1468; *to bow* 1000; etc.).

The following quotations can be given from More :

Conf. Tynd. 348 C 5, he would with good will haue ones abiured, & ones *periured* againe. | Aut. Lett. IV, 63, enemies agaynst whom somme of those contrees haue been vsed both *to defend* & make invasions at theyre awne cost and charge. | Dial. C. 197, counsayle dare I *gyue* no man, *to aduenture* that waie with them. | Conf. Tynd. 399 C 10, if he might once mete ye deuyl in the dark, he would ... *crosse* & *blesse* apace. | Conf. Tynd. 784 E 2, yet coulde he not *holde* but somewhat show himselfe in that worke. | Conf. Tynd. 829 B 13, the false heretyques *intruded* ... into theyr places. | Bless. Body 1264 D 10, they *prepare* to receiue him with honest and clene soules. | Aut. Lett. XII, 56 ... ffor he think(eth) that if themporor entre in it wold geve good corage to the Duke *to declare*. | Dial. C. 211, Now before I *medle* wyth your second

¹) This manner of interpreting by means of older stages of the language or of foreign, even dead languages (Latin medium) may easily lead to wrong conclusions. There are perhaps languages in which *go*, *hang*, *stand* are reflexive.

[scil. obieccion] your third wyl I ione to this. | Picus 1 C 13, their frendship ... *stretcheth* in manner to the body only. | Dial. C. 155, He saith not here lo, let him laughe and *make mery*.

If it is true what Einkenel (1916 p. 133) says concerning the collocation in the last of the above quotations (*make mery*), namely that it came from « to make *it* merry », the quotation is irrevelant.

The reciprocal object is absent in : Debell. 933 F 5, Than stande they both styll there as thei fyrst *meete*, and that is the strete by lykelyhode (for there folke most comonly *meete*, that *meete* at aduenture as they doe).

To Do, REPLACING AN OBJECTIVE VERB, USED ABSOLUTELY

60. Boke of F p. D 2, And he her curseth as other fooles *do*. | Dial. C. 168, the deuyll...suffreth hym not than to take it for a fable. And yet if he *doe*, then fyndeth it the wretche no fable. | Dial. C. 341, he did but delaye his trouble for a little while ... he repented furthwith verye sore, that he so had *doone*. | Dial. C. 212, He must do as *doth* a ship, | Dial. C. 305, Sometime he taketh them to him out of the pryson ... as he has *done* by many a good holye manne. | Rich. 49 (=46) G 9, which [sain-tuarie] good menne might ... without sinne somnewhat lesse regarde then they *do*.

Here *to do* replaces an objective verb ; its own character is therefore also objective [** he her curseth as other fooles do her*]. Another interpretation is that not the pronoun, but the verb + pronoun ought to be supplied after *do* [** he her curseth as other fooles do curse her*] In this case *to do* may be looked upon as a semi-independent auxiliary instead of a pro-verb or a substitutive verb and then the words *so* and *as* [he so had done] may not be regarded as objects.

The idiom was known before More's time : c 1175 Lamb. Hom. III, Summe lauerdes ... god gremiaþ, swa saul þe king *dude*. It is common in Pres. D. Eng., e. g. We pay double the price we formerly *did*. In the following quotation present usage would seem to require *to do* after *hath cause* : Dial. C. 208, Thus fareth lo the scrupulous person which frameth himself mani times double the feare that he hath cause.

THE SEMI-INDEPENDENT USE OF *Will*, *Can*, *May*, ETC.

61. Jest p. 3 D 3, go hym to, And say an austen fryre, Would with hym speke ... Quod she I *wyll*, Stonde ye here styll. Till I come downe agayne, | Jest p. 3 C 4, It longeth for our order, To hurt no man, But as

we *can* ¹⁾, Euery wight to forder. | Dial. C. 166, helpe our selues as wel as we *canne* ¹⁾, he can make his plage as sore as hymselfe lust. | Picus 16 F 12, then shall thei coueit to ensue them in liuing, whan thei *maie* not. | Dial. Her. 130 A 2, god might breke vp the hole world if he *wold*. Boke of F. p. 6 A 1, Serve her ... as reuerently ..., as any seruant *may*. | Last Th. 76 F 11, we know them either by faith or experience. And yet not so very thorowly as we *might* peraduenture, & herafter ... *shal*. | Dial. C. 235, He feareth also where he *nedeth* not.

Though in the sentences *will*, *can*, etc. stand alone, they do so only from a syntactical standpoint; semantically they form a direct nexus with the verb in the preceding unit. Front-position of the clause containing the semi-independent verb occasionally occurs: Rich. 51 G 10, if ye *cannot* els where, then may you leue him here.

EARLIER	LATER
<i>will</i> . 1175, Lamb. Hom. 15, Al hit mei us rede and to lare gif we <i>wulleth</i> (OED).	1870 Morris, Earthl. P. 241, 2, And so mid varied talk the day went by, As such days <i>will</i> , not quite unhappily (OED).
<i>shall</i> . a 1225 Leg. Kath. 2390, Leste 3e eft wepen echeliche in helle, ... as 3e <i>schullen</i> alle, ... (OED).	1710 Swift, Jrnl. to St. 22 Oct., This would vex me, but it <i>shall</i> not (OED).
<i>can</i> . a 1300 Curs. M. 23945, I wald speke if I cuþe (OED).	Pres. D. Eng. He will come if he <i>can</i> .
<i>may</i> . a 1000 Guthlac 1082, Aras þe eorla wynn heard hygesnottor, swa he braþost <i>meakte</i> (OED).	1857 M. Arnold, Rugby Chap. 34, we ... have endured Sunshine and rain as we <i>might</i> (OED).
<i>need</i> ? Earliest quot. in OED. is dated 1577-87.	1710 Steele, Tatler No 137 § 1, Some use Ten Times more Words than they <i>need</i> (OED).

SUBJECTIVE VERBS WITH A PASSIVE IMPLICATION ²⁾

62. Of sporadic occurrence are units containing subjective verbs with a distinctly passive implication, like the following

¹⁾ In some cases *can* in this position is not semi-independent, but entirely independent; its meaning is then *to know*: Dial. Her. 274 E 1, they deuysse by all the wayes thei *can* to geat so many to fall into their sorte, that ... (See § 96).

²⁾ For the passive character of the infinitive and the form in *-ing* see the sections on these verbal forms.

in Pres. D. Eng. : The first consignment *sold out* in a week. | The boat *upset*. | The eggs *hatched out* easily. | Such houses *sell* easily.

In More we find : Dial. Her. 252 A 4, which law ... wold make al theyr eyen *dase*. | Debell. 943 A 1, For now shal you good readers *se*, what litle insight the man hath in anye thing that *readeth*. | Answer 1121 A 9, for which as for litle trifles his hart *freteth* sore. | Rich. 35 D 2, Katheryne whiche longe tyme *tossed* in either fortune sometime in wealth, ofte in aduersitye, at the laste ... is by the benignitye of her Nephewe ... in verye prosperous estate. | Dial. C. 182, a litle *casting back* ¹⁾ ... were in this great age of yours, no litle danger and peril. | Dial. Her. 164 E 10, what way wold ye *winde out*? | Supplic. 321 A 6, The tone is a light flame sone ended, the tother *smowdreth* ²⁾ much lenger. | Answer 1059 D 15, therof a promise had *passed* & a vow was made.

That this idiom occurs so rarely is connected with the fact that in More's language the reflexive verb is seldom to be found without the reflexive pronoun. Later on, when the pronoun came to be more generally dropped, the door was opened for imitations and analogies on a large scale. For it may be assumed that in the majority of cases the passive meaning developed through the reflexive form as an intermediary (She *tossed* the coin > she *tossed herself* > she *tossed* = she was *tossed*). Though the bulk of the verbs now so used, underwent this change only after More's time (as may be gathered from the appended list, compiled from the quotations in OED. and giving the earliest dates of their passival or activo-passival ³⁾ use), a not inconsiderable earnest of this phenomenon is met with in writers before More. Delcourt's statement ⁴⁾ therefore that the use of *to read* with the meaning of *se lire* must be reckoned among the Modern English features of More's language appears to be erroneous.

c 1000 *open*. Aelfr. Hom. II, 258, Burgene *openodon* mid *deadum* banum.

c 1175 *break*. Lamb. Hom. 83, þet gles ne *brekeþ*.

c 1200 *herbergen*. Trin. Coll. Hom. 87, Gif he mai þer inne *herbergen*.

¹⁾ Cf. Milton, Samson : mine, *cast back* with age, Came *lagging after*.

²⁾ The transitive meaning is older, see OED.

³⁾ Jespersen, 1928 p. 347.

⁴⁾ 1914 p. 228 : "les traits proprement modernes ... les principaux d'entre eux : ... l'emploi de *to read* avec le sens de *se lire*".

- c 1275 *wear*. Serving Christ 68, þer wereþ vre wlite in wurmene won.
 1297 *drench*. Curs. M. 18113, A deu, al for to make þam hale on þam sal spred.
- a 1300 *wipe*. Curs. M. 8952, If þat ani vertu be of halines wit-in þat tree, wit sinful mens fett ... Onganging it sal *wipe* a-wai.
- c 1386 *derive*. Chaucer, Kn. T. 2148, wel may men knowe but it be a fool That euery part *dirryueth* from his hool.
- 1390 *trouble*. Gower, Conf. viii, 3009, But hou so that it *trowble* in their, The sonne is evere briht and feir.
- 1398 *fold*. Trevisa, Barth. De P. R. xvii, xxvii, 620, The cassia is best that brekyth not soone but bendeth and *foldeth*.
- 1398 *consume* ; *waste*. Trevisa, id. xix, xxi, 876, Those persones whyche done *consume* and *waste*.
- a 1417 *strike*. York Memor. Bk i, 224, Fra evynsang ryng ... on to the morne that prime *stryke* at the mynster.
- c 1450 *compare*. Merlin xx, 317, Thei ben so fewe that they may not *compare* with them.
- 1486 *fret*. Bk St. Alban's, B. ii B, And that same penne shalle *frete* asonder and fall away.
- 1509 *toss*. Hawes, Past. Pl. ii, 14, So forth I went *tossynge* on my braine.
- 1526 *tear* ; *rent*. Pilg. Perf. 260 b., His handes and fete dyd *rent* and *teare* for the weight.
- 1530 *soil*. Palsgr. 724, 2, I love to weare satten of Bruges but it wyll *soyle* anone.
- 1538 *pour*. Elyot, Dict., Ruo = to falle, to *poure* out.
- 1552 *taste*. Huloet ; *Tastyng*e or castyng e an yll taste or sauoure, virosus.
- 1562 *mask*. G. Cavendish, Wolsey, 108, noble gentlemen who daunced and *masked*.
- 1581 *tell*. Hudson, Du Bartas' Judith 696, better *tels* to lose like Jewes, then winne like infidels.
- 1585 *preserve*. T. Washington, tr. Nich. Voy. iii, i, 69 b, The snow *preserveth* all the whole sommer in hys accustomed nature and coldnesse without melting.
- 1589 *mate*. Warner, Alb. Eng. vi, The gayest Females *mate* With louts as soon as Lordes.
- 1592 *cure*. Shak. Romoo I, 2, 49, One desperate grief *cures* with another's grief.
- 1594 *plant*. Willobie, Avis a xlv, 5, No reason rules, where sorrowes *plant*.
- 1601 *offer*. Holland, Pliny I, 57, There *offereth* to our eie first the towne Nicaea.

- 1604 *ruin*. E. Grimstone, Hist. Siege Ost. 202, They suffered it to burne and *ruine*.
- 1605 *bake*. Shak., Macb. iv, i, 13, Fillet of a Fenny Snake, In the Cauldron boyle and *bake*.
- 1605 *shape*. Bacon, Adv. L. I, V § 4, Young men, when they knit and *shape* perfectly, doe seldome grow to a further statue.
- 1606 *sell*. Shak. Tr. & Cr. I, III, 306, Let vs ... show our fowlest ware, And thinke perchance they'll *sell*.
- 1607 *drink*. Heywood, Woman Kilde, Epil., The wine ... *drunk* too flat.
- 1607 *fill*. Shak. Timon IV, III, 244, The one is *filling* still neuer compleat.
- 1612 *mould*. Dekker, If It Be N. G., B 4, Blest raigne ! The Golden worlde is *molding* new againe.
1612. *fashion*. Brerewood, Lang. & Rel. vi, 50, It was spoken corruptly, according as the peoples tongues would *fashion* to it.
- 1613 *pille*. W. Browne, Brit. Past. II, iv, The hart-like leaves oft each with other *pille*. As do the hard scales of the Crocodile.
- 1618 *obtain*. Hales, Gold. Rem. II, 66, Their opinions have now *obtained* for a hundred years.
1627 <i>steer</i>	1737 <i>mellow</i>	1837 <i>smooth</i>
1634 <i>peel</i>	1747 <i>glaze</i>	1840 <i>rip</i>
1638 <i>separate</i>	1751 <i>cut</i>	1841 <i>bury</i>
1641 <i>slay</i>	1762 <i>plough</i>	1843 <i>develop</i>
1659 <i>people</i>	1765 <i>wash</i>	1847 <i>poise</i>
1665 <i>plash</i>	1787 <i>catch</i>	1852 <i>print</i>
(1668) ¹⁾ <i>read</i>	1792 <i>utter</i>	1860 <i>temper</i>
1672 <i>rhyme</i>	1796 <i>transplant</i>	1870 <i>perfect</i>
1682 <i>flx</i>	1799 <i>upset</i>	(1877) ²⁾ <i>stain</i>
1687 <i>marshal</i>	1800 <i>pillow</i>	1883 <i>smoke</i>
1688 <i>strip</i>	1807 <i>graduate</i>	1884 <i>let</i>
1692 <i>spoil</i>	1810 <i>powder</i>	1886 <i>trace</i>
a 1721 <i>flatten</i>	1812 <i>pay</i>	1894 <i>rear</i>
1722 <i>form</i>	1812 <i>translate</i>	1896 <i>patch</i>
1726 <i>saw</i>	1815 <i>modulate</i>	1904 <i>smash</i>
1727 <i>hatch</i>	1827 <i>write</i>	1913 <i>transmit</i>
1737 <i>pit</i>	1828 <i>uprear</i>	

¹⁾ In OED, but see our quot. from More in the beginning of this §.

²⁾ In OED, but in Shak. Love's L. L. II, I, 48 : If virtue's gloss will *stain* with any soil.

TYPE : *To HAVE A FALL = To FALL*

63. Collocations consisting of a verb (*have, make, take*) and noun are frequently used as approximate equivalents of subjective verbs.

to have a fall = to fall. Dial. C. 267, he made a proude promise and sone had a foule fall.

to have a purpose = to purpose. Dial. C. 143, lette vs ... haue a good purpose wyth vs of sure standing by his holy faith.

to have sporte = to be full of joy ; to enjoy oneself. Dial. C. 216, Ther were standing other folk by, which had a good sporte to hear her chide.

to have meruayle = to marvel. Apol. 94, Mych meruayle haue I to se some folke so boldely speke.

to have spede = (to speed) ; to prosper. Apol. 182, I nothyng dout ... but that ... the heretykes sholde haue such spede, as they haue before this tyme had.

to catch a fall = to fall. Dial. C. 145, he might haue caught a foule fal.

to make a vysage = to look. Dial. Her. 271 H 3, they make a vysage as though they came streight from heauen.

to make praiers = to pray. Dial. C. 139, we may neuer wel make praiers so presysely. | Dial. Her. 165 A 12, so wold I ... knele me downe and make my speciall prayour to God. | Dial. Her. 165 E 12, though ye had made your special prayour to spede well.

to make hoste = to boast. Boke of F. 4 B 9, Great boste she maketh yf one be by her power Welthy and wretched both within an howre.

to make delayes = to delay. Apol. 147, beyng called in for wytness they haue fyrst made many delayes.

to make a lie = to lie. Apol. 175, they ... made a lie agayne.

to make a shrift = to go to confession. Rich. 54 F 16, he toke a priest at aduenture, & made a short shrift.

to make an end = to end. Dial. C. 139, they turne ... to God, and call for mercy, and make a right good end.

to take thought = to think ; to grieve. Last Th. 89 C 8, Why takest thou thought now in thy self... ?

to take a fall = to fall. Dial. C. 339, [they] maye soone take a foule fall.

to take penance = to repent etc. Dial. C. 197, to take no thought, but make mery, nor take no penance at all.

to take a good stomacke to oneself = to be bold. Dial. C. 206, good thynges, whyche (if he tooke a good stomake to hym in the trust of Gods helpe) he were wel able to do.

to break one's fast = *to breakfast*. Dial. C. 238, both *brake* I my fast euen as you came in, and also...

The use of the analytic form (*to have a fall*) instead of the simple verb can be accounted for in several ways. It may in the first place be a question of style and rhythm, since the use of the analytic phrase affords an opportunity to arrange the adjuncts in a more elegant and sometimes more efficient way (e. g. adjectives instead of adverbs; cf. *he soon fell foully — he had a foul fall; *I would pray specially to God — I wold make my special prayour to God). A second cause for the development of the periphrastic collocation may be sought in the tendency — then already very strong (see the use of the attendant verbs) — to use analytic constructions ¹⁾. The main cause, however, lies in the fact that the periphrasis enables the writer to express more distinctly the particular aspect of the syntactical unit. If we compare *he had a fall* and *he fell*, it is evident that the terminative aspect is considerably more distinct in the analytic construction than in the other. In the former the various semantic and syntactic functions may be separately expressed: the noun (fall) is the bearer of the mere verbal notion, the verb (have) takes the task of expressing the finer shades of aspect, modality, time-sphere, etc. There are moreover other differences between the two forms. In *he had a fall* the singleness, or one-ness ²⁾ of the act comes to the fore, which may not be the case in *he fell*, and — owing to the fact that the verb in the analytic form is not entirely a linkword, but has retained something of its full meaning — the subject in *he had a foul fall* is not in the first place represented as the doer, the agent, but rather as the person who experiences the pleasant or unpleasant consequences of the action. Similar arguments may be used regarding the other verbs (*to have spede* = *to prosper*; *to make a lie* = *to lie*).

¹⁾ Deutschbein (1931 a § 21) sees the cause of the development of these analytic forms in "eine ausgesprochene Neigung zum *gegenständlichen* Denken" and speaks of the "nominaler Character der eng. Sprache".

²⁾ Deutschbein (1931 a § 28) makes a difference between "abstract-generelle" and "actuelle Sätze" and (p. 66 note 1) speaks of "dauernde Handlung" and "einmalige Handlung",

64. Both Curme ¹⁾ and Poutsma (1926 LIV, 13) call the analytic form colloquial, the first adding that the method of using a full verb is felt as too formal, too scientific. This may be true for Pres. D. Eng. [though the above observations render it doubtful], but it is beyond gainsay that in More's quotations there is no question of colloquiality; there is decidedly none in those taken from such works as *The Apologye*, where More writes in a constant mood of holy earnestness. The regrettable absence of syntactical studies dealing with this phenomenon in older English, makes it impossible to give an historical view of its development. The following batch of quotations from OED ²⁾, showing the earliest occurrence of this usage, prove that, with a number of verbs at least, the idiom was known before More's time.

- to catch a fall.* 1537 W. T. Expos. St. John. 79, They be taken tardy and *ketch a fall.* (Rhythm !)
- to have purpose.* a 1384 Chaucer H. Fame 377, Who-so to knowe hit *hath purpose* Rede Virgile in Eneydos.
- to have marvel.* 1303 R. Brunne, Handl. S. 3927, þe lorde and þe gestes alle *had meruyele* þat hyt was so.
- to have speed.* 1535 Goodly Prymer S. j. b., That temyng women may *haue ioyfull spede* in their labour.
- to have sport.* c 1515 Cocke Lorell's B. 3, To searche theyr bodyes *layre and clere*, Therof they *had good sporte.*
- to make bost.* 1377 Langl. P. Pl. XIV, 247, And whether be ligter to breke ? lasse *boste* it *maketh*, A beggeres *bagge* þan an yren-bounde *coffre.*
- to make an end.* a 1300 Curs. M. 27783, For drede þat he may noght *mak end.*
- to make prayers.* c 1420 Chron. Vilod 3911, when þe quene hadde made *hurre preyzerus* þus.

¹⁾ 1933 p. 22 : « In colloquial language there is here as elsewhere a tendency to more concrete forms of expression. A noun seems nearer to popular feeling than the more abstract verb. » It may be asked what there is more of concreteness in *a fall* than in *to fall*. The terms *limitless* (to fall) and *limited* (a fall) would be more to the point.

²⁾ The OED. is far from exhaustive in this respect, since some of the collocations, as such, have no separate paragraph; *to have a fall* is not given; s. v. *have* (= *experience*) we find as earliest quotation : 1590 *have a sport*; further : 1697 *have a stroke*; 1760 *have a dip*; etc.

- to make a lie.* a 1533, Ld. Berners, Huon. XXXVII, 116, Huon thus being in displeasure with hymselfe for the *lye* that he *made*.
to make delay. 1583, Hollybrand, Campo d. F, 47, To do so great an enterprise, I *make* no *delay*.
to take penance. 1470-85 Malory, M. Arth. XXI, VII, Grete *Penaunce* she *toke* as euer dyd synful lady in thys londe.
to take thought. 1523 Ld Berners, Froiss. I, CCXXXIII, 324, His wyfe ... *toke moche thought* for his departyng.
to take one's way. a 1300 Curs. M. 11382, þis kinges thre þar wai þai *tok* A tuelmoth ar the natiuite.
te take (a good) stomach unto oneself. 1544 Bale, Exam. Oldcastle 26 b, He *toke stomake onto him* agayne ¹⁾.

3. — THE VERB STANDS WITH A COMPLEMENT

DISTINCT SUBORDINATION

(COPULAS)

CHARACTER OF THE CONSTRUCTION

65. The degree of subordination of the verbs to their complements in units such as *he was wood* for *payne*, *we be slave*, those *are ours*, is in some cases so considerable that they may be called mere link-words or copulas. It does not, however, follow that they can be done without, for, instead of being dispensable, they are of the greatest importance as the only words in these syntactical units that enable the latter to carry out a number of syntactical functions and express semantical notions. Thus the copula helps to express :

- a. a question : *Was* the king sure ? (Cf. *The King was* sure.
- b. a command : Last Th. 81 D 3, *Be* mery manne.
- c. emphasis : Rich. 71 E 3, *it is* none horne that is thine head.
- d. time-sphere : Lament. St. 8 l. 6, That we lest feare, full oft *it is* most nye. | Jest p. 4 E 13, he *was* wood for payne.
- e. modality of non-reality, doubt or uncertainty : Picus 21 C 3, then *were* it no right, That any seruant ... shoulde stande in better condition than his lorde. | Last Th. 88 C 10, Doubt ye whether this wrath *be* pride ?
- f. aspect : Rich. 65 E 14, then *waxed* he bolde. | Dial. C. 260, he *falleth* desperate of all help.

¹⁾ For periphrastic collocations of this type, approximately equivalent to *objective verbs*, see § 103.

- g. various kinds of adverbial relations : Picus 13 C 2, And verely it is accordyng, that god should despyse thee being a man, whan thou *being* a man despysest a man. | Rich. 59 D 16, mariage *being* a spiritual thing, ... to be made for the respects of God.

THE COPULA TO BE

66. The commonest copula is *to be*. Just as in Pres. D. Eng. it either classifies or identifies. In the first case it states *of what sort* the subject is, i. e. that the subject has a place among the things distinguished by a specified quality or name in the complement (as in : Dial. Her. 166 G 8, whether it be man or woman ; Picus 8 C 9, he was diligent). In the second case it states *what* the subject is, i. e. that the subject is identical with the complement (as in : Picus 17 B 1, thou art god my sauour.)

The verb *to go* in the following unit may be looked upon as a synonym of *to be*.

Dial. C. 269, How be it manye a manne maye weene himself farre therefro, that yet may fortune by some one chaunce or other : to fall in the case that eyther for the trouth of fayth, or for the trouthe of iustice, (which goe almoste alyke) he may fall in the case.

It follows from what has been said in § 65 about the functions of the copula, that whenever the particular character of the unit as regards time-sphere, modality, aspect, etc. can be inferred from the situation or context, the link verb is superfluous. There are, indeed, various examples in More's English which point to the truth of this conjecture ¹⁾ :

Rich. 61 A 6, he declared then, that king Eduard was neuer lawfully married, vnto the quene, but was before god, husband vnto dame Elizabeth Lucy, & so his *children bastardes*. | Dial. C. 347, those heauenly ioyes ... of whiche our carnal heartes hath so fleble ... a feling, and our dull wordly wittes so little *able* to conceue. | Picus 3 A 5, [he] would hold it in sure remembrance : *which* in other folkes *wont* ²⁾ commonly to happen contrary. | Rich. 55 F 11, [they] should that day be behedded at Pomfret : *which* he wel wyst, but nothing *ware* that the axe hang ouer his own hed. | Last Th. 93 A 18, if theyr hertes had bene sore set vppon righte small thinges, it wolde haue bene a great let. And *no maruaile* ³⁾ thoughe couetous be hard to hele. | Rich. 55 G 2, And lo

¹⁾ For the "absence" of the copula *to be* in units of the type : He findeth it no fable. | He thinketh his game sweet, etc., see § 129.

²⁾ Or perhaps the verb *to wont* ; but the earliest illustration in OED of this verb in the sense *to be wont* is dated a 1547.

³⁾ In Pres. D. Eng. still in : *worse luck ; what matter ; all the more reason, small wonder* etc.

how the world is turned, now stand mine enemies in the daunger ... and I neuer in my life so mery, nor neuer in so great suerty. | Apol. 13, more then four partes ... could neuer rede englyshe yet, and *many now to olde* to begynne to go to scole.

Similar constructions were not rare in earlier English.

67. No examples have been found of the following type ("omission" of *being*): Barrie, Litt. M. 257, It would be a wild, presumptuous thing and *him a great minister* (J.).

68. The other link-verbs are not merely subservient in expressing certain syntactical notions, but perform functions of their own on the strength of their original character; they may therefore be divided into the following groups:

- a. copulas of aspect (*become, wax, fall, remain, etc.*).
- b. copulas of modality (*seme, appere, loke, etc.*).

COPULAS OF ASPECT

69. *to become* ¹⁾. Dial. C. 253, he promised not, neither to geue awaye all, nor to *become* a begger. | Dial. C. 172, Christ ... *became* obedient vnto the death. | Jest p. 1 G 2, An olde butler, *Becum* a cutler, I wene shall proue a fole. | Dial. C. 227; 336; 253; 310; Apol. 153, etc.

Dial. C. 336, they wyll by theyr owne willes lette theyr sycknesse ... growe ... tyll it *be come* incurable.

In the last example *be* and *come* are printed separately so that *come* may perhaps be regarded as a past participle and *be* as an attendant verb. In that case *come* would be another link-verb.

Sometimes *to be* has the same aspect as *become*: Apol. 51, by twyse weddyng [I] am come in the case that I can neuer *be* preste. | Jest p. 1 H 1, many a man ... hath with good cast, *Be* ryche at last, That hath begonne with lesse.

Older usage: c 1175 Lamb. Hom. 47, þa *bicom* his licome swiþe feble. | c 1400 Mandev., Tr. 90, 25, After began he for to wexe wyse and riche and he was a gret Astronomer.

70. *to wax*. Dial. C. 130, I *waxed* therwith my self sodeinly sumwhat a flyghte. | Rich. 65 E 12, When the duke had this leaue & pardon

¹⁾ *Become* may also be used as a subjective verb: Dial. Her. 274 B 2, And where were *become* al good ordre among men, if euery misordred wretche myght alledge that his mischicuous dede was his desteny. | Passion 1353 B 15, But nowe where are these folke *become*, that stande very muche in theyr owne conceyte...

to speake, then *waxed* he bolde. | Dial. C. 244, there are two times of darkneses : the tene ere the morning *wax* lyght, the tother when the euenig *waxeth* darke. | Jest p. 3 H 9, This merchaunt there, For wrath and fere, He *waxing* welnygh wood, Sayd horson thefe..., Who has taught the thy good ? | Rich. 49 C 9, *waxeth* the lesse able. | Last Th. 87 C 8, *wax* angry. | Rich. 58 G 3, *waxed* ennamored. | Rich. 70 C 11, *waxed* familiar. | Picus 17 D 1, *waxest* colde. | Picus 17 F 8, *waxe* prowde.

Last. Th. 73 H 14, whan a synner is once fallen down into the depth, he *waxeth* a desperate wretche.

It is difficult to see whether More discriminated semasiologically between *become* and *wax*, both having adjectives as well as nouns for complements and both denoting a gradual as well as a sudden change (*to wax wood*). *To wax*, however, is much more frequently used than *to become*¹⁾.

Older usage : c 1200, Ormin 2479, sho wass *waxen* summ del great.

The verb *wax* has now been superseded by *grow* in its general colloquial use (and by *get*, still more colloquial), except with reference to the moon. In Pres. D. literary Eng. it is somewhat archaic ; it is still current in dialects.

71. to fall. Dial. C. 236, *yf* they *fall* sicke in our service, ... yet maye we not in any wyse turne them than out of dores. | Dial. C. 355, I wene that when soeuer he *falleth* sicke nexte, he wyll wyshe that he hadde be kyllid for Chrystes sake before. | Dial. C. 200, he *falleth* desperate of all help. | Dial. C. 240, some *fall* so fearde therof that...

The complements are adjectives, no nouns. (Earliest example with noun in OED. is dated 1591). In the few instances that have been found the adjectives all denote an unfavourable condition (*sicke*, *desperate*, etc.).

Older usage : a 1400-50 Alex. 856, Philip *falne* [was] sare *sicke* (OED). Pres. D. Eng. : 1889 A. Sergeant, Luck of House I, IX, 129, Her tongue would *fall* silent (OED).

72. to grow. Conf. Tynd. 604 F 2, till the horse be with meate and rest better *growen* in heart. | Dial. C. 135, Godde shall ... suffer our tribulacions to *growe* so great, that...

This verb is not often met with in More. In earlier English it was common : a 1300 Cursor M. 6941, þar þai [sc. wandes] *gru*, ne less ne mare, Bot euer als þai forwit ware. | c 1440 Prompt. Parv. 215, 1, *Growe* ballyd, calvesco. *Growe* blake, nigresco (OED). In Pres. D. Eng. it is used to express a gradual becoming, often with the

¹⁾ Exceptionally is found *to encrease* : Passion 1322 B 1, the desyre ... *encreased* greater.

connotation of increase in magnitude or quantity : 1874 Green, *Short Hist.* IV § 5, 198, The Jews *grew* wealthy enough to acquire estates (OED).

73. *worthen*. More does not use the verb *worthen* (OE. *weorþan*, *wurþan*). It seems to have died out in the meaning of *become* not long before 1500. The only quotation after 1500 in OED is : 1513 Douglas, *Aeneis* IV, Prol. 245, O lust ... Thyselſ consuming *worthis* insaciabſe. Here it was perhaps already felt as an archaism. More has : Rich. 43 E 2, Ah woo *worthe* him, but here *worthe* is not a copula.

74. *Other copulas of inchoative aspect.*

Units with other copulas of inchoative aspect (e. g. *turn*, *come*, *go*, *run*, *get*) have not been found. Earliest quotations in OED : *come* 1310 (1862) ; *turn* 1450 ; *run* 1513 ; *go* 1583 ; *get* 1596. *To turn (in)to* (with noun) is, however, frequently used : *Passion* 1274 (=1276) D 9, the walowe sweete pleasure of that fruite, soone *turned to* displeasure and payne. | *Dial. C.* 238, the pryde *turneth into* rebuke and shame. | *Dial. C.* 239, he was *turned from* a bright glorious angel, *into* a darke deformed deuil.

75. *to remain*. *Dial. Her.* 183 F 8, than shall ... the hole body of christes holy church *remaine* pure... | Rich. 67 D 5, the murther of his innocent nephewes, the young king and his tender brother. Whose deathe ... hathe natheless so far comen in question, that some *remain* yet in doubt, whither they were in his dayes destroyed or no. | *Passion* 1335 A 6, the ... bodye ... *remaynyng* deade on the crosse.

The use of *to remain* as a copula cannot have been old, the earliest quotation in OED being : 1509 Hawes, *Past. Pl.* xxvii, 132, I made mine othe ... Unto them all for *remayne* full true In stedfast love. In Pres. D. Eng. it is very common.

76. *to continue*. *Instr.* 1421 C 10, if he shall *continue* nought and be dampned, than... | *Answer* 1066 B 4, [they] that list not willingly to *continue* fooles.

The earliest instance in OED of this use of *to continue* dates from the beginning of the 16th century : 1503-4 Act 19, Hen. VII, c. 39, Preamb., Sythen whiche tyme your seid Subgiect hathe *contynued* your feythfull and true liegeman.

77. *to abide*. *Dial. C.* 177, the wealthye manne for all his almose *abydeth* ryche styll. | *Dial. C.* 254, no place ... in which ther coulde anye man *abide* riche without the daunger of eternal damnacion. | *Instr.*

1405 B 13, If he be nought, eyther he shall amende ... or *abyde* nought and die nought.

Older usage : 1366 Maundev. xxviii, 289, The Coles willen duellen and *abyden* alle quyk. Pres. D. Eng. : 1881 Globe 21 Sept., One of the few Southerners in public life who *abided* faithful to the Constitution when the battle of secession began.

78. to kepe. Conf. Tynd. 377 D 14, if they ... entende to *kepe* stil. | Answer 1046 G 14, and yet *kepeth* it whole. | Answer 1046 H 2, and yet *kepe* ... stil himselfe.

The earliest quotation in OED of *to keep* in this function is dated 1590 (Shakespeare). In Pres. D. Eng. it is current.

COPULAS OF MODALITY

79. to seme. Dial. Her. 133 B 2, I se not gretly why I shoulde mistrust any one that s. *meth* honest. | Dial. Her. 131 A 7, One or two or three ... *semeth* me to few. | Picus 6 B 2, it *semed* rather a gift then a sale. | Dial. C. 205, in the night euery bushe to hym that waxeth once aforde, *semeth* a theefe. | Dial. C. 219 ; 311 ; 321 ; Last t'h. 75 H 4 ; 88 F 6 ; 86 F 14 ; 98 H 6 ; Rich. 48 E 6 ; 49 A 11 ; 57 A 10 ; Apol. 6 ; etc.

80. to appere. Apol. 126, in some part at the lest hys wordes *appere* false. | Dial. Her. 127 F 8, thinges that by reason and nature seme and *appere* impossible. | Dial. C. 274, the thyng shal not *appeare* so terrible vnto them. | Dial. C. 274, these causes of terroure ... shall well *appeare* in conclusion, thinges nothing so muche to be dred and fled fro, as to folke at the fyrst syght thei do sodainly seme. | Debell. 976 H 13, a man ..., that *appereth* plainly vpon all their othes ... the very chief heretike of al.

From these quotations it is evident that *appear* was used in the meaning of *prove to be*¹⁾; this meaning is also expressed by *turn into* : Dial. C. 205, But when the daye was sprongen ... And when they came thither, they founde that the great feareful army of the Turkes, so soberly coming on, *tourned* (God be thanked) *into* a fayre long hedge standing euen stone styl.

The earliest quotation in OED with *to appear* = "*to seem, as distinguished from to be*" is dated 1559.

81. to loke. Boke of F. p. 2 B 5, Sometyne she *loketh* as louely faire and bright, As goodly Venus mother of Cupyde.

This usage was known before More and is still current.

¹⁾ Compare *seem* and *appear* in : Passion 1326 E 11, And so *seemeth* it moste playne to *appeare* vpon the wordes of saynte Luke.

Earliest quot. in OED : c 1400 Destr. Troy 8742, Ymages ... *Lokend* full lyuely as any light angels. No instances have been found in More of the combination *to look* + adverb, as in : 1611 Shakesp., Wint. T. III, iii, 3, The skies looke *grimly*. Yet the absence of *-ly* after *fair* and *bright* in the quotation from the Boke of F. does not prove that these words were adjectives. (Cf. Dial. C. 215, many ... that haue bene *sore* combred. | Dial. C. 221. Therefore must you *fayre* and easely touch hym.)

82. *to proue*. Last Th. 88 G 9, than *proue* thei more foles, than they that liue from hande to mouthe. | Dial. C. 219, least his reuelacions ... wold *proue* illusions of the diuel. And so *proued* it after in dede. | Dial. C. 223, if it haue happed hys reuelacions before to *proue* false.

Current in earlier and later English. EQ. 13... E. E. Allit. P., B 704, Wel ny3e pure paradys mo3t *preue* no better.

QUASI-COPULAS ¹⁾

83. Dial. C. 197, sythe these other folke sytlye so *mery* without tribulacion. | Dial. C. 288, though that they [scil. the giftes of fortune] be indifferent of their nature : yet cannot the vse of them lightly *stand indifferent* but determinately must either be good or bad. | Dial. Her. 215 B 10, I coulde mystrust their tale well ynough ... as they *stode vnsworne*. | Dial. C. 196, he *standeth bounden* to no common rule. | Dial. C. 319, the gryselye cruell hangman death which ... hath euer *hooued a loofe*. | Rich. 66 G 6, he that *playeth the sowdayne* is percase a sowter. | Jest p. 4 G 12, *Play not the frere*. | Dial. Her. 138 F 12, Ye tolde me that ye sette nought by Logycke, but now ye *playe the Logicien* out right. | Last Th. 84 B 5, If thou sholdest p(er)ceue that one wer earnestly proud of the wering of a gay golden gown, while the lorel *playth the lord* in a stage playe, woldest thou not laugh at his foly, considering that thou art very sure, that whan the play is done, he shal go *walke a knaue* in his old cote ?

A clear line of demarcation cannot be drawn between this usage and that of a subjective verb + a predicative adnominal adjunct, as illustrated in § 55 (e. g. *go unarrested* ; *die nought*). The distinction depends upon the degree of subordination of the verb.

Earlier usage : a 1035 Laws Cnut II, LXXIII, 360, *sitte ælc wuduwe werleas*. | c 1420 Lydg. Assembly of Gods, 1887, Thy witte *stant a crooke*. | c 1200 Bestiary 525, [He] *stireþ up and houeþ stille*. | c 1374 Chaucer, Troyl. II, 1191, But ye han *pleyed tyraunt* neigh to longe.

¹⁾ Cf. Jespersen 1932 § 17, 1 ("quasi-predicatives"); Curme 1933 p. 27; Sweet 1903 § 263 ff; 2339.

THE COMPLEMENT OF THE COPULAS

84. NOUNS.

Rich. 63 B 2, yet *bee ye the people* whom he had as singular cause wel and kyndly to entreate. | Picus 17 B 4, all the tyme of oure life is but *a moment*. | Dial. C. 253, *to become a begger*. | Dial. Her. 134 G 1, *what colour is my gowne*¹⁾.

The noun is sometimes preceded by *as* or *like*: Picus 12 B 4, The wicked mans heart *is like* a stormy sea. | Dial. C. 205, our body is but *as the garment* of the soule.

When the subject is plural the complement of the copula has a plural form [for exceptions (e. g. *we be slave*) see below]:

Dial. C. 219, least his reuelacions ... wold *proue illusions* of the deuil. | Rich. 66 H 1, these matters *bee kynges games*. | Picus 15 G 1, These ... *be thynges* which do appertaine to a noble prince.

The collocations *to be a let*, *to be the let*, as illustrated in the following quotations, are obsolete now.

Dial. C. 330, except the feare of shame ... shoulde *be the lette*. | Dial. C. 179, *to fynysh* our talkynge for this time, lest I should *be to long a let* vnto your other business.

A striking feature is the absence of the indefinite article before abstract nouns, especially when the grammatical subject is *it*:

Rich. 53 D 3, surely great *pity was it*. | Dial. Tynd. 132 G 6, *reason were it* to withdraw his thank. | Rich. 45 (= 44) E 10, *it were almoise* to hange them.

<i>commoditie</i>	Rich. 49 B 7	<i>reason</i>	Rich. 63 C 10
<i>death</i>	Picus 29 A 13	<i>shame</i>	Picus 14 E 13
<i>euil</i>	Last Th. 75 H 4	<i>little sinne</i>	Dial. C. 216
<i>foly</i>	Rich. 70 G 13	<i>surety</i>	Rich. 66 B 9
<i>litle labour</i>	Dial. Her. 224 A 14.	<i>thanke</i>	Apol. 117
<i>madnes</i>	Last Th. 98 E 13	<i>trouth</i>	Dial. Her. 218 H 6
<i>maystrye</i>	Rich. 49 H 8	<i>vsage</i>	Boke of F. p. 5 A 4
<i>nede</i>	Last Th. 95 B 6	<i>wisdom</i>	Dial. Her. 109 H 2
<i>pride</i>	Last Th. 88 C 11	<i>wo</i>	Dial. C. 163
<i>proofe</i>	Dial. Her. 230 A 10	<i>wondre</i>	Picus 5 B 12

Occasionally, however, the indefinite article is used:

Apol. 42, that were a thyng wherof yt *were a* very *fransey* to doute. | Picus 2 E 1, which apparence was peraduenture *a token* that ... | Picus

¹⁾ Constructions of the type *he was my age* have not been observed. (See Jespersen 1928 p. 398).

11 C 10, how great a wonder were this. | Picus 1 B 7, It is, and of longe time hath *bene a custome*. | Dial. C. 321, if this thing ... *seme but a sophisticall fantasy*.

The difference between the two usages may be accounted for by assuming that in the former group (*it is folly*) the character of the copula is not purely identifying, but rather connotative, so that the words *folly*, *madnes*, *shame* are semantically equivalent to adjectives (= *it is foolish*, etc). The same distinction seems to hold good when the complement refers to a person :

a) with indefinite article ¹⁾.

Dial. C. 216, the man *was a carpenter*. | Picus 3 B 10, in that. ij. yere, yet *being a childe*, he compiled a breuiary. | Picus 24 A 8, it is more pleasure farre, Ouer the deuil to *be a conquerore*. | Dial. C. 205, in the night euery bushe ... *semeth a theefe*. | Picus 13 C 3, god should despyse thee *being a man*, whan thou *being a man* despysest a man. | Rich. 59 F 15, as though I *wer a ward* that wer bound to mary by thappointment of a gardain. | Rich. 58 F 7, dame Elizabeth Gray which *was* after his quene, at that time *a widow*.

b) without article ²⁾.

Dial. C. 310, he shuld take it for so sore a thing ... *to become* thorowe chaunce of warre *bonde vnto a man*, while he is alredy through synne, *become* willinglye *thral and bond vnto the diuel*. | Apol. 51, by twyse weddyng [I] am come in the case that I can neuer *be preste*. | Rich. 56 E 2, One that was *scole master of Poules* ... said ... | Dial. C. 353, better is it to *be thrall vnto man* a while for the pleasure of God. | Lament. st. 7 l. 6, Erst *wer you father*, & now must ye supply, The mothers part also. | Rich. 58 D 3, the protectours owne mother, which was *mother to them both*. | Last Th. 74 G 14, we wil ... allege you the wordes of him that is *doctor of them al*, our sauior Jesu Christ. | Dial. Her. 166 G 5, Nowe quod I this man that God byddeth you go to, ... will it make any chaunge ... whether it *be man or woman* ? | Dial. C. 310, the manne that we *be slave vnto*.

In the first group (a) the complement expresses the class

¹⁾ When the complement-noun is preceded by an adjective the indefinite article is used in both cases : Rich. 56 H 10, He *was an honest man*. | Picus 3 D 1, he was ... *a parfet philosophre*, and *a parfet diuine*. | Last Th. 83 H 15, he *waxeth a desperate wretche*.

²⁾ Not included are those cases in which the complement denotes a state, a quality, etc., that is unique : Picus 17 B 1, thou *art God* my sauior. | Rich. 35 C 5, Elisabeth, whose fortune and grace was after to *bee Queene*. | Rich. 38 A 10, then wyll ... the Duke of Gloucester *bee Kynge*.

to which the subject belongs (*she is a widow*); in group b) the complement qualifies the subject and is adjectival in function. Besides the absence of an article the use of the singular form of the noun-complement when the subject is plural (*we be slave*; last quotation) is indicative of this qualifying character of the copula.

85. ADJECTIVES.

Rich. 60 A 3, the kinge *was* sure to dame Elisabeth Lucy and her husband before God. | Picus 8 C 7, we speake not of those obscruances, which the church commaundeth to be obserued: for in those he *was diligent*. | Picus 2 G 12, He *was* of feture and shappe *semely*, and bewteous of stature *goodly* and *high*, of flesh, tendre end soft ¹⁾).

This usage does not call for any remarks. In the group *it was long* or the verb *to be* approximates in meaning to *to last*, and its character as a copula is consequently doubtful: Picus 5 B 3, when Hercules Estensis ... desired him to dispute at Ferrare ... *longe it was* or he could be brought therto.

To be + ware is still written in two words in More's language: Picus 12 C 9, There shal come to the ... innumerable impedimentes...: which might feare thee from the purpose of good ... liuing, and (but if thou *be ware*) shall throw thee down hedling. | Rich. 51 H 5, *be* you wel *ware* that you fer not ... to little. | Dial. C. 245, they fall and be caughte and drowned in ere they *be ware*. | Rich. 55 F 11, they should that day be behedded at Poumfred: which he wel wyst, but nothing *ware* that the axe hang over his own hed.

Comparatives, superlatives and their equivalents are freely used as complements to the copulas:

Rich. 57 C 3, But *the meriest was* this Shoris wife. | Rich. 57 E 6, Her doinges *were* not much lesse. | Jest p. 4 F 13, Quod he now lost, is all this cost, We *be* neuer *the nere*. | Rich. 62 G 4, whoso *was beste*, bare alway lest rule. | Rich. 48 (= 45) E 6, none *seemeth* mee *more metelye*. | Last Th. 84 F 12, ywis ye *be* no better. | Last Th. 75 A 15, *the more* theyr payn *was*, *the more* *was* their ioy.

It is not worst + infinitive occurs in: Rich. 48 (= 45) D 12, *it were not woorste* to sende vnto the Quene ... somme honourable ... manne. (Not in OED, which, however, records Grafton's version: *it were not the worst*.)

To be the better (= to be profited or advantaged) occurs in:

¹⁾ For constructions like the following: Dial. C. 180, Although the thing *be liefull to require*. | Last Th. 93 B 3, And no maruaille though he couetous *be hard to hele*, see the paragraphs on the infinitive-form (§ 258).

Dial. C. 216, What the diuel should she *be the better* then? The earliest quotation in OED of this idiom (now archaic or dialectical) is dated 1619 (J. Dyke, Counterp. (1620) 37, what are we *the better* to know our disease?)

86. PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL WORDS.

Dial. C. 205, Belgrad which wold God *wer ours* as wel as it was then. | Picus 7 H 14, The wordes that he said vnto him, *were these*. | Dial. C. 246, *whose shall it be?* | Dial. C. 202, thou that *such one art*, wyl the truth of his promise defend. | Dial. C. 256, He that prouideth not for those that *are his*, is woorse than an infidele. Those *are ours* that are belonging to our charge. | Dial. C. 347, thys whole world if it *wer his*. | Dial. C. 156, thys *semeth so* in dede. | Last Th. 86 E 3, theyr manner and behauour *be suche*, that ... | Last Th. 81 H 9, Nowe if this *be thus* ... | Rich. 71 F 3, Then longed the duke yet moch more to wit *what it was*.

The use of the determinative or proleptic pronouns *he* and *it* as complements of a link verb deserves notice :

Picus 19 G 3, thou *art he* that shalt drawe me to thee by thy grace, thou *art he* that shalt geue thy self in possession vnto me. | Picus 19 F 13, Thou good lord *art he*, that shall ¹⁾ restore mine enherytance vnto me. | Rich. 47 A 10, I *am not he* that woulde bee aboute to breake them. | Dial. C. 197, I *am not he* that wyl enuye theyr good happ. | Dial. Her. 254 F 8, it was not *it* ²⁾, that he appeled vnto.

Earlier instance : a 1300 Curs. M. 3693, If thou *be he* i lue sa wole (OED).

87. ADVERBS.

Dial. C. 207, al cannot alway *be well*. | Lament. St. 11, l. 4, *well are* ye that earthly folly flee. | Dial. C. 301, a fyre that is almost *oute*. | Debell. 930 G 3, Now after that the booke *was oute* and came into mine handes. | Dial. Her. 130 C 8, It may ... fortune you, to liue so long that ye shall fynde no man that *was by* at your crysteninge. | Rich. 55 D 13, Vpon the very tower wharfe so nere the place where his hed *was of* so sone after. | Rich. 55 C 10, The same morning ere he *were vp*. | Dial. C. 238, whyle that we *be vpward* and aloft. | Rich. 55 C 4, no such mischaunce is *toward*. | Rich. 71 C 1, The fox ... asked him whither he made al that hast. And he answered, in faith I neither wote nor reck, so I *wer once hence*.

The same usage before and after *More*. Earlier instances : a 1375 Joseph Arim. 234, In þe morwe he *was vppe*. | c 1325 Poem Times

¹⁾ This *shall* appears to be a misprint for *shalt* ; see the preceding quotation.

²⁾ Cf. Dial. C. 359, The manne is so much the lesse perfyte than I woulde wishe, if it were as easy to be *it* as to wishe it.

Edw. II (Camden) 120, There hii clateren cumpelin when þe candel is oute. | 1387 Trevisa Higden (Rolls) V, 101, Also for werre and batailles þat were toward (OED). | c 1425 Wyntoun Cron. VIII, XL, 93, Oþir Lordis þat war by (OED).

To be toward (= *imminent*) and *to be upward* are obsolete now.

88. PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES.

Picus 5 F 5, he was not of the condicion of some folke ... which... | Rich. 61 D 7, he sodainly lefte the matter, with which he was in hand. | Rich. 62 E 3, thus wer ... your goods in suretye. | Rich. 59 D 13, [he] was at a pointe in his own mynde. | Rich. 57 C 16, she stode many men in gret stede. | Rich. 58 E 8, [he] was in peasyble possession of the realme. | Rich. 56 F 17, Albeit she were out of al array. | Dial. C. 318, whiche of these two prisoners stode in worse case. | Dial. C. 196, a vessel that is of his own making.

to be about (theyr) festes,

Last Th. 97 C 11

to be aboue the reache of,

Answer 1117 G 7

to be at comunicacion, Apol. 91

to be at (my) deuice,

Boke of F. p. 1 A 4

to be at ease, Dial. C. 346

to be at the harde wall,

Dial. Her. 187 D 14

to be at variaunce, Rich. 38 F 1

to be in auctorittie, Rich. 58 A 4

to be in distres, Rich. 49 A 3

to be in fauoure & credence,

Rich. 48 (= 45) E 3

to be in flesh, Picus 1 D 5

to be in grudge, Apol. 124

to be in helthe, Rich. 49 E 13

to be in question,

Dial. Her. 257 A 12

to be in service, Rich. 58 F 13

to be in the trueth,

Dial. Her. 171 D 12

to be in ure, Rich. 42 G 2

to be in vaine, Boke of F. p. 1 C 3

to be in wealth, Rich. 70 D 4

to be of secret confederacy

Rich. 55 C 15

to be of kynne, Rich. 49 H 11

to be of (such) strength,

Last Th. 72 C 12

to be of sadde age, Rich. 64 A 3

to be of good chere, Jest p. 3 F 8

to be of perfeccion, Picus 18 E 6

to be out of fauour, Rich. 57 C 11

to be out of peril, Rich. 62 F 15

to be out of taste,

Conf. Tynd. 359 H 15

to be without fault, Rich. 71 B 9

to be without pain, Last Th. 98 E 5

to fall at distaunce, Rich. 62 E 8

to fall on a leke, Last Th. 100 F 8

to fall on a rore, Rich. 41 C 8

to stand in onsuretie, Rich. 69 A 12

to stand in daunger, Rich. 55 G 3

to stand in dread, Rich. 55 F 15

to stand in doubte, Rich. 61 H 13

to stand in fere, Rich. 55 E 11

to stand in peril, Rich. 70 B 1

to stand in a plight,

Last Th. 83 D 4

to waxe of a new kinde, Apol. 51

In some of these instances the prepositional phrase has preserved a good deal of its original character and might consequently be still looked upon as an adverbial adjunct, in which case the verb is more than a mere link-word. The same

usage is met with before and after *More*. A few of the combinations recorded above have fallen into disuse, e. g. *to be in ure ; in the truth ; of confederacy ; of perfeccion ; in hand with ; at a point ; out of array ; at comunicacion ; to fall on a leke ; on a rore ; at distaunce*.

Complements of the type *a sleepe*, *a sunder* are often printed in two words, which shows that the original prepositional character of *a* was still felt :

Rich. 51 F 12, Eche of these children is others defence while they be *a sunder*. | Dial. C. 225, I doutet whither I were *a sleepe* or a wake. | (Rich. 69 B 2, He ... yet walketh on *a lue*. | Dial. C. 319, death hath euer houed *a loofe*).

It is perhaps by analogy that words in which *a* was not originally a preposition came to be printed in two words as well :

Dial. C. 225, I doutet whither I were *a sleepe* or *a wake*. | Dial. C. 346, if he thinke ... that he shal neuer be *an hungred* nor *a thyrst*. | Dial. C. 130, I waxed therewith myself sodeinly sum what *a flyghte* [= afflicted]. | Dial. Her. 123 E 12, Well quod I, than is this matter out of doute longe *a go*.

But :

Jest p. 2 G 7, And he answerde Be not *aferde*. | Dial. C. 244, Thou shalt not be *afeard*. | Dial. C. 238, whyle yet we be vpward and *aloft*.

There are a few instances of the type *to be of a height*, in which *a* stands for *the same* :

Dial. Her. 239 F 10, And I promise you those heresies *were of a heyght*. | Dial. Her. 195 D 3, thei *wer* not both *of a bignes*. The earliest quotation in OED illustrating this idiom (with *of* before the article ; s. v. *a* 3) is 1601 Shakesp. All's Well I, iii, 244, He and his Phisitions *Are of a minde*.

One instead of *a* occurs in : Passion 1319 F 9, the sprynge of the yeaere, when the dayes and the nightes be al of *one* length.

89. SYNTACTICAL UNITS ¹⁾.

Last Th. 90 H 13, his pleasure *is* that thou and thine shal liue no lenger. | Dial. Her. 110 F 3, his will and pleasure *is*, that we should not so much as defende our self. | Last Th. 87 D 11, the cause *is*, for that we perceiue not of what rote the braunches of our sinnes spryng. | Last Th. 74 C 15, And the cause *is* why, because we can not perceiue the tone, but if we forbear the tother. | Dial. C. 336, it is almoste in euery country becomen a common prouerbe, that shame *is* as it is taken.

¹⁾ For past-participle forms used as complements of *to be* (*he is blessed ; unknown*) see the paragraphs on direct nexus of two verbs (§§ 548-566).

In Pres. D. Eng. such syntactical units are never introduced by *for* (*the cause is, for that we perceiue*). Otherwise More does not deviate from present practice.

THE SEMI-INDEPENDENT USE OF THE COPULAS.

90. The copulas in More's English often occur in a semi-independent position, that is to say, their complements, which may be inferred from the preceding sentences, are not expressed ¹⁾.

Dial. C. 330, As where there is any man of that good mynd that saynt Paule was. | Dial. C. 177, yf payne and wealthe bee eche to the contrarye, as I wene you wyll agree they *bee*. | Apol. 26, that his reason is in dede as I say it *is*, hymselfe that preached yt perceyeth. | Dial. C. 203, [it] maketh them often wene that it were much wursse, then in dede it *is*.

The same usage in earlier and later English; *to seem*, however, can no longer be used as it is employed in the following quotation :

Dial. Her. 132 E 7, The author shewith that a myracle is not to be mistrustid though it be done in a small matter and *semyth* vpon a sleight occasyon. | Passion 1340 E 5, the scripture ... calleth it by the name that it did beare before, & that it *semeth* still.

The following passage is remarkable for the coordination of the semi-independent *hath* and *is*, each referring to a different verb in the preceding syntactical unit :

Dial. C. 282, Antony : Suche folke make menne ... starke mad, and much cause haue their lordes to be right angrye with them. Vincent : God *hath* in dede and *is* I wene. (= *God has much cause to be angry and is angry*).

NO DISTINCT SUBORDINATION. (VERB + OBJECT)

91. Syntactical units like : the deuill *founde the meane* | he *toke ill rest* | he *aspireth to honour*, differ from those discussed in the preceding sections [on *copulas*] in that the verb cannot be called subordinate to the complement. Where the subject may be called the primary associate of the verb, these comple-

¹⁾ For the semi-independent use of *shall*, *will*, etc., see § 61.

ments or objects can be defined as the secondary associates of the verb ¹⁾).

It is outside the scope of this study to enumerate the verbs that stand with such a complement in More's English. The following two lists (§§ 92 and 93) contain only such as in some respect or other present peculiarities.

OBJECTIVE VERBS NOT RECORDED BEFORE MORE'S TIME

92. The number of objective ²⁾ verbs of which no instances of earlier usage have been found is not small. A few are recorded below, with the dates of their earliest quotation in OED.

abhibit	= admitted	Rich. 52 G 14	1543
adulterate	= adultered	Conf. Tynd. 636 H 3	1531
aforth	= manage to sell	Dial. Her. 189 B 4	1617
agree for	= accept as	Dial. Her. 113 A 12	—
aggreue	= aggravate	Apol. 67	1524
allect	= entice	Passion 1274 (=1376) C 6	1528
allude to	= refer obliquely to	Apol. 860 (Wks.) A 6	1533
animate	= endow with life	Passion 1335 A 11	1534
anticipate	= idem	Passion 1308 B 3	1534
aquyet	= set at rest	Dial. C. 214	1548
aspire	= breathe	Conf. Tynd. 507 B 3	1532
assay	= try with temptations	Conf. Tynd. 562 F 1	1532
assist	= idem	Apol. 923 (Wks.) D 10	1547
assoyle	= pronounce not guilty	Dial. Her. 211 G 8	1528
attaine	= befall to	Dial. C. 1217 (Wks.) G 1	1529
auert	= estrange	Conf. Tynd. 607 H 12	1532
baste	= moisten with fat	Apol. 50	1509
belie (a person)	= misrepresent	Conf. Tynd. 748 H 7	1601
belike	= like	Dial. C. 332	1557
bewray	= expose	Dial. Her. 256 A 6	1548
bigrace	= do reverence to	Last Th. 86 B 17	1530
bless out	= cast out	Passion 1273 C 5	1534
bluster out	= utter in a violent way	Conf. Tynd. 374 C 9	1535
brake	= torture on the rack	Dial. C. 321	1530
break (with a p.)	= reveal	Dial. C. 217	1529
bost	= extol	Rich. 70 G 10	1543
bymire	= cover with mire	Lett. Fryth 833 E 1	1532
call (a p. a name)	= idem	Debell. 939 A 14	1594
call back	= revoke	Conf. Tynd. 347 D 10	1553

¹⁾ For the impossibility of giving a less vague definition see Jespersen 1924, pp. 257 ff; idem 1928 p. 230.

²⁾ Compare § 51 (subjective verbs)

captvye	= captivate	Apol. 38	1528
cast	= find or declare guilty	Debell. 976 G 7	1536
cast	= revolve in one's mind	Rich. 49 (= 46) G 3	1530
chaunge (for)	= exchange (for)	Apol. 884 (Wks.) E 3	1609
circumvent	= encompass	Lett. Fryth 834 F 10	1553
compact up	= compose	Answer 1087 F 3	1530
condescend	= give one's consent	Rich. 48 E 9	1557
confess (God)	= declare belief in	Dial. C. 341	1526
confer	= compare	Dial. Her. 245 F 9	1533
coniain	= unite in one substance	Passion 1306 (= 1338) E 4	1552
conserue	= preserve (properties)	Passion 1332 D 5	1577
conuay	= perform (tricks)	Apol. 23	1530
conuey	= take away	Answer 1036 H 8	1530
conuyet	= confute	Conf. Tynd. 428 C 2	1646
conuynce	= confute	Dial. C. 316	1530
corroborate	= confirm	Dial. Her. 187 A 4	1530
cowche	= put together (words)	Supplic. 290 B 7	1529
couche vp	= express in a veiled way	Apol. 848 (Wks.) A 7	1563
dance off	= idem	Dial. C. 1248 (Wks.) C 6	1633
decay	= cause to fall	Dial. C. 1200 (Wks.) H 9	1529
depose	= testify, assert	Dial. Her. 211 F 1 and F 7	1529
deprehend	= arrest	Conf. Tynd. 758 B 4	1523
descant of	= comment on	Picus 15 D 1	1510
descrybe	= set forth in words	Dial. C. 346	1513
deuise	= forge	Rich. 56 B 14	1513
discharge	= part with	Dial. Her. 228 C 4	1523
disgest	= digest	Rich. 57 D 2	1548
dispenſe	= dissolve (vow)	Conf. Tynd. 619 G 3	1532
dispute	= maintain	Conf. Tynd. 655 G 1	1610
disreverence	= treat with irreverence	Dial. Her. 227 B 13	1529
dissemble	= disguise	Dial. Her. 283 A 15	1508
dissipate	= dispel	Conf. Tynd. 401 E 11	1532
dissolve	= refute, confute	Dial. Her. 203 D 3	1529
dissuade	= idem	Rich. 42 H 6	1513
dough-baken	= imperfectly baked	Dial. Her. 208 F 7	1529
eat vp	= revoke	Conf. Tynd. 396 D 13 (1535)	
embrue	= stain in blood	Dial. Her. 259 D 10	1529
engroce	= get together	Apol. (Wks.) 881 D 7	1598
enlength	= lengthen	Answer 1037 B 11	1530
ensourge	= rebel against	Conf. Tynd. 724 B 2	1523
entangle	= idem	Conf. Tynd. 568 D 11	1540
entitle	= ascribe	Conf. Tynd. 784 A 2	1550
entreat of	= treat of	Rich. 37 C 4	1513
esteem	= hold in estimation	Conf. Tynd. 810 F 3	1532
estrait	= enclose	Dial. Her. 277 E 14	1529
exact	= extort	Supplic. 308 G 2	1529
exaggerate	= pile up	Apol. 871 (Wks.) C 1	1533

explain	= idem	Rich. 63 E 13	1513
extenuate	= make light of	Dial. C. 1218 (Wks.) C 9	1529
face (a lie)	= lie	Answer 1131 E 2	1540
face out of	= exclude from	Answer 1132 F 14	1601
falsify	= violate	Conf. Tynd. 585 D 3	(1502)
farther	= further	Rich. 58 D 7	1570
father upon	= ascribe to	Apol. 855 (Wks.) E 8	1542
fashion	= alter (an argument)	Answer 1115 H 1	1599
fight together	= contradict each other	Conf. Tynd. 460 H 1	1624
finish up	= finish	Debell. 1026 C 14	—
flesh in	= harden in	Rich. 68 E 9	1530
force	= care for	Picus 7 B 3	1500-20
forefigure	= prefigure	Answer 1043 G 7	1534
foreprophecy	= predict	Answer 1043 G 8	1581
frame (fear)	= conceive	Dial. C. 208	1597
frame	= adapt	Conf. Tynd. 701 C 6	1550
gainecall	= recall	Rich. 39 F 3	1611
garnish	= dress, clothe	Picus 29 A 1	1529
gather	= infer	Apol. 866 (Wks.) H 6	1535
get oneself (away)	= betake oneself	Rich. 43 A 2	1513
get up again	= recover (loss)	Passion 1303 D 17	1607
go for	= be valued as	Answer 1085 G 5	1556
go in hand with	= proceed with	Passion 1323 G 11	1534
have by heart	= know	Conf. Tynd. 783 H 1	1591
hawk after	= hunt after	Picus 15 A 11	1510
hawse	= raise	Rich. 62 B 6	1500
help (I cannot —)	= idem	Dial. C. 1171 (Wks.) H 16	1591
iaber	= jabber	Conf. Tynd. 665 C 10	1532
immolate	= immolate(d)	Passion 1296 A 5	1534
impugn	= oppose	Rich. 39 A 7	1577
inculc	= inculcate	Debell. 938 F 3	1528
induce	= send for	Dial. C. 1196 (Wks.) H 13	1534
infer	= idem	Dial. Her. 147 C 6	1526
insimulate	= accuse	Conf. Tynd. 340 A 15	1532
insinuate	= express	Passion 1331 H 8	1533
instruct (someth.)	= teach (something)	Conf. Tynd. 583 C 6	1623
juggle (away)	= juggle (away)	Conf. Tynd. 436 D 7	1590
knyt	= conjoin or unite	Passion 1349 D 6	1578
lament	= idem	Conf. Tynd. 429 A 10	1530
lash out	= lavish	Rich. 62 A 9	1513
lash out	= pour out	Dial. Her. 287 B 8	1529
lay in one's light	= bring as an objection	Dial. Her. 252 A 6	1528
lay open	= reveal	Answer 1087 G 5	1588
leave off	= give up (a thing)	Dial. C. (Wks.) 1200 E 9	1534
linger	= keep waiting	Lett. 1429 B 3	1534
list	= desire	Conf. Tynd. 821 G 6	1545
look (+ clause)	= expect	Rich. 62 B 10	1513
make	= translate	Dial. Her. 233 E 13	1529

make the best of	= idem	Conf. Tynd. 525 F 12	1626
make for	= pretend	Last Th. 72 H 8	1522
make meanes to	= negotiate with	Dial. C. 218	1535
make up	= complete	Conf. Tynd. 583 C 8	1568
malign	= regard with hatred	Rich. 37 B 3	1513
match	= equal	Conf. Tynd. 705 F 6	1592
meet with	= oppose	Dial. Her. 285 A 3	1529
merit	= earn	Dial. C. 194	1543
mesh	= entangle	Conf. Tynd. 491 A 4	1532
meshe oneself	= idem	Conf. Tynd. 568 D 12	1594
mind	= intend	Rich. 49 (= 46) H 5	1513
misbestow	= bestow wrongly	Conf. Tynd. 355 E 6	1532
miscast	= mislay	Dial. Her. 130 H 15	1600
misgive	= suggest doubt	Rich. 52 H 5	1513
misordered	= ill-conducted	Dial. Her. 274 B 4	1529
misreport	= slander	Dial. C. 1209 (Wks.) F 2	1534
missemark	= mark wrongly	Answer 1135 C 14	1535
missereherse	= misquote	Apol. 4	1533
misseremember	= remember wrongly	Answer 1138 bis C 4	1533
mistranslate	= idem	Conf. Tynd. 428 A 13	1532
myssegess	= guess wrongly	Debell. 976 F 3	1533
necessitate	= compel	Conf. Tynd. 588 B 8	1628
nosel	= deceive	Apol. 11	1680
nowsel	= train	Conf. Tynd. 587 B 3	1519
object	= place before the eyes	Dial. C. 1249 (Wks.) B 9	1534
object against	= object to	Rich. 60 A 1	1513
obtain	= preserve in existence	Dial. Her. 283 C 15	1529
oppugne	= assail by speech	Dial. Her. 260 E 2	1529
order	= deal with	Rich. 49 C 13	1513
order	= determine	Conf. Tynd. 710 E 3	1642
order oneself	= behave	Conf. Tynd. 643 F 13	1535
ouerburdein	= overburden	Conf. Tynd. 824 B 5	1532
ouerrun oneself	= run beyond one's mark	Conf. Tynd. 837 A 5	1633
ouersearch	= examine thoroughly	Conf. Tynd. 423 F 8	1532
ouerwalke	= traverse	Conf. Tynd. 770 C 16	1533
ouerwype	= wipe away	Conf. Tynd. 797 G 9	1532
pass (+ clause)	= reckon, care	Passion 1359 H 7	1549
pat	= idem	Conf. Tynd. 785 G 3	1567
pedel	= peddle	Conf. Tynd. 639 F 10	1532
perceiue (from)	= distinguish (from)	Dial. Her. 139 D 9	1553
perswade	= demonstrate	Picus 7 A 4	1528
peruse	= consider in detail	Picus 1 E 5	1533
peruse	= go through ... critically	Answer 1039 F 3	1533
peruse	= name, recount in order	Dial. C. 1154 (Wks.) B 6	1534
plant	= establish firmly	Dial. Her. 159 B 10	1529
point to	= refer to	Debell. 931 A 9	—
pot	= mock	Conf. Tynd. 398 C 11	1549

poynť	= give point or force to	Conl. Tynd. 398 A 2	1704
precide	= cut off	Dial. Her. 143 E 13	1529
pretend	= report	Rich. 67 E 2	1587 ?
puff up	= make proud	Last Th. 84 B 4	1526
pulpit	= provide with a pulpit	Dial. Her. 151 B 12	1529
purpose upon	= resolve to do	Dial. C. 222	1574
put forth	= publish	Answer 1138 bis B 10	1551
put out (to nurse)	= idem	Answer 1114 B 3	1602
put out	= publish	Dial. Her. 223 D 8	1529
put over	= defer, postpone	Aut. Lett. V 15	1528
qualify	= modify	Apol. 893 (Wks.) E 3	1533
quayl	= destroy	Apol. 25	1532
reanswer	= answer	Aut. Lett. XVII 39	1523
reason for	= take (it) to be	Conf. Tynd. 562 A 10	—
rebuke	= put to shame	Dial. Her. 228 C 12	1529
recite	= cite, quote	Conf. Tynd. 426 A 9	1542
recognise (as)	= acknowledge	Conf. Tynd. 615 D 6	1548
refer	= offer (a sacrifice)	Passion 1281 H 9	1594
regard	= hold in esteem	Rich. 46 G 10	1513
reken	= mention	Conf. Tynd. 352 D 17	1513
remit	= allow to slacken	Picus 15 B 9	1510
repair (a sinner)	= reform	Conf. Tynd. 804 F 9	1535
reproue	= prove again	Dial. Her. 209 F 13	1529
repy	= remit for trial	Debell. 985 A 1	1556
resemble	= compare	Debell. 984 C 2	1533
reserue	= make an exception for	Dial. C. 1201 (Wks.) F 9	1523
reserue	= keep in one's possession	Apol. 851 (Wks.) B 3	1533
rest in	= consist in	Rich. 38 H 5	1513
resuscitate	= restore to life	Conf. Tynd. 700 A 12	1532
resuscitate	= revive, renew (a thing)	Conf. Tynd. 385 E 8	1532
resume	= recapitulate	Conf. Tynd. 830 F 10	1676
ruffle vp	= rattle up	Answer 1088 G 7	1533
ryg	= dress, clothe	Dial. C. 1201 (Wks.) A 4	1534
ryme out	= brave out in rhymes	Conf. Tynd. 496 C 3	1532
sear	= cauterize	Passion 1355 A 1	1530
sequester	= set apart	Answer 1046 F 5	1533
set (a toppe)	= set going	Pageants p. 1 A 6	1500
set about (+ -ing)	= begin upon	Dial. C. 1124 (= 1202) (Wks.) E 12	1749
set forth	= further the progress of	Dial. Her. 262 H 1	1528
shoffle vp	= put together hastily	Conf. Tynd. 357 D 19	1532
shorten	= idem	Rich. 37 G 12	1513
shryche	= utter with shrieking	Dial. C. 1261 (Wks.) G 8	1534
sigh for	= be sorry for	Dial. Her. 130 H 14	1642
signifie	= hint at	Rich. 63 E 14	1513
slack	= allow to fall off	Picus 15 B 9	1530
smowder	= burn without flame	Supplic. 321 F 5	1529
solute	= solve	Answer 1092 D 10	1533

sort out	= take out	Dial. C. 1177 (Wks.) G 7	1534
souse vp	= surfeit	Jest p. 1 C 10	1534
spise	= season (fig.).	Dial. Her. 257 F 12	1529
stagger (fig.)	= begin to doubt	Answer 1112 G 9	1533
stick by	= cling to	Apol. (Wks.) 901 C 2	1533
study for	= search for	Dial. Her. 220 G 2	1551
substitute	= appoint as deputy	Conf. Tynd. 821 D 4	1532
subuert	= ruin country	Supplic. 302 F 7	1529
swaddle	= bandage	Last Th. 80 C 4	1522
ticle	= stir up; provoke	Conf. Tynd. 551 A 1	1532
unredde	= forget the contents	Debell. 1025 C 9	1533
wait vpon	= attend as servant	Last Th. 84 A 10	1509
walk with	= be associated with	Dial. Her. 268 E 14	1650
way to	= amount to	Dial. Her. 362 C 1	1529
way with	= balance with	Rich. 47 D 6	1513
winning	= alluring, enticing	Passion 1336 D 7	1596
wive	= furnish with a wife	Rich. 59 F 3	1513
work out	= expiate (sin)	Dial. C. 341	1660
wraсте out	= tear, wrench out (fig.)	Rich. 48 (=45) D 9	1513
wrought	= worked up, agitated.	Dial. C. 342	1585

OBJECTIVE VERBS NOW OBSOLETE

93. The following list contains illustrations of the use of objective verbs that have become either obsolete, archaic or dialectical since More's time, or are no longer employed in the same way. The dates of their earliest quotation in OED are added, and in the case of now obsolete verbs the dates of latest quotation as well. The evidence shows that some of them lived longer than might be inferred from the data in OED [e. g. *dispraise*, *fein for*, *forelong*, *foreheat*, *mistake oneself*, *ordain* (= *destine to a fate*), *oversee* (= *consider*), *race* (= *slash*), *right* (= *correct a person*), *rule oneself*, *sowne (in)to*.]

(EQ. = Earliest, LQ. = Latest quotation in OED).

to abide = to suffer, to endure.

Dial. C. 223, that kind [of persecution] only, which though the sufferer be loth to fal in, yet will he rather abide it and suffer, then... | Dial. C. 193, they could *abide* and endure ... many thinges moe.

Now obsolete in this sense, except negative. EQ. 1205 Layamon 15565, He þeos dundes *abad*.

to ablect = to cast down.

Lett. 1456 H 3, [you] honour me, nowe ouerthrowne, *ablected*, afflicted, and condemned to prison.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1475 Henryson, Moral Fables 42, Argumentes

they reuolue, some *abjecting*, and some can hald. LQ. 1650 Venner, Via Recta III, The Spawn of them is to be *abjected*.

to acerteyn = to make (a person) certain (of a fact).

Dial. Her. 161 A 8, now is the church so well *acertened* of goddes pleasure. | Aut. L. iv 57, his grace thought his ... subgiettes wold not let to aduance forward ... being by hym *acerteined* that theyre money shold be paied them.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1400 Floure & Leaf 568, For now I am *acertained* ... Of every thing. LQ. 1789 G. Morris, in Sparks, Life II 3, I wish to be *ascertained* of the intentions.

to accouple = to join.

Rich. 63 E 12, For lack of which lawfull *accoupling*, ... the right and title, ... is ... deuolute ... unto the ... prince.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1486 Plumpt. Corr. 50, Ye be *acopled* as brether and sisters. LQ. 1635 D. Person. Var. II. Fire being *accoupled* to a matter contrary to its own nature.

to accurse (out of) = a) to drive away with curses.

Conf. Tynd. 828 D 19, like as he that is *accursed* lawfulli out of a particular church, is *accursed* out of the whole catholike church.

Not in Pres. D. Eng. Not recorded in OED.

to accurse = b) to pronounce a curse upon.

Conf. Tynd. 710 B 3, Of Noe hys owne sonnes one ye wot wel was so bad, that hys owne father *accursed* him.

Now obsolete or archaic. EQ. c 1175 Lamb. Hom. 31, þene preost he mot isechen þe hine *acursede*, þet he hine iblæcie onye in þet he hine *acursede*.

adhibit = admitted.

Rich. 52 G 13, To which counsel, albeit there were *adhibit* very few ... yet began there here & there about, some maner of muttering.

Now obsolete. OED has no other instances.

to aduise = a) to look ; at to observe.

Rich. 57 B 3, whoso wel *aduise* her visage, might gesse & deuise which p(ar)tes how filled, wold make it a faire face. | Last Th. 82 E 15, thou shalt behold him, & *aduise* him such as he is.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1297 R. Glouc. 558, He *advised* þe ost suiþe wel. LQ. 1603 Holland, Plutarch's Mor. 96, They *advised* you wel and their eie was never off...

to aduise = b) to make (one) observe (a thing).

Dial. C. 196, therefore woulde I ... *aduise* one in that case, the consayle whych mayster Gerson gyueth euerye man.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1460 Townel. Myst. 61, My wand he bad, in thi present, I shuld lay downe, and the *acyse* How it shuld turne to oone serpent. LQ. 1557 Surrey, Aeneid iv, 461, The troubled ghost doth fray me, and *advise* The wronged hed by me of my deare sonne, whom I defraud of the Hispanian crown.

to a forth = to manage to sell (at such a price).

Dial. Her. 189 B 4, [he] may *a forth* his plaisters better chepe.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1793 Smeaton, Edystone L. § 116, The stone could be *afforded* at somewhat less price than Portland.

to aggreue = a) to find fault with; to blame.

Apol. 67, This pacifyer *aggreueth* ... the clergy of englande, for use of the lawes not made by them selfe...

This meaning of *to aggrieve* is not recorded in OED.

to aggreue = b) to aggravate; to exaggerate; to emphasize.

Rich. 39 B 11, Sometime a thing right wel intended, our misconstruction turneth vnto worse or a smal displeasure done vs, eyther our owne affeccion or euil tongues *agreueth*. | Rich. 62 D 9, [they] haue knownen as well their goodes as their parsons greatly endaugered, either by fained quarels, or smal matters *agreuid* with heinouse names. | Last Th. 87 A 8, the punyshement is *aggreued* or mynysshed, made lesse or more, after the difference in degre of woorschippe and reputacion betwene the parties.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1524 State Pap. Henry VIII, IV 154, *Agrieving* somewhat the daunger whiche might ensue. LQ. 1590 Southwell, Marie Magd. Funeral Teares, 195, Want of faith was *agrieved* with want of all goodnesse.

to agre for = to accept as.

Dial. Her. 113 A 12, I wolde for my parte wel *agre* them for heresies. |

Dial. Her. 113 A 7, which thinges ... euery good christen man will *agre* for heresies.

Now obsolete. Not in OED (with for).

to allect = to entice.

Dial. Her. 275 D 5, they had vsed al the waies thei could to *allect* the people by preaching. | Passion 1274 (= 1276) C 6, The other lesse euils, that he alewred and *allected* her with.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1552 Huloet, *Allect* or styre with some pleasante meane. Allicio, Duco.

to alow = to laud; to praise.

Conf. Tynd. 672 F 3, Saint Mary Magdaleyn was more *alowed* of Christ for bestowing that costly oyntmente vpon hys hande ... then if she had solde it. | Aut. Lett. VI, 36, Hit may ferther lyke yor good grace to understand that the kinges grace mych *alloweth* yor prudent answere. | Dial. Her. 204 D 12, And after that he hadde thus sayde: the remenaunt that were present *allowed* it muche.

Now obsolete or dial. EQ. c 1315 Shoreham 149, He wolde be God ylyche, To be *alowed*. LQ. 1783 Crabbe, Village I Wks. II, 81, Proud To find the triumphs of his youth *allow'd*.

to amoue = to drive away; to expel.

Apol. 90, the thyng that ye haue ... these many days myche desyred, that ye mighte ons be reuenged vppon thys vnhappy senate and *amoue*

them from the rome ... thys thyngo haue I ... drougt vnto your handes.

This meaning of *to amove* is not recorded in OED.

to aneyle = to anoint.

Apol. 48, they haue vsed confession, and done penaunce for synnys, and prayed for all chrysten soules, and ben *aneyled* in their deth bedde.

Now archaic. EQ. 1303, R. Brunne, Hand. S. 11269, many seye,
Anele hem nat but þei shulde deye.

appaied = satisfied ; contented.

Dial. Her. 133 G 11, yet had I leuer haue gods blessing to beleue that I se not, than go so far therfore. — I am well *appaied* q(uod) I thereof.

Now archaic. EQ. 1297 R. Glouc. 117, mid al he was wel *a payed*.

to appayre = to make worse ; to injure ; to impair.

Dial. Her. 226 H 3, sacramentes ... the goodnes wherof his noughtinesse can not *appayre* ... That sacred sacrifice ... can take none *empayryng* by the fylthe of his synne.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1297 R. Glouc. 279, Destruide and *apeyrede* Cristendom. LQ. 1643 Prynne, Power Parl. II, 71, The ancient lawes ... be greatly *appaied*.

to appere = to show.

Dial. Her. 252 H 7, ye ... wyll not beleue the glose, which *appereth* plainlye that he ment only to forbed vs to do such worship to ymages as is only due to god.

Not in OED.

to apply = to devote one's energy to.

Jest p. 1 A 5, Wyse men alway ... Affyrme, that best is for a man : diligently For to *apply*, The busines that he can.

Now obsolete and replaced by *ply*. EQ. ?1495 Plumpt. Corr. 123, That the poor man for dread dare not *apply* his business. LQ. 1667 Milton P. L., IV, 264, The birds their quire *apply*.

to appoint (a thing) to a person = to assign.

Rich. 37 F 13, the king, whiche woulde vndoubtedly ... baue [= have] *appointed* that boocherly office, to some other then his owne borne brother.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1494 Fabyan I, IV, II, He beset or *apoynted* to hym the Countre of Walys. LQ. 1764 Priestley, Ess. Educ. in Lect. Hist. 28, Let him *appoint* rewards to those who shall handle the subject in the most judicious manner.

to appoint = to determine ; to resolve.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1214 F 3, And *appointe* in his heart ... that ... he would rather dye than forsake the faith. | Rich. 59 A 6, And after he was thus *appointed*, and had betwene them twain ensured her ¹⁾.

Now obsolete (archaic ?). EQ. c 1440 Generyd, 2120, Of euery ward to make a capteyn Ffirst he *apoynted* in especiall. LQ. 1722 De Foe, Hist. Plague 11, To *appoint* to go away.

¹⁾ Also reflexive : Rich. 49 D 10, yf you *appoint* your selfe to tary here. Now obsolete.

to appose = to question ; to interrogate.

Dial. Her. 197 H 5, the frere *aposed* hym in confession whither he medleth any thing with witchcrafte ...

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1315 Shoreham 145, *3ef the faly throf to be aposed*, say God nys nauzt in ther wordle a-closed. LQ. 1615 T. Adams, Two Sonnes, 65, Question against question : the Jewes *appose* Jesus, Jesus *apposeth* the Jewes.

to appropre = to assign as property.

Conf. Tynd. 419 F 2, no such custome hath *appropried* it.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1384 Chaucer, Gentilesse 18, His vertuous noblesse That is *appropried* unto no degree. LQ. 1614 Selden, Titles 67, Astrologers *proper* certain starres to kings only.

to aquyet = to set at rest.

Dial. C. 214, lette hym not dout to *aquyet* hys mynde, and folow that he ther is bidden.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1548 Ld. Somerset, Epist. to Scots 241, Is it not better to compose & *acquiete* al this calamitie and trouble by mariage? LQ. 1613 Sir A. Sherley, Trav. to Persia 86, No fauour, grace, nor benefits from your Maiesty, can *acquiet* his mind.

to arace = to tear away.

Conf. Tynd. 355 G 5, so that the remembraunce of their pestilent errours were *araced* out of englishe mennes heartes.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1315 Shoreham 95, That he hyt wolde *arace*. LQ. 1530 Palsg. 435, 2, I *arrace*, I pull a thyng by violence from one. Je *arrache*.

to arrect = to impute.

Dial. Her. 271 F 3, but God because he hath from the begynnyng chosen them to euerlastyng blisse, therfore he *arrecteth* no blame of theyr dedes vnto them.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1340 Hampole, Prose Tr. 31, *Arett* all thi gude dedis sothefastelye to Hyme. LQ. 1549 Chaloner, Erasmus, Moriae Enc. F II b, It is *arrected* for a great praise and charitable kyndnesse unto them.

to aspire = to breathe (breath or spiritual influence) to or into.

Conf. Tynd. 507 B 3, Though god ... *aspired* them his grace therin.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1633, P. Fletcher, Purple Island I, LIX, Thereto may he his grace and gentle heat *aspire*.

to assai = a) to put to the test.

Rich. 53 E 12, But Catesby whither he *assayed* him or *assaied* him not, reported vnto them, that he founde him so fast ... that ...

Now obsolete (exc. with metals). EQ. 1330 R. Brunne, Chron. 219, He said he wild *asay* þer hors alle in a mile. LQ. 1791 Cowper, Odys. VIII, 27, With which they should *assay* his force.

to assai = b) to try with temptations ; to tempt.

Conf. Tynd. 563 F 1, [The diuel] ... letted not to *assai* Job againe and againe.

Now obsolete. No earlier quot. in OED. LQ. 1614 Raleigh, Hist. World, II, 547, Then did he *assay* them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts.

to assign = to prescribe (a course of action).

Answer 1048 F 3, They *assygned* him ... what maner a miracle thei wold haue him do.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1485 Digby, Mist. II, 214, Make thi curse As I shall assyng the by myn aduysse. LQ. 1607 Topsell, Four f. Beasts 102, Simeon Sethi ... *assigneth* them rather to be eaten in winter time.

to assoyle = a) to forgive ; to absolve from sin.

Apol. 51, my father, whose soule our lorde *assoyle*. | Dial. C. 205, God *assoile* hys soule.

Now archaic. EQ. 1297 R. Glouc. 464, No man, bote þe pope one, hem *asoyly* ne mygte.

to assoyle = b) to clear up ; to solve.

Dial. Her. 115 G 11, yet hath that boke one aunswere that *assoileth* al the hole matter.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1374 Chaucer, Boeth. V, iii, 154, þat þei mowen *assoilen* and vnknyttē þe knot of þis question. LQ. 1696 Whiston, Th. Earth, 65, Fewer difficulties in the ... Books themselves, than in the ... very Comments which ought to *assoil* 'em.

to assoyle = c) to pronounce not guilty.

Dial. Her. 211 G 7, Than may the iudges acquite and *assoyle* the defendaut.

Now archaic. No quot. in OED anterior to More. In Sc. Law still the proper term for : *To acquit by sentence of court* (OED).

to astony = to astound ; to amaze.

Dial. Her. 204 D 14, I was therewith *astonied*.

Now archaic. EQ. 1340 Ayenb. 126, Hou it *ssolde* ous *ssende* and *astonie*.

to attain to = to befall ; to happen to.

Dial. C. 1217 (Wks.) F 12, we shall nede no rehersal of any harme that ... maye *attaine* thereto.

Now obsolete. No other quot. in OED.

to auert = to turn away in mind or inclination ; to estrange.

Conf. Tynd. 607 H 12, Saynte Peter was once from God *auerted*, and sinnefully turned away.

Now obsolete or archaic. No quot. in OED anterior to More.

to auoide = to expel.

Dial. Her. 285 E 15, [he] calleth such heretikes, wolues cloked in shepes skinnēs, & would that his shepheardes ... should in such wyse *auoide* them as very shepheardes would *auoyde* very wolues.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1460 Capgrave, Chron. 178, that this Petir shuld be a voyded. LQ. 1643 Prynne, Power Parl. II, 19, They would avoyd all aliens and stangers out of it.

to balk out = to vent; to utter.

Rich. 70 F 14, parceiuing ... the dukes pride now & then *balke* oute a lytle breide of enuy toward the glory of the king ..., he craftelye sought the waies to pricke him forward.

Not in OED. EQ. of *to belch* in this meaning (s. v. *belch* 2): a 1000 Ags. Ps. (Spelm.) xix 2, Dæ3 þam dæ3 *bealceþ* word. Of *to belch* out (s. v. *belch* 3) 1561 Norton, Calvin's Inst. III 193, What spirit do they *belche* out?

to baste = to moisten by the application of melted fat.

Apol. 50, wyth onely raylinge is all theyr roste mete *basted*, and all ther pot seasoned.

More seems to have been one of the first to use this verb. EQ. of the lit. meaning 1509 Barclay, Shyp of F. I, 100, The fat pigge is *baast*. EQ. of the fig. use, as in the above quot. 1575 Turbery, Venerie 61, That I the wine should taste ... and so my throte I *baste*.

to bear over = to overthrow.

Dial. Her. 141 B 10, as ye spake of shotyng in the beginning, this gere howe nere it goeth to the prick, we shal see after. But this I promise you, it would fain *beare ouer* the but and al.

Now : *to bear down*. There is one other quot. in OED with *over* : 1633 Bp. Hall, Hard Texts, 516, He shall ... *beare over* and kill those that stood against him.

to beke = to expose (to the warmth of a fire) ; to bask.

Boke of F. p. 4 C 6, And eke agaynst the sonne, *Bekyth* hym poore Diogenes in his tonne

Now only Scottish or north. dial. (*to beek*). EQ. (c 1230 Wohunge in Cott. Hom. 269, Al þat pinende pik ne walde ham þuche bote a softe *bekinde* bath) ; 1375 Barbour, Bruce xix, 552, Ane ynglish man, that lay *bekand* Hym by a fire. LQ. a1774 Fergusson, C. Oyst, Poems 8, How often at that ingle cheek Did I my frosty fingers *beek*.

Prof. A. W. Reed (in Philol. Notes to Wks. p. 197) says “*bekyth* = stoops, bends or crouches). He refers to the verb *beck* = to make a sign of recognilion, respect ; to nod ; to make a slight bow (OED). This verb *beck* is also used by More (Boke of F. p. 2 B 7, She *becketh* and she smileth on euery wight), but in all the quotations in OED this verb is written either with *ck* or with *kk*. S. v. *beek* we find moreover the following quotation : 1553 Brende, Q. Curtius II, 11, Diogenes was *beking* of himself in ye sunne. Compare : 1730 Ramsay, Gent. Sheph. Wks. II, 95, She and her cat sit *beeking* in her yard.

to befle = to make foul or dirty ; to defile.

Conf. Tynd. 685 B 2, Then shall ye see ... thys fayre egyle byrde foule *befle* hys nest.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1000 Sax. Leechd. III, 208, Handa him befylde
3esihþ weorca unrihta 3etacnaþ. No quot. in OED later than More.

to belike = to like ; to be pleased with.

Dial. C. 332, such christen folke ... *belike* ... to be serued as the snayle was, and yet muche woorse too. For they *be like* to haue their house ... bounde fast vpon their backes for euer.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED before More. EQ. 1557, North, Gueuara's Diall Pr. (1582) 403 a, Those that are beloued and *belyked* of prynces.

to bere in hand = to make believe ; to lead (one) to believe.

Apol. 63, yf that yt so were, that one founde two men standyng to gether, & wolde steppe in betwene them, and *bere* them *in hand* they were about to fight... | Dial. Her. 109 C 12, to dowte whither Luther himselfe... wrote in dede so euyl as he is *borne in hande*. | Rich. 41 H 2, thus *bare* they folke *in hande*.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1300 Beket 909, We wolleth the *bere on hond* : that thu ert his traitour. LQ. a 1716 South VI, 25, If Popery and Fanaticism are so irreconcilable, as our True Protestants would *bear us in hand* that they are.

to beshrew = to curse ; to blame greatly.

Debell. 948 H 6, I durste well in the same worde (some say) *beshrewe* hym, and *beshrowe* hym againe. | Dial. C. 217, yf thou smyte it not of, I *beshrew* thine horesons hart. | Jest p. 1 F 3, They do therefore *Beshrew* themselfe at last.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1377 Langl. P. Pl. B iv, 168, A shireues clerke *byshrewed* al þe route. LQ. 1682 N. O., Boileau's Lutrin II, 106, Trembling she lay, and in her heart *beshrewed* him.

to bestow = to place.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 228 B 12, As rowmes and liuinges fal voyde to *bestow* them in. | Rich. 54 F 10, Then were they al quickly *bestowed* in diuerse chambres.

Now archaic. EQ. c 1374 Chaucer, Troilus I 967, Thy god of love hath the *bystowid* In place digne unto thy worthines.

to betake = to give ; to hand over ; to grant.

Rich. 51 E 5, she with her owne handes *betoke* him to them of trust. | Rich. 43 E 15, therewith hee *betooke* her the greate Seale. | Dial. Her. 285 D 10, I haue quod he, *betaken* Hymyneus and Alexander to the deuill to teache them to leave their blasphemye. | Passion 1338 H 1, The onely sacrifice *betaken* by Chryst vnto his christen church.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1205 Lay. 6251, Heo sculleþ eow, þat lond *bi-taken*. LQ. 1649 Selden, Laws. Eng. I, LIX, 110, The Empress perceiuing the power of the Clergy *betakes* her case to them.

to betoken = to be a type or emblem of ; to symbolize.

Passion 1331 G 18, Thys excellent high sacrament ... *betokeneth* also manyfold merueilous mysteries.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1175 Lamb. Hom. 89, þet lomb *bitacnede* cristes þrowunge. LQ. 1667 Milton, P. L. XI, 867, In the Cloud a Bow ... *Betok'ning* peace from God and Cov'nant new.

to bewray oneself = to expose oneself.

Dial. Her. 255 H 3, sodenly the fonde felowe *bewrayed hym selfe vnware*.

Now obsolete. OED has no instances of this reflexive use of *to bewray*.

to bewray (a deception) = to expose.

Dial. Her. 256 A 3, Than may ye se ... hys marueilouse profonde prudence, that had not the wit to beware that hymselfe *bewrayed* not hys owne so folishe a deuice.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1548 Udall, etc., Erasm. Par., Pref. II, In *bewraiynge* the iugleyng sleightes. LQ. a 1601 Nowell in Strype, Ann. Ref. I, I, xxxix, 451, Finding therein certain notable untruths ... he did *bewray* them to the auditors.

to bide by = to stick to ; to maintain.

Dial. Her. 141 B 10, as ye spake of shotyng in the beginning, this gere howe nere it goeth to the prick, we shal see after. But this I promise you, it would fain beare ouer the but and al. For if it might hold & be *bidden by*, & wer as well able to bee proued trew, as I trust to proue it false, the butte we shote at wer quite gone, for any suretie that we could reken of our faith & christendome.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1494 Fabyan VI, cciv, 214, For this [battle] was so strongly *hydden by*, that men coude not iudge whiche parte had the better. LQ. 1844 Tennyson, P'cess V, 316, Worthy reasons why she should *Bide by* this issue.

to bigrace = to do reverence to ; to address as 'your grace'.

Last Th. 86 B 16, whyle they knele & crouche to hym, & at euerye word barehed *bigrace* him.

Now obsolete (?). No quotations antedating the above from More. LQ. 1802 Wolcott (P. Pindar) Gr. Cry & Lit. Wool, Wks. 1812 V 180, She's *begraced* and beduchess'd already.

to blame = to address with rebuke ; to chide.

Dial. Her. 116 B 12, The good Kinge Dauyd ... *blamed* his folishe wife.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1297 R. Glouc. 163, Bi fore hym he lette brynge vs men, & bi gan hem faste *blame*. LQ. 1559 Mirr. Mag., Jack Cade V, No reproche can be to much to *blame* her.

to blench = to disconcert.

Dial. C. 205 B 3, For now if ye so shold haue answered him as I haue shewed you, thoughe ye shoulde haue somewhat *blenched* him therwith, yet he...

Now obsolete. EQ. (1400 ?), 1485 Caxton, Trevisa's Hidgen, IV,

xxxiii (1527) 181, The enemyes were *blente* through goddes myghte.
LQ. a 1640 Jackson, Wks. (1844) VIII, 122, Being *blenched* in his
right course by the shadow.

to blesse (away, out) = to drive (out, away) by making the
sign of the cross.

Answer 1060 B 6, And those vowesses lo that happen to haue any such
mind, let them at the fyrst thought make a crosse on their brest and
blesse it *away*. | Passion 1273 C 5, When the dyuell fyrste casteth any
proude vayne thoughte into our mynd ... let vs forthwith make a crosse
on our breast, and *blesse* it *oute*.

Not in Pres. D. Eng. No earlier quot. in OED; one later, with
to bless ... into.

to bluster out = to utter with stormy violence and noise.

Conf. Tynd. 374, E 5, He bloweth and *blustereth out* at last his abhomi-
nable blasphemy.

Now obsolete. The above is the earliest quot. in OED. LQ. 1604
T. Wright, Passions iv, l, 110, Foolish mouths ... *bluster forth*
follies.

to bolt = to fetter; to shackle.

Dial. C. 323. He *bolteth* their arms with a paulsy, that they cannot lift
their hands to their heads.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1377, Langl. P. Pl. B. VI, 138, If he be ...
bolted with yernes ... LQ. 1606 Shaks. Ant. & Cl. v. ii, 6, That
thing ... which shackles accedents, and *bolts* vp change.

to bost (a person) = to laud; to extol.

Rich. 70 G 9, the duke began to praise & *bost* the king.

Now replaced by *to boast* which rarely occurs with a personal
object. EQ. 1543 Grafton, Contn. Harding 524, When the duke
beganne fyrste to prayse and *boaste* the Kyng. The later quot.
all have non-personal objets.

to brake = to torture on the rack.

Dial. C. 321, in this prison ... folk be ... as sore handled ... and wrenched
and ... *braked* in such paynfull wise, that ...

Now obsolete. OED has only the foll. quot. 1530, Palsgr. 463, The
false murdrer was *braked* thrise or euer he would confess the
trouthe.

to break = to cut short; to stop.

Answer 1058 H 4, A better then we both shall *breake* the strife betwene
vs. | Dial. Her. 167 C 7, For the wordes of God muste *breke* the strife.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1330 R. Brunne, Chron. III (Mätz.), Our tale
telle wille we no *breke*, bot telle forth the certeyn. LQ. 1709.
Strype, Ann. Ref. I, XLVII, 510, To use means to *break* the match.

to break (with a person) = to reveal what is in one's mind.

Dial. C. 217, wyth hym she secretly *brake*, and offered hym ten ducates
for hys labour.

Now obsolete. The one earlier quot. illustrates the verb *to break*

to (a person) : 1463 Paston Lett. 473 II 134, He kept not his owyn counceil but *brak* to euery man of it. | The earliest quot. with *to break with* is the above from More. LQ. 1614 Raleigh, Hist. World V, VI, § 8, To this effect Scipio *brake with* the Consul.

An instance of the still current verb *to break news, a matter, a secret* occurs in the following passage :

Rich. 53 E 12, But Catesby ... reported ... that he founde him so fast, and hard him speke so terrible woordes, that he durst no further *breke*.

to bring furth = to adduce ; to put forth.

Conf. Tynd. 475 F 5, The places of Scripture whiche Heluidius *broughte furth* for the contrarye.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1300 Cursor M. 12138, To *bring forth* sli talking. LQ. 1611 Dible, Isa. XLI, 21, *Bring forth* your strong reasons.

to bring in (a person) = to prevail upon (?).

Dial. C. 193, with suche preaching wer the people so *brought in*, that some fel to break their fastes on the fastyng days.

Now obsolete. Not recorded in OED.

to bring up = to bring into vogue ; to introduce ; (to invent).

Picus 8 C 9, but we speake of those ceremonies, which folke *bryng vp* setting the very seruice of God aside. | Dial. Her. 283 C 13, which thing had vndoubtedly neuer been obtained among the people, ... if god had not *broughte it vp* hymselfe.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1483 Caxton, G. de la T., D VII b., To hasty intakyng ony newe thynges *brought up*. LQ. 1741 Richardson, Pamela, The torture is not used in England and I hope you won't *bring it up*.

to bymire = to cover with mire.

Answer 833 D 20, If only they that are alrede *bymired*, were ... myred on more and more.

Still current (*to bemire*). No earlier quot. in OED.

to byshop = to confirm ; to administer the rite of confirmation to.

Dial. Her. 130 C 9, No man that was by at your crysteninge, nor when ye were *byshopped* neyther.

Now arch. or obsolete. EQ. c 1000 Thorpe's Laws II, 348, se bisceop biþ 3esett ... to *bisceop3enne* cild. | LQ. 1786 J. Roberts, Life 29 How many of them have been *bishop'd* ?

to call upon (a letter) = to ask for.

Aut. Lett. iv 72, the lettre ... which the kinges grace caused me whan his grace had redde hit to deliver it forthwith to my said lordis seruant taryng & incessauntly *callyng eppon* hit. So that I could not wryte hit owle agayne.

Now obsolete. Not in OED.

to cant = to apportion ; to divide.

Dial. C. 322, our very prison this earth is. And yet therof we *cant* us out dyuers partes dyuerslye to our self. | Debell. 943 H 11, To diuide and *cant* it among good poore husband men.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1440 Promp. Parv. 60, *Cantyn* or *departyn* = *partior*. OED has no later quotations.

to captyve = to captivate ; to subdue.

Apol. 38, God vseth the tone token of the word to the wasshyng & clensyng of the soule thorow the meane of obedyence of the will, in *captyuynge* of hys reason. | Apol. 39, he will walke and wurke wyth God by *captyuynge* of hys own understanding.

Now obsolete. No earlier quot. of the fig. meaning in OED. LQ. 1761 Churchill, Rosciad, If music ... *Captives* the ear.

to cast = a) to find or declare guilty.

Debell. 976 G 4, some ... confessed hys felonyes at the galowes, when thei were on the lader. And some ... became approuers when they were *caste*, and called for a coroner.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1849 Grote, Greece II lxvii, viii 463, There was no man ... who might not be *cast* or condemned, or fail in his own suit, even with right on his side.

to cast = b) to revolve in one's mind.

Rich. 49 (= 46) G 2, For if she *caste* suche fonde doubttes, that shee feare his hurte : then wyll shee feare that hee shall bee fette thence. | Dial. C. 240, a good man *casting* in his mind the peril of...

Now obsolete or dial. EQ. 1530 Palsgr. 477, 2, I have *caste* many thynges in my mynde... | 1577 Hanmer, Anc. Eccl. Hist. (1619), 168, The Judge, *casting* doubtts with himselfe ... | c 1590 Marlowe, Faust, v, 26, *Cast* no more doubtts. LQ. a 1719 Addison (J.), I have lately been *casting* in my thoughts the several happinesses of life.

to cease = to stop (with object).

Dial. C. 166, he shortly *ceased* the tempest.

Now obsolete when referring to state or condition of things. EQ. 1393 Gower Conf. II, 9, Thus was *cessed* the debate of love. LQ. 1691 E. Taylor tr. Behmen's Threef. L. xviii, 313 A dead man's sence is *ceased*.

to cham = to chew (also fig.).

Dial. Her. 241 H 11, anye stronger meate, it must be *chammed* afore by the nurse. | Dial. Her. 242 A 9, Not for the reading & receiuing : but for the busy *chamming* therof.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1398 Trevisa, Barth De P. R. xvii, v, 606, It is full harde and maye not be chewed and whyles men *chamme* theron, the butter sauour wythyn is not felte. LQ. 1675 Hobbes, Odys. xii, 263, When she my men *cham'd* in her ugly chaps (1825, 1881, dial.).

to charity = to love with the Christian love of our fellow-men.

Conf. Tynd. 434 F 9, But elles if Tindall fall not to the *chariting* but to the louing of his neighbors wife.

Not in OED.

to circumuent = to surround by hostile stratagem.

Lett. Fryth. 834 F 9, it greueth me very sore, to see thys yonge man so *circumuented* and begiled by certayn olde limmes of the deuil (917 A 5).

Still in Pres. D. Eng. EQ. 1553 Eden, Treat. Newe Ind. 13, The *gouernour* ... so by *crafte circumuented* him that he toke him priesoner.

to cloute up = to patch (fig.).

Last. Th. 80 E 4, once or twise a day, we be fayne to take medicines inwarde to *cloute* them (scil. our bodies) *vp* with al, & kepe them as longe as we can.

Now arch. or dial. EQ. (of the fig. use) 1413 Lydg., Pilgr. Sowle II XLIII (1859) 49, They peruertyn holy Scripture by false vnderstandynge ... *kouerynge* ... and *cloutynge* ... the lawe of Chrystes gospel.

to comen = to discuss (a thing, etc.).

Rich. 64 D 8, they myght seme to *comen* what was best to do.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1460 Fortescue, Abs. & Lim. Mon. xvii, 150, þat his entente therin be *comened* with his counsell. LQ. 1607, J. King, Sermon. 20, To *comen* it (this scripture) is priuate with his owne spirits.

to comber = to distress; to trouble.

Some Lett. 333, I *comber* you good Margaret much, but I would be sory, if it should be any longer than to morrow.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1300 Cursor Mundi 8018 (Cott.), Es nathing þat mai him *cumber*. LQ. 1852 Dickens, Bleak H. xxvii, I disgrace nobody and *cumber* nobody.

to clock (chickens) = to call (chickens) together.

Dial. C. 201, how often like a louing hen, he *clocketh* home vnto him,.. those chikins of hys.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1420, Pallad. on Husb. 1, 660, Nowe she [the hen] goth before, And *clocketh* them. LQ. (fig.) a 1716 South, Sermon. IV, 54, Engaging men... to hold forth ... wheresoeuer, and howsoeuer, they could *clock* the senseless and unthanking rabble about them. More also uses *to klok for* (not illustrated in OED): Dial. C. 201, the more he *clocketh for* them, the farther they go from hym.

to conclude = to overcome in argument; to confute.

Dial. C. 316, these thinges wherewith you rather conuynce and *conclude* me, then induce a credence and perswade me ... | Dial. C. 297, therefore oure Sauoure in few woordes *concluded* and confuted all these folyes of them, that ... forsake hym and his faythe.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1300 Cursor M. 14713, Wit wordes sulke war þai wit scil *concluded* and ouercummin. LQ. 1704 Hearne, Duct. Hist. I 283, Though the Scythians had better Arguments to offer ... they would not be *concluded* by them.

to condescend = to give one's consent.

Rich. 46 E 7, the temporall menne whole, and good part of the spirituall also, thinking none hurt ertbly ment towarde the younge babe, *condescended* ... that ... he should be fetched.

Now obsolete. No quotations with *that*-clause anterior to More. EQ. 1557 North, tr. Gueuara's Diall Pr. 97 a/1, It shold not be iust ... that Rome shuld *condescende*, that any woman ... receyue shame. LQ. 1717 Col. Rec. Penn. III 36, The Gouvernour at last *Condescended*, that the said Commissions be Issued.

to conduce = to lead ; to guide ; to conduct.

Dial. C. 213, he must get a ... cunning Pilote that so can *conduce* hym from the rocks on that side.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1475 Partenay, Prol. 206, Here I hym require To thys nede me aide ; and hys moder swet Mi mater *conduce* to the ende. LQ. 1658 T. Meriton, Love & War IV. 1, I am *conduc'd* by willingnesse to dye.

to confound = to confute.

Passion 1346 H 1, we see both Saynt Hyreneus *confounde* the Valentiniens, and Saynte Hillarius *confounde* the Arrians, ... by certayn argumentes grounded vpon the veritie of...

Now obsolete. EQ. 1382 Wycliff, Acts ix 22, Forsothe Saul ... *confoundide* the Jewis. LQ. 1726 Cavallier, Mem. I 10, She would dispute ... with the Missionaries ... and would often *confound* them.

to conioin = to unite in one substance.

Passion 1306 (= 1338) E 4, not an instrument dead and separate, but by hys instrument linely quicke *conioined* vned, and for euer vnseparable.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. EQ. 1552 Lyndesay, Monarchie iv, 5593, All Reasonabyll Creature Sal suddantlye start vp attonis, *Contunit* with Saull, Flesche, Blude, & Bonis. LQ. 1671 J. Webster, Metallogr. iv 75, Both being *conjoyned*, doth draw forth a certain unctuous spirit.

to confer = to compare.

Dial. Her. 245 F 8, by dyers diuiding the labour among them, and after *conferring* theyr several parties together eche with other.

Now obsolete, exc. in the abbr. *cf.* EQ. a 1533 Frith, Disput. Purg. Pref. 85, Let us ever *confer* them unto the pure word of God. LQ. 1753 Hanway, Trav. II, I, vii, 35, To *confer* occasionally, in order to see that his accounts agree.

to contrary = to contradict.

Dial. Her. 262 H 13, one part of hys tale euer *contraried* another.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1386 Chaucer, Wife's T. 188, Ne was ther wyf, ne mayde ... that *contraried* that he sayde. LQ. 1808 W. B. Hewetson, Blind B. I, 1, I see nothing to *contrary* it.

to conuay = to perform (tricks); to manage with secrecy or craft.

Apol. 23, a iugler that *conuayeth* his gullies so craftely that al the table spyeth them.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1530 Palsgr. 498, 1, He *convayeth* his maters as wisely as any man that I knowe. LQ. a 1661 Fuller, Worthies III, 404, He had a secret contrivance wherin he *conveyed* his exceeding above his monastical pittance.

to conuycet = to prove (a doctrine) to be wrong; to confute. Conf. Tynd. 428 C 2, And thus is in thys poynte Tyndales playne foly, well and playnely *conuycet*.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1646 Sir T. Browne, Pseud. Ep. III, viii, 122, Which conceit being already *convicted*, not only by Scaliger, Riolanus and others, but daily confutable almost every where out of England. LQ. 1681 W. Robertson, Phraseol. Sen. 387, To *convict*, or prove the contrary, refutare.

to conuynce = to overcome in argument; to confute.

Dial. C. 316, these thinges wherewith you ... rather *conuynce* and conclude me, then induce a credence and perswade me...

Now obsolete. EQ. 1530 Palsgr. 498, 2, There have been doctours to dispute with hym ... but they all can not *convince* him. LQ. 1708 Chamberlayne, St. Gt. Brit. I, II, VII, 69, their office is to confirm the wavering, *convince* the obstinate.

to counterplede = a) to make a counterplea; b) to contradict.

a) Passion 1280 B 7, His mercy no cause had to *counterpleade* his iustice, in abridgyng the eternyte of the proude spiritess paine.

b) Dial. C. 337, I might resonably *counterplede* thys that you haue sayde.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1385 Chaucer, L. G. W., Prol. 476, Lat be thyn arguinge For loue ne wele not *countyrpletyd* be In ryght ne wrong. LQ. 1589 Warner, Alb. Eng. Pros. Add. 338, Aeneas ... thankfully acknowledged her great bountie, *counter-pleading* to haue pretended a departure without leaue taken.

to daw up = to rouse; to awaken.

Jest p. 4 A 12, with good rappes, And heuy clappes, He *dawde* hym vp agayne.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A., XI, X, The Quene ... felle to the erthe in a dede swoune, and thenne syr Bors took her vp, and *dawed* her. LQ. 1612 Drayton, Poly-olb. vi 90, Thinking her to *daw* Whom they supposed fain in some enchanted swound.

to decay = to cause to fall off or deteriorate.

Dial. C. (Wks-) 1200 H 9, For foare of *decaying* the common wele, men are driuen to put malefactors to pain.

Now obsolete. No quotations anterior to More in OED. LQ. 1691 Locke, Lower Interest, Wks. 1727 II 38, A High Interest *decays* Trade.

to declare = to make known ; to state in detail.

Apol. 4, they saye that my wurkes were wurthy muche more credence, yf I had wrytten more indyfferently and had *declared* and made open to the people the lawtes of the clergy.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1340 Hampole, Prose Tr. 23, I shalle telle and *declare* to the a little of this more opynly. LQ. 1703 Maxon, Mech. Exerc. 237, I will *declare* their Method.

to defy = to despise ; to disdain.

Boke of F. p. 1 B 10, Thus lyke the fox they fare that once forsoke, The pleasaunt grapes, and gan for to *defy* them.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1320 R. Brunne, Med. 743, Y haue be skurged, scorned *dyffyed*, Wounded, angred, and crucyfyed. LQ. 1727-38 Gay, Fables I, xxvi, 17, He next the mastiff's honour try'd, Whose honest jaws the bribe *defy'd*.

to delate = to bring ; to introduce.

Passion 1347 G 10, the countreyes into whiche chrystendome hath been and shal be *delated* and spred before...

Now obsolete. No instances of exactly this meaning in OED. Nearest s. v. *delate* v. 1 = to carry down or away, convey to a particular point.

to delude = to frustrate ; to cheat or disappoint (hopes or purposes).

Rich. 60 C 5, he tooke it ... highly that his embasiate was *deluded*. | Rich. 59 B 6, if al his viage were in suche wise frustrate, and his appointmentes *deluded*.

Now obsolete. EQ. (1493 Petronilla 99, Of his purpose Flaccus was *deluded*) 1494 Fabian, Chron. vii, ccxxxiv, 270, The Cristen prynces seinge that they were thus *deluded*. LQ. 1630 Dekker, 2nd Pt. Honest Wh. Wks. 1873 II, 138, Yet sure i'th end he'll *delude* all my hopes.

to demean = a) to conduct ; to manage (things).

Rich. 67 D 16, all thinges wer in late daies couertly *demeaned*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1207 F 3, Euen for hys riches alone, though he *demened* it neuer so wel.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1315 Shoreham 167, Thaȝ hy(t) be thorȝ senne *demeyned*. LQ. 1644 Milton, Areop. (Arb.) 68, As our obdurat Clergy have with violence *demean'd* the matter.

to demean = b) to manage (a person) ; to deal with.

Rich. 45 (= 44) C 13, them selfe woulde alone, *demeane* and gouerne the king at their pleasure. | Rich. 48 H 9, ther should he be *demeaned* accordyng to his estate.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1393 Gower, Conf. I, 196, And thought he wolde upon the night *Demene* her at his owne wille. LQ. 1685 Argyll, Declar. in Crookshank, Hist. Ch. Scotl. II, 316, *Demeaning* and executing them ... as the most desperate traitors.

denounce (an excommunication) = pronounce.

Dial. Her. 185 C 14, Which he neuer was after the deede done, till the excommuncacion *denounced*.

Now obsolete. No instances with *excommunication* in OED.

to depart = to sever; to separate.

Picus 2 F 3, Straunge tokens hath gone before, or followeth the natiuitee of excellent, wyse and verteous menne, *departing* (as it wer, and by Goddes commaundement) seuering the cradles of such speciall chyldren fro the company of other of the common sorte.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1340 pseud. Hampole, Pr. Consc. 3710, þai er ...

Departed halely fra þe body of Criste. LQ. 1590 Spencer, F. Q. II, x, 14, Which Seuerne now from Logris doth *depart*.

to deprave = to disparage; to defame.

Dial. C. 233, mysse iudging, and *deprauing* other men, with the delite of theyr owne praise.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1362 Langl. P. Pl. A III, 173, I com not to chyde, Ne to *deprave* þi persone with a proud herte. LQ. 1667 Milton, P.

L. VI, 174, Unjustly thou *deprav'st* it with the name Of Servitude.

to depure = to free from impurity.

Dial. C. 259, [he] ... is not yet alwaye so cleere *depured* from all worlde-lye affecciouns, as hymself would very fayne he were.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1400-50, Alexander 2768, Send ... Sum pured pelloure *depurid* in oure wedis. | LQ. 1699 Evelyn, Acetaria (1729) 156, Ingredients ... [which] *depure* the Blood.

to descant of = to comment upon.

Picus 15 C 12, the company of the court ... *descanted* therof to his rebuke.

Now obsolete with the preposition *of*. No earlier quot. in OED.

to detect = to divulge.

Answer 1035 F 9, heresy would he no man suffer to talke at hys table, but would he bothe rebuke it and *detecte* it to, all thoughte the thing touched hys owne borne brother.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1465 Hist. Doc. Roch. (E. E. T. S.) 7, But if it shall hap so to know any such [heresies], I shall *detecte* them to myn ordinarie, LQ. 1725 De Foe, Voy. round W. (1840) 314, One of the lieutenants discovered and *detected* this villanous contrivance.

to detest (to the deuil) = to wish (to the devil).

Conf. Tynd. 404 E 1, he hath abhorred & *detested* it to the deuil of hel, that euer any persone ... should afterward runne out of their religion.

Now obsolete. Not in OED.

to devyse = to contrive or make up deceitfully or falsely; to forge; to invent.

Rich. 56 B 14, much mater was ther ... *devised*, to the slaunder of the lord Chamberlain.

Now archaic. No quotations anterior to More.

to devyse upon = to consider ; look at attentively.

Dial. Her. 153 F 5, in *deuysynge upon* the sentence, in consyderynge what ye rede, in ponderynge the purpose of diuers commentes.

Now obsolete. Not in OED with *upon*.

to dilate = to describe ; to enlarge upon.

Dial. C. 348, If we would *dilate*, and wer hable to declare these speciall gyftes ... there would it appeare...

Now obsolete. EQ. 1393 Gower, Conf. III, 190, It nedeth nought that I *dilate* The pris which preised is algate. LQ. 1801 Gouv. Morris in Sparks Life & Writ. III, 150, I dare give only hints ; it would be presumptuous to *dilate* them.

to disallow = to reject.

Dial. Her. 271 C 8, he said that god reiected, *disallowed*, and sette at nought al the works of insidels wrought without faith.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1377 Langl., P. Pl. B. xiv 139, For þei [the rich] han her hyre here ... an heuene as it were ... And whan he deyeth, ben *disallowed*. LQ. 1660 Stanley, Hist. Philos. IX (1701) 435/1, [tr. Archytas], The fates of young and old together croud, No head is *disallow'd* By merciless Proserpina.

to discern = to separate as distinct.

Answer 1050 F 3, Our sauour would not *discerne* & diuide fayth from the woorke, but sayth that the faith it selfe was the woorke of God. |

Dial. Her. 148 A 2, And faith is the first substanciall difference *discerning* christen men from hethen.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1430 Lydg. Min. Poems 87, Pictogoras... Fonde first out .y., a figure to *discerne* Theyre lyff here short, and lyff that is eterne. LQ. 1645 Ussher, Body Div. 39, That so he might be *discerned* from all things created. For nothing is like unto God.

to discharge = to do away with ; to part with.

Dial. Her. 228 C 4, thei neuer haue grant of a liuing ... but thei secretly *discharge* it ere they haue it...

Now obsolete. EQ. 1523 Fitzherb., Surv., 12 b, Mater in writyng may nat be *discharged* by bare wordes. LQ. 1778 Bp. Lowth, Transl. Isaiah, Prelim. Diss. (ed. 12) 44, We can hardly expect ... more ... than to be able ... to *discharge* and eliminate the errors that have been gathering ... for about a thousand years past.

to discuss = to drive away.

Conf. Tynd. 401 E 11, They wil clerely dissipate and *discusse* the myst.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1374 Chaucer, Boeth. I metr. III 9, When þat nyght was *discussed* and chased away, derknesses forlesten me. LQ. 1651 I. F(reake), Agrippa's Occ. Philos. 17, The Northern Wind, fierce and roaring, and *discussing* clouds.

to dispayre = to cease to hope for.

Dial. C. 125, seeing the man so sore set on hys pleasure, that they *dis-*

payre any amendement of him. | Rich. 38 E 2, hee receiued his naturall strengthe soo sore enfebled, that hee *dyspayred* all recouerye.

Now obsolete or archaic; replaced by *to despair of*. EQ. c 1485 Digby Myst. (1882) v. 467, Thei that *despeyer* mercy haue grett conunccion.

to dispense (a bond) = to dissolve the obligation of (a vow, oath, or the like) by ecclesiastical authority.

Conf. Tynd. 619 G 3, The church bathe synce ... *dispensed* and vndone the bonde.

Now obsolete. No quotations anterior to More in OED. LQ. 1640 Brathwalt, Two Lanc. Lov. 235, Those vowes ... could not so easily be *dispenced*.

to dispercle = to scatter.

Dial. Her. 182 G 8, not a company ..., but a *dispercle*d nounder of only good men.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1419 Pecock, Repr. III, vij, 318, Alle weren *disperclid* abrode. LQ. a 1634 R. Clerke, Serm. (1637) 471 (L.), Their spawn [is] *disparkled* over all lands.

to dispose = to bestow; to deal out; to distribute.

Last Th. 92 G 10, if thou dydst reckon the tresure not thine, but the tresure of god deliuered the to *dispose* and bestow thy tresure shold be in erth and thy hert in heuen.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1430 Lydg. Min Poems 20, The wiche gyfte they goodly han *disposed*. LQ. 1818 Cruise, Digest iv, 243, The enjoyment during life, and the power of *disposing* to whatever person and in whatever manner she pleased.

to disprayse = to despise.

Dial. C. 334, if ... ther wer on the tone side of the way a rable of ragged beggers and madde men, that wold despyse you and *disprayse* you ...

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1386 Chaucer, Melib., 5 Whan Prudence had herd hire husbond avaunte him of his richesse ... *dispreising* the power of his adversaries. LQ. c 1500 Melusiue xx, 113, *Dyspreyse* not your enmyes though they be litel.

to disreuerence = treat with irreverence.

Dial. Her. 227 B 10, we should ... rather forbear the profyte ... than to see his maiesty *disreuerenced*.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. a 1670 Hacket, Abp. Williams I (1692) 127, How is His glory *dis-reverenced* over all this land?

to dissemble = to disguise.

Dial. Her. 283 A 15, Though he *dissemble* himselfe to bee a Lutherane ... whyle he was here: yet as sone as he gate him hence, he gate him to Luther strayght.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1508 Dunbar, Tua Marrit W. 254, I wes *dis-symblyt* suttely in a sanctis liknes. LQ. 1697 Dryden, Aeneid xii, 340, *Dissembling* her immortal form, she took Camertus meen.

to dissolue = to refute; to confute.

Dial. Her. 203 D 2, Whiche obieccion the author answereth and *dissolue*th.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1842 Abp. Thomson, Laws Th. § 127 (1860) 271, We may *dissolve* the argument by shawing its unfitness for proof.

to do (theft) = to commit; to perpetrate.

Dial. Her. 272 D 8, no man may lawfully ... *do* theft or aduoutry.

Now obsolete or arch. EQ. a 1000 Father's Instr. 70 (Cod. Ex. II. 81 a), þeah hi wom *don*.

to do a purpose = to carry out an intention.

Dial. C. 217, But such as are wel willing *to do any purpose* that is so shameful, wyl neuer tel their mind to no body for veri shame.

Not recorded in OED.

to drink (of) = to have a specified flavour when drunk.

Conf. Tynd. 357 B 12, because it is not so walowe swete but *drinketh* more of the verder.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1607 Heywood, Wom. Kill. Epil., The wine ... *drunk* too flat. LQ. 1758 L. Temple, Sketches (ed. 2) 70, The Burgundy *drinks* as flat as port.

to dyscoumfort = to discourage.

Dial. C. 125, For al be it that the priestes ... be woonte to calle uppon sicke menne to remembre death: yet we worldely frendes for feare of *dyscoumfortyng* them, haue euer hadde a guyse ... to lifte uppe their heartes, and put them in good hope of life.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1338 R. Brunne, Chron., To *discomfort* no þing þe, so faire happe neuer þou fond. LQ. 1706 Phillips, *Discomfort* = to afflict, cast down, or put out of Heart.

to dyspute = to maintain; to uphold.

Conf. Tynd. 655 G 1, He ... affyrmeth nowe that there is in the blessed sacramento nothyng e elles but bread, ... and *dysputeth* in his blasphemie that it shoulde be but starche. Also 396 C 3.

Now obsolete. In OED no quotations before 1610: Bp. Carleton, Jurisd. Pref., I haue *disputed* the kings right with a good conscience, from the rules of Gods word. LQ. Swift, Cad. & Van. 344, And these, she offer'd to *dispute*, Alone distinguish'd man from brute.

to dyssymule = to ignore.

Apol. 28, he haþe sette forth Tyndals reason & *dyssymuled* myne answer.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1450 Knt. de la T. 100, The duk, that sawe her symplenes, beganne to lawghe and *dissymuled* her requeste. LQ. 1636 B. Jonson, Disc. Morbi, ix, 190, So in the church, some errors may be *dissimuled* with lesse inconvenience then they can be discover'd.

to embrue = to stain ; to dye (one's hand) in blood.

Dial. Her. 259 D 10, From howre to howre *embruinge* theyr handes in bloode.

Still possible in Pres. D. Eng. No quotations anterior to More (s. v. Imbrue, 2).

to empech = to impede; to hinder.

Aut. Lett. vi, 34, he dowlteþ not but yor grace hath and will provide therfore that no lacke of vitaille hyndre or *empech* theire purpose.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1380, Wyclif, Sel. Wks III 317, He schall dwelle þere alle his lif, and no man *empeche* hym. LQ. 1690 Leybourn, Curs. Math. 586, A Ditch, of sufficient ... breadth, and depth, to *impeach* the assault of an Enemy.

to encountre with = to confront.

Aut. Lett. iv, 12, his gracis armye ... sholde be compelled to *encountre* with thentier army of his enemyes.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1555 Eden, Decades W. Ind. II, 1 (Arb.) 107, *Encounteryng* with them, he was repulsed with shame and damage. LQ. 1728 R. Morris, Ess. Anc. Archit. 18, The single Enemies I have to *encounter* with.

to endent = to make a formal or express agreement ; to covenant.

Last Th. 82 D 12, our lord hath not *endented* with vs of the time.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1489 Paston Lett. 908 III 351 My Lorde of Northethombyrland ... hath *endentyd* with the Kyng for the keypyng owt of the Schottys ... LQ. 1759 Goldsm. Pres. St. Pol. L. XI, Wks. (1854) II, 50, I fire with indignation when I see persons wholly destitute of education and genius *indent* to the press, and thus turn book-makers.

to endite of = to accuse of.

Last Th. 100 H 14, he is *endited* of his own deth.

Now : to *indict* for.

to enforce = to add force to ; to intensify.

Apol. 5, I reherse theyr reason to the beste that they can make yt theym selfe and I rather *enforce* yt and strength it of my own. | Passion 1331 B 7.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1375 Barbour, Bruce V, 355, Douglas ... *enforset* on thame the cry. LQ. 1775 Adair, Amer. Ind. 61, To *inforce* their musical speech.

to engroce = to concentrate property in one's own possession.

Apol. 85, some such haue I knowen that haue *engroced* in to theyr bandes myche other mennys goodes.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to Shakespeare.

to enhaunce = to exalt in rank, wealth, etc.

Boke of F. p. 2 A 2, he that out of pouertee and mischaunce, List for to liue, and wyll hym selfe *enhaunce*, In wealth & richesse...

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1374 Chaucer, Boeth. iv, iii, Oonly bounte and prowesse may *enhawne* euery man ouer oþer men. LQ. a 1649 Drumm. of Hawth. Wks. 40 To *inhaunce* with fauours this thy reign.

to ensemble = to bring together, to assemble.

Apol. (Wks.) 920 G 7, Openly by day they *ensembled* themselfe together to the noubmer of an hundred.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1300 Leg. St. Gregory 982, þe cardinals al togider come, *Ensembled* þai were alle þo. | No quot. later than the above from More.

to enserche = to investigate; to find out.

Boke of F. p. 1 A 3, Mine high estate power and auctoritie. If ye ne know, *enserche*.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1400 Prymer in Eng. II, 130, That thou enquire my wickidnesse and *enserche* my synne. LQ. 1581 W. Stafford, Ex. Compl. I, 30, Would *ensearch* the default, and then certifie the good man of the house thereof.

to ensurge = to rise in opposition against.

Conf. Tynd. 724 B 3, All the heretikes that rebelle agaynste it, nor all the tyrauntes vppon earth that *ensurge* & oppugne it [the church].

Now obsolete. The above is the only quot. in OED with the objective *insurge*; the other quotations illustrate *insurge against*.

to ensue (a person) = to follow (a person).

Picus 16 F 11, then shall thei coueit to *ensue* them in liuing, whan thei maie not, whom whan they might haue *ensued*, thei pursued.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1430 Lydg., Chron. Troy II x, I am so dull certayne that I ne can Guido *ensewe*. LQ. (*to ensue an example*): 1599 Davies, Immort. Soul (1876) I 99, while these receiv'd opinions I *ensue*.

to ensure = to engage by a promise of marriage.

Rich. 59 A 5, after he was thus appointed, & hadde betwene them twain *ensured* her: then asked he counsel of his other frendes.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1450 Lonelich, Grail, lii, 1019, So that *ensured* thanne bothe they were, And for the Mariages they ordeyned there. LQ. 1606 G. Woodcocke, tr. Hist. Iustine, 796, No other maide should be contracted and *ensured* to any husband,...

to enterprise = to attack.

Picus 26 B 3, Death stealeth on full slily and vnware. He lieth at hande, and shall vs *enterprise*, we wote not howe soone.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1450 Merlin, xx, 315, Whan the Kynge Arthur saugh hem so *enterprised*... LQ. 1513 Bradshaw, St. Werburge II, 135, Danes and Norwaies *enterprised* this lande.

to entitle = to ascribe.

Conf. Tynd. 784 A 2, the imperfait worke ... which was fyrst ... *intitiled* vnto saint Crisostome.

Now obsolete. In OED no quot. before 1550 : Crammer, Defence 506, In an other booke, *entitled* to saint Augustine is written thus ... LQ. 1724 Swift, Let. 28, The other [tract] is *entitled* to a Weaver.

to entreat = to treat ; to deal with.

Picus 7 H 1, His louers and frendes with great benignitie and curtesie he *entreated*. | Picus 13 F 10, Ther lieth ... in them [the volumes of Holy Scripture] a certein heauenly strength, ... whiche transformeth and chaungeth the readers mynde into the loue of God, if thei be clene and lowly *entreated*.

Now obsolete or archaic. EQ. c 1430 Hymnes Virg. 22, So betyn, so woundyd, *Entretyd* so fuly. LQ. 1875 Jowett, Plato, I, 135, They evil *intreated* one another.

to entreat of = to treat of or upon (a subject).

Rich. 37 C 3, Richarde the third sonne, *of* whom we nowe *entreate*.

Now obsolete. No earlier quot. in OED. LQ. 1681 W. Robertson, Phraseol. Gen. (1693) 540, Atticus in one book did *entreat of* the Records of things done in 700 years.

to envenom = to venom.

Passion 1274 D 1, Being ... so sore *enuenomed* with so mani poison spottes.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1300 K. Alis. 5611, Addres ... and dragouns Wolden this folk myche and lyte, *Envenymen* and abite. LQ. 1725 Bradley, Fam. Dict. s. v. Vives, Do not touch them with your fingers, for it will *invenom* them.

to esteem = to estimate the value.

Dial. C. 343, it woulde I doubt not be hable ynough to make vs set at naught, all the great Turkes threttes, and *esteme* him not at a strawe.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1475 Caxton, Jason 65 b, Ye are in valewe moche more thenne I can *exteme*. LQ. 1776 Sir J. Reynolds, Disc. vii (1876) 422, It is the duty of the connoisseur to know and *esteem* ... every part of painting.

to estrait = to enclose.

Dial. Her. 277 E 13, at this daie the Turke hath *estrait* vs very nere, and brought it in within a right narow compace.

Now obsolete. OED has no other instances.

to exaggerate = to heap or pile up.

Apol. (Wks.) 871 B 15, if hee woulde ... take no suche bywayes, he woulde not ... accumulate and *exaggerate* the gryefes.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1677 Hale, Prim. Orig. Man. II vii 191, Trees of Oak and Firr ... covered by ... the Silt and Moorish Earth *exaggerated* upon them.

to exhibit = a) to offer.

Conf. Tynd. 805 II 3, We ... *exhibite* our bodies a liuely host.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1490 Caxton, Eneydos V (1890) 21, His felau-shyppe chosen by hym for to make and *exhibete* the sayd sacrefyce.

LQ. 1657 Howell, Lond. 37, That he said Commissioners should have power to *exhibit* an oath.

to exhibit = *b*) to procure ; to put on.

Picus 17 C 15, Kindle thee when thou waxest colde, confirme thee when thou wauerest, and *exhibite* the whinges of the loue of God, whyle thou laborest to heauenwarde.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1548 Hall, Chron. 195 b, Frenedes will not ... remember a great gratuitie and benefite in time of necessitie, to them shewed and *exhibited*. LQ. 1654 Triana in Fuller, Cause & Cure (1867) 162, He kept Feliciano ... as a gentle almsman, *exhibiting* diet and some slender accomodations unto him.

to face (upon) = to tell (to).

Answer 1131 E 2, He *faceth* himselfe the lye upon me.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1530 Palsgr. 542, 2, Yet he wolde *face* me with a lye. LQ. c 1540 Heywood, Four P. P. 1, 382, But his boldness hath *faced* a lie.

to face out of = to exclude shamelessly from.

Answer 1132 F 13, Your false heresy wherwith you would *face* our Sauour out of the blessed sacrament.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1601 Shakesp., Tw. N. iv, ii, 101, They ... doe all they can to *face* me out of my wits. | *ibid.* v, i, 91. His false cunning ... Taught him to *face* me out of his acquaintance. No later quotations

to fall in hand (with) = to come to words (with).

Dial. C. 285, she *fell in hand* with hym ... and all to rated him.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1448 Past. Lett. n° 60, i, 74, When they met to gyder they *fell in handes* togyder, and [Sir Robert] smot hym ... with hys sord. LQ. 1605 Camden, Rem. 275, His wife *fell in hand* with him, and asked him...

to fantasie = to fancy.

Rich. 55 A 4, dremes, which either his own fere *fantasieth* or do rise in the nightes rest by reson of his daye thoughtes.

Now archaic. EQ. c 1430 Lydg. Bochas, Prol. 3, Men of craft may ... *Fantasien* in their inward sight Devises newe.

to farse = to cram ; to pack.

Dial. C. 220, one that had his breast *farsed* ful of tediousness.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1386 Chaucer, C. T. Prol. 233, His typet was ay *farsud* ful of knyfes. LQ. 1634 T. Johnson, Parey's chirurg. xi, iii (1678) 278, The wound must ... be enlarged ... that so there may be free passage ... for such things as are *farsed* therein.

to farther = to further.

Rich. 58 D 4, in that point could be none other colour, but to pretend that his own mother was one aduouteresse which not withstanding to *farther* his purpose he letted not.

Now rare. EQ. 1570 North, Doni's Mor. Phil. iii, 197, That I might ... *farther* and aduance my poore familie.

to fasten (a stroke) = to deliver effectively.

Dial. C. 354, ... *stryketh* the deuyll so ... *blynde*, that he can not see where to *fasten a stroke* on vs.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1500 Lancelot 850, *Strokis festnit* in the shelde. LQ. Dryden, Virgil, Ded. E j, Cou'd he *fasten a blow* ... when not suffer'd to approach.

to fear = to frighten.

Apol. 176, they ... haue made that noyse to *fere* the ordynaryes therewith. | Picus 12 C 9, *impedimentes* ... which might *feare* the from the purpose of good. | Dial C. 353, If he *feare* vs with exyle and flying...

Now obsolete, exc. archaic or vulgar. EQ. c 1380 Wycliff, Wks. 109, Hou anticrist and his clerkis *feren* trewe prestis for prechynge of cristis gospel.

To fear = *to be afraid* of also occurs in More: Dial. C. 128, Which wee more *feare* then all the remenaunte. | Picus 13 H 5, Farewell and *feare* God.

to feble = to make feeble.

Conf. Tynd. 644 G 3, Lest it should *feble* hys fleshe...

Now obsolete exc. arch. EQ. a 1340 Hampole, Psalter xvii 40, þai ere noght feblid my steppis.

to fede furth = to lead on by raising delusive expectations, Conf. Tynd. 524 H 15, he longeth to leade vs in darkenes, and *fede* vs *furth* with his high solemne folies.

Now obsolete. EQ. (cf. *fode forth* below) 1475 Bk. Noblesse (1860) 53, The said maister ... *fedde* hem *forthe* withe sportis and plaies. No quot. later than More.

to feefe = to present (a person) with (anything).

Apol. 52, some ... oft hem wolde in rewarde of ... my labour agaynste these heretyques haue geuen me myche more then euer I dyd, or could deserue. But I dare take God and theym also to recorde, that all they coule neuer *feeffe* me wyth one penny therof.

Now obsolete (or dial.). EQ. 1377 Langl. P. Pl. B. II, 146, And *feffe* false witnes with floreines ynowe. LQ. c 1450 Merlin 374, The kynge hym *feffed* with his right glove. (1855 Robinson, Whitby Glossary, *fefted* = "legally secured with a maintenance", He *fefted* his wife on so much a year).

to fet = to fetch.

Rich. 51 D 7, nothing lesse loking for then to haue him *fet* out of sentuary.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1000 Prov. (Kemble) 61 (Bosw.), Aelc ydel *fet* unhælo. LQ. 1602 Warner, Alb. Eng. IX, LI (1612) 230, ... a Trappe ... into it Wise, Godly, Rich, by Blanchers bace are *fet*.

to feyne (a thing) for = to pass off for.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1250 E 9, Jupiter (whom the Poetes *feyne* for the great God).

Now obsolete. The only quot. in OED is : 1393 Gower, *Conf.* I, 17, Lo, how they *feignen* chalk for chese.

to florish = to embellish a narration with flowers of speech. Supplic. 291 E 4, many thinges wherwith he *florisheth* hys matter, to make them seme gay.

Now obsolete. EQ. 13... Minor P. fr. Vernon Ms. LI, 496, þeiz þis tale beo *stortsshed* with faire flour. LQ. 1691 G. D'Emilianne, *Frauds Rom. Monks*, 177, The Catechizer *flourish'd* his Discourse with Circumstances so extravagant...

to flow (mylk and honey) = to abound in.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1161 H 3, into the lande of bebeste that *floweth mylk and honey*.

Not in Pres. D. Eng. OED has the following two quotations (both earlier) 1382 Wycliff, *Exod.* III, 8, A loond that *flowith mylk and hony*. | c 1400 Mandev. xxx, 137, I sall giffe to 3ou land *flowande mylke and hony*.

OED states that Wycliff and Mandeville followed a "barbarism" of the Vulgate. It is, however, more plausible to assume that we have here a survival of Old English usage: hit *hagalade stanum*; he *ongann wepan hluttrum tearum*; *blode swætan*¹⁾. Ælfric has: *Exod.* III, 8, On þæt land þe *flewþ meolece and hunie*. Later the preposition *with* was inserted. There are a few analogous instances in More of the absence of a preposition before an adjunct, where its use would be required in Pres. D. Eng.: Dial. C. (Wks.) 1229 F 20, Then came he to him, and humblye put him in remembrance of his graunt passed *hys owne mouthe*. | Dial. Her. 150 C 1, preache I wene thei would, though god would *his owne mouthe* commaund them the contrary. | *Conf.* Tynd. 698 F 10, he would *hys owne mouth* giue his church a law without booke. | Dial. C. 224, The thyng whyche he weneth God by *hys angel* byddeth, god hath *hys own mouthe* forbydden. | Dial. C. 218, she hong herselfe *her own handes*. | Dial. C. 214, when they dare *theyr own handes* put them self to death. | *Debell.* 943 H 11, To diuide and cant it among good poore husband men, that should til the ground *theyr handes*. | *Rich.* 54 E 11, he clapped *his fist* vpon the borde a great rappe. | *Passion* 1318 C 13; 1315 H 7; 1320 G 10; 1320 H 6.

But : Dial. C. 294, in remembrance of his graunt passed his owne mouthe and signed *with his owne hande*.

Compare Jespersen 1938 p. 336 and Kellner 1892 § 194; § 432.

to fode forth = to lead on by raising delusive expectations. Dial. C. 218, she wold no more suffer anye nor deceyue her, and *fode* her forth with delaies.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1479 Sir J. Paston in Paston Lett. n° 840, III,

¹⁾ Cf. the same usage in other Germanic languages, e. g. OHG *suertu hauwan* (Hildbr. 53).

255, I hopyd to have borowyd some off Tounesend and he hath
ffoodyd me fforthe evyrsynys. LQ. 1616 Hieron. Wks. II, 42, Hee
feeds and foades vs off with vaine words.

to forbear = to deny oneself ; to dispense with.

Dial. Her. 140 H 6, But ... sith ye willed me to *forbere* nothyng I haue
... rather sette to somewhat. | Dial. Her. 227 G 10, ye would rather kepe
your present at home, & *forbeare* the thanke. Also : Last Th. 74 C 11 ;
Dial. Her. 259 F 11 ; Answer 1036 G 1.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 900 tr. Beda's Hist. I, xvi, 70, Forþon seo
æftere cneoris ... alle gemete is to *forbeorene* & to *forlætenne*.
LQ. Milton, P. L. IX, 747, Fruits ... Whose taste, too long *forborn*,
... Gave elocution to the mute.

to force = to attach importance to ; to care for.

Picus 7 B 5, he litle *forced*, whether his workes went out vnder his
owne name or not.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1500-20 Dunbar, Poems LVIII, 22, Thay *fors* bot
litill how it fure. LQ. 1611 Speed, Hist. Gt. Br. IX, XX, 985, They
forced not what part they tooke.

to fordo = to abolish.

Dial. Her. 198 G 6, ye would not I truste that lent were *fordone*. | Dial.
Her. 284 F 4, theyr sect hath already *fordone* the faith.

Now obsolete. EQ. O. E. Chron. an. 986, Se cyning *fordyde* þæt
b'rice æt Hrofe ceastre. LQ. 1833 Whittier, Ex. New. Eng. Leg. 3,
How has New England's romance fled ... Its rites *fordone*, its
guardians dead.

to forebeat = to beat severely.

Dial. G. (Wks.) 1260 F 4, his *forebeaten* and sore beaten vaynes and
sinewes.

Now obsolete. EQ. (*forbeat*) 1393 Langl. P. Pl. C, xxiii, 198, So elde
and hue hit hadde a-feynted and *forbete*. LQ. (c 1470) is anterior
to More.

to forefigure = to prefigure.

Answer 1043 G 7, the figures of the old testament *fore figuring* the same.

Now obsolete. No other quotations in OED.

to foregrow = to cover with a growth.

Last Th. 74 D 2, [the ground] is *foregrown* with nettles breers.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1200 Trin. Coll. Hom. 129, Forþi is þis wes-
tern *forgrouwen* mid brimbles. LQ. 1575 Laneham, Let. 14,
Hombre Saluagio ... *forgrone* all in moss and Iuy.

to foreprophecy = to prophesy beforehand.

Answer 1043 G 8, besides the prophecies of the old prophetes *fore pro-
phecieng* the same.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED before 1581. LQ. 1676 W. Row,
Contn. Blair's Autobiol. XII (1848) 486, *Forepropheying* that they
would be employed against themselves.

to forestudy = to apprehend ; to look forward to.

Rich. 55 G 10, Thus ended this honorable man, a good knight and a gentle ... : eth to begile, as he that of good hart & corage *forestudied* no perilles.

Not recorded in OED.

to forethink = to consider or think out beforehand ; to plan.

Rich. 37 G 10, he long time in king Edwardes life, *forethought* to be king.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 897 K. Ælfred, Gregory's Past. xv § 5, 95, Se lareow sceal ... *foreþencean* ... þæt he nane þinga þæt ryght to suiþe ... ne bodize. LQ. 1715 Rowe, Lady J. Gr. III, My brain *forethought* And fashion'd every action of my life.

to forewery = to weary ; to tire out.

Dial. C. 246, yet are there many of them *foreweryed*.

Now obsolete or arch. EQ. c 1250 Gen. & Exod. 3894, Forþ þeþen he comen to salmona, *for-weried* grucheden he þoa.

to forslouth = to neglect.

Last Th. 72 D 3, these wordes geueth vs al a sure medicine yf we *forslouth* not the receiuyng. | Picus 9 G 8, he would be punished, if he *forslouthed* that purpose whiche our Lorde had put in his mind.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1297 R. Glouc. (1724) 197, Wanne hii ... for soke ys, & for *slewþed* [v. r. *uorslewede*] & to non defence ne come. L. Q. a 1557 Mrs. Basset tr. More's Tr. Pass. Wks. 1362, 2, Hee *forslouthed* to praye and call for gods help.

to forth = to carry out.

Dial. Her. 162 E 13, And as the apostles at time taught the people, so did euer some of them that herde them teche *forth*, and leue their doctrine and tradicions to other that came after.

Now obsolete. EQ. OE. Chron. an. 675 [Laud.] Hwilc man swa haueþ behaten to faren to Rome, and he ne muze hit *forþian*. LQ. c 1460 Townel. Myst. (Surtees) 45, Alle that I say I shalle *forthe*.

to fostre up = to bring up (a child) with parental care.

Supplic. 337 G 3, Oure fathers also, whiche while we liued *fostred* vs vp so tenderly.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1205 Lay. 25900, Ich wes hire uoster-moder, and feire heo *uostredde*. LQ. 1697 Dryden, Aeneid VII, 941, The son of Mulciber, Found in the Fire, and *foster'd* in the Plains.

to frap = to strike (or : to bind tightly ?).

Jest. p. 4 E 14, The fryre *frappe*, Gate many a swappe, Tyll he was full nygh slayne.

Now obsolete in the meaning to *strike*. There is a nautical term to *frap* = to *bind* still extant. EQ. a 13... Coer de L. 2513, With myn ax I schal hem *frape*. LQ. 1727 Bradley, Tam. Dict. s. v. Bread, You may know that the Oven is hot enough, when *frap-ping* a Pole against the hearth ... small Sparks arise.

to frush = to bruise ; to smash.

Picus 9 B 8, refreshing all his membres that were bruised and *frushed* with that feuer. | Passion 1275 B 12, Enmyty wil I put betwene thee and the woman ... she shal *frushe* thyne head in peeces.

Now obsolete. EQ. 13... K. Alis. 1814, To *frushe* the gadelyng, and to bete, And none of heom on lyve lete. LQ. 1609 Heywood, Brit. Troy, xi, lxxv, With fury each invades His opposite their mutual armour *frushing*.

to fulfyll = to make complete.

Passion 1274 A 10, a newe kynde of creature, wherewyth he woulde wake vp & *fulfyll* ... the number of al those euyl angels.

Now obsolete, exc. archaic. EQ. a 1175 Cott. Hom. 219, Al swa fele þe me mihte þat tioþe hape *fylfellen*.

to gaine call = to bring back again, to recall.

Rich. 39 F 2, but sithen thynges passed cannot be *gaine called*, muche oughte wee the more beware, by what occasion we haue taken soo greate hurte afore.

Now obsolete. There is only one quot. in OED, dated 1611 : Speed, Hist. Gr. Brit. ix, xvii, 894, Sith things past cannot be *gaine-called*. (Speed seems to have used More's words).

to gar = to cause, to make.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1149 G 7, God ... sendeth him tribulacion betime, whyle he is yet good to *gar* him ken hys maker.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1300 Cursor M. 17160, Oft þu *geris* mi wondis blede. LQ. 1894 Crockett, Lilac Sunb. 68, A dinnle in the elbuck that *garred* ye loup like a troot.

to garnish = to dress.

Picus 29 A 1, *Garnish* thy selfe vp in as goodly wise, As comely be. | Dial. C. 1220 (Wks.) D 4, ... *garnyshed* in sylke.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1566 Painter, Pal. Pleas. I 55, Ephestion ... repaired vnto him with garments to *garnishe* him like a king.

to giue = to misgive.

Apol. (Wks.) 863 B, theyr owne conscience *giueth* them that they shall finde their opinions plainly proued false.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1297¹⁾ ; LQ. 1748 (1820).

to glose = to discourse upon, to expound.

Dial. Her. 283 A 11, he *glosed* ... his wordes with a better sense. Conf. Tynd. 660 A 10.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1362 ; LQ. (arch.) 1820.

¹⁾ Economy of space being imposed by war restrictions, the citing in full of the instances in OED has been forgone from here onward — except when especially necessary.

to go by (a thing) = to be associated with; to be concomitant of.

Dial. Her. 194 E 3, the harme that *goeth by* goinge of pylgrimages...

Now *to go with*. Not in OED. Cp. *walk with*.

to go in hand (with) = to proceed (with).

Passion 1323 G 11, our Sauour ... *went in hande wyth* the instituting...

Now obsolete. No quotation in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1639.

to grisp = to grasp; to grope.

Conf. Tynd. 553 B 6, He *grisped* and ... felt about ... in the darke.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1420.

to be grounded in = to be established in.

Instr. 1421 D 15, folk, as *are* so *grounded in* charitye, and so faste cleaue to God, that...

Now obsolete. EQ. 1423. LQ. (with *in*, exc. *grounded in years*) 1535.

to hary = to drag.

Rich. 69 B 4, But Sir James Tirel dyed at Tower hill, beheaded for treason. King Richarde himselfe as ye shal hereafter here, slain in the felde, hacked and hewed of his enemies handes, *haryed* on horsebacke dead, his here in despite torn and togged lyke a cur dogge.

Now obsolete. EQ. 13...; LQ. 1624.

to haunse = to elevate.

Dial. C. 331, they will agree to be ... *haunsed* vppe in heauen, and be with god by and by.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1303; LQ. 1583.

Haue all to the deuill.

Dial. C. 1174 (Wks.) F 2, They tell of one that was wonte all waye to saye that al the while he liued he would dooe what he luste: for three woordes when hee died shoulde make all saue ynough: but than so happed it, that long ere hee were olde, his horse once stoumpled vppon a broken bridge, and as hee laboured to recouer hym, when he saw it woulde not bee, but downe into the floude headlonge nedes he shoulde: in a sodein flight he cried out in the falling, *haue all to the deuill*.

Compare OED s. v. *have*, v. B 14 b: «The imperative is used *absol.* in the sense 'Here!', 'take this!' Now dial. *Have to*, *towards*, used in drinking to any one = *here's to* arch.» There is only one quot. with *have to*: 1596 Shaks., Tam. Shr. v, ii, 37, Petr., Spoke like an Officer: *ha to* the(e) lad. [Stage-direct.] Drinkes to Hortentio.

Haue at you! is used by More in Conf. Tynd. 768 C 10.

to hawk after = to hunt after.

Picus 15 A 11, all the aduauntage that ye *hawke after*...

Now obsolete. No earlier quot. LQ. 1720.

to hawse = to raise; to exalt.

Rich. 62 B 5, Euery thing was *hawsed* about the mesure: amercementes turned into fines, fines into raunsomes.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1500. LQ. 1600.

to head = to decapitate ; to behead (a person).

Some Lett. 330, the reasonableness or the unreasonableness in byndyng a man to precyse aunswere, standeth not in the respect or difference betwene *headdyng* and burning ; but because of the difference in charge of conscience, the difference standeth betwene *heading* and *hel*.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1300 ; LQ. 1608-33.

to hear an incling = to hear a rumour.

Apol. 881 (Wks.) E 4, the tother had *heard an incling* whiche yet he believed not.

This phrase is now obsolete, except dial. EQ. a 1400-50.

To have an inkling (= a slight intimation) occurs in Dial. Her. 191 A 3 and Rich. 38 B 1.

to hold vnder (one's hand) = to hold (one's hand) under (a thing, etc.) to prevent it from falling.

Dial. C. 200, *iustus si ceciderit non collidetur, quia dominus supponit manum suam*. The iuste man though he fal, shal not be broosed, for our Lord *holdeth vnder* his hand.

Not in Pres. D. Eng. Not recorded in OED. EQ. of *suppone* in this meaning is dated 1611 ; of *suppose* 1608.

to illude = to trick ; to impose upon.

Boke of F. p. 2 B 3, Cast up thyne eye, and loke how slipper chaunce, *Illudeth* her men with chaunge and varyaunce.

Now rare. EQ. 1447.

to impugn = to oppose.

Rich. 39 A 5, eche laboureth to breake that the other maketh, and for hatred of ech of others parson, *impugneth* eche others counsayle.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1577 ; LQ. 1660.

Note : *to impugn* = *to attack*, *to assault* occurs much earlier (1382).

to in = to reclaim.

Dial. Her. 278 A 12, the landes *Inned* by diuers owners in the Isle of tenate.

Now obsolete, exc. dial. EQ. 11... ; LQ. 1640.

to inculk = to inculcate.

Debell. 938 F 3, But then laboreth he ... to make the brethern angrye wyth me, and reherseth and *inculketh* into theyr eares, that I exhorte both the spiritalty and the temporalty to... | Dial. Her. 221 F 15, 260 B 6.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1576.

to indite = to dictate ; to inspire.

Dial. Her. 156 D 15, the very straunge familiar fassyon therof, may ... well declare, that as it [scil. holy scripture] was wryten by men, so was *indited* by god.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1374 ; LQ. 1815.

to induce = a) to send for ; to bring in.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1196 H 12, S. James exhorteth men that they shall in their bodely sickenes *induce* the priestes.

Now obsolete. No earlier quot. in OED. LQ. a 1652.

to induce = b) to institute.

Answer 1014 E 2, Vpon the occasion of this myracle ... of these flue loues ..., he tooke his beginning to *induce* therupon the feast that he would in this world leue perpetually with his church.

Now obsolete. (EQ. 1401 ; LQ. 1836).

to induce = c) to initiate.

Passion 1330 A 2, *inducyng* them into the comunyon of the Sacramentes.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1490 ; LQ. 1561.

to infame = to brand with infamy.

Dial. (Wks.) 1206 E 3, all whiche whole company wer among the people sore *infamed* of rauin, extorcion, and bryberye.

Now archaic. EQ. 1413.

to infownd = to pour ; to infuse.

Rich. 60 G 3, he had shewed the great grace that god giueth & secretly *infowndeth* in right generacion after the lawes of matrimony. Conf. Tynd. 383 E 5.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1420 ; LQ. 1589.

to instruct (a thing) = to teach (a thing).

Conf. Tynd. 583 C 6, the poyntes of the fayth are not ... in such wise shewed, nor the witte in them so thorowlye and so clearly *instructed*, but that the thing ... may ... be perfited and made vp.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1623 ; LQ. 1670.

to insimulate = to charge ; to accuse.

Conf. Tynd. 340 A 15, These ... heretikes haue of longe whyle neither letted, nor ceased, falsly to *insimulate* & accuse the church of god.

Now obsolete. No quot. anterior to More. LQ. 1663.

to insumate = to inspire ; to infuse.

Dial. Her. 160 B 1, he tempereth his reuelacions, & in such wise dothe *insumate* & inspire them into the brestes of his christen people, that...

Not in OED. Probably a misprint for *insinuate*.

to interlace = to introduce as by interweaving.

Conf. Tynd. 739, 2, His goodly doctrine *interlaced* here and there by the waye. | Answer 1039 H 7, diuers false heresies *interlaced* therein.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. a 1677.

to intryke = to entangle.

Debell. 1004 H 8, Those shrewes haue holpe hym to ... *intryke* the matter. Dial. Her. 141 E 14.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1393 ; LQ. 1549.

to irritate, see *to yrryte*.

to iudge (to the death) = to condemn (to death).

Rich. 37 B 12, attainted was hee by parliament, and *iudged to the death*.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1310 ; LQ. 1675.

to keep a person (a) promise.

Dial. G. (Wks.) 1230 F 1, The Turke *kepe you promise* in letting you kepe your substaunce.

Not in Pres. D. Eng. OED does not record this idiom.

to keep scholes = to engage in academic disputation.

Debell. 949 E 12, We wyl in this matter *keepe no longe scholes*. | Dial.

Her. 225 A 1, in thys pointe wyll I *kepe no scholes* with you.

Now obsolete. EQ. (with *holde* instead of *keep*) c 1460; LQ. 1567.

to knowlege = to recognize.

Dial. Her. 149 A 8, ye also *knowlege* this matter to be such... | Conf. Tynd. 615 D 6, al these nacions ... recognised and *knowledged* the Pope, not as the byshop of Rome...

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1230; LQ. 1643.

No quot. in OED with *knowledge* as.

to labour to a person = to exert one's influence to obtain something desired.

Apol. (Wks.) 860 E 4, If I desired a manne to geue me a thyng, and *laboured* much to hym therefore...

Now obsolete. EQ. ? 1475; LQ. 1577-87.

to labour = to work at laboriously; to apply oneself to.

Picus 2 H 9, Vnder the ... gouernance of his mother he was set to masters, and to lerning; where with so ardent minde he *labored* the studies of humanitee, that ...

Now almost exclusively in: *to labour a point, a question* and similar expressions. EQ. c 1449.

to lack nothing of (a person) = to be as bad as.

Dial. Her. 257 E 11, [Tindall] hathe sinse by .II. other bookes openly shewed himselfe *to lacke* nothing of Luther, but that he hath not yet married a nunne.

Now obsolete. Not mentioned in OED.

to lash out = a) to lavish; to squander.

Rich. 62 A 7, there was dayly pilled fro good men & honest, gret substaunce of goodes to be *lashed oute* among vnthriftes.

Now obsolete. No earlier quotations in OED. LQ. 1657.

to lash out = b) to pour out or forth impetuously (words).

Dial. Her. 287 B 8, Colis ... *lasheth out* scripture in bedelem as fast as they bothe in Almayn.

Now obsolete. No earlier quotations in OED. LQ. 1653.

to lay in (a person's) light = to bring as an objection against.

Dial. Her. 252 A 4, he could shewe a fayre law incorporate in the decrees of the church, which law if it wer *laied in their light* ..., would make all theyr eyen dase.

No other quotations in OED [s. v. *light* (noun)].

to lay the wite (un)to = to blame.

Dial. Her. 273 E 3, so vntrewe that he shoulde *lay vnto vs the wite* and

blame of his own faultes. | Dial. Her. 274 D 8, Our mother Eue *layd the wit of her sinne to the serpent*.

Now obsolete, exc. Sc. and north dial. EQ. (with *wite* only) a 1225; LQ. 1886. Cf. *to put in the wight*.

to learn = to teach; to impart knowledge.

Dial. Her. 157 B 8, Wherein god wold that we were *lerved* ... to suffer our sensuall parties plaine and mourne...

Now vulgar. EQ. a 1300.

to let = to quit; to abandon.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1252 A 1, [if...] ther wer on the tone side of the way a rable of ragged beggers ... that wold despyse ... you ... would you *let* your way ... for the shameful iestyng?

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1200; LQ. 1559.

to let(te) = to hinder; to prevent.

Last Th. 87 G 12, While the rote remayneth, while we cut of the braunches, we *lette* wel the growyng and kepe it somewhat vnder. Rich. 58 D 7. Picus 10 F 7.

Now archaic. EQ. c 888.

to linger = to keep (a person) waiting.

Lett. 1429 C 6, They were not *lingered* nor made to daunce any long attendance ... as sutours were sometimes wont to be.

Now obsolete. The above quot. from More is the earliest in OED. LQ. 1606.

to list (a thing) = to desire or wish for.

Conf. Tynd. 821 G 6, freedome to do what they *lyst*, for they can *list* no thing but as the spirit leadeth them.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1545; LQ. 1587.

to look = to expect.

Rich. 62 B 9, I thinke no man *loketh* that we should remembre you of examples by name. | Rich. 37 G 12, in case that the king his brother (whose life hee *looked* that euil dyete shoulde shorten) shoulde happen to decease.

Now obsolete with clause. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1657.

to make = to translate; to render.

Dial. Her. 233 E 12, the clergie hath not forboden the hyble to bee *made* and readde in englishe.

Now obsolete. No earlier quot. in OED. LQ. 1612.

to make for = to pretend; to assert.

Last Th. 72 H 6, This medicyne thoughe thou make a sowre face at it, is not so bytter as thou *makeste for*. | Dial. Her. 222 A 1, Whyther Luthers matters bee so madde as they bee *made for*, that shall we see hereafter.

Now obsolete. Neither earlier nor later quotations in OED.

to makes meanes to = to negotiate with.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1188 B 13, And yet hadde she farther deuised, that another sum of money should after be sent to Rome, and there shuld be *meanes made* to the Pope.

Now obsolete. No quot. before 1535 in OED. LQ. 1656.

to make (a person) of one's consayle = to take (one) into confidence; to make privy to.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1187 H 14, yet are there some ..., that ... fynde some yet whom their hart serueth them to *make of theyr consayle* therin. |

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1188 A 12, And on a tyme shee *made of her consayle* a poore neighbour of hers. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1188 E 2, here she letted not ... to *make one of her consayle* yet.

Not recorded in OED (nearest s. v. *counsel*, sb. 6).

to malign = to regard with hatred.

Rich. 37 B 1, the Queene and the Lordes of her bloode whiche highlye *maligned* the kynges kinred (as women commonly not of malice but of nature hate them whom their housebandes loue).

Now obsolete. No earlier quot. in OED. LQ. 1667.

to mark = to notice.

Last Th. 87 D 6, By which though we *marke* it not, yet in dede we reckon our selfe worthy more reuerence than we do god himself only.

Now poetical. EQ. 1377.

to match with = to join in companionship.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1209 B 3, when god hath by suche chaunce sent hym to me, and there once *matched* me with hym, I reckon my self surely charged with him.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1470; LQ. 1645.

to meek oneself = to humble oneself.

Apol. (Wks.) 873 A 1, tyll you *meeke your selfe* and amende ..., thys anger of your husband will neuer be well appeased.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1200; LQ. 1563-83.

to meet with = to oppose; to take precautions against.

Dial. Her. 284 H 13, all this ... woulde a fewe mischieuous persons ... bring into thys realme, if the prince and prelates ... did not in the beginnyng *mete with* their malice.

Now obsolete. No earlier quotations in OED. LQ. 1712.

to meruayle (a thing) = to wonder at.

Picus 12 F 16, There holdeth me sometyme ... a swone ... when I begin in my self, I not neuer whether I shall say, to remember, or to sorowe, to *meruayle* or to bewayle the appetites of men.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1382; LQ. 1819.

to meryt = to earn.

Dial. (Wks.) 1175 H 6, hys onelye Passion *meryteth* incomparable more for vs, than all our owne dedes dooe.

Still current. EQ. 1543.

to mind = to have in view ; to contemplate ; to intend.

Rich. 49 (46) G 13, if she double leste hee mighte bee fetched from her, is it not likeliye ynoughe that she shall sende him somme where out of the realme ? Verely I looke for none other. And I doubte not but shee nowe as sore *myndeth* it, as wee the lette thereof.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1513 ; LQ. 1691.

to minish = to decry the importance of.

Last Th. 87 E 10, could we ... be more moued with the *minishyng* of our own worship than gods, ... if we dyd not in dede sette more by our self than him ?

Now archaic. EQ. 1402.

to miscast = to mislay.

Dial. Her. 130 H 14, some sely woman seking saint Sythe when she seghyth for *miscasting* of her kayes.

Now obsolete, exc. dial. OED has only one quot., dated 1600.

to mischief = to inflict injury upon.

Debell. 971 B 11, he wil of lykelihode hate & *mischief* any man by whome he taketh any harme.

Now archaic. EQ. 1483.

misordered = of disorderly behaviour ; ill-conducted.

Dial. Her. 274 B 3, Where were become al good ordre among men, if euery *misordred* wretche myght alledge that his mischieuous dede was his desteny ?

The verb *to disorder* is now obsolete. No earlier quotations in OED. LQ. 1605.

to misreport = to speak ill of, to slander.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1209 H 10, leste he should geue other folke occasion to ... *misreporte* him for an hypocryte.

Now obsolete. No earlier quotations in OED. LQ. 1625.

to misse of = to fail to obtain.

Dial. Her. 282 E 15, [the devil] often times makes them *misse of* the vayn prayse, whereof onely they be so prowde.

Now obsolete or archaic. EQ. a 1250 ; LQ. 1868.

to mis(se)content = to displease.

Jest p. 2 C 3, He rought not what he spent, ... As for the price, Could him not *miscontent*.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1498-9 ; LQ. 1611.

to misse rehearse = to misquote.

Apol. (Wks.) 846 F 5, loth woulde I be to *mysse rehearse* anye mannes reason against whom I write. | Debell. 931 A 5, The man ... hath *misse rehearsed* them to make the reader wene, that I hadde written wronge.

Now obsolete. OED has neither earlier nor later quotations. *Misrehearsal*, however, is quoted more frequently (earliest 1472 latest 1631).

to misse say = to speak evil of.

Debell. 936 G 15, I say in those places that the pacifyer *misse saieth* the people.

Now archaic. EQ. a 1225.

to moder = to regulate ; to settle.

Apol. 87, yf this pacyfyer wolde *moder* & measure his suffycyencye by the wordes of saynte Poule...

Now obsolete. EQ. (1414) 1495 ; LQ. 1534.

to mortisie = to alienate in mortmain.

Debell. 913 G 9, it wolde be ... profitable to the realme, that the lordes had the landes whose auncestors had *mortisied* them.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1380 ; LQ. 1546.

to mow = to deride.

Conf. Tynd. 398 G 11, with mocking & *mowing* and potting the sacramentes.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1456. The other quotations illustrate the subjective *to mow*, and *to mow with*.

mysruled = disorderly ; lawless.

Conf. Tynd. 777 G 5, Agaynst murderers & theues and against al other *mysruled* persones.

To misrule (oneself) is now obsolete, exc. arch. EQ. a 1400 ; LQ. 1563.

to mysse gess = to guess wrongly.

Debell. 976 F 3, he *mysse gesseth* amonge and weneth it were one, where in dede it was another.

Now obsolete. No earlier quotations in OED. LQ. 1665.

to mysse take oneself = to sin ; to do wrong.

Apol. (Wks.) 889 D 4, those that haue *mysse taken themselves*. | Apol. 104, [they] did not *mysse take them selfe* at all.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1330 ; LQ. a 1425.

to mysse wrest = to pervert (the meaning of).

Conf. Tynd. 501 H 16, The heretikes wrested & misse construed the scripture (as we see that these heretikes much more *mysse wrest* it now).

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1400 ; LQ. 1583.

to muse out (one's brains) = to rack (one's br.) to excess.

Conf. Tynd. 376 G 13, the verye causes ... he coulde not haue founden though he would haue *mused out* his brayn.

Not in OED.

to name oneself = to pretend to be.

Aut. Lett. vi. 55, a simple person an almaine *naming hym selfe* seruant vnto the Kinges grace.

Now obsolete. This reflexive use of *to name* is not recorded in OED.

to necessitate = to compel.

Conf. Tynd. 588 B 8, the will of man wer ... ineuitably *necessitat* by the eternal reprohacion.

Now chiefly Amer. or Sc. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1628.

to nosel = to impose upon ; to deceive.

Apol. (Wks.) 849 C 2, to the entent that by those woordes changed, the people shold be *noseled*.

Now obsolete. OED has no quot. before the latter part of the 17th century (c 1680). LQ. 1705.

to nowsel = to train, to educate.

Conf. Tynd. 587 B 3, Some be so sore *nowseled* in the false heresies, that finally thei die therin.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1519 ; LQ. 1669.

to noy = to harm.

Passion 1348 H 17, And not ouer that it nothing auailleth, but ouer that it sore *noyeth* and hurteth.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1300 ; LQ. 1602.

to object = to place before the eyes.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1249 B 7, The *bodily senses*, moued by such thinges ... as are ... offred & *objected* vnto them.

Now obsolete or archaic. No quot. in OED anterior to More.

to obtain = to preserve in existence.

Dial. Her. 283 C 14, Which thing had vndoubtedly neuer been *obtained* among the people ... if god had not broughte it vp hymselfe.

Now obsolete. No quot. anterior to More. LQ. 1565.

to occupy = to put to use ; to use.

Last Th. 91 D 3, Whereof riseth thys hygh follye, but of the blynde couetous affecion that he had to that he lost. If he had had it styll, yet he wold peraduenture not haue *occupied* it.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1425 ; LQ. 1774.

to offer oneself = to present oneself.

Aut. Lett. v 25, after that his grace was cummen home hither and had dyned ... I *offred myselfe* agayne to his grace in his awne chambre.

Not in OED.

to open = to expound ; to explain.

Answer 1044 A 4, the more straunge the things wer, the more he *opened* theim wyth wordes.

Now obsolete or archaic. EQ. c 1200.

to ordain = to destine (to a lot or fate).

Conf. Tynd. 582 H 14, he wyll not utterly take awaye the merite fro manne, for as muche as he hath *ordayned* him to ioy by the meane of some merite.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1300 ; LQ. 1508.

to order = to treat ; to deal with ; to manage.

Rich. 49 C 12, Yet is there none that ... knoweth better how to *order* him, then I that so long haue kept him.

Now obsolete. No earlier quot. in OED. LQ. 1799.

to ouercast = to overthrow ; to upset.

Jest p. 1 H 11, lest sum blast, might *ouer cast*, His ship, ... He made a good puruay.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1225. Still found in dialects.

to ouerloke = to look down upon (with contempt).

Last Th. 81 A 5, but he that *ouerloketh* euery man ... he shal w(ith)in a few yeres, ... whan deth arresteth him, haue his deinty body turned into stinking carien.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1399; LQ. 1794.

to ouersearch = to examine thoroughly.

Conf. Tynd. 423 F 8, when I had *ouersearched* all my booke, and ransaked vp the verie bottom of my brest.

Now obsolete. OED has only one other instance (1590).

to ouersee oneself = to fail to perceive; to make a mistake.

Dial. Her. 145 H 7, [they] cannot well come thereon, but misse and *ouersee themselfe* in the assaye. | Dial. Her. 255 C 2.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1377; LQ. a 1677.

to ouersey = to consider.

Picus 7 F 8, Neuerthelesse, that mynde of his ... coulde neuer let down it selfe to the consideracion & *ouersaying* of these base ... erthly trifles.

Now obsolete. The only instance in OED is dated c 1477.

to ouerwype = to wipe away.

Conf. Tynd. 797 G 9, Those synnes onely whiche are with the pencil of daily prayer *ouerwyped*.

Now obsolete. No other quot. in OED.

to pass = to reckon; to care.

Passion 1359 H 6, suppose thou woldest vnreuerently, as one that carelessly *passed* not what he did, tel thy tale vnto him... | Passion 1359 D 10, we litle *passee* how smal deuocion of hart we com to pray withal.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1549; LQ. 1633.

to pass (money) = to spend (money).

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1184 C 4, [he] neuer vsed ... to *passee* vpon himselfe the value of six pence at a meale.

Not in OED.

to perswade = to demonstrate.

Picus 7 A 3, This waies he *perswaded*, that to a philosopher ... it was no praise to gather riches, but to refuse them.

Now obsolete or archaic. EQ. 1528; LQ. 1685.

to peruse = a) to consider in detail.

Picus 1 E 3, of whose conning ... we nede here nothing to speake: for as much as hereafter we *peruse* the course of his whole life.

Now archaic. EQ. 1533.

to peruse = b) to go through (a book) critically; to criticize.

Answer 1039 H 2, I wyll good reader *peruse* the remanant of his booke after this first part answered. | Ibid. 1078 B 3.

Now archaic. No earlier quot. in OED. LQ. 1551.

to peruse = c) to name.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1154 C 11, It were a long worke to *peruse* euery comforte that a man maye well take of tribulacion.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. c 1550.

to pil = a) to rob.

Rich. 37 E 11, for whiche hee was fain to *pil* and spoyle in other places.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1330 ; LQ. 1678.

to pil = b) to pluck.

Dial. Her. 238 B 6, a tale that fleeth thorowe manye mouthes, catcheth manye newe fethers : which, whan they be pulled away agayn, leaue him as *pilled* as a coote.

Now obsolete. OED has no quotations in which *to pill* is said of feathers.

to plant = to write down.

Aut. Lett. v 60, Which consideration his grace wold haue *planted* in to thinstructions with his awne hand saving that he saied yor grace could & so he requyreth you to do better furnish hit & set hit forth.

Now obsolete. Not in OED.

to plete = to argue ; to dispute upon.

Dial. Her. 158 B 9, They ... that longed to lerne the lawe. Not to *plete* it and for glory to dispute it, but teche it agayne mekely. Also : Dial. Her. 181 A 11 (*pleate*).

Now obsolete. EQ. 1362 ; LQ. 1577.

to ponder = to ascertain the weight of (fig.).

Picus 32 D 4, If thou shouldest our sinne *ponder* and waye : who able were to beare thy punishment ?

Now obsolete. EQ. c. 1470 ; LQ. 1645.

to porr = to prod ; to poke.

Conf. Tynd. 432 F 2, He ... gyrneth as a dogge dooeth when one *porreth* hym in the teeth with a stycke.

Now only dial. EQ. a 1400-50.

to pot = to mock.

Conf. Tynd. 398 C 11, with mocking & mowing and *potting* the sacramentes.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1549 ; LQ. 1596.

to praise = to set a price or value upon ; to value.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1185 B 6, My conscience can not serue me ... to *praise* her calf about twoo pence.

Now obsolete or dial. EQ. 13... ; LQ. 1713.

to precide = to cut off.

Dial. Her. 143 E 13, The hole congregacion of Christen people professing his name & his fayth, & abiding in the body of the same, not being *precided* & cut of.

Now obsolete. OED has no quot. anterior to the above. LQ. 1657.

to pretend = a) to state as true ; b) to report.

Rich. 67 D 16, all thynges wer in late daies so couertly demanned, one thing *pretended* and an other ment, that there was nothing so plaine and openly proued, but ... men had it euer inwardely suspect. | Rich.

69 D 6, Thocccasion wheruppon the King and Duke fell out, is of diuerse folk diuerse wyse *pretended*.

(Cf. Rich. 69 G 6, and surely the occasion of theyr variaunce is of diuers men diuersly *reported*).

Now obsolete. EQ. (same meaning ?) 1587.

to preuent = to forestall.

Rich. 36 H 7, the Duke not enduryng so longe to tarye, but entendynge to *preuente* his time,...

Now obsolete. EQ. 1432-50 ; LQ. 1813.

to procure = to prevail upon ; to induce.

Dial. C. 194, thei wayled and dydde paynefull penaunce for their synne to *procure* god to pitie them. | Rich. 53 F 7.

Now obsolete or archaic. EQ. 1340-70.

to propone = to propound ; to set forth.

Dial. C. 280, Whan that probleme was once *proponed*, till it was full answered, no manne eate one morsel of meate more. | Answer 1044 B 3, Our Sauour used in the *proponing* therof unto them diuers waies.

Now obsolete, exc. Sc. EQ. c 1375 ; LQ. 1683.

to proroge = to prolong ; to lengthen.

Picus 9 F 4, if he might haue had the space of his life *proroged* :...

Now obsolete. EQ. 1425 ; LQ. 1878.

to proue = a) to show ... to be in the right.

Apol. 4, I promysed they saye in my peface of my confutacion, that I wold *proue* the chyrche, and that they say I haue not done.

This meaning of *prove* is not recorded in OED.

to proue = b) to put to the test.

Last. Th. 74 C 12, we list not once *proue*, what maner of swetenes good and vertuous folke fele. | Dial. C. 227, neuer find we that God *proued* any mannes obedient mynde, by the commaundemente of his owne slaughter of himselfe. | Dial. C 221, nolite omni spiritui credere, sed probate spiritus si ex deo sint : geue not credence to euery spirit, but *proue* the spirits whyther they be of God.

Now archaic. EQ. 1297. It is the prevailing use in the Bible of 1611 and retained in the Rev. V. 1881-85.

to proue = c) to experience ; to learn.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1157 A 6, thys we fynd at our iye, and euery day we *proue* it by playne experience.

Now archaic. EQ. c 1175.

to prowle (uppon) = to look at or study.

Picus 29 A 3, I meane not hereby, that thou shouldest arise, And in the glasse vppon thy body *prowle*.

Now obsolete. This exact meaning is not given in OED (perhaps, s. v. *prowl* n° 3). The still current meaning of *to prowle about* = *to wander about in search of plunder or prey* occurs in the following quot. : Dial. C. 212, It happed hym than as he walked *prolling* for his geare about : he came...

to pulpet = to provide with a pulpit.

Dial. Her. 151 B 12, yet would thei long to be *pulpeted*.

No earlier quot. in OED. The verb is still used.

to purpense = to premeditate.

Dial. Her. 238 F 4, In such a wilfull *purpensed* haynous cruell dede.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1436; LQ. 1548.

to purpose = to propose.

Rich. 65 E 5, [the protector] gaue hym leaue to *purpose* what hym lyked. | Picus 3 D 10, and there... ix.C. questions he *purposed*.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1382; LQ. 1633.

to purpose upon = to resolve to do.

Dial. C. 222, For whych he is so ioyful, that he fyrmely *purposeth* vpon it.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1574. This is also the latest quot.

to puruay = to bring about.

Picus 30 A 5, For certes who so list, he may *puruay*, Though all the wordle woulde him therefro bereuen, To beare his body in earth, his minde in heuen.

Now obsolete. EQ. (1330); LQ. 1604.

to put case = to propound a hypothetical instance.

Dial. Her. 163 E 16, But now I *put case* that God woulde tell you two thinges. | Dial. Her. 191 A 2.

EQ. a 1420. Now *to put the case*.

to put in the wight = to blame.

Rich. 41 C 12, all the worlde woulde *put* her and her kinred in the *wyght*, and say that thei had ... broken the amitie and peace.

Now obsolete, exc. Sc. and north. dial. Cf. *to lay the wite to*.

to put out (children) = to place away from home under the care of some one.

Answer 1114 B 3, The fathers & the mothers oftentimes *put out* their children to other folke to nurse.

Still current. EQ. (with *put out*) 1602. Of *to put to nurse* (without out) the earliest quot. in OED is 1593 Shaks. 2 Henr. VI, iv, ii, 150,

The elder of them being *put to nurse*, Was ... stolne away.

to put over = to defer; to postpone.

Aut. Lett. v 14, he was content to signe the lettres to theymperor ... *putting over* all the remanaunt t(ill this) day in the mornynge.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1528; LQ. 1828.

to pyne = to afflict with pain; to torment.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1260 G 2, in suche turment ... [he] suffred to be *pyned* and payned the space of more then three long howres.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 893; LQ. 1876.

to quayl = to destroy.

Apol. 25, Al this chyldesh reason ... whyche he bringeth out of Tyndales chaptyter, and fatereth yt uppon saynt James, is ... clene *quayled* in the trauayle and utterly borne dede. Also 53 E 8; 61 C 10; 805 (Wks.) E 8.

Now obsolete. No earlier quot. in OED. LQ. 1654.

to quethe ; quod = to speak ; said.

Dial. Her. 131 E 14, There was in the paryshe ... a man and a woman whiche are yet quicke and *quething* (= alive).

Jest p. 2 G 12, I feare *quod* he, It wyll not be, | Rich. 38 A 7, By my trouthe manne *quod* Pottier then wyll my mayster the Duke ... bee kyng.

Now obsolete, archaic or dial. EQ. c 1200.

to race (said of boars) = to slash with the tusks.

Rich. 54 H 3, a dreame, in which him thoughte that a bore with his tuskes so *raced* them both bi the heddes, that the blood ranne aboute both their shoulders.

Now obsolete. OED has only one quot., dated 1470-85.

to ray = to bespatter with dirt ; to dirty.

Conf. Tynd. 614 D 5, I ... shall shew you shortly how angrely he ryseth vp, and royally *rayed* in dyrte.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1526 ; LQ. 1663.

to reanswer = to answer ; to return.

Aut. Lett. xvii, 39, ... graciously favor ... which I can never otherwise *reanswere* than with my pore prayer.

Now obsolete. No quot. anterior to More. LQ. 1589.

to re(a)re (terroure) = to bring about.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1218 F 5, ... the causes of terroure and dread ..., whiche ..., this mydday deuyll maye ... *reare* against us to make his incursion with ... | Aut. Lett. xx, 23, he ... putteth all his possible power to procure their destruction and to *reare* broilerie warre and reuolution.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 900 ; LQ. 1590.

to reason (a thing) for = to maintain that it is...

Conf. Tynd. 562 A 10, Tindall ... maketh mocks and moves at that blessed sacrament, ... & *reasoneth* it rather *for* stanche full like a starke heretike.

Not in OED.

to rebuke = to put to shame ; to bring into contempt.

Dial. Her. 228 C 12, The order is *rebuked* by the priestes begging and lewde liuing.

Now obsolete. The above quot. is the only one in OED.

to receiue = to perceive ; to understand.

Rich. 38 E 2, hee *receiued* his naturell strengthe soo sore enfebled, that hee dyspayred all recouerye.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1603 ; LQ. 1667.

to recomfort = to inspire with fresh courage.

Apol. 24, Agaynste all thys feare this one thyng *recomforted* me, that...

Now obsolete. EQ. 1375 ; LQ. 1667.

to refer = to offer (as a sacrifice).

Passion 1281 H 9, sacrifices duelye *referred* to God.

Now obsolete. OED has only one quot., dated 1594.

to refuse = to avoid ; to keep clear of or free from.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1207 E 12, Geue the Emperor those thinges that are his, *refusing* al extorsion and bribery beside.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1357 ; LQ. 1691.

to regender = to create afresh.

Apol. 39, the man that ys *regendred*.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1400 ; LQ. 1597.

to reherse = a) to cite ; to quote.

Apol. 5, he *reherseth* myne in euery place faintly and falsely to and leueth out the pyth and the strength.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1400-50 ; LQ. 1562.

to reherce = b) to say ; to speak ; to utter.

Picus 9 E 6, a sermon, which he *reherced* in the chief church of all Florence.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1362 ; LQ. 1567.

to reioyce = to enjoy ; to feel joy on account of (an event).

Passion 1279 C 3, His visitacion thei *reioysed* not, but were afeard to come nere him.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1303 ; LQ. 1577.

to reken = to mention ; to allege.

Conf. Tynd. 352 D 16, Belieue me not if any man can *reken* a place where euer he founde it otherwyse.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1513 ; LQ. 1596.

to relent = to dissolve (a thing).

Dial. C. 196, eyther should dreade make us tremble and breake our stony hart, or loue should for sorrow *relent* it into tears.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1420 ; LQ. 1661.

to remember = to remind.

Rich. 62 B 9, I thinke no man loketh that we should *remembre* you of examples by name.

Now archaic or dial. EQ. c 1386.

to renay = to renounce ; to abjure.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1212 B 9, Hee ... geueth ... parte to suche as willinglye will *reney* their faith. | Dial. Her. 179 A 11, it was a plaine *renaying* of Christes faith to doo anye obseruaunce therto.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1300 ; LQ. 1602.

to repair (a sinner) = to reclaim ; to reform.

Conf. Tynd. 804 F 9, the catholyke faythe, whiche ... *repaireth* penytentes.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1535 ; LQ. 1738.

to reprove (an action) = to express disapproval of.

Dial. C. 210, he prudently *reproved* that point in hym, and preached him a processe of hys own temperance.

Now rare. EQ. a 1340-70.

to re pry (a prisoner) = to remit for trial.

Debell. 985 A 1, And so lye there ... sometyne some for felonye to, *repyed* vpon causes from one session to another.

Now obsolete. OED has the following instance: 1556 J. Heywood, Spider & F. xxiv, The faughte ... apealth to be *repride*, From London to Louane, there to be tride.

to resemble = to compare together.

Debell. 984 B 9, How goeth nowe ... thys aunswere of this good man ... touchyng the point that I *resemble* theim for ?

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1673.

to reserue = a) to make an exception of, or in favour of.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1204 F 9, There be very few ... *reserued* also, but that they set theyr heart verye sore thereon.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1523; LQ. a 1806.

to reserue = b) to keep in one's possession.

Apol. (Wks.) 851 B 3, the cople that was deliuered me (which cople I *reserue* and kepe for my declaracion).

Now obsolete. No earlier quot. in OED. LQ. 1604.

to resort = to return (to a place).

Last Th. 87 G 3, The matter fayling that fed it [scil. the sore], which continuallye *resorting* fro the fountain to the place, men may wel daily purge and clense the sore, but they shal hardely hele it.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1430; LQ. a 1529.

to rest = to arrest (a person).

Jest p. 2 G 8, Take an accion therefore, I you beheste, I shall hym *reste*, And than care for no more.

Now obsolete, exc. dial. EQ. c 1470; LQ. 1622.

to rest in = consist in.

Rich. 38 H 3, Ye se their youthe, of whiche I recken the onely suretie to *reste in* youre concord.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1602.

to retein = to hold back.

Answer 1037 B 1, George Jay hadde made a booke ..., which was as yet ... *reteined* & kept from the print.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1386; LQ. 1737.

to reuince = to refute, to disprove.

Dial. Her. 254 G 6, [The king] ... effectually *reuincd*, and confuted the ... pestilent boke of Luther.

Now obsolete. No earlier quot. in OED. LQ. 1686.

to right = to correct or amend (a person).

Dial. Her. 279 H 11, thei bee so far waxen crooked, that seldome canne they bee *ryghted* again.

Now obsolete. EQ. 971; LQ. c 1440.

rought of = cared for ; thought (much) of.

Dial. Her. 111 C 3, I vnderstode him to haue geuen diligence to the latin tonge. As for other faculties he *rought not of*.

Now *recked of*.

to ruffle = to put in disarray ; to tangle.

Dial. Her. 274 F 12, the world once *ruffed* and fallen in a wildeness, how long would it be ... ere the waye were founden to set the worlde in order and peace againe ?

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1440 ; LQ. 1638.

to ruffle vp = to heap up ; to rattle up in a careless manner.

Answer 1088 G 7, He *ruffleth vp* all the matter shortelye in a fewe wordes.

Now obsolete. No quot. anterior to More. LQ. 1658

to rule oneself = to conduct oneself ; to behave ; to act.

Last Th. 97 D 2, Is it not a bestly thing to se a man that hath reson, so to *rule himselfe* that his fete may not beare him ?

Now obsolete. EQ. 13... ; LQ. 1500-20. No quot. later than More.

to ryd (work) = to dispatch ; to get through.

Answer 1018 D 13, therefore wold they faine wit what worke that were that they myghte shortly *ryd* it out of hand.

Now dial. No quot. anterior to More in OED.

to ryg = to clothe.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1201 A 4, the beggar *rygged* in his ragges.

Now earlier quotation in OED. Now colloq. or slang.

to ryme out = to brave (a matter) out in riming terms.

Conf. Tynd. 496 C 3, Tindall *rymeth* it out, & saith that he both denieth and also defieth, that the apostles taught any ceremony wherof the reason could not be knowen.

Now obsolete. The above is the only quot. in OED.

to satisfy (a man) of (a thing) = to restore.

Rich. 48 B 3, if one go to saintuary with another mannes goodes, why should not the kyng leauinge his bodye at libertie, *satisfy* the part [scil. party] of his goodes euen within the saintuary ?

Now obsolete, exc. in legal use. EQ. 1433. Cf. the fig. use of *to satisfy* = to pay a debt to in : Picus 8 F 1, compelled him within thre daies to *satisfy* nature, and repaie her the life which he receiued of her.

to satisfy for = to atone for.

Supplic. 326 G 15, Obiectyng that no men mai *satisfy for* another. | Conf. Tynd. 381 C 8, as though men dyd reken their penaunce for a thing sufficient to *satisfie for* their sinne.

Now obsolete exc. Theol. (said of Christ). EQ. c 1450.

to sauour = to care for.

Picus 31 A 11, The louer is of colour dead and pale ..., He *sauoureth* neither meate, wine, nor ale, He mindeth not, what menne about him talke.

Now obsolete or archaic. EQ. c 1340 ; LQ. (arch.) 1868.

to scatter = to dissipate, to squander.

Last Th. 91 C 2, [they] would neuer be so mad, gredily to gather together that other men shal merely sone after *scatter* abroad.

Now obsolete or archaic. EQ. 1154.

to scrape (out) = erase (writing) with a knife.

Conf. Tynd. 421 B 1, A ... learned priest ... through out al the ghospels *scraped out* 'diabolus', and wrote 'Iesus Cristus'.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1303; LQ. 1688.

to season = to seize.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1262 G 8, he [sc. the devil] neuer runneth uppon a manne to *season* hym with hys clawes, till he see him downe on the grounde.

Now obsolete [the verb *seish*]. EQ. c 1425; LQ. 1535.

to sequester = to set apart (Eccl.).

Answer 1016 F 5, Hym hath god the father specyally *sequestred* and seuered and set asyde out of the number of all creatures.

Now obsolete. No quot. anterior to More. LQ. 1697.

to serue = to prompt; to encourage.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1185 D 9, My conscience can not *serue* me ... to praise her calfe aboue twoo pence.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1380; LQ. 1596.

to set abroche = a) to broach; b) to set going.

a) Debell. 939 E 1, They [the new brotherhood] be a barel of poyson, that the dyuel hath late *set abroche*.

b) Dial. Her. 284 H 5, Ascribing all our dodes to destinie ... they ... *set* al wretchednes *abroche*.

Now archaic. EQ. 1390 & c 1475.

to set by (a man) = to esteem.

Dial. Her. 181 A 13, such as were in the church little *set by*.

Now obsolete, exc. arch. or dial. EQ. a 1300.

to set forth = to further the progress of.

Dial. Her. 262 H 1, To confesse ... what he had done for the *settinge forth* of that secte.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1551.

to set to = to add.

Last Th. 73 A 12, Howe muche more ... should his lyfe be painful ..., yf to the remembrance ... of death, a manne should adde and *set to*, the depe ymaginacion of the dredeful dome of god... | Dial. Her. 140 H 8, I haue ... *settle to* somewhat.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1200; LQ. 1551.

to set out = to show forth.

Apol. 5, excepte I toke some payne to *set out* theyr argumentes plainly many that rede them sholde lytle wyt what they meane.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1450; LQ. 1681.

to sewe = to make one's petition.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1140 D 16, God of duetie byndeth me to sewe to you nowe..., that it may lyke you...

Now obsolete with *that*-clause. EQ. c 1420; LQ (with *that*) a 1529.

to shend = to put to shame or confusion.

Dial. Her. 263 B 2, as though the church had ... hyd the true fayth from the people & that them selfe were now *shent* for preching the gospel truely.

Now archaic or dial. EQ. c 825.

to shoffle up = to put together hastily.

Conf. Tynd. 357 D 17, Yet haue I not so slightly sene vnto mine own, nor *shoffled* it vp so hastily...

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1659.

to shog = to shake; to rouse from sleep.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1189 G 6, that wold rudely and boystuously *shogge* hym & wake him.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1440; LQ. 1651.

to short = to shorten.

Dial. Her. 286 H 8, if I hadde seen so muche before, it had been likely to haue *shorted* much part of our long comunicacion.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1300; LQ. 1570.

to shoue = to thrust; to precipitate.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1226 B 2, He that gathereth treasures shall be *shoued* into the gynnes of death.

Now obsolete, exc. archaic. EQ. a 900; LQ. a 1568.

to shew (+ *that*-clause) = to tell; to communicate.

Dial. Her. 223 E 7, frere Hierom ... came to hym ... *shewing* him that he wold cast of his abite.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1300; LQ. 1632.

shriuen. *To be shriven* = to have gone to confession.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1184 G 12, Be merye manne ... for thys day I thanke God was I wel *shriuen*.

Now archaic. EQ. 1000.

to shryche = to utter with shrieking.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1261 G 8, that hideous howling that those helhoundes shold *shryche*.

Now obsolete. No other quotations in OED.

to shryue oneself = to go to confession.

Rich. 54 F 11, except the lorde Chamberlen, whom the protectour hade spede & *shryue* hym a pace.

Now archaic. EQ. a 1225.

to shyfte (*with*) = to deal (*with*).

Rich. 51 B 9, and *shyfte* whoso would *with* thys busynes...

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1400; LQ. 1529.

to signifie = to hint at.

Rich. 63 E 13, thinges, which the said worshipful doctor rather *signified* then fully explained.

Now obsolete. No other instances in OED.

to skewse = to excuse.

Conf. Tynd. 577 F 3, *To skewse* hym and keepe hym from beatynge.

Now obsolete exc. in illiterate use. EQ. 1491.

to smore = to smother.

Rich. 68 F 6, *smored* and stifled, theyr breath failing, thei gaue vp to god their innocent soules.

Now obsolete, exc. Sc. and North. dial. EQ. c 725; LQ. 1585.

to sollicite = to attend to.

Aut. Lett. v 19, he saw of yor graces awn hand that I shold diligently *solicite* the expedition of those other thinges.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1429; LQ. 1789.

to solute = to solve.

Answer 1092 D 10, He myght ... haue *soluted* theyr question.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1654.

to sorowe (a thing) = to lament.

Picus 12 F 16, There holdeth me sometyme ... a swone, ... when I begin in my self, I not neuer whether I shall say, to remember, or to *sorowe*, to meruayle or to bewayle the appetites of men.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1340; LQ. 1632.

to sort out = to take out.

Dial. G. (Wks.) 1177 G 5, The tother kynde is thys whych I rehersed second, and *sorttyng out* the tother twayne, haue kept it for the last.

No earlier quot. in OED. Still current.

to souse up = to sicken?

Dial. G. (Wks.) 1163 A 14, Let hym go to no leache craft, nor any maner phisick, ... for sirops shold *sowce* him *vp*. | Jest p. 1 C 5, an olde trotte ... with her phisicke will keepe one sicke, till she haue *soused* him *vp*.

Now obsolete. OED has no other instances.

to sowne (in)to = to imply; to suggest.

Picus 30 C 2, A very loue ... may in no manere Endure that therefro mighten vary, Or any thyng *sowne in to* the contrary. | Dial. Her. 203 A 3, And consequently proued that no text of scripture seming to *sown to the contrarye*, can be so taken or vnderstanden.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1374; LQ. c 1456.

to soyle = a) to refute.

Apol. 7, The most folyshe heretyke in a town may write mo fals here-
syes in one lefe, than the wysest man ... can well and couenyently
soyle & confute in fourty. | Conf. Tynd. 660 B 3.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1380; LQ. 1567.

to soyle = b) to absolve.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1181 G 8, The Wolfe now comming from shrift cleane soyled from hys synnes.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1300; LQ. 1530.

to spet = 1. to expectorate.

Conf. Tynd. 736 C 6, All hys deuelyshe lies which he *spetteth* & speweth oute vpon honest men.

Last Th. 99 B 14, glotony ... disfigureth the face, discolorereth the skin ... it makes the skin tawny, the body fat, ... the nose dropping, the mouth *spetting*.

Now obsolete, exc. dial. EQ. c 1421; LQ. 1697.

to spyll (paper) = to waste by misusing.

Debell. 959 H 8, this good man is content to leese tyme & *spyll* paper.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1000; LQ. 1786.

to stere ... vp = a) to wake ... up.

Answer 1092 F 4, He that eateth my fleshe and drynketh my bloude, ... I shall *stere* hym vp in the last day.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1526; LQ. 1683.

to stere ... vp = b) to 'raise up'.

Conf. Tynd. 284 A 5, We saye also that god hath dayly *stered* vp & dayly doth *sterre* vp new prophetes in sundry partes of hys catholyke chyrche.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1526; LQ. 1564.

to stint (to preach) = leave off (preaching).

Dial. C. 341, he was impriesoned ... : and being from thence deliuered, *atinted* not to prech on stil.

Now only arch. and dial. EQ. c 1200.

to stock = to set in the stocks.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1245 E 15, he neither nedeth to coller vs nor to *stocke* vs for any feare of scaping away.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1325; LQ. 1694.

to strait = a) to shut up in or force into a narrow space.

Passion 1347 G 7, the tyme shall come whan it shal so sore decaye agayne, and the churche by persecution so *strayghted* into so narrow a corner...

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1420.

to strait = b) to limit in amount or degree.

Answer 1121 F 1, Frith was but a foole so to *straite* and to limite the power of almighty god.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1647.

to strayn = a) to bind fast; to confine in bonds.

Conf. Tynd. 394 B 5, And with these woordes of hys own, will I *strayne* him fast and sure.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1340. No quot. in OED later than More.

to strayn = b) to bridle; to control.

Dial. Her. 168 F 7, so hath God euer kepte man in humilite, *straynyng* him with the knowledge of confession of his ygnorance. | Answer 1054 E 2.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1340; LQ. 1595.

to strayn = c) to force; to constrain.

Dial. Her. 200 A 2, The profe ... semeth me not very stronge nor able & sufficient to *strayne* a man to consent therto.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1374; LQ. 1603.

to stretche to = to be serviceable to; to tend to.

Passion 1330 B 1, that we maye in suche wyse treate therof, that it may ... *stretche to* the fruit of their soules.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1400; LQ. 1621.

to striene a strife

Dial. Her. 270 E 10, I haue labored and *striuen* a good strife, I haue p(er)fourmed my course, now lacketh me no more for me, but the crowne of iustice.

Now rare. EQ. c 1375.

to stroi = to destroy.

Dial. Her. 223 F 12, the newe testament of Tindal was burned because it *stroied* the masse.

Now obsolete or archaic. EQ. c 1200; LQ. 1612.

to study for = to search.

Dial. Her. 220 F 13, the boke, wherin there were ... falsly translated aboue a thousand textes ... He that shoulde ... *studye for* that, should studye where to fynde water in the see.

Now obsolete. No earlier quot. in OED (s. v. *study*, v. 2 f); LQ. 1748.

to substytute = to appoint (a person) to an office as a deputy or delegate.

Conf. Tynd. 821 D 1, Yet can they not say nay, but that ... he appointed saint Peter with other, and that they were all known heades. And they dyd also *substytute* other whyche were known heades also.

Now obsolete. No earlier quot. in OED. LQ. 1712.

to sup up = to absorb.

Dial. Her. 267 C 12, For all other synnes ... be quite absorpt and *supped* vp ... in that fayth. | Conf. Tynd. 713 C 4, As for al other sinnes whatsoever thei be, faith saith he ... *suppeth* them al vp in a moment.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 897; LQ. 1652.

to suple = to soften; to mollify (the heart or mind).

Conf. Tynd. 437 A 5, Menne are so *supled* and made humble in hert, that they will willingly goe shew themselfe their own sinnes to the priest.

Now obsolete or arch. EQ. 1390.

to surceace of = to leave off.

Picus 14 A 4, Wherefore he counselled Picus to *surceace of* study.

Now obsolete with *of*; otherwise archaic. EQ. 1428.

to surmount = to surpass ; to excel ; to be superior to.

Picus 30 D 5, A very loue beleueth ... that in that person menne maye nothing finde, But honorable, worthye, and excellent, And eke surmountyng farre in his entent All other that he hath knowen by sight or name,...

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1369 ; LQ. 1667.

to surmyse = to charge upon ; to allege against.

Dial. Her. 110 A 8, Luther saied not so euyll as is surmised vpon him | Passion 1354 B 3.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1400 ; LQ. 1623.

to swage = to mitigate.

Answer 1047 E 7, they that gladly would endure a gryefe perpetuallie, to haue the pleasure of the continual swagyng.

Now obsolete, exc. arch. or dial. EQ. a 1300.

to swap = to strike ; to hit.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1256 G 4, They that lye in a plewrosy, thinke that euery time they cough, they fele a sharpe sweorde swap them to the heart.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1400 ; LQ. 1577-82.

to take one's time = to seize the opportunity.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1187 D 7, At that word the diuel *toke his time*, and whetted her tong agaynst her teeth.

Not recorded in OED.

to take = to deliver ; to hand over.

Dial. Her. 160 G 6, Sainct Paule commaundeth the people of Thesalonica in his epistle, to kepe the tradicions that he *toke* them either by his wrytinge or by his bare worde. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1223 B 5. | Answer 1063 C 5.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1275 ; LQ. a 1553.

to take in = to include (the opposite of : to leave out).

Apol. (Wks.) 846 E 5, he leaueth out somewhat that Tyndalle *taketh in*, that is to wytte, the makynge of mockes and mowys against the masse.

The earliest quot. in OED of *to take in* = "to admit into a number or list ; to include, to comprise, embrace ; spec. to include in the consideration, take into account" (s. v. *take* 82 k.), is dated 1647.

to tell one tale = to be at one.

Dial. Her. 167 F 7, he ... besecheth christen people to agre together all in one mynde, and in the faythe to *tell one tale*.

Not recorded in OED.

to teme = to produce offspring.

Conf. Tynd. 644 G 3, Lest it should feble hys fleshe ... and hyndre hys harlot of *teming*.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1000 ; LQ. 1636.

to thwyte = to whittle ; to cut down ; to pare.

Dial. Her. 236 H 3, thys processe came to a wise purpose, here was a gret post wel *thwyted* to a pudding pricke.

Now obsolete exc. dial. EQ. a 900 ; LQ. 1674.

to ticle = to stir up ; to provoke.

Conf. Tynd. 551 B 3, The pronyty & mocions in the fleshe ... whereby we be *ticed* towarde great actuall deadly sinnes.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. a 1592.

to tink = to express or give out by making a ringing sound.

Debell. 955 B 20, that the tinkar would haue *tinked* out of his pannes bottome, a reason that woulde at the leaste wise ring a little better then this.

Now obsolete. No quot. in OED anterior to More. LQ. 1621.

to trow = to suppose.

Rich. 49 G 3, it is I *trow* no great maruaile. | Rich. 50 C 9, *troweth* he that I parceiue not wherunto his ... processe draweth ?

Now archaic. EQ. a 13..

to try out = to find out.

Supplic. 299 B 6, time alway *trieth out* the trouth.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1325 ; LQ. a 1761.

to turn (a purpose) = to alter ; to pervert.

Dial. C. 241, pride maye peraduenture *turne* his good purpose.

Now rare or obsolete. EQ. c 1230.

to undertake = to understand.

Picus 10 B 9, She spake of the seconde death and euerlasting : & he *undertoke* her of the first death & temporal.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 13.. No quot. in OED later than More.

to une = to unite.

Passion 1348 E 8, he is not by the spirite of god *unyd* with holy saintes as a liuely membre of Christes mysticall body. | Passion 1306 (= 1338) E 4.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1400 ; LQ. 1538. The past participle form *unit* is still in use in Scotch dialects.

to unie = to unite.

Picus 13 D 2, [that prayer] which *unieth* it with hym.

Now obsolete. EQ. a 1433 ; LQ. 1596.

to utter = to reveal.

Passion 1305 E 8, John, whome Christe so tenderly loued, that ... to hym secretly he *ottred* the false dissimuled traytour. | Dial. Her. 213 F 3.

Dial. Her. 249 F 5.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1444 ; LQ. 1677.

to vayl = to be of use ; to avail.

Lament. Stanza 3 l. 4, But O good God what *vayleth* all this gere ?

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1340 ; LQ. 1608.

to vilayn = to debase ; to degrade ; to violate.

Conf. Tynd. 344 A 14, When they haue once *vilayned* the sacrament of matrimonye, then woulde they make vs *vyolate* the sacrament of the auter too.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1412-20. No later quot. than the above from More.

to wag hemp = to be hanged.

Conf. Tynd. 715 A 5, Tindall ... feareth not (like one that would at length *wagge hempe* in the winde) to mocke at all such miracles.

Now obsolete. No other quot. in OED.

to walk with = to be associated with.

Dial. Her. 268 E 14, good workes muste *walke with* fayth and sorow at heart.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1650; LQ. a 1709. Cf. *to go with*.

to ward = to keep in close custody.

Apol. 99, For then the clergy myght declare their demeanure to *ward* that man.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1390; LQ. a 1670.

to way to = to amount to.

Dial. Her. 262 B 15, it gaue hym occasion to doute lest Luther ment not al thing so euyl as his wordes seme to *way to*.

Now obsolete. No earlier quot. in OED. LQ. 1588.

to wene = to think; to suppose.

Apol. 14, I requyred my frend to fynde the meanes yf he myghte, that I myghte se the boke *wenyng* that some newe worke of Tindalls hadde bene of late come ouer.

Now obsolete. The word seems to have dropped into disuse in the 17th century. It has survived as an archaism, esp. in the parenthetical formula *I ween* (cf. OED s. v. *ween*, v.). EQ. (with *that*) 971.

to wive (a man) = to furnish with a wife.

Rich. 59 F 3, smal pleasure taketh a man ... yf he bee *wiued* against his appetite.

Now obsolete or archaic. No quot. in OED anterior to More.

to work out = to expiate (a guilt, a sin).

Dial. C. 341, there shall no man whiche denieth our sauoure once, ... escape ... He shall peraduenture ... afterward *woorke it out*, in the fruitfull woorkes of penance, praier, and almes dede doone in true faith and due charitie, and attayne in suche wyse forgeuenesse well ynough.

Not in Pres. D. Eng. The earliest quot. in OED with *to work out* in exactly this sense is dated as late as 1660.

to wraste (out) = to tear, wrench out.

Rich. 48 (= 45) D 7, Suche euyl oppynyon once fastened in mennes heartes, harde it is to *wraste* oute.

Now *to wrest*. No earlier quot. in OED.

to write ouer (to a person) = to commit a task (to a person).

Picus 6 C 2, he plentuously gaue out his money: and not content only to geue that he had himselfe ready: he *wrote ouer*, to one Hierome Benineui ... that he should with his own money euer helpe poore folke ... & alwaie send him woorde, what he had laide out, that he might pay it him again.

Now obsolete. Not in OED s. v. *to write over* (17).

wrought = worked up ; agitated.

Dial. C. 341, the sea was sore *wrought*, and the waues rose verye hygh.

Now obsolete. EQ. 1585 ; LQ. 1702.

to wry = to avert (the head, face) ; to turn aside.

Rich. 70 B 14, [The duke] ... *wried* hys hed an other way.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1400 ; LQ. 1655.

to wyt = to know.

Apol. 5, excepte I toke some payne to set out theyr argumentes plainly many that rede them sholde lytle wyt what they meane. | Jest p. 1, C 5 | Picus 12 F 17. | Rich. 58 H 9¹⁾.

Now obsolete or archaic. EQ. Beowulf.

to yeld = to reward ; to remunerate ; to recompense.

Picus 16 G 3, regarde only the iudgement of God, which shal *yeld* euery man after his owne warkes. | Dial. Her. 238 A 9, naye my lordes quod he, I wil not drinke God *yelde* you.

Now obsolete or rare arch. EQ. Beowulf ; LQ. 1608.

to yrryte = to irritate ; to provoke.

Last Th. 76 C 6, rather ... than ... *to yrryte* them to anger.

Now obsolete. EQ. c 1450 ; LQ. 1661.

VERBS OF THE TYPE : TO DARK, TO LESS.

94. It was about or a little after More's time that verbs like *bolden*, *dusken*, *ripen*, *straiten* [formed from adjectives or nouns on the analogy of a few verbs in *-en* which came down from O. E. (e. g. *fasten* < O. E. *fæstnian* ; *waken* < O. E. *wæcnan*), or were adapted from O.N. (e. g. *weaken* : Norw. *veikna* ; *whiten* < O. N. *hvítna*)] came extensively to be used instead of or in combination with the older verbs without *-en*, as appears from the following dates of earliest quotation in OED :

<i>bolden</i>	1526	<i>endarken</i>	1550	<i>moisten</i>	1580	<i>slacken</i>	1580
<i>cheapen</i>	1574	<i>estraiten</i>	1598	<i>ripen</i>	1561	<i>stiffen</i> (?)	1500
<i>dawn</i> ²⁾	1499	<i>fatten</i>	1552	<i>roughen</i>	1582	<i>straiten</i>	1552
<i>deafen</i>	1597	<i>gladden</i> ³⁾	1558	<i>scanten</i>	1585	<i>sweeten</i>	1552
<i>dusken</i>	1550	<i>heighten</i>	1523	<i>sharpen</i>	1530	<i>toughen</i>	1582
<i>embolden</i>	1571	<i>lengthen</i>	1500-23	<i>shorten</i>	1513	<i>whetten</i>	1582

¹⁾ The Old Eng. adverb *zewisse* is repeatedly used by More and printed in two words : Apol. (Wks.) 873 A 1, *I wisse tyll you meeke your selfe ... thys anger of your husband will neuer be ... appeased.*

²⁾ Though *to daw* is earlier, the form in *-n* is not due to analogy as with the other verbs ; it may have been deduced from the verbal noun *dawning*.

³⁾ In the sense : *to make glad*. *Gladden* = *to be glad* is older.

More, however, kept almost ¹⁾ exclusively to the use of the shorter verbs :

to blynd. Dial. Her. 282 C 11, the thyng that moste *blyndeth* vs...

to bold. Apol. 3, I was *bolded* and encoraged...

to daw. Jest p. 4 A 12, with good rappes, And heuy clappes, He *dawde* hym vp agayne.

to estrait. Dial. Her. 277 E 13, the Turke hath *estrait* vs verye nere.

to glad. Passion 1333 B 9, wyne *gladdeth* the hart.

to haste. Rich. 61 D 2, the doctor fearing that he [scil. the king] should com ere his sermon could come to those wordes *hasted* his matter therto.

to length. Suppl. 316 H 10, our lord of his high pitie ... graunted hym the *lengthyng* of his lyfe.

Cf. Answer 1037 B 11, he hath somewhat *enlengthed* it of late.

to ryght. Dial. Her. 279 H 11, seldome canne they bee *ryghted* again.

to rype. Apol. 21, except hymself be well *ryped* in the matter.

to sharp. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1187 D 10, her tong ... was wel *sharped*. | Last Th. 77 E 11.

to slack. Picus 15 B 7, because ye shall not think, that my trauaile and diligence ... is any thing remitted or *slack*ed.

to short. Dial. Her. 286 H 8, If I hadde seen so muche before, it had been likely to haue *shorted* much part of our long communicacion.

to stable. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1140 C 11, so shall wee nede ... a gret heape thercof, to *stable* and strength the walles of our heartes.

to strai(gh)t. Answer 1121 F 5, Frith was but a foole so to *straite* and to limite the power of almighty god. | Passion 1347 G 7.

to swete. Conf. Tynd. 504 A 1, to *swete* hys owne aunswere...

to whet. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1187 D 7, At that word the diuel toke his time, and *whetted* her tong agaynst her teeth.

Not only did More refrain from introducing new forms in *-en* ²⁾, he even preferred the short forms where the longer verbs were available, as with *dark*, *less*, *light*, *loose*, *meeke*, *strength* and *weak*, the longer forms of which had been in use since the 11th century (*darken* 1300, *lessen* 1300, *lighten* 1375, *loosen* 1382, *meeken* 1300, *strengthen* 1300, *weaken* 13...).

to dark. Last Th. 74 B 4, the swetenes thercof ... *darketh* ... the felyng of bodily payne. | Dial. Her. 157 G 9.

¹⁾ Rich. 37 G 12, whose life hee looked that euil dyete shoulde *shorten*.

²⁾ Instead of *to false*, in use at the time (1553 T. Becon, Reliq. Rome 240 a, All thoe that *false* the Popes Bull), More uses *to falsify* (Conf. Tynd. 585 D 8).

- to less.* Rich. 36 A 8, Thys faute ... lessyd and wel lefte. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1168 F 15.
- to light.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1171 A 5, A merye tale wyth a frende, ... lyghteth his mynd. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1168 F 12, Wee ... shall ... fynd our heartes lighted.
- to lose.* Apol. 29, Now is thys knot so sure that it can neuer be losed. | Supplic. 320 E 8.
- to meeke.* Apol. (Wks.) 873 A 1, tyll you meeke your selfe and amende.
- to strength.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1140 C 11, so shall wee nede ... a gret heape thereof, to stable and *strength* the walles of our heartes. | Apol. (Wks.) 860 D 13. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1142 H 17. | Passion 1333 B 8, Breade strenketh a mannes harte.
- to weak.* Rich. 49 C 7, with which disease nature being forelaborid, foreweried and *weaked*.

To *hold*, *daw*, *estrait*, *glad*, *less*, *length*, *light*¹⁾, *meek*, *right*, *sharp*²⁾, *short*, *straight*, *strength* and *weak* are obsolete now. *To dark* is archaic and *to ripe* somewhat rare in Pres. D. Eng. *To blind* and *to stable* have never developed corresponding verbs in *-en*.

As direct descendants of O. N. *kvikna*, O. E. *fæstnian* and O. E. *wæcnan*, the verbs *quicken*, *fasten* and *waken* are used with the ending *-en* in More :

- to quicken.* Passion 1349 B 15, he is not by the spirite of Christ, animated and *quickened*.
- to fasten.* Rich. 48 (= 45) D 7, Suche euyll oppinyon once *fastened* in mennes heartes, harde it is to wraste oute...
- to waken.* Picus 17 C 15, that maye *waken* thee when thou slepest.

To wake (= *to become awake*) however, also occurs : Dial. C. 225, when you *wake* and ryse.

To make hard instead of *to harden* is used in : Dial. C. (Wks.) 1145 F 1, hys tribulacion made hym cal to God, and his helpe *made hard* hys harte agayne.

DENOMINATIVES

95. The use of nouns as verbs reached its highest point about 1600 (See Abbot 1888 § 290 ; Delcourt 1914 § 197 ; Jespersen 1926 § 166 ; Truka 1930 p. 13). The following collec-

¹⁾ In the sense : *to become* or *to make light(er)*.

²⁾ *To sharp* is still used in the sense of *to swindle*.

tion of quotations shows that a number of denominative verbs were already in use in More's time.

to bolt. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1246 D 4, he *bolleth* them by the armes with a paulsy.

to brake. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1245 B 7, in this prison ... folk be ... *braked*.

to brydle. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1249 D 18, in suche wise to *brydle* it ... that...

to byshop. Dial. Her. 130 C 10, No man that was by at your crysteninge, nor when ye were *byshopped* neyther.

to card. ¹⁾ Dial. C. (Wks.) 1245 H 1, in this prison ... they *dyce* : in this they *card* : in this they *pipe* and *reuell*.

to cloke. Dial. Her. 262 G 10, perceyng the maters ... so ferforth comen to light that thei coud in no wise be *cloked*.

to clout. Last Th. 80 E 5, we be fayne to take medicines inwarde to *cloute* them (sc. our bodies) vp with al.

to collar. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1246 D 3, he *collereth* them by the neck with a quinsye.

to doctor ²⁾. Apol. (Wks.) 915 E 6, If this pacifyers *doctoring* wer a good profe.

to dyce. See quot. sub to card.

to father. Apol. (Wks.) 855 E 8, All thys chyldishe reason ... whiche he bryngeth oute of Tyndalles Chapiter, and *fathereth* it vpon Saynte James.

to fense. Dial. C. 204, the soule ... is ... *fensed* in round about.

to fetter. Dial. C. 324, Goddes prisoner that has his one foote *fettered*.

to flesh. Rich. 68 E 9, a felowe *fleshed* in murther.

to flower. Conf. Tynd. 688 D 3, the vertuous that so *floured* in the church.

to friar ³⁾. Jest p. 3 A 13, his harte for pryde, Lepte in his syde, To see how well he *freered*.

to ground. Apol. 121, a ... false syrmyse, *grounded* ... vpon a cherytable imagynacion.

to heap. Dial. C. 251, *heapyng* uppe of richesse.

to hedge. Last Th. 98 G 6, The way ... *hedged* with thornes.

to lap ³⁾. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1184 E 12, pygges, wel *lapped* in newe strawe.

to latyn. Conf. Tynd. 382 C 12, excepte happely some wel *latyned* Jewes conuerted.

to launce. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1253 D 13, to be *launced* and haue the flesh cut.

to lock. Apol. 134, he sholde so the stockes mended and *locked* faste...

to maister. Dial. C. 304, your reason shal ... resist it, and ... *maister* it.

to manacle. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1246 D 6, he *manacleth* their handes.

to mesh. Conf. Tynd. 491 C 8, Luther was hymselfe so *meshed* in thys matter.

to mischief. Debell. 971 D 11, He wil of lykelihode hate & *mischief* any man by whome he taketh any harme.

¹⁾ The earliest quot. in OED of *to card* is dated 1548.

²⁾ No quotations anterior to More in OED.

³⁾ Probably from *lap* (noun) = *fold* or *piece of cloth* (OED).

to myre. Answer 833 D 20, If only they that are alre dy bymired, were
... *myred* on more and more.

to pinne. Lett. 1437 D 12, I neuer intend to *pinne* my soule at another
mannes backe.

to pipe. See quot. sub to card.

to plaster ¹⁾. Last Th. 80 C 3, he muste bee fayne ... to ... *plaster* his legge.

to root. Dial. C. 328, affeccions, that ... are *rooted* in the mind.

to shadow. Dial. C. 200, Wyth his shoulders shall he *shadow* the.

to sowse. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1163 A 15, sirops shold *sowse* him up.

to spise. Dial. Her. 150 B 5, *spising* their prechyng with rebuking of
priesthode.

to sport ²⁾. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1184 H 7, I trow she *sported*.

to spot. Dial. Her. 269 G 4, thynges all *spotted* with sinne.

to stocke. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1245 E 15, he neither nedeth to coller us nor
to *stocke* us.

to stone. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1259 H 12, once was I *stoned*.

to syluer. Dial. Her. 220 F 1, a coper grote ... *sylvered* ouer.

to thirst. Rich. 40 E 11, whither they sorer *thirsted*.

to vilayn. Conf. Tynd. 344 A 14, they haue ... *vilayned* the sacrament.

to water. Dial. C. 329, *water* them with the ... aduertisement of godlye
consayle.

to witnes. Dial. Her. 166 F 11, thei coulde neuer *witnes* against the
trouthe.

to wive. Rich. 59 F 3, smal pleasure taketh a man ... yf he bee *wived*
against his appetite.

INDEPENDENT CAN, WILL & OUGHT + OBJECT.

Can. Rich. 51 A 5, I *can* no more. | Apol. 46, I *can* neyther so myche
poetry nor so myche rethoryque neyther. | Dial. C. 210, other crafte *can*
you none. | Dial. Her. 240 H 14, ley mennes ..., that *can* no more but
theyr mother tong.

Last Th. 73 B 8, how precisely we presume to shoote our folish bolte,
in those matters most, in whiche we least *can skill*. | Jest p. 1 A 5, best
is for a man : ... in no wyse, To enterpryse An other faculte, For he
that wyll, And *can no skylle*, is neuer lyke to the.

Dial. C. 258, else would Christe haue *canned* her much more *thanke*. |
Last Th. 88 H 6, strangers that shall neuer *can* them *thanke*.

Could. Rich. 56 H 10, an honest man and one that *could* his good, not
presuming to touch a kinges concubine. | Rich. 58 D 4, in that point
could he none other colour.

Will. Picus 28 B 7, Parte *will* he none, but either all or nought. | Boke
of F. p. 5 A 11, ye *wyll*, That one is free, that other euer thrall. | Last
Th. 90 H 15, he *wyll* that some other dye by sickenes. | Rich. 47 B 6,
I *wyll* well there bee somme places of refuge for bothe.

¹⁾ Or perhaps from O. F. *plastrer* (OED).

²⁾ Or an aphetic form of the verb *to disport*.

Would. Rich. 35 G 10, He was ..., in the felde, ... no farther then wysedome *woulde*, aduenturouse. | Last Th. 85 H 15, thou *woldest* not for shame, that men should think thee so mad. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1173 C 3, I *would* I could ... mende my faulte. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1261 D 9, *Wold* god that... | Debell. 936 G 3, if he feared that it would be founden false : then honesty *would* that he should haue left hys own wordes out. | Supplic. 291 H 1, he that *would* rather the man wer belieued than answered.

Ought = *had to render ; had to pay*. Rich. 40 D 2, of which eueri one *ought* him as faithful service as they. | Jest p. 2 G 2, A marchant man, That he *ought* money to.

Ought = *possessed*. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1219 F 15, Who *ought* your castel ... thre thousande yere agoe ?

These verbs have retained the meanings they had before they came to be generally used as attendant verbs and thereby to lose good deal of their independence. In Pres. D. Eng. they can no longer be so used. The form *canned*, and the infinitive *can* in the collocation *can thank* shows that here *can* was imagined to be a different verb from *can* in the other constructions. This phenomenon dates from Middle English where the weak inflection is often met with (OED s. v. *can* v¹ B 10).

EARLIER

LATER

can = to know ; to be acquainted with.

c 1000 Ags. Gosp., Matt. xxv, 12, Ne *can* ic eow (OED).

c 1380 Chaucer, C. T. A. 3126, I *can* a noble tale for the nones.

can skill = to be skilled in.

c 1518 Pace in Ellis, Orig. Lett. III, 1, 186, They *couth* goodde *skele* in byldyngs (OED).

can thank = to acknowledge one's gratitude.

c 1175 Lamb. Hom. 31, Ne *can* crist him *nenne þonc* (OED).

1610 Shakesp. Phoen. & Turtle 14, And the priest in surplice white That defunctive music *can* ¹⁾.

1710 Philips, Pastor. iv 23, No *skill* of Music *can* I (OED).

1584 R. Scot, Discov. Witcher. xii, xiv, 201, The smiths will *canne* them small *thankes* (OED).

will + noun = to want ; to desire.

c 825 Vesp. Ps. lxxvii, 31, Tostenc þiode þa 3efeht *willað* (OED).

1734 tr. Rollin's Anc. Hist. v 31, He that *can* do whatever he *will* is in great danger of *willing* what he ought not (OED).

¹⁾ For other instances in Shakespeare see Schmidt 1902.

will + clause = to wish ; to desire.

971 Blickl. Hom. 61, Deme 3e nu
swa swa 3e *willon* þæt eow sy eft
3edemed (OED).

1560 Revels Q. Elis. 112, We *woll*
and commaunde that Imediately
vppon the sight hereof ye delyuer
... vnto Sir Thomas (OED).

ought = had to pay.

a 1300 Curs. M. 21422, Pour he was
... And till a juu he mikel *aght*
(OED).

1535 Stewart, Cron. Scot. i 226,
Quhair is the kyndnes thow *aucht*
to Claudius ? (OED)

ought = possessed.

a 1000 Beowulf 31, Leof land-fruma
longe *ahte*.

a 1670 Spalding, Troub. Chas. i
205, The poor men that *aucht*
thame follout in (OED).

CAUSATIVES.

97. The objective verbs in the following quotations have a causal character, i. e., the post-verbal (pro)noun can be analysed as the subject of the action expressed by the related subjective verbs of exactly the same form.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1161 C 4, He shortly *ceased* the tempest. | Lament. st. 10 l. 2, Our lorde *encrease* your honour and estate. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1262 D 7, If he *feare* us with exyle... | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1148 H 13, [dyd not he] ... *wyn* hym eternal saluacion. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1200 F 3, For *feare* of *decaying* the common wele... | Answer 1044 B 2, shall serue, to the plantynge, *rootynge*, and waterynge of the faythe.

Clear examples of this usage are not so numerous as in Pres. D. Eng., where constructions like : *He walked me off* ; *we slid the piano into its place* have become recognized idiom. In many cases More uses a collocation consisting of one of the verbs *to make*, *to cause*, *to let*, *to have*, *to get*, *to gar* + a (pro)noun + infinitive, instead of a causative verb. (Cf. the chapters on indirect nexus of two verbs). Occasionally the causative idea is expressed by the verb *to give* + an abstract noun of action, as in :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1178 D 14, as God vnto them that ... *giue* his adversari *the ful*, hath prepared a crown.

Causative verbs with vowel-mutation (umlaut) occur in the following instances :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1162 F 13, he ... besought her to *rayse* vp a dead man. | idem 1218 F 9, [terroure] ... whiche this ... denyll maye ... *reare* against vs. | Boke of F. p. 4 A 7, she fleeth her wey and *leyeth* them in the dust. | Apol. 93, *laye* yt in my necke. | Dial. C. 181, Set a part your pryde.

VICARIOUS *to do* + OBJECT

98. Last. Th. 87 D 7, we reckon our selfe worthye more reuerence than we *do go*.l himself. | Dial. C. 296, he suffereth them manie times to lye in prosperitie longe after ... Long after ? naye ... that *does he no manne*. | Dial. C. 305, God sometime deliuereth theim thence as he *dyd saint Peter*. | Dial. Her. 119 G 7, all they ... can ... do no more for vs ..., nor here vs halfe the ... longynge to helpe vs, *that doth our sauour*.

Though the same construction occurred in French (e. g. Merimée Col. 232, Don Juan regretta don Garcia plus qu'il n'aurait *fait son frère*) the English idiom is not due to French influence, as it is found from the earliest times. It is current in Pres. D. Eng.

EARLIER	LATER
Beowulf 444, wen ic þæt he wille... Geatena leode etan unforhte, swa he oft <i>dyde mægenhreþ manna</i> .	1766 Goldsm., Vicar W. I, I chose my wife, as she <i>did her wedding- gown</i> (OED).

99. When the object of *to do* is the word *so*, *this* or *it*, the vicarious character of *to do* is less prominent, owing to the fact that those pronominal words may be considered as having taken over the task of replacing the verb occurring in the preceding syntactical unit :

Last Th. 93 C 8, a thefe ... cut a purse ... And when he was asked why he *dyd so*, ... the wretche said ... | Dial. Her. 113 A 12, I wolde for my parte well agre them for heresies, but yet haue I hard som or this that wold not *do so*. | Dial. Her. 108 B 3, I shall neuer willingly deceyue your trust. And lest I might hap to *do it* of ouer sight vnware...

Same usage before and after More :

a 1000 Cædmon's Gen. 2586, Wal- dend usser gemunde wærfæst þa Abraham arlice, swa he oft <i>dyde</i> (OED). c 1400 Mandev. III, 10, þai sell beni- ficez of haly kirk, and so <i>duse</i> men in oþer places (OED).	1793 Beddoes, Sea Scurvy 52, They may acquire this principle ... but we have no direct experience of their <i>doing so</i> (OED).
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100. According to Jespersen 1928 p. 249 substitutive *to do* is not often found with an indirect object. His earliest quotation is dated 1599 :

Dekker, Old Fort. 1512, Will you commaund me any seruice, as you have *done Orleans*.

The usage, however, is very old, e. g. :

1175 Lamb. Hom. 65, Vre gultes ... bon vs forgeuen al swa we *doth alle men þet liuen*.

The following quotations illustrate the use in More's English; the first two contain *to do* + indirect object; the last two *to do* + prepositional object (*to mock at*, *to deal with*):

Dial. Her. 117 F 2, Nor these two words Christus crucifixus, do not so lyuely represent vs the remembrance of his bitter passion, as *dothe* a blessed ymage of the crucifix, neither *to lay man nor vnto a lerned* ¹⁾.

Med. 1417 B 11, the bretherne of Joseph, could neuer have done him so much good with their loue and fauor, as they *did him* with their malice and hatred.

Dial. Her. 118 H 7, Why doo these heretiques more mock at the maner of Christes chyrche, than they *doo at the maner* of these Jewes sinagoge.

Dial. C. 157, in such wise deale they wyth him as the mother *doth* sometyne *wyth her chyld*.

Occasionally the verb itself is repeated, as in:

Dial. Her. 147 D 9, so should the scripture stand them in as good stede, as a paire of spectacles shold *stand a blinde freer*.

SEMI-INDEPENDENT *SHALL* + OBJECT

101. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1143 H 6, I pray you good vncle, procede you farther in the processe of your matter... *That shall* I, cosin, with good wille.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1176 F 9, many a man should stand ... in a very perious case ... Many *so should* in dede ... and in dede many *so dooe*.

The objects are *that* and *so*, which replace the contents of the preceding units.

EARLIER

13... Seuen Sag. 2735, «Rightfulliche thou him awreke.» Th'Empe-
rour saide, «*So ich schall*» (OED).
1470-85 Malory, Arth. x, LVII, 510,
That shall I not, said sir Dynadan
(OED).

LATER

1818 Scott, Br. Lamm. XXI, «His
Mastership will do well to look to
himself.» — «*That he should*,»
re-echoed Craigengelt (OED).
1888 J. Winter, Bootle's Childr. IV,
«I should like to see her now she's
grown up.» — «*So you shall*»
(OED).

TO BE CONTENT (SURE) + OBJECT

102. Dial. Her. 113 C 5, *this am* I very sure and perceyue it well, ... that from the apostles time hetherto, this maner hath been vsed taught & alowed.

¹⁾ Complements introduced by *to*, *unto* (excluding the prepositional objects) are looked upon as indirect objects. Cf. Kruisinga («adjuncts»); Jespersen («to-phrases»).

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1170 F 5, whan he sitteth with me, I let hym haue al the wordes. — Al the wordes quod she ? marye *that am I content*.

OED does not record this idiom ; it has only quotations of *to be sure* + clause. In Shakespeare we find :

1 Henry VI, V, v, 83, but *this I am assur'd*, I feel such sharp dissension in my breast.

Jespersen 1928 § 12.8⁵ gives the following examples :

Milton, S. A. 424, *this I am sure*. | *ibid* 1408, Yet *this be sure*. | Mrs. H. Ward, Eleanor 253, What did she expect ? Not any of the things which the vulgar bystander expected — *that he was certain*.

He adds that « in such cases the writer probably had at first another continuation in mind than the one he finally chose, or began his sentence without having framed it completely in his mind. » It is also possible that the construction was formed on the analogy of : *this I doubt*.

THE TYPE : TO HAVE A FEELING = TO FEEL.

103. In the sections on subjective verbs (§ 63) the abundance of collocations consisting of *verb* + *noun* that are equivalent to single subjective verbs (*to have a fall* = *to fall*) has already been mentioned as a particularly striking feature of More's language.

Here follows a selection of quotations containing collocations consisting of *verb* + *noun* equivalent to single objective verbs :

to have belief in = to believe. Last. Th. 89 C 2, we *haue* ... neyther more *belief* in his holy wordes ... than hath a Jew or a Turke.

to have cause of = to expect. Rich. 39 C 1, ye neuer *had* so great *cause of* hatred, as you *haue of* loue.

to haue conference of = to discuss. Dial. Her. 111 H 2, Against which time I woulde so order mine affaires, that we would *haue conference* together, of all his erande at length.

to haue a feeling of = to feel. Dial. C. 347, those spirituall ... ioyes ... of whiche our carnal heartes *hath* so fieble and so faynte a *feeling*.

to haue a glimeryng of = to see vaguely or imperfectly. Dial. C. 346, they shall of those heauenly ioyes ... *haue* ... a *glimeryng*, though far from a perfit sight.

to haue hope = to hope. Dial. C. 247, the good *hope* that he shold *haue* in goddes helpe.

to have knowledge of = to know. Picus 4 H 15, of the olde fathers of the church ... great *knowlage* he *had*.

- to have losse* = to lose. Dial. C. 232, Neither *losse had they any*.
- to have list (lust)* = to like; to want. Dial. C. 346, he shal' neuer *haue list to slepe*. | Apol. 50, they will neuer *haue the luste to loke vpon their bokes*.
- to have medlyng* = to meddle. Apol. 54, there was no man that any *medlyng had* with theym, into whose handes they were more lothe to come.
- to haue misse of* = to lack; to miss. Dial. C. 127, make me now feeble and perceiue what a *mysse* of much coumforte we shall *haue* when you be gone. | Rich. 56 G 1, a comly rud in her chekes (of whiche she had before *had most misse*).
- to haue the possession of* = to possess. Picus 19 E 16, though I forsake al thyng to thentent that I may *haue the possession of god*.
- to haue a purpose of* = to purpose. Dial. C. 143, lette vs ... *haue a good purpose wyth vs of sure standinge by his holye faith*.
- to have remorse of* = to repent. Last Th. 83 B 1, the lechor knoweth he doth nought, & *hath remorse therof*.
- to haue respecte vnto* = to heed; to consider. Dial. C. 290, many men wyll saye so to, that *haue pryncipall respecte vnto* theyr worldlye commoditie.
- to haue opinion* = to think. Dial. C. 214, some men *haue opinton*, that such as once fal in that fantasy, can neuer ful caste it of.
- to haue sauour in* = to relish. Dial. C. 345, we can almost *haue* no maner sauour or taste in any pleasure spirituall.
- to haue a sight of* = to see. Dial. C. 205, they *had yet them selfe* somewhat an vnperfylte sight of them.
- to haue taste in*, see: *to haue sauour in*.
- to have a wil* = to want; to desire. Dial. C. 134, that persone ... that *hath a wil* to be cured...
- to make chaunge in* = to change. Rich. 64 E 13, all thys nothing no *chaunge made* in the people.
- to make a defence for* = to defend. Picus 3 H 16, But he not bearing the losse of his fame, *made a defence for* those ... questions.
- ta make a gay game* = to ridicule. Conf. Tynd. 605 B 10, where as he ... mocketh & maketh a *gay game*, that Saynt Peters faith should be preserued in our Ladye.
- to make a glaunce* = to glance. Dial. Her. 138 B 2, I touched it in the beginning and *made* in a manner a *glaunce* therat.
- to make meanes to* = to negotiate with. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1188 C 1. another sum of money should ... be sent to Rome, and there shuld be *meanes made* to the Pope...
- to make mockes (mowes) of (against)* = to ridicule. Apol. (Wks.) 916 G 8, they *make mockes and mowes of the masse*. | Apol. (Wks.)

- 846 E5, he leaueth out somewhat that Tyndalle taketh in, that is to wille, the *makinge of mockes and mowes* against the masse ¹⁾).
- to make a proof* = to try ; to test. Last. Th. 76 H 18, yf thou putte it in a saie and *make a prooffe*, thou shalte well fynde...
- to make rehearsall of* = to repeat. Rich. 64 E 2, the recorder ... *made reherersall* ²⁾ to the comens of that the duke had twice rehersed them himselfe.
- to make reporte of* = to report. Dial. Her. 107 H 4, he hath of all our communicacyon *made* you faythfully, plain and ful *reporte*.
- to make semblaunce* = to pretend. Dial. Her. 287 A 15, And yet *make* they *semblaunce* as though they believed.
- to make a tale of* = to discuss. Apol. 153, I wyll *make* here no longe *tales* agayne therof.
- to make a vow* = to promise solemnly. Dial. C. 281, I *made* a solempne *vowe* vnto my selfe, ... that...
- to make wresting with* = to wrestle with. Passion 1347 D 3, what *wrestlyng* soeuer the infideles shall *make* with it.
- to call names* = to vilify ; to abuse. Dial. C. 334, with all the shameful *names* that they could *call* you.
- to cast a fantasy to* = to take a fancy or liking to. Dial. C. 331, he *cast* such a *fantasy* *thereto* that he wolde not go from it. (Cf. set one's fantasy vppon).
- to do hurt to* = to hurt. Picus 7 A 13, He saide, that fame oftentimes *did hurt* to men while thei liue, & neuer good whan thei be dead.
- to fall in to the breche of* = to break. Dial. Her. 269 D 11, folk ..., whiche yet *fall in to the breche of* gods commaundement by the subtyll suggestion of the deuyll.
- to geue diligence to* = to study diligently. Dial. Her. 111 C 3, I vnderstode him to haue *geuen diligence* to the latin tonge.
- to geue a fal* = to throw down ; to humble ; to ruin. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1145 D 11, Christe *gaue* hym a great *fal*. | Apol. (Wks.) 846 H 1, then is it ethe ... to *geue* the selye soule a *falle*.
- to geue the hearynge* = to listen to. Dial. C. 140, whyle he preacheth of the paynes of hell, styll they stande and yet *geue* hym the *hearynge*. | Dial. Her. 168 G 4, to *gyue* diligent *hyrynge* ... to the church of Christ.
- to put in the wyght* = (older : *to wyght* ; *to wite*) = to blame. Rich. 41 C 9, of al the hurte that therof should ensue ... all the worlde wolde *put* her ... *in the wyght*.

¹⁾ *to mock* and *to mow* in : Conf. Tynd. 398 C 11, with *mocking* & *mowing* and potting the sacramentes.

²⁾ Probably a misprint for *re-rehersal*.

to putte in a saie = to try ; to test. Last. Th. 76 H 18, *yf thou putte it in a saie and make a prooffe, thou shalte well fynde...*

to set fantasy vppon = to take a fancy or liking to. Dial. C. 322, such folke as so sette theyr *fantasy vppon* some small symple pleasure.

to take heede vnto = to heed. Dial. C. 214, He *toke* so great *heede vnto* euey suspicious token.

to take labor for = to strive after. Dial. C. 246, the little piensish plesure ..., that they *tooke* al that *labor* and *payn for*.

to take liking in = to like ; to enjoy. Last. Th. 74 E 5, inward liking that the godly spirit taketh in the diligent labor of good and vertuous busines.

to take payn for = to strive after. — See : *take labor*.

For an attempt at explaining the reasons why More in some cases prefers the analysed form to the simple verb see § 63. Some of the above collocations have dropped into disuse in later English, e. g. *to have loss of*, — *list*, — *lust*, — *meddling with*, — *miss of*, — *opinion*, — *savour in* ; *to make a glance at*, — *means to*, — *mocks of*, — *mows of*, — *semblance*, — *a tale of* (= to discuss), — *wrestling with* ; *to give diligence to* ; *to cast a fantasy to* ; *to fall in the breach of* ; *to put in assay*, — *in the wight* ; *to set fantasy upon* ; *to take labour for*, — *pain for*. The nouns in *to have taste in* and *to make change in* are now mostly preceded by the indefinite article.

OED has no instances of *to have belief in*, — *conference of*¹⁾, *to make a glance*, — *a tale of* (= to discuss)²⁾, — *wrestling with* ; *to give diligence to*³⁾ ; *to fall in the breach of* ; *to give a person a fall* ; *to set fantasy upon*⁴⁾. The earliest instances in OED of the following groups are later than More : *to have a feeling of* (1601), — *loss* (1562), — *a meddling* (1548), — *respect to* (1530) ; *to call names* (1594) ; *to cast a fantasy (fancy)* (1601).

¹⁾ The earliest quot. in OED containing the noun *conference* is dated 1538.

²⁾ *To make no tale of* (which is recorded in OED) has a different meaning (= to hold of no account).

³⁾ But *to put diligence* and *to do one's diligence* are recorded.

⁴⁾ *To have a (no) fantasy to*, however, is recorded.

**THE KINDS OF WORDS OR WORD-GROUPS
THAT ARE USED AS OBJECT**

104. As there is in this respect no difference between More's usage and the usage in Pres. D. Eng., a simple enumeration may suffice.

The object may be

1. a noun or a pronoun :

Picus 9 G 7, I thretened him two yere together, that he would be punished, if he foreslouthed that *purpose*. | Picus 14 E 3, Trewly ... in this point I gainesaye *you* not. | Rich. 54 E 8, I tel *thee* thei haue so done.

2. a special form of the verb (see sections on the syntactical units containing two verbs).

3. a clause :

Picus 31 B 3, He mindeth not, *what menne about him talke*. | Last Th. 78 G 4, For wel he knoweth *that than he either winneth a man for euer, or for euer leseth him*. | Last Th. 87 H 9, wee shall not gretly dote vppon *that we set lyttle by*.

IT AS OBJECT

105. The character of the word *it* used as an object corresponds fairly well with the character of the same word used as a subject. See §§ 6-16.

106. CONCRETE *IT* AS OBJECT.

Referring to a noun :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1171 A 16, a good vertue seruyng to refreshe the mynde, and make *it* quycke and lustye to labour and study agayn. | Last Th. 72 H 3, Surely there canne bee nothyng so bitter, but wyse-dome would brooke *it* for so gret a profite.

Referring to an adjective :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1210 C 3, The manne is so much the lesse perfyte *than* I woulde he were, and happely *than* hym selfe woulde wishe, if it were as easy to be *it* as to wishe *it*.

107. SUMMARIZING *IT* AS OBJECT.

Rich. 49 (= 46) H 1, it is not likelye ... that she shall sende him somme where out of the realme ? ... And I doubte not but shee nowe as sore myndeth *it* as wee the lette thereof. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1173 C 14, after fell there on me one fit out of course, so straunge and so meruy-lous, that I would in good faith haue thought *it* impossible.

108. SUMMARIZING *IT* AS OBJECT IN CLAUSES OPENING WITH THE OBJECT *WHICH*.

Picus 3 B 3, he departed to Bononie to studye in the lawes of the church : *which* when he had two yere tasted ..., his mynde fill from *it*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1177 G 5, The tother kynde is thys *whyche* I rehersed second, and sortlyng out the tother twayne, haue kepte *it* for the last. | Apol. (Wks.) 892 A 5, as for worldlye countenaunce is among the clergy within these fewe yeares not a lyttle abated. *Whyche* thyng who so lyst wyth an euen eye to looke vpon *it*, and indifferentlye consider *it*, shall not fayle to perceyue...

From a logical standpoint the word *it* in this kind of units is tautological, the object having already been expressed by means of the word *which*. This construction is unknown in Pres. D. Eng., but seems to have been a regular idiom in More's language. Compare the similar kind of redundant repetition in the following passage : Dial. C. (Wks.) 1182 A 4, *he* that faithfully dwelleth in the hope of Gods help, the paucie of his truth shal ... fense hym round about.

109. ABSENCE ¹⁾ OF SUMMARIZING *IT*.

Dial. Her. 237 G 2, Came the thyrd tale to as wise a poynt ? — Ye shall *heare* quod I. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1248 D 14, The tyme of hys impriesonmente I *graunte* well, was not longe. | Rich. 49 G 3, it is I *trow* no great maruaile. | Boke of F. p. 1 A 3, Mine high estate and auctoritie, If ye ne *know*, enserche. | Rich. 40 F 7, as great [sc. peril] is growyng, yf wee suffer this yonge kyng in oure enemyes hande, *whiche* without his *wyttyng*, might abuse the name of his commaundement. | Apol. (Wks.) 845 H 20, readers *which* would I *wist* wel pardon ... such ... ouersight. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1222 G 9, was that ... Oracion ..., any thyng prayse worthy? For you can *tell* I *see*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1159 C 4, whether he went to the rest that his father dyd, ... I cannot *tel* ²⁾.

The following quotation perhaps belongs here : Rich. 49 (= 46) B 8, from that tyme hytherwarde, was there neuer so vndeowte a Kinge, that durst that sacred place violate, or so holye a Bischoppe that durste *it* presume to *consecrate*.

A double interpretation of this last construction seems possible ; it may be read : *that durste it presume to consecrate [it]*, in which the first *it* is proleptic ; or : *that durste presume to consecrate it*. This would be a case of front-

¹⁾ There is of course nothing missing ; the term only means that Pres. D. Eng. requires the word *it* in a great number of similar cases.

²⁾ Compare the paragraph on the absence of a referring word after a form in *-ing* preceded by *the* (they waxed wery of the *sekyng*) § 127.

position of the object. The verb that most often occurs without summarizing *it* is *to tell*. The following quotations, however, show that *to tell* + *it* was also used by More.

Apol. (Wks) 873 G 1, who so for such good wyll telleth a man his fautes, vselh to *tel hit* hym secretly. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1181 F 10, he was somewhat prycked foorth before them, and came so fast backe to *tel it* them, that they thought it rather tyme to make hast.

To tell + *so* also occurs :

Rich. 50 D 13, But the childe cannot require the priuilege, who tolde him *so* ?

The three cases (1. no backward reference, 2. *so* and 3. *it*) correspond to the different degrees of definiteness of the real objects, just as in Pres. D. Eng.

According to Einenkel (1916 p. 131) the constructions without backward reference were scarce in Old Eng., but frequent in Old French (only, however, when the verb was construed with a "dative" object as in : *volés que je vos die* ?). In Middle Eng. the usage was adopted on a large scale, especially when the idea that constituted the real object was too vague for its being recapitulated by means of the words *it* or *so*. In William of Palerme (1350) whe read : He is my lege man lelly þou knowes. Chaucer has : *I graunte* ; *I mene wel* ; *I say* in this entente. In Pres. D. Eng. it is not difficult to find examples ; *to know*, *to tell*, *to see* are among the verbs that are oftenest used without any referring word ; some verbs even always dispense with it (e. g. *to try*, *to care*, *to forget*).

110. CONCEPTIONAL *IT* AS OBJECT.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1198 H 6, [And thus will I finishe this piece]. For me thinketh I haue made *it* a long night. | Dial. Her. 111 E 15, he [scil. God] hath promised, that if we seke we shall finde, and if we knocke we shall haue *it* opened to vs. | Jest p. 2 E 15, With visage stout, He bare *it* out, Euen vnto the harde hedge.

This *it* tends to become quite meaningless, with the result that in some cases, the verb becomes subjective in meaning, e. g. *to bare it out*. In Old English there occurred similar constructions : *hit macian* ¹⁾, *hit healden*, *hit mænen* [cf. old French, *le faire* (*tenir, assenrer, refuser*) *bien* (*mieux, ainsi, etc.*) ²⁾]. Instances from Middle Eng. writers : c 1374 Chaucer,

¹⁾ Cf. Aelfric Hom. II 354, 24, swa he *hit macode* on his life; and Dutch : *hij maakt 't goed*.

²⁾ See Einenkel 1916 p. 133.

Troil. III, 1650, I hadde *it* nevere half so hote as now. | 1387 Trevisa, Higden (Rolls) VII, 27, þe kyng ... made *it* as þey were nouȝt wroop. | c 1412 Hoccleve, De Reg. Princ., 3516, 'Julius', quod he, 'make *it* noght so tow ?'

Shakespeare has :

Two Gent. I, ii, 102, She makes *it* strange, but she would be best pleas'd To be so angred with another Letter.

111. No instances of the type : *to go it* ; *to walk it* ; *to coach it* ; *to rough it* have been found in More. Neither is the slightly different type : *to queen it*, *to lord it* represented. This kind of construction, however, was known before his time :

Blickl. Hom. 231, Min Drihten Hælende Crist, hu mæg ic *hit* on þrim dagum *gefaren* ?

As a proof that *to foot it* was known in More's time the following quotation may serve :

1513 Douglas, Aeneis XIII, ix, 110, Thai *fut it* so that lang war to devys Thair hasty fair.

From the following list, giving the dates of the earliest use of a number of similar collocations with *it*, may be gathered that the idiom was not yet a regular feature in the language of the first part of the 16th century.

1579 to lord it	1611 to queen it	1787 to run it
1579 to trip it	1628 to leg it	1821 to go it
1579 to face it out	1642 to run for it	1857 to funk it
1580 to carry it	1645 to king it	1873 to have it out
1581 to latin it	1656 to master it	1880 to blue it
1592 to have it	1703 hang it !	1902 to tube it
1597 to brave it out	1768 to rough it	1904 to tram it

For the usage in Shakesp. see Franz § 295.

112. PROLEPTIC *IT* AS OBJECT.

a. With predicative adjunct.

Last Th. 78 C 2, Have ye not ere this in a sore sicknes felt *it* very *grienous* to haue folk babble to you ... whan *it* was a pain to speake ? | Rich. 53 E 10, whither he could thinke *it possible* to winne the lord Hasting in to their parte... | Rich. 66 B 10, they thought *it* for the weale *vniversal* to take that wai.

Dial. Her. 110 H 12, he thought *it heresy*, to thinke the oppinions of any man to bee good and catholyque, which been heresy'es in dede. | Dial. Her. 105 C 12, I thought *it ... ynough* to tell the messenger my

mynde by mouth. | Rich. 59 B 5, whiche wer not likely to take *it* well, if al his viage were in suche wise frustrate, and his appointmentes deluded.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1178 C 11, Este me *it* and take *it* ... for a thing of al ioy, when you fall into diuers and sundrye maner of temptacions.

In the majority of cases the real object has the form of a syntactical unit containing an infinitive (e. g. *to have, to winne*). The last two quotations have units opening with conjunctions (*if, when*).

The idiom was known before More's time :

c 1400 Mandeville 164, 15, And þei han gret conscience and holden *it* for a gret synne to casten a knyf in the fuyre.

In Pres. D. Eng. the usage is quite common.

Occasionally More construes his sentences without this proleptic *it* :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1196 G 3, let no man *thynke strange*, that I would aduise a man to take consayl of a phisicion. | Apol. (Wks.) 868 G 6, I haue euer *accompted my deuty* to forbear all suche maner of vnmanerly behauioure.

In Pres. D. Eng. this usage is restricted to a few cases in which verb + predicative adjunct form a very close group (*to think fit ; to think proper ; to make plain*). In these cases the predicative adjunct is an adjective, and not a noun as in the quotation from Apol. (*accompted my deuty*).

In the collocation *fynde in one's harte* no proleptic *it* is used :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1228 A 4, wee shall fynd fewe ... that shal fynde in *theyr hartes* so sodainelye to forsake theyr goodes. | Supplic. 290 A 9, who coule euer haue thought that any christen man could ... haue *founden in his hert*, to seke & study the meanes, wherby... | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1250 G 10, they cannot fynd in *their heart* to forbear it. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1250 H 4, [they] cannot ... fynde in *their heart* ... to goe to the gret feast.

In Pres. D. Eng. *we see that it is* would be substituted for *we see it* in :

Passion 1327 E 2, wee see *it* the common manner of holye scripture, too call hys blessed bodye and bloude, by the former names.

113. b. Without predicative adjunct.

Dial. Her. 126 A 8, if experience had *proued it* that the hole earth hangeth in the ayre. | Dial. Her. 110 D 10, the people take *it*, that styll those that persecute be the miscreauntes. | Apol. (Wks.) 849 E 8, she hearde him *boast it*, howe iolily it was preached. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1222

B 7, though I could be content to be out runne of an horse, yet would I no more *abyde it* to be out runne of an asse.

Dial. Her. 114 F 4, I *doubte it* not but that in the daies of those holy saintes, ornamentes in churches of christ were not only pure and clene, but also very costly. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1186 G 1, I sayd ... that of pusillanimitie cometh this temptation ... But yet I *ment it* not, that of onely faint hart and feare, it cometh and groweth alwaye. | Rich. 59 H 6, I neuer *wiste it* yet that it was forbidden a prince. | Dial. Her. 113 C 5, For this am I very sure and *perceyue it* well ..., that from the apostles time hetherto, this maner hath ben used taught & alowed. | Rich. 60 C 5, he *tooke it* so highly that his embasiats was deluded, that... | Rich. 49 (= 46) D 3, I dare *take it* vppon my soule, she well knoweth she needeth no such thyng to feare.

In the quotations of the first paragraph the real object follows immediately after the proleptic *it*; in those of the second there is an intervening word (adverbs: *not, yet, well, highly*; prep. adjunct: *vppon my soule*). It is impossible to say anything about the earlier history of this usage, the earliest quotations in OED being dated 1596 and 1599:

Shakesp. Merch. V. 1, i, 63, I *take it* your owne business calls on you; | Much Ado iv, i, 206, *Publish it* that she is dead.

According to V. d. Meer (1929 § 232 d) the construction is used by Maundeville, when the main-clause contains an adverb; he adduces but one instance: 124, 3, And *wyteth it wel* þat after the Auctoures and Astronomye. DC. furlonges of erthe answeren to a degree of the firmament.

In Pres. D. Eng. this idiom is common with some verbs, e. g. May I *take it* that you will sign the document? In the majority of cases, however, there is, both in More's language and in Pres. D. Eng., no proleptic *it* when there is no intervening word between the verb and the object-clause. A few instances may suffice:

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1255 H 2, he repented ... that he so had doone. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1210 A 1, [he] dothe truely protest and testifye ... that he dothe it not for any desyre thereof.

The following constructions seem exceptional:

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1244 H 15, I *see* very clerely proved that it can be done none otherwise. | Lett. 1458 A 2, I *loue* when daughterly loue ... hath no laysure to loke to worldlye curtesy.

One example of an object-clause depending on verb + preposition has been found in More; it contains no proleptic pronoun:

Rich. 59 F 10, I am sure that my cosein of warwik neither loueth me

so litle, to *grudge at that I loue*, nor is so vnreasonable to loke that I shold in choise of a wife, rather be ruled by hys eye, then by mine own.

So AS OBJECT

114. a. With *to do*

Rich. 54 E 8, I tel thee thei haue *so done*. | Apol. 6, leuyng out noughte but raylynge ... and where I *so do*, I geue the reader war-nyng. | Last. Th. 81 B 10, as for that that thy hunger doth thee pleasure whan it is fed, *so dothe* somtime the ytch of a sore leg, whan thou clawest about the brinkes. | Picus 14 E 7, it is not all one to saie we doo well, if we doo *so*...

b. With other verbs

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1235 D 8, hymselfe shall (if you *so desire* hym) not faile to woorke with you therein. | Apol. 57, god forbode that any crysten man shold meane *so*. | Dial. Her. 128 F 2, Wote you ... that reason and nature tell you *so*? | Rich. 50 D 13, But the childe cannot require the priuelege, who tolde hym *so*? | Last Th. 73 G 8, I am content ye *so think*. | Apol. 44, it were not good that yonge men sholde *wene so*. | Supplic. 289 F 7, we *so myght* of reason & *so should* of charitie.

The use of *so* differs from the use of *it* in this respect that *so* refers only to the contents of a preceding syntactical unit ¹⁾; besides *so* is less definite than *it*. In some of the above quotations it is possible to look upon this resumptive *so* as an adverb of manner; in those cases the verb stands without object (not e. g. in : *if you so desire him*). More seems to have been free to place *so* before or after the verb; no difference in meaning appears to be connected with the word-order; rhythm and emphasis must have been the decisive factors. In Pres. D. Eng. the front position of *so* is literary or archaic.

The usage in More of anaphoric *so* corresponds to that in earlier and later writers, as appears from the following data.

EARLIER	LATER
c. 825 Vesp. Psalter cxlvii 20, Ne dyde swe ylcere cneorisse (OED).	1611 Bible, Isaiah xx 2, And he <i>did so</i> , walking naked (OED).
1362 Langl. P. Pl. A ii 90, þe Tixt telleþ not <i>so</i> (OED).	1892 Law Times, Rep. lxvii 252, 1, If this had not been true, the pilot would have taken very good care to tell us <i>so</i> (OED).

¹⁾ Constructions in which the word *so* refers to a preceding adjective (as in Pres. D. Eng. *it was worn away and probably had been so for years*) have not been discovered in More.

THE VARIOUS KINDS OF OBJECTS

A. VERBS WITH ONE OBJECT

ORDINARY OR DIRECT OBJECTS

115. The relations between verb and object are too multifarious and often too subtle for an accurate classification to be practicable. The terminology adopted here is in accordance with that used by Jespersen (1928 c § 12. 1. 3), who calls all objects other than those of result *ordinary objects*, and observes that this class contains the most heterogeneous objects, and that neither the names given to these objects in German grammars (richtingsobject or affiziertes object), nor the definitions usually given are comprehensive enough.

Ordinary or direct objects occur in :

Picus 2 H 9, he *labored the studies* of humanitee. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1222 A 7, he coude *speake no latin* at all. | Apol. (Wks.) 864 A 14, the duel of hell, which so *entangleth their tounges*, and so *distempereth their braines*. | Apol. (Wks.) 867 D 1, all they coude neuer *feeffe me wyth one peny* thereof.

In older English there were verbs that were regularly or usually construed with a noun or pronoun in the dative case — *help*¹⁾, *follow*, etc. In the course of the Middle Ages the formal distinctions between dative and accusative were obliterated, so that by More's time every trace of the original function of the noun-object had vanished. It may be assumed that this levelling in form went hand in hand with a levelling in function and that in the beginning of the 16th century the average speaker or writer was no longer aware of any difference in character between the object after such verbs as *help*, *follow*, etc. and that after such verbs as *see* and *beat*.

For this reason the following quotations may be given a place in this section :

Picus 7 G 8, if I be ought in your dette, I shall *paie you* by and by. | Picus 30 C 11, god *whom* hell, earth, and all the heauen *obaise*. | Rich. 67 H 3, those that I haue broughte vp myselfe ... euen those *fayle me*. | Rich. 55 A 12, frendes *fayle fleers*. | Apol. (Wks.) 863 F 2, he *bode me*, that yf I woulde see a verye ryghte image of a fiende, I should... | Picus 1 F 5, thei [scil. these works] *maie delite & please any person*.

¹⁾ e. g. a 1000 Hymns vii 44 (Gr.), þu monezum helpst.

The joining, in the last quotation, of one and the same noun [*person*] as an object to the two verbs *delite* and *please* may be looked upon as a proof that no difference in function was realised.

The character of the object of such verbs as *pay* is different if another object is added (see § 152, direct object + indirect object).

OBJECTS OF RESULT

116. The name *object of result*¹⁾ is given to such objects as express the result, either attained or aimed at, of the action denoted by the verb (e. g. *to weve a webbe*). The difference between ordinary objects and objects of result is clearly brought out by a comparison of the constructions *dig the ground* and *dig a grave*.

In More we find the following instances :

Apol. (Wks.) 849 D 4, *to weaue a webbe*. | Picus 17 A 14, Let them be ashamed that *woorke wickednesse* in *vayne*. | Jest p. 3 E 7, No *harme she thought*. | Rich. 54 A 9, what were they worthy to haue, that *compasse* and *ymagine the distruction* of me ? | Rich. 55 A 4, *dremes*, which ... his owne fere *fantasieth* or do rise in the nightes rest. Dial. Her. 167 F 10, he ... besecheth christen people to agre together all in one mynde, and in the faythe to *tell one tale*. | Conf. Tynd. 576 C 3, Thys is a *fayre tale* of a *tubbe tolde* vs of hys electes. | Last Th. 77 H 6, neuer was ther body that yet could *tel the tale*. | Dial. Her. 105 B 3, it is an olde *said saw*. | Dial. C. 318, Is this ... a *fond ymaged fantasy*, or is it very trueth in dede ? | Rich. 54 E 10, he *clapped* ... vppon the borde a *great rappe*. | Supplic. 326 G 13, thei *strike the stroke*.

COGNATE OBJECTS

117. Some of the objects occurring in the quotations of the preceding section express a meaning that is inherent in the meaning of the verb (*ymagine a fantasy*). The relation may be so close that verb and object are denoted by words that are etymologically akin (*weve a webbe*, *say a saw*, *tell a tale*).

The objects in these and similar cases may be called *cognate*

¹⁾ Also called *accusative of goal* (Curme 1933 p. 98) and *effective object* (*ergebnisobject* or *effiziertes object*). Cf. Jespersen 1924 p. 159.

objects ¹⁾. This name, however, is now commonly restricted to those objects of kindred sense or derivation that serve as a complement to subjective verbs, i. e. such verbs as usually do not take an object (e. g. *to die*, *to strive*). There are a few clear instances in More :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1256 E 6, a man ... that *dyeth* a vyolent *deth*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1263 D 7, What follye is it then ... to flee from that *death*, *whiche* thou ... shalte shortelye after wish thou haddest *dyed*. | Dial. Her. 270 E 11, I haue labored and *striuen* a good *strife*. | Conf. Tynd. 369 G 6, the *fastes* that Moyses *fasted* fyrste for the lawe.

The following instances are less clear, since the character of *pray*, *worke* and *preach* is doubtful.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1164 B 15, theyr owne *prayers* *prayed* at some other tyme. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1146 E 10, toward this purpose are expressly *prayed* many deuout *orasons*. | Answer 1040 C 6, wherby they sholde *worke* the *workes* of God. | Dial. Her. 180 F 1, whoso ... dothe *woorke* good *workes*. | Apol. (Wks.) 850 G 9, a *sermon* once or twyes openly *preached*.

The cognate objects proper often acquire the character of adverbial adjuncts, *to die a violent death* and *to strive a good strife* being equivalent to *to die in a violent way* and *to strive well*. For this function Old English availed itself of the instrumental case [*deape sweltan*, L. *morte mori*]. The wearing off of case endings caused the introduction of prepositions to express the original relation, so that in Middle English *to die* came to be construed with *by*, *of*, *with* and *on* :

1382 Wycliff, Gen. 11 17, *with* deth thou shalt die | idem 1388, Thou shalt die *by* deeth. | c 1386 Chaucer, Melib. 606, Better it is to dye *of* bitter deeth. | c 1450 Merlin 52, I knowe not what deth this fole shall *on* dye.

Occasionally *a* was used : 1200 Trin. Coll. Hom. 181, þu shalt a *depe* swelte.

It is probable that this *a* was a weakened form of the preposition *on* and came to be treated as the indefinite article, so that it could either be dropped or replaced by such words as *what* and *that* :

13... Sir Beues 341, I ne reche, *wath* deth he *dize*, siþþe he be cold.

The earliest quotation in OED of *to dream* with a cognate

¹⁾ Cf. Deutschbein 1931 a § 19, 8 ("figura etymologica"); Jespersen 1924 p. 160 & p. 137 ff. ("inner objects"); Curme 1933 p. 98; Kruisinga 1932 § 1936; Kellner 1913 § 200. For the usage in Pecoock's Repressor see Zickner 1900 p. 9.

object is dated 1300 ; of *to live (a) life* 1000 ; of *to sleep a sleep* 825 ; of *to fight a fight (bateil)* 1300 ; of *to strive a strife* 1375 and of *to laugh a laugh* 1470. More's *to ymagine a fantasy* and *to fast a fast* are not recorded in OED ; they may have been created in his time on the analogy of existing usage, just as other writers subsequently did with other verbs, e. g. *to run a race* (earliest quot. 1557) ; *to smile a smile* (earliest quot. 1837).

For the quasi-objects resembling these cognate objects (e. g. Picus C 12, *go thy iourney* ; Dial. Her. 134 A 6, *than had I walked a wise iorney*) see § 54.

118. THE OBJECT OF A FORM IN -ING

The following types can be distinguished :

- a) 1. *their putting to death* (§ 119) ;
- 2. *nothing mistrusting* (§ 120) ;
- 3. *in the deed doing* (§ 121) ;
- 4. *in stede of our grief taking away* (§ 122) ;
- b) 1. *comforting of her* (§ 123) ;
- 2. *the doing of good* (§ 124) ;
- c) 1. *declaring the truth* (§ 125) ;
- 2. *the doing many good dedes* (§ 126).

In *a* the object has front-position ; in *b* it has post-position and is preceded by the particle *of* ; in *c* it has post-position and is directly joined to the verb.

119. Type a 1 : *Their putting to death*.

Rich. 51 B 15, *hys harte somewhat grudged, that he was not afore, made of counsell in this mater as he was of the taking of her kynred, and of their putting to death.* | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1164 A 13, *somme that lie a diyngge saye full deuoutelye the Seuen Psalmes ... wyth the Prieste at theyr anneylinge.* | Dial. Her. 130 C 9, *no man that was by at your crysteninge.* | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1144 G 5, *he that referreth the maner of hys coumforting to God.* | Lett. 1446 H 7, *The cause of my close keeping...* | Apol. (Wks.) 1072 H 4, *they shoulde haue lesse cure and care of their belies, the desyre of whose ... filling with perishable meate...* | Answer 1043 H 12, *he gaue hys Apostles and dysciples warning of hys betraieng, of hys taking, of his death, of his resurreccion.* | Rich. 49 C 1, *I dare put no parson ... in trust with his keeping.* | Rich. 40 F 9, *[they] might abuse the name of his commaundement, to ani of our vndoing.* | Rich. 40 B 5, *to the gouernance and ordering of this yong prince at his*

sending thyther... | Passion 1274 D 13, lest ouer sodain enhaunsing ¹⁾ so high, myght make such pride spryng in theyr hartes, as might be the cause of *theyr dryuyng* downe agayne, the great goodnes of God measured their state [scil. of the angels].

Here the object has the form of a possessive pronoun ; owing to this fact and the presence of a preposition in front of the construction, the nominal character of the form in *-ing* is fairly pronounced, though less so than when the possessive pronoun is the subject. The frequent occurrence of the construction in More proves that it was a regular idiom in the language of his time. St. John Fisher, too, makes a frequent use of it : 48, 20, all though this blessed vyrgyn brought forth our sauour Ihesu, yet he made her and was cause of *her bryngynge* in to the worlde (W.).

The following instance from Malory illustrates earlier usage :

Morte D'A., 821, 32, I wyll be a thousand fold more gladder to brynge her agayne than euer I was of *her taking* awaye.

The idiom is not rare in Shakespeare and Spenser : Merry Wives, III, iii, 189, Shall we ... excuse *his throwing* into the water... ? | Fairy Queen I, 3, 23, And still amidst *her rayling*, she did pray. In Pres. D. Eng. it is occasionally met with : Bennet, Clayhanger III i § 2, He felt that if the town had been aware of *his jilting*, he could not have borne the humiliation (K.).

More frequently, however, a passive group with *being* is used : We took our silver round to a Safe Deposit in order to prevent *its being stolen*.

The construction alternates in More with that in which the object-pronoun has post-position and is preceded by *of* :

Picus 6 B 3, all that ... he receyued ... he bestowed in the bying of a litle lande, to the finding of *him* and his howsholde.

In this case the pronoun obviously has post-position owing to its juxta-position with *and his howsholde*.

120. Type a 2. *Nothing mistrusting*.

Last Th. 87 C 16, so riseth of *muche settyng* by our self that affection of anger, by which... | Rich. 48 H 11, she in *this doing* should ... dooe great good to the realme. | Rich. 52 H 10, some one man happely *somewhat perceiuing*, filled mani men with suspicion. | Rich. 41 D 14, they *nothyng* Earthely *mystrustyng*, brought the Kynge vppe in greate haste.

¹⁾ On the analogy of the other constructions we should expect here : "lest *their* ouer sodain enhaunsing...".

Here the object is a pronominal word incapable of showing its case. When no preposition precedes the character of the form in *-ing* is verbal; when prepositions are used (*in* or *of* as in the first two quotations) its character is mixed (nominal + verbal). The idiom is known in Pres. D. Eng., though the reversed order (*in doing this*, instead of *in this doing*) is more usual.

121. Type a 3. *In the deed doing.*

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1183 B 13, hys conscience *in the deede doing* ... gaue him. | Conf. Tynd. 396 C 3, Thys manner *of penaunce doyng*, dydde saynt John baptist teache and dyspute. | Dial. Her. 282 G 3, ere euer any lawe was made *for such bokes burning*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1183 G 6, when it came *to the penance geuing*, the Foxe found that the most weighty synne in al hys shryft was glotony. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1156 E 3, Surely thus ... fare ther many freres ..., *in comforte geuing* to greate men. | Passion 1274 D 2, not so much *for credence gyuing* to the serpentis wordes, as to content his wife... | Dial. Her. 150 A 11, [they] plainly make against them, *without receiuing* or *eare geuing* to any reason or authoritie of any man quick or dede.

The object is a noun in the common or neutral case. It is possible that *deede doing*, *penaunce doing*, *bokes burning*, *penance geuing* had already become so closely united as to acquire the character of a compound; to what degree it is difficult to say without a certain knowledge of the distribution of intonation and stress over these groups in More's time (cf. Pres. D. Eng. *house-hunting*; *organ-grinding*). The question whether the article *the* in *the deed doing* belonged to *deed* only or to the whole group can consequently not be answered either.

Constructions of his type do not very frequently occur in More. In St. John Fisher we find: *in hospytalites kepynge*; *almesse doing*; *so longe respyte ... gyuyng*; *sharpe clothes werynge*; *harde clothes wering*; *true pennaunce doing* (W. § 261). The idiom was known in earlier English:

1338 Rob. of Brunne, Chron. 4283, *ye ne wil passe us forby Wythoute truage askyng*. | c 1340 Rich. Hampole, Pros. Treat. [EETS] 10, 15, With mouthe es it tane in *vayne with all athes brekyng*. | c 1388 Chaucer, C. T. B 2771, *ye shal geten riches by your wit ... and that withouten wrong or harm-doinge* to any other persone.

In Pres. D. Eng. constructions of this kind have fallen into disuse, if, at least, combinations like *house-hunting* etc., may not be looked upon as regular descendants.

122. Type a 4. (*In stede*) of our grief taking away.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1146 H 7, in *stede of our grief takyng away*, pray that God may sende vs...

This construction differs from that discussed in the preceding section in that a possessive pronoun intervenes between the preposition and the noun-object. The possibility of *grief-taking* forming a close intonation- and stress-group is negligible, because *our* evidently belongs to *grief* only (*the taking away of our grief* and not *our taking away the grief*). The construction can therefore not be compared with Pres. D. Eng. sentences like *How are you getting on with your house-hunting*, in which *your* belongs to the whole group ¹⁾. The idiom seems to date from Old English. As a possible prototype V. d. Gaaf 1928 p. 38 mentions :

Ælfric, Homily II, *Hwylcum nebbe and mid hwylcre gederftinesse derr he genealæccan to godes wiofude þæt he þæs haligan gerenes onfo, se þe is þurh his broþur hatunge swa scyldig swa se manslaga.*

He refutes Einkenel's argument (1916 § 3 β), who doubts the Germanic origin and assumes (as usual) French influence [e. g. *par la paiz fesant*, Joinv. | *deffendi vous sor les membres perdant*, Huon.].

Here follow a few instances from Middle English :

c 1200 *Lofsong of ure Lefdi*, O. E. H. I p. 207, *Ichē bede þe ... bi his stide openunge, bi his blodi Rune, þet...* | a 1300 *Cursor Mundi C.*, insertion after 17288, 89 ff., *Mary maudlayn & mari Jacobe ... And marie salome Hade boght þam oynementz for oure lord annoyntyngē* (G.).

The construction is of rare occurrence in More; this is somewhat surprising as it is frequently met with in Middle and Early Modern English (V. d. Gaaf 1928).

It is doubtful whether the following quotation contains an instance of the construction under discussion :

Debell. 992 D 7, for pleasure of *hys new fashion preaching* (= perhaps *new fashion of preaching*?).

In the following quotation the possessive pronoun refers to the noun only; the construction, however, is different because it is not introduced by a preposition :

Aut. Lett. xi, 31, his grace for yor substantiall counsaile ... *his* moost

¹⁾ This seems also to be the case in More's : *Passion* 1273 (= 1275) G 5, *thys wicked serpent, wyth his questioning and her eare giuing therto, wrought ... some subtil suggestion in her hart.*

affectuouse *thankes geving* to yor grace[,] hartely requyreth ... that ... my lord of suffolke ... may be advertised of his graces resolute pleasure & yors.

If instead of a noun a pronominal word like *such* intervenes between the possessive pronoun and the form in *-ing*, the pronoun refers to the form in *-ing* :

Passion 1340 F 13, [if] you say that the body of our sauour is not really vnder the fourme of bread in the sacrament, than say we that in *your such expowning*, you playn expowne it false.

123. Type b 1. *Comforting of her*.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1188 E 12, *comforting of her*, could haue no place. | Last Th. 76 B 6, better were it then *holdyng of thy tong*, properly to speake. | Dial. Her. 130 H 13, she segghyth for *miscasting of her kayes*. | Apol. 42, myssspende theyr tyme in *redyng of myne answer*. | Debell. 990 A 12, rather then trouble the countrey with *callyng vp of the turies*. | Rich. 66 G 6, one of his tormentors might hap to break his head and worthy for *marring of the play*. | Dial. Her. 214 E 4, finallye were they fayne for *sauing of his life*, to devise a fourme of abiuracion. | Some Lett. 278, And therefore are ye bounden to ... take the sure way in *obeiyng of your prince* and swere it. | Rich. 38 C 11, vnder the pretext of *reuengyng of olde displeasure*. | Last Th. 88 C 7, men fal at varyance for *kissyng of the pax*. | Picus 8 G 12, (very God and very man) whiche at the last for *washing of our spottie synne* ... willingly ... shede out his most precieuse bloude. | Supplic. 289 C 12, the meanes of *relieuing & releasyng of our present paynes*. | Answer 1036 B 12, after ones or twice *warning of them*.

This construction is of much greater frequency than the rival construction with front-position of the object, illustrated in §§ 119-122. It occurred in Middle English, e. g. : c 1350 William of Pal. 919, for *dreyng of his duel*. | 1422 Past. L. n° 7, in *stopping of the noyse*. | In Old English the construction contained a genitive : Ælfr. Hom. 18, þurh *his weorces fremminge*. | Id., ibid. 1240, to *heora metes tilunge*. The usage with *of* was still current in Shakespeare's time (see Franz 1924 p. 560), but has become archaic or dialectical or vulgar in Pres. D. Eng.

124. Type b 2. *The doing of good*.

Picus 5 C 5, disputacions ... exercised with a peasible minde to *tenserching of the truth*. | Picus 14 C 3, in *the entreting of some profitable actes*. | Dial. C. 147, the bare patient *taking of hys death* should haue serued for the satisfaccion of hys synne. | Rich. 56 C 14, lest *the delaying of his execucion*, might haue encoraged other mischuious persons. | Rich. 67 G 5, *the killing of his kinsmen*. | Rich. 62 E 17, *the*

getting of the garland. | Picus 7 A 11, *in the renaying of this shadow of glorie.* | Last Th. 87 E 11, *with the minishyng of our own worship.* | Last Th. 74 F 4, *the abandoning and refusyng of carnall pleasure.* | Last Th. 74 E 13, *the sekyng of pleasure.* | Last Th. 75 F 5, *thattaining of which mynde.* | Last Th. 102 G 2, *the dooing of good.* | Dial. C. 248, *the hauing of the worldly goodes.* | Dial. C. 251, *for the not doing of the thing.*

Last Th. 77 D 1, *without any receiuing of the sentence.* | Dial. C. 177, *a minyshyng of fleshly wealth.* | Last Th. 81 H 15, *whiche measuryng of tyme and minishing of life.*

In this section the form in *-ing* is preceded by an adnominal word (*the, a, any, whiche*) and clearly has the character of a noun, so that the group of + *noun* formally resembles an attributive adjunct. From an historical point of view the usage calls for no discussion; it is extremely frequent in More's language; it was in use before him:

1382 Wycliff, Gen. xiv 17, *The kyng of Sodom yede out into the ayengoyng of him.*

It is common idiom in Pres. D. Eng.

125. Type c 1. *For declaring the truth.*

Dial. Her. 109 C 7, *good men to bee mishandelyd for declaring the trouth.* | Last Th. 86 H 15, *they shold in folowyng theyr yroun affeccion, reuenge themself...* | Last Th. 79 A 4, *Than geueth he some false glade of escapyng that sickenes.* | Rich. 63 F 2, *in auoidinge dyspleasure of my noble lord.*

Of the two types *for kissing of the pax* (§ 123) and *for declaring the truth* the latter is not nearly so frequently used as the former. It is not easy to account for this fact, the construction without *of* not being an innovation in More's time, since it had been used (as well as the other) from the fourteenth century onward (V. d. Gaaf 1928). It may be that the form in *-ing* was still on the first part of its way towards assuming a verbal character in addition to its nominal character, and thus only developing the regular duality in function which it has in later English. (The preposition points to its nominal, the direct junction with the object to its verbal character). To bear out this conjecture the following facts may serve:

a. the construction does not occur very frequently in Malory (Dekker 1932 § 267);

b. the construction is comparatively rare in More;

c. Berners, More's contemporary, does not seem to use it ¹⁾.

In Pres. D. Eng. it is the normal construction when no article precedes; it varies with the idiom of type b 2, but seems often to be more verbal in character (see A. Pompen 1924 pp. 167-173).

126. Type c 2. *The doing many good deeds.*

Aut. Lett, xiii 9, dexterite in *thacheving* & bringing to passe his vertuose & honorable appetites. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1166 H 3, labouring about the *doynge many good dedes*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1146 C 15, the dread of the *losing these things*. | Last. Th. 83 D 14, one of his good ... knocking is, the *putting vs* in remembrance of deth. | Debell. 931 A 4, the man hath ... misse rehearsed them to make the reader wene, that in the *reprouing them* I had written wronge. | Debell. 935 H 15, the ... cause that hee layeth, ... that is to wytte the *mysse handelyng the people...* | Dial. C. 243, goynge oute of the worlde euen strayghte vnto the *geuing vp his reckoning* vnto God.

This type (with article and without *of*) is of almost as rare occurrence as that discussed in the preceding section, a fact which would seem to corroborate the conjecture proposed there; here the dual character of the form in -ing is still more prominent on account of the definite article. Whether this idiom was known before More's time it is difficult to ascertain. From the few studies that treat of this idiom in the works written before 1500 the conclusion can be drawn that it was an innovation of 16th century English. Trnka (1930 p. 90) has only one instance, but this is dated 1597-1600. V. d. Meer (1929 § 101 h) states that in Mandeville an object can follow the "gerund" without *of*, the definite article being used or not. The only instance he gives (*of the connyng to knowen hawne*) does not, however, seem to illustrate the idiom under discussion ²⁾. Dekker (1932 § 274 note) explicitly states that the "gerund" preceded by the definite article and followed by a direct object does not occur in Malory. Onions (1905, 181) has the following remark: "In

¹⁾ At least, Klausmann 1919, who amply illustrates the other types, does not mention it.

²⁾ If *connyng* has the same character as it has in More, it is a noun. OED lists it as such from 1340 onward. Moreover in our quotations from More the object is not an infinitive.

Early Modern English (about 1500-1800 A. D.) three ¹⁾ alternatives existed: *procuring money*; *the procuring of money*; and *the procuring money*; this last being very characteristic of the period". The earliest instances which he adduces are, however, from Shakespeare. It is particularly noteworthy that in Th. More's contemporaries, St. John Fisher and Berners, the construction under discussion does not seem to occur; Weyl (1937 § 260) gives instances of the use by St. John Fisher of the types a, b, and c 1, but does not mention c 2; Klausmann (1919 p. 123) states: "Die bei Shakespeare und auch in neueren Zeit vorkommende Konstruktion des mit dem Artikel stehenden Verbalsubstantifs mit folgendem Akkusativobjekt habe ich bei Berners nicht gefunden".

Of the subsequent history of the type *the doing good deeds* it can be said that it frequently occurred in Shakespeare (Franz 1921 § 667 c), that it was absent in Spenser (Sugden 1936 § 354) and that in Pres. D. Eng. it is still used alongside the construction with *of*; it seems, however, to be more frequent in literary than in spoken English and sometimes the two constructions are not interchangeable.

Instances from Shakespeare:

H 8 II, iv, 173, who had been hither sent on *the debating A marriage* 'twixt the Duke of Orleans and Our daughter Mary. | All's Well iv, iii, 3, On *the reading* it he changed almost into another man.

Later instances:

1766 Goldsmith, Vicar, Ch. II, My attention was fixed on another subject, *the completing a tract* which I intended shortly to publish. | 1870 Disraeli, Lothair I, Ch. vi, 31, *This crossing the Alps* is a trial (P.).

The construction without *of* also occurs a) with direct and indirect object, b) with object and predicative adjunct.

a. Dial. C. 135, whether it be by *the taking away* or *the minishmente* of the tribulacion it selfe, or by *the geuing him patience* and *spirituall consolacion*...

b. Passion 1338 C 1, lest *the naming it breadde*, might make some men wene it were but bread in dede...

127. ABSENCE OF AN ANAPHORIC OBJECT AFTER *THE* + FORM IN -ING.

Apol. 91, they waxed wery of *the sekyng*. | Rich. 56 D 11, the time betwene his death & *the proclaiming* could scant haue suffised. | Letters

¹⁾ He overlooks the types a and b 1 (*money procuring* and *procuring of money*).

1422 H 2, the boke to me semed such as my selfe would not haue giuen mine owne aduise to *the making*... | Picus 12 A 12, the delites of this world, which in *the seking* very us, in *the hauing* blindeth us, in *the lesing* peineth us. | Last. Th. 72 D 3, these wordes geneth vs al a sure medicine (yf we forslouth not *the receiuyng*). | Rich. 53 A 9, some for their busines made sute to them that had *the doing*. | Dial. C. 277, the labour in *the gettyng*, the feare in *the keping*, and the payne in *the partyng fro*¹⁾, doe more than counterpoysse a great part of all the pleasure. | Rich. 68 G 9, he allowed not as I haue heard, *the buryng* in so vile a corner. | Passion 1348 C 6, the blessed sacrament ... Now it is conuenient that we somewhat speake, in what maner wyse we ought to vse ourself in *the receiuinge*. | Dial. C. 276, the lesse suretie that you see you haue of *the kepyng*, the more cause you haue to be aferde of *the losing*. | Dial. C. 160, some of them ... be not worth *the meating*. | Answer 1131 C 1, ... as children make castelles of tile shardes, & then make them their passetime in *the throwing* downe agayne. | Dial. C. 137, if these wayes be taken for *the getting* I nothing dout but the goodnes of God shal giue it. | Answer 1036 E 8, yet are there manye boughte, Nor the peryll refrayneth not muche people from *the hyeng*.

The abundance of instances of this usage in More is a proof that it was living idiom in his time. It occurred in Middle English :

13... K. Alis. 4031 (Bodl. MS.), It is ywrite þat euery þing Hym self sheweþ in þe *tastyng*. | a 1366 Chaucer, Rom. R. 5593, For in *the getyng* he hath such woo, And in *the kepyng* drede also.

In later English the construction is often used with *telling, doing, asking, taking* and occasionally with other verbs :

1546 J. Heywood, Prov. 67, A good tale yll tolde, in *the telling* is made. | a 1533 Ld. Berners, Huon c. 327, In *the doyng* is all the mater. | 1819 Thackeray, Pend. I Ch. xxiv, 253, I might have had this prize for *the asking*. | 1858 Thackeray, Virg. Ch. III 27, The great rivers swarmed with fish for *the taking*.

In many cases Pres. D. Eng. prefers a noun to a form in -ing : *the lesing* = *the loss* ; *the proclaiming* = *the proclamation* ; *the having* = *the possession* ; *the seking* = *the search*. In this connection the following quotation from More deserves notice :

Debell. 1018 A 7, or at the least wyse name them that haue had *the winning*, and them also that haue born *the losse*.

The + form in -ing is occasionally construed with *so* as object :

Answ. 1016 H 2, that would I neither dooe my self, nor in *the so dooyng* commend anye man that dooeth.

¹⁾ This end-position of *fro* is very remarkable.

By the side of *the* possessive pronouns are used in the construction without object :

Debell. 931 B 11, Some suche places ... as I had happed to finde, I haue remitted the reader vnto in myne apologie, where for *his* ready *findyng* I haue numbred him the leafe.

Rich. 40 F 9, oure enemyes ..., whiche *without his wyttyng*, might abuse the name of his commaundement.

Without his wyttyng had a parallel in O. F. *a son escient*.

128. OBJECT + PREDICATIVE ADJUNCT.

Type : *He taketh them discrete persons.*

He beheld the heuens open.

The free use More makes of this construction is a distinctive mark of his language as compared with Pres. D. Eng. In some cases there is a striking parallelism between this construction (e. g. *he graunteth it convenient*) and the indirect nexus of two verbs (e. g. *he graunteth it to be convenient* § 617 ff). Indeed the verbs occurring in the former construction and those taking the latter can be categorized in almost the same way. Thus there are *verbs of perceiving and mental processes* (a) ; *of causing* (b) ; *of declaring* (c) ; *of considering* (d) ; *of experiencing* (e) :

a. Picus 9 B 14, he behelde the heauens open. | Apol. (Wks.) 873 D 18, he sawe some parte of his tale true. | Passion 1327 E 2, we see it the common manner of holye scripture too call hys blessed bodye and bloude by the former names.

b. Rich. 70 E 14, King Henry ... made him archbishop of Canturburye.

c. Passion 1347 B 8, they confessed the inspiracyon ... requisite.

d. Apol. (Wks.) 882 G 7, he taketh them discrete persons. | Boke of F. p. 6 B 10, The gyftes of fortune count them borrowed ware.

e. Picus 3 B 2, his mother which longed very to haue him priest. | Last. Th. 79 G 6, yf thou knewest thy self sick.

The two elements of which the verbal complement consists (*she wist herself too simple* ; *he findeth it no fable*) form an appositional group, semantically equivalent to a unit with the copula *to be* (*he findeth it is no fable*). Consequently the verb (*wist*, *findeth*) bears upon the group as a whole, so that this group and not the first element by itself is the object. There are, however, also cases in which this analysis is not possible, viz. in constructions of the following two types :

a. *lest he thee vnpurueid catche.*

Picus 22 D 10, lest he thee vnpurueid, and vnready catche. | Dial. C.

(Wks.) 1248 D 3, our sauour was himself take prisoner for our sake, and prisoner was he carted, and prisoner was he kepte, and prisoner was he brought furth before Annas, and prisoner from Annas caryed vnto Cayphas.

b. *he strake him stark blind.*

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1115 D 13, he *strake hym starke blynde*. | idem 1188 D 6, he hadde *grounden it sharpe*. | idem 1140 G 8, [they] *seuer the couples ... a sunder*. | idem 1256 G 1, knyves *cutte a two their hert strynges*.

Here the object-relation of the (pro)noun is more distinct; the predicative adjunct refers to the state or condition the object is in either during or after the action expressed by the verb.

129. The following lists of quotations show what words or word-groups were used as predicative adjuncts in More's English.

a. The predicative adjunct is a (pro)noun.

to call. Last Th. 80 G 4, If thou thinke this, than wold I wit of thee *what thou callest a sickness*. | Last Th. 87 C 10, that kinde of good anger *that wee call a good zeale*. | Picus 15 D 3, some *called it hypocriste*.

to confess. Passion 1347 B 8, they *confessed the conspiracyon ... requisite*. | Dial. C. 137, he *confessed himself a synner* and God for good and ryghtuous.

to count. Boke of F. p. 6 B 10, The gyftes of fortune *count them borrowed ware*.

to find. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1162 C 10, if he dooe then *fyndeth it the wretche no fable*.

to know. Answ. 1136 D 10, among them *whom they know none here-tiques*.

to have. Dial. Her. 242 E 3, God hath ... so ... ordeyned his churchie, that he will *haue some readers, & some hearers, some teachers, and some learners*. | Picus 3 B 2, his mother which longed very *to haue him priest*.

to hold. Dial. Her. 218 H 1, this pointe I *hold it in my minde little question...*

to make. Picus 9 C 3, The executour of his moueable goodes, he *made one Antony his brother*. | Rich. 70 E 12, King Henry ... *made him archbishop of Canturburye*. | Picus 9 C 5, the *heyre of his landes he made the poor people of the hospitall of Florence*.

The first and the last of these quotations with *to make* show an (in Pres. D. Eng.) unusual front-position of the predicative adjunct.

to perceyve. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1251 B 4, if a foole perceyue hymselfe a foole.

to reckon. Last Th. 92 G 10, if thou dydst reckon the tresure not thine,... | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1175 B 4, this they reckon shame.

to repute. Picus 14 G 9, philosophers ... which ... repute them selfe kinges of kinges.

to see. Passion 1327 E 2, we see it the common manner ..., too call hys blessed bodye and bloude, by the former names.

to take. Apol. 88, he taketh them dyscrete persons.

to think. Last Th. 82 A 13, if thou think this reason but a sophisticall sotillie.

to yeld. Last Th. 79 D 2, some fearful figure & terrible likenes : by the beholding wherof thei conceiue somtime dispaire of saluacion, & yeld themselves ¹⁾ captiues quick.

to ymagine. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1247 E 14, oure feare may ymagine them much greater grief then they be.

This usage existed before More's time. Earliest quotations in OED : *call* c 1250 ; *count* a 1300 ; *hold* 1225 ; *know* 1300 ; *make* c 1000 ; *reckon* c 1450 ; *repute* 1460 ; *take* 1400 ; *think* c 1340 ; *yeld* 1377. OED has no quotations with *find*, *know*, *perceive*, *have* and *see* in this construction. The earliest instances with *confess* and *imagine* are :

1608 Shaksp. Per. v, iii 2, I here confess myself the king of Tyre. | 1634 Sir J. Herbert, Trav. 2, We bore up to speake with them, imagining them Enemies and men of war.

In Pres. D. Eng. this idiom is not nearly so frequently met with as in More's time. *To know*, *to hold*, *to take*, *to imagine*, *to see* can no longer be so used. A few verbs that still allow of this construction are *to call*, *to confess*, *to count*, *to make*, *to think*, *to repute* and *to yeld*. *To find* is sometimes construed with an adjective before the predicative adjunct : *I found him a willing listener*.

130. b. The predicative adjunct is an adjective.

to behold. Picus 9 B 14, he behelde the heauens open.

to call. Picus 14 B 1, Mercenary we call all those thinges.

to catch. Picus 22 D 10, lest he thee vnpurueid and vnready catche. |

Last Th. 78 H 4, yf he catche a manne faste.

to change. Answ. 1062 D 9, how the bitter watters were changed swete by the tree.

¹⁾ The text has "thēselfas". There is the possibility that this stands for *themselves* as.

- to cleanse.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1250 C 2, his death ... should *cleanse him cleane*.
- to drink.* Last Th. 82 H 2, [they] *drink themselves sow drunk* ¹⁾.
- to fayn.* Apol. 97, some one man may myche better *fayne hym self* for polycy full *catholyke*. | Rich. 69 H 12, he *fained himself sick*.
- to feel.* Dial. C. 354, When we *feeles vs to bolde* : remember our owne *feblesnesse* ; when we *feeles vs to fainte*, remember *Chrystes strenthe*. | Dial. C. 355, I *feeles myselfe* somewhat *werye*.
- to find.* Last Th. 79 H 8, very true we *fynde the wordes* of the pistle. | Dial. C. 212, he *fyndeth ... al those comfortes so feable*.
- to get.* Rich. 70 E 14, the prince ... *gate him home* again, [and] made him *archbishop*.
- to graunt.* Apol. (Wks.) 919 D 15, he *graunteth it conuentent*.
- to grind.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1188 D 6, he hadde *grounden it sharpe*.
- to have.* Conf. Tynd. 810 F 2, I *haue the solucions* of all their obiections *ready*. | Apol. 44, no more can I *byleue neyther*, that the dampned *spyrytes haue al the naturall gyftes* as *whole* and as *perpayte* as they had before theyr fall. | Rich. 54 H 10, [he] determined no lenger to tary, but *had his horse redy*. | Picus 6 C 2, not content only to *geue that he had him selfe ready*. | Picus 30 A 9, There is no page or seruaunt *moste or lest*, That doth vpon his loue *attende and waite*, ... But that ... the *louer hath it precious, lief, and dere*. | Dial. Her. 243 A 4, if the *commen peple* might be bold ... to dispute it, than should ye *haue, the more blind the more bold : the more ignoraunt the more busie : the lesse witte the more inquisitife : the more foole the more talkatife*.
- to hold.* Picus 11 G 4, *holding my self content*, | Last Th. 73 G 16, I *hold him madder* than they both.
- to iudge.* Picus 14 A 3, he *iudged a thing vaine*.
- to keep.* Dial. C. 248, I cannot well *perceiue ... how anye man maye be riche and keepe hym ryche*. | Picus 8 D 10, I warne the[e] *kepe it secret*.
- to know.* Last Th. 79 G 6, *yf thou knewest thy self sick*. | Dial. C. 213, such of his *felowes as he knoweth mete*.
- to leue.* Last Th. 85 A 13, [Envy] so *dysfigureth the visage leuing it al bony, leane, pale & wan*.
- to let.* Picus 16 D 11, *Let dead men alone* with dead men.
- to make.* Jest p. 3 E 8, it *made some folke wrothe*. | Dial. Her. 115 A 14, I dare *make me bolde to warrant* that... | Rich. 50 A 3, This *maketh me much the more farder to deliuer* him. | Picus 14 B 3, he *maketh philosophie mercennary*.
- to perceive.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1251 B 2, he *perceyueth hymself drunke*.
- to prove.* Dial. Her. 209 F 13, An *insidell whom thei haue proued and reproued fals* in his faith to God.

¹⁾ Earliest quotation in OED with *to drink oneself (drunk)* is dated 1598.

to receiue. Rich. 38 E 2, hee *receiued* his naturall strengthe soo sore enfebled, that hee dyspayred all reconerye.

to reckon. Rich. 55 G 8, he *rekened* him self surest. | Rich. 49 (= 46) E 14, she *reckoneth* her selfe no wiser.

to see. Last Th. 100 F 5, a leude master of a ship, that goth not about to *see* the ship tight. | Apol. 66, he saw some parte of hys tale trewe. | Apol. (Wks.) 916 B 1, euery manne may *see* these three thynges true. | Dial. C. 139, if God *se* the contrary better for vs. | Answer 1047 H 2, whyche vyce God sawe so noyous vnto mannekinde, that...

to show. Dial. C. 226, a thing of such sort, as *sheweth* it self nought and false. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1252 D 7, he will *shew* him self ashamed of that man. | Last Th. 85 F 2, [he] *shewed* hymselfe wyllynge. | Apol. (Wks.) 846 C 5, they say ... I *shewe* my selfe suspect in the matter & parciall towards the cleargye.

to strike. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1145 D 13, Christ... *strake* hym starke blynde.

to think. Pageants, Manhod l. 6, Yet *thinketh* this boy his peuishe game swetter. | Last Th. 73 G 5, ye *think* peraduenture this ensample as mad as the mad man. | Apol. (Wks.) 848 C 4, the .vii. psalmes *thinke* they long ynough without the letany.

For to *thinke* strange see § 112.

to try. Apol. (Wks.) 847 C 11, if any one woord ... left oute of chaunce put that profe in doubte, yet haue the brethren ... bookes ynough, by which they may *trye* this true.

to wash. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1175 D 7, he *washed* vs there al cleane.

to weene. Last Th. 74 A 4, [he] is sick and feleth it not, but *weneth* hymself whole. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1187 A 2, of whom you woulde *wene* the stomake most strong, and their hart and corage most hardye.

wist. Rich. 58 H 8, in conclusion she *shewed* him plaine, that ... she *wist* herself to simple to be his wife. | Rich. 54 B 1, of which euery man *wyst* hymselfe clere.

The type *to wash ... clean, to strike ... blind* occurs before and after More and is common in Pres. D. Eng.

The type *to see ... true, to reckon ... worthy, to judge ... vain* was known in Middle English; the earliest quotations in OED are: *to feign ... (sick)* 1297; *to feel ... (holde)* 1225; *to find ... (true)* 1300; *to hold (content)* 1300; *to judge ... (vain)* c 1400; *to keep ... (secret)* 1340; *to know ... (true)* 1435; *to reckon ... (natural)* 1400; *to see ... (true)* 1435; *to show ... (false)* 1200; *to think ... (sweet)* c 1205; *to try ... (true)* c 1500.

The construction, as such, has lived on into Pres. D. Eng. (*to keep ... secret, to find ... correct, to hold ... precious*), but with the majority of the verbs a different construction (either

with *to be* or with *as* and *for*) has become more usual. *To graunt*, *to know*, *to perceive* are rarely used without *to be*, etc.; the construction with *to try* and *to see* has become obsolete. The verb *to think* now occurs with or more often without *to be*. More's free use of *to have* in this construction is very striking.

Of the type *to think strange* (instead of *to think it strange*) there is a quotation in OED dated c 1205; this short form is now almost exclusively found in *think fit* and *think proper*.

Instead of More's *I make me holde* Pres. D. Eng. has *I make hold*.

- 131. c.** The predicative adjunct is a prepositional group.
- to bring*. Rich. 48 (= 45) A 15, to none other entente, but to brynge all the Lordes in obloquie... | Rich. 58 F 2, he spedely ... brought the matter to very good conclusion. | Last Th. 78 H 13, hee ... dooeth hys vttermoste deuoyre to brynge vs to damnacion.
- to eat*. Last Th. 100 H 6, how many eate and drink themself to death.
- to find*. Last Th. 76 D 4, yf thou find oughte to the purpose, speake therto... | Rich. 38 G 15, if they shoulde finde you at varyaunce.
- to have*. Picus 7 H 15, If we had euermore before our eien the painfull death of Christ... | Rich. 71 A 16, to haue him in his custody. | Picus 19 G 1, I am vnhablle to ascende by myne own strength so high, to haue the in possession. | Rich. 63 H 15, Woe is that Realme, that hathe a chylde to theyre Kyng. | Last Th. 96 F 11, we se gret cause to haue it in hatred & abominacion. | Last Th. 72 G 12, if euery man haue so sure a medicine, so ready at hand. | Dial. C. 180, God is nere saith the Prophete to them that haue their hearte in trouble.
- to know*. Rich. 36 B 10, The Lordes whome he knewe at Varyaunce.
- to kepe*. Last Th. 72 G 1, to kepe vs ... fro sin. | Last Th. 72 G 3, to kepe him from sicknes.
- to laugh*. Dial. C. 276, the grounde on whiche a Prince buyldeth his palice, would lowde laugh his lord to scorne, whan he saw him proude of his possession.
- to put*. Apol. 6, yf any one worde ... left out ... putte that profe in doute. | Last Th. 83 D 12, one of his good & gracious knocking is, the putting vs in remembrance of deth.
- to turn*. Dial. C. 132, to turne oure short sickenes ... into the endles euerlasting death.
- to take*. Apol. (Wks.) 869 F 15, they take ... all those woordes of hys well in woorth.
- to see*. Last Th. 95 D 11, Men commonly say, it wer better fil his bely than his eye, & many men mind it not al til they se the meat on the bord.

to set. Dial. Her. 231 H 4, some of them woulde haue no wiues though that law were *sette at large* ¹⁾.

to suffer. Rich. 40 F 8, as great [peril] is growing, yf wee suffer this *yonge kyng in oure enemyes hande*.

wist. Rich. 59 D 8, The king when his mother had said, made her answer part in earnest part in play merely, as he that *wiste himself out of her rule*.

In Pres. D. Eng. a number of similar prepositional groups have distinctly the character of predicative adjuncts (*know... at variance, drink ... to death, bring .. to a conclusion*). In a few cases, however, (e. g. *to bring ... to damnation*) the groups might as well be interpreted as adverbial adjuncts. The question depends upon the degree in which the (intra-) local force of *to*, *at*, *in*, *from* and the final force of *to* is realised by the speaker or hearer. In older English the character of the prepositional group would seem to have been more prominently adverbial. In the expression, e. g., *to crown to king* (as in 1297 R. Gloucester 383, *Wyllam ... let hym crouny to kynge*) the preposition *to* referred to the new state as the result of a development or the purpose of the action, so that *to kynge* was nothing but an adjunct of purpose or result. It may be stated that in older English — including More's language — the contact between this kind of prepositional group and the verb was looser than it is in Pres. D. Eng., which explains the greater frequency of the construction in earlier stages of the language, present-day writers having only a restricted number of stereotyped formulae at their disposal.

132. Among the prepositional groups the type (*set*) *a fire* deserves further notice.

a fier. Picus 4 D 8, The comelynes of his body ... *set many women a fier* on him.

a flote. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1140 E 10, I maye ... *gouerne and staye the shyppe of oure kynredde, and keepe it a flote*.

a hoope. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1177 E 2, [they] *set them downe, and dryncke well ..., sette cocke a hoope, and fyll in all the cuppes at ones*.

a low. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1176 C 11, a heart broken, ... and ... for hys sinnes *laide a lowe vnder foote*.

¹⁾ *to set at large* is not recorded in OED.

- a mis.* Picus 28 D 3, al thing bene, Appointed wel, and nothing set *a mts.*
- a right.* Last Th. 84 G 11, if ye toke the matter *a right*, ... ye wold reckon this yere as worshipful. | Last Th. 86 C 13, if we *consydered* euerye thyng *a ryght* ... we should neuer see cause to enuy anye manne.
- a sleepe.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1189 G 2, the man wer rocked & songen *a sleepe.*
- a sunder.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1140 G 8, [they] there *seuer* the couples and the kynred *a sunder.*
- a two.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1256 G 1, they feele sharp knyues cutte *a two* their hert strynges.
- a waye.* Jest p. D 7, To fall in sute, Tyll he *dispute*, His money cleane away. | Passion 1323 C 2, *washe* it *a waye.*
- a woorke.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1124 (= 1202) F 1, such busy folke whom this deuill ... *setteth a woorke.* | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1202 E 7, [he] ... *setteth* them *a woorke* with manye maner humbling busines.
- a worth.* Dial. Her. 271 E 8, God accepteth and *taketh* them well *a worth* be thei neuer so badde.

This *a* is a worn-down proclitic form of the O. E. preposition *an*, *on*. The spelling in two words (*a right*) may be looked upon as a proof that by More's time the word *a* was still felt as a preposition. The usage dates from Old English. *A flote* seems to have been *on flote* up to More's time (see OED s. v. *afloat*). In Pres. D. Eng. *afloat*, *alow*, *amiss*, *aright*, *asunder*, *awork* (in *to set awork*) are still used as predicative adjuncts. (*To take*) *a worth* has become obsolete. For *afire* we find more often *on fire* now; *a two* has been replaced by *in two* as the regular prose form. *To set cocke a hoope* (of obscure origin) has dropped into disuse. The group *a fled* in the following quotation, though formally resembling the type *a fire*, has an entirely different origin, it being a form of the verb *to aflee* = *to flee away* (OED s. v. *afled*).

Jest p. 4 F 10, He shoke his eares, And from grete feares, He thought hym well *a fled*.

Besides *a fire*, *a two* and *a worth* More also uses *on fire*, *in twayne* and *in worth* :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1260 H 3, to inflame our kaye cold hertes, & *set* them *on fyre.* | Dial. Her. 138 B 5, I haue sene some ... *cleue* the pricke *in twayne.* | Dial. Her. 275 B 5, God ... *taketh* thew wel *in worth* and imputeth no blame vnto them.

It should be noted that in More the word after *a* is not a verb. Combinations like *a-wash*, *a-bask*, *a-swim*, *a-tremble*,

are later formations on the analogy of the type *a sleep* by taking the noun as a verb.

The O. E. type *on þissre wisan* is represented in More by *a this fashion* :

Answer 1117 E 4, there is nothing left out, but euery such thyng there wrytten in with expresse wordes, or els may he neuer make himself so sure, and face it out *a this fashion* with expresse woordes, that sauing the very plaine expresse wordes of scripture, we be no man of vs bounden to belieue nothing els.

This idiom became obsolete after Shakespeare :

All's Well II, iii, 265, Why dooest thou garter vp thy armes *a this fashion* ?

133. d. The predicative adjunct is preceded by *for*.

1. (PRO)NOUNS.

to accompt for. Picus 16 G 3, [they] *accompt it for nothing*.

to account for. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1252 G 12, That seruant euery man *accounteth for a prowde onthrift*.

to accustom for. Dial. Her. 124 D 1, [it is] wel knowen that the worship of saints and ymages ben alowed, approbate, & *accustomed for good ... vertues*.

to affirm for. Apol. (Wks.) 859, which the whole catholyke church *affirmeth for scripture*.

to agree for. Dial. Her. 113 A 12, I wolde ... well *agre them for heresies*.

to allow for. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1164 H 11, you cannot se, for what cause I shold geue any preeminence in comfort vnto tribulacion, but rather *allow prosperity for the thyng more comfortable*. | Apol. 86, these that thus saye thys pacyfyer *alloweth for folke wyse & dyscrete*. — See also *to accustom for*.

to approbate for, see *to accustom for*.

to assigne for. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1144 A 1, I wil ... *assigne for the fyrst comfort*, the desire and longing to be by god comforted.

to avow for. Conf. Tynd. 400 C 14, [they] *avowe theyr filthie lecherye, for honeste wedlocke*.

to hyleue for. Dial. Her. 161 C 14, no thing is to be *hyleued for a sure trouth*, but if...

to condemn for. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1175 B 1, therefore they *condemne it for superstitious foly*.

to declare for. Answer 1037 H 14, Tindal had in his letter also *declared him for a fole*.

to denie for. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1153 D 10, the olde interpretours of scripture ..., of whom they *denie not manye for holye saints*.

to esteme for. Rich. 36 E 1, common people, whiche oftentimes more *esteme and take for greater kindenesse*, a lyttle courtesye, then a greate benefyte.

- to fear for.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1181 H 14, the beast that we heare rore in the darke night of tribulacion, and feare it *for a lion*.
- to feyne for.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1250 E 9, Jupiter (whom the Poetes feyne *for the great God*)...
- to find for.* Conf. Tynd. 402 F 15, But if Tyndall fynd this *for a faulte*, he must go farre aboue his viii C. yere,
- to know for.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1206 E 1, they *knewe him for the chiefe* of the Publicanes.
- to professe for.* Apol. (Wks.) 887 H 8, no manne woulde *professe hymselfe for hys accuser*.
- to put for.* Apol. (Wks.) 846 A 9, they are fayn to *put for faultes* in my wryting, suche thinges as ... shall appeare their owne faultes.
- to misreporte for.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1209 H 12, *misreporte hym for a hypocrite*.
- to reken for.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1252 E 4, To suffer the thing for Christes fayth that we worldly wretched fooles wene wer vilany & shame: the blessed apostles *rekened for great glory*.
- to repunte for.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1195 F 8, One wist I my selfe, that had been long *reputed for a righte honest man*.
- to take for.* Last Th. 83 A 2, *take themself for quick saintes*. | Picus 18 C 1, That thing a manne *taketh for his god*. | Last Th. 84 H 2, we toke ... true figure *for a fantasye*.
- to warraunt for.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1144 G 13, we cannot so well warraunt that mynde *for a cause* of so great counforle.

2. ADJECTIVES.

- to accompt for.* Apol. (Wks.) 882 D 8, thys pacifier *accompteth them for discrete*.
- to affirm for.* Apol. (Wks.) 871 E 4, suche fautes as he speaketh of, he saithe them not as of hymselfe, nor *affyrmeth them not for trewe*.
- to agre for.* Dial. Her. 161 B 14, he will not *agre it for euident* be it neuer so plain.
- to alow for.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1252 C 6, it is *alowed and approued for very precious*.
- to approve for, see to alow for.*
- to auauunce for.* Apol. (Wks.) 883 H 16, there was none that one man named and *auaunced for good*, but fīue for that one reiected him.
- to host for.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1238 F 13, the bondage that almost euery man is in that *hosteth hymselfe for free*. | Answer 1038 B 3, one whom the brethren *host for so wyse*.
- to choose for.* Dial. Her. 209 C 12, his iudges which are elect and *chosen for indifferent*.
- to confess for.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1145 E 7, he ... *confessed hymselfe a sinner*, and God *for good and ryghtuous*.
- to elect for, see to choose for.*
- to graunt for.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1140 C 5, I cannot but *graunte it for trewe*.

to ludge for. Dial. Her. 209 H 3, plain profe shold we haue, ere we should *ludge* any man *for* so euill.

to know for. Apol. 95, they knowe them *for* good and thynke them good. | Dial. C. 214, whom he knoweth *for* wel learned and vertuous.

to knowledge for. Last Th. 86 H 4, one that he ... *knowledgeth for* a great dele *his better*.

to name for, see *to auounce for*.

to perceiue for. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1194 D 12, he cannot make vs *perceiue* it *for* such.

to reckon for. Last Th. 86 G 10, Take me one that *rekeneth* hymselfe *for* woorschypfull.

to shake off for. Apol. (Wks.) 857 A 10, [he woulde] *shake* of the question *for* nought.

to take for. Last Th. 83 D 5, Wher now by theyr pride *taking* themselfe *for* good where they be nought, they bee far from al occasion of amendment.

to tell for. Dial. Her. 125 D 1, it wer hard for them to beleue that euerye man lieth which *telleth* the[se] a tale *for* trew that reason & nature semyth to shew them to be false & impossible.

This very frequent use of *for* before a predicative adjunct is an outstanding feature of More's language and gives it a strikingly obsolete character. Only with a small number of verbs has the usage survived into Pres. D. Eng. It was known in older English :

c 1000 Ælfric, Deut. xxxi, 20, And *tellaþ* min wed *for* naht (OED).

13... E. E. Allit. P., C. 519, cum & *cnaue* me *for* kyng (OED).

1340 Ayenb. 214, Al þane time þet þou ne þengst naht a god, þou hise *aselt rekeni uor nagt* (OED).

1340-70 Alex. & Dind. 697, Iuno ... 3e *iuggen* *for* noble.

1393 Gower, Conf. i 17, Lo, how they *feignen* chalk *for* chese (OED).

c 1400 Mandev. Trav. 114, 12, men *holden* hire *for* fals and cursed (M.).

c 1400 Mandev. Trav. 136, 14, In þat contree wommen þat ben vn-
married þei han tokenes on hire hedes lych coronales to ben *known*
for vnmarried (M.).

c 1400 Mandev. Trav. 210, 10, his seyde conseil, Be the whiche my
boke was *preued for trewe* (M.).

c 1400 Mandev. Trav. 151, 1, Many philosophers þet ben *preued for*
wise men... (M.).

1450 Cov. Myst. 169, I *know* the(e) *for my* lorde (OED).

1450 Cov. Myst. 138, *knowlyche* thiself *ffor* a cockewold (OED).

1477 Earl Rivers, Dictes 38, As a leche is not *reputed* nor *taken for*
goode nor *connyng* that ... can not hele him selfe (OED).

1480 Caxton, Descr. Ireland, 6-1, It is *accounted for* a myracle (OED).

Instances in older English with the other verbs occurring in More with the *for*-construction have not been found. The

idiom seems to have escaped the attention of the editors and the compilers of OED with a great number of verbs; unrecorded are : *accustom for*, *affirm for*, *agree for*, *advance for*, *approve for*, *boast for*, *condemn for* ¹⁾, *confess for*, *declare for*, *esteem for*, *fear for* ²⁾, *find for*, *graunt for*, *name for*, *perceive for*, *profess for*, *put for*, *shake off for* and *warrant for*; the earliest instances of the usage with the following verbs are later than More : *allow for* (1593); *assign for* (a 1665); *avow for* (1530); *condemn for* (1632); *deny for* (1588) ³⁾; *elect for* (1777); *esteem for* (1671).

134. e. The predicative adjunct is preceded by *as*.

to admit as. Answer 1022 B 12, I admit the case *as possible*.

to consider as. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1220 C 5, consider them *as thinges sette by* and beloved.

to kepe as. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1220 E 5, some that *kepe* theyr riches *as a thing pleasaunt*.

to make as. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1226 E 14, lawes that are *made as a bucler*.

to shew as. Rich. 64 E 10, the recorder so tempered his tale, that he *shewed* euery thing *as the dukes wordes* and no part his owne.

to take as. Rich. 47 B 5, eyther parte *taketh* other *as Traytours*. | Rich. 68 C 13, the protector left that name and *toke* himself *as King*.

Though *as* is perhaps as old as *for* and *to* as an introducing particle to a predicative adjunct, it became common much later. If we compare the frequency of the constructions with *as* and of those with *for* in More, the conclusion suggests itself that the *as*-construction was still in a nascent state. It has, however, gone on replacing *to* and *for*, with the result that it has become the modern favourite, especially used to stress the identity between the object and the predicative adjunct when this is a noun. The dates of earliest quotation in OED of this usage with *consider* and *take* are 1797 and 1531

¹⁾ With *as* instead *for* : 1601 Shaksp., Tw. N. III, iv, 141, I could condemne it *as* an improbable fiction.

²⁾ Without any preposition before the predicative adjunct : 1593 Shaksp. 3 Henry VI, v, vi, 12, The Theefe doth *feare* each bush *an officer*.

³⁾ Shaksp., L. L. L. iv, iii, 119, Thou *for* whom Ioue would sweare ... And *denie* himselfe *for Ioue*.

respectively. *Admit as, keep as, make as, show as* are not recorded in OED.

Only one quotation has been found in More in which the predicative adjunct is preceded by *as for* :

Last Th. 102 F 5, we *take it as for a laughyng matter* and a sports.

In Chaucer we read : c 1386 Clerkes T. 251, Thy doghter wol I *take ... as for my wife*.

In Pres. D. Eng. this idiom is unknown.

135. f. The predicative adjunct is an *adverb*.

Post-position of the adverb.

out. Rich. 50 A 13, they reckon no pryvilege broken, though thei fetche *him out*. | Picus 14 H 13, These great fortunes lift vp a man hie, and setteth *him out* to the shew. | Conf. Tynd. 496 A 3, Tindall rymeth *it out*. | Apol. (Wks.) 817 C 9, if the reader leaue my *woordes out*.

off. Rich. 54 F 14, I wil not to dinner til I se *thy hed of*. | Dial. C. 214, [they] ... can never ful caste *it of*.

away. Answer 1600 B 6, let them ... make a crosse and blesse *it away*. | Jest p. 1 D 8, Tyll he dispute, *His money* cleane *away*.

up. Lett. 1435 F 10, [she] bringeth *her own up* very vertuously and well. | Last. Th. 80 E 5, medicines ... to cloute *them vp* with al. | Conf. Tynd. 713 C 3, as for al other sinnes ..., faith saith he ... suppeth *them al vp*.

forth. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1221 G 6, he brought *it euen blontly forth*.

down. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1262 G 8, he [the devil] neuer runneth vppon a manne...till he see *hym downe*. *back*.

Post-position of the (pro)noun

Apol. (Wks.) 860 B 9, [he] lometh *out his...sentence*. | Apol. (Wks.) 866 E 7, they furnishe *oute theyr processe* wyth lyenge. | Apol. (Wks.) 847 A 2, I tooke some payn to set *out theyr argumentes*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1222 C 5, the cumbraunce that he had to study *out a better*.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1248 C 4, the daughter of Herodias deltyed them with her daunsyng, till with her daunsyng she daunsed *of Saynt Johns head*.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1205 H 14, But as I sayd, to geue *away all* ... that fynde I no commaundement of.

Picus 14 H 13, These great fortunes lift *vp a man hie*. | Last Th. 94 G 7, while theyr executours ... ransake *vp their sackes*. | Supplic. 335 E 11, with herawdes at our hearses, & offring *vp our helmets*, setting *vp oure skouchin & cote armours* on the wall.

Picus 13 G 14, spurre *forth thine hors*.

Conf. Tynd. 347 D 10, Byrte ... aduised Constantine ... to call *backe hys confession*.

<i>in.</i> Dial. C. (Wks.) 1221 G 4, some ... proper waye to bryng <i>it in</i> with all.	Passion 1342 H 9, These men that betwene the father and the sonne bring vs <i>in</i> not <i>an</i> vnitie of nature but of wil...
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In some of the cases instanced above the predicative adjunct character of the adverb is clear (e. g. *till he see hym downe*); in others, however, it is doubtful (e. g. *bring up*; *furnish out*); here the collocation verb + adverb is almost a compound verb. The freedom to place the adverb either before or after the object ¹⁾ seems to have existed in earlier English :
a 1300 Curs. M. 297, If þou ta þe light awai. | a 1300 Curs. M. 14318, He had ... of þe tumb take of þe lidd.

In Modern English it is a common feature. Yet there is a difference between the usage in More and in the language of to-day, since More also places the pronouns in post-position, a process unknown now :

Rich. 38 G 4, the kyng liftinge *oppe himselfe* ... sayd vnto them... | Lett. 1435 F 8, sith I haue married her mother & brought *op her* of a child as I haue brought *op you*.

The order of words in the last quotation is apparently brought about by the necessity to bring out the contrast between *her* and *you*.

In Ben Jonson we read :

Ev. Man Out of his H., iv, v, 28, I warrant you, though he turns off *them*, he keeps his tailor, in place of a page, to follow him still.

INDIRECT OBJECT

136. If there is only one object in a syntactical unit the term indirect object is in the majority of cases out of place, as it is not practicable to make a differentiation based on facts existing in the language either of More or of to-day, in which separate forms corresponding to what in other languages are termed dative or accusative cases are unknown. The objects in *he helps me* ²⁾, *he touches me*, *it favours him*, *we profit ourselves* (Picus 7 E 4) will therefore not be looked upon as different in kind from those in *he sees me*, *he believes it*, etc.

¹⁾ Also when the adjunct has the form of a *two*, a *sunder* : Dial. C. (Wks.) 1140 G 8, [they] seuer the couples ... a *sunder*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1256 G 1, sharp knyues cutte a *two* their hert strynges.

²⁾ The meaning of the verb offers no help : in some languages *to help* stands with the dative, in others with the accusative.

There are, however, a few cases (e. g. *me thinketh*) in which the objects so clearly represent persons as involved or concerned in an activity directed towards them that they are realised as a kind of recipients. It seems defensible to call these complements to the verbal idea indirect objects.

Last Th. 83 G 3, *me thinketh* that the remembrance of deeth, may right easily mend it. | Rich. 43 E 2, Ah woo *worthe him*. | Rich. 59 F 10, I mary where *it liketh me*. | Dial. C. 321, the thing *semeth me* so plain. | Apol. 49, they speke *me* fayre. | Dial. C. 295, I wyll be at mine owne libertye to do what *me lyst* myselfe.

Sometimes the receptive character of the indirect object is emphasized by means of prepositions :

Picus 22 C 11, *To him* be al al honour and lowly reuerence. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1167 D 5, al that good meryte groweth *to the* wealthe manne not by his wealthe. | Lett. 1422 H 2, the boke *to me* semed such as myselfe would not haue giuen mine owne aduise to the making.

The following quotations contain a special kind of indirect object :

Dial. Her. 120 F 1, Moreover loke *me* thorow christendome and I suppose ye shall finde the frute of those offerynges a right small parte of the lyuynge of the clergy. | Conf. Tynd. 381 E 7, will ye see that it is so ? Go *me* to Martin Luther.

The word *me* denotes the person who has an emotional or sympathetic interest in the statement or action. These "emotional" objects occur more frequently when there is a direct object as well (see §§ 153 & 154).

REFLEXIVE OBJECTS

137. The reflexive object is a compound pronoun.

The forms of this compound pronoun are *myself(e)*, *yourself(e)*, *thysself(e)*, *our(e)self(e)*, *themself(e)*. They are frequently written in two words. The forms *meself*, *usself*, *theeself* etc. are not used by More ; they had dropped into disuse before his time (Morris 1895 § 166) ¹⁾.

to accustom. Apol. 50, he *accustomed hymself* to...

to appoint. Rich. 49 D 10, yf you *appoint yourselfe* to tary here.

to bewray. Dial. Her. 255 H 4, sodenly the fonde felowe *bewrayed hym selfe* vnware.

to bless. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1200 H 1, [let him] *blesse himself* and call vnto God and pray.

¹⁾ *Theirselves* is used as an emphatic pronoun in : Dial. Her. 121 A 1, good bishops haue used them *theyselues*.

- to burn.* Last Th. 85 B 5, as the fire of the burnyng hyl of Ethna burneth only it self.
- to custom.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1144 E 1, if we custome our selfe to put our trust ... in ... worldlye thinges.
- to deceiue.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1216 H 8, we deceiue oure selfe.
- to depriue.* Picus 19 E 11, it were foly for a man vtterly to depriue himself from al pleasures.
- to discerne.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1227 C 1, [shal ... teach them] better to discerne themself.
- to driue.* Last Th. 100 G 1, [we] driue our self in sicknes.
- to drown.* Apol. (Wks.) 905 H 8, [he] drowned hymselfe in a well. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1193 B 2, [they] ranne into a water and drowned themselfe.
- to embusie.* Dial. Her. 242 E 10, Plato ... forbiddeth suche as be not admitted therunto, ... to medle much and embusie themself in reasoning ... vpon the temporal lawes of the citie.
- to endeour.* Apol. (Wks.) 870 D 5, eyther parte endeour theymselfe ... to repressse ... those euyl ... folke. | idem 860 E 6.
- to enforce.* Picus 5 A 9, of all these new doctours, he specially commendeth saint Thomas, as him that enforceth himself in a sure pillar of trueth.
- to enhaunce.* Boke of F. p. 2 A 2, he that out of pouertee and mischaunce, list for to liue, and wyll hym selfe enhaunce, in wealth & richesse...
- to ensemble.* Apol. (Wks.) 920 G 12, openly by day they ensembled themselfe together to the nnumber of an hundred.
- to entangle.* Conf. Tynd. 568 D 11, he must eyther lye loublynge styll therein ..., and the more he stryeth therewith the more alwaye meshe and entangle hym selfe.
- to exalt.* Apol. (Wks.) 875 D 12, [they] haue ... exalted themselfe in their own sight.
- to flatter.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1228 B 1, flatred they themselfe with neuer so gay a glose of good ... purpose, yet...
- to fense.* Picus 8 D 14, fensyng my selfe with the crucifixe...
- to forswear.* Dial. C. 194, flue hundred hasardes that ... sweare and forswear themself.
- to garnish up.* Picus 29 A 1, Garnish thy selfe op in as goodly wise...
- to giue.* Picus 3 C 3, After this, ... he gaue him self whole to speculation.
- to hang.* Dial. C. 218, she hong herselfe.
- to hide.* Picus 2 F 13, a swarme of bees ..., hiding them selfe among the clowdes.
- to humble.* Picus 25 A 1, Christ ... Humbled himselfe for vs.
- to ieopard.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1204 D 8, For the thyng that folke sore long for, they will make many shiftes to geatte, and ieopard themselfe therefore.

to imagine. Last. Th. 75 A 4, *Imagine your self in the same case.*

to labour. Conf. Tynd. 800 H 9, *we labour our selfe with penance.* | Conf. Tynd. 439 F 9, *and god will help while he labourerth himself to land.*

to lift up. Rich. 38 G 4, *the kynge liftinge oppe himselfe...*

to lyke. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1221 H 14, *I lyked my selfe the better, because mee thoughte my woordes beeynge but a straungyer, wente yet with some grace in the Almain tong.* | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1221 F 9, *he had in a great audience made an oracion in a certayne māner, wherein he liked him selfe so well, that at his diner he sat him thought on thornes, till he myghte here how thei ... woulde commende it.*

to lye. Apol. (Wks.) 843 C 15, *yet in this heresie he sore abhorreth hys heresie, or els he lyeth himselfe.*

to medle. Apol. (Wks.) 869 C 3, *he shoulde not medle hymselfe in the matter.*

to meeke. Apol. (Wks.) 873 A 1, *tyll you meeke your selfe ..., thys anger of your husband will neuer be well appeased.*

to mesh, see to entangle.

to misordre. Dial. Her. 210 C 7, *there mai percase fauour, ... or some other affeccion inclyne him to misordre him self in the mater.*

to misseuse. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1200 D 4, *douting ouermuch lest they shold misseuse themself, [they] leue the thinges vndoone.*

to myssetake. Apol. (Wks.) 889 D 2, *those that haue mysse taken them self.* | Apol. 104, *[they] did not mysse take them selfe at all.*

to name. Aut. Lett. vi, 55, *a simple person an almaine naming hymselfe seruant vn to the kinges grace ¹⁾.*

to open. Dial. Her. 269 G 13, *Loe now bi this ye haue somewhat opened your self vnware, and declared your oppinion in this matter to bee farre other than ye said before.*

to order. Conf. Tynd. 643 F 13, *the Jeewes were bounden by the letter of the lawe, to order themselfe in that wyse toward their oxen.*

to ouersee. Dial. Her. 145 H 7, *[they] cannot well come thereon, but misse and ouersee themselfe in the assaye.*

to ouershote. Apol. (Wks.) 916 E 12, *they might ... ouershote themself.*

to payne. Picus 31 D 9, *A very loue will his loue obaye, His ioye it is ... To payne himselfe in all that euer he maye.*

to profit. Picus 7 E 1, *In louing him [scil. God] also we more profit our self, we labour lesse & serue him more.*

to proue. Bless. B. 1265 F 8, *Let a man proue him self ²⁾ and so eate that breade, and drinke of that cuppe. But than in what wyse shall we proue our selfe.*

¹⁾ The same idea is expressed by *to bear oneself for*: Aut. Lett. vi, 94, *He bare hymselfe in almain for the kinges seruant & hosted that he had a yerely pention of his grace of filtie markes.*

²⁾ = *probet se ipsum homo.*

- to retrete.* Conf. Tynd. 447 A 8, They flee by night and *retrete* *themselt* in the darke.
- to repent.* Apol. (Wks.) 881 C 8, [he] *repented hymselfe* and came into the church agayne.
- to rest.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1203 D 20, they wold not *rest* *themselt*.
- to rid out.* Apol. (Wks.) 856 F 5, he woulde ... haue shaken of the mater, and *ridde hymselfe oute* honestlye.
- to rule.* Last Th. 97 D 2, Is it not a bestly thing to se a man that hath reson, so to *rule hymselfe*.
- to submit.* Apol. (Wks.) 861 A 5, *submytting hymselfe* to that ablucion.
- to transfigure.* Apol. (Wks.) 887 C 2, heretikes like the aunghels of Sathan *transefiguring them self* into the likenes of anngelles of light.
- to use.* Apol. (Wks.) 871 F 11, no man canne *use hymselfe* ... more myldelye. | Apol. (Wks.) 923 G 2, the spiritual iudges missehandle those matters, & *use* *themselt* therein cruelly. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1200 D 4, doutyng ouermuch lest they shold misseuse *themselt*, [they] leue the thinges vndoone wherin they might *use* *themselt* well.

138. The reflexive object is a personal pronoun.

- to advise.* Prayer 1419 D 8, we haue somewhat *advised vs* theron. | Picus 25 D 6, When thou laborest thy pleasure for to bye, Uppon the price looke thou *thee* well *aduisse*.
- to arme.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1181 E 11, our whole host was warned to *arme* *them* in hast.
- to beke.* Boke of F. p. 4 C 6, against the sonne *Bekyth hym* poore Diogenes in his tonne.
- to bethinke.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1172 A 14, we neuer found of worldly recreacion so muche comforte in a yere, as we should fynde in the *bethynkyng vs* of heauen in lesse than half an houre. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1141 F 9, I *bethought me*.
- to botch vp.* Last. Th. 100 G 1, [we] drieue our self in sicknes, & *botch vs vp* with phisick.
- to confirme.* Picus 17 C 16, Kindle thee when thou waxest colde, *confirme thee* when thou wauerest.
- to coumforte.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1263 A 8, let vs ... *coumforte vs* with hope.
- to fence.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1263 A 8, let vs *fence vs* with fayth.
- to get.* Apol. (Wks.) 873 E 11, I pray you ... *gete you* shortly hense. | Apol. (Wks.) 888 B 3, should he lette hym walke abroad vppon hys promyse to appere agayne, whyche Frith were lykely to breake and *geate hym* ouer sea. | Dial. Her. 283 A 17, as sone as he *gate him* hence, he *gate him* to Luther straight. | Rich. 61 E 12, the preacher *gate him* home & neuer after durst looke out for shame. | Jest p. 2 E 3, To saint Katherine Straight as a line, He

- gate him at a tyde.* | Last Th. 75 G 12, if ther be but these two steppes to heauen, he that *getteth hym* on the tone is halfe vp. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1251 B 2, when he perceyueth hymself drunke and *geatteth hym faire* to bedde.
- to go.* Apol. (Wks.) 921 G 10, with such good hope, the good manne *goeth him home*.
- to grieue.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1253 C 10, a man may haue hys legge stricken of ... and *grteue him* not.
- to hye.* Jest p. 4 C 4, The mayd and wyfe ... *Hyed them* vpward.
- to kepe.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1250 E 14, the snayle *kept her* at home, and would not come thereat.
- to kindle.* Picus 17 C 15, *Kindle thee* when thou waxest colde.
- to knele.* Dial. Her. 165 A 12, and so would I haue done I thinke *knele me* down and make my special prayour.
- to lay down.* Rich. 39 H 3, the king ... *laide him* down.
- to maruail.* Conf. Tynd. 254 A 12, I *maruail me* ¹⁾ much how he fell into such a heap of heresies.
- to remember.* Last Th. 93 C 8, I *remember me* of a thefe once cast at Newgate. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1183 D 13, I *remember me* that among other of her fond tales, she told vs once, that...
- to sit (set).* Apol. (Wks.) 884 H 5, [he] *sate hym downe* & sighed. | Rich. 53 H 16, and sone after ... he returned ... and ... *sat him down*, in his place. | Rich. 41 E 16, incontinente after that they were ... departed ..., the Dukes secretlye ... *sette them downe* in counsaile.
- to shriue.* Rich. 54 F 11, except the lorde Chamberlen, whom the protectour bade spede & *shryue hym* a pace.
- to squat.* Passion 1359 H 11, when thou hadest ietted thy fil [thou woldest] *squat the[e] down* fair & wel in a chaire.
- to styrre.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1254 A 5, so shold he be kild lying, where he could not *styrre him*.

139. This selection may suffice to show that the complementing of the verbal idea by means of a reflexive object was an extremely common idiom in More's English. The form of this reflexive complement was not yet stabilized, both the simple and the compound pronoun being used in this function. The latter, which about a century earlier (e. g. Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*) was still in the minority ²⁾, seems to have won so

¹⁾ That this *me* is not an indirect object of interest (§ 154), but distinctly a reflexive complement, may be gathered from the following quotation : Debell. 929 D 4, whan I since considered how lyttle nede it was, I *meruailed mine own self* and repented.

²⁾ Dekker 1932 § 62; Koziol 1932 p. 70 : "Die einfache Form ist im M. E. noch häufiger als die verstärkte".

much ground in the meantime that in More's language it had succeeded in obtaining a secure footing by the side of the simple personal pronoun. Whether it had already begun to oust the shorter form, it is not possible to ascertain, though its greater frequency points that way ¹⁾.

In many cases More's use of either the simple or the compound pronoun was apparently determined by the requirements of rhythm or euphony :

Personal Pronoun

bethink. Apol. (Wks.) 883 H 12,
At that they paused a little and
began to *bethinke them*.

behave. Dial. Her. 107 E 13, [he]
studyeth more howe he may
behaue him, than what he shall
say.

comfort. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1263 A 8,
let vs ... *coumforte vs* with hope.

draw. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1195 D 4,
the feare of falling into Charib-
dis ... shall neuer let any wise
maister therof, to *draw him* fro
Scilla toward Charibdis fyrst...

excuse. Apol. (Wks.) 865 3 2, the
good brethrene *excuse theim* and
saye...

feel. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1263 B 6,
when we *feeles vs* to holde ...
remember our owne sieblenesso.

fence. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1263 A 8,
let vs *fence vs* with fayth.

hide. Passion 1274 (= 1276) G 10,
I was naked, and therefore I *hyd*
me.

prepare. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1262 C 4,
Let vs ... *prepare vs* in our mind
therto.

quit. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1242 D 4, I
had went I had *quit me* well.

Compound Pronoun

Apol. (Wks.) 883 C 2, [he] *bethought*
himselfe what meane he myght
inuent.

Picus 5 B 12, where he so *behaued*
him self, that was wondre to
beholde, how all the audience
reioyced.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1139 H 3, *comfort-*
ing himself therwith...

Jest p. 2 D 14, [he] would not go,
Companied so, But *drewe him-*
self a side.

Rich. 53 G 9, the protectour came
in ... *excusing hymself* that he
had ben from them so long.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1263 G 5, now be-
gynne I to *feeles my selfe* some-
what werye.

Picus 8 D 14, *fensyng my selfe*
with the crucifixe.

Passion 1274 (= 1276) G 3, for
shame thei fel in a feare, and
fled and *hydde them selfe*.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1262 C 1, let vs
prepare our self with prayer.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1221 H 12, mee
thoughte ... for my parte, I
quytte my selfe metelye wel.

¹⁾ The longer forms also outnumber the simple pronouns in Berners (Klausmann 1919 § 60) and in Caxton (Kellner 1890 § 10).

turn. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1236 G 8,
then saith holys scripture: Bonis
omnia cooperantur in bonum,
vnto good folke al things *turne*
them to good.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1144 C 6, He that ...
tourneth hymselfe vnto worldly
vanities...

140. There is, however, a group of verbs which, in More, are almost exclusively construed with a personal pronoun, e. g. *to get*, *to go*, *to hie*, *to sit*, *to stir*, all verbs of motion or position ¹⁾, which in Old English had a dative pronoun as a kind of redundant object (Sweet 1903 § 1106): *hi eodon heom*; *hi fleoþ him*; *heo sæt hire*. The usage still lingers in Pres. D. Eng. in poetical or archaic language:

1854 Patmore, Angel I, II, IX, 225, The foolish *hie them* post haste through. | 1888 J. S. Winter, *Bootle's Childr.* XIII, Come and *sit you* down by the fire. | 1892 *Cosmopolitan* XIII 727, So I may *go me* to mass, mamma, Along with my coal man lover (OED).

141. How far reflexivity has fallen off since More's time may be gathered from the lists of quotations in §§ 137-139. Quite a number of constructions illustrated there are obsolete or archaic now: *to appoint oneself*, *to beek oneself*, *to bewray oneself*, *to bless oneself* ²⁾, *to botch oneself*, *to confirm oneself*, *to custom oneself*, *to discern oneself*, *to embusy oneself*, *to endeavour oneself*, *to ensemble oneself*, *to garnish oneself*, *to grieve oneself*, *to humble oneself*, *to ieopard oneself*, *to labour oneself*, *to marvel oneself*, *to meek oneself*, *to misorder oneself*, *to mistake oneself*, *to misuse oneself*, *to name oneself*, *to open oneself*, *to oversee oneself*, *to order oneself*, *to pain oneself*, *to prove oneself*, *to quit oneself*, *to retreat oneself*, *to rule oneself*, *to shrive oneself* and *to use oneself*.

The construction *I liked myself* may have developed out of the impersonal *it liked me*:

c 1205 Layamon 8746, *Hit þe likede wel þæt þu us adun læidest.* | a 1300 Cursor M. 28336, *I ha me liked ai vm-quile In vnnait wordes.*

The latest quotation in OED is:

1549 Chaloner, Erasm. on Folly, F ij b, Yet dooe these my old gurlies not a little *lyke their selves* herein.

¹⁾ cf. French *s'en aller*, *s'agenouiller*, *s'asseoir*, etc.

²⁾ = to make the sign of the cross.

The following verbs are now often or mostly used without reflexive complement : *to hide, to meddle, to mesh, to profit, to repent, to submit* and *to prepare*. The verb *to behave* is now used without reflexive object, except when it means *to conduct oneself with propriety* (chiefly when said of children).

142. When the reflexive object is accompanied by a predicative adjunct we also find both the simple and the compound pronouns :

feel + pers. pron. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1263 B 6, when we *feel vs to holde*.
+ comp. pron. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1263 G 5, [I] *feelee my selfe somewhat werye*.

hold + pers. pron. Boke of F. p. 6 D 6, *Holde you content*.
+ comp. pron. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1241 H 2, [if he] *hold hymself content*.

keep + pers. pron. Apol. (Wks.) 881 D 12, [they were] *fayne to finde a place to hide their heades, or to kepe them from prison finde some other shift*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1250 E 14, the *snayle kept her at home*.

+ comp. pron. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1190 C 14, he *kepe hymself close in hys warme denne*. | Picus 4 C 3, he had *muche worke to kepe him self vpright*.

In Pres. D. Eng. the pers. pron. is no longer used in this function ; *to feel* + predicative adjunct is mostly construed with neither of the two pronouns.

RECIPROCAL OBJECTS

143. The reciprocal objects appear under the forms *eche (to) other, either other* and *together*.

Eche (to) other. Last Th. 81 A 3, the conflict of the diuers qualified elementes in our body, continually laboring *ech to vanquish other*. | Rich. 38 H 6, For it suffiseth not that al you loue them, yf *eche of you hate other*. | Picus 1 C 3, they desire *eche to other* that yere a good continuance.

Either other. Last Th. 96 F 10, if we loue *ether other...* | Rich. 47 B 3, yf the Crowne happen ... to comme in question, whyle *eyther parte* taketh *other* as Traytours...

Together. Conf. Tynd. 460 H 1, Tyndales wordes *fight together*. | Rich. 39 D 5, Oure Lorde forbydde, that you loue *together* the worse, for the selfe cause that you ought to loue the better. | Conf. Tynd. 612 A 6, let vs ... see how his diffnition of the churche and hys heresies, will iumper and agree *together* among themselfe. | Dial. Her. 143 A 2, I geue you a new commandement that you

loue *together* as I haue loued you. | Dial. Her. 161 H 5, thei neuer shall wedde *together*.

Together as a reciprocal object is obsolete now. The two words *eyther other* were originally in different grammatical relations, one of them (mostly *either*) being the subject, and the second the object. This is still often the case in More. Later on *either other* like *each other* became a compound and could have the preposition *to* before the group. The collocation has survived in the form *either ... the other* :

1874 Morley, *Compromise* 103, The rights of *either* to disturb *the other*.

The two parts of *each other* can no longer be separated ; they form a compound now, so that *eche to other* has become *to each other*.

Some examples of the usage in earlier English follow :

Together. c 1330 R. Brunne, *Chron. Wace*. 4863, [Men] þat syþen han loued *to gedre wel*. | 1483 *Vulgaria abs. Terentio* 7 b, Scolers shulde loue *to gyder* lyke as thei were bredyr (OED).

Either other. c 1200 Trin. Coll. Hom. 213, þesse wise hiswikeþ her aþer oþer.

Each other. a 1000 *Battle of Maldon* 234, Us is eallum þearf þæt Ure æ3hwyle oþerne bylde. | 1485 *Malory, Arth. ii, vi*, we wil helpe *eche other* (OED).

There is a unique example of *other* as a reciprocal object standing without a correlative *each* or *either* :

Rich. 39 H 7, the lordes recomforting him with as good wordes as they could, ... there in his presence ... forgaue *other*, and ioyned their hands together.

In later use this idiom is only found in Scotch :

1809 *Campbell, Gertrude ii, vi*. We know not *other* — oceans are between.

No examples have been found in More of the use of *themselves* as a reciprocal object, as in

Spenser, *F. Q. vi, i, 4*, They knew *them selves* (S.).

PREPOSITIONAL OBJECTS

144. The use of prepositional groups as objects to the verbal idea was as common in More as it is in Pres. D. Eng. The following selection illustrates obsolete usage only.

abhor from. Picus 4 D 13, *From* the desire of whom he not *abhorring*, ... was somewhat fallen in to wantonnesse. | Conf. Tynd. 807 G 9, Saint Austin *abhorreth from* frere Barns heresie.

- ake of*. Dial. C. 234, *yt his finger dooe but ake of an hoate blaine...*
- attain to*. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1217 E 5, *harme that maye attaine thereto.*
- appoint upon*. Dial. Her. 282 D 11, [the] purpose that they *apjoynt vpon*.
- be in hand with*. Debell. 932 G 11, *bys new booke that we bee nowe in hand wyth.* | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1256 H 7, *the matter that we be in hande with.* | Apol. 51, *the mater wherewith we be now in hande.*
- beck upon* ¹⁾. Last Th. 84 A 8, *them whom he vouchsafeth to take by the hand or beck vpon.*
- beleue on* ²⁾. Dial. Her. 110 D 16, *Christ ... wold neuer haue any man compelled ... to beleue vpon his faith.*
- blabber on* ¹⁾. Last Th. 75 H 4, *it were lesse euil ... to blabber on trifles somewhat sottishly.*
- call unto* ³⁾. Supplic. 288 D 5, *The sely soules ... call vnto vs for help.*
- come to*. Apol. (Wks.) 902 D 13, *I can come to goodes by suche goodlye wayes.*
- comen with*. Rich. 55 C 18, *it happed the lord Chamberlen by the way to stay his horse, and comen a while with a priest.*
- complain upon*. Dial. Her. 181 A 4, *he which would not amende ... should be complayned vpon.*
- confeder with*. Debell. 930 G 13, *other priestes will confeder with him.*
- devise upon* ⁴⁾. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1221 G 2, *deuysing ... vppon some ... proper waye to bryng it in with all...*
- dispute of* ⁵⁾. Answer 1121 E 9, *so holde ... to dispute of goddes ... power.*
- divine upon*. Rich. 37 H 6, *whoso diuineth vppon coniectures, maye as wel shote to farre as to short.* | Rich. 43 F 7, *Then was there greate commocion ... the people diuerselye diuinyng vppon this dealinge.*
- dote in* ⁶⁾. Passion 1271 C 12, [he] began to *dote in* the regarding and beholding of his own beawty.
- dreame on* ⁷⁾. Apol. (Wks.) 877 A 1, *this deuision was neuer dreamed on.*
- ennamored upon*. Rich. 57 A 2, *he was sore enamored vpon her.*
- ensue upon*. Instr. 1407 B 5, *vpon the suche delaye of the death may happily ensue the euerlasting tormentes in hel.*

¹⁾ Not in OED.

²⁾ Still in theological language (OED s. v. believe 1).

³⁾ Now to *call up(on)*. Also occurring in More : Picus 13 B 14, *he shall not heare the[e] when thou callest on hym.*

⁴⁾ Earliest quotation in OED is dated 1592.

⁵⁾ Now to *dispute about* or *on*.

⁶⁾ Now to *dote upon*; also in More : Rich. 54 D 10, *Shores wife on whoe he somewhat doted.*

⁷⁾ Earliest quot. in OED is dated 1592.

- enter into* ¹⁾. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1204 B 15, a ryche manne to *enter into* the kingdome of God.
- entreate of*. Rich. 37 C 4, Richarde ..., of whom we nowe *entreate*.
faile for ²⁾. Last Th. 89 C 8, Why takest thou thought now in thy self, and fearest to *faile for* foode?
- fall in hand with*. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1224 C 3, whan it was offred hym, she *fel in hand with* hym ... and all to ³⁾ rated him.
- follow of*. Last Th. 97 B 11, Of our gloton festes, *foloweth* not only slouth & lechery, but... | Last Th. 75 E 2, it should *therof folow*, that...
- force of*. Conf. Tynd. 345 D 3, he saide that he had alwaye ... taught the gospell of god after hys owne minde ... not *forcing* of the determination of the church.
- force for*. Apol. (Wks.) 874 B 7, he greatly *forced* not for the furtheraunce of the catholike fayth.
- frete at*. Supplic. 302 B 9, he is angry & *freteth at* the spirituall iurisdiccio.
- grudge at*. Boke of F. p. 7 A 1, *Grudge* not there *at*.
- hang by*. Conf. Tynd. 564 D 14, that they repent al their other sinnes as soone as they be rebuked, *hangeth* all *by* the mone shyne.
- hap upon*. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1158 D 10, if hymselfe *happe* *upon* a feruent longing. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1147 B 13, How many get out of prison that *hap on* such harme abroad, as the pryson shuld haue kept them fro.
- harken after*. Last Th. 84 C 14, For thei, albeit their hert ... *harkeneth*, *after* the sessions, yet haue they some hope ... to breke prison the while.
- hast after*. Picus 19 B 10, Now *after* these wordes, ... it *foloweth*. *After* thei *hasted*, that is to say : *after* their ydoles, *after* their passyons and beastly desyres.
- hawk after*. Picus 15 A 11, the aduauntage that ye *hawke after*.
- holde with*. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1177 B 14, for myne owne parte I can not well *holde with* them.
- intend vnto*. Picus 19 E 6, To thend that he may altogether hole haue his mind into heauenward, & the more purely *intend vnto* the contemplacion of heauenly thynges.
- ioyne with*. Aut. Lett. xiv, 194, [the army] ... can neither *ioyne with* the duke to make hym the strengre, nor...

¹⁾ But : Picus 12 H 7, it is very harde for a ryche man to *enter* the kingdome of heauen.

²⁾ Not in OED.

³⁾ This *all to* = *soundly, wholly, utterly* is of frequent occurrence in More : Apol. 872 C 13, *all to buffet* ; Conf. Tynd. 767 C 18, *al to chide* ; Conf. Tynd. 516 E 15 *all to frush* ; Conf. Tynd. 592 A 5, *hath al to rayed* his gay cote ; Conf. Tynd. 803 F 6, he lyeth in the myre *all to tumbled* in dyrt. In Shakesp. : Per. iii. ii, 17. Cf. Schmidt (1902) s. v. *All-to*.

- knaw on*. Rich. 53 H 17, he returned ... frowning and frotting and *knawing on* hys lippes.
- labour about*. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1142 D 3, this thing *laboured* the Philosophers very much *about*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1166 H 3, In *labouryng about* the doynge many good dedes, his labor minysheth his quiete and his reste.
- laugh upon* ¹⁾. Rich. 55 D 4, he *laughed upon* him, as though he would say, ye shal shal haue sone.
- lay against* ²⁾. Dial. Her. 114 H 8, that good holy man *layeth sore against* these carued ... ymages.
- learn at*. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1155 D 1, let him *learne at* me to doe as I haue done.
- look unto* ³⁾. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1186 A 3, when hee [scil. a physician] was hymselfe once sore sycke, I heard his felowes that then *looked unto* hym, ... wyshe ... that for the tyme of hys owne syckenes ... he had knowen no thisike at al.
- look upon* ⁴⁾. Last Th. 75 A 1, Wyll ye see the sample? *Looke vpon* his holy apostles... | Last Th. 89 C 13, *loke vpon* the byrdes in the ayre, they neither sow nor repe.
- make against*. Supplic. 316 E 10, when it [scil. scripture] *maketh against* them, they then ... doe but mocke.
- mean by*. Rich. 71 E 2, What fole quoth the fox thou maist abide wel inough, the lyon *ment not by* thee.
- medle of*. Dial. Her. 114 E 11, *of* his entente ... I will not much *medle*.
- miss of*. Dial. Her. 382 E 15, [the devil] oftentimes *maketh* them *misse* of the vain prayse, wherof only they be so proude.
- mourn at* ⁵⁾. Last Th. 85 C 14, euer since enuy goth forth *mournyng at* euerye mannes welfare.
- need of*. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1169 B 7, other frendes ... for whome I think more than for your self, you *neded of* some counsayle.
- object against*. Rich. 59 H 16, the kinges mother *obiected* openly *against* his mariage.
- prease upon*. Conf. Tynd. 563 G 12, [he would] assaye hym often, and *prease vpon* hym styl, not withoute hope of the mans change to his secte.
- prye upon* ²⁾. Apol. (Wks.) 877 D 7, whoso *prye vpon* euery mannes dede so narrowlye, as to spye that faute.
- procede upon*. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1200 H 15, wretches ... *vpon* whom ... iustice may *procede*.

¹⁾ To *laugh at* also occurs in More: Last Th. 73 G 1, Think not that euery thing is pleasant, that men for madnes *laughe at*.

²⁾ Not in OED.

³⁾ = to attend.

⁴⁾ = to look at.

⁵⁾ Now with *for* or *ouer*.

- pursue upon* ¹⁾. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1193 A 16, certayn holy vertuous virgines ..., being by Gods enemies infideles *pursued vpon* to be defloured by force.
- purpose upon*. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1190 F 12, he fyrmely *purposeth vpon* it.
- rail upon* ²⁾. Apol. (Wks.) 868 H 2, what neede there were that I should *rayle vpon* the clergy.
- ray in*. Conf. Tynd. 614 D 8, I ... shall shew you shortly how angrely he ryseth vp, and royally *rayed in* dirte.
- remit in*. Last Th. 77 A 4, yt oure frailtye coule endure neuer to *remitte* or slake *in* the depe deuising of them...
- repugn at*. Passion 1336 F 1, Now is thys custome so vnyuersall, that neyther laye nor prest ... eyther otherwyse used ..., or anye thyng *repugned therat*.
- rise upon* ³⁾. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1193 D 13, his intent *ryseth vpon* a true reuelacion, and not vpon a false illusion.
- roun with*. Rich. 66 A 13, Vpon this answer geuen, the Duke ... *rouned* ... *with* other noble men about him.
- seek upon*. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1248 B 8, In prison was Joseph while his brethern were at large, and yet after were his brethern fayne to *seke vpon* him for breadde.
- seek (un)to*. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1162 F 12, he *sought vnto* a wiche. | Dial. Her. 131 B 5, First ye speke of *seking* to sayntys for sleight causis, as for the losse or misse of kittes kayes.
- serue of (to)*. Picus 5 D 7, ther was nothing that he more hated ..., considering that thei *serued of* nought but to the shaming of such other folke as wer in very science much better lerned.
- shyft with*. Rich. 51 B 8, he would forthwith depart there with all, and *shyfte* whoso would *with* thys busynes afterwarde.
- shoot at* ⁴⁾. Apol. (Wks.) 876 H 20, I am content to let his 'but' alone, and wyll not *shote therat* for this ones.
- slake in*, see *remit in*.
- sound to*. Picus 1 F 9, any thing that ... *soundeth ... to ...* the ... honoure and laude of God. | Rich. 58 D 1, To lay bastardy in kynge Edward, *sowned* openly *to* the rebuke of the proteclours owne mother.
- stand for* ⁵⁾. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1225 C 4, the parable of the philosopher can lacke no testimony, which lykened the seruauents of great princes vnto the comptours, with which men do cast acompt. For lyke as that countour that *standeth* sometyme *for* a farthing, is

¹⁾ The latest quotation in OED is from Caxton.

²⁾ Now *rail at* or *against*.

³⁾ Not in OED.

⁴⁾ = *to assail with censure*. Now obsolete. Earliest quotation in OED is dated 1586.

⁵⁾ This meaning of *to stand for* is not registered in OED.

sodainly set vp and *standeth* for a thousand pound, and after as sone set downe efte sone beneth to *stand* for a farthing again, so fareth it ... somtyme with those that seeke the waye to rise.

stand in ¹⁾. Apol. (Wks.) 876 D 5, hys lamentable beginning, which *standeth* ... in lamenting the chaunge from the old vertues... into the newe vices. | Picus 13 C 9, I stire thee not to the prayer that *standeth in* many wordes.

stand with. Rich. 40 E 6, [he was] in manye thynges ruled by the beude, more then *stode* either *with* his honour, or our profite.

stick with. Dial. Her. 224 C 7, I wyll not greatly *sticke with* you in that poynte.

stoupe at ²⁾. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1145 E 2, The proude kyng Pharao did abide and endure two or thre of the fyrst plages, & would not ones *stoupe at* them.

study in. Picus 3 B 3, he departed to Bononie to *studye in* the lawes of the church.

sweat in (about). Apol. (Wks.) 904 G 12, his afore remembred heresy that he so *sweatheth in*. | idem 905 A 12, I hearde of late, that he *sweateth about* that matter a fresh.

think (up)on. Apol. (Wks.) 883 F 13, one thing is ther that if ye *thought thereon*, ye woulde I dare say doe fyrste. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1141 H 13, such thynges, as I before haue readde, hearde, or *thought eppon*.

trauail on. Debell. 930 F 3, I longed of their long labour to se some good spede, & some of those faire babes borne that thei *trauailed on*.

understand of. Rich. 60 C 4, when the Erle of Warwick *understode* of this mariage, he tooke it so highly ... that ... he ... assembled a gret puisaunce against the King.

wonder upon. Last Th. 100 H 13, the world *wondereth therupon*.

Verbs of this kind form with their prepositions a sort of compound, the meaning of which can often be expressed by an objective verb without preposition (*to seek unto* = *to visit*; *to rise upon* = *to follow*; etc.). That in More's English the complement after these prepositions was not realised as different in character from an ordinary object is evident from the fact that corresponding passive constructions regularly occur with these compound verbs (e. g. Apol. (Wks.) 877 A 1, *this deuision was neuer dreamed on*) ³⁾. By the side of the verbs listed above, which have a different construction from that

¹⁾ = *to consist in*.

²⁾ = *to yield to*. Not in OED.

³⁾ See the sections on *to be* + past participle (§§ 555 ff.).

in Pres. D. Eng., there occur in More a great number that take the same preposition as in the language of to-day : Picus 5 D 2, *to argue with*; Picus 2 B 8, *to aspire to*; Rich. 69 A 17, *to begin with*; Picus 5 H 10, *to belong to*; Last Th. 76 B 8, *to break into*; Picus 12 E 15, *to consent to*; Supplic. 299 D 14, *to call upon*; Apol. 8, *can away with*; Apol. 43, *to cleue to*; Last Th. 85 A 2, *to come for*; Dial. C. 296, *to delite in*; Instr. 1105 D 5, *to dyspute upon*; Picus 32 B 7, *to gape after*; Dial. C. 163, *to hang upon*; Last Th. 93 B 6, *to here of*; Dial. C. 196, *to hold with*; Apol. 97, *to inueye against*; Rich. 64 A 10, *to ioyne in*; Rich. 56 H 2, *to long for*; Rich. 49 B 12, *to loke to*; Last Th. 94 F 15, *to labor for*; Dial. C. 126, *to leane upon*; Picus 15 A 13, *to look for*; Rich. 61 B 15, *to meet with*; Dial. Her. 118 H 8, *to mock at*; Rich. 66 F 14, *to pay for*; Rich. 56 G 8, *to reioyce in*; Rich. 36 D 4, *to send for*; Dial. Her. 130 H 14, *to sigh for*; Dial. Her. 121 A 7, *to smell of*; Answer 1035 H 14, *to speak against*; Rich. 62 D 1, *to speak of*; Dial. C. 274, *to sticke at*; Dial. C. 148, *to striue with*; Rich. 68 F 11, *to strugle with*; Rich. 53 B 11, *to talk of*; Rich. 45 (= 44) H 3, *to thyrst for*; Rich. 40 E 12, *to thirst after*; Apol. 89, *to treat of*; Boke of F. p. 6 B 5, *to trust in*; Jest p. 2 D 9, *to wayle on*; Dial. Her. 108 B 11, *to write of*; etc.

As the constructions which conform to present-day usage far outnumber those that do not, More's English does not make a distinctly obsolete impression in this respect.

145. Though the prepositions form a kind of semasiological unit with the verb, they may be separated from it by intervening words :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1225 C 9, that *standeth* sometyme *for* a farthing. | Picus 58 D 2, *sowned* openly *to* the rebuke of... | Conf. Tynd. 777 C 2, What groundes ... hath he *to* ... rayle so rially *upon* all the lawes.

146. End-position of the preposition is far from rare. It occurs :

a. In independent units :

Dial. Her. 121 H 6, them we *speke* not *of*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1142 D 3, this thing *laboured* the Philosophers very much *about*. | Conf. Tynd. 398 E 11, Blessing of bishops Tindall *iesteth* *upon* in moe places than one.

Especially in passive constructions :

Apol. (Wks.) 877 A 1, this deuision was neuer *dreamed on*. | Picus 4 F 11, which lessons were so muche the more *set by*.

b. In infinitive constructions equivalent to a clause :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1236 E 2, And therefore ... *to begynne with*, let vs be of good comforte. | Dial. Her. 271 B 6, we haue none ... other chapman *to sel* our ware and our worke *vnto*.

c. In clauses

1. opening with *that* :

Last Th. 73 G 1, Think not that euery thing is plesant, *that* men for madnes *laughe at*. | Answer 1035 H 14, such comunicacion it is *that* thapostle speaketh *against*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1161 H 1, synne *that* he was bred and broughte vp so long *in*. | Debell. 930 F 3, those ... babes ... *that* thei trauailed *on*. | Rich. 55 B 10, I am as sure of the man *that* he woteth *of*, as I am of my own hand.

2. opening with *whom* :

Picus 5 C 14, with the desire of worship ... there is ... annexed the appetite of his confusion and rebuke, *whom* thei argue *with*.

But : Rich. 56 H 1, she not very feruently loued, *for whom* she neuer longed.

3. opening with *which* :

Answer 1043 H 9, he gaue him the name of stone *which* stone he said after he would build hys church *vpon*.

4. opening with *as* :

Aut. Lett. xvi, 12, all such thinges *as* he commaunded me to put yor grace in remembraunce *of*. | Dial. Her. 107 G 8, all suche thinges *as* he brake *of*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1195 A 1, good vertuous folke such *as* himself, ... hath afore longed to stand in estimacion *with*. | Picus 6 D 4, poore nedie people, such *as* him selfe happely coulede not come by the knowlage *of*.

5. in asyndetic attributive clauses :

Dial. Her. 108 B 10, that man ye wrote *of*...

d. For the sake of parallelism, i. e. when the verb + preposition is used in juxta-position with one or more objective verbs without preposition :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1168 D 12, Whoso these thinges *thinketh on*, and *remembreth* well, shall ... neither murmure nor grudge.

The preposition *withall* always has end-position :

Apol. (Wks.) 872 B 4, priestes that so bee dealte *wythall*. | Dial. Her. 139 G 14, yf it were trewe that ye defende the thynges *withall*. | Conf. Tynd. 571 D 11, Fayth is euer assaulted and fought *withall*. | Last Th. 88 B 12, hym that we be wrothe *withal*. | Conf. Tynd. 545 H 14, what thyng hath Tyndal to defende his exposicion *withal* ? ¹⁾

¹⁾ In Shakesp., A. Y. L. III, ii, 328, Ros. Ile tel you who Time ambles *withal*, who Time trots *withal*, ... and who he stands stil *withal*. Orl. I prethee, who doth he trot *withal* ?

The end-position of *of*, forming a semantic unit with *to be*, as illustrated in the following quotations, deserves special notice :

Dial. Her. 262 H 1, *to confesse & declare ... what oppinions he and other of his felowes had holden and were of*. | Passion 1381 A 16, the better nature that euey thing *is of*, the worse waxeth it at length if it ones beginne to fall out of course.

The practice of putting the preposition at the end already existed before More's time :

Anglo-Saxon Chron. 1016, *Se here him fleah beforan*. | 1300 Curs. M. 3712, *Sithen his son he called him till*. | a 1300 St. Gregory 1068-70, An holy man ... *þat dyne wer þer to done and christendome to loke to*. | c 1400 Mandeville, Tr. 130, 20, a lityll clout *þat þei coueren with here knees*. | 1377 Langl. P. Pl. xvii, 202, Who so synneth in seynt spirit, it semeth that he greueth God, that he grypeth *with* and wolde his grace quenche. | c 1375 Sc. Leg. Saints xviii, 356, Than lukit he awfully tham *to*. | a 1485 Hall, Chron. Henry VI, 152 b, After the death of this prelate, ... the affaires in Fraunce were neither well looked *to*, nor...

After More's time back-position of the preposition became more and more usual :

1611 Auth. Vers., Job 3, 25, that which I was afraid *of*, is come vnto me. | 1726 Adv. Capt. R. Boyle 28, Gardening was what I always took delight *in*.

In Pres. D. Eng. the usage has to a great extent exceeded its original boundaries — especially in colloquial style :

1907 Ruskin, *Praeterita* iii 75, the cabin, which the waves from the paddle wheels rushed past the windows *of*. | 1923 A. Huxley, *Antic Hay* p. 101 (ed. Albatros), These bright May days are beautiful days for being in love *on*.

Sometimes More uses the preposition twice, once in front-position and once in back-position :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1141 B 2, Therefore good vncle, agaynste these horrible feares of these terryble tribulacions, *of* whiche some ye wot wel, our house alreedy hath, and the remnant stand in drede *of*, geue vs whyle god lendeth you vs, ... plenty of your ... counsayle ¹⁾).

This tautological use of the preposition occurs in all stages of the English language :

1481 Caxton, *Reyn.* 73, none *to* whom he has gyuen his saufergarde *to*. | 1470 Malory, *Morte d'A.* 696, the boughe *on* whiche the appel henge *on*. . 1905 Stevenson, *The Art of Wr.* 141, a young Irishman, *with* whom I was once intimate, and had spent long nights walking and talking *with* (J.).

¹⁾ Similarly with a prepositional adjunct in : Conf. Tynd. 543 C 9, *in* which soeuer of these two states a man finally dieth *in*,...

More uses *to gnaw on one's lips* (Rich. 54 A 2, *frowning and froting and knowing on hys lippes*) and not *to gnaw one's lips*. The bulk of the constructions of the type *she sat her horse* (instead of *on her horse*), representing a kind of retrogression to the primitive stage of the language, in which no prepositions were used, seem to have sprung up after More's time. A few of these constructions follow with the dates of their earliest quotation in OED :

she sat her horse 1542 *to slip the collar* 1579
to jump the rails 1600 *it has slipped my memory* 1652
to rush the boats 1865

B. VERBS WITH TWO OBJECTS

ORDINARY OBJECT + PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT

147. There is a considerable number of verbs in More which are construed with an ordinary and a prepositional object. A few of them follow :

abhor something for. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1245 D 16, such harde fashion as we most abhorre imprisonment for.

appoynt something with. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1188 C 7, he appoynted wyth her the morning when he should come.

associate someone to. Picus 16 D 7, [God] hath associate the(e) to the children of light.

berene someone from (of). Rich. 62 G 12, [the king] byreft her from her husband. | Instr. 1407 C 11, Thys night thou foole, shall they berine the(e) of thy life.

cumber someone with. Conf. Tynd. 478 E 1, lest he shoulde haue cumbred hymselfe somewhat with the aunswere.

dedicate something to. Picus 7 D 12, to whom he dedicateth that boke.

deserne something of. Prayer 1418 B 5, beare me good lord thy loue & fanour, which thyng my loue to theewarde ... coulde not but of thy ... goodnes deserue.

desire something of. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1144 H 9, [he whiche] desyareth of God to be comforted.

encline someone to. Picus 8 B 13. Libertye ... to which both his owne naturall affection, and the studie of philosophie enclined him.

endite someone of. Last Th. 100 H 14, he is endited of his own deth.

enseign someone to. Supplic. 313 G 1, the ioyfull blisse, to which god hath ... with his holy sacramentes enseyned you.

exhort someone to. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1168 D 8, the thyng whych our Sauour exhorteth all menne to.

- face someone out of.* Answer 1132 F 13, Your false heresy wherwith you would *face our Sauour out of* the blessed sacrament.
- feeffe someone with.* Apol. (Wks.) 867 D 1, they couldne neuer *feeffe me wyth one peny.*
- fasten a stroke on.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1263 B 4, he can not see where to *fasten a stroke on* vs.
- gather something of.* Apol. (Wks.) 866 H 6, as touching parcialitye ... I maruaile *whereof they gather it.*
- ground someone in.* Instr. 1421 D 15, folk as are ... *grounded in* charitye.
- grudge oneself of.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1149 D 7, Mi conscience *grudgeth me* not of anye thinge.
- hyndre someone of.* Conf. Tynd. 644 G 3, Lest it should ... *hyndre hys harlot of* teming.
- instruct someone of.* Dial. Her. 123 A 2, [They] were by hym *instructed of* enerye trewth.
- know a thing from.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1190 E 5, markes by whyche the true reuelacyons maye bee *knowne frome* false illusions.
- let someone from.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1182 C 8, Thys faute ... *letteth a man ... from* the doynge of manye good thynges.
- manasse something unto.* Dial. Her. 265 H 4, he ... *manasseth vnto* them the paines of hel.
- minister matter to.* Rich. 63 A 15, among you is most plenty of all such thinges as *minister matter to* such iniuries.
- mean something by.* Rich. 55 F 9, *That ment he by* the lordes of the quenes kindred. | Rich. 53 C 6, *This ment he by* Catesby.
- recommend someone to.* Dial. Her. 107 A 2, As hartily as I possible can, I *recommend me to* you.
- refrain someone from.* Rich. 59 D 1, ... shold ... suffice ... to *refrain you* from her mariage.
- remit someone unto.* Debell. 931 B 11, some suche places ... as I had happed to finde, I haue *remitted the reader vnto.*
- reproch someone of.* Apol. (Wks.) 876 B 2, he first *reprocheth bothe the partes of* great singularitie.
- retard someone in.* Aut. Lett. xiv 59, his highnes in thabandoning of the siege & sending his army forward in to ffraunce is not so much *retarded & letted in* his opinion for the hoope of the good that he thinketh could be now done at the siege.
- retei(g)n someone with.* Aut. Lett. vi 86, the Kinges grace would ... be content to *reteign the duke of Mechelborough with* a yerly pention. | Aut. Lett. vi 76, he desireth the Kinges highnes to take in to his service & to *reteyne with* some convenient yerely pention *ducem mechelburgensem.*
- sell something unto.* Picus 6 A 16, the third of therldome ... vnto John Francis ... he *solde.*
- send something unto.* Dial. C. (Wks.) 1145 C 13, that is one of the causes for whych God *sendeth it vnto* man.

set one's hert on. Last Th. 92 F 7, If riches com to you, *set* not your *hert* *theron*.

sewe someone for. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1151 E 7, if a man *sewe* *me* wrongfulli *for* my own lande.

turn something to. Rich. 39 D 12, with deuision and variaunce hee *turneth* *all* to mischiefe.

uncomber someone of. Dial. Her. 194 H 6, they reken that *for* a pecke of otes she wil not faile to *uncomber* *them* of their housbondes.

venem someone with. Supplic. 314 H 12, such as are not ... *venemed* *with* his mortal heresyess.

wrye something away from. Conf. Tynd. 615 H 2, ... the tytyle of hys chapter so sinistrellye written and *wryed* *away* *from* the poynte.

Not all these constructions have survived into Pres. D. Eng. ; the following are obsolete or archaic now ¹⁾ :

to appoint the day (with ²⁾), *to associate ... to* (now *with*) ; *to cumber ... with* ; *to endite someone of* (now *indict for* or *charge with*) ; *to enseign someone to* ; *feeffe someone with* ; *to face someone out of* ; *to fasten a stroke on* ; *grudge ... of* (now *without of* : *I don't grudge these people their pleasure*) ; *to hinder someone of* (now *from* or *in*) ; *to let a man from* ; *to manasse something unto* ; *to minister matter to* ; *to mean something by* ; *to refrain someone from* (now rare) ; *retard someone in* ³⁾ ; *reteign someone with* ; *to uncumber someone of* ; *to venom someone with* and *to wrye something away from*.

Apart from these and other cases the construction itself is a regular feature of the English language before and after More :

a 1340 Hampole, Psalter, Prol. 3, Now *manassand* *hell* *till* *wyckyd*. | c 1386 Chaucer, Pars. T. 735, Ihesu crist ... *relessed* *vs* *fro* the peynes of helle. | c 1449 Pecoock, Repr. I iv 22, Thoug he wolde reherce tho points ... of the lawe *for* *to remembre* *the tugis* and the peple *ther upon*.

1711 Addison, Spect. n° 160, Thus Solomon *resembles* *the Nose* of his Beloved *to* the Tower of Libanon.

Here, too, More often places the preposition at the end :

Debell. 984 B 3, How goeth nowe ... thys aunswere of this good man ... *touching* *the point* that I resemble them *for*. | Conf. Tynd. 503 H 15,

¹⁾ In the senses illustrated.

²⁾ Earliest quot. in OED of *to appoint* (transitive) = *to fix by arrangement the time or place of a meeting* is dated 1588 (Shaksp. Tit. A. iv iv, 1202. Appoint the meeting, Even at his father's house).

³⁾ Not in OED.

I would fayne wit of Tindal in what place of my booke he fyndeth that I make that conclusion, with whych it pleaseth hym to belye me to swete hys owne aunswere *wyth*. | Conf. Tynd. 551 B 5, such horrible dedes, as the deuill & the fleshe did moue and styre hym *to*. | Conf. Tynd. 724 A 2, his ensauple of grammer and the latine tongue, is nothyng like the matter of faith that he resembleth it *onto*.

It is exceptional for the prepositional object, already expressed by means of a relative pronoun at the beginning of a clause, to be repeated in the form of a referring pronoun at the end of the same clause after the preposition :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1155 D 13, they ... *whom* he ... neuer doth vouche safe to fyle his handes vpon *theym*.

Sec § 108, where a similar kind of redundant repetition has been illustrated with the pronoun *it*.

148. No instances have been found in More of the Middle English usage of placing the direct object in back-position after the preposition, as in :

c 1394 P. Pl. Crede, 116, Cloþ to coveren wiþ *our bones*. | c 1400 Mandeville, Tr. 130, 20, a lityll clout þat þei coueren with *here knees*.

149. In the type *take delight in* the noun (*delight*) has lost so much of its independence as a functional element that it forms a compound with the verb (see § 103). Constructions of this kind are of frequent occurrence in More :

take coumfort in. Some Lett. ix p. 318, I ... *take* ... gret *counfort in* that I perceiue that you live together so charitably.

take delyte in. Last Th. 95 D 2, [she] *toke* ... such *delyte* ... *in* the beholding of the apple, that she longed to fele the tast.

take harme of. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1182 B 7, that thing, *of* which he shoulde *take* none *harme*.

take heede to. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1183 D 1, a good old woman that *tooke heede to* her chyl dren.

take holde of. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1253 D 8, thys dooeth reason alone in manye cases, where it hathe muche lesse help to *take holde of*.

take pleasure in. Rich. 57 C 4, Shoris wife, *in* whom the king ... *toke* speciall *pleasure*.

take regarde to. Rich. 49 (= 46) E 8, [if she] ... as muche *regarde* *tooke to* his wealthe, as to her owne will, she woulde bee as lothe to suffer him from the kinge, as anye of vs bee.

have acquaintance with. Rich. 66 G 10, to shewe ... what *acquaintance* he hath *with* him.

have cause of. Rich. 39 C 1, ye neuer had so great *cause of* hatred, as ye haue of loue.

have the gouernaunce of. Boke of F. p. 1 D 9, Eche man hath of him self the gouernaunce.

have mercye on. Picus 17 H 3, *haue mercye on mee* Lorde.

have misse of. Rich. 56 G 1, a comly rud in her chekes of whiche she before had most misse.

have righte vnto. Rich. 63 D 9, the *righte* and title that the most excellent Prince Richard ... *hath vnto* the crown.

have title vnto, see preceding quotation.

make answer to. Dial. Her. 106 E 6, the very formal words of them whose writings they *made answer to*.

make courtesye to. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1224 F 5, menne muste *make courtesye* to them, and salute them with reuerence.

make a soure face at. Last Th. 72 H 6, this medicyne thoughte thou *make a soure face at* it, is not so bytter as thou makeste for.

make much of. Picus 2 G 4, which pronosticacion one Paulinus *making much of*, expowned it to signifie to vs the swete hony combes of his plesant writing.

make sute vnto. Rich. 58 G 1, this pore Lady *made* humble *sute vnto* the king.

set a glose vpon. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1223 F 16, he sawe that thei *set a glose vpon* it for hys praise of their own makynge.

Some of these constructions have dropped into disuse : *to take harm of* ; *to take heed to* ; *to take regard to* ; *to have acquaintance with* ; *to have cause of* ; *to have the governance of* ; *to have misse of* ; *to make courtesye to* ; *to make suit to* ; *to set a glose vpon*. The construction as such occurs in earlier and later English :

1295 R. Glouc. 1338, *Haue merci of* him ich þe bidde. | a 1430 Lydg., Min. Poems 34, Now no man to me *makethe* one *sute*. | 1605 Shakesp. Lear iv vi 287, I *have ingenious feeling Of* my huge Sorrowes.

TWO PREPOSITIONAL OBJECTS

150. Occasionally a verb is accompanied by two prepositional objects :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1248 B 9, yet after were his brethren fayne to *seke vpon* him *for* breadde. | Apol. (Wks.) 860 E 4, if I desired a manne to geue me a thyng, and *laboured muche to* hym *therefore...* | Dial. Her. 107 B 3, I am bold ... to send you my special secret frend this bearer, to *breake with* you ... *of* the same matters. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1190 E 12, the special matter, *wherin* he can neuer wel *flit from* you.

Those verbs are no longer so used. A few examples from other writers follow :

1463 Paston Lett. 473 n 134, He kept not his owyn counsell but *brak* to every man *of it*. | a 1556 Cranmer, Wks. i 25, Cyril *agreed to* Nestorius

in the substance of the thing that was eaten. | 1612 Drayton, Poly-olb. Song xii 200, *With him to breake Of some intended act.*

ORDINARY OBJECT + PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT

151. Just as in Pres. D. Eng. there are numerous cases in More in which a verb is construed with two objects, one of which may be called the primary and the other the secondary object. Thus in syntactical units like *they bare him grudge* and *I moved you these questions* the words *grudge* and *these questions* are the primary objects, because they are directly associated with the meaning of the verb, whereas *him* and *you* are complements to the combination verb + primary object (*to bear grudge*, *to move questions*), viewed as a semantic whole. The secondary objects can be divided into three groups :

a. They denote the direct recipients ¹⁾, as in : *to graunt her her bone* ; *give us therof some ensample*. They are here called *indirect objects proper*.

b. They denote the indirect recipients, i. e. the persons not involved in the action, but indirectly benefited by it and experiencing the consequences either to their advantage or disadvantage, as in : *I have numbred him the leafe* ; *I shall note you two kinds of folk*. They are here called *indirect objects of benefit*.

c. They denote the persons emotionally interested in the action, i. e. the persons not involved in it, but affected by it as mere lookers-on, and deriving from it a certain amount of pleasure, pain, etc., as in : *reken me now yourself a young man* ; *then look me now how few saintuary men there be*. They are here called *indirect objects of interest* ²⁾.

152. INDIRECT OBJECT PROPER.

Dial. Her. 128 C 14, *Giue vs therof ... some ensample*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1145 G 6, *though the tribulacion it selfe, be a meane often tymes to get man thys first comfort ... yet...* | Rich. 60 C 2, *god loued her better, then to graunt her her bone*. | Prayer 1418 B 5, *beare me good lord thy loue & fauor*. | Rich. 64 B 1, *in chosing them so good a king*. | Jest p. 3 G 8,

¹⁾ Also in the sense of negative reception, e. g. *to berieue*, *to deprive*.

²⁾ Also called *effective* or *emotional indirect object* (Jespersen) ; *ethical dative* (Curme) and *obllique of interest* (Kruisinga).

thys tydyng That ye *me* bring. | Picus 9 D 8, he sent *him* two of his phisicions. | Last Th. 98 G 15, to tell *vs* ... the wordes of holy wrytte. | Rich. 63 C 6, It shall not ... nede that I rehearse *you* agayn that ye haue alreadye harde. | Debell. 933 D 19, he had not the wytte to perceiue when Bizance speaketh himself and when he redeth *him* the pacifiers wordes written.

This idiom appears to have been as common as it is now.

The construction *to learn a person something* occurs in the following illuminating passage, in which More gives his opinion on the use of *to learn* in the sense of *to teach*. It appears from it that the construction *Richard learneth Robert* was considered vulgar and that *Richard learneth (= teacheth) at Oxford* was not "true Englishe". It should be noted that *the whiche shall learne you my wayes* are not More's words, but that they are quoted from Barns, whom More attacks.

Conf. Tynd. 742 B 7, But I wyll not striue muche wyth frere Barns for a woorde. The man is so sore beside about his rethorike, that it is no meruaile though he can not entende to speake reason nor true englishe neither, as appereth where he translateth learning for teaching, in hys fyrste declarasion of this worde, ecclesia, rehearsing the wordes of saynt Paule to the Corinthians thus, I haue lent vnto you Timothe, the whiche shall learne you my wayes that be in Chryste Jesu, as I do lerne euery where in al congregacions. As though saynt Paule hadde learned in euerye congregacion where he came, and euery man taught him and not he them. And though that some vnlearned vse thys worde learne for thys worde teache, with his accusatyue case set oute, as Richarde learneth Robert, yet sayth no man but Barns, Richarde learneth at Oxford, for Richard techeth at Oxford.

To do was more freely used in this construction than it is in Pres. D. Eng. :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1169 A 3, I trowe I haue thys daye *done* you *much* *trybulacion* with my importune obieccions. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1169 B 10, I shal with this good counsaile that I haue hearde of you, *doe* *them* *some* *counfort*.

Earlier : a 1300 Cursor M. 13666 (Cott.), He thoght *him* *do* *solace*.

A characteristic feature of More's English is the frequency of constructions of the type *to bereave a person wealth*, which in Pres. D. Eng. would be replaced by constructions consisting of verb + direct object + prepositional object (*to bereave a person of a thing*) or prepositional adjunct (*to provide a pulpit for the fox*) :

Picus 25 A 3, peradventure death within one howre, Shall *vs* *bereue*, *wealthe*, riches and honowre. | Conf. Tynd. 765 G 10, how wil ye ... make me know which of them al *assigneth* *me* *the* *very* *true* *scripture*. |

Conf. Tynd. 741 B 9, let vs examine and consider now *the church that he dyffyneth vs.* | Answer 1045 C 4, Oure sauour... *diuised them a good and perfyte medecyne.* | Lett. 1453 C 12, if ther were one that had *enformed his highnes manye euill thinges* of me that were vntrue, ... I wold be very sory ¹⁾. | Answer 1046 D 4, the priest *ministreth vs this meate.* | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1140 D 2, truste well in God and he shall *pronyde you teachers.* | Conf. Tynd. 444 F 4, then may the geese *prouide the fox a pulpit.* | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1149 F 4, medicine that *restoreth vs our health.* | Last Th. 78 D 7, in thyne heale ... *shee spake thee not one swete worde.* | Apol. 54, neyther was I ... so angry with any man of myne that I *spake them any euyll word.* | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1223 D 12. Whan he *toke him the treatise,* ... he asked hym howe he lyked it. | Dial. Her. 214 G 4, whyle the clergy dothe *withdrawe it vs,* ... thei take away our lode.

The normal order in independent units is : indirect object — direct object (*beare me thy love*), except when there are two pronouns (Dial. C. 199, *he shal giue it thee*), in which case the direct object is only rarely expressed by another pronoun than it :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1141 B 2, Therefore good vncler ... *gene vs whyle god lendeth you us,* such plenty of your counfortable counsaile, as I may write and kepe with vs.

In poetry there is more freedom (Picus 25 A 4, *death shall vs bereue wealthe*). Apparently for the sake of emphasis the direct object is placed before the verb in : Rich. 61 F 8, *we such loue beare you, that...*

In attribute clauses the direct object comes first : *the great fauoure the king bare him.*

When the receptive character of the indirect object is emphasized by means of the preposition *to*, the indirect object is given back-position, unless the direct object is a clause :

Bless. Body 1268 D 13, let vs with Martha provide, that al our outward business may be perteyning to him, in *making chere to him.*

Exceptionally the indirect object is expressed twice :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1245 G 2, therof we cant vs out, ... *dyuers partes dyuerslye to our self...*

All the phenomena dealt with above occurred in earlier English :

c 1200 Trin. Coll. Hom. 33, *Hie him bireuuden alle hise riche weden* (OEG). | c 1400 Mandeville, Tr. 57, 28, And þerfore all the perueyaunce þat he hadde ordeyned to make the temple with he *toke it Salomon his sone* (M.).

¹⁾ This construction occurs in the passive in : 1523, Berners, Froiss. I, cclv 378, it was *infourmed the prince*, howe he wolde turne frenche.

To bereave a person something is still frequently used by Shakespeare (though only in the passive) :

Ven. 381, 't is your fault *I am bereft him* so. | Ven. 439, say that *the sense of feeling were bereft me*. | 3 H VI, III, i, 85, *all your interest in those territories is utterly bereft you*.

153. INDIRECT OBJECT OF BENEFIT.

Lett. Fryth. 834 F 3, he will kepe *her* his fayth and not breke *her* hys promise. | Dial. Her. 113 D 8, Thou shalt carue *thee* none ymage. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1182 G 16, Thus fareth ... the scrupulous person which frameth *himself* mani times double the feare that he hath cause. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1227 C 3, they frame *theym selfe* a conscience. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1230 E 17, thoughe the Turke kepe *you* promise. | Rich. 37 E 9, with large giftles hee get *him* vnstedfaste frendeshippe... | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1230 F 4, God whose saythe you forsake ... may so take them fro you, that the great Turke ... is not able to keepe *you* theym. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1144 A 11, And here shall I note *you* two kyndes of folke that are in tribulacion. | Debell. 931 B 11, for his ready finding, I haue numbred *him* the leafe. | Instr. 1407 B 13, What foly is it for the[e] than, to auoid this temporal death, as thereby to fall in perill to purchase *thy selfe* eternal death. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1160 D 40, [*you haue*] remoued *me* these arrowes. | Rich. 56 G 2, her great shame wan *her* much praise. | Supplic. 299 G 8, he sheweth hymself to haue ... so littel witt as to aske the king a question and appoint *hym* his answer. | Conf. Tynd., 542 G 6, I shall touch *you* the place in the pistle of saint John, wherby Tindal would proue... | Answer 1137 D 3, I shal in my second part in taking vp his second course, when we come to fruit, pare *him* I warrant you those thre peres so nere, that he geatteth not a good morselle amonge them. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1190 E 10, than haue you an entre made *you*. | Supplic. 292 F 11, he cannot yet bring *you* furth a bederoll of their names. | Apol. (Wks.) 924 C 2, bring *mee* forth myne accuser. | Debell. 936 G 7, and he seeke thys seuen yere, he shall in all mine apologye finde *you* no suche wordes oute. | Supplic. 328 A 14, we haue stopped *them* that gap.

The line of demarcation between indirect objects proper and indirect objects of benefit is difficult to draw and in some cases the classification cannot be but arbitrary (see quotations with *to get*, *to win*, *to appoint*). It may, however, be said that the omission of the indirect object proper would leave the predicate more incomplete than the omission of the indirect object of benefit (Compare *these wordes geueth vs a sure medecine* and *these words give a sure medecine* ; *I haue numbred him the leafe* and *I have numbered the leaf*). Often the object of benefit is semantically equivalent to an adjunct

with *for*. The corresponding passive construction is not a construction with *to verb to be*, but a construction with the verb *to have*. (**I recited them the names of the prelates* > Apol. (Wks.) 884 C 4, *they had the names of this prelate and that prelate recited and rehersed vnto them by rowe*). See § 616.

In Pres. D. Eng. the indirect object of benefit is not nearly so frequently used as in More. According to Deutschbein 1931 p. 283 (who calls the object under discussion *dativus commodi*, a subdivision of the *dativus subjectivus* or *loser Dativ*), the sparing use of this kind of "dative" is indicative of the objective character of modern English ¹⁾. If this is true, More's language must have been of a very subjective nature. (See also § 154 on indirect objects of interest).

The following quotations prove that the indirect object of benefit was known in earlier English :

c 1000 Ags. Gosp., John IV, 8, His lerning-cnihtas ferdon þa to þære ceastre woldon him mete biczan. | c 1385 Chaucer, L. G. W. 46, In my bed there dawith me no day That I ne am vp (OED).

154. INDIRECT OBJECT OF INTEREST.

Rich. 47 C 9, Then looke me nowe how few saintuanye menne there bee. | Last Th. 82 B 17, Recken me now your self a yong man in your beste luste .xx. yere of age if ye will. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1230 A 3, Suppose me that you might be verye sure, that the Turke would breake no promyse wyth you. | Apol. (Wks.) 924 A 10, Suppose me now, that a tynker ... were now become hymselfe an vssher. | Dial. Her. 120 F 1, loke me thorow christendome, and ... ye shall finde the frute of those offerynges... | Last Th. 86 G 10, Take me one that rekeneth hymselfe for woorshypfull, and looke whether hee shall not bee muche more wrothe... | Last Th. 80 D 10, I pray thee consider me, that all oure bodies be euer in suche case, so tender of themselfe, that ... we were not hable to lyue one winter weke.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1261 G 1, [if the Turke] fel al at once in a shoute, with trumpets, tabrets, & tumbrels al blowen vp at once, & al their gunnes let go therwith to make vs a fearefull noyse... | Answer 1083 D 11, Maister Masker maketh vs a prity short crede nowe. | Conf. Tynd. 343 F 10, In their Kalender before their deuout prayers, they haue sette vs a new saynt...

¹⁾ "Bei dem objektiven Sprachcharacter des Neueng. lässt sich erwarten, dass der Dativus subjectivus im Ne. relativ schwach entwickelt ist, was tatsächlich der Fall ist".

The indirect object of interest is always a pronoun. The quotations in the first paragraph express a command, an exhortation, a wish, etc., and are only a selection out of the great number of instances occurring in More's works. Constructions like *loke me* and *reckon me* have left hardly any trace in Pres. D. Eng.

Not so with the usage illustrated in the second paragraph. It is still used in passages of a narrative character, though not without giving an archaic flavour to the style. A modern substitute in spoken English is a phrase with *for*, e. g., *There is a fine fellow for you* (C.) ; 1809 J. Moser, *Don Quix.* II V, *He shall carry all the limbs he has got to heaven for me* (OED).

EARLIER	LATER
c 1250, <i>Story of Gen. and Ex.</i> 2495, Ilc prince <i>me</i> take hise wond, And do we us here in godes hond (Kl.).	1590 Shakesp. <i>Mids.</i> I, ii, 84, I will roare <i>you</i> as gently as any Suck- ing Dove.
13... Gaw. & Gr. <i>Kut.</i> 1905, þay fel on hym alle, & worried <i>me</i> þis wyly wyth a wroth noyse (OED).	1820 Lamb, <i>Elia. Ser.</i> I <i>Oxf. in Vac.</i> , With great exactitude of purpose he enters <i>me</i> his name in the book (OED).
1440 <i>Gesta Rom.</i> 277, Theise two þou most norishh <i>me</i> with thy melke (Kl.).	1874 G. Eliot, <i>Coll. Breakf. P.</i> 388, Anti-social force that sweeps <i>you</i> down the world in one cascade of molecules (OED).

The now obsolete phrases of the type "then says *me* I", "what did *me* I but..." seem to have been current in vulgar and colloquial speech about More's time ; OED has a quotation dated c 1500 : *Robyn Hode II st. 100*, *Here be the best coresed horse That euer yet saw I me*. The colloquiality must have been of a very popular order, for though More's English can be fairly colloquial in places, such phrases do not occur in it.

Closely related to the indirect objects of interest are the pronouns in such constructions as : Rich. 61 E 9, *the preacher gate him home* ; Apol. 93, *he satte him down*. Because of their markedly reflexive character they have been placed and discussed in the section dealing with reflexive objects (§ 140). It is possible that something of the original "dative" character was still felt in More's time ; it is, however, more plausible

to assume influence of French reflexive verbs (*s'agenouiller*, *s'asseoir*, *s'en aller*).

It is difficult to classify the pronoun in : *I fear me*, a collocation which More frequently ¹⁾ uses.

Dial. Her. 226 D 3, *I feare me*, ... that those many be very few in comparison of the multitude. | Apol. (Wks.) 884 F 10, they would aunswere *I fere me*, that thei be not yet wery of this world. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1254 B 1, *I feare me* when I heare once that vrchin bitch bark, I shall fall to my feete and forgeatte all together. | Conf. Tynd. 339 D 6, they haue infected and kyllled, *I feare me*, moe selye symple soules, then... | Conf. Tynd. 339 H 14, For *I feare me* surely that ... God shall not fayle.

Shakespeare, too, seems to have favoured the construction *I fear me* (Schmidt 1902 gives 20 exx.). Apart from archaic diction, Pres. D. Eng. has done away with the pronoun after *to fear*. In Apol. (Wks.) 921 G 3, *feare ye not for that*, we probably have a case in which the person to whom the exhortation is addressed has been expressed by a pronoun, as in *blame ye not me*; *fare ye well*; *folow thou me* (§§ 31-37).

I wonder me occurs in :

Answer 1124 C 11, *I wonder me*, that his scole matter here failed him.

155. TYPE *he patted them upon the pates*.

Conf. Tynd. 785 G 3, Now whan this officer had comen wyth his sticke and *patted them vpon the pates* ²⁾. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1162 A 5, the grief of thys great pange *pyncheth them at the hert*. | Rich. 61 F 4, it so *strake him to the heart*, that within fewe daies after he withered & consumed away. | Conf. Tynd. 432 F 2, He... gyrneth as a dogge dooeth, when one *porreth hym in the teeth* with a stycke.

More uses this construction not infrequently. It distinguishes itself from the rival construction with a possessive pronoun (as in Dial. C. (Wks.) 1246 D 6, *he manacleth their handes*) by the fact that the person concerned is separately expressed, and consequently becomes psychologically more prominent than the thing affected. The personal pronoun may be analysed as the direct object of the rest of the predicate. (Thus *them* is the direct object of *to pat on the pate*). In earlier English, however, it was often in the "dative" case ³⁾.

¹⁾ Only occasionally is the pronoun absent, e. g. Conf. Tynd. 467 F 1, *tyll ... Antichrist come him self*, which ... *I feare* be very nere his time. Also : Rich. 40 H 7, *Jest p. 2 G 12* and Dial. C. (Wks.) 1255 E 10.

²⁾ Earliest instance in OED of *to pat on the pate* is dated 1591.

³⁾ Deutschbein 1931 § 125 c (dativus der Beteiligung).

This direct object may also be expressed by a reflexive pronoun and by a noun :

Last Th. 99 A 1, if thou shouldest ... *claw thyself* ... *depe into the flesh*.

Aut. Lett. xi, 21, his grace saith that yor grace *hit the nayle on the hed*. | Dial. Her. 221 F 6, With that worde ... *ye hyt the naile on the head*.

The construction has survived unaltered into Pres. D. Eng. Here, too, a definite article and not a possessive pronoun is used in the prepositional complement (on *the* pates, at *the* hert).

TWO DIRECT OBJECTS

156. Dial. (Wks.) 1173 E 11, *this* I asked *a phisicion* or *twayne*. Supplic. 299 G 8, he sheweth hymself to haue ... so littel wit as to aske *the king a question*. | Prayer 1418 B 8, *pardon me good lord that I am so bold*. | Dial. C (Wks.) 1255 D 10, the goodnes of god forgeueth *many folke the faut*.

In some of these examples the absence of receptive notion makes it clear that the first of the two objects is not an indirect object; in others (e. g. *forgive*) the analysis is doubtful. The two objects may be two (pro)nouns or one of them may take the form of a syntactical unit. The usage occurs in earlier and in later stages of the English language.

4. THE PRESENT TENSE

157.

FORMS

1 I	wene,	entreat(e)	—
2 thou	wenest,	entreatest	wene, entreat(e)
	you, ye wene,	entreat(e)	—
3 he	weneth,	entreateth	wene, entreat(e)
1 we	wene,	entreat(e)	—
2 you, ye wene,	entreat(e)	—	—
3 they	wene(th),	entreat(eth)	wene, entreat(e)

To represent a provincial or rustic kind of speech, More uses the forms *cha*, *chaue* (= I have); *cholde* (= I wolde); *chote* (= I wote), in which *ch* is an aphetic survival of the older *ic*. The passage in which they occur is spoken by "an olde sage father in Kente".

Dial. Her. 278 B 5, There starte vp one good old father and said, ye masters say euery man what he wil, *cha* marked this matter wel as som other, ... For I knewe it good, and haue marked so *chaue*, when it

began to waxe worse | ... yonder same tenterden steple ... that by the masse *cholde* twere a faire fish pole | ... yche cannot tell you well why, but *chote* well it hath.

Both *you* and *ye* can refer to one person and to more persons.

You, singular : Apol. 65, till *you* meke your self ..., this anger of your husbände wyll neuer be well appeased. | Rich. 51 H 8, let me kiss *you* ones yet ere you goe. | Dial. C. 138; Rich. 51 G 6.

Ye, singular : Picus 14 B 12, *ye* (scil. his nephew) exhort me by your letters to the ciuile and active life. | Picus 14 D 42, But here *ye* will saie to me thus : I am content *ye* studie. | Boke of F. 6 D 1.

You, plural : Rich. 38 H 6, For it suffiseth not that *you* loue them, yf eche of you hate other. | Picus 9 E 13, I suppose verely, that ther be none of *you*, but *ye* knew John Picus.

Ye, plural : Picus 11 D 13, Be glad ... my brethern, whan *ye* fall in diuerse temptacions.

My self and *your self* are construed with the verb in the third person :

Dial. Her. 113 C 7, the places where *my selfe* hath ben. | Dial. Her. 187 B 14, as *your self* agreeth.

This was common usage in the 16th century. In Shakespeare we find :

Tit. Andr. iv, iv, 74, *My selfe* hath often heard them say, ... That Lucius banishment was wrongfully.

TIME-SPHERE

158. Since the present tense does not denote or express time, and consequently the time-sphere cannot be determined from this form by itself, it is the context or situation only that shows what the time-sphere of the action ¹⁾ is.

The following cases can be distinguished :

- a. The syntactical unit is neutral as to time.
- b. The action took place in the past.
- c. The action occurs at the present moment.
- d. The action will occur in the future.
- e. The time of the action stretches from a point in the past to the present moment.

¹⁾ For the sake of conciseness, throughout this study, the term "action" will be used to express "action", "occurrence" or "state", unless a more explicit statement seems necessary.

- f. The time of the action stretches from the present moment to a point in the future.
- g. The action occurs in the "before-future". (Jespersen 1932 p. 2).

a. NEUTRAL TIME.

159. Syntactical units the time-sphere of which is neutral express a truth that has obtained, obtains at the present moment and is expected to obtain in the future; there is no limitation to any particular time. More's English has numerous instances ¹⁾).

General truths. Boke of F. p 1 D 9, Eche man *hath* of himself the gouernaunce. | Last Th. 87 B 6, In Spayn, it *is* sorer taken, and sorer punished, *yf* one geue another a drye blowe with his fyst, than *yf* he draw bloode vppon him with a swæord. | Last Th. 74 C 7, Iseland *loueth* no butter till it bee long barrellled. | Picus 14 B 1, Mercennary *we call* all those thinges, whiche *we doo* for hire or rewarde.

Natural phenomena, etc. Last Th. 85 C 2, like as the ... spider *bringeth* forth her cobweb... | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1180 G 5, in the nighte *walken* all the beastes of the woods.

Habits and customs; regularly repeated actions.

Picus 23 D 3, Consider fraile glasse may no distres endure, and great aduentures (scil. adventurers) oft *curse* the dice. | Last. Th. 79 A 9, if *we be* so farre gone, that *we see* we cannot recouer, than he (scil. the devil) *casteth* in our myndes, presumption and securitie of saluacion, as a thing well wonne by our owne workes. | Apol. (Wks.) 847 C 1, leauing out noughte but raylyng ... and where I so *dooe*, I *geue* the reader warnynge.

Inborn inclinations and natural dispositions. Rich. 37 B 4, women commonly not of malice but of nature *hate* them whome their housebandes loue.

Proverbs and proverbial sayings. Boke of F. p 6 B 8, none *falleth* farre, but he that *climbeth* hye. | Last Th. 92 G 9, wher thy

¹⁾ The following quotation illustrates the point in a very interesting way: Dial. Her 146 E 16 Christe also said, I *am* with you tyll the ende of the world, not I *shal be*, but I *am*, which is the word appropriated to his godhed. And therefore the word *am*, is the name by which our lord wold ... be named vnto Pharao, as a name which from all creatures (syth they be all subiecte to time) clerelye discerneth his godhead, which is euer being & present without difference of time past or to come.

treasure *is* ther *is* thyne heart. | Supplic. 299 B 6, time alway *trieth* out the trouth. | Picus 14 B 3, he *maketh* philosophie mercenary ..., which studieth it not for pleasure of it self. | Picus 28 A 8, The loue that is deuided among many, Unneth *suffiseth* that euery part haue any. | Picus 16 D 12, Dead *be* thei, that *line* not to god. | Picus 25 C 10, Any good worke if thou with labour do, The labour *goth*, the goodnes *doth* remayne. | Rich. 55 A 12, frendes *fayle* fleers. | Answer 1035 E 11, euyl comunicacion *marreth* and *corrupteth* good manners. | Picus 18 C 8, the negard ... *saith* to his money. Deus meus es tu. | Dial. Her. 238 B 6, a tale that *fleeth* thorowe manye mouthes, *catcheth* manye newe fethers.

Syntactical units of this kind also occur surrounded by units the time-sphere of which belongs to the past :

Picus 6 D 15, he many daies (and namely those daies, which represent vnto vs the passion and deth that Christ suffred for our sake) bet and scourged his own flesh. | Picus 6 F 1, they coulede not miscary ... he verili trusted, sith God *is* all good ... | Picus 19 E 1, he wold not talke nor speake of the voluptuous delites, which *are* euyl peoples gods. | Rich. 61 E 2, Whyle these wordes were in speaking, the protector accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, went thorow the people into the place where the doctors comonly *stand*.

160. The use of the present tense in units of neutral time was known before More and is common in Pres. D. Eng. In units denoting inborn inclinations, habits etc. the attendant verb *will* is often used in More's English, just as it is to-day :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1174 E 11, he that in hope to bee called towarde nighte, *will slepe* oute the morninge, and drinke out the daie, is full likelye to passe at nyghte vnspoken to.

A rival verb is *use to* :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1212 A 3, he *vseth* not to force anye manne to forsake his faith.

For further discussion see the sections on syntactical units containing two verbs (§§ 399, 445 & 452).

EARLIER	LATER
c 1400 Mandev. Travels 3, 6, a semblee of peple withouten a cheuenteyn or a chief <i>is</i> as a flok of sheep withouten a schepperde. (M.)	1611 Auth. Vers. Ps. 116, 11 All men <i>are</i> lyers. (J.) Pres. D. Eng. Some birds <i>build</i> their nests in trees, others on the ground.

161. In the following quotation from More — containing a

general truth — the preterite (*was, bare*) is used instead of the present tense (*is, bear*) :

Rich. 62 G 3 thys wote you wel al, that whose *was* beste, *bare* alway lest rule.

For more examples see the sections on the preterite.

b. THE ACTION TOOK PLACE IN THE PAST.

162. Introducing quotations from works written in former times.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1236 G 8, then *saith* holy scripture : Bonis omnia cooperantur in bonum. | Last Th. 72 F. 10, Remember (*saith* the byll) thy last thinges and thou shalte neuer sin.

Introducing quotations from persons who lived in the past or referring to their words.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1253 H 6, I remember the fable that Esope *telleth*. | Picus 6 D 11, we know many men, which (as saint Hierome *saith*) put forth their hande to poore folke. | Answer 1035 H 14, such communication it is therefore that thapostle *speaketh* against. | Bless. Body 1265 D 6, of this greate outrageous perill, the blessed apostle sayncte Paul *geueth* vs gracyous warnynge. | Last Th. 100 F 12, Thus fare we *saith* Plutarch. | Last Th. 85 E 9, Esop..., as I thinke ye haue heard, *fayneth* that one of the paynym goddes came down into earth. | Picus 15 E 10, Our lorde Jesu Christ ... *affirmeth*, that our reward shal be plentuous in heauen.

Compare, however, the form *sayd* in a similar context :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1167 G 1, as the philosophers *sayd* in that thyng very well of olde : vertue standeth in thinges of hardnes and difficultie.

Referring to books written by contemporaries.

Apol. (Wks.) 846 E 5, he *leaueth* out somewhat that Tindalle *taketh* in, that is to witte the making of mockes and mowes against the masse. | Apol. (Wks.) 855 E 8, Al thys chyldishe reason ... whiche he *bryngeth* oute of Tyndalles Chapter, and *fathereth* it vpon Saynte James. | Conf. Tynd. 668 A 10, As frere Huskyn, Tindal, and Suinglius *glosen* it. | Picus 7 D 8, The same thing also in his boke, which he entitled ¹⁾ de Ente & Uno, lighsomely he *treateth*.

The following sentence contains a coordination of *wished* and *saith* ²⁾ :

Dial. Her. 119 A 8, Luther ... which *wished* in a sermon of his, that he had in his hande all the peces of the holy crosse, & *saith* that if he so had, he would throw them there as neuer sonne sholde shyne on them.

¹⁾ Note this form instead of *entitles*.

²⁾ See § 206.

Referring to statements previously made by the writer himself.

Apol. (Wks.) 868 A 7, lette theym tell where I *commende pompe and pryde*, where I *prayse auaryce*, where *lechery*, or *suche other thing*.

This form alternates with a construction with *to have* :

Last Th. 88 A 2, sith that by the destruccion of pryde, followeth as I *haue said* the destruccion of wrath. | Last Th. 85 G 11, enuy is as I *haue said* and as saint Austine sayth the doughter of pryde.

This construction seems to be used here because neither place or time is mentioned to designate the past time-sphere; *I say* would consequently convey a different idea.

In the emphasizing formula it is :

Picus 22 C 5, he *it is*, by whose mighty powre, The worlde was vanquished and his prince cast out.

It was, however, is also possible :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1232 D 18, *it was* oure Sauoure hym selfe, whyche in the sixte chapter of Sainte Mathewe saythe...

With the verb TO SAY when another person's statement is repeated immediately after it is made.

Rich. 59 F 5, I dout not but there be as *ye saye* other, that be in euery point comparable with her.

Referring to the contents of a letter newly received.

Picus 14 B 12, Ye *exhort me* by your letters to the ciuile and actiue life, saying, that in vaine ... *haue I studied in philosophie*. | Picus 14 G 5, Ye *writ vnto me*, that it is tyme for me to put my selfe in houshold with some of the great princes of Italic. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1211 D 13, he that wrote the letter, *saith* that it is secretly sayd in Constantynople, that...

In the case of words or statements written or spoken in times long gone by (as *Saint Paul*, *Esop saith*), More seems to use the present tense only if the statements are of present interest or still carry weight in points under discussion.

In none of the cases listed above did More make innovations, nor is there any difference from Pres. D. Eng. Regarding the emphasizing *it is* (*he it is*, *by whose powre The world was vanquished*) Jespersen (1932 p. 24) says : " *It is* in the present tense is used referring to a future event (*It is here that I shall die*). This usage is thus different from what takes place when the verb in the relative clause is in the preterite, for then *it was* is the general rule (*It was here that he died ;...*)". More's use of *to be* would then be obsolete.

EARLIER

Beowulf, Ic *þæt gēhyre*, *þæt þis is*
hold weorod frean Scyldinga.
c 1175 Lamb. Hom. 39, *þenne seiſt*
Dimitte... (OED).
a 1225 Juliana II, Beo hit soþ *þat tu*
seiist (OED).
c 1175 Lamb. Hom. 45, *Efturelauerd*
seolf seit (OED).
1340 Ayenbite 134, *Ase saþ zainte*
paul (OED).

LATER

1667. Milton, P. L. v, 815, Unjust
thou *saist* Flatly unjust, to bind
with laws the free (OED).
1750. Gray, Long Story 73, So
Rumour *says...* (OED).
1819. Scott. Ivanhoe xxxiv, For
what *saith* holy writ (OED).

THE PRESENT TENSE IN NARRATIVES ¹⁾

163. To picture past events as if they were happening at the present moment the present tense is sometimes used by More, with the result that the narrative becomes very lively.

Jest 4 A 15, The frere toke harte, And vp he starte, And well he layde about, And so there *goth*, Betwene them both, Many a lusty cloute. They rent and *tere* ²⁾, Eche others here, And claue togyder fast. Tyll with luggyng, And with tuggyng, They fell downe bothe at last. | Jest p. 3 D 14, He mistrustyng, No maner thyng, Sayd mayden go thy way, And fetche him hyder, That we togyder, May talk. Adowne she *gothe*, Up she hym brought, No harme she thought, But it made some folke wrothe. | Jest p. 3 A 12, His harte for pryde, Lepte in his syde, To see how well he freered, Than forth a pace, Unto the place, He *goeth* in goddes name. | Jest p. 4 B 10, Than on the grounde, Togyder rounde, With many a sadde stroke, They *roll* and *rumple*, They *turne* and *tumble* ... | Boke of Fort. p. 4 A 10, The head that late lay easily and full soft, In stede of pylows *lyeth* after on the blocke.

It should be noted that all the above passages are taken from More's poetry; in his prose works there is no example of the use of the present tense in direct narration; even in the work in which it might be most expected, i. e. in *The History of King Richard*, with its frequently very lively style, it does not occur.

For a few cases in which the present tense and the preterite alternate without any discernable reason see § 208.

¹⁾ Also called the "historic" or "dramatic" present. (Jespersen 1932 p. 19; 1924 (9) p. 258; Curme 1933 p. 355; Sweet 1903 § 2228; Steadman 1917; Roloff 1924; Einenkel 1916 p. 26; Kellner 1913 § 368; Trnka 1930 p. 17.) Cf. the "historic infinitive", illustrated in §§ 272-3.

²⁾ Since *rent* and *clawe* are preterite forms, *tere* is probably used only for rhyme.

The use of the present tense in direct narration of past events seems to have been unknown in Old English. (There are two doubtful cases, both in *Be Domes Dæge*; see J. Höser 1889, and E. Nader 1887, pp. 542 ff.) In Middle English, however, the usage gradually gained ground (Mätzner 1885 p. 71); at first it appeared only sporadically (in Horn and Havelok only a few cases occur), but in the middle of the 14th century it spread rapidly (Roloff 1924). Chaucer used it frequently: according to Graef 1889 p. 566 it occurs about 1150 times in the Canterbury Tales. In Wyclif it is of frequent occurrence (H. Smith 1907 p. 455). In Koziol's syntax of Middle English alliterative poetry (1932 p. 97) we find the following statement: "Sehr häufig wird die Präsensform in der Erzählung verwendet..., so häufig, dass man sie neben dem Präteritum als die gewöhnliche Zeit der Erzählung bezeichnen kann." Curiously enough Mandeville does not seem to use the form under discussion (V. d. Meer 1929 p. 2 note).

EARLIER

- 1250 Story of Gen. and Ex. 1172,
 Quillum er Pharao hire toc Nu
 takeþ Abimelech hire oc (Kl.).
 c 1275 Lay. 10500, þe king þe greteþ
 Basan and seggeþ mid sore þat...
 (OED).
 1362 Langl., P. Pl., now *bigynneth*
 Glotour for to go to schrifte and
kaires hym to kirke-ward (OED).
 13... Purity, E. E. T. S. 1401, when
 alle segges wer þer set, þen
 seruyse *begynnes* (Ko.).

LATER

- 1575 Gamm. G. N. 100, My gammer
 sat her downe... And by and by...
 or she had take two stitches...
 by chance asyde she *leares*, And
 Gib, our cat in the milkepan she
 spied.
 1933 Lawrence, Lady Ch. L. (Ody-
 sey Press. p. 237), Anyhow just
 when I was twenty-one, back
 comes Bertha, with airs and
 graces.

C. THE ACTION OCCURS AT THE PRESENT MOMENT.

164. Rich. 71 E 3, it is none borne that is in thine head. No mary q(nod) he that wote I wel ynough. | Answer 1022 B 12, I *admit* the case as possible. | Picus 16 E 10, they wot neuer them selfe, what thei do. | Last Th. 89 B 9, me *semeth* verely, that ... | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1211 A 11, I *praye* you good vncle kepe your customable maner. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1211 A 9, this one part of our matter, whiche onely now *remaineth*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1211 D 8, the grete Turke *prepareth* a marueylous mightie armye. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1139 H 11, you *take* my departynge from you so beauebye ... | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1140 H 3, no small parte of our own folke that *dwelle* euen here aboute vs, are *fallynge* to hym. | Dial. C.

(Wks.) 1141 C 18, nowe *striue* there twayne for vs. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1141 G 10, I *regarde* him not a ryshe. | Rich. 62 D 1, What *speke* we of losse. | Rich. 55 D 2, whereto *talke* you so long with that priest?

This usage is very common in More's English, just as it was before his time (Trnka 1930 p. 16). The "present moment" in units of this kind is of course not a point, but a period including part of the past as well as of the future. Pres. D. Eng. knows the same usage; but as soon as the imperfective aspect of the action becomes prominent, constructions with *to be* + form in -ing (*he is striving*) are used with some kinds of verbs, as was already occasionally done by More too (see section of aspect).

EARLIER

- c 1000 Ags. Gosp. John. vii 26, Nu he *spycþ* openliche (OED.)
- c 1386 Chaucer, Kn. T. 425, Thou *walkest* now in Thebes at thi large (Gf.).
- c 1400 Mandev. Tr. 42-17, Theise folk þat I *speke* of (M).

LATER

- 1819 Shelley, Cenci v, i, 64, Even whilst we *speak* The ministers of justice wait below (OED).
- 1924 Mary Webb, Precious Bane, Ch. 6 p. 101, I *live* on the mountain over yonder.

d. THE ACTION WILL OCCUR IN THE FUTURE.

165. 1. IN INDEPENDENT UNITS.

1. *In threats.*

Jest p. 3 H 3, Thou shalt obay, Come on thy way, I haue the(e) in my clouche, Thou *goest* not hence, For all the pense, The mayre hath in his pouche.

In Chaucer we read :

C. T. C 752, Thou *partest* nat so lightly, by Seint John !

The usage also occurs in Pres. D. Eng. :

1918 H. Walpole, Fortitude i, ch. 10 p. 124, "Let me go, father", Peter said, very white, and putting down the bag. — "Be damned to you," said his father. "You *don't* get through this door" (Kr.).

2. *In the warning exclamation : you fall !*

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1197 G 11, some man shall vpon such a bridge, if folke call vpon him, *you fall you fall*, fall with fantasy that he taketh therof ... | idem H 4, The deuill fyndeth the man of his owne fond fantasy aferd, & then cryeth he in the eare of his hert, *thou fallest, thou fallest*, & maketh the fonde man aferd, that he shoulde at euerye foote fall in dede.

Nothing similar has been observed in other English writers. Very common in Dutch, e. g. *Pas op, je valt*.

3. *If the coming event is looked upon as a certainty.*

Boke of F. p. 1 C 3, but let them write, theyr labour *is* in vayne. | Picus 21 B 6, the rewarde when we die *is* nought but fire and paine perpetually. | Boke of F. p. 3 C 9, But in a whyle when she loueth hym no more, She *glydeth* from hym, and her giftes to. And he her *curseth* as other fooles do. | Last Th. 84 D 7, Surely can we al tel that die we shal. And clerely know we that of this deth we *get* no maner pardon.

This usage shows some resemblance with what Koziol (1933 pp. 81 ff.) terms "das emphatische Präsens-Pro-Future".

In his interesting article he adduces examples from the 14th century onward. In Shakespeare we find :

Hamlet III, iii, 5, Now might I do it pat, now he is praying, And now Ile doo't, and so he goes to Heauen, And so *am* I reueng'd.

More himself comments on this idiom in the following passage, where *is gone* is used instead of *will be gone* or *will go*. (Note his use of the term *pretertemps*.)

Passion 1347 E 11, In omnem terram exiuit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terre verba eorum, Into all the worlde *is gone* out the sowne of them, and into the endes of the roundel of the earth the wordes of them (which wordes wer written by the prophete Dauid many yeres ere the apostles wer borne, and yet prophesied by the verbe of the *pretertemps* or tyme passed, to signifye that the thyng prophecied sholde as surely succede and be verifed, as though it were passed alreadye).

4. *To express an intention.*

This case is illustrated by More in the following instructive quotation; from it we learn that this usage was common in spoken English.

Dial. Her. 161 G 3, For when the aungel had said vnto her, Lo thou shalte conceiue in thy wombe and brynge forth a childe, & thou shalte call his name Jesus, she answered him, how may this be? for as for man I *know* none, which though it be spoken but for the time than present, yet must it nedes signifie that she neuer woulde *knowe* none, after the maner of spekyng. By which a nonne myght say, as for man there *medeleth* none with me, signifienge that neuer there shall. And in common speche is that figure much in use. By which a woman saith of one, whom she is determined neuer to mary, we maye well talke together, but we *wedde* not together, meanyng that thei neuer shall wedde together.

(Similarly : Answer 1059 D 20-F 7.)

5. *If the fulfilment of the action is dependent on the fulfilment of another action expressed in a sub-clause.*

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1179 F 1, than *are* we safe, if we wil tary ther. | Dial. Her. 179 F 1, For what yf they wyll shewe you Boheme and now in Saxony wher Luther is, and peraduenture in a good part of Germanye?

Marye quod I, yf thei saye so, than *lepe* they lyke a flounder out of a frying panne into the fyre ¹⁾.

Trnka (1930 p. 19) says that "the future event is occasionally expressed by the present in the apodosis of the conditional sentence, if futurity is formally denoted in the protasis". From the following quotations it is evident that it is not necessary that futurity should be *formally* denoted in the protasis; the context may offer sufficient indication as to the time-sphere:

Last Th. 72 D 3, these wordes *geueth* vs al a sure medicine, yf we forslouth not the receiuyng. | Rich. 71 E 3, it is none horne that is in thine head. No mary q(uod) he that wote I well ynough. But what & he cal it an horn, wher *am* I then? | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1162 B 6, Peccator cum in profundum venerit, contemnit. When the sinner commeth euen into the depth, than he *contemneth* and *setteth* nought by nothing.

166. 2. IN DEPENDENT UNITS.

1. After *IT IS LIKELY*, *IT IS NECESSARY*, etc.

Last Th. 76 A 11, if the fantasies leue vs not sleping, it is not likely that euer they *leue* vs waking. | Last Th. 102 F 11, it is necessarye that we *consider* wel the weight. | Rich. 63 C 6, It shall not ... nede that I *rehearse* you agayn that ye haue alreadye harde.

2. In object clauses after verbs denoting a desire, etc.

Rich. 47 B 3, yf the Crowne happen ... to comme in questyon, whyle eyther parte taketh other as Traytours. I wyll well there *bee* somme places of refuge for bothe. | Last Th. 90 H 14, he wyll that some other *dye* by sickness. | Rich. 65 A 2, we require ye that ye to morow *go* with vs ... ²⁾.

3. In adverbial clauses of purpose or result.

Dial. C. 180, in feare lest he *dye* ³⁾ not wel. | Picus 26 C 1, well ought we then be ferde to done offence, Impenitent lest we *departen* hence. | Picus 22 D 10, Lest he thee vnpurueid, and vnready *catche* Thou must with the prophete stande and kepe watche. | Picus 11 B 3, Let vs then beware ... that we *be* not dronken in the cuppes of Circe. | Rich. 39 F 4, muche oughte wee ... beware ... that we eftesoones *fall* not in that

¹⁾ No earlier example of this proverb is recorded in OED (s. v. *frying-pan*).

²⁾ In this case *shall* + infinitive also occurs: Last Th. 90 H 13, his pleasure is that thou and thine *shal liue* no lenger. The following quotation contains independent *shal*: Dial. C. 180, if god wil we *shal* hence, than dothe he much for vs.

³⁾ After *lest* we also find *should* (Dial. C. (Wks.) 1168 B 9); *shal* (idem 1182 F 13); *wold* (idem 1183 H 11); *might* (idem 1203 H 13).

occasion agayne. | Aut. Lett. vi, 34, yor grace ... will provide ... that no lacke of vitaille hyndre or empech theire purpose. | Rich. 39 B 5, thei that by euill menes before pleased him best, shal after fall farthest out of fauour, so that euer at length euil driftes dreue to nought, & good plain wayes prosper.

4. *In concessive clauses opening with **THOUGH**, when futurity can be inferred from the context.*

Picus 20 D 4, Et caro mea requiescet in spe, And my flesh shall rest in hope, that is to say, that though it loy not by and by, as in receyuing his glorious estate mediately after the death, yet it resteth in the sepulchre with this hope, that ... | Rich. 68 D 3, Alas I woulde my vncke woulde lette me haue my lyfe yet, though I lese my kingdome.

5. *In clauses opening with the determinative **HE**, **WHAT** (**SOEVER**), **WHO** (**SOEVER**), etc., when futurity is evident from the context.*

Bless. Body 1265 D 10, Who so euer eat the bread and drinke the cuppe of our lord vnworthy, he shalbe gilty of the body and bloud of our lorde. | Rich. 50 E 5, I say he that agaynst my wyll taketh out him, breaketh the sanctuary. | Rich. 63 H 7, the labor & study ... that shal come ... to whomso euer so wel occupy the roume, as ... he wil. | Dial. C 295, I wyll be at mine owne libertye to do what me lyst.

6. *In conditional clauses, when futurity can be inferred from the context.*

Rich. 43 E 6, if thei crowne any other kinge then your sonne, ... we shal on the morowe crowne his brother. | Picus 13 B 3, neyther thy glory shal be lesse if thou be happy with fewe. | Aut. Lett. vii, 77, lettres sent vnto his Grace in commendation of the kinges orators in case the Duke accepte the ordre.

It is not necessary for the principal unit to contain the auxiliaries *shall* or *will* :

Last Th. 76 A 11, if the fantasies leue vs not sleping, it is not likely that euer thei leaue vs waking. | Last Th. 87 G 9, if we perceue once the rote and digge vp that, we be very sure the branches be surelye gone.

The same phenomenon occurs in :

Last Th. 85 G 11, strangle the mother & thou destroyest the doughter. | Debell. 936 G 7, and he seeke thys seuene yere, he shall in all mine apologye fynde you no suche wordes oute.

7. *In temporal clauses, when futurity can be inferred from the context* ¹⁾. a) *After **WHEN** :*

Dial. C. 338, when I heare once that vrchin bark I shall fall to my feete ... | Dial. C. 222, when you list you may enter into the special matter. | Picus 13 B 14, he shal not heare the when thou callest on hym.

¹⁾ *Shall*, however, also occurs in these clauses : Last Th. 95 A 5, whan death shal once waken vs, our gay golden dreame shal vanish.

It is not necessary for the principal unit to contain the auxiliaries *shall* or *will* :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1162 B 6, when the sinner *commeth* euen into the depth, than he contemneth and setteth nought by nothing. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1262 B 12, when death *commeth* ..., that the deuyll draweth him to dispayre.

b) *After TILL, ERE, OR, BEFORE* :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1159 A 6, before I *medle* wyth your second, your third wyl I ioine to this. | Instr. 1408 A 5, at the bare blast of the trumpet, before the bataile *beginne*, he is quyte and cleane ouerthrowen without any stroke at al. | Picus 11 F 1, Is ther ... any of those trifles, in the getting of whiche a man must not suffre many labours, many displeasures ... or he *get* it ? | Aut. Lett. XII, 42, ere the duke *suspecte*. | Apol. 65 till you *meke* yourself and *amende* them, this anger of your husbande wyl neuer be well appeased.

8. *To avoid the repetition of SHALL OR WILL.*

Last Th. 78 E 1, And whyle thou lyst in that case, their wordes shal be tedious, that thou wilt wyshe all that they *aske* for, vpon a red fyre, so thou mightest lye one halfe howre in rest. | Apol. 5, excepte I toke some payne to set out theyr argumentes plainly, many that *rede* them sholde lytle wyt what they meane.

167. The usage in nearly all these cases is a reminiscence of the Old English custom of expressing futurity without the help of attendant verbs. It is therefore not difficult to find instances dating from before More's time, though of course in the interval the analytic forms had been steadily gaining ground. As a result of his investigation into Orm's language, Dr. Zenke (1910 part III) shows that already in this author the present tense with future meaning was falling into disuse. In the Ormulum there are 341 compound forms denoting futurity as against 70 simple, synthetic forms, and of the synthetic forms 40 are of the verb *beon*. The form of the present is moreover only used where the future time-sphere is indicated by or to be inferred from the context.

In Pres. D. Eng. the possibility of using a present tense in a syntactical unit referring to future time has become still more limited than it was in More's time, especially in independent sentences (e. g. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1179 F 1, than *are* we safe, if we will tary here). In some cases the use of the present tense instead of the analytic construction now

gives an archaic or poetical flavour to the style, as in :
R. Kipling, *Recessional*, Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we *forget*, Lest we *forget*.

168. There is one case which requires separate treatment, viz. the one in which a future action is considered as a part of a programme already settled (Palmer 1924 p. 144), so that the dispositions made in the present time-sphere towards the fulfilment of the action expressed by the verb are included. (Trnka 1930 p. 18 uses the term "dispositional present.") There is one instance in More :

Picus 1 E 3, of whose connyng and vertue we nede here nothing to speake : forasmuch as hereafter we *peruse* the course of his whole life.

In Pres. D. Eng. this usage has become quite common, not only with verbs of motion, but also with a number of other verbs :

1926 Canfield, *Her Son's Wife* 13, Ralph *graduates* from the university this coming June, doesn't he ?

That the usage with other than verbs of motion is not a recent development, is proved by the above quotation from More and by :

1588 Shakesp. *LLL*, iv, ii, 161, I *do dyne* to day at the father's of a certain pupil of mine. | 1633 Massinger, *New Way*, iii, ii, 90. But to our business, Meg; you have heard who *dines* here.

Whether this idiom is a continuation of O. E. usage or an innovation that set in after the use of *shall* and *will* to help to express futurity had already become the rule in the majority of independent sentences, is difficult to ascertain owing to the scarcity of informative data as to the usage in Middle and Early Modern English. Neither Jespersen (1932 pp. 21 ff.) nor Poutsma (1926 pp. 251 ff.), who both discuss and illustrate the point comprehensively, have early quotations; Jespersen does not go farther back than Shakespeare. The usage is not mentioned in Kellner 1913, V. d. Meer 1929 (Mandeville), Dekker 1932 (Malory) or Graef 1889 and 1893 (Chaucer) ¹⁾.

¹⁾ In Trnka, *On the Syntax of the Eng. Verb from Caxton to Dryden*, p. 18, we find the following statement : " the present tense is frequently used in Early Modern Eng. in the function of the future almost in the same limits as in Late Modern English. In head-clauses the future

In the following instances from Wyclif, representing literal translations from the latin Vulgate, there is a strong resemblance to the usage under discussion :

Matt. 21, 30, and he answeride, and seide, Lord, Y *go*; and he wente not. | John 13, 33, 3it a litil Y *am* with 3ou. | John 14, 3, eftsoones Y *come*.

169. e. THE TIME OF THE ACTION STRETCHES FROM A POINT IN THE PAST TO THE PRESENT MOMENT.

Last Th. 85 C 12, there gaue them so great a fal by theyr owne foly, that vnto thys daye all their posteritye *goe* crooked thereof. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1141 C 11, The great Sowdon of Sirry thought himselfe more then his matche, and long since you were born, *hath* he that Empire too. | Dial. Her. 216 E 11, there were so many ... proues agaynst the man of whom we *speake* all this whyle. | Some Lett. ix p. 317. And I thanke our Lorde ... since I am come hither, I *sette* by death euery daye lesse than other. | Picus 1 G 8, a neuewe of the sayde Emperour called Picus, by whom al the auncestors of this John Picus, undoubtedly *beare* that name.

Just as in Pres. D. Eng., the present tense is rarely used in units in which the time of the action stretches from a point in the past up to the present moment; in More's English, too, constructions with the attendant verb *to have* are decidedly in the majority, e. g. :

Rich. 55 C 6, yet *hath* it *hen* of an olde rite & custome obserued as a token oftentimes ... foregoing some great misfortune. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1140 E 14, You bee not ignoraunt ... what heapes of heaunynesse, *hathe* of late *fallen* amonge vs alreadye. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1139 D 5, you ... good vncke, that *haue* so long *liued* vertuously.

In Middle English the construction without *to have* occurred only sporadically (Trnka 1930 p. 16; V. d. Meer 1929 § 4; Graef 1889 p. 537; Smith 1907 p. 454) In Pres. D. Eng. the form with *to have* prevails.

meaning of the present tense is restricted... 1. To cases in which the fulfilment of the action or state is represented as part of a programme already fixed in the present moment." Since such a sweeping statement has hardly any value without a reasonable number of passages quoted in support, the reader eagerly turns the page in order to find them, only to be sadly disappointed: the sole quotation given is absolutely irrelevant. It runs: "Diomed gives a grand feast next week, Poutsma Grammar II, 2, 252" If we look up Poutsma II, 2, 252, we find that the quotation is from Last Days of Pompeii, written by Bowler Lytton in 1834.

EARLIER	LATER
1382 Wyclif, Luke 15, 29, Lo, so many <i>geeris Y serue</i> thee (T).	1602 Shak., Hamlet III, i, 91, Good my lord, How <i>does</i> your honor, for this many a day? (J).
1374 Chaucer, Troilus v, 1351, But in two monethes yit ye not <i>retourne</i> .	1611 Shak., Cymb. IV, ii, 66, I <i>saw</i> him not these many years.
1422-1509 Paston Lett. III, I thynke longe that I <i>heer</i> nott from yow syns (E).	1867 Trollope, Duke's Ch. 2, 264, Well, Lady Mab, and how <i>are</i> you this long time? (J).

There is a curious juxtaposition of *have been*, *had* and *teach* in the following passage :

Dial. Her. 249 G 2, Now if that *were* trewe ... how *happed* it than ... that of so many vertuouse, wise & cunning fathers as *haue ben* in Christes church in so many hundred yeres, neuer none *had* the wit ... to *spye* thys great thing, but al *teach* confession, tyll now that Tyndale came.

So far only the cases in which the action actually lasts from a moment in the past up to the present moment have been dealt with (Jespersen's "inclusive present"). It is also possible that the action came to an end before the present moment is reached, but that the consequences or the result form the connecting link with the present moment (Jespersen's "retrospective present"). The following quotation contains an instance from More's language :

Last Th. 86 F 14, Wherof *riseth* thys waywardnesse?

Here, too, Pres. D. Eng. prefers the construction with *to have*.

170. f. THE TIME OF THE ACTION STRETCHES FROM THE PRESENT INTO THE FUTURE.

Dial. C. 128, Such as are here and *remain* still. | Lament. st. 4 l. 7, The yere yet *lusteth*. | Rich. 60 D 10, nothing *lasteth* alway. | Dial. C. 127, God ... byndeth me to sewe to you nowe ... in thys shorte tyme that we *haue* you, that it may lyke you ... | Rich. 60 H 1, it *continueth* not in their blood long. | Rich. 69 B 2, Dighton in dede yet *walketh* on a liue. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1230 A 10, How longe? As long as I *lyue*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1213 A 2, as long as it *standeth* in this case.

The particular time-sphere (present → future) of these units, though not expressed by a special form of the verb, is in many cases inherent in the meaning of the verb itself (*remain*, *last*, *continue*). In other cases adverbs (*to walk on*) or conjunctive

words (*as long as*) are used. Earlier instance : 1440 Coventry Mysteries 104, This nine monthis thou *seyst* me nowth (Kl.).

Later instance : Shakesp., Much Ado, III, I, 110, No glory *lives* behinde the backe of such (OED).

171. g. THE ACTION OCCURS IN THE " BEFORE FUTURE " ¹⁾.

Rich. 47 B 8, as for thecues, of whiche these places bee full, and which neuer fall fro the crafte, after thei once *falle* therto, it is a pitie the saintuary shoulde serue them.

Syntactical units of this kind contain a present tense form which denotes an action that will be past by the time another action takes place (* *thieves will never fall from the craft after they (will) have once fallen to it*). Chaucer's use of this idiom is illustrated in :

Minor Poems 5, 55, And rightful folk shal go, after they *dye*, To heven.

Older instances :

c 1000 Ags. Gosp. Luke 11, 22, æfter þam þe ic of deaþe *arise*. | c 1175 Lamb. Hom. 51, Efter þan þet þe mon *biþ* dead.

Later instance :

1853 Bronte, Villette 28, Shall I never see him again after I *leave* England ?

INDIRECT SPEECH

172. When the *verbum dicendi* is a present tense (*he says, thinks that ...*), the present tense contained in the original statement remains unaltered in indirect speech :

Apol. 3, they say ... I *shew* myselfe suspecte in the mater & parciall toward the clergy. | Apol. 52, Some of them *saye*, that I *have* more auauntage of these maters then I make for.

The use of *was* instead of *is* in the following quotation therefore seems irregular :

Answer 1050 F 4, ... our sauour would not discerne & deuide sayth from the woorke, but sayth that the faith it selfe *was* the woorke of god.

It is, however, possible that *sayth* stands for *sayd*, as this interchange of *d* and *th* is not rare in More's printed works. See §§ 173 and 206.

¹⁾ Jespersen 1932 p. 2 & p. 25.

173. When the *verbum dicendi* is a preterite (*he said, thought that ...*) the present tense in the original statement is shifted into the preterite (see Jespersen 1932 pp. 151 ff. on "back-shifting".)

Picus 10 A 12, [He] also saide, that he *knew* well, if he *lied* in that place, he *wer* worthie eternal damnacion. | Rich. 71 C 1, The fox ... asked him whither he *made* al that hast. | Rich. 57 B 11, The king would say ¹⁾ that he *had* .iii. concubines, which in three diuers proper-
ties *exceled*.

The present tenses in the following quotations seem irregular :

Lett. 1430 B 1, Than sayde my Lorde of Westminster to me, that how soeuer the matter semed unto mine owne minde, I had cause to fere that mine owne minde was erroneouse, When I se the gret counsail of the realme determine of my mind the contrary, and that therefore I ought to change my consciens. | Dial. Her. 110 B 10, Finally he said that many good & wel lerned men thought plainly that the clergie *semeth* farre out of all good order of charite.

The *th* of *semeth* may be a phonemic variant of *d*, as is occasionally the case. See §§ 172 & 206.

Absence of tense shifting is regular in the case of general truths, natural phenomena, etc. (§ 159) :

Rich. 66 H 1, and so they said that these matters *bee* kynges games. | Picus 5 C 14, He thought that ... with the desyre of worship ... ther *is* ... annexed the appetite of his confuson and rebuke, whom thei *argue* with. | Picus 7 C 11, Oftentimes in communication he would admonishe his familiar frendes, howe greatly these mortal things *howe* and *drawe* to an ende. | Lett. 1452 B 4, there uppon demaunded me, whither that I thought, that the Kynges grace myght not exact of me such things as *are* contained in the statutes.

That this is not a hard and fast rule is brought out by the following quotations :

Dial. Her. 271 C 8, he said that God *reieted*, *disalowed*, and sette at nought al the workes of infidels. | Picus 5 C 8, he saide, that those dispicions *did* great hurt, that *were* holden openly to thostentacion of lernyng. | Picus 5 C 1, it was a common saying with him, that suche altercacions *were* for a logician, & not metely for a philosopher. | Picus

¹⁾ The present tenses after *would say* in the following quotation are exceptional :

Debell. 952 B 9, the selfe same folke ... would then ... say that they *spende* vpon noughty beggers the good that was wont to keepe good yomen, and that thereby they both *enfeable* and also *dishonour* the realme.

5 C 4, He saide also, that such disputacions greatly *profited*, as *were* exercised with a peasible minde. | Picus 7 A 3, this waies he perswaded, that to a philosopher, & him that seketh for wisdome, it *was* no praise to gather richesse.

It is a remarkable fact that usage in this respect has always remained unsettled and that in Pres. D. Eng., as Sweet (1900 p. 70) points out, there is still some hesitation as to the "right" form of the verb in such sentences as "the ancients did not know that Africa *is* (or *was*) an island" ¹).

The following quotations from More deserve notice because of the coordination of two different verbal forms in the reported passage :

Picus 7 A 13, He saide, that fame oftentimes *did* hurt to men while thei *liue*, & neuer good whan thei *be* dead. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1183 E 5, The Foxe asked the asse before he began benedicite, wherfore he *came* to confession so sone, before Lent *begin*.

An instance of semi-indirect speech occurs in :

Dial. Her. 216 B 14, And than if we woulde say that was neuer so : he would aske vs, howe *can* we be sure thereof, whyle we can not say nay but it myght be so.

If this were indirect speech, we should expect a different word order and the preterite *could* (* he would aske us how *we could* be sure); in the case of direct speech a different pronoun (*you* instead of *we*) would be required : * he would aske us : "How can *you* be sure ?"

ASPECT I

174. This first kind of aspect (Aspect I) corresponds to what Dr. E. Koschmieder, in his authoritative treatise *Zeitbezug und Sprache* (Leipzig, 1929), calls "Aktionsart", which he distinctly differentiates from "Aspekte". On p. 27 we read ²) : "Dazu ist es erforderlich zu erklären, was man

¹) Compare Apol. (Wks.) 845 C 1, the crowe that accounted her own byrdes the fayrest of all the fowles that *flew*.

²) Koschmieder's opinion is cited here in view of the fact that in modern grammars a consensus as to the meaning of the terms in question is far to seek; many grammarians have even invented systems of their own (Deutschbein, Curme, Jespersen). For a negative criticism of Streitberg's conception see Trnka 1930 p. 32 (he calls it "a fallacy evident to all Slavonic philologists") and N. v. Wyk 1928 p. 225. Cf. Schönfeld 1932 p. 149 § 111 and Opm.; Mirowitz 1935 and Meyer 1937.

unter Aspekten zu verstehen hat. Das slavische Verbum verfügt über eine Fülle von Bedeutungsnuancen, die andere Sprachen sehr oft nur durch adverbelle Bestimmungen wiedergeben können. So besagt z.B. das polnische Verbum *powyciągać* "der Reihe nach herausziehen", dass es sich hier um die Tätigkeit des Herausziehens mehrerer Gegenstände nacheinander handelt, ähnlich wie russisch *pozakryvát'* bedeutet "der Reihe nach zudecken", wo also das Distributive schon im Verbum selbst enthalten ist. So gibt es Iterativa wie polnisch *mawiać*, "zu sprechen gewohnt sein", momentane Verba wie russisch *kriknút'* "aufschreien", Ingressiva wie tschechisch *zazpivati* "anstimmen, lossingen", und viele andere. All das sind Gruppen von Verben, die nach gemeinsamen Komponenten ihres lexikalischen Bedeutungsinhaltes zusammengestellt sind und die sich je nach der Feinheit der Unterscheidungsmerkmale in einer mehr oder weniger grossen Anzahl aufstellen lassen. Man hat sie "Aktionsarten" genannt, da die betreffenden Verben die Art der Ausführung der durch die Wurzel bezeichneten Tätigkeit charakterisieren. Von diesen Aktionsarten, die nach bestimmten Gesichtspunkten verbale Gruppen nach ihrem lexikalischen Bedeutungsinhalt zusammenstellen, sind die ASPEKTE zu unterscheiden. Jedes slavische Verbum — mit nur ganz vereinzelt Ausnahmen — ist, gleichviel zu welcher Aktionsart es gehört, entweder *perfektiv* oder *imperfektiv*; dabei kann dieselbe Aktionsart, oft mit bestimmten Bedeutungsschattierungen, sowohl perfektiv als auch imperfektiv auftreten, so dass es z.B. perfektive und imperfektive Durativa gibt."

175. The most prominent kinds of aspect 1 recognisable in the verbs used by More are the ingressive aspect, the durative aspect, the terminative aspect and the iterative aspect. In §§ 176-179 a number of instances of each are given, with only a few words of comment, since these kinds of aspect — in contradistinction to aspect 11 (perfectivity and imperfectivity) — pertain to lexicology rather than to syntax.

176. THE INGRESSIVE ASPECT ¹⁾.

Last Th. 81 F 11, Nowe come foorth y^e proude p(ri)soner. | Last Th. 86 E 4, wrathe sometyme *ryseth* vpon a wrong done vs. | Dial. C. 256, yf they *fall* sicke in our seruice ... | Aut. Lett. xii, 42, ere the duke *suspecte*. | Apol. 130, to pacyfye the grudge ere yt *bygynne*. | Dial. C. 245, ere they *be* ware. | Rich. 51 H 8, let me kis you ones yet ere you *goe*.

As the verbs in these and similar cases have no special forms to denote their ingressive character, the latter can only be inferred from the context. The distinction between ingressive and terminative aspect being rather nice, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the verb refers to the initial or to the final stage of the action.

The inchoative character is often emphasized by means of such attendant verbs as *begin*, *fall*, *go* :

Dial. C. 167, he *falleth* to *thynke* vpon hys death. | Last Th. 79 G 10, when we be sick, then *begyn* we to *know* our self. | Dial. Her. 123 II 7, we lyst not ones *go* moue our fote thitherwarde. | Dial. C. 252, [he] calleth vpon him, till he *goe seke* vp all his creditors.

EARLIER

c 1205 Layamon 16078, Ah *flih*, *flih*
þinne wæi (OED).
13... Thrush and Night. 4, in Relig.
Antiq. i, 241, The dewis *darkneth*
in the dale (OED).

LATER

1596 Dalrymple tr. Leslie's Hist.
Scot. i, 47, A mater that *wirkis*
out of the stanes, and *hardnes*
through the calde nature of the
Sey (OED).
1883 Hardwys's Phot. Chem. 248,
such papers *darken* in the sun
(OED).

177. THE DURATIVE ASPECT.

The majority of syntactical units the aspect of which is not distinctly ingressive or terminative may be called durative or continuative, as the action is mainly realised by the hearer in the stage between initiation and end.

Rich. 38 G 7, My Lordes, my dere kinsmenne ..., in what plichte I *lye* you see and I *feele*. | Dial. Her. 127 B 10, many times men doubte whyther ye *speke* in sporte. | Picus 31 B 10, whyle other *playe*, *reuil*, *sing* and *daunce*. | Last. Th. 83 D 9, our lord, which alway *standeth* at the dore of mans hert. | Supplic. 292 G 11, they haue in dayes passed seen as many sicke beggars as they see now. For as for other sicknes, thei *rain* not ... but after such rate as they haue done in times passed. | Last. Th.

¹⁾ Cf. Curme 1933 p. 377 ("Point-action Aspect; Ingressive Aspect"; Deutschbein 1931 § 35 ("Inchoativum").

99 B 6, *than the head aketh, & the stomake knaweth, and the next meale is eaten without appetite.* | Dial. Her. 169 A 9, *It semeth me ... that all this goeth well.*

EARLIER	LATER
c 1220 Bestiary 1, <i>þe leun stant on hille</i> (OED).	1562 J. Heywood, Prov. & Epigr. 184; <i>He standth well in his owne conceyte</i> (OED).
a 1272 in O. E. Misc. 98, <i>Hwat spekstu of eny stone?</i> (OED)	1819 Shelley, Cenci v, 1, 64, <i>Even whilst we speak The ministers of justice wait below</i> (OED).

178. THE TERMINATIVE ASPECT.

In units with a terminative aspect the attention of the hearer is drawn to the final stage of the action; this may be due to the character of the verb, in which the resultative aspect is inherent (e. g. *to catch*), to adverbs (e. g. *to eat up*), or to the context; in the last case especially when the result is mentioned in the form of a predicative adjunct (e. g. *he died a very good man*¹).

Last Th. 78 H 4, *yf he catche a manne faste at the tyme of hys death, he is sure to keepe hym for euer.* | Dial. C. 165, *Fasting is better then eatyng, and more thanke hath of God.* | Dial. C. 179, *without which no manne can geat to heauen.* | Last Th. 100 G 14, *if there be a man slain of a stroke, there is as reson is, muche speache made thereof, the coroner slitteth, the queste is charged, the verdict geuen, the felony founden...* | Last Th. 97 D 6, *till he fal downe the canel, & there lye down tyll he be taken vp.* | Last Th. 84 G 1, *Ye build the tower of Babilon in a corner of the prison ... : & sometime the gailor beteth it down again with shame.* | Last Th. 74 H 3, *few folk find it out.* | Last Th. 74 H 13, *it maketh the very labor easy.* | Last Th. 79 D 2, *[they] yeld themselves captiues.* | Dial. C. 143, *he died a very good man.*

EARLIER	LATER
1225 Ancr. R. 294, <i>Kecceþ us ... þe 3unge uoxes</i> (OED).	1583 Hollyband, Campo di Fior 199, <i>Drinke up all, Seeing there is but a little left</i> (OED).
1388 Wyclif Prov. 11, 1, <i>Mi sone, if thou resseyuest my wordis, and hidist myn heestis anentis thee</i> (OED).	Pres. D. Eng. : <i>he drinks his whole earnings</i> (OED).

¹) Cf. Curme 1933 p. 381 ("Effective aspect").

179. THE ITERATIVE ASPECT ¹⁾.

The units showing iterative aspect not only refer to actions consisting of a series of separate acts (e. g. *to sparkle*), but also to habitual and customary actions :

Last Th. 95 D 8, surely so *falleth* it daylye, that the eye is not only the coke ... | Rich. 53 B 3, not comen people only that *waue* with the winde, but wise men also. | Picus 12 E 10, they daily *see* the iustice of God. | Boke of F. p. 2 D 2, on whiche the mased people *gase* and *stare*, And *gape* therefore, as dogges doe for the bone. | Last Th. 70 H 13, hee (scil. the devil) whan wee drawe to deathe, *dooeth* hys uttermoste deuoyre to brynge vs to damnacion. | Boke of F. p. 2 B 7, she *smileth* on euery wight.

To emphasize this kind of aspect More frequently uses attendant verbs (*to be wont*; *to use*; *will*) :

Picus 8 H 3, When the priest enquired of him these thinges, & such other, as thei *be wont to enquire* of folke in such case. | Apol. 79, he semeth to meane the honoure that crysten people here in the world use *to do* to the church. | Dial. C. 159, some *wyll* in welth *fal* into folly.

ASPECT II**PERFECTIVITY AND IMPERFECTIVITY**

180. Actions may be looked upon by the speaker in two ways : his mental point of view lies either outside the (time of the) action, so that he sees it as a complete whole; or it lies within it, so that he contemplates the action in its progress from past to future. To express these two ways of looking upon an action the Slavonic languages have two different, but formally related verbs each with a regular conjugation-system and identical in lexicographical meaning ²⁾, called respectively *perfective* and *imperfective* verbs. Though such pairs of verbs are unknown in English ³⁾, this language is

¹⁾ Cf. Curme 1933 p. 386, 4; Deutschbein 1931 § 29 ("Iterativum, frequentativum").

²⁾ Koschmieder 1929 p. 46 : "Die Aspekte sind keine lexikalischen Gruppen sondern die grammatischen Kategorien für den Zeitrichtungsbezug".

³⁾ It is wrong to call *drink* and *ascend* imperfective and *drink up*, *mount* perfective, as is often done in modern grammars (Kruisinga, Deutschbein, Poutsma, etc.). See Koschmieder 1929 p. 29 on *jagen* and *erjagen* and his adverse criticism of Leskien's and Streitberg's theory and compare N. v. Wijk 1928 p. 225.

not without a means of expressing these different ways of looking upon an action whenever for clearness' sake it is necessary to do so. If the speaker sees the action from a time-point within the action, so that in his mind's eye it moves in the direction of past to future, he uses a verb-group of the type *is walking, was walking, will be walking*¹⁾; if he stands outside the action(-time) and realises it as a complete whole, he says *walked, will walk*, etc.²⁾.

Already in More's time the use of this distinctive expedient was known; it was, however, employed rather sparingly; by the side of a number of *to be + ing*-forms, there is a considerably greater number of present tense forms performing the same function. Here follow a few instances of the latter usage, in which the action occurs at the time of speaking :

Dial. Her. 252 E 6, *thys shoulde ye haue seene if ye hadde eyther redde as I say, the law next folowing or the glose of that law that ye redde.* | idem E 9, *mary quod he but in the lawe selfe that we rede, good saint Gregory saith plaine the contrary.* | Dial. Her. 211 C 3, *this one mater that we now speke of.* | Dial. Her. 169 A 9, *It semeth me ... that all this goeth well.* | Boke of F. p. 3 B 1, *Lo thus ye see ... Fortune alone ... Unstable here and there among them flittes.* | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1248 C 8, *whyte Herode and Herodias full beauliye sitte in hell burning both twayn ... the deuil with the damsel daunce in the fyre afore them.* |

¹⁾ In speaking of an action occurring at the time of speaking it is only natural that the position-in-time of the speaker is in the middle, so that (at least in Pres. D. Eng.) it is unavoidable that in this case the verb appears in the *to be + ing*-form. To take up such a position is not possible with actions of neutral time or timeless actions (e. g. in eternal or general truths), with actions without duration (to explode), nor with habitual and regularly repeated actions, unless encompassed in the time-period expressed by *always, ever*. Ingressive and terminative verbs allow of the analytic form only when, through a slight change in meaning, their character has become durative.

²⁾ In his article on "Expanded Tenses" in Eng. Studies xxi, 5 (1939) Th. Satchell also recognises the notions of completion or incompletion as determinative. He says that phenomena may be regarded from two aspects, which may be conveniently called the static and dynamic aspects, and adds in a note that in using the term "aspect" he does not intend to imply that the "expanded" and "unexpanded" tenses in English coincide with the imperfective and perfective aspects of the verb in Russian, but that there is, however, sufficient similarity to make the use of the term significant.

Last Th. 82 E 6, how many as yong as thou haue bene slain in the self same waies (= roads) in which thou *ridest*, | Dial. C. 129, Nowe *strue* there twayne for us. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1164 A 5, whyle our tong *pattereth* vppon oure prayer a pace, good God, howe manye madde wayes oure mynde *wandereth* the whyle. | Boke of F. p. 4 C 6, And eke against the sonne *Bekyth* hym poore Diogenes in his tonne. | Picus 31 B 10, whyle other *playe, reuil, sing* and *daunce*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1191 H 9, do I not now wagge my hande, shake my head, and stampe with my foote here in the flore? | Dial. Her. 127 B 10, men doubte whyther ye *speke* in sporte. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1211 D 8, by whiche letter it appeareth, that the greate Turke *prepareth* a marueylous mightie armye. | Dial. Her. 137 B 1, (she) first could not beleue it, but saide, what ye *mock* Iwis, I pray you tel trouth.

181. How far, in this respect, the language has developed since More's time appears from the fact that in the majority of the cases illustrated above, Pres. D. Eng. prefers the *to be* + *ing*-construction ¹⁾. Before More's time the single verb was still oftener used in this imperfective function, the *to be* + *ing*-form occurring very rarely in Middle English, at least in prose (see Aronstein 1918 and Åkerlund 1911).

EARLIER	LATER
971 Blickl. Hom. 149, Hwæt is ... þis folc þe her þus hlude <i>singeth</i> ? (OED)	1599 Shaks. Hen. V, iv, i, 319. I haue built two Chauntries, Where the sad and solemne Priests <i>sing</i> still for Richards Soule (OED).
a 1272 in O. E. Misc. 98, Hwat <i>spekstu</i> of eny stone? (OED)	1819 Shelley Cenci v, i, 64, Even whilst we <i>speak</i> , The ministers of justice <i>wait</i> below.
c 1400 Pety Job 329 in 26 Pol. Poems 131, Allas, I <i>walke</i> in a lake Of dedly synne that doth me tene (OED).	
c 1386 Chaucer, Kn. T. 425, thou <i>walkest</i> now in Thebes at the large (Gf).	
c 1386 Chaucer, C. T. C 828, I shal ryve him thurgh the sydes tweye whil that thou <i>strogelest</i> .	

¹⁾ A curious alternation of present-tense forms and constructions consisting of *to be* + form in *-ing* is contained in :

1570 Ascham, Scholemaster B 1, leaf 11, back : 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, playng, dauncing* or *doing* anie thing els, I must do it, as it were, in soch weicht, mesure, and number...

MODALITY

182. Modality is that particular character given by the speaker to a syntactical unit from which it appears whether or in how far he wants the action or state denoted by the verb occurring in it (or in the case of a group of verbal forms by the principal verb) to be looked upon as real or as imaginary, as certain or as doubtful, as feared or as wished for.

To impart this character the speaker has a number of grammatical and non-grammatical expedients at his disposal: facial expression, gestures, intonation, stress, modal adverbs, conjunctions, special verb-forms ("moods") and verb-groups.

Whereas English has an almost endless variety of verb-combinations to express the subtlest shades of modality, the number of special verb-forms that (help to) express modality is restricted to two ¹⁾: a LONG FORM (*he looketh*) and a SHORT FORM (*he looke*). Moreover, only the second and third person singular are subject to this differentiation ²⁾, the first person and the second and third persons plural having only one form (with the exception of *to be*).

The following survey (§§ 182-204) shows in what cases the long and in what cases the short form of the present tense was used by More; only instances with the second and third person singular have been adduced ³⁾.

183. INDEPENDENT UNITS.

1) When the unit denotes an actual fact the *long form* only is used.

Last Th. 82 C 4, His galowes & death *standeth* within .x. mile at the farthest ... | Apol. 23, a iugler that *conuayeth* hys galles so craftely

¹⁾ Apart from the use of the preterite in units the time-sphere of which is *not* the past, e. g. Last Th. 88 A 8, who *could* be angry for the losse ... ? (see §§ 219 ff.).

²⁾ Not, however, with all verbs; *lyst* (3rd person) e. g. occurs only in one form: Boke of F. p. 5 B 4, Who *lyst* to aduise them bothe, perceyue he shall, As great difference betwene them. | Picus 33 A 11, Worthy enough are thei Be thei neuer so vnworthy: whom that hee *List* to accept. | Boke of F. p. 2 C 4, As soone as Fortune *list* to laugh agayne ... | Apologye 45, Who so *lyst* to rede my bokes ...

³⁾ And occasionally the form *I be*.

that al the table spyeth them. | Picus 20 C 9, he that so doth *prospereth* in all thing.

To stress the reality of the action More sometimes uses the modal adverb *well* :

Rich. 47 B 3, yf the crown happen ... to comme in question, whye eyther parte taketh other as Traytours, I wyll *well* there bee some places of refuge for bothe. | Dial. Her. 217 B 6, Ye for God quod he that will I *well*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1249 G 4, That I belieue *wel* cosin.

EARLIER	LATER
a 1400 Bk. Curtasye 451, He <i>strykes</i> hom vp with forket wande (OED).	1867 Freeman, Norm. Conq. I App. 754, It <i>strikes</i> me that the scribe confounded these laws (OED).

2) In independent questions the *long form* is used ¹⁾.

Lament. St. 3 l. 4, But o good God what *vayleth* al this gere? | Rich. 51 G 1, what wise merchaunt *adventureth* all his good in one ship? | Picus 26 D 8, Why *louest* thou so this brotle worldes ioye? | Last Th. 86 F 14, Wherof *riseth* thys waywardnesse?

For the use and the omission of *to do* in questions of the type illustrated by the last two quotations, cf. the sections on *to do* + verb (§§ 421 ff.).

EARLIER	LATER
c 1205 Laymon 3005, Waet <i>seist</i> tu? (OED)	1601 Shakesp. Tw. N. v, i, 9, how <i>dost</i> thou, my good fellow?

3) In negative statements the *long form* is used.

Apol. (Wks.) 871 E 4, suche fautes as he speaketh of, he *saythe* them not as of hymselfe, nor *affyrmeth* them not ²⁾ for trewe. | Picus 14 B 3, Then he maketh philosophie mercennary ... which *studleth* it not for pleasure of itself.

As appears from these instances the use of *not* does not necessarily entail a periphrasis with *to do*, as in Pres. D. Eng. For further discussion see the sections on *to do* + verb (§§ 421 ff.).

¹⁾ Though this was the rule in Middle Engl. as well, there are a few exceptions, e. g. c 1386 Chaucer, C. T. H 273, Allas! that I was wrought! why *nere* I deed?

²⁾ Double negation is regular in More, cf. Apol. 6, yf this were vntrew ... some of them could assigne ... some one *suche* place for a sample. But that thyng neyther do they, nor *neuer* can. | Last Th. 90 C 13, the byrdes in the ayre, they neither sow nor repe, nor gather to no barns. | Picus 13 D 4, Nor I care not howe long ... thy prayer be.

EARLIER	LATER
1390 Gower, Conf. III, 159, So that here kinges yhe is blent And wot not hou the world is went (OED).	1590 Spenser F. Q. I, i, 30, With holy father <i>sits not</i> with such thinges to mell.

4) In imperative, jussive, precativ and exhortative units the *short form* is the rule.

Last Th. 89 D 3, *Seke ye fyrste* for the kingdom of heuen & the iustice of hym, & al these thinges shal be cast vnto you beside. | Instr. 1405 B 6, *Beare* no malice nor euill will to no man liuing.

EARLIER	LATER
a 1300 Curs. M. 14349, 'Lazar' wit þis, 'cum forth' he badd (OED).	1889 Jerome, Three M. I. A. B. III, 24, Now <i>get</i> a bit of paper and <i>write down</i> ...

5) In optative units the *short form* is used ¹⁾.

Lament. st. 10 l. 2, Our lorde *encrease* your honour. | Jest p. 1 D 3, I pray god *spede* hym well. | Rich. 40 F 6, thanke *he* to his grace that peril is paste. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1186 D 18, yes, Cosyn, manye an hundred, and els God *forbede*. | Rich. 39 D 5, Our Lorde *forbydde*, that you loue together the worse. | Rich. 43 E 2, Ah woo *worthe* him quod she, for hee is one of them that laboureth to destroye me and my bloode. | Dial. Her. 238 A 9, Naye my lordes quod he, I wil not drinke God *yelde* you. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1145 B 12, thys ... is a good cause of greates comfort in deede : our Lorde in tribulacion *send* it vs.

EARLIER	LATER
c 1300 Havelok 803, God <i>yelde</i> him þer i ne may, þat haueth me fed to þis day (OED).	1814 Wellington in Gurw. Desp. xii, 6, God <i>send</i> that I may be in time to prevent mischief (OED).

To bid a person God spede occurs in :

Conf. Tynd. 831 H 13, no man [should] after vouchsafe ... to bidde them ones *God spede*.

6) In hypothetical units of the type : *strangle the mother & thou destroyest the doughter* the *short form* is used.

Last Th. 85 G 11, enuy is ... the doughter of pryde in so farreforth that as this holy doctor sayeth, *strangle* the mother & thou destroyest the doughter. | Apol. (Wks.) 870 A 1, as for mine owne part, *loke* my

¹⁾ The long form is quite exceptional : Conf. Tynd. 413 G 2, did not then our lorde ... make him aunswere in this wise : *suffiseth* vnto thee my grace.

dyalogue ... and ye shall clerelye see ... | Picus 27 A 1, *Take* euery sports, that meunc can thee deuise, And among them all ... Thou shalt no pleasure ... finde. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1228 G 7, *Breake* one of his commaundementes, and break al. *Forsake* one poynte of hys faythe, and forsake al. | Debell. 980 C 2, *reade* the stories who so wyll, and he shall finde bothe by Platina and Cronica cronicarum to, that ...

EARLIER

- c1300 Seyn Julian, *Become* christen for my loue, and me þou hast bezite (E).
c1385 Chaucer, Leg. of G. W. 735, *wre* the glede and hotter is the fire; *Forbeede* a love, and it is ten so woode.

LATER

- 1913 Punch 13 Nov., *Give* them something really good and they sniff at it; but *give* them something risky and look you couldn't get a seat if you tried (Kr.).

184. DEPENDENT UNITS (§§ 184-204).

In (subject)-clauses opening with *who* so both the *short* and the *long forms* are used.

Last Th. 73 G 14, Whoso seeth not, that his laughter is more madde than the laughter of the mad man ... | Rich. 37 H 6, whoso *diutneth* vpon coniectures, maye as wel shote to farre as to short.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1204 H 1, who so that *dye*¹⁾ for defaulte where we myght helpe them ... | Rich. 35 H 3, Whose warres who so well *consyder*, hee shall no lesse commende hys wysedome where hee voyded, than hys mannehooode where he vainquissed. | Apol. (Wks.) 877 D 8, whoso *prye* vpon euery mannes dede so narrowlye... | Dial. Her. 180 E 13, who so *kepe*²⁾ the faith ... god will plucke him out ...

When the indefiniteness of *whoso* is strengthened by the addition of *ever*, the *short form* seems to be the regular one.

Last Th. 85 H 5, *whosoever enuye* another it is for some thyng, whereof him self wold be proude if he had it. | Bless. Body 1265 D 10, *Who so euer eat* the bread and drinke the cuppe of our lorde. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1263 C 14, *who so euer shrynke* away with forsakyng hys faythe ... he shall bee ... | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1161 B 7, *what so euer he saye* ... | Rich. 63 H 9, *whom so euer* so wel *occupy* the roume, as I dare say he will if he take it. | Last. Th. 90 D 6, *Whosoever he be* that hereth this ...

¹⁾ This may be plural, since the referring pronoun is *them*. In that case there is of course no question of long or short form. The other quotations, however, prove that *who so* may stand with the referring pronoun *he*.

²⁾ Delcourt 1914 p. 112 wrongly assumes here "chute de la dentale finale" of the same kind as the omission of the *th*-ending in the present tense form of verbs ending in *t*, as in (*he*) *list*, *let*, *admit*.

The use of either the short or the long form after *who so (ever)* seems to have been unsettled ¹⁾ throughout all the stages of the Eng. language; in Pres. D. Eng. there is a predilection for the long form, if, at least, no attendant verbs are used; in spoken English the short form is unknown.

EARLIER

LATER

LONG FORM.

1297 R. Glouc. 6253, Ofte wo so
coueiteþ al, al leseth (OED).

c 1400 Destr. Troy 5551, Who so
staris on þis story ... Take hede
on þe harmys & the hard lures!
(OED)

1498 in J. Bulloch, Pynours 57,
And quhais doys in the contrar
... salbe punist (OED).

1593 Shakesp. 3 Hen. VI, iv, vii, 74,
And whosoe're *gainsayes* King
Edwardes right ... I challenge
him to single fight (OED).

1883 Whitelaw, Sophocles, Antig.
35, Whoso *does* this deed, A
public death by stoning is his
doom (OED).

SHORT FORM.

c 1205 Layamon 22307, Who swa
come gladliche he sculden wurþe
riche (OED).

c 1400 Maundev. xix, 113, Hem
semeth þat whosoeuere *be* meke
... he is holy & profitable (OED).

1607 Shakesp. Timon v, i, 212, Who
so *please* to stop Affliction, let
him take his haste (OED).

1876 Morris Aeneids viii, 122, 'Come
forth', he said, 'whoso *ye be*'
(OED).

185. In subject-clauses announced in the principal unit by proleptic *it* (types : *it semeth that*; *it greueth me that*) the use of either the *short* or the *long form* seems to depend upon the character of the principal unit.

If the principal unit is a neutral (= non-emotional) statement the *long form* is used; if it denotes emotion,

¹⁾ There does not seem to have existed any particular reason why in one case the long and in another the short form was used; compare the following two quotations :

Bless. Body 1265 D 10, *Who so euer eat* the bread and *drinke* the cuppe of our lord vnworthyly, he ...

1539 Bible, John vi, 54, *Whoso eateth* my flesshe & *drinketh* my bloude, hath eternall lyfe.

The explanation is perhaps to be found in the Latin *manducaverit* and *manducat*.

astonishment, uncertainty, (dis)approval, etc., the *short form* often occurs. No general rule, however, can be given, owing to the paucity of quotations illustrating the point, most sentences that contain a unit with proleptic *it* being of the type: *It is almes to correct the vicious. | it is foly to looke for heauen...*

SHORT FORM. Last Th. 75 G 9, it is not ynough that a man *do* none euyl, but he must also do good. | Rich. 50 C 10, It is not honorable that the duke *bide* here. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1211 A 16, so is it very good maner, that a man of your age ... *lette* his slepe not slippe awaye. | Rich. 59 F 9, No more is it reason that it *mislike* any man, that I mary where it liketh me. | Apol. 6, It is lytle meruayle that yt *seme* long and tedyouse vnto them. | Rich. 63 C 10, And reason is that it so *be*. | Last Th. 85 B 9, little meruail it is though enuy *be* an vngracious grafe [= graff; graft]. For it commeth of an vngracious stocke.

LONG FORM. Dial. Her. 218 H 6, trouth it is that a mannes othe *receiueth* interpretacion. | Dial. Her. 201 G 3, it is a good token that the matter & substance of them is true. | Last. Th. 98 E 3, Wonder it is that the worlde *is* so mad.

If *though* instead of *that* is used the *short form* is regular.

Dial. Her. 259 C 2, thei woulde say Ah, fy fy for shame what meruaile is it though god *sende* a vengeance amonge you.

In the majority of cases More uses attendant verbs:

Dial. Her. 211 H 14, more likely is it also that one *may* forgette the thing that he herd, than that a nother *should* remember that thing that he herde not. | Dial. Her. 152 G 13, it is ... plain against the rule of reason that an heuy body *should* moue alone any other mocion then downward. | Dial. Her. 145 F 4, then can it not be that he *shal* suffer the deuill to worke wonders.

In Pres. D. Eng. the short form is not used, except in literary and poetical style.

EARLIER

LATER

LONG FORM.

1390 Gower, Conf. i, 100, No wonder thogh he *siketh* ofte (OED).
c 1380 Wyclif Wks. 265, It is gret meruaile þat god ... *distroiet* not alle þis cursed peple (OED).

1749 Fielding, Tom J. iii, iv, 'No Man is wise at all Hours'; it is therefore no Wonder that a Boy is not so (OED).

1855 Orr's Circ. Sci. 226, It is not unlikely that the gas thus formed occupies the place of water (OED).

SHORT FORM.

1390 Gower, Conf. vi, 382, Though god his grace *caste* aweie No wonder is (OED).

1545 Brinklow, Compl. xi, 26, It is meruel ... that fyre *descend* not down from heauen (OED).

186. In object-clauses dependent on principal units containing a will, a desire, etc., *short forms* are the rule, and long forms exceptional.

Last Th. 90 H 12, his pleasure is that thou and thine shal liue no lenger but die and depart by famine, as he wyll that some other dye by sickness. | Dial. (Wks.) 1193 F 5, tell hym, that he *shewe* you whereby he knoweth ... that himself is not a slepe. | Rich. 47 B 6, I wyll well there *bee* somme places of refuge for bothe. | Picus 13 G 5, Now to make an ende with this one thing. I warne thee ... that thou neuer *forget* these .ii. thinges. | Rich. 39 E 9, what trouble hath within these fewe yeares growen in this realme, I praye Godde as well *forgeate* as wee well remember.

Aut. Lett. xii, 55, His grace lyketh not that themperor *setteth* on so slowly.

By the side of these forms constructions with auxiliaries are not infrequent :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1160 F 6, Yf he send the scourge of scarcity and of greate famyne, he wil we *shal* beare it paciently; but yet wyl he that we *shal* eat our meat when we can happe to get it. Yf he sende vs the plage of pestilence, he wyl we *shal* paciently take it ... | Last. Th. 90 H 12, his pleasure is that thou and thine *shal* liue ...

In older English the clauses dependent on desiderative verbs were almost exclusively constructed with the short forms, unless combinations with attendant verbs took their place. In Pres. D. Eng. the use of the short forms is restricted to poetical and literary language, and to parliamentary formulas such as " I move that action *be* postponed ".

EARLIER

LATER

SHORT FORM.

971 Blickl. Hom. 61, Deme 3e nu swa swa 3e willon þæt eow sy eft 3edemed (OED).

c 1350 Will. Palerne 281 þat y am þat ilk weigh i wol wel þou wite (OED).

1591 Shaksp. Two G. iv, iii, 41, I wish all good *befortune* you (OED).

Pres. D. Eng. (poetical) : 1822 Shelley, Charles I, ii, 456, Go desire Lady Jane She *place* my lute (OED).

LONG FORM.

1000 Luke ix, 54, Wylty we *seegaþ* þæt fyr come of heofene? (Kl.)

1400 Bury Wills 48, I wille that she *disposyth* as she and her frendes thinke beste (Kl.).

1691 Shadwell, Scowters iv, iv, I wish the house *is* not robbed (OED.)

1751 Monitor, n° 35, 1, 325, I wish the old hag *has* done him no mischief (OED).

187. In object-clauses dependent upon principal units which contain the verbs *see*, *look* or synonyms and denote an admonishment or exhortation, the *short form* is used.

Picus 32 A 9, Freelye looke eke thou *serue* that thereto neuer Truste of rewarde or profite dooe the bynde. | Picus 22 D 5, One sinne vainquished loke thou not *tary*, But lye in awayte for an other. | Picus 26 C 5, See thou *behaue* thee wisely with thine hoost.

Pres. D. Eng. uses the long form here; a short form is occasionally found in affected diction. Before More's time (e. g. in Wyclif — see Smith 1907 § 133) and for some time after, the short forms alternated with constructions with attendant verbs.

SHORT FORM.

c 897 Ælfred, Greg. Past. LIX, 415,
Lociaþ nu þæt þios eowru leaf
ne weorþe oþrum monnum to
biswice (OED).
a 1300 K. Horn 452, se he *holde*
forward (OED).
c 1380 Wyclif, Wks. 38, Seynt petyr
comaundiþ, if ony speke, loke he
speke as goddis wordis (OED).

1523 Fitzherb. Husb. § 21, Let hym
beware, that he *trede* not to
moche vppon the corne (OED).
1575 Gammer Gurton II, i, 77, Now,
Hodge see thou *take* heede.
1590 Shakesp. Mids. N. D. iv, i, 15,
haue a care the hony bag *breake*
not.

188. Of object-clauses dependent on a unit containing the verb *to provide* two instances have been observed; one of them has a *short*, the other a *long form*.

Rich. 60 H 1, god alway so prouideth, that it *contineth* not in their blood long ... | Aut. Lett. iv, 34, he dowlth not but your grace hath and will provide that no lacke of vitaille *hyndre* or *empech* their purpose.

To provide is no longer used in this meaning; the latest quotation in OED. is dated 1573. The short forms (apart from constructions with attendant verbs) seem to have predominated:

1538 Starkey, England II, ii, 181, We must prouyd ... that by no prerogatyfe he *vsurpe* apon the pepul any such authorysyd tyranny. | 1573-80 Baret, Alv. P. 801, To prouide that a thing *happen* not.

189. In object-clauses dependent on units denoting emotion, astonishment, doubt, uncertainty, hope, etc., the *short form* does not seem to have been obligatory; the greater number of the quotations containing this kind of clause are construed with the *long form*.

Dial. Her. 123 H 9, We meruayle muche that God *sheweth* no mo myracles nowe adaies. | Dial. Her. 98 E 3, Wonder it is that the worlde *is* so mad. | Last Th. 97 A 17, who douteth but that the body dilicately fed, *maketh* as the rumour saith an vnchast bed. | Apol. (Wks.) 876 E 2, I can not perceiue which of the twoo partes *calleth* which nor who calleth whom. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1150 F 14, some menne ... I durst ... put ... in right good hope, that God *sendeth* it vnto them. | Apol. (Wks.) 864 F 1, I am sory that their maner *is* no better.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1169 G 8, therefore am I nowe verye gladde, that you *be* come. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1177 E 10, such as feare least that waye *be* not sure ... | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1230 D 6, he that doubteth whither there *be* any God or no.

In Old Eng. the short form was often used in object-clauses of the kind illustrated above; in Middle Eng. it alternated with the long form; in Pres. D. Eng. it hardly ever occurs. Here follow a few quotations with long forms :

1611 Shaksp. Wint. T. v, i, 30, what were more holy, Then to reioyce the former Queene *is* well. | 1596 Dalrymple tr. Leslie's Hist. Scot. i, 36, This causes men to wonder, that vnder that earth *ar* fund gret stokis.

190. In object-clauses after *care not*, *force not*, *reck not*, etc., the *short form* is used.

Picus 12 H 14, no man recketh whether god *like* hym or not. | Supplic. 298 F 11, But to thende that ye may se how littel thys man forceth how lowd he *lye* : consyder that he sayth that ... | Suppl. 302 B 6, he neyther deuyseth ferther, nor ferther forceth who *haue* it. | Picus 13 D 4, Nor I care not howe long or how short thy prayer *be*.

The short forms seem to have been the rule in older English. To-day only long forms or constructions with auxiliaries are current in the spoken language.

EARLIER	LATER
c 950 Lindisf. Gosp. Mark iv, 38, Ne reces þu þæt we deado <i>sie</i> (OED).	1606 Shaksp. Tr. & Cr. v, vi, 26, I wreake not, though thou <i>end</i> my life to-day (OED).
1485 Caxton, Chas. Gt. 196, I retche not though he <i>be</i> put to dethe (OED).	1871 Morley, Voltaire 3, Men had almost ceased to care whether there <i>be</i> any moral order or not (OED).
1500-20 Dunbar, Poems LVIII, 22, Thay fors bot litill how it <i>fare</i> (OED).	

191. In object-clauses dependent on the verbs *to think*, *to wene*, the *short forms* are used to emphasize the uncertainty or doubtfulness of the statement; in other cases *long forms* are found.

LONG FORM.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1186 F 8, me thinketh ... that it is rather a thinge that cometh of a great corage. | idem 1173 A 3, I thynke that that is sayde *suffyseth*. | idem 1191 D 1, the thyng whyche he weneth God by his angel *byddeth*, god hath by hys own mouthe forbydden. | Last Th. 73 G 1, Think not that euey thing is plesant, that men for madnes laughe at.

SHORT FORM.

Dial. Her. 153 A 4, His eyen may ... be deceyued & wene thei so that they se not, if reason geue ouer his hold, excepte ye thinke the iugler *blow* his galles through the gobletes bottom, or *cut* your gyrdell afore your face ... and *make* it hole agayne. Cf. § 229 (*were*).

The two forms were similarly used in older English (Curme 1933 p. 416). In Pres. D. Eng. only long forms or auxiliaries are found. A few quotations with long and short forms follow :

a 1300 Cursor M. 7557, Quat! wyns þou i *am* a hund? | 1400 Mandev. Trav. 143-8, sum men trowen þat half the cros ... *be* in Cipres. | 1523 Berners, Froissart III, 386, I beleue it *be* the Frenchmen. | idem IV, 422, yf syr John ... thynke that the other knyght *haue* aduantage, let hym set on his helme in lyke manner.

192. In indirect questions *long* and *short* forms alternate.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1191 F 6, you shall haue good cause ... to demaund ..., wherby he *knoweth* that hys vision is Gods true reuelacion.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1190 D 14, Many other tokens are ther in the work of master Gerson ... to consyder by, whyther the person ... *do* ... fayne his reuelacions hymself. | idem 1192 G 16, In Sampson all menne make not the matter very sure, whither he *be* saued or not. | Bless. Body 1265 G 9, no manne liuyng *knoweth* whether he *bee* worth the fauour or hatred of god. | Dial. Her. 118 F 1, these heretyques...demaunde whyther god and his saintes lack lyght or whyther it *be* night with them that they can not se wythout candle.

If the clause opens with *whither* (= *whether*) the short form prevails. The usage in More does not essentially differ from that of older periods. In Pres. D. Eng. only long forms are used, except occasionally in literary language.

EARLIER	LATER
a 4225 Leg. Kath. 2312, Loke nu hweþer þe beo leouere don þat-ich þe leare ... oþer ... (OED).	1610 Shaks. Temp. v, i, 123, Whether this <i>be</i> , Or <i>be</i> not, I'll not sweare.
a 1300 Curs. M. 4918, Now wel is sene Queþer þat yee be fule or clene (OED).	1676 Ray, Corr. (1848) 122, Tell me whether any such bird <i>be</i> known to you (OED).

193. In attributive clauses with the modality of fact the *long forms* are used; if the clause denotes an uncertain attribute or a quality of the antecedent required or sought for, the *short form* ¹⁾ is used.

Rich. 55 B 10, I am as sure of the man that he *woteth* of, as I am of my own hand. | Rich. 60 G 4, the great grace that god *giueth* & secretly *infowndeth* in right generacion. | Picus 6 G 6, the ... brode way that *leadeth* to hell.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1193 C 6, now this good man neither hath any of goddes enemies to be by his own deth reuenged on, nor any woman that violently *pursue* him by force.

In older English short forms are not rarely met with :

750 Elene 371, Nu ge raþe gangaþ and findaþ gen þa þe fyrngewritu þurh snyltorcruft selest *cunnen*. | c 1400 Mandev., Tr. 96, 6, And men seen in þat contre a mountayne to the whiche *nomian come*.

In Pres. D. English only *long forms* are used; in literary diction the particular function of the short form is sometimes taken over by *shall* or *should*, as in :

Woodrow Wilson, Jan. 1901, It is hard to construct an argument here which *shall* not be heated.

Compare the "subjonctif" in French : ' je cherche une maison qui *ait* dix chambres ' (C. de Boer 1922 p. 85).

194. In adverb clauses of time opening with *before*, *ere*, or *til*, the *short form* is used.

Before. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1183 E 5, The Foxe asked the asse *before* he began benedicite, wher fore he came to confession so sone, *before* Lent *begin*. | Instr. 1408 A 5, at the bare blast of the trumpet, *before* the bataile *beginne*.

Ere. Rich. 39 A 5, there must it nede be long *ere* any good conclusion *goe* forwarde. | Aut. Lett. xii, 42, *ere* the duke *suspecte*. | Apol. 130, to pacifye the grudge *ere* yt *hygynne*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1202 D 16, *ere* the morning waxe lyght.

Or. Picus 11 F 1, Is ther ... any of those trifles, in the getting of whiche a man must not suffre many labours ... or he *get* it?

Til. Picus 16 F 2, thei renne forth hedling in to all mischiefe, ... til that death *set* on them vnware. | Apol. (Wks.) 887 B 3, sleepe [they] shall till Gabrielles trumpe *awake* them and *call* them vp. | Last. Th. 97 D 6, till he *fal* downe the canel, & there *lye* down tyll he *be* taken vp. | Last Th. 101 C 3, now shall they be ... left in the mire, til Gabriell *blowe* them vp.

¹⁾ For the similar use of *were* see § 231.

The long form *turneth* in the following quotation is exceptional :

Rich. 39 D12, ambicion ... where he once entreth crepeth foorth so farre, tyll with deuision and variaunce hee *turneth* all to mischiefe.

In older English, too, the short forms prevailed (Roszmann 1908; Smith 1907 p. 457; Klausmann 1919 p. 80; V. de Meer 1929 § 32, 4). In Pres. D. Eng. only long forms occur, except in poetical language.

EARLIER	LATER
a 1225 Ancr. R. 296, Cwench hit ... er þen hit <i>waxe</i> (OED).	1601 B. Jonson, Poetaster, Prol., Stay monster, ere thou <i>stnk</i> .
a 1400 Mandev. Tr. 9, 32, it filleth himself euerich seer til þat it <i>go</i> ouer aboue (M.).	1610 Shakesp., Temp. 1, ii, 465, I will resist such entertainment, till Mine enemy <i>ha's</i> more pow'r.
1420-30 Prymer [E. E. T. S.] 64, Alle þe daies in whiche ye trauele now, y abide til my chaungyng <i>come</i> .	1850 Tennyson, In Mem., XIII, 8, Silence, till I <i>be</i> silent too.

195. After the conjunctions *while*, *as long as*, *when(soever)* the long form is regular, even when the reference is to future time. There is one instance of a short form after *all the while that*.

While. Rich. 66 G 9, if one should can so lyttle good ... to calle him by his owne name whyle he *standeth* in his majestie. | Rich. 61 E 1, whose remembrance can neuer dye while he *liueth*. | Last Th. 78 C 10, while our life *walketh* awaiward.

As long as. Dial. C. 264, as long as it *standeth* in this case. | Last Th. 81 D 2, thou shalt neuer dye as long as thou *liuest*.

When(soever). Dial. C. 168, when the sinner *commeth* euen into the depth, than he contemneth and setteth nought by nothing. | Last Th. 84 A 12, [he shall] ... whan deth *arresteth* him, haue his deinty body turned into stinking carien. | Picus 17 D 4, whan thou *comest* home. | Dial. C. 355, I wene that when so euer he *falleth* sicke nexte, he wyll wyshe ...

All the while that. Dial. Her. 217 H 14, I neuer can conceiue good hope of his amendement all the while that pryde *abyde* still in his heart.

How consistent More was in the use of a long form after *when*¹⁾ and a short form after *ere* appears from the following quotation :

¹⁾ Draw after *whan* in the following quotation can be interpreted as plural : Picus 20 A 12, than is a man perfit, *whan* his soule, but also his flesh *draw* forth to godward.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1124 (= 1202) D 15, there are two times of darknesses : the tone *ere* the morning *waxe* light, the tother *when* the euening *waxeth* darke.

Before More's time short forms were used alongside of the long ones :

971 Blickl. Hom. 97, He sceal wianan & sorgian, hwonne se *dæg cume*. | c 1440 Generydes 1245, Ser, on to hir loggyng, When euer it *please* yow, I shall be your gyde. | 1425 Cast. Pers. 2542 in Macro plays 153, It is good, whon-so þe wynde *blowe*, A man to haue sum-what of his owe (OED).

c 1400 Avow. Arth. xxiv, Quen thou *art* armut in thi gere, Take thi schild and thi spere (OED).

In Mandeville's Travels short forms after *when* are the rule, long forms exceptional (V. d. Meer 1929 § 32, 4 d.).

After More's time short forms were only sporadically used : 1592 Daniel, Delia XL1, 1, Thou canst not die while any zeal *abound* ...

In Pres. D. Eng. the long form or constructions with auxiliaries are the rule.

196. In adverb clauses of place the *long form* is regular, even if they refer to future events.

Last Th. 78 H 7, where so euer the stone *falleth* there shall it abyde. | Rich. 39 D 12, Suche a pestilente serpente is ambicion and desyre of vaine glorie and souerainty, whiche amonge states where he once *entreth* crepeth forth so farre, tyll ...

Instances of short forms in earlier English are very rare; they do, however, occur :

1000 Andrew, Hafa blessunge ofer middangeard mine, þær þu *fere* (K1).

Later example :

1600 Shaksp., Twelfth N. II, iv, 65, A thousand thousand sighs to save, Lay me, O, where Sad true lover never *find* my grave.

197. In clauses of hypothetical similarity of the type as *who say(th)*, both *long* and *short* forms are found.

Last Th. 84 E 4, holy David saith to this gailor whither shal I go fro thy spirit, & whither shal I fle fro thy face : *as who saith* nowhither. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1213 F 8, accordyng to Christes woordes : ... whan the son of man shal come agayn, that is to wit, to the daye of general iudgemente, wenest thou that he shal fynde faith in the earth ? *as who say*, but a litle. | Passion 1323 C 2, *as who saye* washe it a waye.

According to Einenkel (1916 p. 42) this formula is an imitation of Old French * *come qui die* > Modern French *comme qui dirait*. It was frequently used in Middle English :

1303 R. Brunne, Handl. Synne 7046, Alle þat spake of syre Troile Was skraped away, as *who sey oyle*. | c 1330 Metric. Hom., Signs of Doom (in Emerson M^l. E. Reader p. 149 l. 5), 'For hevin and erþe sal passe þar, Bot my word passes never mar'. — *Als qua sai*, þing þat I tell Ne mai na miht fordo ne felle. | a 1340 Hampole, Psalter cxliii, 6, Lorde helde þi heuens and descend ... *Aswhasay*, we ere in feghtyng ...

As it appears from More's English, the expression lived longer than Einkenel assumes ("findet sich bis in das 15. Jahrh. hinein" ¹). About the end of the 13th century long forms appear by the side of the short :

1297 R. Glouc. (Rolls.) 24, Severne & temese; hombre is þat þridde; & thanne is, as *two seiþ*, þat pur lond amide.

In this form it survived into early Modern English :

1550 Bale, K. John 2358, *As who sayth*, I woulde for pleasure of my persone ... have suche an enterpryse done.

By the side of it the periphrastic formula *as who should say* came to be used :

c 1375 Cursor M. 8611 (Fairf.), Ho turned hir ouer ... *As qua sulde sai*, I knaw na harme.

This also occurs in More :

Passion 1377 G 2, Lo quoth he the howre is at hand and the sonne of man shalbe deliuered into the handes of sinners. *As who should say* ...

Of the three variants only *as who should say* has survived into Pres. D. Eng.; it is, however, somewhat archaic now.

As one would say occurs in :

Passion 1373 E 8, he sayde vnto them why slepe ye? *As one would say*, it is no time for you to slepe now.

198. In adverb clauses of condition opening with *if*, *and*, *what and*, *in case*, *so*, *so that*, *but if*, *without* or *except* the short form is used without any exception ²).

If. Last Th. 80 G 4, If thou *thinke* this, than wold I wit ... | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1162 G 10, if he *dooe*, then findeth it the wretche no fable. | Last Th. 78 H 4, yf he *catche* a manne.

And. Debell. 936 G 7, and he seeke thys seuen yere, he shall in all mine apologie finde you no such wordes of mine.

¹) OED. has a quotation dated 1611.

²) That is to say, if there is only *one* clause introduced by one of these conjunctions : Last Th. 89 D 8, either he beleueth not that Christ spake these wordes ... or els yf he *beleue* that Christ spake them & yet *feareth* lest he will not kepe them. | Last Th. 82 A 13, if thou *think* this reason but a sophisticall sotiltie, & *thinkest* ...

What and. Rich. 71 E 3, it is none horne that is in thine head. No mary q(uod) he, that wote I wel ynough. But what & he *cal* it an horn, wher am I then?

In case. Aut. Lett. vii, 77, lettres sent vnto his Grace ... in commendation of the kinges orators in case the Duke *accepte* the ordre.

So. Picus 18 C 12, so he *haue* money, he thinketh hymselfe well.

So that. Supplic. 302 B 4, they may sone perceiue that he mindeth not their almoise, but only the spoile of the clergy. For so that the clergy *lese* ¹⁾ it, he neyther deuyseth ferther, nor ferther forceth who haue it.

But if. Picus 12 C 9, impedimentes ... : which might feare thee ..., and (but if thou *be* ware) shall throw thee down hedding. | Dial. C. 208, he is not satisfied, but if he *say* it againe.

Without. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1153 F 5, good workes to Godward woorketh no man, without God *worke* with him.

Except. Dial. C. (Wks.) 1171 H 11, he that cannot long endure to hold vp his head and heare talking of heuen except he *be* nowe and than betwene ... refreshed with a meri ... tale. | Dial. Her. 141 H 12, Except your iustice *abound* & *excede* the iustice of the Scribes and Phariseis, ye shall neuer come in heauen. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1179 H 4, except any farther thing *fal* in our wai.

How imperative the necessity of using short forms was in these cases is manifest from the following quotations, in which, in spite of the fact that the sequence of tenses requires the forms *ate* and *bode*, the latter are replaced by *eate* and *hyde*, apparently because forms like *ate* and *bode* are unable to express modality ²⁾ :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1184 F 15, For he thought that if he *eate* not that meate, some other beast mighte happe to haue it. | Rich. 49 (= 46) E 18, [she] verely beleueth and knoweth, that they woulde bee as sorrye of his harme as her selfe, and yet would haue hym from her yf she *hyde* there.

The modal influence of *if* occasionally stretches over two clauses, one dependent on the other :

Debell. 1001 H 14, if there *appere* manifest tokens that he *dooe* it not of any corrupt affeccion.

In view of the fact that More uses the short form only, it is interesting to notice that in Old and in Middle English both

¹⁾ This may, however, be plural.

²⁾ For a similar usage in Pres. D. Eng. see Poutsma 1926, XLIX, 3a; he adduces among others the following quotation : " Burroughs, Tarzan of the Apes, Ch. 1, 3, She insisted that he *accept*, and, indeed *take* her with him ". His comment that it is a recent innovation is rendered doubtful by the above evidence from More. Cf. § 225.

forms occurred ¹⁾; the long when the conditional clause implied that the speaker held no adverse opinion as to the truth of the statement, the short when the clause implied that the speaker guarded himself from endorsing the truth or realisation of the statement. After More's time too, both forms remained possible (Klausmann 1919 p. 82; Franz 1924 p. 526). In Pres. D. Eng. the short form is characteristic of literary diction.

EARLIER

LATER

SHORT FORM.

Beowulf 452, Onsend higelace *ȝif*
mec hild *nime* (OED).
c 1000 Ags. Gosp., Matth. iv, 3, *ȝyf*
þu godes sunu sy (OED).
1382 Wyclif, Matth. iv, 3, *ȝif* thou
be [1388 *art*; Tindale and all
versions to 1611 *be*, R. V. *art*]
Goddiss sone, say that these
stones *be* maad looues (OED).

1523 Berners, Froiss. iv, 205, Yea,
truely, ... so thou *do* no hurte to
any persone in this house (Kl).
1534 Tindale Luke, xiii, 9, If it
beare not then ... cut it doune
(OED).
1611 Bible, John xx, 15, Sir, if thou
haue borne him hence [Wyclif,
Genev., Rheims, R. V. *hast*] (OED).

LONG FORM.

Beowulf 447, Ac he me habban
wile d(re)ore fahne *ȝif* mec deaþ
nimeþ (OED).
1382 Wyclif, John i, 25, What
therfore baptysist thou, if thou
art not Christ, nethir Elye, nether
prophete (OED).

1611 Bible, Gen. iv, if thou *doest*
[Coverd. *do*] not well, sinne lieth
at the doore (OED).
1864 Bowen, Logic vi, § 3, 165, If A
is true, O is false (OED).

199. In final or purpose clauses, opening with *so that*, *that* or *lest* both *long* and *short* forms are used.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1189 G 8, Therefore must you fayre and easely touch hym, and with some pleasant spech awake hym so, that he *waxe* not waywarde. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1160 H 15, he *wyl* that the shipmen shal ... do the best they can for themselfe, that the Sea *eate* them not vp. | Picus 28 A 8, The loue that is deided among many, Unneth suffiseth that euery part *haue* any.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1168 G 6, in feare lest he *dye* not wel. | Picus 17 F 4, If any perfitte manne looke vppon his owne estate, there is one peryll

¹⁾ Conditional clauses were sometimes construed without conjunction, as in Rob. of Gl., *habbe* thou power ynow, thou *myȝt* be glad (Einenkel 1916 p. 43). Instances of this idiom have not been found in More.

therein, that is to wytte, lest he waxe prowde of his vertue. | Picus 22 D 9, wherefore continually vpon thy towre Lest he thee vnpurueid, and vnready *catche* Thou must with the prophete stande and kepe watche.

There is a unique instance of a form in *-en* after *lest* :

Picus 26 C 2, lest we *departen* hence.

In older Eng., too, the short form was regular; after More's time it became less usual; in Pres. D. Eng. it belongs to archaic or poetical language.

EARLIER	LATER
c 1400 Maundev. Tr. 114, 5, þei brennen his body ... to þat intent þat he <i>suffre</i> no payne in erthe to ben eten of wormes (M.).	1523/25 Berners, Froiss. iv, 53, go thy waye that thou <i>be</i> not founde (Kl).
c 1440 Jacob's Well 121, Turne þi face fro no pore man, þat god <i>turnenoght</i> his face from þe (OED).	1605 Shaksp. Macb. i, v, 47, Come, thick night, And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell that my ... knife <i>see</i> not the wound it makes.
a 1240 Lofsong, in Coll. Hom. 209, Ne bi-hold þu ham ... nout leste þu <i>wreoke</i> ham on me (OED).	1606 Shakesp. Troil. ii, iii, 77, lest perchance he <i>think</i> we dare not move the question of our place.
c1330 Spec.Gy. Warw. 856, Go, man, while þat þu hast liht, Lest þe <i>of-take</i> þe derke niht (OED).	1677 Moxon, Mech. Exerc. 41, Forge your work as true as you can, least it cost you great pains at the Vice (OED).

200. In concessive clauses with front-position of the verb the *short form* seems to be the rule.

Picus 31 A 11, The louer is of colour dead and pale ... : He mindeth not, what menne about him talke, But *eate* he, *drinke* he, *sitte*, *lye* downe or *walke*, He burneth euer as it were with a fire. | Last Th. 78 G 6, For *haue* he him neuer so fast afore, yet if he breake from him than, he can after his death neuer geat hym again. | Picus 26 C 10, *Be* it ioye or paine, endure it shall for euer. | Picus 26 C 2, *Liue* he in neuer so prosperous estate, He thinketh him wretched and infortunate. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1244 A 1, *walke* he neuer so loose, *ride* he with neuer so strong an army ...

The following long form is exceptional :

Instr. 1407 H 13, *Thretneth* he vs neuer so much, let vs not be such beastly cowardes, that for his only rude roringe, we fal down flat to the grounde.

In older English the short form was regular. In Pres. D. Eng. this form and the order of words are unusual, except in literary language and in proverbs.

EARLIER	LATER
a 1250 Owl & Night. 345, Ne <i>beo</i> þe song neuer so murie ... (OED).	1611 Bible, Trans. Pref. 4, Sufficient for a whole host, <i>be</i> it neuer so great (OED).
c 1400 Maundev. Tr. xxxiii, 151, A man may noȝt here anoȝer, <i>crie</i> he neuer so hie (OED).	Proverb : Home is home, <i>be</i> it never so homely.

201. Concessive clauses opening with a conjunction are usually constructed with the *short form*.

Though. Picus 16 A 9, And so though it lese nothing of the integritie of our perfeccion, yet it leseth of the rewarde. | Picus 20 D 6, though it toy not by and by ... | Picus 18 C 10, though honor *fall*e ... | Pageants, Deth l. 6, Witsafe to sende (though it *be* to your payne) To me a fole, some of your wise brayne. | Rich. 86 G 1, though he *paye* for nothing elles. | Debell. 978 G 14, though it *be* alledged.

Apparently to obviate the implication of doubt or uncertainty inherent in the short form, More often adds such formulas as “as it is (doth) in dede”:

Debell. 932 E 13, though the man *do* as *he doth*, say contrary therto himselfe. | Dial. Her. 244 H 4, For though it *bee* as it is in dede, great wisdom for a preacher to vse discrecion ... (Compare Passion 1270 C 3, If it *be* ... true, as oute of doubte it is euen verye true that S. Paule ... sayeth ...).

The long and the short form occur in juxtaposition in:

Last Th. 81 A 6, though it *be* as sore against the continuance of our nature, & as sore *laboreth* to the dissolucion of the whole body as other sicknes do¹⁾.

How. Picus 9 G 6, how *be* it, this I speake only by coniecture. | Picus 6 B 10, He was content with meane fare at his table: how *be* it somewhat yet reteynynge the olde plentie in deintie viande and siluer vessell.

How soever. Dial. Her. 281 B 11, therefore *be* we not excusable, if we belieue anye man to the contrarye of the fayth, howe good or howe cunnyng soeuer *he seme*.

All. Conf. Tynd. 688 G 11, all *bee* it he coulde not saye *naye*.

The use of *all* introducing a concessive clause dates from the 13th century (Einenkel 1916 p. 43). It was originally added to the conjunctions *if* and *though* to emphasize the supposition or concession, as in (1366 Maundev. II, 13) “*zif alle* it *be* so, that Men seyn”, but they were later omitted when the idea of concession was expressed by the reversed order of verb and subject, as in (c 1365 Chaucer ABC 46) “*Al have I ben a beste*”.

¹⁾ Compare p. 263, footnote 2. We may perhaps formulate the ‘rule’ that the modal influence of a conjunction does not stretch beyond the conjunction and introducing a second clause.

In Pres. D. Eng. *albeit* has become a fossilized phrase; that this state of complete synthesis was not yet reached in More's time is evident from the fact that *were* could be substituted for *be* and that by the side of *it* other pronouns could be used :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1168 G 12, he shalbe welcom, *al wer it* so that he should come ere he wer wel poured. | Conf. Tynd. 385 H 11, *All were* he neuer so olde eare he were baptysed.

In many cases *albeit* can be looked upon as equivalent to a conjunction synonymous with *though*. Curiously enough the long forms are more frequently used than the short ones in this case :

Last Th. 86 E 3, *albeit* that wrathe sometyme ryseth vpon a wrong done vs. | Last Th. 84 C 13, And in worse case be we, than those that be taken & imprisoned for theft. For thei, *albeit* their hert heuily *harkeneth*, after the sessions, yet haue they some hope ...

Dial. Her. 282 H 9, *albeit* that thys frantike pleasure ... *be* the only thing that satisfied and contenteth some, yet ...

In older English the short forms were the rule in concessive clauses of the types discussed above. In Pres. D. Eng. they occur in literary language and proverbs only.

EARLIER	LATER
12... Moral Ode 356, Ne mai non vuel ... beon inne gode riche þeh þer beþ wunienges fele (OED).	1539 Bible, Job xiii, 15, Though he slaye me, yet wyll I put my trust in hym (OED).
a 1440 Sir Degrev. 864, I shal be juste with that duke, Or I gete a rebuke, However that hyt be (OED).	1848 Thackeray, Van. Fair 1, vii, 71, I'll beat 'em, though it cost me a thousand guineas (P).
c 1460 Fortescue, Abs. & Lim. Mon. 30, <i>Albeit</i> that the Frenche kyng's Revenuz be miche gretter (OED).	Proverb : Though the sore <i>be</i> healed, yet a scar may remain.

202. In clauses of concessive alternative the *short form* is used.

Picus 31 C 8, whither his loue *be* with him or elsewhere, Oft from his eyes there falleth many a tere. | Dial. Her. 166 G 5, Nowe quod I this man that God byddeth you go to ... will it make any change ... whether it *be* man or woman. | Debell. 995 G 7, which whyther he *graunt* or no, yet very true it is.

In older English the short forms were more usual than the long; in Pres. D. Eng. the short form is still fairly common.

EARLIER	LATER
c 1380 Wyclif. Sel. Wks. i, 321, þat þis world is betered bi everyþing þat falliþ þerinne, where that it be good or yvel (OED).	1678 Butler, Hud. iii, ii, 174, For Loyalty is still the same, whether it win or lose the Game (OED). 1885 Mason, Eng. Gram. § 507, Whether he succeed or fail, it will not matter to me.

203. In clauses of result both forms are used.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1160 E 2, if euery kynde of tribulacion be so profitable that it *be* good to haue it as you saye it is, I cannot see. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1161 G 2, And than begynneth he to thynke that it were good to make sure and to be mery, so that he *be* wyse therwith. | Dial. (Wks.) C. 1190 C 12, if the diuel be yet so subtil, that he *kepe* hymself close in hys warme denne. | Rich. 49 (= 46) G 2, For if she caste suche fonde doubtles, that shee *feare* his hurte : then will she feare ...

Apol. (Wks.) 854 F 2, a iuggeler that conuayeth hys galles so craftely, that al the table *spyeth* them. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1190 F 11, For whych he is so ioyful, that he *fyrmyly purposeth* vpon it.

This is in accordance with the usage in earlier English (Morgan Callaway 1934). In Pres. D. Eng. long forms or constructions with auxiliaries are the rule.

EARLIER	LATER
1340 Ayenb. 53, þe ilke ... willeþ hyealde hire fole uelazredes, zuo þet hi ne conne hi ne moze healde mesure (OED).	1523/25 Berners, Froissart iii, 259, he shulde so deale, that he <i>here</i> no more tidinges of displeasure towards therle. idem iv, 204, Nat so hardy that thou <i>take</i> any thyng that is myne.

In the second halves of the following syntactical units, which may be looked upon as equivalent to resultative clauses, only short forms are used :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1228 G 7, Breake one of his commaundementes, and *break* al. Forsake one poynte of hys faythe, and *forsake* al.

Still possible now.

204. General note on the modality of the present tense.

In the frequent use of the short forms to (help to) express modality More's language shows more agreement with the usage before 1500 than with later practice, especially in Pres. D. Eng.; the abundance of short forms gives an archaic character to More's style.

5. THE PRETERITE

FORMS

205	I	saw(e),	despysed,	was, wer(e)
	thou	sawest,	despysedst,	wast, wer(e) ¹⁾
	he	saw(e),	despysed,	was, wer(e)
	we	saw(e),	despysed,	wer(e)
	you, ye	saw(e),	despysed,	wer(e)
	they	saw(e),	despysed,	wer(e)

The majority ¹⁾ of the (originally) "weak" verbs form their preterites by adding *-ed* (*-id*) or *d(e)*.

Conf. Tynd. 350 B 13, there vnto god *confessed* and *asked* his mercy. | Rich. 49 A 4, which he wiste well she specially *tenderid*. | Dial. Her. 122 E 6, so *lokyd* he for worshippers. | Picus 3 A 1, the verses which he *heard* once red. | Jest p. 4 A 14, He *dawde* him vp agayne.

A few instances of other formations follow :

Picus 3 E 13, he fastened and *set* vp ... | Jest p. 4 E 1, Up they hym *lift*. | Jest p. 4 A 16, vp he *starte*. | Boke of F. p. 4 C 8, Byas, whose cuntry *lackt* defence. | Rich. 42 C 2, as sone as they came in his presence, they *lighte* adowne.

Builed occurs in Conf. Tynd. 693 (= 663) H 6, the same holye man *buylded* therupon the selfsame buylding.

A good number of verbs appear in two or more forms :

Conf. Tynd. 349 E 9, *red*; idem 349 E 12, *redde*; Conf. Tynd. 349 H 1, *sayed*; idem 350 B 8, *said*; Conf. Tynd. 563 E 14, *mist*; Debell. 983 B 10, *myssed* ²⁾; Last Th. 102 G 1, *went* ³⁾ (= *thought*); Apol. (Wks.) 920 E 12, *wend* ³⁾; Picus 22 A 3, *tempt* ³⁾; Picus 24 C 7, *tempted*; Dial. Her. 105 F 9, *passid*; Debell. 979 D 2, *paste* ³⁾; Dial. Her. 267 D 3, *meaned*; Conf. Tynd. 563 E 8, *ment*.

Was, instead of *were*, is used with a plural subject in :

Dial. Her. 156 G 11, the preceptes that he gaue by mouth *was* thre. | Dial. Her. 227 E 6, Than *was* all holye orders in hygh honour. | Dial. Her. 229 D 6, Saint Poule, whose epistles ... *was* peraduenture not comen to the handes of other apostles.

The singular form of the verb in the last of these three quotations may be accounted for by taking *epistles* as the title of a book.

¹⁾ E. g. Conf. Tynd. 728 E 13, Diddest not thou tell me ... that thou *wer* at her graue thy self?

²⁾ For a comprehensive survey of the different forms see Grünzinger 1909 §§ 223 ff.

³⁾ Past participle.

206. There are a few cases in which the ending *-th* is printed where *-ed* might be expected, and conversely *-ed* where *-th* would seem to be more consistent ¹⁾ :

Dial. Her. 225 F 10, The most benigne father most mildely made answere. And finally he *fyynished* & *endeth* hys booke as it were with a Gloria patri. | Dial. Her. 282 H 9, albeit that thys frantike pleasure ... be the only thing that *satisfied* and *contenteth* some. | Conf. Tynd. 418 D 9, Tindal either euyl *perceyueth* my wordes, or els euil *remembred* them ... | Conf. Tynd. 750 C 11, And yet *hathe* he not the witte when he sawe the matter in the tother mannes boke before him, yet *hadde* he not I saye the witte well to perceiue it ... | Conf. Tynd. 674 E 5, Luther and he wene that ... they lye al in a sleepe styll ..., & therefore Tyndall *bidded* vs praye to them ... | Conf. Tynd. 695 H 5, And that Godde helpeth vs forward ... appereth by clere textes ... As where he *sayth*, woe be thou Chapharnaum ... And also where he *sayd* vnto Hierusalem ... And where he *biddeth* saynct Thomas ... | Answer 1092 G 9, in the firste parte Christ *sheweth* what he would gyue them to eate, ... and in the second part he *shewed* them why he would gyue the world his fleshe to eate ... | Conf. Tynd. 707 B 14, But then *cometh* he forth in the ende of hys chapyter, and *shewed* vs that god euer in the old testament dyd let the great multitude erre. | Rich. 55 C 1, the same morning in which he was behedded, his hors twise or thrise stumbled ... Now this that *foloweth* was no warning, but an enemiouse scorne. The same morning ... came a knight vnto him ...

If, however '*this that foloweth*' means 'the incident described in the following lines', the last quotation is irrelevant.

207. The following list records the form of the preterite and the past participle of those verbs that in Old English belonged to the classes of strong verbs, reduplicating verbs, preterito-praesentia and 'anomala'.

[When in the references no title is mentioned [e. g. 68 G 5] the reference is to the 1557 edition of The Works.]

INFINITIVE		PRETERITE	PAST PARTICIPLE
I			
abyde, 47 E 12	abide, 1 D 5	abode, Jest 2 F 12	abyden, 207 E 3
		abyde, 281 F 8	abidden, 183 F 10
agryce, 1215 F 2			
arise, 29 A 4	aryse, 20 D 10		arisen, 785 G 13
backbite, 15 G 4			

(¹⁾ Compare the interchange of *-th-* and *-d-* in Supplic. 298 B 6, *murder*; Rich. 47 C 1, *murther*; Jest p. 4 B 11, *togyder*; Rich. 51 H 10, *together*; Conf. Tynd. 618 F 14, *Bedlem*; idem 605 E 4, *Bethleem*; Boke of F. p. 1 D 6, *forther*; Jest p. 3 C 7, *forder*; Picus 2 G 3, *fader*; *passim*, *father*.

byde, Apol. 188 bide 54 H 2			bydden, 282 A 2 byden, Aut. L. I, 10 bidden, 141, B 15 biten, 77 E 1
bite, 51 A 13 byte, D. C. 353 bestryde, Pageants, Manh. 1 cleue, 126 D 6 cleaue, 1405 E 6 (chide), 88 C 2 driue, 88 H 2 drieue, D. C. 225 dreue, 39 B 8 dryue, Pag. Ch. 3	claeue, Jest 4 B 6 draue, 56 A 8 droue, 857 B 2		(chiden), 20 B 6 drieuen, 228 B 9 dreuen, 978 F 3 dryuen, D. C. 153 driuen, 857 A 6
glide, 25 D 2 grype, 1244 B 8 ride, 54 H 12 ryde, 54 G 15 rise, 54 G 15 ryse, 75 F 3 riue, 1261 G 5 reap, D. C. 154 repe, 89 C 14 shyne, 119 A 13 shine 4 D 2 shriue, 927 B 3 shryue, 54 F 13	rode, 45 (= 44) D 2 roode, 67 F 12 rose, 8 D 4 roose, 97 C 4 ryued 1301 B 8 (shrouetyde) 1183 D 17 sighed, Apol. 93 smote, 314 A 13 strake, 61 F 4 stroue, 1043 C 5 styed, 1266 B 6 throue, 278 C 9 wried, 70 B 14 wrote, 4 H 7 writ, 14 G 5	riden, Aut. L. II, 36 ridden, 424 F 3 rysen, 278 A 5 risen, Apol. 72 riuen, 952 H 6 shined, 5 E 5 shriuen, 1184 G 14 shrieuen, 526 E 9 slyden, 439 G 8 smitten, 110 E 8 striken, 54 G 5 stricken, 87 B 12 strieken, 240 D 2 striueuen, 270 E 11 thwyted, 236 H 5 wryed 615 H 4 write, 701 B 4 written, 57 D 7 wrytten, 857 G 13 writen, 15 C 4 wryten, 105 H 9 wrethen, 1194 B 7 writhen, 360 C 13	
sigh, Rich. 68 D 3 seghyth ¹), 130 H 14 slide, 1217 G 3 smyte, 1187 D 14 spew, 101 B 13 strike, 69 C 9 stryke, 1188 B 7 striue, 38 C 2 stryue, D. C. 152 (sty) thee, Jest p. 4 F 15 thryue, 921 C 15 (thwite) wrie, 1162 A 7 wrye, 1365 G 17 write, 57 B 8 wryte, 56 D 12 writhe 667 G 19			byreued 1183 F 2
II			
belle, 57 C 7 berius, 1407 C 11 byryuinge 1234 G 8 bereuen, 30 A 6			

¹⁾ Probably a misprint for *sygheth*.

(bede)		bode, 691 A 6	
(bow)			bowed, D. C. 172
brooke, 72 H. 5			
choose, 525 A 12	chose, 8 B 6	chese, 217 A 8	chosen, 260 H 5
	chese, 21 A 8	chase, 260 H 8	chose, 45 F 12
	chuse, 489 B 5	chose, 24 D 2	
	chouse, 691 A 10		
cleue, 137 B 6			cleftē, 54 F 8
			clouen, 728 H 8
crepe, 39 E 1	krepe, 642 H 6	crepte, 8 E 13	crepte, 636 H 8
fly, 1182 B 7	flye, 861 G 12	flew, 2 F 13	
fle, 60 C 11	flee, 16 H 13	fled, 55 A 13	fledde, 60 (margin)
		fledde, D. C. 305	afled, Jest p. 4 F 11
(freeze)			frosen, 386 F 13
lie, 124 H 10	lye, 125 B 4	lied, 109 G 3	
lose, Jest p. 2 B 9	leese, 63 A 9	lost, 3 B 8	lost, 70 D 8
	lesc, 80 E 10		least, 1236 H 6
	lease, 125 D 11		
(lock)			locked, 1246 F 2
reke, 833 F 6			
rue, 34 B 10			
(rot)			
(seethe)			
shote, 37 H 8	shoot, 73 B 8	shot, D. C. 165	rotten, D. C. 126
	shoote, D. C. 160		roten, Aut. L. xiv, 82
shoue, Jest p. 4 C 2			sodde, 1295 C 4
			soden, 1054 A 9
			shot, D. C. 239
			shotten, 626 E 4
			shoued, 1226 B 3
III			
bark, 136 D 3			
begin, 19 G 10	begyn, D. C. 132	began, 85 F 9	begon, 66 A 7
		begon, 138 E 3	begun, 41 H 10
			bygonne, 105 D 9
			bygon, Apol. 78
binden, 36 F 11	bynd, 1204 H 19	bounde, 8 A 9	bounde, 45 (=44) E 6
			bounden, D. C. 305
brenne, 38 C 3	bren, 195 F 7	brenued, 195 B 6	bownden, 36 F 10
			brent, Pag. Ch. 5
(bresten)			brennyd, 208 F 4
		braste, 65 A 10	
burne, 85 B 5	bourne, 773 A 2	brast, 255 F 3	burned, 108 H 3
		burned, 4 H 1	burnyd, 135 F 3
			burnte, 370 D 9
carue, 116 E 7			carued, 117 D 12
			caruen, 117 F 10
climb, B. of. F. 6 B 8		clymed, 652 D 15	

drink, 82 A 5		dranke, 371 H 12 dronke, 960 A 6	dronke, 208 B 6 dronken, 1323 E 14 drunk, 82 H 3 drunken, 1099 G 1 drounken, 1343 D 5 foughte, D. C. 393 foughten, 291 B 4 founden, 49 C 10 founde, 7 E 10 fownden, 74 F 3 founded, 1037 C 11
fight, 88 D 7	fyght, D. C. 200	fought, 396 G 5	
fynde, 97 B 7	finde, 7 E 7 fynd, 848 F 11	found, 1188 D 4 founde, 78 F 4	
(gin)		gan, Jest p. 2 G 5	
(grind)			grounden, 1188 D 6
help, 95 B 10		holpe, 38 C 1	holpen, 80 G 7 holpe, Lam. p. 2 A 10
linne, 26 A 7			moulten, 1065 G 1 melted, 1345 D 4
(melt)			
mourne, D. C. 156			
mylke, 639 H 13			
(manne)quel(lers), 47 B 13			
(ring)			rongen, 134 E 8 rong, 134 C 3 outrunne, D. C. 281 runne, 865 A 1
run, 19 B 14	runne, 47 E 4 ronne, 123 G 9 renne, 16 F 3 ren, 940 C 9 ouerronne, 1380 C 5	ranne, 4 C 6 ronne, 200 E 8	
sing, 31 B 10	syng, 82 A 5	sange, 397 H 1	songen, 134 E 8 sonken, 589 A 13
sink, 83 H 1	synke, D. C. 167 syncke, 891 F 15		
shrinke, D. C. 215	shrincke, D. C. 311 shrynke, 1215 F 2	shrank, 9 G 3 shranke, 410 B 11 shronke, 54 F 7 slonke, 1162 F 1	shronken, Apol. 42
slinke, 721 G 2			slonken, 1126 D 16
spin, 643 H 5		sprang, 82 G 15 sprange, 1017 G 2 spronge, Apol. 193	sprongen, 201 H 3 spronken, 927 A 7
spring, 87 F 11			
spurne, 70 H 13			storuen, 846 G 11
starue, 849 G 10			stongen, 1063 H 8
stink, 84 A 14	stynck, 863 H 12		
sting, 1277 A 12			
swell, B. of. F. p. 2 B 10			
swarue, 16 C 8		swarued, 820 B 6	swarued, 829 D 16
swim, 101 C 1			
win, 70 D 2	winne, 5 C 1	wan, 56 G 4 wanne, 18 F 4	won, 39 E 17 wonne, 79 A 13

winde, 139 A 15			
winke, D.C. 268	wynke, Apol. 116		
worthe, 43 E 2			
wring, 1246 D 2			wrongen, 1170 B 13
yelde, 1207 C 9	yeld, 79 D 5		yelded, 43 G 12
IV			
beare, 15 E 1	bere, 1201 A 14	bare, 65 G 5	borne, 58 F 9
		borne, 63 C 1	born, 39 G 13
become, 113 B 11		became, 106 F 12	boren, 993 C 1
			become, 1234 B 11
			becomen, 1253 B 10
			becum, Jest p. 1 C 4
break, 76 B 8	breke, 84 D 2	brake, 1188 B 3	broken, 36 F 10
	breake, 597 H 9	breake, 597 H 9	
come, 80 H 11	com, 92 F 5	cam, 134, D 3	com, 61 D 4
	comme, 92 E 8	came, 5 B 11	comme, 48 G 4
	cume, 64 F 4	come, 1284 F 9	comen, 2 D 5
	cumme, 856 A 4	commest, 1359 H 5	cumm, 1141 G 9
forbere, 59 G 3	forbeare, 74 D 1	forbare, 57 A 3	forborne, 1222 E 7
			forborn, 987 H 4
steale, 47 E 16	stale, 1211 A 1	stale, 902 B 8	stolen, 236 F 14
			stollen, 47 E 14
shere, 491 H 17			stole, 1219 C 7
teare, 15 A 1		tare, 369 H 2	shorne, 406 E 11
		(?) tere, Jest p. 4 B 4	torne, 1176 C 12

Were, 83 F 11 (*weare* 338 B 5), originally weak, (O. E. *werian*) has a "strong" preterite *ware* : Conf. Tynd. 369 H 14, the self same cause for whiche he *ware* heere & slept in a sacke. | Dial. Her. 116 C 7, he praied and *ware* heare. — Also 314 F 8.

V			
begeat, 855 H 14		begat, 857 F 1	begotten, 85 B 12
		begate, 855 C 8	begoten, 855 H 11
		begotte, 854 G 16	
byd, 118 D 3 ¹⁾	bid, 74 G 5	bade, 54 F 12	byd, 1094 E 13
	bidde, 47 E 8	badde, 47 B 13	bidden, 107 E 9
		bode, 1187 D 2	beden, 166 B 5
			bid, 5 A 16
			bode, 792 E 11
			bod, 263 B 13
			boden, 107 E 5
forbyd, 113 F 6 ¹⁾	forbede, 116 F 1	forbadde, 122 F 12	forbidde, 116 E 4
	forbedde, 1237 H 5		forbidden, 96 F 2
			forbeden, 116 G 1
			forboden, 4 C 2
			forhoden, 138 H 2

¹⁾ It is difficult to find out which of the forms originally belonged to *bede* (Class II, OE. *bedan*) and which to *bidde* (Class V, OE. *biddan*). The forms and senses were already confused since about 1400.

eate , 1292 F 5 ete , Aut. Lett. xi, 32	eate , 371 H 12	eaten , 97 C 4 eate , 844 D 6 eten , 135 B 1
freate , 1232 E 10 fret , 85 B 7		
forget , 92 G 3 forgeat , 12 B 10	forгат , 498 H 7 forgate , 95 A 10	forgotten , 39 G 15 forgetten , 381 A 10 forget , 620 E 8 forgeten , Apol. 74
geue , 87 B 8	giue , 60 G 4 gieue , 307 B 9 gyue , 107 F 3 geuen , 225 H 5	geuen , 6 A 1 gieuen , 377 E 8 giuen , 86 E 4 gyuen , 156 D 1
geat , 66 E 5	geatte , 1204 D 8 get , 83 B 14 gette , 383 D 22	goten , 11 H 6 gotten , 85 B 12
lie , 17 B 4	lye , 70 G 13	
meate , 1157 F 12 mete , Apol. 25	gat , 1433 E 3 geat , 290 A 2 get , 37 E 10 gote , 17 G 6 gate , Jest p. 4 E 15 laie , 6 E 13 lay , 56 C 6 laye , 651 G 11	lien , 72 F 2 lyen , 1244 B 2
quething , 131 F 3	quod , 38 A 7 quoth , 1184 C 7	mette , 1157 G 11 met , 19 G 12
see , 14 G 9	se , 95 D 14	
sitte , 31 B 4	sytt , 118 E 6	
speak , 89 A 6	speake , 866 A 13 speke , 76 A 18 spake , 2 B 3	sene , 55 D 10 seene , 2 D 10 sitte , 1221 G 2 sitten , 97 C 4 syt , 261 C 1 (?) spoke , 86 H 4 spoken , 42 B 4
(spet , 1190 C 10) spew , (see I)		(spette , 897 E 10)
stick , 129 B 7	stykke , Apol. 80 styck , 141, G 6 sticke , 1251 E 8	sticked , 138 D 1 sticken , 784 F 10
tread , 84 B 1	treade , 1293 B 3	
way , 1189 B 5	weigh , 1249 E 5 wey , 1251 E 12 weygh , 1257 C 3	troden , 3 C 4 wayed , 1205 C 9
	wayde , 334 A 9 wayed , 379 A 6	

(¹) *Passion* 1131 D 5, whan the howre was come, he *sat* hym downe at the table. | *idem* 1307 A 15, when the houre was com he *sette* downe at table. | *idem* 1321 D 17, he *sat* downe at the table.

(²) *Passion* 1313 H 11, whan he was *sette* downe agayne at the table. | *idem* 1317 B 12, when he was *set* at the table agayne.

(wesen)	was, 5 B 7 wer, 98 E 13 were, 5 A 6	
weue, Apol. 11 weaue, 1319 E 5 VI		
ake, 77 F 1 awake, 1189 G 9 bake, 208 E 5	aked, 197 F 14 awaked, Apol. 182	awaked, 1183 F 2 baken, 675 E 19 bake, Jest p. 2 H 7 betaken, 44 F 16 drawen, 3 E 5 drawne, 1166 G 8 faren, 1250 F 3 fared, 833 G 4 forsaken, 16 H 9 forsake, 28 A 4 forsworne, 128 E 7
(betake)	betooke, 43 E 16 drew, 4 E 1	
draw, 20 A 14 drawe, 7 C 14		
fare, 79 E 10 forfare, B. of. F. p. 5 E 6 forsake, 1372 E 6	fore, 651 G 11 fared, 135 B 14 forsoke, 7 H 12	
forswere, 108 F 6	forswore, 442 B 6 forsware, 447 D 8 gnawed, 1293 E 7	
gnaw, 341 D 7 graue, 28 B 2 heue, Jest p. 4 C 2, 653 A 9 laughe, 73 G 2 laugh, 73 G 10 lawghe, Apol. 77	laughed, 135 C 2 laughte, 652 D 11 lawghed, A. L. v, 12	grauen, 117 D 12
lade, 142 F 14		lade, 599 B 4 laden, 143 B 15 laded, 1126 A 10 shaken, 268 G 18
shake, 125 C 13	shoke, 8 B 9 shooke, D. C. 209	
(shape)		mysshape, Pag. D 1
shaue, 431 G 13 slay, 16 H 4 slea, 1299 H 14	shoue, 761 A 17 slewe, 37 F 8	shauen, 626 C 12 slain, 1162 H 2 slayne, Jest p. 4 A 11 stande, 27 C 4 standen, 761 A 11 bestad, 29 D 1
stand, 61 E 6 stonde, Jest p. 3 D 9 stede, 1171 F 9 step, 66 H 7 steppe, 1372 D 4 swere, 70 G 14 sweare, 1155 A 6	stoode, 61 H 13 stode, 82 C 11	
	swere, 217 E 1 swore, 410 C 12 sware, 203 B 9 toke, 84 H 2 tooke, 85 G 7 take, 412 H 8 understoode, 10 B 8 understode, 41 H 5	swornen, Apol. 149 sworne, 214 H 10
take, 2 C 7		taken, 87 H 8 take, 28 A 6 toke, 270 E 1
understande, 8 E 4		understanden, 10 G 7 understand, 270 A 4 understande, 6 A 1
wade, 162 G 10 wake, 82 A 4 waken, 17 C 15	woake, 1123 H 4	waked, 1189 G 11

wash, 8 G 14	weshe, 1313 H 5	washed, 1156 C 1	wessed, 1313 H 4
withdraw, 20 B 10		withdrew, 53 A 5	washed, 1317 A 1
withstand, 1201 H 1		withstode, 10 F 10	withdrawen, 117A8
			withstand, D.C.214
			withstanden, 467 D 11
REDUPL. _____			
beate, 24 A 1	bete, 84 G 4	bet, 6 E 1	bet, 27 B 5
		bette, 260 H 14	beten, 1259 H 11
			bette, 1099 G 4
			beaten, 9 H 1
befal, 29 D 8			
behold, 95 D 3		behelde, 9 B 14	beholden, 36 F 8
blowe, 101 C 7			blowen, 45(=44) C8
dread, 1180 C12	drede, 84 A 10		dred, 1218 G 4
			drede, 56 C 10
			adrad, 29 D 1
			dradde, 1424 D 12
fall, 7 C 15	falle, 47 B 12	fell, 6 E 9	fallen, 55 E 10
		fel, 96 F 3	fal, 1094 D 14
		fill, 10 F 8	
		fyll, Jest p. 1 F 16	
flowe, 17 C 7		flowe, 17 C 7	flowen, 5 F 5
(fold)			vnfoldid, 131 B 2
gange, 140 F 7			
glowe, 1252 D 10			
grow, 77 B 1	growe, 38 E 9	grew, 69 G 10	growen, 1372 F 15
hange, 45 (= 44) E 10		hinge, 901, F 17	banged, 1187 B 7
		hyng, Apol, 133	
		honge, 78 H 3	
		hang, 55 F 13	
		hanged, 120 H 13	
		henge, 1299 B 10	
—			
hew, 1187 C 12	heaw, 261 H 5		hight, 2 D 6
			hewen, 86 C 8
			hewed, 69 B 8
hold, 3 A 11	holde, 124 C 7	held, 198 F 8	hold, 606 B 5
		hild, 597 H6, 471 H3	holden, 4 D 7
know, 15 F 13		knewe, 7 B 2	known, 56 A 5
leape, 42 B 12		leape, 69 C 14	lepte, 718 G 13
		lepte, Jest p. 3 A 13	
		lept, 1240 D 11	
lette, 48 D 2		letted, 864 E 13	letten, 38 A 7
		let, 888 F 4	let, 135 C 4
(overthrow)			ouerthrow, Jest p. 4 A 8
rede, 97 B 4	reade, 286 H 12	rede, 151 A 4	red, 3 A 2
			redde, 105 F 8
			read, 1 A 9
			reade, 738 H 12
			readde, 4 C 1

sheade, 385 F 13		shedde, 393 D 16 shede, 8 H 2	shedde, 834 B 14
show, 57 D 3	shew, 1205 C 13	shewed, 1205 B 3	shewed, 151 A 3
sleepe, 1183 F 5		slept, 69 C 12	slept, 101 B 15
sow, 89 C 15		sowed, 1154 H 3	sowen, 1020 B 10
			sowed, 1154 H 3
throw, 17 C 1		threwe, Jest p. 4 F 4	throwen, 7 D 2
			ouerthrow, Jest p. 4 A 8
wield, 96 H 9	weild, 1237 F 10	walked, 849 E 1	walked, 1202 H 8
walk, 126 A 9		waxed, 51 A 12	waxen, 40 A 12
wax, 83 D 5	waxe, 83 C 12		waxed, 1279 F 1
			waxe, 368 E 15
wepe, 73 H 7	weep, 1154 G 6	wepte, 42 F 5	bewept, B. of. F2 D8
PRAETERITO-PRAESENTIA			
can, Jest p. 1 B 1	canne, 864 F 10	coud, 262 G 13	coulde, 975 C 11
	con, 695 G 5	coude, 164 E 10	canned, 1210 B 8
	conne, 154 E 2	could, 263 B 1	vacouth, 1237 F 10
		coulde, 43 F 6	
male, 11 G 7	may, 19 F 11	might, 9 B 10	mought, 107 H 1
	mow, 885 C 1	mought, 78 A 11	» 7 G 5
mote, 139 A 2; 339 E 15		muste, 1222 E 4	
owe, 252 D 11; 78 D 13; 979 D 20		ought, 40 D 3	(owne, 132 C 13)
wete, 141 D 9	wette, 125 E 1	wist, 37 C 1	wist, 132 C 13
	wit, 63 F 6	wyst, 55 F 12	» 176 E 10
	witte, 35 C 3	wiste, 1224 G 7	» 252 D 3
	wytting, 40 F 10	waste, 51 D 12	wyste, 164 G 2
	wote, 586 A 3		
	wotte, 866 B 15		
	wot, 12 G 2		
shal, 86 D 3	shall, 12 B 18	shold, 1247 G 8	
		should (¹), 87 C 1	
		shoulde, 245 F 3	
		sholde, Apol. 118	
		shuld, 987 A 6	
		shoold, 40 C 15	
		durst, 176 C 1	
		durste, 1182 B 12	
dare, 48 A 12			
ANOMALA			
be, 15 G 7	bee, 45 D 10	was, 5 B 8	bene, 70 D 2
	bene, 20 F 4	wer, 98 E 13	ben, 62 F 4

(¹) *Sould* in the following quotation represents the faulty pronunciation of "an Almaine of mine acquaintance": Apol. (Wks.) 895 H 7, Fare to *sould* te laye men fasten, let the prester fasten. (= Whereto should the laymen fast, let the priests fast).

<be>	(am, 59 F 11)	were, 5 A 6	be, 23 C 6
	(art, 19 G 3)		bee, 128 G 11
	(are, 10 F 14)		» 109 D 14
	(arne, 202 A 11)		» 238 F 9
	(ar, 128 E 10)		
	(is, 135 G 1)		
do, 83 H 7	(ys, 135 G 12)		
	doo, 7 G 9	did, 55 G 1	done, 39 B 14
	dooe, 2 B 15	dydde, 1191 H 18	doone, 13 B 3
	doone, 1062 C 1		don, 1181 B 9
go, 114 F 3	goe, 80 H 11	(went), 7 B 7	gone, 95 B 11
	gone, Jest p. 4 G 11		go, Jest p. 3 D 11
	goo, Jest p. 1 D 5		
	(gange, 140 F 7)		
wil, 54 F 15	wyll, Jest p. 3 D 8	willed, 140 H 7	woulde, 1234 D 5
	wull, B. of F. 5 A 11	wold, 59 G 2	
		would, 83 C 11	
		woold, 66 A 3	
		woould, 73 F 9	
		wolud ¹⁾ , 259 C 8	
		woulde, 204 A 11	

TIME-SPHERE

208. PAST TIME. — A great number of syntactical units in which a preterite occurs, denote an action that took place in the past, without any connection either in thought or result with the present ²⁾).

Rich. 69 B 4, Sir James Tirel *dyled* at Tower hill, beheaded for treason. | Rich. 35 D 11, This noble Prince *deceased* at his palice of Westminster. | Picus 2 D 8, the wonder that *appeared* before his byrthe. | Picus 7 F 14, His high stewarde *came* on a time to him. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1170 A 13, between you and me it *fared*, as it *did* once betwene a Nunne and her brother.

This usage is common to all periods of the English language ³⁾).

¹⁾ Occurs only once; probably a misprint.

²⁾ For the use of *to have* + past p. in this case see § 592.

³⁾ A curious (esp. if compared with the Biblical text II Cor. xi, 24 s.) coordination of the preterite with combinations consisting of *have* + past participle occurs in the following quotation:

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1259 H 9, of the Jewes *hadde* I .v. times .xl. stripes *saue* one, *thrise haue* I *ben* beten with roddes, once *was* I stoned, *thryse haue* I *ben* in shipwrack, a day & a night *was* I in the depth of the sea...

EARLIER	LATER
Beowulf 2641, he usic garwigend gode <i>tealde</i> (OED).	1592 Shaksp. Rom. & J. III, iii, 138, But thou <i>slew'st</i> Tybalt.
a 1330 Otuel 738, Rouland was so nyȝ, þat alle foure kinges he syȝ (OED).	1929 Priestley, Good Comp. V, II, 163, She <i>spent</i> Tuesday night at Market Harborough.

The following sequences of different forms referring to the same time-sphere are exceptional :

Passion 1313 F 6, And when souper was done, whan the deuyll hadde putte in to the hearte of Judas ... to betraye hym, Jesus knowynge that hys father hadde gyuen him althynges in to hys handes, ... *aryseth* fro supper, and *putteth* of hys clothes, and *toke* a lynnene clothe and *dydde* gyrde it aboute hym. Than he *dydde* putte water in to a basyn, and *beganne* to weshe the feete of hys dyscyples, and wpe them with the lynnene cloth ... Than *commeth* hee to Symon Peter, and Peter *sayeth* vnto hym : Lorde washest thou my feete ? Jesus *answered*...

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1156 B 11, At the poole that the gospell speaketh of besyde the temple wherin they *washed* the shepe & they *tary* to se the water stired ¹⁾.

As may be seen from the last quotation the preterite was also used (just as in older and in Pres. D. Eng.), when the reference is to an action that was habitually performed or repeatedly done in a period belonging to the past. A few more instances follow :

Picus 4 H 12, Great librairies, it is incredible to consider, with how merueilouse celeritee he *readde* them ouer & *wrote* out what him liked. | Picus 5 D 4, There was nothing *passed* him of those captious subtilties.

209. NEUTRAL TIME. — The preterite is often used when there is no reference to any special time-sphere ²⁾, especially in units stating a general truth or in proverbs, but also in other cases. (For reported speech see §§ 172, 173, 214 and 215).

α. Rich. 62 G 4, thys wote you wel al, that whoso *was* beste, *bare* alway lest rule. | Dial. Her. 241 A 11, But yet as weomen *saye*, somewhat it *was* alway that the cat *winked* whan her eye was oute.

β. Last Th. 75 E 2, it should therof folow, that the farther a manne *proceeded* in the perfeccion of spiritual exercise, in the worsse case he *were*. | Last Th. 88 A 8, who *could* be angry for the losse of goodea, if he *well remembred* howe litle while he *should* kepe them, how sone deth *might* take them from him. | Apol. (Wks.) 849 G 7, how proueth

¹⁾ John V, 2, Ad probaticam piscinam expectantes aque motum.

²⁾ Jespersen's "generic preterit" (1922 p. 74) or "gnomic preterite" (1924 p. 250).

he that poysoned bread *wer* better than no bread? | Last Th. 75 G 19, whan folke haue fewe wordes & use much musyng, ... if the minde be not occupyed well, it *were* lesse euil ... to blabber on trifles somewhat sottishlye.

The use of the preterite in the quotations of section β is due to the modality of the syntactical units. (See §§ 219-243.)

The usage instanced above is common to the language of all periods, both earlier and later :

a 1307 Thrush & Night., in Rel. Ant. I, 241, This world *were* nout 3if wimen nere. | 1599 Shakesp., Much Ado II, iii, 65, Men *wer* deceiuers euer. | Proverb : Faint heart never *won* fair lady.

210. PRESENT TIME. — The preterite is also used when the time of the action is contemporaneous with the time of speaking, especially if the action is imaginary, or is represented as an improbability or impossibility (See the sections on modality §§ 219-243).

Picus 31 B 5, He burneth euer as it *were* with a fire. | Apol. 35, I can not se what nede there *were* that I shold rayle vpon the clergy. | Picus 1 F 1, which workes I wolde require you gladly to receiue : ne *were* it, that thei be such, that for the goodly mater maie delite & please any person. | Rich. 68 D 3, Alas I *woulde* my vncke *woulde* lette me haue my lyfe yet. | Rich. 54 A 9, what *were* they worthy to haue, that compasse & ymagine the distruction of me.

This usage is common to all periods.

211. FUTURE TIME. — The preterite occurs in syntactical units referring to future time, either from the present moment or from a point in the past or in the future; the units mostly denote imaginary facts.

Picus 6 E 10, what so euer sholde happen, ... he could neuer as him thought, be moued to wrath : but if his chestes *perished*, in which his bokes laie... | Jest p. 2, B 4, In his owne brest, He thought it best, His money to enclose, Then wist he well, What euer *fell*, He *coude* it neuer lose. | Last Th. 82 C 10, And this is true, although ye *wer* sure that the place of your execucion *stode* [= would stand] so farre beyond his. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1161 G 2, And than begynneth he to thynke that it *were* good to make sure and to be mery. | Last Th. 74 G 12, Long *wer* it to reherse the places that proue this point. | Suppl. 292 D 2, nor do [we] purpose to cumber you with rehearsal ... of all his lies, for that *wer* to long a worke. | Rich. 55 D 13, Vpon the very tower wharfe so nere the place where his hed *was* of so sone after, there met he with one Hastings. | Rich. 59 D 11, albeit he would gladly that she shold take it wel, yet was [he] at a pointe in his owne mynde, *toke* she it wel or other-

wise. | Rich. 70 A 15, considered ... in what peril the duke stode if he fell once in suspicion of the tiraunt. | Rich. 67 H 11, the thyng were right harde that he wold refuse.

This was a common idiom in older English. In Pres. D. Eng. constructions with attendant verbs are preferred, in many cases are even obligatory, e. g. * *so near the place where his head would be* [instead of *was*] *off so soone after*; * *in what peril the duke would stand* [instead of *stode*]; * *the thing would be hard* [instead of *were hard*], *that he would refuse*; * *that would be* [instead of *were*] *too long a work*, etc. ¹⁾

EARLIER	LATER
c 1400 Maundev. Tr. 91-30, 3if þei <i>dronken</i> it openli þei sholde ben reпреued (M).	1897 A. Locke, Derelicts 223 Every caress I gave you would be sin (J).
c 1400 Maundev. Tr. 3-9, But wolde god þat the temporel lordes were at gode acord (M).	1904 Andrew Lang, Tennyson 74 It were superfluous labour to point at special beauties (J).

212. THE TIME-SPHERE STRETCHES FROM A POINT IN THE PAST UP TO THE PRESENT MOMENT. — Apol. (Wks.) 894 B 4, the thousande yeare was neuer the tyme that all so dyd. | Rich. 39 C 1, But this wote I well ye neuer *had* so great cause. | Last Th. 76 G 11, Though we dayly se men dye, and therby knowe the death, yet our selfe neuer *felte* it. | Rich. 69 A 10, god neuer *gaue* this world a more notable example... | Boke of F. 6 D 1, The rolling dyse ... ye wote your selfe *came* neuer in myne hande. | Rich. 55 F 14, I was neuer so sory, nor neuer *stode* in so great dread in my life. | Last Th. 76 G 8, Though we haue heard of hel, yet *came* we neuer in it. | Lett. 1448 F 5, Nor never *longed* I since I came hether to set my fote in myne owne house, for any desyre of or pleasure of my house. | Picus 3 G 12, in many such thinges as men many yeres neuer *attayned* to.

Apol. 42, serche whether the fayth of all the holy sayntes & of all the whole corps of crystendome thys .xv. hundred yere to gether were trewe or false.

With the adverb *never* the preterite seems to have been the rule; in other cases More prefers constructions consisting of *to have* + past participle (See §§ 588-592) :

Rich. 55 C 2, yet *hath* it ben of an olde rite & custome obserued as a token often times ... foregoing some great misfortune.

¹⁾ Contrary to Pres. D. practice, however, *would* is used in the temporal clause occurring in the following passage.

Passion 1329 F 9, he sayde, that himself would dryncke no more therof, tyl he *would dryncke* it wyth theym newe in the kyngedome of God.

This accounts for the use of *was* and *have been* in :

Supplic. 301 C 3, there *was* neuer yet seene that the spiritual lordes bended them selfe there as a partye against the temporall lordes. But it *hathe been* seene that the thing which the spiritual lordes moued & thought resonable the temporal lordes haue denied & refused.

Constructions without *to have* did not occur frequently before More's time. In Pres. D. Eng. they are exceptional or only possible in special cases (Jespersen 1932 pp. 62-63). With the adverb *never* both constructions with and without the auxiliary are found to-day.

Earlier : c 1400 Mandev. Tr. 202, 11, Of paradys ne can I not spoken properly for I *was* not there. | c 1400 idem 83, 19, I *wente* neuer be þat weye (M). | 1523 Berners, Froiss. III, 320, Sirs, quod she, I *sawe* no man entre into this house this nyght (Kl).

Later : 1605 Shakesp., Lear v, iii, 41, Sir, you haue shew'd me to day your valiant strain, And Fortune *led* you well. | 1922 Walpole, Dark Forest 33, I determined that I would be satisfied with myself. Well, of course I *never was* ... *never have been* (J).

213. THE ACTION OCCURRED IN THE PRE-PAST ¹⁾ — Dial. Her. 123 H 2, many Jewes were there, that *came* to Jerusalem. | Rich. 37 B 13, [he was] ... hastily drowned in a Butte of Malmesey, whose death Kyng Edward (albeit he *commaunded* it) ... pitiously bewailed. | Lett. 1429 C 1, I heard also that maister Vicare of Croidon, and all the remenant of the priestes of London that *were* sent for, wer sworne. | Rich. 41 C 12, All the worlde woulde ... say that thei had vnwyselye ... broken the amitie and peace that the king ... so prudentelye *made*, betwene hys kinne and hers in his death bed. | Picus 4 E 5, dispising the blast of vaine glorie, which he before *desired*, now with all his mind he began to seke the glorie ... of Christes church. | Rich. 69 G 11, Some haue I heard say, that the duke a litle before the coronacion among other thinges, *required* of the protector the duke of Herfordes Landes. | Rich. 55 F 9, That ment he by the lordes of the quenes kindred that *were* taken before and should that day be behedded at Poumfreit. | Picus 9 F 5, he shuld haue excelled ... al them that *died* this .viij. C. yere before him.

Rich. 54 D 10, Natheles the lorde Chamberlen (which fro the death of king Edward *kept* Shoris wife) ... answered and said ... | Dial. Her. 134 F 7, he ... asked whyther he *could* neuer se nothing at al in al his life before. | Rich. 54 D 8, no man was there present, but wel knew that his harme *was* euer such since his birth ²⁾.

¹⁾ I. e., the period before the past time of the principal sentence.

²⁾ In the last three quotations (second paragraph) the time-sphere stretches from a point in the pre-past to the past, as in c 1400 Mandeville, Tr. 58, 32, And þere oure lord heled a man of the palasye þat *lay* .xxxvij. jeer (M.).

This usage is very common in More, though in many cases he expresses this particular time-sphere more emphatically by means of a construction with *had*, e. g. :

Rich. 67 F 8, King Richarde after his coronacion, takyng hys way to Gloucester ... deuised as he roode, to fulfil the thing which he before *had intended*. | Last Th. 75 A 9, they reioysed & ioyed that god *had accounted* them worthy for Christes sake. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1234 B 6, a greate kyng, that hadde so tender loue to a sernaunte of his, that he *had ... forsaken* and *leafte* of all hys worldelye wealthe. | Debell. 931 H 2, he the more meruaileth that I would in that boke write against any treatise of his, who neuer *had* anye thing written against any worke of mine. (For further discussion see §§ 594-599).

In older English the preterite was fairly frequent in these cases. In modern and in Pres. D. Engl. it seems regular after the conjunction *after* ¹⁾, e. g. :

1891 Kipling, Light that F. 7, Dick was silent after he *handed* Torpenhow the filled pipe; 1901 B. Shaw Cash. B. Pr., he stood motionless after she *disappeared*.

It occasionally occurs after *as soon as*, *before*, *until*, &c. :

1893 A. C. Doyle, Adv. S. H. 133, I determined to wait until I *got* back to town before telling my story to the police.

Here follow a few quotations from works written before More's time :

13... Pearl 1172, My bede vpon þat hylle wat³ layde þer as my perle to grounde *strayd* (OED). | c 1400 Mandev. Tr. 2, 13, See now how dere he boughte man þat he *made* after his owne ymage (M). | idem, 2, 18, the tree of the cros ... was of þat tree þat Adam *ete* the appull of (M).

In Shakespeare we find :

Gent. II, v, 13, after they *cloas'd* in earnest, they parted very fairely in iest.

Einkenkel discusses this usage in 1916 § 8, where he adduces from O. E. :

c 1000 W. S. Gospels, John XI, 21, Gif þu *wære* her, nære min broþor dead ;

and further from Caxton :

Blanch. 43. 8, (we) shall shewe the manyere that she kept after the kyssye that blanchardyn *toke* of her.

See Caro 1898 pp. 56 ff; Wandschneider 1887 pp. 41 ff; Kellner 1913 § 373; Buffin 1925; V. d. Meer 1929 §§ 15 & 16; Koziol 1935 p. 100; Johnson 1936; Sugden 1936 § 300.

¹⁾ By some grammarians, however, this is looked upon as not really "correct".

INDIRECT SPEECH.

214. When the *verbum dicendi* is a present tense (*he says*)

a. the present tense of the original statement remains unshifted. See § 172.

b. the preterite of the original statement remains unshifted :

Supplic. 290 H 13, for to proue that it is always so, he layeth that it hath been so thryse : and as it shall after bee shewed, he lyeth in all three. The first he layeth that the bishoppe of London *was* in a greate rage for endyghtyng of certayne curates of extorcyon. | Last Th. 85 E 9, Esop ... as I thynke ye haue heard, fayneth that one of the paynym goddes *came* down into earth.

215. When the *verbum dicendi* is a preterite (*he said*)

a. the present tense of the original statement is shifted into the preterite, except in the case of general truths and natural phenomena. See § 173.

b. the preterite which the reported statement originally contained either remains unaltered or is shifted into a construction with *had* :

Dial. Her. 134 D 4, [a begger] ... *was* walking about the towne ... sayenge that he *was* borne blinde, and neuer *sawe* in hys lyfe. | Rich. 70 B 10, I haue heard of som that said they *saw* it, that ... | Rich. 80 B 5, she *sayed* his grace *spake* so louing wordes.

Rich. 71 A 1, euen there he left, saying that he *had* alredy *medled* to muche with the world. | Rich. 42 D 7, they *sayde* that the Lorde Marques *hadde entered* into the Tower of London.

In the last cases it is, however, difficult to say whether *had medled*, *hadde entered* represent original *has medled*, *has entered* or *medled*, *entered*.

216. A well-known feature of the language of More and his predecessors was the sudden lapse from indirect to direct speech with retention of the conjunction *that* ¹⁾. The frequent

¹⁾ Cases in which only a pair of inverted commas need to be inserted to get regular direct speech are not considered here :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1156 D 2, And in such wise deale they wyth him as the mother doth sometye wyth her chyld : which when the litle boy *wyl* not ryse in tyme for her, but lye styl a bed and slugge, & when he is vp weepeth because he hath lien so long, fearing to be beaten at scoole for hys late commyng thither : she telleth hym them that it is but earely dayes, & he shal com time inough and biddeth hym [: “] go good sonne I warrant the(e), I haue sent to thy mayster my self, take thy breade & butter with thee, thou shalt not be beaten at al [”].

occurrence of this now unusual practice shows that it was not due to a kind of carelessness on the part of the writer, but rather to a tendency to make the narration more lively. A few instances may suffice.

Lett. 1454 E 6, Wherto I said, *that* I was very sure, that myne own conscience so enfourmed as it is ... *may* stand with myne own saluacion. I *medle* not with the conscience of them that thinke other wise .. It was also sayde vnto me, that ... Wherto I answered ... that I *haue* not been a man of such holy liuing ... : and therfore I put not my self forward but *draw* backe. Howbeit if god *draw* me to it himself, than *truste* I in hys great mercy, that he *shall* not fayle to geue me grace and strength. In conclusion maister Secretarye sayde ...

Lett. 1430 B 8, To that I aunswered, *that* if there were no mo but myselfe upon my side, ... I woulde be sore afraide to leane to mine owne minde only against so many. But on the other side, if it so be, that in some thinges for which I *refuse* the othe, I *haue* as I thinke I *haue*, upon my part as great a counsaile and a greater to, I *am* not than bounden to change my consiens.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1259 H 3, saynte Paule ... sayth of hymself *that* he hath ben ... in manye labors, in prisons ofter then other, in strypes aboue measure, at point of death often times, of the Jewes *hadde* I .v. times .xl. stripes saue one, thrise *haue* I ben beten with rodde, once *was* I stoned ...

Lett. 1452 C 5, I aunswerde, that I *geue* ¹⁾ no manne occasion to holde any poynt one or other.

Lett. 1452 B 11, Whereunto he sayde, *that* lykewyse as the kynges hyghnesse would be gracious to them that he found comfortable, so his grace woulde folowe the course of hys lawes towarde suche as he *shall* fynde obstinate.

Similarly without *that* :

Rich. 40 D 6, whose blood (quod he) ... was ful vnmetely to be matched with his : whiche nowe to be as who say remoued from the kyng, & the lesse noble to be left aboute him, *ts* (quod he) neither honorable to his magestie nor to ...

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1253 H 18, Whereunto the tother hart aduysed hym to flye no farther, leste the bitche might happen to finde him again, ... : and so shold he be kild lying, where he could not styre him. Wheras if hē wold turn & fight, he wer in no peril at all. For the man with whom she *hunteth*, *ts* more then a myle behind her, and she *is* but a little body scant half so much as *thou*.

This idiom traces back to the oldest times and is often met with in Gothic (e. g. Mark III, 22, Iah bokarjos þai af Iairusau-

¹⁾ *Geue* may, however, stand for *gaue*, since the passage continues : nor neuer *gaue* anye manne aduise or counsaile.

lymai qimandans qeþun þatei Baailzaibul habaiþ jah þatei in þamma reikistin unholþono *uswairpiþ* þaim unhulþom); it was not infrequently used in Old English (Huchon 1923 p. 279, Gorrell 1895 p. 130) :

c 897 Ælfred, tr. Orosius (in Sweet, A. S. Reader iv, 2), He cwæþ þæt he bude on þæm lande norþweardum wiþ þa Westsæ. He sæde þeah þæt þæt land sie swiþe lang norþ þonan; ac *hit is* all weste ...

Neither was the idiom rare in Middle English :

c 1386 Chaucer, Prol. C. T. 500, And this figure he added eek ther-to, *That if* gold ruste, What *shal* Iren doo?

c 1400 Mandev., Tr. 196, 29, And þanne þei asked him whi he was so proud & so fierce & so besy for to putten all the world vnder his subiection, right as þou were a god & *hast* no terme of *thi* lif, neiþer day ne hour. And *wylnest* to haue all the world at thi commandement ... (M).

1470-85 Malory, Mort d'A. 98, 35, Merlyn late wryte balyns name on the tombe with letters of gold, *that* here *lyeth* balyn le Sauage.

ASPECT

217. Since the first kind of aspect (Aspect I §§ 174-179) is inherent in the meaning of the verb, it does not change with the time-sphere of the syntactical unit, so that for instance both *he catches* and *he caught* are terminative. It has therefore been thought unnecessary to add examples of inchoative, durative, or terminative aspect of sentences containing a preterite to those given of the same kinds of aspect in sentences containing a present tense ¹⁾.

The second kind of aspect (Aspect proper), however, deserves further treatment here, as it touches the structure of the predicate in syntactical units the time-sphere of which lies in the past.

218. In continuous narration events happening one after another necessarily have a perfective aspect. In More's language, just as in earlier and later English, we always find the preterite (and not a construction consisting of *to be* + ... *-ing*) in this case.

¹⁾ A clear example of ingressive *stood* occurs in : Rich. 61 E 3, The protector ... went thorow the people into the place where the doctors comonly stand in the vpper story, where he *stode* to hearken the sermon.

Rich. 43 F 7, Then *was* there greate commocion and murmure aswell in other places about ... And somme Lordes ... *assembled* in sundry coupanies, and *went* flockmele in harneis. | Rich. 45 (= 44) E 11, When the kyng *approched* nere to the citie, Edmonde Sha ... and all the other aldermenne... *receiued* hym reuerentlye...and *accompanied* him in to citey, whiche hee *entered* the forwth daye of Maye.

If, however, the speaker looks upon a past action from the inside, i. e. from a position within the time-sphere of that action, so that he sees the action proceed from past to present or future (or, as Curme 1933 p. 375 puts it, as an unfolding event), and not as a completed whole, imperfective aspect is the result. In Pres. D. Eng. it has become usual to express this aspect by using a *to be* + *-ing* construction, e. g. Vachel, Spragge 164, 'An hour later, they *were* calmly *fishng* as if nothing had happened.'

This usage was not unknown to More :

Apol. 134, whyle the man *was in betynge*, I spied a lytle purse of his hangynge at his doublette. | Rich. 45 (= 44) B 1, disturbynge the Kynges Coronacion, towarde whiche the Dukes *were commynge* vppe. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1155 C 2, two disciples that *were goyng* into the castell of Emaus ¹⁾.

Yet there are in his English writings many cases in which this aspect remains latent and is consequently not expressed by means of a special verb-group; they contain preterites and the imperfectivity of the action can only be inferred from the context or the situation. In the majority of the following quotations, if not in all, Pres. D. Eng. would prefer the *to be* + *ing* construction.

Picus 8 D 5, ...god. In the loue of whom he so feruently burned that on a time as he *walked* with John Frauncis ... in an orchard at Farrare ... he brake out in to these wordes... | Picus 6 E 17, he considered, that he *laboured* only for the loue of God. | Rich. 51 A 11, The lord Cardinall perceiuing that the quene *waxed* euer the lenger the farder of, ... he said vnto her... | Rich. 53 A 9, While some for their busines *made sute* to them that had the doing, some were by their frendes secretly warned... | Rich. 54 F 8, for as shortly as he shranke, yet *ranne* the blood about his eares. | Rich. 64 D 5, not one woorde was there answered of all the people that *stode* before. | Rich. 55 F 12, which he wel wyst, but nothing ware, that the axe *hang* ouer his own hed. | Picus 2 D 10, there appeared a ferye garland standing ouer the chaumber of

¹⁾ For further discussion see the sections on the *to be* + *ing* collocations, §§ 605 ff.

hy's mother whyle she *trauailed*. | Rich. 57 G 10, then thought the pro-
tectour, that whyle men *mused* what the matter ment, ... it were best
hastly to pursue his purpose. | Rich. 71 C 1, The fox that saw him run
so faste, asked him whither he *made* al that hast. | Rich. 45 (= 44) D 2,
such of the Dukes seruantes as *rode* with the cartes of theyr stuffe that
were taken... | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1170 E 10, So happed it on a time, that
his wyfe and he together, *dyned* or *supped* wyth that neighbour of
theirs, and than she made a mery quarel to him.

EARLIER

- c 900 tr. Bede's Hist. III, xiv 216,
He swa swiþe swætte swa in
swole middes sumeres (OED).
c 1290 Beket 1544 in S. Eng. Leg.
150, In þe church of Caunterburi
me þouȝte i stod ... And *striuede*
for holi church aȝen þe kinge
and his (OED).
1200 Ormulum 15556, and he
fand i þe temple þær wel fele
menn, þatt *saldenn* þærinne baþe
nowwt and shep (OED).
c 1386 Chaucer, C. T. A 2654, And
whan that Theseus hadde seyn
this sighte Unto the folk that
foghten thus echon, He cryde...
c 1400 Mandeville 15, 18, þere he
saugh a damysele þat *kembed*
hire hede and *loked* in a myrour
(M.).

LATER

- 1548 Hall, Chron. Henry VIII 6 b,
Every man toke much hede to
them that *daunsed* (OED).
1859 Tennyson, Marr. Geraint 385,
While the Prince and Earl Yet
spoke together (OED).
1853 Ch. Bronte, Villette, Ch. I,
Mrs. Bretton and I sat alone in
the drawing-room waiting her
coming... My godmother *read*
the evening paper while she
waited, I *sewed*. It was a wet
night; the rain *lashed* the panes,
and the wind *sounded* angry
and restless.

MODALITY

219. Whenever a preterite is used in a syntactical unit the time-sphere of which is not distinctly the past, it helps to express and occasionally emphasizes the modality of non-reality. This usage is met with both in independent and dependent syntactical units.

Independent Units

220. The preterite of *will* is frequently used to express this modality in independent units denoting a wish, mostly with the implication that fulfilment is not expected.

Rich. 49 (= 46) D 8, *Woulde* God some of the men of her kynne, were

women too. | Pageants, Chyldh. l. 4, *would* to god these hatefull bookes all, Were in a fyre brent to poudre small.

221. Preterites may also be used to represent an action as existing only in the imagination. This usage is found in *a)* in rhetorical questions and *b)* in the apodoses of hypothetical statements.

a) Last Th. 86 A 1, *couldst* thou enuy a perpetual sick man ? | Rich. 50 B 9, in what place *coude* I reckon him sure ? | Last Th. 88 A 8, who *coude* be angry for the losse ?

b) Rich. 71 E 11, In good fayth sir said the bishop if it did, the thing that I was about to say ... *could* deserue but thank. | Last Th. 88 B 16, of thys *wold* a man be the more ashamed, yf hee considred in how much peril ... his own life ... is. | Picus 14 C 5, I *had* cast awaie bothe cost and labour of my studie, if I were so minded. | Lett. 1431 C 11, if I had not ben ... at a firme and fast point, ... your ... letter *had* not a litle abashed me. | Rich. 38 G 15, my children ... if they shoulde ... *fynde* you at varyaunce, *myght* happe to fall themselfe at warre.

With *must* :

Rich. 66 B 15, If he woulde geue them a resolute aunswere to the contrarye, whyche they woulde bee lothe to heare, than *muste* they needes seke ... some other noble manne. | Dial. Her. 141 E 9, if I wer in this matter to dispute with a Painim ... *must* it nedes bee a long matter and much entriked or it shoulde come at the end.

Dependent Units

222. Modal preterites are frequently used in *object-clauses* after verbs that express a vain wish.

Rich. 63 D 3, Alas I woulde my vncke *woulde* lette me haue my life yet. | Rich. 53 H 9, woulde God I *had* some better thing as redy to your pleasure as that. | Rich. 39 D 1, if the sacramentes of Christes Church, beare that weight with vs that woulde Godde thei *did*.

223 Attributive clauses with other modal preterites than *were*, *might*, *could*, *had*, etc., are comparatively rare.

Last Th. 75 D 10, yf they most pleased god, that in the bodily pain of their penance *toke* lesse spirytuall pleasure, it should therof follow... | Dial. Her. 152 E 8, This were in dede a good easy waye for a slouthfull mason that *were* an euill workman, to make hym a squier and a ruler of lede, that he ... may bend the squier to the stone.

For further quotations with *were* see § 231.

224. *Protases of hypothetical statements* are freely constructed with modal preterites. All kinds of verbs are used here.

Last Th. 75 D 10, *yf* thei most *pleased* god, that in the bodily pain of their penance toke lesse spirytuall pleasure, it should therof follow... | Last Th. 85 H 5, whosoever ennye another it is for some thyng, whereof him self wold be proude if he *had* it. | Last Th. 86 C 13, if we *consydered* euerye thyng a ryght...we should neuer see cause to enuy anye manne. | Picus 20 C 3, if a man *had* god alway before his eies ... he shoulde shortly be perfect.

Occasionally the protasis instead of being introduced by *if* opens with the verb.

Dial. Her. 239 C 9, *wist* I that it were trewe, ... I woulde well thynke, that ... he hanged himselfe.

225. Equally frequent is the use of modal preterites in *concessive clauses*.

Aut. Lett. xiv 201, the kinges highnes thinketh that sith his army shall march in hard wether with many sore & grevousse incommoditees if they shold also forbere the profite of the spoile the bare hope whereof though they *gate* litle was great encouraging to theym they shall have evill will to march far forward. | Last Th. 80 E 11, of that consumpcion shal we dye in conclusion, for al the medicines that we use, though neuer other sickenes *came* at vs. | Apol. 49, to match them therin, I neyther can though I *wold*, nor wyll neyther though I *coude*.

The form *lye*, instead of *laye*, in the following passage is perhaps used because *lay* does not show the modality of the unit (rejected supposition) to the same degree as *lie* does.

Dial. Her. 151 B 8, Such a scabbed itche of vainglory catche they in their preaching, that though al the world wer the worse for it, & their own life *lye* theron, yet would thei long to be pulpited.

With front-position of the verb and without *though*: Conf. Tynd. 476 F 3, he shoulde elles fall headlong downe, *believed* he neuer so well, and *lived* he neuer so wel also besyde.

226. In *clauses of rejected comparison* the notion of non-reality is strongly pronounced.

Lament., Stanza 1 l. 3, O ye ... That so lyue as ye *should* neuer hence... | Last Th. 79 B 9, in which the folish sicke man is sometyme occupied, as though he *thought* that... | Boke of F. p. 2 D 7, Fast by her syde doth very Labour stand,...His eyes drowsy and lokyng as he *slept*.

Occasionally the present tense is used here: Conf. Tynd. 627 A 13, he maketh as though he *mocke* but men of those latter daies.

227. WAS and WERE.

The preterite of *to be* appears in two forms: *was* and *were* (singular). As may be expected, the form *was*, though as adequate to indicate the modality of the sentence as the

preterite of other verbs in the cases illustrated, is not nearly so often found as *were*. Indeed the latter may be called regular, the former exceptional.

228. WAS. In both the following quotations modal *was* occurs in the principal unit of a compound sentence; no examples of modal *was* in dependent units introduced by *if* have been found ¹⁾.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1188 H 14, But marye if he made hym first perceyue how he had bene deluded, and then tempted hym to hys own death bi shame & by dispayre, then *was* it wythin oure matter lo, for then *was* his temptacion fallen down fro pryde to pusillanimiti, and *was* waxen that kinde of the nights fear that I spake of, wherin a good part of the counsail that wer to be geuen him, should haue nede to stande in good comforting, for then *was* he broughte into right sore tribulacion. | Aut. Lett. xiv 204, the kinges highnes thinketh that sith his army shall march in hard wether with many sore & grevouse incommodities if they shold also forbere the profite of the spoile the bare hope wherof though they gate litle *was* great encoraging to theym they shall have evill will to march far forward.

Curme's statement (1933 p. 427) that the use of *was* "as a past subjunctive" arose in the seventeenth century appears erroneous. His first example is dated 1667 (Pepys Diary, July 12, She told him if he *was* not a foole he would not suffer his business to be carried on by fools).

229. WERE in object clauses.

Picus 14 E 9, This is farre out of the waie : ... to thinke that it *were* shame to abide stil in the better, and not decline. | Lett. 1423 H 11, And

¹⁾ There are a few instances of *was* in clauses opening with *if*, but here *if* introduces a conceded fact and not a supposition or condition :

Passion 1342 H 15, For *if* the woorde *was* verely fleshe, and yf we also verely receiue that woorde beyng fleshe in our Lordes meate, how shal he be taughte not to bee in vs naturally (= si enim vere verbum caro factum est). | Last Th. 78 A 4, at that pointe he cryed loude once or twice to his father ... Now if that death *was* so painful ... what intollerable torment wil death bee than to vs miserable wretches. (But compare : A. V., Luke xii, 28, If then God so *clothe* the grass ... how much more will he clothe you.)

Was is similarly used in : Lett. 1429 H 9, Now al *was* it so, that in mine own mind me thought my self not concluded, yet... — For *al were* it see § 201.

if that in your so doing, your owne vertuous minde shal giue you ..., that ... I *were* a wretche... | Last Th. 79 G 10, Comonly when we be sick, ... than we think how meri a thing it *wer* to be praying in health, which we cannot now do for grief. | Supplic. 290 G 11, he laboureth to make the worlde wene that ther *wer* no purgatory at all. | Picus 19 E 10, soin man wold paraduenture think that it *were* foly for a man vtterly to depriue himself from all pleasures. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1182 G 10, Eye, what eyleth this gyrlle? the eluish vrchin weneth I *wer* a diuell I trow.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1224 C 8, would God I *were* a manne. | Dial. C. 259, The manne is so much the lesse perfyte than I woulde he *were*... | Dial. C. 205, Belgrad which wold God *wer* ours now as wel as it was then.

230. WERE in subject-clauses, announced by proleptic *it* in a formula expressing regret, etc.

Lett. 1447 G 11, So *was it* an heauye hearynge to me, that the kynges grace ... *wer* likely to conceiue such high suspicion of me.

231. WERE in attributive clauses.

Debell. 930 E 12, like as an husband, whose wife *were* in her trauaile, herkeneth euerye hand while, and faine would here good tydings : so ... I longed of their long labour to se some good spede. | Last Th. 72 C 11, What would a man geue for a sure medicin, that *wer* of such strength, that it should al his life kepe him fro sicknes? | Dial. C. 220, yf we founde any such religious person, that *wer* reputed for a man of singular vertue...

232. WERE in hypothetical statements, either in the apodosis or in the protasis.

Picus 16 C 4, consider ... how much *were* thy madnes : if thou shouldest for the iudgement of madde men swarue from the good institution of thy life. | Last Th. 93 E 13, gret madnes *wer* it, if we would not rather take a short pain for the winning of euerlasting pleasure... | Dial. Her. 224 A 14, so *were* it ... litle labour ... to translate the whole booke al new.

Apol. 6, yf this *were* vntrew ... some of them could assign ... some one suche place for a sample. | Picus 18 E 8, if these more imperfecte creatures *were* not, the other that are more perfecte coulde not bee. | Last Th. 76 A 7, yf euer the mind *wer* emptye, it would bee empty whan the bodye slepeth. But yf it *wer* than al empty, we shoulde haue no dreames.

Picus 1 F 1, which workes I wolde require you gladly to receiue : *ne were it*, that thei be such, that for the goodly mater ... maie delite & please any person. | Last Th. 74 E 9, I wold not so long tary in this point, ... *were it not* that I wel parceyue...

Exceptionally *be* is used instead of *were* : Dial. C. (Wks.) 1164 D 9, if it so *be* as these great learned men ... say ..., than *wer* ther in his dedes ... sundry degrees and differences of deseruyng ¹⁾.

After conditional *when* modal *were* is not rare : Apol. (Wks.) 867 E 1, Some of theym saye, that ... I sette no so little by money, as to refuse it when it *were* offered.

233. WERE in concessive clauses, both syndetic and asyndetic.

Rich. 59 C 13, the only widowhed of Elisabeth Gray though she *wer* in al other thinges conuenient for you, shold yet suffice ... to refrain you from her marriage. | Picus 29 A 10, the louer would ... thinke it eke to small, Though it *wer* death. | Last Th. 82 C 10, And this is true, although ye *wer* sure that the place of your execucion stode so farre beyond his. | Last Th. 81 G 10, he should truelye answer, that he *wer* goyng out of the towne, al *wer* the towne so long that he had ten mile to go... | Dial. Her. 167 H 10, if any woulde after take the contrary waye, *were* it one or mo, *were* it fewe or many ... yet can I nothing doubte which parte to beleue.

234. WERE in clauses of rejected comparison.

Picus 31 B 4, eate he, drinke he, sitte, lye down or walke, He burneth euer as it *were* with a fire. | Apol 103, he maketh as though the hole people ... *were* so inalycouse. | Apol. 15, And therfore are they content to fynde no fawte at the leuyng out of them, but make as though all *were* in.

235. WERE in temporal clauses opening with *ere*, etc.

Rich. 53 C 1, while one man is there which is neuer thence, ... it should be in mine eares ere it *were* well oute of their mouthes.

236. A special kind of modality is found in those sentences in which the preterite is used instead of the present tense in order to render the statements less apodictic or blunt and more modest or reserved.

Could. Last. Th. 88 H 9, if ye beleue not me, I *coude* fynd ye record. | Prayer 1418 B 5, beare me good lord thy loue & fauor, which thyng my loue to theewarde ... *could* not but of thy great goodness deserue (cf. § 509).

Would. Picus 30 D 6, A very louer beleueth ... On whom ... he hath his heart Ibente ... surmounting farre ... All other ... and *woulde* that

¹⁾ Note the incongruity of *were* and *see* in : Dial. Her. 282 B 2, if they *wer* once fond out & examined, we *see* them alway first ready to lye and forswear themselves, if that will serue.

euery manne should thinke the same. | Last Th. 79 E 15, likewise as wiues *would* their husbandes shoulde wene by the example of Sara, that there wer no woman so olde but she might haue a childe, so is there none olde man so olde, but ... he trusteth to liue one yere yet. Apol. 56, And now *wolde* theyr dysciples that I shold not speke agaynste theyr execrable heresy. | Rich. 68 D 3, Alas I *woulde* my vncke *woulde* lette me haue my lyfe yet, though I lese my kingdome. | Dial. C. 259, The manne is so much the lesse parfyte than I *would* he were. | Last Th. 83 C 10, Thou arte neyther hote nor cold but luke warme, I *would* thou were colde that thou mightest waxe warme. | Dial. C. 185, I *would* I could as easily mende my faulte as I well knowe it.

WERE is also found in this case :

Last Th. 76 C 11, better *were* it for the while to let one wanton woordes passe vncontrolled, than geue occasyon of twain. | Rich. 48 (= 45) D 12, mee thynketh it *were* not woorste to sende vnto the Queene ..., some honourable, trustye manne. | Last Th. 74 G 12, Long *wer* it to reherse the places that proue this point. | Supplic. 292 D 2, [we] do not purpose to cumber you with rehearsal ... of all his lies, for that *wer* to long a worke. | Rich. 70 G 13, surely my lord folly *wer* it for me to lye. | Apol. 44, it *were* not good that yonge men sholde wene so. | Dial. Her. 109 H 12, it *were* wisdom not to call them Lutherans. | Rich. 45 (= 44) E 10, it *were* almoise to hang them. | Rich. 54 A 8, when he had sitten stil a while, thus he began : what *were* they worthy to haue, that compasse & ymagine the distruccion of me ? | Dial. Her. 138 B 4, lothe *wer* I to hyt it with a ful shot...

In these quotations *could*, *would*, *were* are almost equivalent to *can*, *will*, *is* respectively, but for the element of hesitation or modesty ¹⁾.

The collocations *were good*, *were better*, *had lieuer*, etc. are used in a similar way : Dial. C. 255, Some man that hath not two ducates in his house, *were better* forbearre them both and leue himself not a farthing. | Dial. C. 262, They *were* in manner as good be dead at once. | Dial. C. 286, a man *were* almost as good lack both. | Rich. 55 B 5, yet *had I leuer* that men should se...

No instances have been found in More's English of the type : I *wanted* (= should like) to ask you if... | I *called* to ask you if you would join us.

237. So far (§§ 219-236) all the quotations have served to exemplify the use of the preterite in syntactical units the time-sphere of which is not the past. In units with a distinct past time-sphere the preterite has nothing in its form that helps

¹⁾ For *durst* in this function see § 544.

to denote the modality of those units ¹⁾; the form *were* (sing.) is the only exception :

Rich. 56 F 17, albeit she *were* out of al array saue her kyrtle only : yet went she ... fair & louely. | Picus 3 F 10, [His enuiours] as it *were* with priuie trenches enforced to undermine him... | Rich. 4 E 8, and so began he to ordre his condicions, that from thenceforth he might have ben approued : and though his enemye *were* his iudge. | Dial. C. 169, And what game they came than to, god knoweth and not I. I pray god it *wer* good, but I feare it very sore. | Picus 7 F 3, shewing him, that it was his dishonestie and rebuke, when it was reported (*were* it trew or false) that his negligence... gaue his seruantes occasion of disceit and robberie. | Rich. 37 B 8, heinous Treason was there layde to his charge, and finallye *wer* hee faultye *were* hee faultlesse, attainted was hee by parliament, and iudged to the death. | Dial. Her. 105 G 11, For this cause me thought that for the more suerly, my parte *were* to send our communicacion to my said frende in wrytyng. | Dial. Her. 166 C 4, ye both confessed, that neither ... coulde any further thing finde therein, he sayenge still that his waye *were* ²⁾ the truthe, ... and your self perceyuyng in your owne mynde none other. | Last Th. 92 E 16, Which thing is the cause that our sauour Christ said it *were* ³⁾ as harde for the riche manne to come into heauen, as a great cable or a Camel to go through a nedles eye. | Dial. C. 225, I doutd whither I *were* a sleepe or a wake. | Rich. 45 (= 44) H 2, the protectoure so soore thyrsted for the fluyshynge of that hee hadde begonne, that thoughte euerye daye a yeaere tyll it *were* atchyued. | Rich. 55 C 10, The same morning ere he *were* vp, came a knight vnto him. | Rich. 56 G 15, they *were* coupled ere she *wer* wel ripe.

That this usage differs from that dealt with in the preceding sections (preterite in units whose time-sphere is not the past) appears among other things from the fact that here a possible substitute for *were* is not *is*, but *was*. There are, moreover, a few quotations in which the verb, instead of referring to an imaginary action, denotes a fact (e. g. ere he *were* vp).

238. Notwithstanding the fact that concessive clauses opening with *though* require the form *were*, it sometimes

¹⁾ Occasionally a special word-order takes over this task : Dial. Her. 163 F 8, that ones knowen, that god telleth them, *semed they neuer so far vnlikely*, nor neuer so far impossible, I neither shold nor could haue any doute, but that thei *were* bothe twayne trewe.

²⁾ This is a case of a modal form in reported speech, a usage common in Old English (and still in German) : Ælfric, Homilies I, 16, Nu cwædon gedwolmen þæt deofol gesceope sume gesceafta. | See Curme 1933 p. 417.

happens that More consciously rejects this modal form in order to stress his belief in the truth of the statement :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1164 E 6, though there none *was*, nor none *coulede* bee in his most blessed parsonne but excellent, and incomparablye passinge the prayer of anye pure creature : yet his owne not all alyke, but somme one farre aboute somme other.

239. It should be noted that the second person singular (*thou knewest*) never occurs without the ending *-st* in the cases enumerated above ¹⁾.

Rich. 55 F 6, Thou wouldest say so quod he, if thou *knewest* asmuch as I know, which few knowe else as yet & moe shall shortly. | Last Th. 86 B 5, If it so were that thou *knewest* a great Duke, kepyng so great estate..., that thou being a ryght meane manne, *haddest* in thyne heart great enuy thereat, ... if thou *sholdest* sodeinly be surely aduertised, that ... he shold vndoutedly be taken the morow ... *shouldeste* thou not ... chaunge into pity ? | Last Th. 79 G 4, Thou wouldest somewhat remember death the more effectually ..., yf thou *knewest* thy self sick, & specially of anye perilous sicknes that wold make an end of thee, though thou *feltest* yet litle payne. | Last Th. 86 A 11, I suppose yf there wer one right farre aboute thee, yet thou wouldest not greatly enuy his estate, if thou *thoughteste* that thou *myghteste* bee his matche the next weke. | Dial. C. 335, what folly is it then ... to flee from that death, whiche thou seest thou shalte shortelye after wish thou *haddest* dyed.

The form *thou were*, however, occurs frequently :

Picus 26 B 7, If thou shouldest god offende, thinke how therefore, Thou *were* forthwith in very ieopardous case. | Last Th. 81 F 2, Now tel me than if thou *wer* going out of a howse whither arte thou goynge out onely whan thy lote is on the vttermost ynych of the threshold, or els... | Conf. Tynd. 728 E 13, Diddest not thou tell me ... that thou *wer* ²⁾ at the graue thy self ?

¹⁾ The ending *-(e)st*, originally unknown in the preterite «subjunctive» in O. E., is often found in later Old English texts (Sievers 1921 § 365 Anm. 3). In Chaucer the form in *-st* had already ousted that without *-st* to a great extent, e. g. C. T. 554, And thurgh thy dronke nose smeth the soun As though *seydest* ay Sampson. (Cf. Kittredge 1891 § 106 : "The indicative preterite form in *-est* is often used in constructions properly subjunctive" and B. ten Brink 1920 § 192 : "Im schwachen Praet. hat die 2. Pers. Sing. bei Chaucer vielfach die Endung des Indicativs angenommen.") The short form, however, had not yet entirely died out by More's time; Dahlheimer 1899 p. 66 registers three instances of *thou wolde* in Barclay's Shyp of Folys.

²⁾ Another example of a modal form in indirect discourse. See § 237 note.

240. Historical Remarks to §§ 219-239.

More's use of the preterite in units not referring to past time to denote or emphasize modality does not differ essentially from that in earlier periods, as may be gathered from the evidence presented below. As regards Pres. D. Eng. it may be said that, whereas literary English has preserved the usage in the majority of cases, the ordinary conversational language has discarded the preterite in almost every case (exc. after *if*; for *were* and modest statements see §§ 241-3). Even in literary English some cases are rather exceptional, e. g. in the apodosis of a hypothetical statement with other verbs than *would*, *could*, etc. (§ 211 b.) ; in attributive clauses ¹⁾(§ 223) ; in temporal clauses opening with *ere* (§ 235).

EARLIER. c 1170 Poeme M. 317, Swunche we for godes lue healf þet we doþ for æhte ne beo we naht swa of bicherd ne sa uuele bi kehte. 3if we *serueden* gode swa we doþ erminges mare we hedden en heuene þenne eorles her end kinges. | a 1240 On God Ureisun of Ure Lefdi 107, 3if þu *heuvedest* wreche inumen of mine lufnesse, iwis ich *heuvede* al uorloren paradis blisse. | a 1300 Dame Sirib (Zupitza) 249, I wis, Nelde, ne woldi þat þou *hevedest* vilani. | a 1300 idem 98, Ich *were* ounseli if ich *lernede* to ben on hore. | c 1386 Chaucer, R. R. 7326, Myn lemman Streyneth-Abstinence, Hath myster of my purveyaunce ; She *hadde* ful longe ago be deede, *Nere* my councel and my rede.

LATER. 1595 Shakesp., Much Ado II, i, 202, it *had* not been amiss the rod had been made, and the garland too. | idem, Merry W. I, i, 291, I'faith Ile eate nothing : I thanke you as much as though I *did*. | 1817 Byron, Lett. to Moore, 25 March, Heigh ho ! I wish I *was* drunk. | 1885 F. Anstey, Tinted Venus II, 24, I wish to heaven I *did*. | 1910 Hergesheimer, Cytherea p. 288, You ought to be beaten until you *fell* down. | Pres. D. Eng. : If he *came*, I should take to flight.

241. WERE in units the time-sphere of which is not the past (§§ 227-35) was used in older English in the same cases as have been illustrated in More. In present-day spoken English this *were* is almost exclusively found in subordinate clauses of condition, concession and rejected comparison introduced by the conjunctions *if*, *though*, *as if*, *as though*, etc. In literary

¹⁾ But compare : 1918 Times Educ. Supp. 20, 8, The rustic who *went* to London believing that its streets were paved with gold would give a very different account of the wealth of the Metropolis from that of a man who... (Kr.) | Thackeray, Fancy your wife attached to a mother who *dropped* her h's (J.).

English it is still frequently used in other cases ; in attributive clauses, however, (*a mason that were an euill workman*) it is rare.

EARLIER. c 1200 Ormulum, Preface 79, riht alls iff it *wære* þatt wa33n, þat gaþ o fowwre wheless (OED). | a 1300 Dame Siriþ (Zupitza) 103, never more his lif-wile, þau he *were* on hondred mile Bi-gende Rome. | c 1400 Mandev., Tr. 3, 9, wolde god þat the temporal lordes ... *were* at gode acord (M.).

LATER. 1520 Everyman 159, Hye the, that thou *were* gone to Goddes magnyfycence. | c 1615 Fletcher, Mad Lover 1, i, If I *were* given to that vanity ... what a most precious subject had I purchased (OED). | 1849 Macaulay, Hist. Eng. I, 1, 3, I should very imperfectly execute the task ... if I *were* merely to treat of battles and sieges. | Pres. D. spoken Eng. : If he *were* to come, what should we do ? | If I *were* you, I should not do it.

242. Since Pres. D. spoken English knows the use of [*I, thou, he, she, it*] *were* to denote modality in units with a past time-sphere (§ 237) in the *irrealis* only (Curme 1933 p. 425), there is a marked difference between the present-day idiom and that of More's time. Thus it is no longer used when the reference is to an actual *fact* (e. g. Rich. 56 F 17, albeit she *were* out of al array ... yet went she ... fair & lovely | Rich. 56 G 15, they were coupled ere she *wer* wel ripe) and in reported passages (§ 237 note ; § 239 note). Neither is *were* any longer used to introduce a clause (e. g. Rich. 37 B 9, *wer* hee fautye *wer* hee faulllesse, attainted was hee).

EARLIER. Old Eng., hie cwædon þæt he *wære* god cynyng (Sweet 1903 § 2259). | c 1470 Malory, Morte D. 690, 7, Syre Ector wold not away til Gawayne *were* hole (OED). | c 1470 Malory, Morte D. 39, 27, Alle the barons asked ... Merlyn, what counceill *were* best (OED).

LATER. 1600 Rich. Apollonius and Silla 83, She knew not whether she *were* awake or in some dream (OED). | 1714 Addison, Spect. N° 557, 2, He would not accept of one [witness], tho' it *wer* Cato himself (OED). | 1911 Allen, A Kentucky Cardinal, Ch. 6 p. 56, I felt as though I *were* in a moonlit cathedral (Kr.).

243. The usage of the preterite in modest or reserved statements (§ 236) is still living with the forms *could* & *would* ; *were*, however, has been ousted by constructions with auxiliaries in Pres. D. spoken English. Thus More's "that *were* to long a worke" > "that would be too long a work".

In Shakespeare this "modest" *were* is still frequently found (Franz 1924 § 638).

EARLIER. a 1300 Dame Siriþ (Zupitza) 62, I shall setten spel on ende, And tellen þe al, Wat ich wolde, and wi ich com. | a 1300 idem 244, For al þe world ne wolde nout þat ich were to chapitre i-brout. | a 1300 Cursor M. 4555, Coud ¹⁾ þu [v. r. cuth, cowde; Trin. coudestou] tell me quat it ware?

c 1460 Towneley Pl., Sec. Past. (Pollard) 280, Now were tyme for a man, that lakkys what he wold, To stalk prevely than unto a fold.

LATER. 1611 Bible, Josh. xv, 18, Caleb said vnto her, What wouldest thou? (OED). | 1882 Tennyson, Charge Heavy Brig., Epil. 10, 11, I would that wars should cease.

1604 Shakesp., Othello iii, iii, 156, It were not for your quiet nor your good... | 1703 Moxon, Mech. Ex. 278, You were best to mark the lower closier in each course (OED). | 1908 Athenæum, March 7, p. 280, Anything more transparent than the incognito of the author... were hard to discover.

6. THE INFINITIVE

244. In More's time the infinitive preceded by *to* had ceased to show in its form anything reminiscent of the old dative-governing force of the preposition, and inflected and uninflected infinitives (*writan*, *to writenne*) had long since come to be levelled under one and the same form. Though in a number of constructions the particle *to* was still more or less vividly felt as a real preposition, with a strong final ²⁾, pointing or translocational function, as in *hie comon þæt land to sceawienne*, in the majority of cases this *to* had become nothing but a next to meaningless preformative ³⁾. This loss of meaning was one of the reasons why the infinitive preceded by *to* came to be used in cases in which originally only plain infinitives had been possible, and by More's time *to* + infinitive had succeeded in crowding out the simple or bare stem to almost the same degree as in Pres. D. standard English.

¹⁾ The earliest quotation in OED (s. v. *can* B 7) of *could* ("in past subjunctive, expressing an inclination in a conditional form") is dated 1658-9 [Col. White, in Burton Diary (1828) IV, 39, I *could* like well that they should be in that House]. Cf. OED *can* B 6.

²⁾ Sweet (1903 p. 118) uses the term "supine of purpose".

³⁾ According to H. Boch (1931 p. 130) not before the 13th century: "Völlige Verblässung der sinnlichen Bedeutung der Präposition bis zum Funktionslosigkeit und unterschiedlose Gleichsetzung des *to*-Infinitivs mit dem reinen ist erst für das 13. Jahrhundert anzusetzen".

The few cases in which the infinitive without *to* more or less regularly occurs in More will be mentioned and illustrated.

For a discussion of the constructions in which an infinitive enters into a nexus with another verb (as in *Jest* p. 2 G 4, he *gan enquere* | *Dial. Her.* 114 A 7, then *nede* we ... *to shewe* | *Dial. Her.* 130 H 11, I *nede* not *beleue* | *Dial. C.* 252, till he *goe seke* vp all his creditors | *Apol.* 106, the kynge that ... longe *mote be* | *Rich.* 71 C 1, The fox that saw him *run*) see the sections on syntactical units with two verbs (§§ 389 ff.).

The dual character of the infinitive (as a verb and as a noun) is brought out by its capability of performing the same functions in the sentence as nouns ¹⁾ and of taking the same attributes ²⁾ and complements ³⁾ as verbs. As, however, the infinitive cannot be preceded by prepositions (apart from *to* and *for to*) or by possessive pronouns, the nominal character is less prominent than that which the form in *-ing* sometimes assumes (Cf. Pompen 1924).

245. THE INFINITIVE AS SUBJECT.

Last Th. 98 G 15, *to tell* vs worldly wretches the wordes of holy wrytte, is but a dul profe. | *Dial. Her.* 107 E 1, with whome *to commune* ... shall not mislike you. | *Rich.* 64 F 10, that thing in which *to bee* parteners is your weale & honour. | *Picus* 33 A 9, *To geue* them also that vnworthy bee, more godly is. | *Rich.* 58 D 1, *To lay* bastardy in kynge Edward, sowned openly to the rebuke of the protectours owne mother. | *Instr.* 1405 D 12, *to punishe* an euill man lieth in his charge, by reason of his office. | *Dial. C.* 186, as thoughe *to heare* of heauen were an heauy burdayne.

In Old English this construction was very rare (Callaway 1913), since the infinitive-subject usually had end-position and was either announced by proleptic *it* (e. g. *Ælfr.*, *Hom.* I 394, ac hit ne fremede him swa *gedon*), or depended on a form of the verb *beon* + adjective (e. g. *Mk.* 9, 47, betere þe is mid anum eagan *gan* on Godes rice) or on

¹⁾ E. g. as subject: *Dial. C.* 186, as thoughe *to heare* of heauen were an heauye burdayne; as direct object: *Rich.* 53 E 10, whither he could thinke it possible to *wlne* the lord Hasting into their parte.

²⁾ E. g. adverbs: *Con. Tynd.* 481 H 2, tyll menne ... fell to forgeatte them ... and then to not belieue them. | *Lett.* 1449 F 3, in his owne temptacion he was fain *thrise* to call vnto God.

³⁾ E. g. objects (see first quotation in § 245).

a construction of the type *me geþuhte* (e. g. L. I 3, *me geþuhte, geornlice eallum [fram fruman gefulgdum] on endebyrðnesse writan þe*). Plain infinitives never occurred as subjects in Old English (Boch 1931 p. 247). In Middle English the infinitive-subject in front-position (with and without *to*) is frequently met with, for which French influence may perhaps be assumed (e. g. Rou. II 937, *se vanter e menter, l'un e l'autre ert folie*). Boch (1931 p. 247), however, states that the exegetic infinitive played the most important part in this development ("Bei dem Aufkommen des *to*-Infinitivs, als Subject und als Ergänzung von Verben hat der exegetische Infinitiv die grösste Rolle gespielt"). A few Middle English instances follow :

a) Without *to*. a 1225 Ancren R. 4, *Richten hire and smeþen hire* [scil. the heart] is of euch religioun... þe god & al þe strengþe. | Idem 10, *Gon iseon swuch & elnen ham & helpen ... þis is right religioun.* | c 1374 Chaucer, Troil. III, 1634, *As great a craft is kepe wel as wyne.* | c 1412 Occleve, De Reg. Pr. 58, *use luste for luste ... contrarie To Goddes bestes is.*

This idiom became obsolete not long after Chaucer; it is not mentioned by Buchtenkirch 1889 (Occleve), nor by V. d. Meer 1929 (Mandeville). H. Juhl (1921 p. 24) says that it occurs much less frequently in Occleve and in Lydgate than in Chaucer ("Bei dem Inf. in Subjektstellung ist der reine Inf., der sich bei Chaucer noch verhältnismässig häufig findet, bei Occleve und Lydgate in starkem Abnehmen begriffen").

b) With *to*. 1388 Wyclif I Sam. xv, 22, *To herkenne Goddis word* is more than to offre the ynnere fatnesse of rammes. | c 1450 tr. De Imit. II viii 48, *To be wiþoute ihesu* is a greuouse helle.

The construction with *to* has remained the usual practice : 1539 Bible [Great] Sam. xv, 22, *Behold, to obeye* is better then sacrifice. | 1709 Pope, Essay Crit., 525, *To err* is human, *to forgive*, divine.

In Pres. D. Eng. the infinitive as subject [e. g. *To see* is to believe] has a rival in the form in *-ing*, to which it is preferred if the speaker or writer wants "to bring out the attributes of phenomenality — action and quickness". (Sweet 1903 § 2326)¹.

¹) Cf. Poutsma 1929, xix, 10; Pompen 1924 and Kruisinga 1931 §§ 393/7. Regarding the two forms Curme (1933 p. 491) says: "It has been claimed that the gerund is preferred in stating a general fact, while the infinitive is used in referring to special circumstances of a particular individual act ... Actual usage knows nothing of this distinction". His

More's use of the form in *-ing* in this function is illustrated in § 335.

Not infrequently the infinitive-subject is preceded by its own subject ¹⁾ :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1193 D 18, you maye tell him agayn that *menne* thus to talke together as you dooe ... is ... a dayly common thing. | Lett. 1453 F 1, *Whose highnes to haue* of me now such opinion, is my great heauines. | Debell. 990 D 4, al these differences ... proueth ..., that *the order not to procede* without an open presentment wer better. | Conf. Tynd. 477 B 14, *a chylde to be confirmed* or to be chrystened eyther, ... or *a man to shryue himselfe* of his sinnes, or to doe penance, or to doe any good workes toward heauenward, or to be aneled ... All these thinges be by Tindall as profitable for the soule, as smoke is for sore eyes. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1215 A 9, to haue that good purpose al their life, semeth me no more harme ... than ... *a poore begger* that bath neuer a peny, *to thinke* that yf he had great substaunce, he wold geue great almose for gods sake. | Rich. 40 C 12, it neyther was reason ... that the yong king ... shoold bee in the ... custodie of his mothers kinred, ... whose blood ... was ful vnmetely to be matched with his [scil. the Duke of Gloucester's] : *whiche nowe to be* ... remoued from the king, & the lesse noble to be left aboute him, is (quod he) neither honorable to hys magestie, nor vnto vs. | Lett. 1436 G 12, *one man to be* prowde that he beareth rule ouer other men, is much like as one mouce wold be proude to beare a rule ouer other mice in a barne. | A Table of many matters (s. v. S, 3rd column), *Scripture to be* in englyshe is not necessary to saluacion.

This usage was common in older English : 1470-85 Malory, Morte D., 453, 4, *Thou to lye* by our moder is to muche shame for vs to suffre (D.) | c 1460 Towneley Myst. xviii, 31, *A mayden to bere* a chylde, ... that were ferly. (For further instances see Zeitlin 1911 p. 649 ; Stoffel 1894 ; Kellner 1913 § 406).

It is difficult to ascertain the function of the infinitive *to be* in the following passage :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1238 F 13, And yet haue I left vntouched, the bondage that almost euery man is in that bosteth himselfe for free, the bondage I meane of synne, *which to be* a very bondage, I shall haue oure Sauyours himselfe to beare me good record.

To be may depend on *record*, or on the whole unit, thus

view seems to be corroborated by the fact that in More both constructions occasionally occur side by side in the same sentence, e. g. Debell. 1004 C 7, *to confesse* hymself gyltie ... and *putting* hymself in worse case ... wer but a poore poynt.

¹⁾ Sometimes called the "nominative + infinitive construction".

our saviour bears me record this (= which) to be a bondage. In condensed form this would become : our saviour *declares this to be a bondage*. It is, however, also possible to recognize here a sudden change in the syntactical build of the sentence, in which at the outset *which to be a very bondage* was meant for the subject. Similar shiftings were not infrequent in More's language, and though they give an anacoluthic impression now, seem to have been quite regular at the time. Compare :

Dial. C. 145, Some younge louely lady, lo, that is yet good enough, God seeth a storme com toward her. | Dial. C. 355, But to feare whyle the payne is cumming, there is all our let. | Dial. C. 348, he that ouercometh, I wil make a pillour in the temple of my God.

In (1594) Marlowe & Nashe, Dido v, ii, we read :

Yet he, whose heart[']s of adamant or flint, My tears nor plaints could mollify a whit.

Shakespeare has :

Rich. III, III, ii, 57, They who brought me in my master's hate I live to look upon their tragedy.

FOR + (PRO)NOUN-SUBJECT. In Pres. D. English the pro(noun)-subject is preceded by *for*. In Shakespeare we read :

Rich. II, ii, 123, *For vs to leuy power* Proportionable to th'enemy, is all impossible. | Cor. II, ii, 28, *for their tongues to be silent* ... were a kind of ingratelful injury. | Hamlet (Q²) III, ii, 316, *for, for mee to put him* to his purgation, would perhaps plunge him into more choller.

Though no instances of this usage have been found in More, it may be supposed that it was not unfamiliar to him, since he uses it in the parallel construction in which the subject, after being announced by proleptic *it*, has end-position (e. g. Lament., stanza 9 l. 6, *It booteth not for me to wepe or cry*). Compare, moreover, the following quotation with *as for* :

Debell. 936 B 11, *But as for me* to peruse hys whole book of deuision thorow was no part of my purpose.

FOR TO. Constructions in which the infinitive (used as subject) is preceded by *for to* are rare in More. Only the following instance has been found, which, however, allows of a different interpretation (§ 249).

Lett. 1448 B 5, *for to be put to death wrongfullye for doing wel* (as I am very sure I doe, in refusing to swere against mine own conscience...) it ¹⁾ is a case in which a man may leese his head and yet haue none harme.

¹⁾ Cf. § 40 (two subjects).

Chaucer uses this construction in :

Troilus 1, 690, *For for to tristen som wight is a preve Of trouthe,...* | C. T., F 690, *For to pleye at dees ... is his usage.*

246. THE INFINITIVE AS LOGICAL SUBJECT AFTER CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE TYPE : *me rueth*.

Picus 34 B 9, *Graunt me fro Sathanas service to astart, with whom me rueth so long to haue be thrall.* | Dial. C. 280, the Almain tong wherein ... *me listed to shew my cunning.* | Pageants p. 7A 5, *me nedeth not to host I am Eternitee.* | Dial. C. 169, of heauen and of hell that *yrketh them to think of.* | Rich. 63 A 8, *them were leuer to leese all ... then to haue suche a villany done them.* | Boke of F. p. 1 B 9, *me list not frendly on them loke.*

This usage is restricted to the few verbs that outlived the transition from the "impersonal" to the "personal" construction. In the majority of cases More uses the infinitive with *to*; the plain infinitive after *me list*¹⁾, however, proves that the usage was not yet completely settled. Already in Layamon the plain infinitive had become less frequent than *to* + infinitive (Lichtsinn 1913); Chaucer uses more prepositional than plain infinitives (Kenyon 1909 pp. 118 ff.); this is also the case in Occleve (Buchtenkirch 1889 pp. 2/3). In Mandeville and in Malory the plain stem seems to have been rare; among the instances V. d. Meer 1929 § 61b adduces from the former author there is not one with the infinitive without *to*; the only quotation with a plain infinitive cited by Dekker 1932 § 314 from the latter writer opens with *thou wer better*. Klausmann's quotations (1919 § 119) from Berner's Froissart all contain infinitives with *to*.

A few illustrations of earlier usage follow.

Bede 74, 18, *hwæper aleaf hire in circan gongan oþþe þæm geryne onfoon þære halgan gemænsumnesse.* | c 1000 pr. Life St. Guthl. xx 85, *geryno þa nanegum men ne alyfaþ to secganne.* | c 1205 Layamon, Brut 28810, *þæt næuer seopþen bi his dægen ne lusten heom hider uaren.* | idem 30253, *þan kinge luste slepe.* | 1385 Chaucer Troil. v 631, *hym liked yn hise songes shewe.* | idem C. T. A 2377, *as thee lyst devyse.* | c 1412 Occleve De Reg. Pr. 22, *whan that hym happethe To chirche gone.* | idem 112 *hym owethe knowe his errour, and quenche that fryr loue.* | 1470-85 Malory, Morte d'A. 187, 5, *ther fore the behoueth now to chese one of vs four.* | idem 228, 33, *thou were better flee by tymes.*

¹⁾ The quotation is a line from a poem; it is therefore possible that the use of the plain infinitive is merely due to poetical licence.

With the disappearance in Pres. D. Eng. of the constructions of the type *me rueth*, this usage died out. The only survival, *me thought*, is never followed by an infinitive now. The only trace left occurs in *I had better go*.

As the subject of the infinitive-subject is always the same as that denoted by the oblique form of the pronoun of the introductory construction (*me lyst not*), it is never separately expressed before the infinitive.

FOR TO. No constructions with *for to* have been discovered in More. They were common in earlier English, e. g. :

c 1400 Mandev. Tr. 2, 21, Right wel *aughte vs for to loue* ... such a Lord. | c 1412 Occleve Reg. Pr. 117, Sithen that *lever hym was for to forgo* His dignitee.

247. THE INFINITIVE AS LOGICAL SUBJECT AFTER PROLEPTIC IT + VERB. Type : *it nedeth not to assigne*.

Dial. Her. 181 B 12, *it nedeth not to assigne* any place, wher the very church & true christen congregacion is. | Dial. Her. 121 A 6, *it smelleth of ydolatry, to visit* this place. | Rich. 53 A 12, *it might happelye tourne* them to no good, *to be* to much attendaunt about the king. | Rich. 59 A 9, *it boted not greatly to say* nay ¹⁾.

In the following passage the two collations : *it is out of al question* and *he is sure* are interwoven in a curious way.

Last Th. 82 B 11, [he] wold not take much more plesure, than his felow in the length of his waye, ... *beinge sure and out of al question to dye* at the ende.

In the following quotations (type : *it liked him to bring*) there is a pronoun which does duty as (indirect) object ²⁾ to the first verb and at the same time as subject of the infinitive.

Dial. Her. 165 H 7, it liked *him* ... *to bring* you out of such a great perplexite. | Dial. C. 133, it may please *him* *to helpe* and encrease it. | Dial. C. 217, it liked *her* wel *to thinke* thereon. | Rich. 55 E 4, it had happened *them* before, *to mete* in like manner. | Dial. Her. 263 E 3, it happed *me* *to be* lately present.

If, however, the pronoun *you* or a noun is used, any outward sign of the object-relation is absent :

Dial. Her. 130 C 8, It maye ... fortune *you, to liue* so long. | Dial. Her. 152 A 7, it shall please *our lorde* ... *to reuele* it. | Dial. C. 134, it booteth

¹⁾ Also with *to have* [*geuen*] as subject : Rich. 71 F 11, it might ... haue pleased Godde ... *to haue geuen* him some of suche other excellent vertues.

²⁾ Cf. Callaway 1913, "The predic. infinitive with dative subject".

no man to speake to them. | Rich. 55 C 18, it happed *the lord Chamberlèn* by the way to *stay* his horse. | Aut. Lett. iv, 29, if it shold happen *my lord Dacre* to be distressed with his company.

It must have been a small step for the idea of object-relation in similar cases (especially when the noun before the infinitive denoted a thing instead of a person) to be entirely lost and for analogous constructions to come into use in which the intervening noun was merely the subject of the infinitive :

Lett. 1422 H 1, if it shold happen *any boke* to come abrode. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1141 E 14, it happed *my mynde* to fall sodainly from that. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1150 D 18, it is not without peril *a man* to think otherwise.

This is particularly manifest with the verbs *to seem* and *to appear* :

Conf. Tynd. 485 G 4, sometyme the paragraphes ... haue so euyll dependence one toward another, that it *semeth the matter* to be gathered by dyuers folke. | Dial. Her. 255 H 1, the booke ... was so deuised ..., that it should *seeme some other* to haue made it, & not hymselfe. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1207 B 1, in such wise as it may well *appeare the saying* of the wise man to be verifeyed in them ¹).

In the following sentence the subject is expressed twice :

Dial. Her. 131 F 5, It happed *them ... the one* to cast the mind to the other.

In all the above instances the infinitive is preceded by *to*. Plain infinitives are very rare :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1230 E 9, wee shall lette them passe til it *please God* shewe him self vnto them.

FOR + (PRO)NOUN-SUBJECT. It is not rare for the subject of the infinitive to be preceded by *for* :

Lament., Stanza 9 l. 6, It booteth not *for me* to wepe or cry. | Jest p. 3 C 4, It longeth *for our order*, To hurt no man. | Conf. Tynd. 754 B 8, what woulde it auayle *for me* to defende the credence of the generall consayles.

From a syntactical standpoint the use or omission of *for* does not seem to have made a great difference ; compare :

Rastell's edition (1557) : Rich. 47 G 12, Knoweth anye manne anye place wherein it is *lawefull one manne* to dooe another wrong. Hardyng 1543 : wherein it is *lawfull for one manne* to dooe another manne wrong.

¹) St. John Fisher has : Wks. 170, 28, it seemeth almyghty god to be in maner in a deed slepe. R. E. L. Weyl (1937 § 76) calls this "a blending of an impersonal construction with a nominative + infinitive".

FOR TO. Only one instance can be quoted :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1195 B 8, I dooe not mene ... that euery foole shold at aduenture fall in hand with him, for so loe might it happe *for to* dooe harme in dede.

In the following quotation the person designated by the pronoun *him* is, contrary to More's practice, *not* the subject of the following infinitive :

Let. 1449 A 9, Your doughterly louyng letter ... was and is ... much more inward comforte vnto me, then my penne can wel expresse you, for diuers thyngs ... : but of al things most especially, for that god ... geueth you the grace to consider, the incomperable difference, betwene the wretched estate of this present lyfe, and the welthy state of the lyfe to come ..., and to praye god ..., that it maye please hym ... of his tender pitie so firmly *to reaste* our loue in him, with litle regard of this world, and so *to fle* sinne and embrace vertue, that we maye saye... Perhaps a few words (e. g. *to help us* ; *to grant us*) have fallen out between *pitie* and *so firmly* ; as it stands the construction is anacoluthic.

HISTORICAL NOTE.

The usage illustrated above was known from the oldest times. In the beginning the plain and the prepositional infinitive occurred side by side, but gradually the plain infinitive lost ground, so that in Layamon (Lichtsinn 1913 p. 29) and in Orm (Weyel 1896 p. 91) it was already in the minority. In More and Fisher no plain infinitives were used, and after their time the prepositional infinitive remained the rule. In Pres. D. Eng. the possibility of using the construction has become considerably restricted ; types like *if it shold happen any boke to come abrode* ; *it is not without peril a man to think otherwise* do no longer occur. After *it seems* and *it appears* a *that*-clause is used now.

EARLIER

c 1374 Chaucer, Bo. II, 93 *it ne suf-
fyeth ... to loken.*

LATER

1590 Spenser, F. Q. III, vii, 51, As
for my name, *it mistreth not to
tell.*

1828 Arnold, in *Life & Corr.* I, II,
88, *It boots not to look back-
wards* (OED).

With (pro)noun-subject.

c 1000 Ælfric, Hom. I 394, ac *hit ne
fremede him swa gedon.*

1613 Shakesp. Henry VIII, II, III,
103, *It faints me To think what
follows.*

c 1215 Layaman, Brut 3684, ah ich
þe wulle lanen at þat heom
behoueþ to haban on fore (L.).

c 1386 Chaucer, C. T., G 1093, it
dulleth me to ryme.

c 1400 Mandev. Tr. 177, 31, And
þogh it happene sum of hem to
fortune to gon out (M.).

With *for to*.

c 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. II, 357,
And eke it nedeth nought *for to*
devyse At every cours the ordre
and servyce (M.).

1852 Stowe, Uncle T. C. xxv 289,
It ... grieves me to have you be
so naughty (OED).

1678 Cudworth, Intell. Syst., I, iv,
§ 34, 534, *Whereby it may appear*
the world to be Governed by a
Divine mind (OED).

**248. THE INFINITIVE AS LOGICAL SUBJECT AFTER PROLEPTIC
IT + ADJECTIVE.** Type : *it wer good to be mery*.

Dial. C. 167, *it were good to make sure and to be mery*. | Last Th.
72 C 4, *Long would it be to take the beste of theyr woordes and compare*
it with these wordes of holy writ. | Rich. 59 B 9, *it was not princely to*
mary-hys owne subiect. | Apol. (Wks.) 846 H 1, *then is it ethe...., to geue*
the selye soule a falle. | Rich. 57 H 2, *it wer best hastily to pursue his*
purpose.

Without *to*. Last Th. 95 D 11, Men commonly say, *it wer better fil*
his hely than his eye.

Sometimes there is no proleptic *it* :

Dial. C. 226, there are many kindes, wherof *wer to long to talk now*. |
Picus 7 D 6, a thing farre excelling all the conning that *is possible* for
vs in this life *to obtaine*.

As a rule the subject of the infinitive is not expressed if it
can be inferred from the context ; there are, however, cases
in which it cannot be omitted :

Passion 1290 C 12, *it was nothyngge meete, the servaunt to stande in*
better condicion than his maister. | Dial. Her. 211 G 9, *better wer it the*
faute to be quytte, than the fautes to be punished. | Rich. 47 G 12,
Knoweth any manne any place wherein it is *laweful one manne to*
dooe another wrong ? | Lett. 1423 H 1, But vnto my self, it is not *pos-*
sible any part of my sayd demeanure to seme euil. | Rich. 41 B 3, [it]
shold be ieopardous, the king to come vp strong.

Without *to* : Dial. Her. 124 H 13, who can reken him self sure of
hys owne mother, *for possible* it wer that he wer changed in the cradel,
& a *riche mannes norce bringe* home her owne chylde for her maisters,
and *kepe* her maisters for her owne, to *make* her owne a gentilman
good chepe.

Very exceptionally the subject is placed *after* the infinitive :

Dial. Her. 259 F 13, It is not quod I al one to *be* some nought and all nought.

FOR + (PRO)NOUN-SUBJECT. The (pro)noun-subject is often preceded by *for* :

Picus 5 B 13, it were not *possible for a man to vtte* neither more conning, nor more conningly ¹⁾. | Jest p. 1 A 10, *best* is for a man : ... in no wyse, *To enterpryse*, An other faculte. | Apol. 180, Thys good man ... persuadeth to hymself that it were not *possyble for hym to lese* it by the law. | Picus 29 A 2, as honest in behauour, As it is *possible for thee to deuise*. | Apol. (Wks.) 849 G 11, but if the preacher proue me that it wer *better for a man to kyll* hymself then dye. | Dial. Her. 125 D 1, it wer *hard for them ... to beleue* that euery man lieth... | Dial. Her. 243 F 10, I can in no wise agree with you that it were *mete for men onlearned to be* busy with the chammung of holy scripture. | Dial. C. 227, it is not *laweful for any other mayde to folowe* their saumple. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1166 E 9, it is not so *readye for the wealthye manne to bee* contente to be in the tribulacion. | idem 1166 E 1, it is *easy for the parsonne* that is in trybulacion, to *bee* well wylling to doe the self same yf he coulde. | Aut. Lett. xiv 126, it wold be right *hard for hym to ffynd* the money.

For is not repeated when there are two infinitives each with its own subject : Last Th. 92 E 16, which thing is the cause that our sauour Christ said it were as *harde for the riche manne to come* into heauen, as a *great cable* or a *Camel to go* through a nedlese eye.

FOR TO. Jest p. 1 A 10, *best* is for a man : Diligently *For to apply*, The busines that he can.

HISTORICAL NOTE.

A summary of the evidence presented above shows that there was the following astonishingly rich variety of constructions in More :

1. it is lawful (to) go there.
2. it is lawful a man go there.
3. it is lawful a man to go there.
4. it is lawful for a man to go there.
5. it is lawful for to go there.
6. it is lawful for a man for to go there.
7. it is lawful to go a man.

The types 1, 3 and 4 would seem to have been the normal ones, of which, however, type 4 far outnumbers type 3. That

¹⁾ An interesting instance of the use of one and the same verb (*to utter*) in two different functions, first as an objective, then as a subjective verb.

the type *for* + (pro)noun-subject + infinitive should be so abundantly used is only natural, since *for* here has preserved its original force and is a natural complement to the adjective (*possible for*, *best for*, *hard for*, etc.). Type 3, however, is far from rare; it is also frequently met with in St. John Fisher, More's contemporary :

Wks. 73, 19, for the whiche it sholde be *profitable and necessary* the *pyte of god* to be purchased for vs.

The types 1, 3, 4 and 5 occurred before More's time; those with plain infinitives were the most prevalent, so that instances of the type *it is necessarie avise him* are not difficult to collect. Type 5 (*it is lawful for to go there*) was perhaps beginning to be felt as obsolete in More's time. Of the types 2, 6 and 7 no instances have been found in other writers.

In Pres. D. Eng. only constructions of type 1 (with prepositional infinitive) and 4 are possibly. Type 1 with a plain infinitive is only met with in special cases, as in *Better not say too much of it*.

A few instances of earlier usage follow :

1. c 1380 Chaucer, Boke of D. 844, Hit wer *better serve* her. | c 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. 84, Or a king swere it is fulle *necessarie Avise* him wele (B.).

3. 1388 Bible, Luke xvi, 17, Forsothe it is *lytler heuene and erthe to passe* (C.). | c 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. 80 *Perillous* is it a man his feith to breke. | c 1445 Pecock, Donet 6, It is *honest ynough a man to speke* and write aftir oon of þo opyniouns. | 1454 Pecock, Follower (ed. Hitchcock) p. 3, 24, It is *semeli him to knowe* alle þo spicis of knowyngal vertues. 1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 859, 38, & whan he waked it were harde one *tonge to telle* the doleful complayntes (D.).

4. 1470-85, Malory, Morte D'A. 131, 21, And yf it were *possyble* for me to dye (D.).

5. 1386 Chaucer C. T. C 473, it is *grisly for* to hieere hem swere. | c 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. 126, O Alesaundre it is *unconvenable* The *for* to have the peples regyment (B.).

249. THE INFINITIVE AS LOGICAL SUBJECT AFTER PROLEPTIC *IT* + NOUN. Type : *it is not sinne to have riches*.

Rich. 57 C 7, *sinne* it wer to *belie* the deuil. | Last Th. 92 F 5, it is not *sinne to haue* riches. | Rich. 54 G 9, A *merueilouse* case is it to *here*, either the warnynges of that he shoulde haue voided, or... | Rich. 59 A 14, it was his *honor, profite, and surety*, also, to *mary* in a noble progeny out of his realm. | Conf. Tynd. 543 G 2, many open places of holy scripture, ... which were ... almost a *lost labour* to *rehearse*. |

Rich. 55 A 7, it is plaine witch[c]raft to beleue in suche dremes. | Picus 7 A 5, it was no praise to gather riches, but to refuse them. | Dial. Her. 133 H 16, it is a great ontowardnes ... to mystrust all them that say they haue sene it.

With *to seem* instead of *to be* :

Dial. C. 353, it semeth a proude high mind to desyre marlyrdom.

The subject of the infinitive is expressed in :

Conf. Tynd. 736 B 7, it is no new thinge, a madde wilde bull to runne oute at rousers, ... nor a rude asse to make his rude roring, nor a fonde ape to make mockes & moves, nor an abhominable whore to brawle, chide and scolde, nor no newelty the deuill no the deuilles limme to be false and lye. | Rich. 41 A 14, he secretly ... caused the Quene to be perswaded ... that it neither wer nede, & also shold be ieopardous, the king to come vp strong. | Picus 1 B 9, It is ... a custome in the beginnyng of the new yere, frendes to sende betwene, presentes or gyftes.

FOR + (PRO)NOUN-SUBJECT.

Debell. 978 C 9, it was foly for him to speake therof. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1240 D 14, yet were it in my mynde no lytle grieve ... for a man to be pinned vp. | Picus 19 E 10, And forasmuch as som man wold paraduventure think, that it wer foly for a man vtterly to deprive himself from al pleasures therfore the prophet addeth :... | Dial. C. 294, it is a shame for him to be so fickle. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1255 C 3, it is but a feined faith for a man to say to god secretly, that... | Last Th. 88 C 4, shame were it for men to bee wroth like women. | Rich. 70 G 13, surely my lord foly wer it for me to lye.

FOR TO.

Lett. 1448 B 1, I thanke oure lord, that in that conflict, the spirite had in conclusion the masterye, and reason with help of faythe finally concluded, that for to be put to death wrongfullye for doing wel (as I am very sure I doe...) it is a case in which a man may leese his head and yet haue none harme ¹⁾.

HISTORICAL NOTE.

There are four types in More :

1. it is a shame to go there.
2. it is a shame a man to go there.
3. it is a shame for a man to go there.
- (4. it is a shame for to go there).

Just as in Pres. D. English type 1 is the normal one when the subject need not be expressed. Type 2 has died out in ordinary diction, but is still found in popular speech and in Irish English (Curme 1933 p. 192). Among the instances of

¹⁾ This passage has also been quoted in § 245; the interpretation is doubtful.

type 3 there are a few in which *for* is not organic (as in : Dial. C. 340, it is *a feined faith for* a man to say...), a usage so common in Pres. D. English ¹⁾. Type 4, obsolete now, was of frequent occurrence in earlier periods.

EARLIER	LATER
1. 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. 86, Grete wisdom were it <i>trete faire</i> and softe, And <i>holden</i> truly her couenauntes (B.).	1896 A. E. Housman, Shropsh. Lad. v, Some lads there are, 'tis <i>shame to say</i> , That only court to thieve (OED).
2. c 1350 Perceval of Gales (Campanion) 60, 14, it es no synn, <i>The man</i> , þat may þe mete wynn, <i>To gyffe þe</i> travellande. 1386 Chaucer, C. T. Prol. 501, if a preest be foul, ... No wonder is <i>a lewed man to ruste</i> . 1470-85 Malory, Morte d'A. 67, 10, it is gods wyll <i>youre body to be</i> punisshed for your fowle dedes (D.).	1539 Great Bible, Ps. 133, Beholde, how good & ioyfull <i>a thing</i> it is <i>brethren to dwell</i> together in vnite ²⁾ . Pres. D. popular speech : Oliphant, (Sec. Son), I felt it as if it was a great <i>compliment him to come</i> in friendly like (Curme). Irish English : Lady Gregory, A great <i>wonder he not to have come</i> (Curme).
3. 1470-85 Malory, Morte d'A. 290, 31, hit wer no <i>worshþ for me to slee</i> the (D.).	1912 Atheneum 9 Nov., It was doubtless <i>a step in advance for the law to admit</i> that insanity was a disease (Kr.).
4. 1397 Rolls of Parlt. III 379, 2, It was <i>my menyng and my wenyng for to haue</i> do the best for his persone (OED). c 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. 179, it is my <i>dotage For to have</i> expresse or touche any of tho (B.).	Pres. D. popular speech : Mrs. Gaskell, Sylvia's Lovers, Ch. xxvi, It's not <i>manners for t'help oursel's</i> (Curme).

¹⁾ It also occurs in Shakespeare : Caesar II, ii, 96, it were a mock Apt to be render'd, *for some one to say* "Break up the senate till another time".

²⁾ Quotation taken from Aug. Björling's Studies in the Grammar of the Early Printed Eng. Bible Versions (1926 p. 159). She calls this a Latin construction, comparing it with : *Ecce quam bonum, et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum* ; if she means that the translators created this idiom and that it was alien to existing usage, the assertion is at variance with fact (See More's usage and the earlier quotations). But Latin influence may be admitted in the sense that the writers preferred an (existing) English construction that was conformable to the foreign language, to one that was built in an entirely different way.

The following quotation contains a variant of type 2 (with *for to*) : c 1345 Rich. Rolle, Pros. Tr. (EETS) 27, 24, it es a velany a man *for to be curiouslye arrayede* apon his heuede with perre and precyous stanes.

250. THE INFINITIVE AFTER A COPULA ¹⁾.

Type : *his pleasure is to have vs pray vnto him.*

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1161 B 8, God sendeth vs also suche tribulacion sometyne, because his pleasure *is, to haue vs pray vnto hyu.* | Last Th. 79 F 10, the wiser way *wer to reckon*, that a younge man may die soone... | Picus 28 D 2, The third point of a perfit louer *is, To make him freshe* to see that al thing bene, Appointed wel. | Picus 28 A 3, The first point *is to loue* but one alone. | Lett. 1452 H 13, the whole purpose *is ... to dryue* me to say precisely the tone way. | Dial. C. 300, the greatest comforte that any man maye haue in this tribulacion *is to haue* hys harte in heauen. | Dial. Her. 105 G 11, For this cause me thought that for the more suerty, my parte *were to send* our communicacion to my said frende in writing. | Rich. 35 B 11, [Kyng Edward]... dyed ... leauinge much fayre yssue, that is to witte, ... Elisabeth, whose fortune and grace *was after to bee* Quene. | Picus 12 D 3, the very deadly pestilence *is this : to be conuersaunt* ... among them, whose life is .., an allectiue to synne. | Dial. Her. 220 F 11, To tell you all that ... *were ... to reherse* you, al the whole boke.

With *nothing but* between the copula and the infinitive : Dial. Her. 222 D 10, that a priestes offyce *is nothing but to preache*.

Of the use in Old English of an infinitive after a copula no instances seem to be on record. In Chaucer the idiom is seldom found, yet — according to Mätzner 1885 p. 22 — more frequently than Einenkel 1887 p. 231 states. It is rare in Layamon (Lichtsinn 1913 p. 29), in Orm (Weyel 1896 p. 11), in the Ancren Riwe (Redepenning 1906 p. 83) and in Mandeville's Travels (V. d. Meer 1929 § 62). In Occleve it seems to occur less infrequently : Buchtenkirch (1889 p. 24) is able to cite five instances with the plain stem and ten with *to* + infinitive (apart from two with *for to*). More does not use the plain infinitive in this construction.

In Pres. D. Eng. copula + prepositional infinitive is common ; it has a rival in the group consisting of copula + form in *-ing* (e. g. That *is hitting* that nail on the head). For this usage in More see § 336 a.

¹⁾ For the types *he is to go* ; *that is to wit* see §§ 412-417 (Syntactical units with two verbs).

A few earlier instances of the infinitive after a copula follow :

a 1225 Ancr. R. 10, Clene religiun *is tseon and helpen* widuwen (Huchon 1930 p. 162). | c 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. 168, The vertu *is of* liberalitie, Yeve and dispende in tyme or place due (B.). | idem 4, His moste desire *is to be* solitarie (B.). | c 1400 Mandev. Tr. 170, 24, the þridde weye *is þat cometh to* Comanye & þan *to go* be the grete see (M.).

No constructions with *for* + (pro)noun-subject have been observed in More. Constructions with *for to* are very rarely met with and may already have been obsolescent :

Passion 1403 E 8, the sureste remedy *for a manne to* master his sensualitey *was for to flye* awaye.

They are also exceptional in St. John Fisher :

Wks. 269, 14, let no man thynke that myn entent *is for to prayse* him.

In older English they were of frequent occurrence :

c 1386 Chaucer C. T. F 307, to love God *is for to love* that he loveth. | c 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. 50, hir usage *is for to flitte* fro place to place (B.). | c 1400 Mandev. Tr. 166, All here lust ... *is for to putten* all london vnder hir subieccion.

251. THE INFINITIVE AS OBJECT ¹⁾ AFTER PROLEPTIC *IT* + PREDICATIVE ADJUNCT. Type : *he thought it possible to go*.

Rich. 53 E 10, whither he could thinke *it possible to winne* the lord Hasting into their parte. | Rich. 66 B 9, they thought *it for the weale universal to take* that way. | Dial. Her. 105 C 12, I thought *it... ynough to tell* the messenger my minde by mouth. | Dial. Her. 110 H 12, he thought *it heresy, to thinke* the oppinions of any man to bee good...

Without proleptic *it* :

Conf. Tynd. 388 F 13, To do penaunce he taketh *for* idolatry. | Rich. 38 H 4, Ye se their youthe, of whiche I reckon the only suretie *to reaste* in your concord.

FOR + (PRO)NOUN-SUBJECT.

Lett. 1451 E 5, I thought it lytle nede *for me to bestowe* muche tyme vponn theym.

FOR TO. Only one instance with a construction in which the infinitive is preceded by *for to* has been observed :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1174 H 12, but *for to fast* for penance ... they cal playne iniurye to the passion of Christ.

The use of the infinitive as object after *it* + predicative adjunct, both with and without *for* + (pro)noun-subject, has

¹⁾ For constructions of the types *to intend to go* ; *ought to go* ; *to go move* ; *like to go* ; *begin to see* ; *I saw him go see* §§ 389 ff.

been preserved in Pres. D. Eng. The idiom was known before More's time. Buchtenkirch 1889, p. 6, quoting several instances from Occleve, says : "So natürlich nun auch diese Konstruktion klingt, so scheint sie doch wunderbarer Weise vor O[ccleve] nicht vorzukommen, sie wird wenigstens weder von Ch[ild] noch von M[ätzner] erwähnt, und auch mir ist es nicht gelungen sie vor O[ccleve] nachzuweisen".

Earlier and later instances :

c 1400 Mandev. Tr. 145, 1, And all be it þat sum men wil not trów me, but holden *it for fable to tellen* them the nobless of his persone (M.). | 1653 Walton, Compl. Angler 177, *to do so*, they account *a profanation* (OED). | 1913 Walker, Outl. Vict. Lit. 5, *To discover* him and then do him and his work justice, Carlyle regards *as the first duty*.

252. THE INFINITIVE IN THE OBJECT GROUP : WHAT TO THINK, ETC.

Rich. 57 G 13, no man wist *what to thinke* nor *whome to trust*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1263 B 4, he can not see *where to fasten* a stroke on vs.

The infinitive is here used in a kind of condensed indirect question. The phrase may have developed out of the Old English full construction of the type *hwæt heom to donne wære* (Kenyon 1909 p. 141), as in :

Chron. 215, 1085 E, nyston *hwæt heom to donne wære*. | O. E. Laws (Thorpe) 368 11 Cnut, c 84, smeage swyþe georne, *hwæt him sig to donne & hwæt to forganne*.

More differs from the usage in Middle English, where both plain and prepositional infinitives were possible, in that he uses only infinitives preceded by *to*¹⁾. Chaucer and Mandeville seem to have preferred the latter construction too.

1225 Kath. 315 þe king ... nuste *hwæt seggen*. | 1297 Rob. of Gloc. 15, hii nuste *wuder drawe*. | c 1350 William of Pal. 618, *where soïourne* wot i neuer. | c 1374 Chaucer, Troilus 1 301, Unnetthes wiste he *how to loke* or *winke*. | c 1400 Mandev. Tr. 200, 14, þei wyle not *what to done* with hire godes. | 1697 Dryden, Æneis iv, 423, Jove will inspire him when, and *what to say*.

FOR TO. No instances with *for to*, as in Chaucer's *He n'hath wheron now lenger for to honge* (Troilus V, 1199), have been found in More's English.

¹⁾ Cf., however, the following passage : Dial. Her. 181 E 3, therefore be they drienou to denye for the churche the people that bee knownen for the churche. And *go seke* another they neyther knowe *what* nor *where*.

252. THE INFINITIVE AS ADJUNCT TO A NOUN ¹⁾.

The relation between the infinitive and the preceding noun is not always of the same character. The following cases may be distinguished :

a. Type : *a desire to get before his neybour*. Here the infinitive is used as a kind of apposition to the noun, and thus equivalent to an attributive clause of contents ²⁾.

b. Type : *rediness to wax angry*. The infinitive, though used attributively, is closely akin to an adverb adjunct of purpose or a prepositional object ; in this case the particle *to* has retained a good deal of its original prepositional character ³⁾.

c. Type : *the world to come*. The infinitive is a pure attributive adjunct and equivalent to an adjective.

254. Type a. : *a desire to get before his neybour*.

Last Th. 83 B 13, [he] taketh his enuy for *an holy desire, to get before his neybour in vertue*. | Rich. 59 G 2, I wold not be a kyng with that *condicion, to forbere mine owne lyberty in choise of my own mariage*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1215 C 3, *the medecine* that I haue heard taught one for the tothe ache, *to goe thryse about a church yaide*, and never thynke on a fox tayle. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1184 D 3, when I come home [I] am fain to do *the labour to plucke her my selfe*. | Picus 28 B 11, whoso hath *the grace to come* thereby, He iudgeth him in perfit ioy. | Rich. 47 F 3, *a licence ... to dooe more*. | Last Th. 84 D 1, yet haue they *some hope ... to breke prison...* | Dial. C. 301, *ieopardye ... to lyue wretches for euer*. | Picus 9 E 12, *auctoritee to commande me*.

This usage is common in all periods ; now often with *of* + form in *-ing*.

FOR + (PRO)NOUN-SUBJECT. No instances of constructions in which the subject of the infinitive is expressed by *for* + (pro)noun have been found. Cf. Pres. D. Eng. : *Your plan for me to go doesn't please me* (Curme 1933 p. 203).

FOR TO. No instances found.

EARLIER.

13... Minor Poems fr. Vernon MS. 593, Haue now *hope to liuen*

¹⁾ Not announced by proleptic *it*, that is. See § 249.

²⁾ For the rival construction with a form in *-ing* (*torment of beating*) see § 351.

³⁾ For the rival construction with a form in *-ing* (*dexterity in achieving*) see § 355.

longe (OED). | c 1386 Chaucer, C. T., A 3191, al his fantasye Was turned for to lerne astrologye, And koude a certain of *conclusiouns*, To demen by interrogaciouns... (OED).

LATER.

1665 Boyle, Occas. Refl. Introd. Pref. 13, I took *Pleasure to imagine* two or three of my Friends to be present (OED).

The infinitive has an activo-passival character (see § 285) in :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1253 D 8, thys dooeth reason alone in manye cases, where it hathe muche lesse *help to take hold of*, then it hath in this matter of fayth.

More often this relation is expressed by means of a group consisting of *to be* + past participle, e. g. *things to be believed* ; a *proclamation to be made*. See § 563.

255. Type b. : *redines to wax angry*.

The line of demarcation between this group and that illustrated in § 254 is not always easy to draw, the difference being sometimes very subtle.

In many cases it is difficult to decide whether the infinitive refers to the noun only (as in so should they have occasion to cal for grace) or to the contents of the preceding syntactical unit as a whole, especially if the infinitive + *to* denotes purpose ; consequently the classification is occasionally more or less arbitrary and some of the quotations might as well have been placed in the paragraph on adverbial adjuncts of purpose (§ 259). In a few cases (e. g. *redines to*) there is a strong similarity to the prepositional objects ; here *to* has not so markedly weakened in meaning as in other constructions ; in Pres. D. Eng. verbal forms in *-ing* are not rare after this pregnant *to*.

Last. Th. 87 C 7, the *redines* that men haue *to wax angry*. | Last. Th. 83 D 4, so shold they haue *occasion to cal* for grace & wax good. | Last Th. 82 F 17, *occasion to flee* vain plesures... | Picus 12 D 15, These be they, whom our lorde hath deliuered into the passions of rebuke, and to a reprouable *sense, to dooe* those thinges, that are not conuenient. | Rich. 70 G 4, he craftelye sought the *wates to pricke* him forward. | Dial. C. 346, he shal neuer haue *list to slepe*. | Last Th. 89 A 4, god hath not geuen him *leue to eat* of it. | Last Th. 79 A 1, vnlawefull *longyng to lyve*. | Dial. C. 137, a *meane to get* man thys first comfort. | Last Th. 76 A 18, Ther is as scripture saith, *time to speke* & *time to kepe* thy tong. | Supplic. 316 F 11, diuers doctours allege diuers causes of his beauiues and lothnes at the *time to depart & die*.

A common idiom in all periods.

EARLIER	LATER
13... Cursor M. 11814, Nu neghes tum to take his lai (OED), c 1385 Chaucer, L. G. W. 2000 <i>Rown</i> To welde an axe.	1635 Quarles, Embl. I VII 3, Is this a time to pay thine idle vowes (OED). a 1845 Hood, Lay of Labourer 1, A hook to reap, or a scythe to mow (OED).

FOR + (PRO)NOUN-SUBJECT.

In those cases in which the subject of the infinitive is expressed it is preceded by *for*, just as in Pres. D. Engl.

Picus 14 G 5, Ye writ vnto me, that it is *tyme for me* now to put my selfe in houshold with some of the great princes of Italie. | Passion 1271 B 8, it should not haue left any place in them, *for any contrarious appetite or affeccion to enter* ¹⁾.

EARLIER	LATER
c 1386 Chaucer, C. T. A 3268, She was a prymerole, a piggesnye, For any lord to leggen in his bedde.	1908 A. Bennett, Old W. T., ch. 1, The girls made way for him to pass them at the head of the twisting stairs.

FOR TO. Infinitives preceded by *for to* do not seem to occur in More. Cf. :

c 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. 169, A gentille hert *for to begge* hath shame. | c 1400 Mandev., Tr. 7, 16, oyle of mercy *for to* anoynte with the membres.

256. Type c. : *the world to come*.

Dial. C. 195, we should amend and be better in the *time to come*. | Last Th. 84 B 5, Wold not ... the depe consideracion of this sodein *chaunge so surely to come*, ... withdraw the wind that puffeth vs vp in pride... | Last. Th. 88 G 13, these couetous nigardes ... alway spare al for their *time to come*, thus driue thei forth wrechedly, til al their time be past & none *to come*. | Last Th. 98 E 8, yet speake I not of the world *to come*, but of the life present. | Rich. 55 A 9, tokens of *thingis to come*. | Last Th. 74 H 11, hope of his *glory to come*.

There seems to have been in Middle English and still in More some hesitation about the most suitable form of the verb, with its implication of futurity, in this kind of collocation. Usage vacillated between *the (world) to come*, *the*

¹⁾ With *of* instead of *for* : Dial. C. 151, [there] hath appeared good lykelyhood of som good *agrement to growe* to gether in one accord of our *saythe*.

(*world*) *coming*, the (*world*) *for to come* ¹⁾, the (*world*) *to coming* ²⁾, the *to comyng* (*harvest*) ³⁾. There was probably confusion of the verbs *to come* and *to to-come* ⁴⁾. In More only the first two combinations ⁵⁾ occur; there are, however, but few instances of the second:

Last. Th. 89 D 6, Whosoever he be that hereth this, and yet puleth & wimpereth for dout & fere of lack in *time comming*, ... he beleueth not that Christ spake these wordes. | Prayer 1419 D 2, prouision to be made ... for sode thys *yere comming*.

In Pres. D. Eng. only the first of the four variants (the *world to come*) has been preserved.

Earlier: 1382 Wyclif, Matt, III, 7, Who shewide to ȝou for to flee from *wrath to cumme* [v. r. *comynge*; 1388 *that is to come*] | 1400 Apol. Loll. 5, in þis tyme, and in tyme to *come*.

By the side of the concise (*the world*) *to come* two fuller formulae were used, viz. (*the world*) *that is to come* (§ 414) and (*the world*) *that is coming*:

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1263 F 14, the glorie *that is to come*. | Last Th. 74 F 7, not onely in the worlde *that is comyng*, but also is this present life.

More does not make use of the construction *that is to coming* ⁶⁾, so frequently met with in Wyclif, e. g.

Acts XIX, 4, in hym *that was to comynge*. | idem XXII, 29, thei *that weren to turmentinge* him. | 2 Peter II, 6, putte hem the ensaumples of hem *that weren to doynge* yuele. | John, VI, 71, this was *to bitraynge* him. | Luke XXII, 23, who it was of hem *that was to doynge* this thing.

A comparison of the combination noun + infinitive, as illustrated here (*world to come*), with that discussed in § 255 (*time to go*) shows that there is an important difference: in

¹⁾ Used by St. John Fisher, by the side of *to come* (Weyl 1937, § 227).

²⁾ 1387 Trevisa, Polychr. I 267, For misbyleued men in *time to comynge* shulde þorwȝ hem be conuerted and i-torned to good byleue.

³⁾ 1483 Caxton, Gold. Leg. 239, 1, The first fruyte of the *to comyng harvest*. | 1490 Caxton, Eneydos (E. E. T. S.) 4, My *tocomynge* naturell and souerayn Lord. | 1485 Caxton, Ch. Gr. 134, 27, Guy, hir loue and to *coming husband*.

⁴⁾ See OED s. v. *To-come* 2 (1393 Langl. P. Pl. C XXII, 343, These *to-comen* to conscience. | 1455 Charter in Liber Eccl. de Scon. 185, To all þaim to quhais kwalagis þir present lettres sal *to-cum*).

⁵⁾ The last two seem to have become obsolete before More's time, the latest quotations in OED being dated respectively 1382 and 1490.

⁶⁾ This is probably a case of phonological confusion, in looking upon the endings *-enne*, *-ende*, *-inde*, *-eng(e)* and *-ing(e)* as one morpheme.

the world to come the noun is the subject of the infinitive, which is not the case in *time to go*; here the subject of the infinitive is not expressed.

The following Pres. D. Eng. sentences show combinations of noun-subject + infinitive the character of which is somewhat different from that in *the world to come*, with its distinct implication of simple futurity :

She was *the woman to make* the most of such fears. | He was hardly *the man to overawe* a crowd of hard characters.

Instances of this usage in More are not rare :

Debell. 1000 E 1, he whiche confesseth himselfe ones forsworn, is by reason mistrusted, as *one ... to be able to swere fals*. | Dial. Her. 139 B 5, onely Christ is our Sauour and *mediator to bring* our nature again to god. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1260 C 7, He is our *guyde to guyde* vs thither. | Conf. Tynd. 629 B 7, concerning *the stone to go* thorow the wharfe, and *the stone to fal* thorow the earth. | Last Th. 95 D 8, the eye is not only *the coke & the tapster, to bring* the rauenous appetite of delicate meate & drink into the bellye ... but the eye is also *the baud, to bring* the hert to the desyre of the ... bestly pleasure benethe the hely.

The most striking feature of this construction is the vagueness of the relation between the subject and the verb; the context seems to be the only guide to a right interpretation (*one.. to be able* = *one who is able*; *mediator to bring* = *mediator who will bring*; *our guyde to guyde* = *our guyde whose task it is or who can guide us*; *the stone to go* = *the stone which is to or has to go through the whorl*; *the tapster to bring* = *the tapster who brings or who will bring*). This vagueness is perhaps the cause why this idiom survived in a few cases only.

No data have been discovered concerning the earlier history of this idiom.

257. Type *The first man to go*.

This is clearly an instance of the construction discussed in § 256. It is common in Pres. D. Eng., but seems to have been unknown to More; in his language *first* is always followed by a clause opening with a relative pronoun :

Picus 20 E 15, Christ was the first, whiche entered paradise, & opened the lyfe vnto vs, and was the *first that rose* againe. | Lett. 1428 D 2, I was the *first that was called in*. | Rich. 41 G 13, to bee the *fyrste that shoulde* that daye attende vppon the Kynges highnesse.

The use of an infinitive after *first* seems to have sprung up

in very recent times ; in all the quotations in OED, ranging from c. 1200 to 1857, *first* is followed by a clause ¹⁾.

258. THE INFINITIVE AS ADJUNCT TO AN ADJECTIVE ²⁾.

Type *They are content to fynde no fawte.*

It is difficult to decide whether the infinitive was felt as an adjunct to the adjective [*the fautes were hateful ... to here*] or whether the adjective + infinitive formed a close group serving as a complement to the verb [*the fautes were ... hateful to here*]. There is no outward sign which gives a clue one way or the other, but in some cases only one interpretation is possible, e. g. *they are content ... to fynde no fawte ; couetous are ... hard to hele* ³⁾ (Jespersen 1928, p. 216). After some adjectives the infinitive is equivalent to a prepositional object : *fain to ; ready to ; etc.* ⁴⁾.

Rich. 35 G 10, he was a goodly parsonage, and very *Princely* to behold. | Rich. 40 G 12, the Duke ... sone set a fyre, them that were of themself *ethe to kindle*. | Last Th. 77 E 2, though it be *ougly to behold*. | Apol. 3, my writing is ouerlonge, and therefore to *tedyouse to rede*. | Dial. C. 180, the thing be *liefull to require*. | Debell. 935 B 2, fautes that were *hatefull and odtouse to here*. | Last Th. 93 B 3, couetous be *hard to hele*. | Rich. 59 G 13, neither of vs is *lyke to be barain*. | Rich. 41 C 11, the moste harme there [was] *like to fal* where he lest would. | Rich. 41 C 9, the hurte ... which was *likely not to be* litle. | Picus 11 A 10, *glad to paie* some money. | Last Th. 78 H 4, he is *sure to keepe* hym for euer. | Picus 32 D 5, who *able were to beare* thy punishement ? | Last Th. 62 H 5, [they] be as *loth to spend* ought, as thei be *glad to get* al. | Rich. 70 G 3, feling him *ethe to fal out* yf the matter were well handled. | Apol. 15, therefore are they *content to fynde* no fawte. | Dial. C. 210, when I come home [I] am *fain* ⁵⁾ to do the labour to plucke her my

¹⁾ The question seems, however, to require further investigation, since there is an example of the parallel construction with *the last* + infinitive dated 1535 in OED : Coverdale 2 Sam. xix, 11, Why wyl ye be *the last to fetch* the Kyng agayne vnto his house ? Cf. Jespersen 1928, p. 393.

²⁾ Not announced by proleptic *it* (see § 248).

³⁾ For the activo-passival character of this infinitive see § 285.

⁴⁾ For the rival construction with other prepositions and a form in *-ing* (*swift in taking*) see § 355 c.

⁵⁾ The word *fain* often has the meaning *obliged* in More's English : Jost p. 2 E 16, He bare it out, ... A month or twaine, Tyll he was *faine*, To laye his gowne to pledge. | Jost p. 2 A 15, So was he *faine*, From

self. | Picus 19 C 14, ydolaters wer *wont*¹⁾ to *gather* the bloode of their sacrifice together. | Picus 9 F 8, He was *wont* to *be* conuersaunt with me. | Picus 26 A 4, *holde* to *synne*. | Dial. C. 346, *ready* to *vomite*. | Debell. 933 B 13, *desirouse* to *se*.

Sometimes verbal forms (*willing*, *ashamed*) are used as adjectives in this construction :

Dial. C. 217, such as are wel *willing* to do any purpose that is so shameful. | Last Th. 88 B 12, *ashamed* to *be* wroth.

Little and *much* allow of the same construction :

Dial. Tynd. 118 H 18, if there were so *lyttle* to do. | Aut. Lett. xiv 209, theyre capitayns shall haue *much* a doo²⁾ to kepe theym from crying home.

All the above instances contain infinitives with *to*. The plain infinitive is very exceptional :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1214 B 3, manye of these felowes that are mete for the war, fyrst wer *wont* as it were in sport, and in a while after half betwene game and earnest, and ... nowe not farre from fayre flatte earnest in dede, *talke* as though they looked for a daye, whan with a turne vnto the Turks sayth, they shoulde be made maysters here.

FOR + (PRO)NOUN-SUBJECT.

Though there are numerous instances of constructions in which the infinitive is an adjunct to an adjective, the number of examples in which it is preceded by *for* + (pro)noun is comparatively small.

Picus 7 D 5, a thing farre excelleng all the conning that is *possible* for us in this life to *obtaine*. | Debell. 938 C 2, which is the thing that as I said semeth me neither honorable nor *profitable* ... *for* ani english man to do. | Aut. Lett. xiv 110, if the ffrench king approach theym with an army riall which is more *easy* for hym to do in his awne realme than for the *kinges* grace to *rescue* theym with a lyke army.

thence agayne, To put it (scil. his money) in a cup. | Rich. 37 E 9, with large giftes hee *get* (= got) him vnstedfaste frendeshippe, for whiche hee was *fain* to pil and spoyle in other places. | Dial. C. 327, yet after were his brethern *fayne* to seke vppon hire for breadde. | Dial. C. 281, The man ... swette with the laboure so that he was *fain* ... now and than to wipe his face. | — But cf. Dial. C. 217, she wold so *fayne* bring it to passe.

¹⁾ If *wont* stands without preceding *to be*, it may be looked upon as a verb instead of an adjective : Picus 3 A 1, the verses, which he heard once red : he woulde ... holde it in sure remembrance : which in other folkes *wont* commonly to happen contrary. | — See OED s. v. *wont*.

²⁾ *ado*, northern dialect form for *to do* ; originally Norse.

Only the context prevents the reader from misunderstanding the following sentence : Picus 29 C 8, Thus shouldest thou, in thine heart wish, coueit and be glad *For him to suffer*. The meaning is *to suffer for him*.

No instances have been found in which the subject is not preceded by *for*¹⁾, as in the following quotation from Mandeville :

Travels 83, 10, For the lond and the contres is not *worthl houndes to duell jnne* (M.).

FOR TO. Instances with *for to* preceding the infinitive are very rare :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1253 E 11, thys maketh him well *content* and *glad* also *for to take it*.

In St. John Fisher we find :

Wks. 192, 20, Whan our lord hath ... made vs *able* in vertues *for to preche* and shewe his blessed name.

EARLIER :

c 890 tr. Beda's Hist. 11 i 98, þæt he selfa ȝeara wære ... þæt weorc to *fremmenne* (OED). | c 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. 145, Alle the world hade not be *suffisaunt To haue* receyued so large a *geaunt* (B.).

c 1400 Maundev. Tr. 133, 30, þei ben *hidouse for to loke vpon* (M.). | c 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. 71, Whas vertu I am *insufficient For to discribe* (B.).

Occasionally the adjective is separated from the infinitive by a noun :

Apol. (Wks.) 915 E 12, Summa rosella, so *straunge a booke to fynde* & so harde to vnderstande. | Last Tb. 93 A 5, For surely it is a *hard sore to cure*. | Rich. 64 H 9, it was a *goodly cry* and a *ioyfull to here*.

This usage is quite common in Pres. D. Eng., e. g. :

1900 Gissing, House of Cobwebs 267, an *easy man to deceive*. | 1911 Chesterton, Inn. F. Br. 215, The little priest was not an *interesting man to look at*.

There are in More parallel constructions in which the passivity of the action is expressed by means of a group consisting of *to be* + past participle :

Rich. 57 D 5, I doubt not some shal think this woman *to sleight a thing to be written of*.

FOR TO. In earlier English the infinitive was often preceded by *for to* :

1470 85 Malory M. D'A. 305, 12, good knyghtes and *hard men for to wynde* in bataille.

¹⁾ Compare, however, § 248.

No instances of this usage have been observed in More.

LATER :

1583 Peele, Arraign. Par. i, ii, 26, A *pretty fable*, Paris, *for to read*.

259. THE INFINITIVE AS AN EQUIVALENT TO AN ADVERBIAL CLAUSE OF PURPOSE.

Type *He departed to Bononie to studie*.

Dial. Her. 275 D 5, they had used al the waies thei could *to allect* the people by preaching. | Apol. 176, they haue made that noyse ... *to fere* the ordynaries therwith. | Last Th. 81 F 6, whan thou beginnest to set the first foote forward *to goe out*. | Picus 3 B 3, he departed to Bonomie *to studye* in the lawes of the church. | Dial. C. 229, a great crosse that he had made *to nayle* a newe carued crucifixe vpon ¹⁾.

In Middle English *at* was often used instead of *to* in this function :

1280 Kemble's Cod. Dipl. ii 186, Na man sal have *at do*. | c 1344 Guy Warw. 88, That he cum with the *at ete*. | 1470 Harding, Chron. Pref. i, Lordes sonnes bene sette ... To scole *at lerne*.

There are no examples of this usage in More. The latest quotation in OED is dated 1470.

The subject of the infinitive is expressed in :

Picus 4 F 3, for wich many worthie philosophers ... resorted busely vnto him, as to a market of good doctrine. *Some for to moue* questions & dispute : *somme ... to heare*.

This is the nearest approach in More to constructions of the type *þat hows...was opene at eijer ende, to gon yn al þat wolde*. The much discussed Old English sentence (Wülfling 1901, § 487 ; Shearin 1903, p. 15 ; Zeitlin 1911, p. 145 and Callaway 1913, p. 169) from Orosius : *hie heora here on tu todældon, oþer æt ham beon heora lond to healdanne, oþer ut faran to winnanne* is by some grammarians looked upon as the prototype of the construction in question. There are numerous instances in Middle and later English : 1362 Piers Pl., *þe chief halle þat was made for meles, men to eten inne* (E.). | 1440 Pall., *The semynair is even dolven londe ..., plantes in to stonde* (E.). | 1523 Berners Froissart i 368, *thenglysshmen made great dykes and hedges about, their archers to be more stronger* (Kl.).

In view of the fact that this construction occurs rather frequently in Berners, More's contemporary (Klausmann 1919, p. 106), it is not easy to account for its rare occurrence in

¹⁾ For the rival construction with a form in *-ing* (e. g. Picus 2 F 10, *they be borne to the atchieulng of some great thing*) see §§ 354 and 365.

More. There is, however, something similar in the following sentence :

Rich. 66 D 15, here we take vpon vs the royall estate, preeminence and kyngdome of the twoo noble realmes, England and Fraunce, *the tone fro this day forward by vs and our heires to rule, gouverne and defend, the tother ... to geat again and subdewe*, and established for euer in due obedyence vnto this realme of Englande.

The passive character of the infinitives (*to rule, gouverne*, etc.) is brought out by the adjunct *by vs and our heires*. It is possible to assume confusion of two constructions : a) *the tone (for us) to rule*, etc. ; b) *the tone by us to be ruled*. The strange form *established*, if not a misprint, points to the truth of this conjecture.

FOR + (PRO)NOUN-SUBJECT.

No instances have been found in which the subject of the infinitive is preceded by *for*, the idiom so common in Pres. D. Engl. : 1910 Bennet, Old W. Tale, ch. II, § 1 Constance rang the bell *for Maggie to clear* the table.

FOR TO.

To strengthen the idea of purpose *for to* is often used instead of the weaker *to*.

Aut. Lett. vi 2, *for to put* ¹⁾ the mater in the more surtie the said twoo sh[ipp]is shall in any wise goo forth. | Supplic. 290 H 13, *For to proue* that it is alway so, he layeth that it has been so thrice. | Jest p. 2 A 3, *For to put out*, All maner dout, He made a good puruay. | Last Th. 101 A 14, nature and reason sheweth vs, that we shoulde eate but *for to lue*. | Jest p. 1 G 8, His sonne he wolde, Should haue this golde, *For to beginne* with all.

Occasionally *for to* is expanded into *for as much as to* :

Picus 20 A 1, but *for as much as to haue* this lyght of vnderstandyng ... therefore the prophete syngly saith...

No instances of *for* with a plain infinitive have been found in More, as in : c 1205 Layamon, Brut. A 13305, ich æm icumen þe þus næh ... *for suggen* þe tífende.

EARLIER	LATER
971 Blickl. Hom. 165, To whom eodan 3e to westenne ... witzan to secenne (OED).	1577 B. Googe, Heresbach's Husb. 13, I get into my closet <i>to serue</i> God (OED).

¹⁾ Cf. the construction with *for + form in -ing* illustrated in § 354 (Picus 6 E 3, [he] bet and scourged his own flesh ... *for clensing* of his olde offences).

1388 Wyclif, Matt. iv, i, Thanne
Jhesus was led of a spirit in to
desert, *to be* temptid of the
feend (OED).

c 1386 Chaucer C. T. A 4156, The
cradel at hir beddes feet is set,
To rokken, and *to yeve* the child
to sowke.

c 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. 12, The
sacramente he lete fette this
wrecche *to converte* (B.).

1627 Milton, Vac. Exerc. 24,
Thoughts that loudly knock *to*
haue their passage out (OED).

1890 Chamb. Jrnl. 28 June 408.1,
we made sail *to return* to Perim
(OED).

With *for to* only earlier quotations have been found :

c 1205 Brut 8172, þe wes þudere icumen *for to* iseon þare cnichte
gomen (OED). | c 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. 40, Barres and lokkes stronge
for to haue, His goode from theves *for to kepe* and save (B.).

260. Type *Beare the swerde to the cutlers to grind*.

Supplic. 299 E 2, and tell hym his swerde is to dull : as though he
would bid him beare it to the cutlers *to grind*. | Rich. 45 (=44) F 16,
the lamb was betaken to the wolfe *to kepe*.

In these quotations, as in those of § 259, the infinitives
denote purpose ; their relation to the rest of the sentence is,
however, of a different character. More than one interpreta-
tion is possible : *grind* may have *the cutlers* and *kepe* may
have *the wolf* as subject [*beare it to the cutlers (for them) to*
grind (it) ; was betaken to the wolfe (for him) to kepe (it)].
If this is the case, the infinitive has an active meaning.
Swerde and *lamb* may, however, be regarded as the objects
of the infinitives, which would then have a passive character
[*beare it to the cutlers to be ground*].

The construction was in use before More's time :

13... Curs. M., Prol. 232, þis ilke bok it es translate. Into Inglis tong
to rede For þe love of Inglis lede, Inglis lede of Ingeland. | c 1386
Chaucer, C. T., A 4156, The cradel at hir beddes feet is set, *To rokken*,
and to yeue the child to sowke. | idem, Bl. 48, he hit me took *to rede*. |
c 1400 Three Mi. Eng. Sermons (Grisdale 1939) 59, 283, þat tresur þat God
tuk vs *for to kepe*.

In Pres. D. Eng. these terse constructions are no longer
used ; the passive character is generally expressed by a group
of verbal forms, as, in conversational language, in : *I took the*
battery to the wireless man's to be charged. Usually,
however, *to have it charged* would be preferred.

In the following passage the construction is of a slightly different nature :

Last Th. 95 B 14, Which thyng if we dyd as well remember, as we wel know, we ... wold put into pore mens purses our money *to kepe*, that deth ... shold not finde it about vs.

Poor men is evidently meant as the logical subject of *to kepe*.

In similar cases Ben Jonson and Shakespeare use a form in *-ing*.

Ben Jonson, Poetaster III, i, 407, you should have seen me unrip their noses now, and haue sent them to the next barber's *to stitching*. | Shaksp. Wives IV, ii, 105, Behold what honest clothes you send forth *to bleaching* ! | idem Ado II, iii, 41, happy are they that hear their detractions, and can put them *to mending*.

261. Type *I shal geue him to eate*.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1259 D 9, To him that ouercometh, I shal geue him *to eate* of the tree of life. | Debell. 1093 G 10, Christ sheweth what he would *gyne* them *to eate*.

In Old and Middle English this construction was frequently used. The main part of the formula mostly contains a verb of giving or bringing, and the infinitive almost exclusively denotes eating or drinking (Shearin 1903, p. 13; Kenyon 1909, p. 111). In Old Eng. and in the Ancren Riwle (Redepinning 1906, p. 20) plain infinitives are employed. Later writers (e. g. Chaucer, Occleve and Layamon) use the plain and the prepositional infinitive promiscuously. Sometimes *at* is found instead of *to* :

Gregory 329, 36, Me þyrste & ge me sealdon *drincan*. | c 1205 Layamon, Brut. 13580 me heom brohte *drinken*.

c 1205 Layamon, Brut 30795, þer mid heo bar *to drinken*.

c 1340 Pseudo-Rolle Pr. Consc. 619, And ybe wald noht *gyfe* me *at ete*.

In Pres. D. Eng. the usage is archaic.

262. Type *To say the truth*.

Closely akin to the adjuncts of purpose are the clause-equivalents of the above type, though an idea of condition is not excluded ¹⁾. The subject, which is not expressed, must be inferred from the context and is in many cases not the same as that in the main part of the sentence (absolute use).

¹⁾ As a proof the following four variants in Shakespeare may be adduced : *to say the sooth*, H. V, III, vi, 151 ; *to say sooth*, H. VIII, II, iii, 30 ; *sooth to say*, Err. IV, iii, 72 ; *if I say sooth*, Mch. I, ii, 36.

The collocations that most frequently occur are :

<i>to be brieſe.</i>	<i>to come to the point.</i>
<i>to be ſhort.</i>	<i>to paſſe over other.</i>
<i>to ſay the truth.</i>	<i>to be plaine.</i>
<i>to make an end.</i>	<i>ſhort tale to make.</i>
<i>to begynne with.</i>	<i>ſo to ſay.</i>
<i>to retourne (to my purpoſe).</i>	<i>to tell you forth.</i>

a) *Related.*

Lett. 1452 H 10, And verelye *to be ſhort*. I perceue little difference. | Dial. Her. 138 D 10, *to ſaye the trouth* I neuer herde any thyng ſayde ſo ſore therein. | Picus 13 G 5, Now *to make an ende* with this one thing, I warne the(e). | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1236 E 2, And therefore ... *to begynne with*, let vs be of good comforte.

b) *Absolute.*

Paſſion 1402 F 12, And *to be brieſe*, by the example of thys yong man are we taught... | Dial. C. 220, How be it, *to be ſhort*, it is ſone ſene, that therein the ſum and effect of the counſayle muſt ... reſt. | Rich. 57 C 6, her he loued, whoſe fauour *to ſai the trouth* ... ſhe neuer abuſed to any mans hurt. | Laſt Th. 76 E 6, But now *to retourne to my purpoſe* ... it muſt ... enſue, that we ſhal conſequently do good... | Rich. 38 B 3 But nowe *to returne to the courſe of this hystorye*, ... certayn it is... | Rich. 69 A 16, For firſt *to beginne with the miniſters*, Miles Foreſt at ſainct Martens pecemele rotted away. | Picus 2 F 12, But *to paſſe ouer other*¹⁾; The great Saint Ambroſe, a ſwarme of bees flew about his mouth... | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1242 B 7, yet *to be playne with you* ... my minde findeth not it ſelf ſatisfied in this poynt. | Dial. Her. 131 F 15, But now *ſhorte tale to make*, this yonge woman... | Dial. Her. 134 E 4, But *to tell you forth* whan the kyng was comen, & the towne full, ſodainlye thys blind man... | Dial. Her. 141 C 4, But now *to come to the pointe*. | Dial. Her. 207 B 13, wherin ſo *to ſay* thei can haue no more holde than if they would ſay the crowe were white.

Common uſage in all periods of the Engliſh language. The well-known Middle Eng. collocation *ſooth to ſeyn* has not been found in More, though it ſurvived till Shakeſpeare's time. Some of More's phrases are no longer uſed in Pres. D. Eng. (e. g. *ſhort tale to make*, *to paſſ over other*, etc.).

EARLIER	LATER
c 1305 St. Kenelm 266, <i>to telle hit wiþoute rym þus wordes riȝt hit were</i> (OED).	1600 Shak. A. Y. L. 1, i, 8, He keepes me ruſtically at home, or (<i>to ſpeak more properly</i>) ſtaies me heere at home vnkept.

¹⁾ Transl. of "*ut omittam reliquos*".

c 1386 Chaucer, C. T. A 1895, And shortly to concluden, swich a place Was noon in erthe.

1483 Caxton, G. de la Tour g. v. b, And *shortly to say* he lost alle that he had (OED).

1888 Bryce, Amer. Commw. III vi xcix, 387, All their ins and outs (*to use an American phrase*) (OED).

FOR TO. In older English this construction was often preceded by *for to* (Buchtenkirch 1889, p. 42; Dekker 1932, § 249) :

c 1386 Chaucer C. T. A. 1341, shortly *for to seyn* this Palamoun Perpetually is dampned to prisoun. | c 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. 141, But *for to speke of corage* of a kyng, He... | 1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 487, 3, And *for to make a short tale* he smote doune the bretheren of syre Gawayns.

No instances found in More; occasionally, however, in later English :

1583 Peele, Arraign. Paris 1, i, 182, It rests in fine, *for to confirm my talk*, ye deign to pass along to Dian's walk.

Type *As to loke on death*.

There is some resemblance between this type and that illustrated above, though here the idea of purpose or condition is absent, it being merely an introductory formula to a following statement.

Lett. 1430 E 12, Surely *as to swere* to the succession, I see no perill. | Last Th. 94 E 9, *as to loke on deth* we be for the most part pore blinde all the mayny.

This manner of introducing a statement seems to have died out soon after More ¹⁾. It was not unknown before his time :

c 1374 Chaucer, Troylus v 974, But *as to speke of love* ... I hadde a lord to whom I wedded was.

The following Pres. D. Eng. sentence may be compared : *Speaking of volcanos*, I have seen Etna in full eruption (OED).

In the following instance *as for* is used instead of *as to* :

Debell. 991 G 13, *as for accuse* folke openly for heresy, euery man hath experif[er]nce inough.

Compare the earlier usage in :

1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 785, 22, *As for to kysse* yow said sir launcelot I maye doo that and lese no worship (D.). | idem 610, 29, *As for to doo* this batail sayd Palomydes I dar ry3t wel ende it (D.).

¹⁾ OED has only one quotation, dated 1374. The usage is not mentioned in Schmidt 1902.

AS FOR + (PRO)NOUN-SUBJECT. If in the introductory phrases the subject is expressed, it is preceded by *for* :

Dial. Her. 127 C 13, *as for yron ... to be so drawen in length ye shall se it done in .xx. shoppis in one street.* | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1152 G 14, *as for any payne dewe for our sinne to be minished in purgatory ... there are ... many that vtterly deny that.*

263. THE INFINITIVE AS AN EQUIVALENT TO AN ADVERBIAL CLAUSE OF CONCESSION.

Type *He wolde neuer goo back .. to dye therefore.*

Dial. Her. 214 F 3, *yet woulde he not to dye therefore confesse himself faultie.* | Lett. 1452 A 1, *Whereunto I shortlye answerd for a very trouth, that I woulde neuer medle in the worlde agayn, to haue the worlde geuen me.* | Picus 18 D 7, *he woulde not once offende god to haue them all.* | Dial. Her. 183 F 11, *some that ... woulde neuer goo back with goddes woorde to dye therefore.* | Rich. 67 G 16, *who plainly answered that he would neuer putte them to death to dye therfore.* | Other examples : Conf. Tynd. 761 E 8 ; idem 815 E 1 ; Passion 1390 D 17.

The earliest instances of this usage seem to date from the fourteenth century (Einenkel 1916, p. 21) The origin is unknown. In Chaucer and Caxton occur examples with *for* : C. T. D 961, *she swoor him nay, for al this world to wynde,* She nolde do that vileynye or synne. | C. T. B 1327, *Ne shal I never, for to go to helle, bywrewe a word.* | Sonnes of Aymon xii, 296, *I shall never doo that for to deye for it.*

More does not know this use of *for*.

The idiom (without *for*) was common in later Middle English, and remained so for at least a century after More's time, Shakespeare using it several times. In Pres. D. Eng. it is only occasionally met with, e. g. *You could not do that to save your life* (Curme 1933, p. 340).

Examples of the usage before and after More :

c 1374 Chaucer Troilus iv 1237, *I nolde a forlong wey on-lyve han be After your death, to han be crowned queene.* | c 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. 168, *But tho that welthy men han be biforne And vertuous ben, and han her goode lost, And kan not begge to be dede therfore, On hem fulle wele bystowede is the cost.* | 1470 Malory, Morte D'A 127, *but for by cause this Damas is so fals and so ful of treason we wold neuer fyghte for him to dye for it.* | 1523 Berners, Fr. iii 276, *in no wyse they wolde do so, nor forsake to be Frenche, to dye in prison.* | 1592 Shakesp. Rom. J. iv, i, 30, *I would not buy Their mercy at the price of one fair word, ... To have 't with saying 'Good morrow'* | 1600 Shaksp. As Y. L. i, ii, 146, *I would not change that calling, To be adopted heir to Frederick.*

264. THE INFINITIVE AS AN EQUIVALENT TO A CLAUSE OF RESULT, APPOINTMENT OR DESTINATION.

Type *Some man is borne, To have a lucky howre.*

Jest p. 2 C 10, In mirth and play, Full many a day, He liued merely, And men had sworne, *Some man is borne, To haue a lucky howre.* | Rich. 48 (= 45) C 2, those that bee neyther farre vnder, nor farre aboue his age. And nathelesse of estate conuenient *to accompanye* his noble magestie. | Rich. 65 E 12, when the duke had this leaue ... to speake, then waxed he bolde *to shewe* hym theyr intent and purpose. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1258 C 3, the desyre, expectacion, and heauenly hope therof, shall ... make vs stronge, *to suffer* and *sustaine*...

The infinitive could be so used in older English. The usage has been preserved in Pres. D. Eng.

EARLIER	LATER
a 1380 St. Augustin 108 in Horstm. Alteng. Leg. 63-2, þei forsok þat alle men shulde rise in flesh, <i>to liue aȝen.</i>	1638 G. Sandys, Paraphr. Job xxvii 34, Borne <i>to begge</i> their bread.
c 1386 Chaucer, C. T. B 1171, What eyleth the man so sinfully to swere.	1781 Cowper, Charity 74, We come with joy from our eternal rest, <i>To see the oppressor in his turn oppressed.</i>
	Pres. D. Eng. : He woke up to find the lamp still burning.

265. Very often the clause-equivalent is announced by adverbs of degree (*too*, *so*, etc.) in the main part of the sentence; in this case the infinitive implies result as well as degree.

TOO.

Rich. 58 H 9, as she wist herself *to simple* to be his wife, so thought she her self *to good* to be his concubine. | Dial. Her. 131 A 7, One or two or three ... semeth me *to few* to trust their credence. | Rich. 54 D 1, For wel thei wist, that the quene was *to wise* go to aboute any such folye.

With *for* + (pro)noun-subject :

Dial. Her. 137 G 4, the fashion [was] it self *to straunge* for any man to falne. | Answer 1037 A 2, his handes are to lumpish & this messe also *to greate* for hym to conueye clene.

With *for* to.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1189 C 1, his hart was *to feable* for to beare the beholding of another mans glory ¹⁾.

More's usage is identical with that of older English; the difference between his idiom and that of Pres. D. Eng. lies in the use of *for* to, which is now no longer possible.

¹⁾ With *very* instead of *too* : Dial. Her. 132 E 12, ye seme to ... reken this cause *very* sleight for god to show such an high miracle.

EARLIER	LATER
a 1300 A Sarman xxxv in E. E. P. 5, Hit is <i>to</i> late whan þou ert þare <i>To crië ihesu þin ore</i> (OED).	1560 Daus, tr. Sleidane's Comm. 113 b, It is nowe <i>to late</i> to <i>examyne the licence</i> .
c 1375 Chaucer, Tr. II 725, <i>To wys</i> is he <i>to do</i> so gret a vice.	Pres. D. Eng. : The tea is <i>too hot</i> <i>to drink</i> (OED).
With <i>for</i> + (pro)noun. No earlier examples found.	1908 R. Bagot, A. Cuthbert XIX, <i>Too large</i> an apartment <i>for two</i> <i>people</i> not <i>to feel</i> somewhat lost in it.

266. so. If the principal part of the sentence contains the adverb of degree *so*, the clause equivalent may have three different forms :

Type 1. I am not so proud *to look*.

Type 2. I am not so proud *as look*.

Type 3. I am not so proud *as to look*.

More does not use type 2 very frequently, most of the constructions being of the types 1 and 3; he does not show any preference for either of these, so that the only reason for his using or omitting *as* may have been a question of rhythm.

Type 1. *I am not so proud to look*.

Rich. 63 C 11, I am not so proude *to looke* therfore. | Rich. 59 F 11, my cosein ... neither loueth me so litle, *to grudge* at that I loue, nor is so vnresonable *to loke* that... | Dial. Her. 209 H 4, ere we should iudge any man for so euil *to commyt* it... | Last Th. 85 H 15, For thou woldest not for shame, that men should think thee so mad, *to enuy* a poore soule. | Last Th. 88 A 11, Who could set so much by himself, *to take* to heart a leude rebukeful word. | Rich. 40 G 2, none of vs ... is so vnwyse, ouersone *to truste* a newe frende made of an olde foe.

Type 2. *I am not so proud as look*.

Apol. (Wks.) 845 (= 847) E 9, Whome it irketh *to dooe* so much *as loke* it ouer. | Lett. 1423 A 4, be so good maister *to me as helpe* *to bringe* vs both together ¹⁾.

Type 3. *I am not so proud as to look*.

Lett. 1431 D 4, But surely they all touched me neuer so nere, nor were so greuous vnto me, *as to se* you ... labour *to parswade* vnto

¹⁾ The following quotation seems to belong here, though the character of *wil* is doubtful : Apol. 869 D 3, I am not so ambycious of such folkes prayse, *as[,]* to be called indifferent, *wil* in writing agaynste their heresy'es helpe them forth in theyr rayling.

me... | Suppl. 299 G 8, he sheweth hymself to haue so much presumpcion and so littel witt, *as to aske* the king a question and appoint hym his answer. | Dial. C. 185, I dare not be so sore *as vtterly to forbid* it. | Apol. 75, who so pryde vpon euery mannys dede so narrowly, *as to spy* that faute. | Apol. 46, For I can neyther so much poetry nor so much rhetorique neyther, *as to fynde* good names for euyl thynges.

The quotations of type 2 (*so good as helpe*) appear to be a couple of straggling survivors of a well established idiom in Middle English. No instances seem to have come down to our times, except the crystallized formula (*not*) ... *so much as* + infinitive, used to emphasize a negation : 1782 Miss Burney, Cecilia viii, I should *not* expect any lady would *so much as look* at him. In Occleve's De Regimine Principum the plain infinitive is used after *as* : 95, Is none so good *as lete* us mollifie Our hertes, and stande to his gentrie. Shakespeare has : Meas. i, iv, 17, Can you so stead me *As bring* me to the sight of Isabella... | Henry V, v, i, 27, Will you be so good, scauld knave, *as eat* it ?

The first type : *I am not so proud to look* represents an idiom that is now regarded as irregular and must have become so between Shakespeare's time and the present day. Cf. Shakesp., Rich. III, ii, iii, 26, I wonder he is so fond *To trust* the mockery of unjust slumbers ¹⁾.

EARLIER	LATER
c 1380 Troil. v 1685, so cruwel wende I not youre herte ywys <i>To sle</i> me thus.	1567 Fulke, Answ. True Chr. 95, Be not so impudent, <i>to charge</i> vs with these crimes.
c 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. 43, I was never so aventrous renoune <i>to</i> <i>winne</i> .	In Pres. D. Eng. always with <i>as to</i> or a clause opening with <i>that</i> .

The quotations of type 3 are constructed in accordance with present-day usage (*I am not so proud as to look*).

267. When did this correlative *as* come into use ? It is very interesting to notice what some investigators of the language before More have discovered in this respect. Buchtenkirch (1889) has not found this *as* in Occleve and says : " In allen Belegen steht der Inf. mit *to* und zwar ohne das im Neueng. als Korrelat von *so* hinzutretende *as*, wie denn *as* als Korrelat von *so* vor dem Inf. im Alteng. über-

¹⁾ Also : Mid. iv, i, 142 ; Tw. N. ii, ii, 8 ; Mid. i, i, 75.

haupt nicht gebräuchlich war". V. d. Meer states that in Mandeville "so is not followed by the correlative *as*" (1929 § 52). In Malory's *Morte D'A.* *as* is also absent; according to Dekker (1932 § 257): "Infinitive clauses of degree, referring to the adverb of degree *so*, do not open with *as*". This seems rather peculiar, since Malory's work is within half a century from More. That More did, however, not invent this idiom, though he is perhaps the first to use it so regularly, appears from the following data. In Chaucer, one example (though slightly different, since the correlative *as* is followed by *for to*) proves the possibility of its use in the 14th century: Troil. iii 633, To don my herte as now so gret an ese As for to dwelle here.

Kenyon (1909 p. 65) remarks that this is the only example found by him in Chaucer of the infinitive of result with *as* in the apodosis. Then there is a quotation dated 1445 in OED, which also brings the usage back to before Malory; the name of the author is, however, not mentioned; OED refers to *Anglia* xxviii 271. It runs as follows:

Nevir the(e) she so diseasyd as oonys ... To folowe her wile.

In Paston Lett. (Gairdner) n° 762, dated 1470, we read:

a man cowyd not have hyred me for v. mark with so gode wil to have ryden in to Norff. as to have at thys season ther to have awaytyd in bys Lordshyp¹⁾.

These instances may not be sufficient to prove that this construction was already before the 16th century a well-established idiom in the written language, they show at any rate that it existed. And from More's free usage we may gather that it was of common occurrence in the spoken language. It is notable in this connection that More's more 'literary' contemporary, Lord Berners, hardly ever dares to use it (Klausmann 1919, p. 96). Further investigation will be needed to trace the origin and earlier development of the idiom.

If *so* is placed at the end of the principal part of the sentence instead of in the middle, the combination *so as to* is the

¹⁾ Kellner 1913, p. 75 has an instance dated 1429 of *as to* without preceding correlative.

result. No instances of this usage have been found in More. The earliest quotation with *so as to* in OED (s. v. *as* adv. 20; cf. OED s. v. *so* adv. 28 c) is dated 1662 : H. More, *Antid. Ath.* 1 x1 35 To bear themselves *so as to* cause an Arbitrarious Ablegation of the Spirits.

The construction (with *as*, but without preceding *so*) in the following passage deserves notice :

Instr. 1407 B 12, what foly is it for the(e) than, to auoid this temporall death, *as* thereby *to fall* in perill to purchase thy selfe eternall death ?

No instances have been found in More in which the subject is expressed by a (pro)noun before the infinitive, as in :

1709 Swift, *Merlin's Prediction*, Wks. 1755 II, i, 177, The river Thames frozen twice in one year, *so as men to walk* on it.

268. THE INFINITIVE AS AN EQUIVALENT TO A CLAUSE OF CAUSE.

Type *He laugheth to see the foolysh apes*.

Boke of F. p. 5 A 2, That other laugheth *to see* the foolysh apes, Howe earnestly they walke about theyr iapes. | Boke of F. p. 4 D 7, the fyrst can neuer cease but wepe, *To see* how thicke the blynded people go. | Jest p. 3 A 12, His harte for pryde, Lepte in his syde, *To see* how well he freered. | Dial. C. 170, me thynke I dooe you verve much wronge *to geue* you occasion to laboure yourselfe so much.

The causal force is less distinct in :

Answ. 1121 F 5, Frith was but a foole *so to straitte* and *to limite* the power of almighty god.

This use of the infinitive in a causal function was not unknown before More's time ; cf. Chaucer : *Booke of D.* 99, I ferde the worse ... *to thenken* of her sorwe. Even in Old English the infinitive occasionally denoted cause, but then it always was coordinated with another verb (e. g. ic *gefeo* *þiowan*; ic *earma nu aforhtige to secgenne*, see Callaway 1913, p. 160) For similar constructions in More see the sections on syntactical units with two verbs.

The usage did not die out after More ; Shakesp. frequently makes use of it (cf. 1 Henry IV, I, iii, 44, He call'd them untaught knaves ..., *To bring* a slovenly, unhandsome corse ¹⁾).

In Pres. D. Eng. the construction is somewhat artificial ²⁾ ;

¹⁾ For further examples, see E. Scholz 1908, pp. 17-21.

²⁾ Of course not so after verbs (*to rejoice*) and adjectives (*glad*, etc.).

it has mostly been replaced by constructions consisting of *at, in, on, for, of, by, etc.* + form in *-ing*; or by clauses opening with *because* or synonyms.

EARLIER	LATER
1423 James I, Kingis Quair 163, Ane vgly pit, depe as ony helle, That <i>to behald</i> thereon I quoke for fere.	1535 Coverdale Ps. XLVII 5, They marveled <i>to se</i> soch thinges. 1843 Macaulay, Lays, Hor. XLIX, All Etruria's noblest Felt their hearts sink <i>to see</i> ... the bloody corpses.

FOR + (PRO)NOUN-SUBJECT; FOR TO.

No such constructions have been found in More. Cf. c 1400 Maundev. Tr. 23, 15, And after þat þei weren at gret discord *for to make* a soudain (M.) | 1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. bk. xv, ch. 1, he who brake his order *for to wear* a shirt where he ought to wear none (D.).

269. THE INFINITIVE AS AN EQUIVALENT TO A CLAUSE OF CONDITION OR SUPPOSITION.

Type *What wonder would he make to see the sonne.*

Lett. 1128 H 1, What should they be the better *to giue* me any othe? | Dial. Her. 132 B 3, If a man borne blind had sodenly his sight, what wonder would he make *to see* the sonne. | Dial. Her. 152 E 8, This were in dede a good easy way for a slouthfull mason that were an euill workeman, *to make* ¹⁾ hym a squier and ruler of lede, that ... he may bend the squier to the stone. | Jest p. 1 B 15, A blacke draper, with whyte paper, *To goe* to writing scole, ... I wene shall proue a fole. | Dial. Her. 281 E 10, For either is his way naught, & than doth he naught *to teache* it.

These infinitives express facts or suppositions which form the foundation of the statements in the main part of the sentence; the construction is equivalent to a clause opening with *if*.

The usage in earlier English and in Pres. D. Eng. (in which it is still possible) ²⁾ is illustrated in the following quotations:

EARLIER.

c 1385 Chaucer, Troilus v, 493, *to take* of hym our leue He wolde wondren on it trewely (K.) | c 1400 Mandev., Tr. 182, 14, wyld men þat ben hidouse *to loke* on (M.) | c 1412 Occleve. Reg. Pr. 75, dethe was to hastife *To renne* on the and reve thy life (B.).

¹⁾ May also be explained as the subject, announced by *this*.

²⁾ Curme 1931, p. 331 ("Abridgment of Clauses of Condition").

LATER.

1592 Shakesp., Rom. J. iv, i, 23, *To answere* that, I should confesse to you. | 1610 Shakesp. Tempest II, i, 221, which *to do*, Trebles thee o'er. | 1884 R. W. Church, Bacon III, 59, He was no more idealist or recluse *to undervalue* ... the real grandeur of the world (OED). | 1887 L. Carroll § 1, 15, You will do well *to work out* a lot more for yourself (OED).

FOR + (PRO)NOUN-SUBJECT ; FOR TO. No instances found. Compare :

c 1400 Mandev., Tr. 196, 8, he thoughte þat he sholde do gret synne *for to trouble* hem (M.).

270. THE INFINITIVE PRECEDED BY A PREPOSITION ¹⁾.

Type *Without to make any noise*.

Instances of this usage abound in earlier writers :

c 1200 Orm. 6359, His Drihhtin wel to cwemen Wiþþ dagȝsang & wiþþ uhhtennsang, & wiþþ to letenn swingenn himm þe bodig. | 1490 Caxton, Eneydos, xviii, 68, *wythout to make me a knowen* thereof. | idem, Paris & V. 32, Vyenne salewed parys *wythoute to make* [Fr. sans faire] ony semblaunce of Love.

No instance of this usage has been discovered in More ²⁾. It lived on for a time after him, and is found in Pres. D. Eng. with the preposition *from*.

1556 J. de Flores' Aurelio F 6, *without to see* it whiche is written. | 1590 Spenser, F. Q. III, 12, 35, Nought may save thee *from to dy*. | 1879 Mallock, Life Worth Liv. 17, Not to affirm is a very different thing *from to deny*.

Generally a form in *-ing* is preferred now.

By the side of the type *without to make any noise* there occurred in Middle English the type *without any noise to make*, in which the preposition and the infinitive were separated by a noun :

1127 Chronicle 256 b, se king hit dide *for to hauene* sibbe of se eorl Angeow, *for helpe to hauene* togænes his neuē. | 1340 Dan Michel, Aycnbite, Blisse and lost *ine god to servi* and to louie. | idem, ssel come to uore þe kinge in his chombre uor *some grace to bidde*. | 1489 Caxton, Blanch., *wythoute aduenture to fynde* ³⁾.

¹⁾ Other than *to* and *for to*.

²⁾ In St. John Fisher we find : Wks. 86, 30, it may not be done *without some man* more myghty than they *withstande & defende* hym. — But here *without* = *unless*.

³⁾ Einkenkel 1916, p. 16, compares Old French usage : pour eus a detranchier ; sans nous a parjurer ; je te defends sur les membres copier. (The above illustrations are his).

No instances of this usage have been found in More. It does, however, not seem to have been obsolete in his time, for in Spenser occurs a similar construction : F. Q. II, xii, xxvi, 4, ... to worke dreed us, And draw from on this journey to proceed.

271. THE INFINITIVE IN NON-DEPENDENT UNITS.

In exclamations :

Picus 15 D 10, O, madde marchaunt, O foolish marchandise, To bye a tryfle, O childishe reckoning, And paye therefore so dere a precious thing.

This usage of the infinitive to express indignation, astonishment, longing, etc., does not seem to have been very old. The earliest quotation in OED is dated 1450; it is slightly different, since the infinitive is preceded by its own subject :

a 1450 Cov. Myst. viii, 77, *I to bere* a child that xal bene alle mannys blyss ... ho mythe have joys more ! ¹⁾

The construction is a common stylistic feature in Pres. D. Eng. : 1871 R. Ellis, Catullus lxxv 9, Ah ! no more to address thee, or hear thy kindly replying, Mother ! ... ne'er to behold thee again !

Also with *why* : Conf. Tynd. 765 D 5, For *why* to use dylygence and forbear haste, and be ware and believe...

The infinitive without *to* is similarly used to repeat an infinitive in a preceding sentence :

Dial. Her. 197 H 10, ... he answered bim, Credere en le diable, my sir no, io graund fatigue a credere in dio. Beleue in ye deuil q(uod) he, nai nai syr...

Earlier example : c 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. 6, " I hope I shall the cure. " " Cure, good man ? ... thow art a faire leche ".

Still found in Pres. D. Eng.

272. The infinitive is occasionally used as an equivalent to a preterite in the middle of a narration of past events.

Rich. 69 C 9, he toke ill rest a nightes, lay long wakyng and musing, ... rather slumbrod then slept, troubled wyth fearful dreames, sodainly sommetyme sterte vp, leape out of his bed & runne about the chamber, so was his restles herte continually tossed & tumbled with ... the stormy remembrance of his abominable dede.

At first sight this sentence gives the impression of being irregular ; a comparison with the language in earlier stages, however, reveals the fact that in the Middle Ages this use of

¹⁾ Curme 1931, p. 331, adduces an instance with *for* + noun-subject in Pres. D. Eng. : Wilkie Collins, Woman in White, p. 222, *Oh, for a friend to help us and advise us !*

the infinitive in a narration of past events was not alien from genuine English. Among the authors who use it are Langland (Wandschneider 1887, p. 73); Layamon (Lichtsinn 1913, p. 64); Chaucer (Kenyon 1909, p. 80) and Caxton (Kellner 1890, § 29).

E. g. 1362-93 Langland, P. Pl., al þat he wist wikked by any wizte, tellen it, and blame men behynde her bakke. | c 1275 Layamon, Brut, 30945, þe king Penda ... sumnede ferdø and forth him fusen and wenden (L.).

The construction occurred not only with a plain infinitive, but also with an infinitive with *to*; More has no examples. Cf.: a 1375 Barbour Bruce viii 351, He turnit his bridill, and *to ga*. | c 1380 Chaucer Tr. ii 788, So cesseth love, and forth *to love*. | idem, Leg. G. Wom. 635, Up gooth the trumpe and *for to shoute* and *shete*, And paynen hem to sette on with the sonne. | c 1480 Henryson, Fables 215, With that the wolf gird up sone and *to ga*.

273. If the subject of the action denoted by the infinitive differs from that in the rest of the sentence, it is expressed and placed immediately before the infinitive. There is a very clear instance in More:

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1254 E 1, on she came gernerig toward the place: whom as soone as the hartes herd: *they to go* both twayn apace.

This idiom was more frequently used in Middle English than that without subject expressed.

c 1200 Layamon, Brut 21655, Arthur come sone mid selere strengþe, And Scottes *to fleonne*. | 1225 Liffade of St. Juliene (ed. D'Ardenne 1936) 451, and *he to rarin* reowliche. | 1385 Chaucer, Tr. iii 1108, And *she to laughe* ¹⁾ it thought here herte brest. | idem L. G. W. 653, Antonye ... put hym to the flight And *al his folk to goo* ²⁾ that best go myght. | 1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 270, 25, and there he dyd homage and feauct to syr Gareth and *these knyghtes to hold* of hym for euermore. | a 1445 Lyfe St. Birgette [EETS] liii, & then *he to speke* vnto her shameful ... wordes. | 1534 Berners, Huon [EETS] 754, 3, than *thei to murdre* him in his bed.

According to Einkenkel (1916, p. 22) the early history of this construction is still obscure. He suggests an ellipsis of a verb like *begin* and compares Old French: Quant chil Englès les perchurent, ils ferirent des esperons apriès eulx, et li François à euls sauver (Froissart) ³⁾.

¹⁾ Kenyon 1903, pp. 82-3, explains these instances in Chaucer in a different way, rejecting the appellation "historic infinitive".

²⁾ Still a very vivid idiom in modern French: Et les Français de se sauver! There is something similar in Dutch: Bilderdijk, Elius vi, Hij snikt! — "Welaan, ik ben voldaan, Zie daar mijn lot volkomen!" Hij sprak, ziet om, en grijpt zijn staal, En — *beken bloeds aan 't stroomen*.

The construction is often compared with the Latin *historic infinitive*. It strongly resembles the use of the present tense in narrations of past events ("historic present") as illustrated in § 163.

Pres. D. Eng. has lost this efficient expedient to represent a past event in a very vivid way. It seems to have died out in the course of the sixteenth century; indeed, in More, to judge from the scarcity of its occurrence, it may already have been obsolescent. No instances of the usage in Shakespeare seem to be on record; the following quotations, however, show that the idiom was not unknown to Gascoigne and Spenser, though in the latter it perhaps represents a conscious revival of obsolete usage.

1566 Gascoigne, *Supposes*, Wks. 34, *I to fuge* and away hither as fast as I could. | 1590 Spenser, *F. Q.* vi, xlvii, 6, 'Lo! then, for thine ayd, Here take my lover's token on thy pate?' So *they to fight*.

The quotation in OED from Pepys is not very convincing, as his elliptic style did not reflect the language as it was used at the time: 1668 Pepys, *Diary*, 18 Sept., I... away home, ... and there to read again and sup with Gibson ¹⁾.

FOR + NOUN-SUBJECT; FOR TO. No instances found in More.

274. The infinitive is also used as an equivalent to a coordinated sentence expressive of a regulation or a testamentary disposition.

Type (Pres. D. Eng.) *Accounts to be strictly kept*.

Debell, 1011 A 17, whiche witnes be sufficient and which not, must be wayed by the spirituall Judges, and vppon theyr waying of the matter for lyght or heauy, to folowe the arrest of the partie, or the leauing of the arrest. | *Passion* 1301 D 1, it was ordeined ... that ther shuld be but one prince of the priestes, ... and he to contynue hys office during his life.

The prototype of this construction has not yet been found

¹⁾ The usage discussed in this paragraph ought to be kept apart from that illustrated in the following Pr. D. Eng. quotations: Arlen, *May Fair* p. 132, He could throw it from the top of a bus and no one notice (Kr.). | *idem* *Green Hat* p. 247, There isn't...anything in the world more irritating than to be angry with a woman and she not notice (Kr.). These collocations introduced by *and* are equivalent to adverb clauses of attendant circumstances (= *without any one noticing it; without her noticing it*).

in Old English; nor are there parallels in foreign languages (Einenkel 1916, p. 20). In Middle English the construction crops up profusely, as witness the numerous examples in e. g. Einenkel 1916, p. 20 and Kellner 1913, §§ 399-400. It is frequently used by Malory (Dekker 1932, § 253), by Berners (Klausmann 1919, p. 108) and in the Paston Letters ¹). From Shakespeare the following quotation may be given: As Y. L. v, iv, 22, Keep you your word, Phebe, that you'll marry me; Or else, refusing me, *to wed* this shepherd.

The usage is well established in Pres. D. Eng., though restricted to formal (technical or legal) language. See below for an instance.

EARLIER	LATER
a 1300 Debate Body and S., wī schope thou me to wrother-hele, To be thus togged and totoren, and <i>othere to haven</i> al mi wele (OED).	1849 Dickens, David Copp. 1, 2, The caul was put up in a raffle down in our part of the country, to fifty members at half-a-crown a head, <i>the winner to spend</i> five shillings.
1387-1439 Early Eng. Wills, If all thre sonnes die withoute heires ... theire moder than lyvyng, then <i>she for to haue</i> al the same maners (OED).	1912 Everyman, 24 Dec., In regard to the Albanian problem Austria and Italy agreed on the principle of nationality, <i>the country to be</i> neutralised under the guarantee of the Great Powers.
1503 Paston Lett. (Gairdner) n° 1074, <i>all this to be</i> perfurmyd ... after our avise.	

FOR + NOUN-OBJECT; FOR TO. No examples found. For an instance with *for to* in earlier English see the quotation in the left column above dated 1387.

275. THE INFINITIVE + OBJECT AS AN ATTRIBUTIVE ADJUNCT. Type A *breakneck pace*.

No examples of these combinations, which in recent times have become very frequent — *lack-lustre eye* ¹); *want-wit agitation* ²); *a lock-jaw business* ³); *a take-leave call* ⁴); etc. —

¹) E. g. 1503 Letter from John Yaxlee (Gairdner n° 1074): And if the seid Sir John refuse to have the maner, then the seid Roger *to have* the same maner ...; and the seid Syr John *to geve* answer which he will chose ... And all this *to be* perfurmyd and put in surte after our avise.

²) Shak. As Y. L. I. ii, vii, 21.

³) Egerton Castle, Keynotes, 44 (J.).

⁴) Caine, Christian, 44 (J.).

⁵) Austen, Sense and S., 296 (J.).

have been found in More. The earliest examples found by Jespersen 1928, 14, 71, are dated 1556 and 1562.

276. THE INFINITIVE AFTER AND, (N)OR, (RATHER) THAN, BUT.

And + infinitive.

Usage does not seem to have been settled in More, the infinitive after *and* appearing now with and now without *to*. The plain forms are, however, in the majority.

Plain infinitive. Rich. 65 H 1, to depose the prince & take himself the crown. | Rich. 42 B 12, readye to leape on horsebacke, and departe forward. | Last Th. 76 B 3, it is better to holde thy tong & thinke on some better thing. | Picus 14 E 13, it were shame to abide stil in the better, and not decline. | Dial. C. 128, we shall stand in peril ... to be more hardelye handled, and dye more cruel death. | Lett. 1449 F 3, in his owne temptacion he was fain thrise to call and crye out vnto god.

Infinitive with to. Rich. 65 E 14, then waxed he bolde to shewe hym theyr intent ..., and ... to beseche hys grace, that... | Answer 1121 F 5, Frith was but a foole so to straitte and to limite the power of almighty god. | Dial. C. 167, it were good to make sure and to be mery. | Picus 9 F 8, He was wont to be conuersaunt with me, and to breake to me the secretes of his heart.

FOR + NOUN-SUBJECT ; FOR TO. No instances found ¹⁾.

277. (N)Or + infinitive.

The prepositional infinitive seems to be the rule.

Last Th. 84 D 1, yet haue they some hope eyther to breke prison the while, or to escape there by fauor. | Dial. C. 253, he promised not, neither to geue awaye all, nor to become a begger. | Apol. 85, [they were] fayne to fynde a place to hyde theyr heddes, or to kepe them from pryson. | Last Th. 89 A 4, god hath not geuen him leue to eat of it or to enioy it.

FOR + NOUN-SUBJECT ; FOR TO. No instances discovered.

278. Than + infinitive.

Usage seems unsettled, though plain infinitives only rarely occur.

Rich. 58 H 6, hym whose harte she perceiued more firmly set, then to fall of for a worde. | Rich. 60 C 2, god loued her better, then to graunt her her bone. | Last Th. 88 C 14, How much is it now the more foly, if we consider that we be but going in pilgrimage, ... than to chide & fight for such folyes by the way. | Last Th. 75 H 4, it were lesse

¹⁾ Cf. 1375 Barbour, Bruce v 4, þe nychtingale begouth rycht meraly to syng and for to mak ... syndry notis and soundis sere.

euil ..., to blabber on trifles ..., *than ... to fantasye*. | Rich. 63 A 8, them wer leuer to leese all that thoi haue ..., *then to haue* suche a villany done them. | Last Th. 76 B 3, it is better to holde thy tong ..., *than to geue* eare therto.

Last Th. 76 C 11, better were it for the while to let one wanton woorde passe vncontrolled, *than geue* occasion of twain.

The subject of the infinitive is expressed in :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1215 A 9, to haue that good purpose al their life, semeth me no more harme ..., *than a poore begger* that hath neuer a peny, to *thinke* that yf he had great substaunce, he would geue almose. | Aut. Lett. xiv, 31, his highnes estemeth no thing in counsaile more perillous *than one to perseuer* in the mayntenaunce of his advise.

FOR + (PRO)NOUN-SUBJECT.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1204 B 11, It is more easy for a Camell ... to goe thorowe a nedles eye, *then for a ryche manne to enter* into the kingdome of God. | Aut. Lett. xiv, 110, which is more easy for hym to do ... *than for the king to rescue* theym.

Zeitlin (1908 Ch. iv) disputed Jespersen's assertion (1894 § 211) that "Such sentences as 'I don't know what is worse than for such wicked strumpets to lay their sins at honest men's doors' would be sought in vain before the eighteenth century". As Zeitlin, however, did not adduce any examples of earlier usage, Jespersen challenged the objection in an article in the *Viëtor Festschrift* (1910, pp. 85 89) and emphatically reasserted his first statement. Its fallacy was, however, indisputably demonstrated in the *Journal of E. & G. Phil.* (vol. x 1911, p. 649) by Zeitlin's adducing two examples of the construction in question antedating Jespersen's earliest quotation by one and a half and two centuries; the first of them was from Wilson's *Art of Rhetoric* (1553) : Prol. p. 1, what greater pride can there be *then for any man to thinke* himselfe wise ... or what greater folly can there be imagined *then for one to think...* With the above quotations from More evidence of the occurrence of the construction in the 16th century has been brought still further back.

The use of *that* preceding the subject of the infinitive (instead of *for* ?) in the following sentence is very exceptional :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1231 A 1, There canne not in thys worlde be a wursse mynde *then that a man to delite* and take comfort in anie commoditie, that hee taketh by synnefull meane.

This curious construction can perhaps be accounted for by assuming contamination between *then a man to delyte* and *then that a man delyte(th)*.

FOR TO. No instances with *for to* before the infinitive have been observed in More, which is rather surprising as this usage is not infrequently met with in St. John Fisher (Weyl 1937, § 228). E. g. :

Wks. 408, 8*, No man can shewe greater charitie, *then for to put hys own life in ieopardie for his friendes.*

279. *Rather (Leuer) than* + infinitive.

Here all sorts of constructions seem to have been possible ; there are either two plain infinitives (e. g. *rather suffer than become...*), one prepositional and one plain infinitive (e. g. *to way rather then take*), or two infinitives preceded by *to* (e. g. *rather to endure than to cast*).

Dial. C. 327, he thinketh it is not lawefull for any other mayde to folowe their saumple, but *rather suffer* other to dooe her any maner violence by force ... *than* willingly ... herself *become* an homicide of herself.

Dial. Her. 212 F 2, To way them *rather then take* them by tale. | Picus 7 E 6, yet had we *leuer* alwaie by knowlage, neuer *finde* that thing that we seke : *then* by loue to possede that thing, whiche...

Dial. C. 343, well contente to endure al the payn ... *rather then* ... to cast our self into the payne of hell.

FOR + (PRO)NOUN-SUBJECT ; FOR TO. No instances discovered.

Suffereth (and not *suffer*) is used in :

Debell. 932 F 3, he *rather* taketh the matter all whole vpon him, *then suffereth* any part to be layd from hym.

280. *But* + infinitive.

Both prepositional and plain infinitives occur :

Last Th. 92 F 5, it is not sinne to haue riches, *but to loue* riches. | Picus 7 A 5, it was no praise to gather riches, *but to refuse* them.

Dial. C. 305, yet suffieth them not to dye therein, *but lyue* many years after. | Picus 5 A 2, all his life [he] hath doone nothing els, *but reade* them.

In St. John Fisher only plain infinitives are used (Weyl 1937, § 229).

There is in More another word *but* with a different meaning from that illustrated above ; it is construed both with and without *to* before the infinitive :

Dial. Her. 243 E 13, it wer more than madnes for them to medle withal, *but leaue* al these thinges to them whose hole study is beset therapon. | Apol. (Wks.) 893 C 11, forbidding them to reason or dispute there against *but obey* it. | Conf. Tynd. 719 B 7 ; 344 B 5.

Dial. Her. 243 F 10, I can in no wise agree with you that it wer mete

for men vnlearned to be busy with the chamming of holy scripture, *but to haue* it chammed vnto them. | Picus 29 A 4, I meane not hereby, that thou shouldest arise, And in the glasse vppon thy body prowle, *But* with faire vertue to *adourne* thy soule.

This meaning of *but* is not recorded in OED; it seems to be equivalent to *instead of -ing*. It also occurs in Shakespeare ¹⁾ :

Wint. T. II, I, 160, Why, what need we Commune with you of this, *but* rather follow our forceful instigation.

HISTORICAL NOTE ON §§ 276-280.

In older English the use of either the plain or the prepositional infinitive after such connecting words as *and*, *or* and *than* appears to have been as unsettled as it was in More. According to Shearin (1903 p. 30) repetition of *to* was regular in O. E. prose. Weyel, who illustrates (1896 pp. 50-51) the arbitrariness of the use and absence of *to* after *than* in Orm, criticizes the "rules" laid down for the usage in Langland (Wandschneider 1887), William of Pal. (Pitschel 1890) and Occleve (Buchtenkirch 1889). Layamon frequently, but not regularly, suppressed the second *to* after *and*, *but*, etc. (Lichtsinn 1913, p. 9). In Chaucer the cases in which *to* was not repeated outnumbered the other (Kenyon 1909, p. 159 mentions a ratio of 249 : 129). In Mandeville's Travels it was usual for the plain infinitive to be used after *and*, *or*, *þan* (V. d. Meer 1929, § 85). Infinitives with *to* are more frequent than plain infinitives in Malory, who shows his preference for the prepositional infinitive by the frequent use of *to* before the second infinitive even when the first is plain (Dekker 1932, § 230).

In Pres. D. Eng. suppression of the second *to* is fairly regular (Mätzner 1885, 55; Curme 1933, p. 481, 5). If the infinitives are connected by *than* either both have *to* or are both without it ²⁾; until c 1800, esp. after *had rather* and *had better*, the second infinitive often had *to* when the first was without it.

281. *Better than* + infinitive.

The type *We know better than to do that* is represented in More by :

¹⁾ Not mentioned in Schmidt 1902, s. v. *but*.

²⁾ So in OED, but see Kruisinga 1931, §§ 344-350.

Debell. 1032 D 17, I much *better* loue hym *then* in that point *to belieue* him. | Rich. 58 H 6, hym whose harte she perceiued *more firmly* set, *then* to fall of for a worde.

Here *than* is announced by a comparative (or its equivalent with *more*). It deserves notice that the earliest example in OED of this usage is dated 1611 : Beaumont & Fl., Philaster 1, i, Your nature is *more constant than* to inquire after state-news.

Pres. D. Eng. would often substitute *too* with the positive for the comparative with *than* : *more constant than* inquire > *too constant to* inquire.

EARLIER

And. c 1205 Layamon, Brut 27333,
alle we beoþ ȝarewe to libben
and to liggē (L.).
a 1366 Chaucer, R. R. 2321, to
you it longith ay To harpe and
glitterne, daunce and play.

Or. c 1386 Chaucer, C. T., I, 818,
the unmesurable appetit and
desordeynce coveitise to eten
or to drynke.

c. 1386 Chaucer, C. T., C 16,
Apelles, Zanzis, sholde werche
in veyn, Outher to grave, or
peynthe, or forge, or bete.

Than. c 1386 Chaucer C. T., B 114,
Bet is to dyen *than* have indi-
gence.

c 1386 Chaucer C. T., F 692, he
hath levere talken with a page
than to comune with any gentil
wight.

LATER

1523 Berners, Froiss., vi, 365, We
wyl be felawes to gyders and
neuer to fayle (Kla.).

1858 Trollope, Dr. Thorne xxvi,
277, She was anxious to make
her friend smile, and to smile
with her (Kr.).

1920 Times, Lit. S. 11-3, Another
simplification is to follow the
stream and ignore the eddies
(Kr.).

1535 Steward, Cron. Scot. ii 172,
The Scottis than weill wist
nocht in that caice. Quidder to
hyde or follow on the chace
(OED).

1889 Stevenson, Ballantrae iii, But
which is it to be? Fight or make
friends (OED).

1913 Walpole, Fortitude ii Ch. 5
p. 196. They can't do more *than*
refuse it (Kr.).

1912 Times W. 1, 11, We know
better *than* to make any such
concession (Kr.).

THE 'SPLIT INFINITIVE'

282. Answer 1125 A 1, would ye not be as hasty *to not* believe it? |
Dial. Tynd. 481 H 2, tyll menne ... fell to forgeatle them ... and then
to not believe them.

These are the only instances found in More of this syntac-
tical tmesis and both have the negative adverb *not* between

to and the verb. This order of words in constructions with *not* was known in Middle English. V. d. Gaaf (1933) illustrates this usage in a series of quotations from writers before 1500, and shows that it held its ground till far into the seventeenth century. The placing of *not* between *to* and the verb was, however, not imperative in More's English. In the following examples it has the same place as in Pres. D. Eng. Picus 12 G 6, For it is verelye a great madnesse *not to beleue* the gospel. | Supplic. 292 F 10, ye wer at libertie *not to beleue* vs.

Other adverbs or adverb adjuncts than *not* are never found between *to* and verb in More; yet from the 13th century on it had been possible to place them and even objects there, and in the course of the 15th century it had become quite common for some writers to avail themselves of this stylistic expedient; especially Pecock (c 1395-c 1460) uses it copiously. V. d. Gaaf counted upwards of 120 instances in his works, among which there are a number of a most bold character (from a Pres. D. standpoint, that is): e. g. Donet, 6, 23, *for to enye suche bi her owne laboure fynde, make and multiplie*. This profuseness in Pecock exhibits a striking contrast with the scarcity (or absence, but for the cases with *not*) of the usage in More. It can hardly be accounted for by referring to the distance in time between the two writers. V. d. Gaaf conjectures that Pecock's language must have been of the type spoken in intellectual circles in Oxford, where he led the life of a student and scholar for about twenty years. Now More had been an Oxford student too and must consequently have been familiar with this usage as well as Pecock. So that the only conjecture that seems safe is to assume that More consciously avoided the breaking up of the formula *to + verb* in all other cases than those with *not*.

For about three centuries after More the split form remained exceptional, though constantly cropping up even in the best authors. In Pres. D. Eng. it is frequently used (except with *not*), notwithstanding the fact that some grammarians persist in calling it ungrammatical ¹⁾.

¹⁾ For a comprehensive discussion of origin, form and development of the "split infinitive" and for an eloquent plea in favour of it see Curme 1931, pp. 455-456 and Stuart Robinson 1936, pp. 505 ff. On the term "split-infinitive" see Jespersen 1935, p. 191.

EARLIER	LATER
1380 Wyclif, Matt. v 34, Forsothe Y say to you to <i>not swere</i> on al manere (G.).	1633 Butler, Hudibras, Chandos Cl. p. 328, And if we had not weighty cause <i>To not appear</i> in making laws, we could ... force you... (G.).
13... Cursor M. C 3318, <i>To temple</i> <i>make</i> he sal be best (G.).	1890 Kipling, Phantom Rickshaw, which prompts a man <i>to savage-</i> <i>ly stamp</i> on the spider he has but half killed (C.).
idem C 12965, He sal þe send Angels for to þe defend (G.).	
c 1400 Three Mi. Eng. Sermons (Grisdale 1939), 6, 36, <i>To stoutlich</i> <i>with-stonden</i> hem makith stowle pride, to <i>meklich taken</i> hem makith lownes drede, & to <i>glad-</i> <i>lich rede</i> & reseye hem makith hi loue or mode.	

283. TO IN END-POSITION WITHOUT FOLLOWING INFINITIVE.

Type *You may go, if you want to*.

An instance of this usage in More is :

Conf. Tynd. 135 H 13, Nowe for as much as man can doe no good but if god begyn, ... therefore the grace with whiche God begynneth to sette vs a woорke, is called 'Gratia preueniens'. And for as muche as we shold sone cease to, but if grace continued with vs, as our eye shold cease to see, if that wee lacked lyghte : God continued his grace with vs to worke with vs, whiche is called 'gracia cooperans'.

The construction was occasionally resorted to at least since the 14th century.

13... Minor Poems from Vernon MS. xxxiii, 74, þe soules of synners, ... þer to take and resseyue so as þei on eorþe *deserueden to*. | 1448 J. Schillingford, Lett. 114, He wol amende hit as sone as God well yeve hym grace and tyme to (OED). | 1470 Paston Lett. (Gairdner) n° 761, Be ware how that ye spend it, but in acquityng you ageyn such as ye be in daunger to, or about the good speed of your materis.

Eininkel 1916, p. 195 adduces the following instance :

1303 Brunne, Handl. Synne, Executer þat wyl nat do As þe dede ordeynede to, He shal haue ful euyl endyng.

He adds : "scheint mir zwar *in seiner Vereinzelung* <my italics> etwas zweifelhaft, immerhin glaube ich ihn mehrseitiger Betrachtung nicht vorenthalten zu dürfen".

Shakespeare does not know this usage (Franz 1924, § 651, Nachtrag p. 596).

In Pres. D. Eng. it has become a well-known colloquialism, e. g. :

1883 Howells, Register 1, I kept on, ... I *had to* (OED).

VOICE OF THE INFINITIVE

284. As the infinitive is neutral as to voice, i. e. incapable of expressing its voice by any change in form ¹⁾, it is only through analysis of the context that the real character of the infinitive can be found.

In the majority of the quotations given in the preceding paragraphs the context shows that the stem is active in meaning, e. g. in 'me nedeth not *to host*' (= *that I host*); 'it smelleth of idolatry *to visit* this place' (= *if people visit this place*); I am fain *to do* the labour; the world *to come*; who were able *to beare* thy punishment'; etc.

There are, however, in More's English four types of constructions in which the character of the infinitive is different.

Type 1 *A fire that were ethe to kindle* (§ 258).

Rich. 40 G 12, a fyre ... that were ... *ethe to kindle*. | Apol. 3, my writing is ... *tedyouse to rede*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1213 E 8, the thing be *liefull to require*. | Debell. 935 B 2, fautes that were *hatefull and odiousse to here*. | Last Th. 93 B 3, couctous be *hard to hele*.

Type 2 *There is little to do* (§ 258).

Dial. Tynd. 118 H 18, if there were so *lyttle to do*. | Picus 7 G 7, Ther is no *more to do*. | Boke of F. p. 1 D 8, there is no *more to say*.

Type 3 *Beare the swerde to the cutlers to grinde* (§ 260).

Supplic. 299 E 2, and tell hym his swerde is to dull: as though he would bid him beare it to the cutlers *to grinde*. | Rich. 45 (= 44) F 16, the lamb was betaken to the wolfe *to kepe*. | Answer 1042 G 9, He geue them breade from heauen *to eate*.

Type 4 *Help to take holde of*.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1253 D 8, thys dooeth reason alone in manye cases, where it hathe muche lesse *help to take hold of*, then it hath in this matter of fayth.

285. In those four types the character of the infinitive is activo-passival, that is to say, the constructions allow of being analysed in two different ways, one pointing to the passive character of the infinitive (*the fire is ethe to be kindled*; *there is little to be done*; *beare the swerde to the cutlers to be ground*), the other to the active sense of the

¹⁾ *To be* + past participle (*to be seen*) cannot grammatically be called a form of the infinitive; it is a group of words with the same function as a form in other languages. See §§ 518-65.

infinitive ¹⁾ : *the fire is ethe for us to kindle it ; there is little for us to do ; hear the swerde to the cutlers for them to grind it*. That the infinitive had this dual character already in Older English is proved by the fact that the concise formula actually developed into both the corresponding expanded constructions ; *to be (seen)* ²⁾, however, made its appearance earlier than *for us (to see)* ³⁾.

286. In More the constructions of the types *easy to see* and *easy to be seen* occur side by side ; the shorter form, however, seems to be in the minority. This is also the case in his contemporary, St. John Fisher (Weyl 1937, § 237). A few illustrations of the expanded construction follow :

Easy. Aut. Lett. xiv, 93, some be not so facile & *easy to be taken*. | Aut. Lett. xiv, 109, after his army withdrawn & discharged they wilbe ... *easy to be lost*. | Aut. Lett. xiv, 107, if the townys be so *easy to be wonne*. | Passion 1275 D 8, more *eth to be begiled*.

Able. Dial. Her. 141 B 14, if it might hold & be bidden by, & wer as well *able to bee proued* trew.

Ready. Dial. G. (Wks.) 1173 G 3, a work of Galiën...is *ready to be solde*.

Sure. Rich. 60 E 14, they were sure *to be compelled* to no larger prooffe then themselfe list to make.

Wont. Dial. Her. 121 C 4, saint Stephens chyrche in Myllayne where many miracles were *wont to be shewed*.

Less. Dial. Her. 133 E 4, therwith be they but women, which be more light & *lesse to be regarded*,...

Digne. Picus 1 A 7, whose life and woorkes bene worthy and *digne to be read*, and often *to be had* in memory.

¹⁾ It seems futile to try to prove that the character of the infinitive in these constructions is either merely passive or merely active. [Cf. Callaway (1913 p. 150), who "despite the presence of the Latin passive infinitives in these sentences", sees "no necessity for considering the corresponding infinitives in Anglo-Saxon as passive", and V. d. Gaaf (1928), who breaks a lance with him and considers the infinitives to have a passive meaning in a number of cases similar to those quoted above from More]. It should be borne in mind that the procedure usually followed is after all only the analysis of syntactical synonyms and not of the actual constructions. The term *activo-passival* would seem to obviate unprofitable controversy, as it clearly points out that a twofold interpretation is possible.

²⁾ End 14th century (V. d. Gaaf 1928); with *worth(y)* already much earlier.

³⁾ In the latter half of the 15th century.

Worthy. Picus 4 A 2, A worke of great erudicion and elegant, and stuffed with the cognicion of many thinges *worthy to be lerned*. | Apol. 48, Were not a man ... very farre ouersene and *wurthy to be compted* vncourtayse, that wolde ... presume... | Aut. Lett. xii, 11, Such thinges of waight & substaunce as to yor high wisdomed semed *wurthy to be notede*. | Rich. 57 D 10, me semeth the chaunce ... *worthy to be remembred*.

The word *worthy* ¹⁾ is of frequent occurrence and is never followed by the activo-passival infinitive, but always by a group with *to be*. Only one example with its synonym *digne* has been discovered.

287. Besides these instances of groups with *to be* to denote passivity in post-adjectival position, there are numerous other cases in which the group with *to be* is found ²⁾.

Apol. 68, he weneth yt *lesse to be lamented*, that debate and stryfe sholde be betwene prestes and relygyouse persons ... then betwene those that are both the parties prestes. | Rich. 59 C 7, In whose parson ... ther was *nothing to be misliked*. | Rich. 59 D 3, it is an vnsitting thing, & a veri blemish ... to the sacre magesty of a prince ..., *to be defouled* with bigamy... | Lett. 1448 B 3, ... *for to be put to death* wrongfullye for doing wel ... it is a case in which a man may leese his head and yet haue none harme. | Dial. Her. 127 C 13, as *for yron ... to be so drawn* in length ye shall se it done in .xx. shoppis almost in one strete | Debell. 934 D 12, he supposeth to make it appere ... that myne obieccions are *lyttle to be pondered*. | Dial. C. 227, now this good man neither hath any of goddes *enemies to be* by his own deth *reuenged on*, nor any woman that violently pursue him by force. | Rich. 57 D 5, I doubt not some shal think this woman to sleight a thing, *to be written of*... ³⁾

288. HISTORICAL NOTE.

In none of the cases illustrated above (activo-passival infinitive and groups with *to be*) did More make innovations. Nor is there a great difference from the usage in Pres. D. Eng. The type : *beare the swerde to the cutlers to grinde* does not

¹⁾ *Worth* occurs in : Dial. Her. 286 G 14, he is not *worth the reding*.

²⁾ For the types : *she delited to be suid onto* ; *it beginneth to be paid* ; *I hoped to be liked the better* see the sections on syntactical units with two or more verbs.

³⁾ It is worth noticing that in all these instances the character of the group *to be* + past participle is kinetic and not static. See § 555.

seem be usual now. The *to be* + past participle constructions after *easy* and similar adjectives are less frequent to-day than the shorter formulae : *easy to see*, *difficult to understand*. The phrase *easy to be entreated* has come to be cristallized.

EARLIER	LATER
Without <i>to be</i> :	
c 888 Ælfred, Boeth. xxxiv § 11, Hi bioþ swiþe eþe to todælenne (OED).	1805 Scott, Last Minstr. i, i, <i>Deadly to hear</i> , and <i>deadly to tell</i> (OED).
c 950 Lindisf. Gosp. Mark ii 9, Hwæt is eaþur to cuoþanne (OED).	1899 W. T. Greene, Cage Birds 71, Macaws ... very <i>gorgeous crea- tures to look at</i> (OED).
c 1200 Trin. Coll. Hom. 31, Gode tiþinge and murie to heren (OED).	Oxf. Eng. Dict. s. v. Difficult 1 c, <i>Hard to understand</i> ... 2 Of persons, a. <i>Hard to please or satisfy</i> .
1300 K. Alis. 6312, Heo buþh the loþlokest men on to seon (OED).	
1340 Pseudo Rolle, Pr. Consc. 705, A flour, þat es fayre to se (OED).	
With <i>to be</i> :	
1377 81 Chaucer, Boeth. ii pr. vi, 90 F, For contrarious thinges ne hen nat wont to ben y-felaw- shipped to-gidere (G.).	1653 Walton, Angler viii, 168, He is a very subtle fish and <i>hard to be caught</i> (OED).
1388 Purvey, Acts xxi, 13, Y am redi, not oonly to be bounden, but also to die (G.).	1873 Burton, Hist. Scot. v, lxii 382, She was <i>hard to be entreated</i> in this affair (OED).
c 1400 Tryamour 364, The quene was aþerde to be shente (G.).	

289. TYPE *Easily to be knocked off his feet*.

This type, which occasionally occurs in Pres. D. Eng. (Jespersen 1932, p. 219 ; V. d. Gaaf 1928), and owes its form to the contamination of *easy to knock off* and *easily knocked off*, does not seem to have been known in More's time. There is, however, a use of the words *metely* and *unmetely* which shows a strong resemblance to that of *easily* in the above type.

Dial. Her. 135 E 3, men might well think that a yong she saint, was not *metely to be shrynd* quicke. | Rich. 40 D 6, whose blood ... was ful *unmetely to be matched* with his.

The answer to the question if these quotations contain instances of the construction under discussion depends upon

the character of *(un)metely*, i. e. whether *(un)metely* is an adverb or an adjective. There is one fact that may be used as an argument in favour of the appellation *adjective*, namely the following quotation from More : Passion 1316 B 6, Peter thought it in hys mynde *vnmetely* that hys lorde and mayster shoulde weshe his feete. As an argument in favour of the appellation *adverb* it may be adduced that Hardy in his edition of More's works prints *vnmete* instead of *vnmetely*. The only example of *vnmetely* as an *adjective* in OED, apart from the quotation from More's Passion, is : a 1400-50 Alexander 321, A mouthe as a mastis hunde, *vnmetely* to shaw.

The earliest instance of adverb in *-ly* + *to be* in OED is : 1577 Googe in Heresbach' Husb. III, 139, The olde Ewes .. be *easilyer to be* entreated.

290. TYPE *Not-to-be-conceived sighs*.

This type seems to have sprung up after More's time ; Jespersen's earliest example (1928 II p. 340) is from Lyly. A few of his quotations follow : Lyly, Campaspe 293, whose deepe and *not-to-be-conceined* sighs. | Shakesp., Lear I, iv, 223, breaking forth In ranke and (not to be endur'd) riots.

MODALITY OF THE INFINITIVE

291. The infinitive having no forms to indicate modality, the modality of the unit in which it occurs must be inferred from the context. A few instances will suffice, as this usage has remained unaltered.

Modality of fact : Rich. 71 C 1, The fox that saw him *run*.

- » » emotion (regret, etc.) Picus 34 B 10, me rueth so long *to haue* be thrall.
- » » imagination : Last Th. 95 D 12, it wer better *fil* his bely than his eye.
- » » supposition : Rich. 57 C 7, sinne it wer *to belie* the deuil.
- » » possibility : Picus 7 D 6, all the conning that is possible for us .. *to obtaine*.
- » » hesitation (modesty) : Dial. Her 105 G 12, me thought that .. my parte were *to send* our communicacion to my .. friend.
- » » wish : Last Th. 79 A 1, vnlawefull longyng *to lyue*.

TIME-SPHERE AND ASPECT OF THE INFINITIVE

292. The infinitive having no forms ¹⁾ to express time-sphere or aspect, it can only be gathered from the context or situation whether the action denoted by it occurs in the past, the present or the future ²⁾; whether the time-sphere is neutral, and whether the aspect is perfective or imperfective.

Neutral time. Picus 33 A 9, *To geue* them also that vnworthy bee,
More godly is.

Present time. Lett. 1453 F 1, Whose highnes *to haue* of me now such
opinion, is my great heauiness.

Past time. Rich. 58 D 1, *To lay* bastardy in kynge Edward, sowned
openly to the rebuke of the protectours owne mother. | Dial. Her.
262 E 3, It happed me *to bee* lately present.

Future time. Rich. 41 B 3, [it] shold be ieopardous, the King *to come*
vp strong. | Rich. 55 A 9, tokens of thinges *to come*.

Perfective aspect. Last Th. 84 D 1, some hope ... *to breke* prison.

Imperfective aspect. Lament. Stanza 9 l. 6, It booteth not for me to
wepe or cry.

The possibility of expressing the imperfective aspect of the action by means of a group consisting of the infinitive of *to be* + a form in *-ing*, as in Pres. D. Eng. *I cannot bear to be always suspecting people*; *We'd better be going back*; *You are much too young yet to be meeting young men*, does not seem to have existed in More's time.

293. There is one case in which the infinitive, on account of its incapacity to express time-sphere and aspect, is rather frequently replaced by a group consisting of *to have* + past participle.

Type *He was loth to have lost him*.

Rich. 53 E 5, vndoubtedly the protectour loued him wel, & loth was
to *haue loste* him. | Picus 34 B 9, Graunt me fro Sathanas seruice to

¹⁾ *To have* + past participle (*to have seen*) cannot grammatically be called a *form* of the infinitive. Cf. § 284, note.

²⁾ In Pres. D. Eng. futurity can be expressed by putting *about* before the infinitive: *a meeting about to take place*. For instances of this usage in More see § 660. Since auxiliaries of future time (*shall*, *will*) cannot be placed between such attendant verbs as *need to* and *want to* and the infinitive, they are often put before these attendant verbs: Conf. Tynd. 628 H 1, *we shal not neede to ymagin* an hole bored thorow, for it ha'h an hole bored through in deede.

astart, with whom me rueth so long *to haue be* thrall. | Rich. 67 H 12, James Tyrell ... was a man ... woorthy *to haue serued* a muche better prince. | Rich. 62 D 17, it suffised in a riche man for a pretext of treson, *to haue ben* of kindred or alliaunce ... with any of those that were at any time the kinges enemies ¹⁾. | Dial. Her. 115 G 5, it is lyttell doubtte but Solomon myght haue founde poore folke ynoughe *to haue gyuen* his golde vnto. | Dial. C. 209, he hadde leuer *haue sytten* al that whyle at breakfast wyth a good fat goose. | Aut. Lett. xxi, 112, I was aboute *to haue shewed* his highnes sumwhat of my pore mynde in the mater. | Aut. Lett. xxi, 31, the kinges grace answered that no creature ... was more lothe *to haue cummen* to the warre. | Dial. Her. 175 F 3, what wold it haue profited *to haue put* you in remembraunce of Christes wordes. | Passion 1299 H 12, they thereuppon deuysed ... *to haue slayne* Lazare. | Dial. C. 126, hym of whom you recognyse *to haue hadde* ... helpe and counforte. | Dial. C. 143, if he had neuer come in tribulacion, [he] had bene in peryl neuer haply *to haue hadde* iust remorse. | Instr. 1407 E 1, cause hast thou none ... so sore to feare that thing *to fall*, which as thou knowest thyselfe righte well, thou wouldest wythyn a whyle after, haue wished *to haue fallen* vnto them before. | Conf. Tynd. 494 E 12, which ... he would haue taken *to haue standen* in no stede. | Apol. (Wks.) 902 A 3, I would not haue suffered him go if it would haue pleased hym *to haue turyed* styl in the stockes. | Rich. 71 F 11, I was about to wish, that ... it might haue pleased Godde ... *to haue geuen* him... ²⁾

This usage is frequently met with in Layamon's Brut (Lichtsinn 1913, p. 4), in Mandeville (V. d. Meer 1924, § 45), in Malory (Dekker 1932, § 231) and in other Middle English writers (Trnka 1930, pp. 81/2 ; Kellner 1913, § 234), e. g. :

c 1412 Occleve, Reg. Pr. 145, Alle the world hade not been suffisaunt *To haue receyved* so large a geaunt. | c 1470 Malory, Morte D'A. xv, 2, then they ... drew out swords *to haue slain* him. | 1450 Paston Lett. (Gairdner) n^o 126, j. ax and j. blok was brought forth *to haue smety*n of myn hede.

The same usage is found in Shakespeare (Franz 1924, p. 544), in Spenser and in later English (Jespersen 1924, p. 285 and 1932, p. 88), e. g. :

1590-6 Spenser, F. Q. i, iii, 5, With gaping mouth at her ran greedily,

¹⁾ Compare with this quotation the following of a similar character, but without *to have* : Rich. 59 D 3, it is an vnsitting thing, & a veri blemish ... to the sacre magesty of a prince, ... *to be defouled* with bigamy in his first mariage [Instead of : *to have been defouled*]. Debell. 1003 B 9, there was not only forboden to beare witnes, he that appeared *to be once forsworn*, but also... [Instead of *to have been forsworne*].

²⁾ For the types *thought to have seen*, *would have seen* see §§ 671-75.

To have attonce devourd her tender corse. | 1753 George Washington, Diary, 16 Dec., Several times we were like *to have been* staved against Rocks (C.). | Walpole, Fortitude 1, Ch. 12, p. 146, A God there must be somewhere *to have given* him all this splendour (Kr.).

Instead of the type : *it was your happe to have been there*
More occasionally uses : *it hath been your happe to be there* :

Dial. Her. 203 F 1, *it hath been* your happe *to be* there. | Apol. 72, yet *hath it deltyed* ... hym ... *to lay* these fawtes to the clergyes face.

294. SUMMARY OF THE USE OF THE PREPOSITIONAL AND THE PLAIN INFINITIVE ¹⁾.

	The infinitive is used :	PREPOSITIONAL INFINITIVE	PLAIN INFINITIVE
§ 245	as subject	regular	—
§ 246	» » after <i>me rueth</i> , etc. .	regular	one instance
§ 247	» » » <i>it nedeth</i> , etc. .	regular	—
§ 248	» » » <i>it is + adjective</i> .	regular	one instance
§ 248	» » » <i>it is possible a</i> man, etc.	regular	(one instance)
§ 249	» » » <i>it is + noun</i> .	regular	—
§ 250	after a copula	regular	—
§ 251	in the type : <i>thought it possible</i> to go	regular	—
§ 252	in the type : <i>what to think</i> .	regular	—
§ 253	as adjunct to a noun . . .	regular	—
§ 254	» » to an adjective . . .	regular	—
§ 259 ff	as equivalent to an adverbial clause	regular	—
§ 266	in the type : <i>not so proud as</i> (to) look	regular	exceptional
§ 271	in the exclamatory type : <i>O, to bye</i>	regular	—
§ 271	in the question : <i>Why to use ?</i> .	one instance	—
§ 271	to repeat a preceding infinitive .	—	regular
§ 272	as an equivalent to a preterite .	—	one instance
§ 273	idem, preceded by (pro)noun (they to go)	one instance	—
§ 274	in the type : <i>accounts to be</i> strictly kept	one instance	—
§ 276	after <i>and</i>	frequent	more frequent
§ 277	» (n)or	regular	—
§ 278	» <i>than</i>	regular	rare
§ 279	» <i>rather than</i>	frequent	frequent
§ 280	» <i>but</i>	frequent	frequent

¹⁾ For the use and absence of *to* in such combinations as *will go*, *want to go*, *saw him go*, *made him to go* see the paragraphs on syntactical units with two or more verbs.

295. SUMMARY OF THE USE OF (PRO)NOUN-SUBJECT + INFINITIVE (I), FOR + (PRO)NOUN-SUBJECT + INFINITIVE (II) AND FOR TO + INFINITIVE (III).

	The infinitive is used :	I a man to go	II for a man to go	III for to go
§ 245	as subject	frequent	—	(rare)
§ 246	» » after <i>me rueth</i> , etc.	—	—	—
§ 247	» » » <i>it nedeth</i> , etc.	frequent	not infrequent	one instance
§ 248	» » » <i>it is</i> + adjective	frequent	frequent	one instance
§ 249	» » » <i>it is</i> + noun .	frequent	frequent	(rare)
§ 250	after a copula	—	—	—
§ 251	in the type : <i>he thought it possible to go</i>	—	one instance	one instance
§ 254	in the type : <i>a desire to go</i> .	—	—	—
§ 255	in the type : <i>readiness to wax angry</i>	—	frequent	—
§ 258	in the type : <i>ethe to kindle</i> .	—	frequent	rare
§ 259	as an adverb adjunct of purpose	rare	—	frequent
§ 262	in the type : <i>to say the truth</i> .	—	—	—
§ 262	in the type : <i>as ... to loke on death</i>	—	not infrequent	—
§ 263	as an adverb adjunct of concession	—	—	—
§ 264	as an adverb adjunct of result	—	—	—
§ 265	idem after <i>too</i>	—	frequent	rare
§ 266	» » <i>so</i>	—	—	—
§ 268	as an adjunct of cause . . .	—	—	—
§ 269	» » » of condition . . .	—	—	—
§ 271	in the exclamatory type : <i>O, to bye</i>	—	—	—
§ 273	as an equivalent to a preterite	one instance	—	—
§ 274	in the type : <i>accounts to be</i> <i>strictly kept</i>	one instance	—	—
§ 276	after <i>and</i> or (<i>n</i>) <i>or</i>	—	—	—
§ 278	» <i>than</i>	frequent	not infrequent	—
§ 279	» <i>rather than</i>	—	—	—
§ 280	» <i>but</i>	—	—	—

296. From column I in § 295 it appears that the expressing of the subject by means of a (pro)noun before the infinitive was restricted to a small number of cases. After More the usage became obsolete even in these cases, so that in Pres.

D. Eng. constructions like *if it should happen any book to come; men thus to talk is a daily common thing* are very uncommon. The only case in which the idiom has been preserved is that in which the infinitive is used in a construction expressive of a regulation or testamentary disposition.

297. From column II it can be seen that the types *it is a shame for him to be so fickle; it is not lawful for any mayde to folowe their sample; it was foly for him to speak; time for me to go; easy for him to do* and *the fashion was too strange for any man to faine* occurred most frequently. This is not to be wondered at, since the word *for* is used here in a natural way and not "inorganically", as often in Pres. D. Eng., e. g. Everett Green, *Miss Malory* p. 111, *I would like for you to tell the story* (C.). In the other cases represented in column II the usage does not yet seem to have become well established; as a matter of fact the idiom was comparatively young and not yet known in earlier Middle English. Kellner (1913, § 71) mentions the year 1474 as the earliest date of its appearance. In the course of the 16th century it began to supplant the construction in column I in various cases, and about 1600 it is found as subject at the beginning of a sentence (usage unknown in More). Nowadays it can be used in nearly all the cases listed in § 295.

298. The *for to* construction (column III) was oftener used in earlier English than in More. About its origin there is no consensus. Einkenkel (1916, pp. 17 ff.) believes in French, Mätzner (1885, p. 57) in Norse influence (analogy of *for at*). Boch (1931, p. 187) and Lichtsinn (1913, p. 6) point at the possibility of its development out of the older language. Indeed Shearin (1903, p. 18) adduces two quotations from late Old English, one from the *Codex Diplom. Aevi Sax.*, one from the *A. S. Chronicle* (256, 1127 E)¹⁾. Originally used to strengthen the notion of purpose, it soon began to alternate with *to* in functions in which the latter particle had been the only legitimate word (Sander 1914, Boch 1931, pp. 189 ff.).

¹⁾ According to OED (s. v. *for* 11) *for to* is met with since the 12th century.

Already in Layamon (Lichtsinn 1913, p. 6), Wyclif (Smith 1907, p. 465), Orm (Weyel 1896, p. 12), the Ancren Riwele (Redepenning 1906, pp. 95 and 101) and Occleve (Buchtenkirch 1889, p. 25) there seems to have been hardly any difference between the use of *to* and *for to*. In subsequent writers *to* and *for to* kept on being used interchangeably, so much so that *for to* lost its pregnant meaning of *in order to* and reached the point at which it had nothing to recommend itself by the side of the simpler *to* with exactly the same meaning. Naturally decay set in. The data in the third column show that in More's time *for to* was well on its way towards obsolescence; only in equivalents of clauses of purpose it was still frequently employed, just as in St. John Fisher (Weyl 1937, §§ 205/7; 222/6/7). Its use became still more restricted by the time Shakespeare lived, and in the course of the 17th century it was generally avoided in literary language. In Pres. D. Eng. it lives on in popular and dialectal speech only, e. g. Stevenson, Treas. Isl. p. 14, *Black dog .. come for to see his old shipmate Billy*. | Mrs. Gaskell, Sylvia's L. xxv, *It's not manners for t'help oursel's*.

7. THE PAST PARTICIPLE

299. The past participle of originally "weak" verbs ends in *-ed(e)*, *-id*, *-yd*, *-de*, and occasionally in *-t* and *-te*¹⁾:

confuted	Conf. Tynd. 982 E 2	tenderid	Rich. 49 A 5
proued	Conf. Tynd. 982 G 13	robde	Debell. 961 H 2
handeled	Conf. Tynd. 982 H 2	playde	Debell. 1010 F 7
laied	Conf. Tynd. 983 C 4	tempt	Picus 22 A 3
constrewyd	Dial. Her. 159 C 3	husht	Rich. 64 B 15
framyd	Lett. 1430 E 2	mockte	Conf. Tynd. 811 A 15
forelaborid	Rich. 49 C 8	putte	Last Th. 85 G 5

Besides *infect* Debell. 1008 H 5, *suspect* Rich. 67 E 6 and *excommunicate* Debell. 981 E 13 we find *infected* Conf. Tynd. 811 C 7, *(un)suspected* Lett. Fryth 833 C 9 and *excommunicated* Debell. 981 H 5.

A few originally weak verbs have past participles in *-en*: *casten out* Conf. Tynd. 528 F 13; *descenden* Answer 1042 H 6; *rewarden* Conf. Tynd. 722 H 14; *moulden* Apol. (Wks.) 930 D 2; *undershoren* Conf. Tynd. 473 D 9.

¹⁾ For details see Grünzinger 1909, § 223.

Old Eng. *3e-* is preserved in the form of *y-* or *i-* in : *Ibente* Picus 30 D 7 ; *yclensed* Picus 34 A 7 ; *yset* Picus 29 B 2 and *Iwrought* Picus 31 A 6.

For the past participles of the originally "strong" verbs see § 207.

300. The past participle can be used in the following ways ¹⁾ :

- a. as an attributive adjunct preceding a noun, e. g. *a cursed branche* §§ 301-308.
- b. as an attributive adjunct following a noun, e. g. *counsayle geuen* §§ 309-314.
- c. after a copula, e. g. *I be foule vgly lene and mysshape* § 315.
- d. as a predicative adjunct, e. g. *I took it for finyshed* § 316.
- e. as an equivalent to an adverb clause, e. g. *all grieues forgotten, eche of you loue other* §§ 317-322.
- f. in a few more exceptional cases §§ 323-329.

301. THE PAST PARTICIPLE AS A PRE-NOMINAL ADJUNCT.

a. Without adverbial modifiers.

The pre-nominal use of the past participle unaccompanied by adverbial modifiers is very common in More :

Dial. Her. 114 C 9, these *carued & painted* ymages. | Last Th. 77 B 10, the *chosen* people of god. | Boke of F. p. 6 B 10, *borrowed* ware. | Rich. 62 D 11, *fained* quarrels. | Rich. 36 B 5, in a *constrayned* feare. | Last Th. 96 H 8, a *stuffed* body. | Dial. Her. 240 A 2, the *goodnes* of God broughte suche *hidde* mischiese to lyght. | Last Th. 96 F 2, *forbidden* fruit. | Rich. 50 C 10, his *painted* processe. | Rich. 47 E 14, theyr *stollen* goodes. | Dial. C. 182, a *rosted* crabbe. | Dial. C. 347, euery *saued* soule. | Dial. C. 162, gods *written* law. | Apol. 22, my *sayed* dyalogue. | Rich. 63 E 14, the *said* ... doctor. | Picus 1 G 9, the *sayde* Emperour.

Borne. Answer 1035 F 11, all *thoughe* the thing touched hys owne *borne* brother. | Rich. 37 G 1, to some other then his owne *borne* brother. | Dial. C. 128, there is no *borne* Turke so cruell to christen folke, as is the false christen that...

Borne blind. Dial. C. 347, but those that are very *verteous*, are yet in a maner as farre therefro, as the *borne-blind* man, fro the right ymaginacion of colours.

¹⁾ For constructions like : *he is punished ; he has punished, I saw it done* see the sections on syntactical units with two (three) verbs.

Here the past participles denote a quality or a state as the result of the action or occurrence expressed by the verb ; time-sphere and agent are only vaguely thought of .The usage was known before and after More's time and is still common in Pres. D. Eng.

The collocation *borne blynd* (+ noun) is obsolete now.

EARLIER	LATER
a 1400 Morte Arth. 3375, I salle redily ... reche the þe riche wyne in <i>rynsede</i> coupes (OED).	1546 J. Heywood, Prov. 22, All is not golde that glisters by <i>tolde</i> tales (OED).
1461 Rolls of Parlt. v 491, 1, The <i>pretended</i> and <i>revoked</i> Parlement last holden at youre Tounne of Coventre (OED).	1643 Milton, Divorce 1, viii, Wks. iv, 40, <i>reiterated</i> scandals and seducements (OED).

302. The participles in the following quotations are of a slightly different character.

Picus 2 F 3, such *unknowne* and straunge tokens. | Apol. 181, the *known* trouth of theyr mater maketh them ouer bolde. | Last Th. 82 G 15, As for wrathe and enuy, be the *known* children of pride. | Rich. 61 A 15, [they] more resembled other *known* men then him. | Rich. 62 A 10, fiftenes suffsed not, nor ani vsual names of *known* taxes. | Picus 3 C 4, he left these ... *troden* pathes. | Picus 18 H 11, those *blessed* citeseyns. | Boke of F. p. 2 D 1, on whiche the *mased* people gase and stare. | Picus 11 H 13, the *damned* wretches. | Last Th. 87 F 10, a *cursed* braunche.

In a less degree than in the preceding paragraph the qualities or states expressed by these past participles are felt as the result of an action ; this seems due to the non-conclusive ¹⁾ or non-terminative character of the verbs (*to know*, *to tread*). No idea of time-sphere or of an agent being evoked, the verbal character of the participle has almost disappeared.

Occasionally the past participle forms a kind of quasi-compound with the following noun :

Apol. (Wks.) 866 F 15, with ... raylynge is all their *roste meate* basted.

Earlier usage : c 1400 Mandev. Tr. 1, 8, to envyrone þat holy lond with his *blessede feet* (M.). | c 1400 idem 36, 8, many *wedded* men (M.).

¹⁾ Jespersen 1932, 7, 6, 1.

303. The following quotations illustrate the usage with subjective verbs :

Apol. (Wks.) 893 C 4, Bayfelde the monke ... that was an abiured, and after periured and *relapsed* heretyke. | Rich. 54 C 15, a *withered* arm. | Aut. Lett. xiv, 21, wete wether and *roten* ways. | Debell. 930 D 1, he spake but of *moulden* breade. | Conf. Tynd. 626 E 12, yet hathe the man as much shame in his face, as a *shotten* hering hath shrimpes in her taile.

Picus 4 B 11, more mete for secrete comunicacion of *lerned* men. | Jest p. 3 E 9, This officere, This *fayned* frere.

Instances are not numerous and some doubtful (*lerned*, *fayned*). There are a few more in § 306 (*thys new com ouer booke* ; *long lien drugges* ; *this late sprongen dyuysyon*). In accounting for the origin of this idiom it should be borne in mind that past participles like *come* and *relapsed* often formed groups with *to be* to denote a state, e. g. Rich. 64 E 2, Fitz Wylllyam ... *whiche was* ... *new come* into that office ; Apol. 889 (Wks) E 1, he *was* eyther *relapsed*, or elles dyd of obstinacy stand stil in them.

The earliest quotation in OED of *relapsed*, used as illustrated here, is dated 1570, of *shotten hering* (= *that has spawned*) 1451. In Pres. D. Eng. this idiom has become very usual with a number of verbs denoting motion or change, e. g. *the returned mistress* ; *a travelled person* ; *a departed guest* ; *a retired business-man*. In such constructions the verb has a terminative aspect ¹⁾.

304. Before More's time it seems to have been rare for past participles of subjective verbs to be so used, as may appear from the following list of the earliest dates in OED of the use of a number of such verbs in this construction. The instances between brackets are open to a double interpretation.

a very <i>advanced</i> period	1628	the <i>deceased</i> ghost	1586
the great <i>ascended</i> Bishop	1861	his <i>departed</i> dog	1599
a new <i>comen up</i> matter	1562	a well <i>descended</i> gentleman	1665
such <i>decayed</i> men	1563	their <i>emigrated</i> countryman	1794

¹⁾ Deutschbein (1931, p. 145) remarks that " von intransitiven Verben ein Partizip-perfect als Adjektivum (natürlich im aktiven Sinne) nur dann gebildet werden <kann>, wenn dieses perfectiv is. (Vgl. dtisch. *eine gesprungene Saite*, aber nicht *ein gesprungener Hase*)".

the entered cloud	1796	our returned fortune	1600
the escaped convict	¹⁾	the risen sun	1821
the expired commonwealth	1648	run wines	1669
(the exploded fluid)	1858	your shrivell'd artizans	1605
faded flowers	1595	shrunke death	1592
the fallen branches	1776	the first sprong rose	1575 ²⁾
ane ald failzeit priest	1496	strayed shepe	1529
fled soules	1621	the newly succeeded Lord	1891
(the floated cord)	1799	sunke eyes	1601
their far-flown wings	1608	(the swelled boast)	1611
a gone man	1598	the transpired matters	1827
immigrated Corsicans	1882	the transuded matters	1865
(jumped potatoes)	1871	auncyen traunayled men	1413
migrated Europeans	1796	soure turned wine	1548
mouldered pelfe	1615	his vanished delight	1593
a relapsed hereticke	1570	my wained state	1593
retired leasure	1632	his wandered sense	1693
(your retreated troops)	1665	wilted peaches	1809

It is interesting to notice that a number of "strong" forms appear to have been used in this way much earlier :

to grow	cueri grene growe tre	1340
to shrink	shrunken lypis	c 1400
to sink	a sonkyn bote	1375
to sterve	storve bestes	1390
to swell	swollen swyn	1325
to thrive	he had þre þryven sunez	13...
to wax	waxen buzes	c 1250

The usage is not recorded in OED of *disappeared*, *roved*, *walked*, *leapt*, *arrived*, *appeared* and *started*.

305. *Dronken*. This seems the usual form of the verb *to drink* when used as a pre-nominal attributive adjunct.

Last Th. 82 H 1, what shold seme farther fro pryde than *dronken* glotonye. | Picus 16 D 4, the company of them which like *dronken men* without a guide wandre ... in obscure darkenes.

In other positions *drunk* seems to be preferred :

Last Th. 82 H 1, drink themself sow *drunk*. | Dial. G. (Wks.) 1251 B 2, be perceyueth hymself *drunke* ³⁾.

¹⁾ Not registered in OED; but s. v. *escapee* it says = *an escaped convict*.

²⁾ But see the earlier quotation from More in § 306 (*late sprongen dynysyn*).

³⁾ But : Picus 11 B 3, Let vs then beware that we be not *dronken*.

In both cases the forms are evidently in an advanced stage of dissociation from the verbal system ¹⁾; cf. *bounden* in *my bounden duty* (see below).

Accustomed. Aut. Lett. x 38, ye shew yer *accustumede* goodnes & hynde me that that in my service lakketh in my pore prayor to supplie. | Aut. Lett. xvii 33, myn *accustomed* maner.

This is a form of the now obsolete verb *to accustom* = *to practise habitually*; cf. 1477 Earl Rivers, Dictes 74, Angre the not sodeynly, for if thou *acustume* it, it wolle tourne ones to thy harmes.

Bounden duty. The earliest quotation in OED is dated 1530; it is possible that the collocation sprang up in More's time:

Aut. Lett. x 37, hit lyketh yor good grace so thankfully to accepte my pore devoire in doing right small part of my *bounden dutie*.

306. THE PAST PARTICIPLE AS A PRE-NOMINAL ADJUNCT.

b. With adverbial modifiers.

Type *An old said saw*.

There are numerous instances of this usage:

Above. Picus 9 B 1, He shewed also to the *abouenamed* Albertus...

(A)*Fore*. Rich. F 21, *thafore remembred* mariage. | Rich. 57 E 20, the *fore remembred* lordes. | Last Th. 76 H 3, the *foresaid* words.

Long. Rich. 40 G 2, a *long accustomed* malice. | Rich. 65 F 1, the *long continued* distres. | Last Th. 72 F 1, *long lien* drugges. | Debell. 932 C 13, the very good old and *long approued* lawes.

Sone. Letters 1424 D 11, *sone spoken* woordes of light and sone changeable people.

Well. Dial. C. 239, There is set the deuils *wel acquainted* ²⁾ pricke, and his very iust marke. | Aut. Lett. xiii 9, yor graces *wel approved* wisdomes. | Rich. 42 B 4, a very *well spoken* manne. | Lament. Stanza 11 l. 2, my *welbeloued* sisters. | Rich. 56 D 2, his *wel deserued* deth. | Rich. 67 E 6, many *well counterfaited* iewels. | Rich. 40 D 15, our *welproued* euil willers. | Last Th. 76 B 12, thy *well minded* sylence. | Supplic. 292 E 5, the *wel disposed* people.

The adverbial qualifiers in this section are adverbs that do not occur in another form (e. g. lengthened by -ly).

Clere. Picus 2 B 9, in a *clere polished* myrroure.

Deep. Last Th. 77 E 6, the *depe conceined* fantasy of deathe.

Euil. Rich. 40 B 3, *euil disposed* parsons. | Dial. Her. 241 B 3, an *euill made*, or *euil translated* booke. | Apol. (Wks.) 866 F 12, an *euyldressed* dinner.

¹⁾ Kruisinga, Participles dissociated from their verbal system (1931, §§ 66-69).

²⁾ *Wel acquainted* (= well-known) is obsolete or archaic now.

False. Passion 1318 G 10, this *false framed deuocyon* holpe hym not.

Fond. Dial. G. (Wks.) 1243 F 4, a *fond ymaged* fantasy.

First. Last Th. 85 B 11, the *first begotten* doughter of pryde.

Late. Apol. (Wks.) 914 E 2, thys *late sprongen* diuision. | Rich. 40 F 16, the *late made* attonement.

Madde. Apol. (Wks.) 481 F 10, Is not this a *madde concluded arguement* ?

New. Supplic. 302 C 10, as fyerce & as angerly as a *new hunted* sow. | Answer 1038 B 7, as touching thys *new com ouer booke*. | Conf. Tynd. 391 G 4, *new receiued*. | Conf. Tynd. 670 A 14, *new told*. | Debell. 913 H 3, some certeine *newe fashioned* foundation¹⁾.

Open. Apol. (Wks.) 868 E 15, I dare he holde ... to speake agaynste *open knowen* theetes, *open knowen* murderers, *open knowen* periured persons, *open knowen* apostataes, *open knowen* professed or conuicted heretikes.

Proper. Apol. (Wks.) 869 E 11, he hathe founden some certayne *proper inuented* fygures.

Hertely. Picus 1 D 6, myne *hertely beloued* sister.

Suttle. Apol. (Wks.) 925 F 9, any such *suttle inuented* ways that lay the fautes of the badde to the whole body.

The adverbial adjuncts in this section are adverbs used without the ending *-ly*, which in other positions and cases they often take (exc. *hertely*).

Falsli. Rich. 56 C 13, his *falsli conceined* treson.

Lawfully. Rich. 63 F 16, the very *lawfully begotten* sonne.

Willingly. Passion 1288 H 11, the hydeous tormente and *wyllyngly* taken payn.

The adverbial modifiers in these three quotations are adverbs ending in *-ly*.

Old. Dial. Her. 105 B 3, it is an *olde said* saw, that one busynes begetteth & bringeth forth a nother. | Dial. G. 145, in stede of her *old acquainted* knight ... a new acquainted knaue. | Dial. G. 351, not only *old written* stories ... but experience geueth vs prooffe enough.

Here *old* is used as an adverb with the meaning of *of old*, *long*, *anciently*.

Not. Conf. Tynd. 483 E 9, the doyinge of those *not understanden* ceremonies.

Dough. Dial. Her. 208 F 7, he hath much *dough baken* brede among.

The word *dough*, though equivalent to *imperfectly*, is a noun.

¹⁾ *Fangle* (= Pres. D. Eng. *fangled*) in : Dial. Her. 150 G 1, some *new fangle heresies* is not a verbal form. (Cf. OED s. v. *fangle*).

307. HISTORICAL NOTE (on § 306).

In the main, usage has remained the same, and in Pres. D. Engl. most of the combinations listed above are still possible. The idiom illustrated in the second section, however, (with e. g. *clere*) would seem to have become somewhat less usual ¹⁾. *Fond* is archaic now; *clere* has been superseded by *clean*; *hartely* (adverb) is obsolete; *open* and *proper* are not instanced in OED; in ordinary language *deeply* is more usual than *deep*, though in poetical language combinations of *deep* with past participle are formed at will (*deep-affected*; *deep-affrighted*; *deep-buried* etc.; crystallized quasi-compounds: *deep-read*, *deep-set*; *deep-scated*). *First* still frequently occurs in *first-born* (*son*). *Evil*, though rivalled by *evilly*, has remained in many collocations: *evil-disposed*; *evil-gotten*; *evil-won*, etc.; *late*, too, enters in innumerable quasi-compounds of the type under discussion: *late-begun*; *late-born*; *late-protracted*, etc. The combinations with *old* may have been innovations of More's time; the earliest instances in OED are later (*old-accustomed* 1592; *old-acquainted* 1535). *An old said saw* is now obsolete.

The use of *new* in the construction under discussion does not seem to have occurred often before More's time, as appears from the following list of earliest dates in OED.

new-blown	1667	new-found	1492
new-born	1300	new-invented	1573
new-broached	1547 ²⁾	new-laid	1528
new-broken	1660	new-made	c 1400
new-built	1596	new-married	c 1540
new-cast	1650	new-minted	1593
new-coined	1598	new-modelled	1654
new-come	950	new-mown	1470
new-created	1656	new-raised	1667
new-devised	1588	new-risen	1591
new-discovered	1654	new-vamped	1675
new-fallen	1592	new-waked	1674
new-fashioned	1611	new-yeaned	1567
new-formed	1647		

¹⁾ Not considered are parasynthetical derivations like *open-mouthed*, *clear-sighted*, *deep-mouthed*.

²⁾ But: Apol. (Wks.) 850 F 5, a secrete brother of this *new broched* brotherhodde.

In Pres. D. Eng. *new* is the regular form in *new-born* and *new-laid*; it is usual in *new-found*, *new-made* and *new-mown*. For the rest *newly* is, apparently, the ordinary form. *Fresh* as a synonym of *new* (*fresh-oiled*) is a later innovation.

308. TYPE *Her self-imposed mission*.

No instances of this usage have been observed in More. It may have been unknown in his time: the earliest examples on record in OED date from the last part of the 16th century (*self-conceived* 1599; *self-disliked* 1596; *selfe-forsaken* 1590; *self-furnish't* 1591; *self-arched* 1598; *self-conceited* 1595; *self-contained* 1591; *self-bred* 1587).

309. THE PAST PARTICIPLE AS A POST-NOMINAL ADJUNCT.

a. Without adverbial modifiers.

Dial. C. 356, your good counsayle *geuen*. | Rich. 64 E 15, [they] *stode* as they had ben men *amased*. | Jest p. 4 E 14, The fryre *frappe*, Gate many a swappe, Tyll he wass full nygh slayne. | Picus 4 G 13, in detestacioun of his vice *passed*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1259 E 5, I wil *geue* hym a whyte suffrage, and in his suffrage a new name *written*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1220 C 5, thinges *sette* by and *beloued*. | Rich. 39 F 3, thynges *passed* cannot be gaine called. | Rich. 63 D 8, at Poules crosse on Sunday last *passed*. | Rich. 61 H 13, in tymes *passed*. | Picus 16 B 7, we preche Christ *crucified*. | Rich. 53 G 3, the time *appointed*. | Dial. Her. 117 D 7, all these names *spoken*, and all these wordes *written*. | Dial. Her. 280 E 4, many a man *vnlearned*...

The freedom of placing the past participle in the post-nominal position appears to have been greater than it is in Pres. D. Eng.; *a good counsayle geuen*, *a new name written* would be unusual now. If the past participle is found in post-position in Pres. D. Eng. in non-crystallized combinations it is due (apart from rhythmical motives) to an — often unconscious — tendency to mark the verbal character.

EARLIER

c 1475 Caxton, Receyell 146, Alle Lawe posityf and alle lawe wreton condempne the vnto the deth (OED).

1470-75 Malory, Morte D'A. 234, 27, there they dranke the wyne, and ete the veneson and the foules *baken* (D.).

LATER

1564 Grindal, Fun. Sermon. 10, [He] highly commended the parties *discessed* (OED).

1820 Scott, Abbot xix, 198, The party *injured* growled forth an oath or two of indignation (P.).
Pres. D. Eng.: *the guests invited*, *the information required*, *the direction indicated*, etc.

310. THE PAST PARTICIPLE AS A POST-NOMINAL ADJUNCT.**b. With adverbial modifiers.**

With adverbs. Last Th. 73 E 2, a byrall or Christall *wel counter-fayted*. | Last Th. 79 A 12, a thing *well wonne*. | Last Th. 72 F 13, foure herbes, comen and *well knowne*. | Rich. 39 B 12, a thing *right wel intended*. | Rich. 67 C 10, the thinge *euill gotten*. | Rich. 63 F 5, these causes ... *before remembred*. | Rich. 68 H 11, in maner *aboue writen*. | Rich. 45 (= 44) F 11, at the counsaile *next assembled*. | Picus 4 B 9, many thinges *straunge, and not fully declared*. | Apol. 14, a sermon ... *openly preched*. | Dial. Her. 177 D 1, certayne things *before proued*.

With other verb-modifiers (objects, adverb adjuncts, etc.).

Last Th. 86 E 4, a wrong *done vs.* | Aut. Lett. vii, 77, lettres *sent unto his Grace*. | Passion 1281 H 9, sacrifices *duelye referred to God*. | Aut. Lett. iv, 1, this daye I receiued yor graces lettres *dated yesterday*. | Lett. 1447 A 14, some causeles suspicion, *growen ... vpon some secret ... informacion*. | Dial. Her. 114 B 12, the coste *done vpon the arche*. | Picus 27 B 5, his precious heart *carued in twayne*. | Last Th. 72 E 11, herbes and rootes, *fet out of far countreys*. | Rich. 45 (= 44) F 12, the onely manne chose and *thoughte moste mete, to bee protectoure*. | Last Th. 93 C 8, a thefe *once cast at Newgate*. | Last Th. 77 E 7, the liuely imaginacyon *grauen in thyne owne heart*. | Last Th. 86 C 1, secret treason *lately detected to the king*. | Rich. 62 B 12, a word *spoken in hast*. | Last Th. 74 F 2, it is not a fantasye *fownden of myne owne head*. | Rich. 40 G 4, a newe friende *made of an olde foe*. | Apol. (Wks.) 873 H 1, lawes *not made by them self but ... the comon laws of al christendome*.

With subjective verbs.

Picus 2 D 4, a woman *comen of a noble stocke*. | Dial. C. 240, a good man, *comen into great autorite*. | Answer 1138 bis B 1, these faultes of the printer *escaped in this boke*. | Boke of F. p. 2 C 8, Lyke swarmyng bees *come flickeryng her aboute*. | Dial. Her. 191 D 10, I durst be bould to say that saint Austin did neuer write such wordes, but it is a worde *ronne*¹⁾ in many mens mouthes, begonne bi mistaking, & beleued without examinacion.

In these instances the verbal character of the past participle is clearly brought to the fore by the adverbial qualifiers. Since in Pres. D. English the post-nominal position is the usual one, the constructions are more in harmony with the practice of to-day than those in which the past participle stands by itself.

¹⁾ This meaning of *to run* not registered in OED. Or perhaps an irregular form of the verb *to round* (*rown, rounne, rownen* = *to whisper, to murmur*) ?

EARLIER	LATER
a 1400 Chaucer, Rom. R. 1214, White as snowe <i>falle newe</i> (OED).	c 1586 C'tesse Pembroke, Ps. LXXII, ii, As showres thrown On meades <i>new mown</i> (OED).
1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 167, 9, Syttynge by a graue <i>newe made</i> (OED).	1746 Fielding, T. Jones XIII, xii, There is a something in persons <i>wel-born</i> , which others can never acquire (OED).
1512 Act 4 Henry VIII, xi, Every- thing ... <i>byfore rehersed</i> (OED).	1921 Lytton Strachey, Vict. p. 282, Her three years with Pitt, <i>passed in the very centre of</i> <i>splendid power</i> , were brilliant and exciting.
1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 49, 32, in a place <i>couered with clothe</i> <i>of gold</i> (M.).	

As a rule the adverbial modifiers follow the past participle (*letters sent unto his Grace* and not *letters unto his Grace sent*). There are, however, exceptions :

D al. C. (Wks.) 1176 C 11, a heart broken, torne, and *with tribulacion of heutenesse for hys sinnes laide a lowe*. | Picus 31 A 6, all the creatures *in this world lwrought*. (For the form *lwrought* see § 299).

This order of words is avoided in Pres. D. English.

311. From the great number of instances in § 310 it should not be concluded that post-position of the past particle when accompanied by a prepositional adjunct is imperative. As still in modern Dutch and German the pre-nominal position was also possible in More :

Passion 1346 G 6, vnderstanding without any difficultie the woordes of scripture therin, by their foretaught and *fro tyme to tyme kept and continued faith*. | Passion 1347 A 5, the fore taught and receyued, and *by the whole catholike church beleued and professed faith*.

312. Not infrequently the past participle is used as a pregnant construction, in which there is a connotation of reason, condition, restriction, etc. :

Rich. 48 (= 45) D 7, *suche euyll oppinyon once* ¹⁾ *fastened in mennes heartes*, harde it is to waste out. | Dial. Her. 150 A 14, thus *once proudly perswaded a wrong way*, thei take the bridle in the teth & renne foorth. | Rich. 71 E 12, the thing that I was about to say, *taken as wel as afore god I ment it*, could deserue but thank. | Dial. C. 130, The thinges ... *cumming to vs*, are matter of worldly wealth : and

¹⁾ The earliest quotation in OED of *once* as a conjunctive adverb (= *When once, if once*) is dated 1781. In Shakespeare : Venus 408, the lesson is but plain, and *once made perfect*, never lost again.

taken from vs be matter of aduersitie. | Rich. 59 E 4, him semed that this mariage euen wordly considred, was not vnprofitable.

These participial constructions share their subject with the principal part of the sentence, and are thus distinguished from those discussed in §§ 317-22, which have a subject of their own.

The same usage is met with in older and later English :

c 1440 Pall. on H., Thi bene y-weeded twyes wol availle (E.). | 1599 Shakesp. Henry V, iv, vii, 189, For I do know Fluellen valiant, And, *touched with choler*, hot as gunpowder. | 1911 Athenæum, 7/10, *Arrived at the spot*, the party lost no time in getting to work (Kr.).

Occasionally the subject is expressed twice over, by repeating it by means of the relative pronoun *which* at the head of the participle construction :

Last Th. 72 D 8, the soul *whiche here preserued* from the sicknes of sin, shal after this eternally liue in ioy.

From a Pres. D. Eng. standpoint *which* is redundant. In More its use appears to have been quite normal ; he even uses *wherof* and *wherupon* in the same way :

Supplic. 291 F 9, about the examinacion ... of such a mad malicious boke, we haue neither lust nor leysure to bestowe the time, *whereof mispent* in our life we [scil. the souls in purgatory] geue now a hard and a heuy rekenyng. | Passion 1272 B 10, what abhominable sinne it is ... when any creature falleth into the delyte ... of it self : as the thing *wherupon continued*, ineuitably fayleth not to folowe, ... the neglecting of God.

It was not yet very usual in the beginning of the 16th century to express the relation between the construction illustrated above and the rest of the sentence by means of conjunctions ¹⁾. Only one ²⁾ instance has been found in More ; it contains the conjunction *as*, in the meaning *as if*.

¹⁾ Eikenkel (1916, p. 4) states that these conjunctions made their appearance "erst sehr spät" and gives as earliest instance a line from Marlowe's Edward II. On p. 192 (Anhang) he tries to correct this statement by adducing the following quotation : *For that maketh me eche, where so highly favored, Roister D.* When we look up Udall's comedy we find that this sentence is of Eikenkel's own making, the passage in question running [206-8 (Scheurweghs 1939, *Materials* xvi)] :

I am sorie God made me so comely doubtlesse.

For that maketh me eche where [= everywhere !] so highly fauoured, And all women on me so enamoured.

²⁾ See, however, the quotations with *once* in § 312, in which this adverb is well on its way towards assuming the character of a conjunction. For conjunction + form in *-ing* see § 361.

Rich. 66 G 2, yet must he bee twice asked whyther he wil be bishop or no, and he muste twyse say naye, and at the third tyme take it *as compelled* ther vnto by his owne wyll.

After More this usage gained considerable ground ¹⁾. In Pres. D. Eng. it is common with such words as *though*, *as if*, *if*, *when*, *unless*, etc.

1593 Marlowe, Edw. II (Tauchn. Ed. p. 173), Thus lives old Edward not reliev'd by any, And so must die, *though pitted by many*. | 1606 Shakesp. Troil. I, i, 34, when my heart, As *wedged* with a sigh, would rive in twain. | 1590-96 Spenser, F. Q. vii, 36, 9, where yet it may be seene, *if sought*. | idem A View Pres. St. of I., 626 a, reliques of the true antiquity, *though disguised*. | 1669 Worlidge, Syst. Agric. 222, The Trees ... are now naked, *unless cloathed* in white. | 1763 J. Brown, Poetry & Mus. § 6, 97, One of them (*as wounded*) fell down (OED).

313. Type *Things unheard of*.

Picus 3 E 8, many other things strange : & to all folke ... before that day, not vnknewen only : but also *unherd*. *Of* (= *unherd of*.) at which questions in open places ... he fastened and set vp. | Last Th. 86 E 10, the sodaine brunte of the iniurye *not forethought vpon*.

These participles are used in post-position. Of front-position, a usage so common in Pres. D. Eng. (*the much-talked-of perils*, *his doted-on Anne*, *the agreed-upon price*) no instances have been observed. The usage does not seem to have been very old, judging from the following dates of earliest quotation in OED : *unheard-of* 1599 ; *undreamed-of* 1636 ; *untouched-upon* 1746 ; *unlooked-for* 1538 ; *spoken-of* 1595 ; *long-talked-of* 1841.

314. Type *A butler, become a cutler, shall prove a fool*.

Jest p. 1 C 2, An olde butler, *Becum* a cutler, I wene shall proue a fole.

In Pres. D. Eng. this use of the past participle of the copula *become* still seems possible :

Gissing, Born in Exile, B 141, Earwaker, remarkably developed and *become* a very interesting man (J.).

315. THE PAST PARTICIPLE AFTER A COPULA.

Type *That peril is past*.

If the past participles of *subjective* verbs are found after *to be*, they have almost lost their verbal meaning and have

¹⁾ Rhyne 1910, pp. 1 ff.

assumed the character of an adjective in which as a rule all time-association is absent. Consequently they are often met with in juxta-position with original adjectives, as in *lernerd and ignorant*. (See § 559 a). With other than subjective verbs the character of *to be* is not always that of a copula; in actional ¹⁾ passive constructions (e. g. *he was constantly reproved*) it is clearly an auxiliary of voice. In static ²⁾ passive constructions (e. g. *he was amazed; the play is done*) the character of *to be* does not seem to differ greatly from that of the same verb in the types *he is rich, that peril is past*.

A few instances of the past participle after *to be* are given below without comments, since the point is discussed more in detail in the sections on syntactical units with two verbs (§§ 554 ff).

Rich. 40 F 6, thanke be to his grace that peril *is paste*. | Rich. 61 G 3, he *was* neither vnlearned, and of nature ... *well spoken*. | Picus 11 B 3, Let vs then beware ... that we *be* not *dronken*. | Picus 5 D 10, other folke as *wer* in very science much better *lernerd*, and in those trifles ignorant. | Rich. 57 B 1, Now *is* she old, lene, *withered*, & dried vp.

Last Th. 84 B 10, the play *is done*. | Last Th. 93 B 5, his bely *is wel filled*. | Pageants, Deth, l. 1. I *be* foule vgly lene and mysshape. | Jest p. 4 F 6, The frere arose, But I suppose, *Amased was* his hed. | Rich. 35 G 10, He *was* a goodly parsonage, ... in aduersitie nothyng *abashed*, in prosperitie, rather ioyfull then powde.

Earlier usage :

a 1400-50 Alexander 4008, Quen þe gouernoure *is gane þan* is the gomes wasted (OED). | 1485 Caxton, Paris & V. 31, Coude not *be contente* ne *fyllid* to beholde hyr fayre loue.

Sometimes the verb *to be* appears to be used in the dual function of a copula and an auxiliary :

Dial. C. 80, This is very *trewe* ... in dede, and *wel obiected* too. | Rich. 40 E 1, the prince ... which *is lighte of beliefe* and sone *perswaded*.

Similar slightly sylleptic constructions are still occasionally found in Pres. D. Eng.

316. THE PAST PARTICIPLE AS A PREDICATIVE ADJUNCT.

Rich. 40 A 9, which countrey ... was ... waxen wild, robbers and riuers walking at libertie *uncorrected*. | Last Th. 84 E 9, in this prison of yerth we drue forth a while, some *bounde* to a poste. | Rich. 43 D 7, The Quene ... satte alone ... all desolate and *dismayde*. | Aut. Lett. xix,

¹⁾ See § 560.

²⁾ See § 555.

44, fyndyng his enemyes strong and the fortressis wel *manned & furnished*... | Rich. 37 D 2, shee coulde not bee deliuered of hym *vncutte*. | Rich. 56 B 13, to pil & spoil whom thei list *vncontroled*. | Last Th. 86 E 11, commyng vpon vs *vnprouided*. | Rich. 51 D 9, he coulde not be conuained out *ontaken*. | Rich. 43 F 6, none coulde passe *vnserched*. | Apol. 176, heretykes may go *vnarrested*. | Last Th. 76 C 12, to let one wanton woorde passe *vncontrolled*. | Rich. 53 H 18, he returned into the chamber... al *changed*. | Rich. 69 B 4, sir James Firel dyed at Tower hill, *beheaded* for treason. | Dial. C. 203, hym that suffreth dark and *vnknownen*. | Apol. 21, they whyche wyll not byleue goddes worde but yf he putte it in wrytyng be as playne infydeles as they that will not byleue it *wryten*. | Picus 22 D 10, lest he thee *vnpurued*, and vnready catche. | Apol. (Wks.) 846 G 9, he bringeth hym foorth the feeble, faynt, and *famished*, and almost *honger storuen*¹⁾. | Picus 25 C 7, Thou shalt it finde ... little, simple, short, and sodainly *past*. | Dial. Her. 105 D 7, my busyness that I toke for *finyshed*. | Dial. C. 345, [they] shall hereafter sit, full gloriously *crowned* in heauen. | Jest p. 2 D 11 [he] would not go, *Companied* so. | Dial. Her. 215 B 10, I coulde mystrust their tale well ynough ... as they stode *vnsworne*.

Drunk.

Last Th. 82 H 2, And yet shal ye find mo that drink themselves *sow drunk* of pride to be called good felowes. | Dial. C. 332, he perceyueth hymself *drunke* and geatteth hym to bedde.

The great number of instances, which could easily be added to, shows how frequently the past participle was used in the function of a predicative adjunct. In this respect More's usage does not seem to differ from that in earlier and later periods of the language.

EARLIER	LATER
c 1380 Chaucer, [he] stond <i>astonet</i> of these causes (E.).	1843 Dickens, Chr. Car. II, 65, they found a cheerful company <i>assembled</i> (OED).
c 1400 Mandev. Tr. 39, 30, And in þat same cloth so <i>ywrapped</i> the aungeles beren hire body to the mount synay (M.).	1908 De Morgan, Somehow Good, ch. 3, p. 21, she would not stand <i>committed</i> to anything (Kr.).
1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 193, 19, ouerthwarte the hors there lay an armen knyght <i>bounden</i> (D.).	1927 Times Lit. Supp. 23, 6, p. 442, On some [books] he thinks no comment <i>needed</i> (Kr.).

¹⁾ The type *honger storuen* was not unknown before More's time: 1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 674, 21, whiche was *worme ete* and feeble. | In Pres. D. Eng. there are a number of similar combinations: Tennyson, Ger. & En. II, 351, But Enid fear'd his eyes, Moist as they were, *wine-heated* from the feast. | Tennyson, En. Ard. 51, *breaker-beaten* coast. | Mary Bowen, a *moss-covered* bridge. | — More has also: *fleeblowne* errors and *mothe eaten* heresies (Conf. Tynd. 582 A 8).

The past participle was also used as a predicative adjunct after *as* :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1249 D 1, [God] instructeth our reson ... to receiue theim [the spiritual affections] *as engendred and planted* in our soule.

317. THE PAST PARTICIPLE EQUIVALENT TO AN ADVERBIAL CLAUSE.

The type *This done, he retired*.

In the majority of the instances quoted below the action or state denoted by the past participle and that denoted by the verb in the principal part of the sentence have different subjects, which subjects are both expressed. This usage, conventionally called the "absolute participle construction", seems to be an imitation of the Latin *ablatus absolutus*, to which the *dativus absolutus* of Old English corresponds (*forlætenre ðære ceastre, he com*). For a long time during the Old English period the construction appears to have been felt as a foreign importation, alien to the genius of the language; in many translations from Latin it has ostentatiously been avoided (e. g. in Boethius, cf. Callaway 1889, pp. 22-31); in those works that are free from Latin influence it is hardly ever used. In some Middle English writers, the influence of Latin and later of French is clearly visible; others, again, steer clear of it. Dekker (1932, § 307) adduces a long list of quotations illustrating the usage under discussion from Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, whereas V. d. Meer (1924, § 109) states that in *Mandeville's Travels* "perfect participles are rare in free adjuncts". In the course of the Middle English period, with its disappearance of case distinctions, the noun preceding the past participle was more and more felt as the subject, so that the pronouns changed from *him, her* etc. into *he, she*, except in the case of intentional imitation of the Latin construction, as in the following quotations from Milton : *Paradise L. vii, 142, by whose aid This inaccessible high strength, the seat Of Deity supreme, vs dispossessed He trusted to have seized.* | *Par. L. ix, 130, For only in destroying I find ease To my relentless thoughts; and him destroyed ... all this will soon Follow.*

318. The construction : noun-subject + past participle used as an equivalent of an adverb clause is a great favourite of

More's ¹⁾, and in this respect his language markedly differs from Pres. D. Eng. ; indeed the construction never seems to have belonged to the language of the people ²⁾ ; it now all but exclusively obtains in the higher strata of the language. An investigation into the use of this construction in More's contemporaries is essential before it can be stated in how far, if at all, More deviates from the usage prevalent in his time.

The use of prepositions (*with, without, after, by, at, upon, etc.*) before the construction is of later origin than the use of the construction without prepositional introduction ; the idiom was influenced by Latin (*ante Christum natum*), by French (*après la paix conclue*) and perhaps in the earlier stages also by Old Norse (*eptir Ingjald lifinn, at Gamla fallin* ; cf. Einkenkel 1916, p. 4). In More's English the prepositional constructions are profusely used. Pres. D. Eng. generally prefers a group consisting of *preposition + noun + being + past participle*. Such groups do not occur in More.

319. THE PAST PARTICIPLE EQUIVALENT TO AN ADVERB CLAUSE OF TIME.

Type *This done, he retired.*

Rich. 42 B 5, they ... putte him in warde, and *that done*, fohrthwyth wente to horsebacke. | Picus 22 D 5, *One sinne vainquished* loke thou not tary. | Apol. 143, the kynges hygnes commaunded certain of the grettest lordes ... to know how the matter stode. *Whyche knowen and reported* to the kynges grace his hyghnes gaue ... suche answer... | Rich. 80 B 11, *This examinacion* sole[m]pnly taken, ... the king with gret feast ... married dame Elisabeth Grai. | Lett. 1423 C 3, I am bold eftsones vpon your goodnes to desire you to shew me the fauour, that I might the rather by your good meanes, haue a copy of the bil. *Which sene*, if I finde any vntrue surmise therin as of liklihode there is, I may make mine humble sute vnto the kinges good grace. | Rich. 63 G 2, *Which thing* well considred, & the greale knightly prowes pondred ..., the nobles & commons ... haue condiscended... | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1163 C 12, one doubte yet remaineth ..., and *that doubt soyled*, I wyll ... encumber you no farther. | Dial. Her. 112 B 1, On the morow he was comen again somewhat before .vij. of the clocke ... taking him with me into my study, & *my seruauantes warned*, ... I set him down with me, at a litell table.

¹⁾ They are also frequent in St. John Fisher (see Weyl 1937, §§ 289-90).

²⁾ Ross 1892, pp. 23 ff and Franz 1924, pp. 548-9.

This usage was well-known before More's time and is still often met with in Pres. D. Eng., especially in stock phrases and formal speech. It also occurs frequently in St. John Fisher (Weyl 1937, § 115).

EARLIER	LATER
1380 Wyclif, Mk. v, 36, <i>the word herd that was seide, Jhesus seith to the prince of the synagoge</i> (OED).	1918 Times W., 22, 2, <i>The reading ended, the Prince took the oath of allegiance</i> (Kr.).
1390 Gower, Conf. A. i, 888, <i>The conseil in this wise take, The Prestes fro this lady gon.</i>	Pres. D. Eng.: <i>Tea over and the tray removed, she again summoned us to the fire</i> (C.).

The construction also occurs with a personal pronoun in the common case [*he*] :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1242 G 5, Tell me then (cosin) ... if ther wer a man attainted of treason or of felony, & after iudgement geuen of hys deth, & that it wer determined that he sholde dye, only the time of his execucion delayed tyll the kinges ferther pleasure knowen, and *he* therupon *deliuered* to certayne kepers, and put vp in a sure place out of which he coulede not scape, wer this man a prisoner or no ?

INTRODUCED BY *after*.

Lett. 1447 E 2, if I sholde *after the causes disclosed and declared*, finde them so aunswered as my conscience shoulde thynke it selfe satsified, I would thereupon sweare the oth. | Dial. Her. 165 C 4, If *after your speciall prayours made*, ye wrote the one parte in one paper... | Rich. 61 E 9, thei stode as thei had bene turned into stones, for wonder of this shamefull sermon. *After whiche once ended*, the preacher gate him home. | Lett. 1428 D 11, Than desired I the sight of the act of the succession, which was deliuered me in a printed rol. *After which redde* secretly by my self, and the othe considred with the acte, I shewed unto them... | Rich. 69 F 12, [the protector] ... *after secrete metting & communicacion had*, eftsoone, departed. | Last Th. 93 B 8, The lecherous, *after his foule plesure past*, may suffer to here of contynence. | Rich. 43 C 2, And thereuppon by and by *after the messenger departed*, hee caused in all the haste al his seruauntes to bee called vppe. | Dial. Her. 105 C 14, accomptyng that *after our communicacion ended*, I sholde neuer nede ferther busynes therin. | Answer 1039 H 2, I wyll good reader peruse the remanant of this booke *after this first part answered*. | Rich. 58 F 19, *After which done* ..., this pore Lady made humble sute vnto the King. | Last Th. 95 B 1, If thou knewest very certainlye that *after all thy good gathered together*, thou shouldest be sodainly robbed... | Picus 8 D 11, the substaunce that I have loft ¹⁾, *after certayne bokes of myne finished*, I intende to geue out to poore

¹⁾ = left.

folke. | Dial. Her. 108 E 1, Your frende first *after your letter redde* ... shewed me that ye had sent him to me. | Aut. Lett. xiv 109, *after his army withdrawen & discharged*, they wilbe ... easy to be loste. | Apol. 177, *after great tyme taken, and myche dilygence vsed*, we ... | Rich. 70 D 7; idem 61 F 11; idem 68 C 8; idem 69 C 1; idem 69 E 9; Dial. Her. 165 C 4; etc.

This idiom is often met with in older periods and is also frequently used by More's contemporary, St. John Fisher. After More's time it seems to have become less common. There are not many instances of it in Shakespeare. Spenser, however, uses it a number of times (Sugden 1936, § 345), e. g. F. Q., Intr. III, 9, and with you bring triumphant Mart, ... *After his murderous spoyle and bloudie rage allayd*. | F. Q. I, vi, 27, 1, His loving mother ... chaunst ... to meet him ... *After his sportes ... donne*. In Pres. D. Eng. it is only rarely found (OED does not mention it), collocations with *after (hav)ing* being the rule now. The construction with *which* (e. g. *after which done*; *after which redde*) is no longer possible.

EARLIER

1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 162, 29, *after the reuennence made* they made relacyon of their ansuer (D.).

1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 182, 31, *after lycence gyuen* he returned (D.).

LATER

1667 Milton, P. L. 248, Nor delay'd the winged Saint, *After his charge received* (Kl.).

1925 Galsworthy, Caravan 159, *After all said* ¹⁾, it was in his dealings with children that the best ... side of his personality was manifested (Kr.).

INTRODUCED BY *upon*.

Aut. Lett. xxi 51, Where as mon sieur deselstayne *vppon the hoope hadde of eny good wais of peace* ... offred hymselfe to cum over. | Rich. 41 A 1, *Upon this concluded*, the Duke ... secretly caused the Quene to be perswaded. | Rich. 66 A 13, *Vpon this answer geuen*, the Duke ... rounded ... with other noble men about him. | Rich. 49 G 11, he nothing doubted, but that those lordes ... should *upon the matter examined*, do wel ynough. | Rich. 66 B 3, *upon ... pardone desyred and obtayned*, he shewed aloude vnto the protectour, that... | Apol. (Wks.) 901 E 6, *upon that poynte perceiued and knowen*, I caused a seruauant of myne to stryppen hym. | Passion 1308 A 9, *vppon the scrypture* in this poynte mysse taken, the churche of Grece fell fro the churche of the Latyns. | Lett. 1423 D 1, I cannot mistrust his graces fauoure towards me, *upon the trouthe knowen*.

¹⁾ This does not seem to be standard English; for most English people it has an ungrammatical "feel" about it.

This idiom was not unknown before More's time ; it seems to have fallen into disuse afterwards. In Pres. D. Eng. it does not occur ¹⁾.

EARLIER : 1422-1509 Paston L., *upon due examinacion had upon the maler ... ye take such direction as...* (E.).

LATER : 1646 Winthrop, Journ., July 5, *Upon the peace concluded between the Dutch and the same Indians, she was restored to the Dutch governor.*

INTRODUCED BY *before*.

Con. Tynd. 490 C 7, the Apostles themselfe ... sayed masse many a time and oft *before any ghospell written*. | Passion 1327 A 7, wyne, whych he dranke next *before those woordes spoken*. | Supplic. 297 H 2, Nowe is it of trewth well knowen, that he was detected of heresy *before the premunire sued or thought vpon*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1139 B 3, Who wold haue went, ... *afore a fewe yeres passed*, that such ... sholde come...

Of this construction, which not infrequently occurs in More, no earlier instances have been found. It is obsolete now ¹⁾.

Cf. 1538 Starkey, England 118, *Before the materys examynynd and tryed...* (T.).

INTRODUCED BY *at*.

Rich. 54 E 10, And therwith as in a great anger, he clapped his fist vpon the borde a great rappe. *At which token giuen*, one cried treason. | Dial. Her. 146 F 11, holy scripture ... *at those words spoken*, was not yet all written.

No earlier instances have been found. The usage is now obsolete ¹⁾, though it seems to have been possible in poetical language for some time after More, witness the following quotation from Milton : P. L. x, 687, *At that tasted fruit* the sun turn'd his course intended.

INTRODUCED BY *from*.

Apol. (Wks.) 849 H 16, For els had it ben wrong with english people *from the sayth fyrst broughte into thys realme*, vnto oure owne dayes...

This is the only instance found in More. No earlier examples have been discovered. The construction is not possible in Pres. D. Eng. ¹⁾.

INTRODUCED BY *till*.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1242 G 9, the tyme of his execucion delayed *tyll the kinges ferther pleasure knowen...* | Dial. Her. 185 C 14, Which he neuer was after the deede done, *till the excommunycacion denounced*.

¹⁾ Not mentioned in OED.

No instances of earlier usage have been met with. The construction is obsolete now ¹⁾. Cf. :

1533 Th. Cromwell, Lett. to Henry VIII, July 23, I commytted them vnto ward where they now do remaine *till your gracious pleasure knownen*. | 1590 96 Spenser, F. Q. I, i, 12, your stroke, Sir Knight, withhold, *till further tryal made*.

320. THE PAST PARTICIPLE EQUIVALENT TO AN ADVERB CLAUSE OF REASON, CAUSE OR MEANS.

Type *The time and place known, it will be easy to withstand him*.

Aut. Lett. xvii, 17, his grace thinketh *the tyme & place* so certaynly *knownen*, it shalbe a good occasion to the scottes ... to withstand his enterprise. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1141 D 11, partlye *dissencions fallen among our self*, partly that no manne careth what harme other folke feelee : ... The Turke is in fewe yeres woonderfully encreased. | Dial. Her. 280 C 1, it is now all one to call him a Lutherane or to call him an heretike, those two wordes being in maner equivalent, Luther teaching almost nothing but heresies, nor *none heresies founden* any where almost that the Lutherans haue not among them.

INTRODUCED BY *by*.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1194 E 14, then were it a token, that the deuill had either ... brought him in despayre, or peraduenture *by his reuelacions founden false and reproued*, or *by some secrete sinne of his deprehended and diuulged*, cast him ... in despayre of heauen. | Rich. 60 G 12, though ... some *by* the ignoraunce of the world & *the trouth hid fro knowlege enherited* ... other mennes landes. | Apol. (Wks.) 849 C 2, the entent that *by those woordes changed*, the people shold be noseled. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1163 D 12, I perceyue well *by youre aunsweres gathered and consydered together*, that you wyll wel agree that a manne...

The following quotations illustrate earlier and contemporary usage :

c 1380 Chaucer, Boece v, 1725, And yif men ne wene nat that hope ne preieres ne han no strengthis *by the necessite of thingis to comen I-resceyved*, what thing is ther thanne by whiche... | 1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 249, 24, *by this done* he was so faynt that vnnethes he myght stande. | a 1535 St. John Fisher, Wks. 80, 4, & anone *by that dylygent inquysycyon made* reason shall shewe at the laste yf ony peryll be hydde vnder by fraude or gyle.

No instances of later usage have been found.

INTRODUCED BY *for*.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1234 G 9, wretched worldly goodes, *for whose shorte...*

¹⁾ Not mentioned in OED.

pleasure in this lyfe forborne, we shall be...euerlastyngly recompenced of God.

No instances of earlier or later usage have been observed.

INTRODUCED BY *thorow*.

Dial. Her. 281 A 4, accursed is he ... that *thorow his trust put in any man*, belieueth the contrary.

INTRODUCED BY *by the meane of*.

Lett. 1424 C 16, it may like your highnes ... somewhat to tender my pore honesty, & neuer suffer (*by the meane of such a byll put forth against me*) anye man take occasion hereafter against the troth to slaunder me.

321. THE PAST PARTICIPLE EQUIVALENT TO AN ADVERB-CLAUSE OF CONDITION ¹⁾ OR RESTRICTION.

Type *The words once read, the truth shall show itself*.

Debell. 931 A 14, *the woordes ones red* : the trouth should shewe it selfe. | Rich. 48 (= 45) D 7, *suche euyl oppinyon once fastened* in mennes heartes, harde it is to waste oute... | Dial. Her. 187 F 6, And it so taken, & their opinton so reputed, they reken it a ground to thinke the miracles done at the ymages ... to be illusions of the deuil. | Last Th. 87 G 3, *the fountayne once stopped*, the sore shal sone heale of it self. | Rich. 69 A 9, *Which thinges ... wel pondered* : god neuer gaue his world a more notable example. | Last Th. 75 F 9, the vain pleasures of the worlde, *whiche once excluded*, there is place made and cleane purged, to receiue the very swete and pure pleasure of the spirite. | Letters 1424 C 2, Which if your highnes did not, as I trust in god and your grel goodnes (*the matter by your own high prudence examined and considered*) ye wil not... | Last Th. 74 A 9, [he] hath lost the natural light of reason, and the spirituall light of faith : *which .II. lightes of knowledge and vnderstanding quenched*, what remayneth in him more, than... | Rich. 70 A 12, many rightwise men, think it vnlikely, (*the depe dissimuling nature of those bothe men considered...*) that ... the protector wold geue the duke occasion of displeasure. | Rich. 49 B 6, it were ... great commoditie to them both as for yet a while, to ben in the custody of their mother, *the tender age consydered* of the elder of them both. | Apol. (Wks.) 855 B 11, *this thyng hadde in mynde and considered*, all hys reason after ... waxeth euen deadde for cold. | Picus 18 C 3, that thing taketh he for his chief good, *which only hadde*, ... he thinketh himselfe happye. | Dial. Her. 279 E 3, *Which few wel repressed* ... ther shall farre the fewer haue lust to folow.

¹⁾ The conditional force is very plain in the following non-absolute constructions : Apol. 19, the word of god is as strong *vnwryten as wryten*. | Dial. C. 302, how muche more profitable they [scil. our worldly goods] bee *wel geuen then euyl kept*.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1253 G 12, By my trouthe vncle, woordes can I none find, that shoulde haue anye reason with them (*fayth alwaie presupposed*, as you protested in the beginning *for a ground*). | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1242 H 16, Yea adde yet ... that he wer suffered to goe and ryde also ..., onelye *this one poynte alwaie prouyded and foreseene*, that he should euer be surely seene to...

This usage was known before More's time :

1390 Gower, Conf. A. iv, 226, Bot vertu set in the corage, Ther mai no world be salvage, Which migte it take, and don awaie. | 1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 246, 26, ... this lady my sister is yours at al tymes *her worship saued*, for wete ye wel she loueth you as wel as ye doo her and better (D.).

Later instance :

1865 Kingsley, Herew. x, 200, All this is ... probable enough, *the dates considered*.

In all the above quotations from More the past participle is preceded by its (passive) subject : *the fountain once stopped*, *the matter examined*. Occasionally the reversed order is met with (cf. § 322) :

Last Th. 87 H 8, *taken once awaye the settyng by our selfe*, wee shall not gretly dote vpon that we set lyttle by. | Supplic. 315 C 12, *presupposed the immortalitie of mans soule* ..., & therto *agreed the righteousness of god & his goodnes* ..., purgatory must nedes appere.

This latter usage seems to have developed more fully after More's time ; indeed, in Pres. D. Eng. there are a number of past participles (such as *granted*, *given*) which almost exclusively occur in front position and are consequently well on their way towards assuming the character of a mere conjunctive word :

1926 Jones, Journ. of Eng. & G. Phil. p. 288 July, *Granted then these correspondences* ... we may pass to an inquiry into... | 1925 Ashdown, in Atl. Monthly, June, *Given the choice of a fine home without a car and a modest with a car*, the latter will win (C.).

322. THE PAST PARTICIPLE EQUIVALENT TO A CLAUSE OF ATTENDANT CIRCUMSTANCES.

Type *All the commons gathered before him, he spoke*.

Only if introduced by *with* or *without* is the character of the construction clearly that of a clause denoting attendant or concomitant circumstances. In other cases the relation may be rather vague and there is often a connotation of reason, cause, instrumentality, condition, time or restriction.

Rich. 61 F 11, there in the east ende of the hall where the maire kepeth the hustinges ... *all the commons of the citie, gathered before*

them, after silence commaunded ... : the Duke stode vp and ... hee saide... | Rich. 39 G 10, I exhort you and require you al ..., from this time forward, *all grieues forgotten*, eche of you loue other. | Picus 6 A 9, to thende that *all the charge and busines of rule or lordship set a side*, he might leade his life in rest. | Boke of F. p. 2 A 9, [Thow] that hepest vp this wretched worldes treasure, *Thy fingers shrined with gold, thy tawny skynne ... garnished out of measure...* | Picus 16 H 7, if thei now backbite the(e) liuing vertuously, thei shal doe the same neuerthelesse if (*vertue forsaken*) thou were ouerwhelmed with vice. | Rich. 36 G 12, hys cause was ... so farreforth aunounced, that *kinge Henrye his bloode ... stterlye relected*, the Crowne was by authoritye of parliament entaylled vnto the Duke of York. | Rich. 55 E 13, *that iubardy so wel passed* : it gaue him great pleasure to talke with him. | Last Th. 72 E 9, The physicion sendeth his bill to the poticary, & therin writeth sommetime a costly recceite of many straunge herbes and rootes, fet out of far countries, long lien drugges, *al the strength worn out*, & some none such to be goten.

The same usage before and after More, though in Pres. D. Eng. it is less frequently found.

EARLIER

- 1390 Gower, Conf. A. iii, 2093,
Egiste was take and was forth
brought *Hise hondes bounde*.
1390 Gower, Conf. A. v, 3964, *Hir*
her tospred sche gan to fare.

LATER

- 1861 Eliot, Sil. Marner v, *The light*
of faith quite put out and his
affections made desolate, he had
clung with all the force of his
nature to his work and his
money.

Front-position of the past participle occurs in :

Last Th. 77 D 11, those pictures expresse only the lothely figure of our dead bony bodies *bitten away the flesh*. (Cf. § 321).

INTRODUCED BY *without*.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1145 G 11, *without this comfort fyrst hadde*, there can in tribulacion none other good comfort come forth. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1142 F 8, *without thys way taken with them*, they shall not fayle to doe, as many bold blynde poticaries dooe. | Rich. 65 D 13, *without whiche pardon obtayned* they durst not be bold to moue him of that matter. | Apol. (Wks.) 870 F 2, Thys hathe ben hytherto the whole summe of my wrytynge, *wythoute anye dyspleasaunt woord used* either toward temporaltie or spiritualtye. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1158 F 1, that prayer *wythoute other condicion added or employed* were inordinate. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1143 B 5, the grounde & foundation of fayth, *without which had ready before*, all the spirituall coumfort ... can neuer auaille a flye.

St. John Fisher also often avails himself of this construction :

Wks. 211, 8, for truly confessyon *without contrycyon had before* profyteth very lytell or no thyng.

Cf. : Shakespeare 1 Henry VI, iii, iii, 72, They set him free *without his ransom paid*.

INTRODUCED BY *with*.

Rich. 43 C 6, *with* his owne householde aboute hym, and euerie manne weaponed, hee tooke the greate Seale with him. | Apol. (Wks.) 909 H 3, than should sone after *with* heretikes increaced & multiplied, the fayth be vndone.

EARLIER

c 1386 Chaucer, C. T. A 4277, And in the floor, *with* nose and mouth to-broke, They walwe as doon two pigges in a poke.
1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 408, 14, Thenne the shelde was brought forth and the feld was guldysch *with* a kyng and a quene therin paynted.

LATER

1805 Scott, Lay L. M. iv, xxxv, 13, *With* my minstrel brethern fled, My jealousy of song is dead.
1915 Times W. 2. 8, Even now, *with* the conversion accomplished, we should be immensely strengthened (P.).

323. THE PAST PARTICIPLE USED AS A ROUNDING-OFF FORMULA.

It is worthy of notice how often the participial construction (cp. § 322) is used to round off a period or passage :

Dial. Her. 132 A 11, he that had neuer sene it, ... would at the fyrst sight wonder sore therat, to se that great water come wallowing vp agaynst the wynde, kepyng a comen course to & fro, *no cause perceived that driueth them*. | Rich. 68 H 12, thus ... wer these two noble princes ... depriued of their estate, shorty shittle vp in prison, and priuilly slaine and murdered, *theyr bodies cast god wote where*. | Rich. 57 B 1, now is she old, lene, withered, & dried vp, *nothing left but ryulde skin & hard bone*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1162 H 1, an euil aunswer had he, and an euil spede thereafter, *his army discomfited and himself slain*.

There are numerous instances in which this construction in this function is preceded by *and* :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1239 G 13, a man may be let walke at large where he wyll, and yet a payre of fetters fast riueted on his legges. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1186 E 4, many a good man and woman ... haue ... well & vertuously withstand it, and bene in conclusion clearely delyuered of it, and their trybulacion nothing knowen abroad, and therefore nothing talked of. | Dial. Her. 151 A 14, Some of them let not with lyes & periury to defend them self, and some to stande in defence of their errorrs or false denying of their own dede ... And al this done because ... *they think if thei abiure, thei shall after be suffred to preache again*. | Rich. 70 B 15, But men say that he was of trouth not wel at ease, and that both to king Richard wel known, & not yl taken, nor ani demaund of the dukes uncourteisly relected. | Dial. Her. 282 F 11, Whose false opinions haue been ... openly condemned by many holy synodes ... & now ... *not onely their opinions quenched, but also al theyr bokes cleane gone, and*

vanished quyte away. | Debell. 993 H 1, many great ryottes go by vnfound, and the concelours neuer spoken of. | Conf. Tynd. 474 A 2, For fyrst I might agree all that he sayeth, and hys purpose neuer the more prooued.

324. The subjoined evidence testifies to the occurrence of this idiom in all periods of the English language from the Middle Ages on :

c 1400 Mandev. Tr. 173, 17, the cristene men wenten where hem lykede best ... withouten lettyng of one creature & hire enemyes enclosed & confounded in derkness. | 1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 708, 35, there was grete loye bitwene them for there is no tonge can telle the loye that they made eyther of other and many a frendely word spoken betwene as kynde wold. | idem 430, 26, They ete and drank ... and their horses walkyng and somme teyed. | a 1535 St. John Fisher, Wks. 211, 2, But this cry must be softe without noise of wordes, it must be in the secrete places of the herte, no voyce, no sounde, in one wyse shewed outwardly. | idem 3, 24, Notwithstandyng the goodnesse of almighty god onely dyde electe and chose hym, *all his brethren regecte and set aparte* (W.). | 1646 E. F(isher), Mod. Divinity 7, Let all the fruits of Paradise be in thy power *one tree except*. | 1883 O. Wilde, Duchess of Padua, II, While we sit in gorgeous pomp and state, gaunt poverty Creeps through their sunless lanes, and with sharp knives Cuts the warm throats of children stealthily *And no word said*.

325. Here is, perhaps, the best place to draw the attention to the fact that besides the past participle construction two other constructions with verbal forms were also used by More to round off a period or passage, viz. the construction with the infinitive and that with the form in *-ing*.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1254 C 1, on she came gerning toward the place : whom as soone as the hartes herd : *they to go both twayn apace*.

Rich. 54 H 16, And sone after ... he returned ..., al changed with a wonderful soure angrye countenance, knitting the browes ... and knawing on his lypes, & so sat him downe, in hys place : *al the lordes much dismaied & sore merueiling of this maner of sodain chaunge*.

To the examples given in §§ 272, 273 of the earlier and later use of the infinitive in this function the following evidence may be added :

1600 Shakesp., As Y. L. III, ii, 161, Heaven would that she these gifts should have, *And I to live and die her slave*. | 1605 Ben Jonson, The Fox v, ii, 134, Wom. My lady's come most melancholy home, And says, sir, she will straight to sea for phisic. Sir P. *And I to shun this place and clime for ever*. | 1821 Scott, Ken. IV, 41, Men talk of your being under some special protection ; nay, stare not like a pig that is stuck,

mon, thou canst not dance in a net *and they not see thee*. | 1926 Arlen, Green Hat 247, There isn't, I suppose, anything in the world more irritating than to be angry with a woman, *and she not notice*.

Oftener than the infinitive the form in *-ing* was and is used in this way; it is especially frequent in Pres. D. Irish English :

1412 Lydgate, Troy Book 6126, And Troyens, as þei stood a lotte, Putte hem of, þat entre þei ne myȝt, With cast of stoon ... & schot of arblasteris, *And her gonners stondynge at corners*. | c 1400 Mandev. Tr. 159, 11, And all this chambre is couered with jinne of plate of fyn gold dubbed with precyous stones & grete perles, *And .iiij. Olifauntz and .iiij. grete desteres all white & couered with riche couertoures ledynge the chariot*. | c 1386 Chaucer, Clerkes Tale, iv, 91, What couthe a stourdy housebonde more devyse, To prove hir wythode and her stedfastnesse. *And he contynuyng ever in stourdynesse*. | 1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 430, 26, They ete and drank ... *and their horses walkyng* and somme teyed. | 1710-13, Swift, Journ. to St. 285, I envy people maunching peaches and grapes, *and I not daring to eat a bit*. | 1847 E. Brontë, Wuth. H. vi, And many a time I've cried to myself to waltch them growing more reckless daily, *and I not daring to speak a syllable*. | 1911 A. Bennett, Accident (Tauchn. ed.) Ch. x, p. 89, it was so difficult to see properly, *and the train moving all the time too*. | 1912 G. B. Shaw, Androcles & The L., 113, Why didn't you say so before ? *and us losing our time* listening to your silliness (J.). | 1923 Lady Gregory, Goal Gate, It was not a little thing for him to die, *and he protecting his neighbour* (C.).

326. THE PAST PARTICIPLE IN THE CLOSING FORMULA OF A LETTER.

Picus 15 C 4, *Written* at Paris the .xv. daie of October, the yere of grace .M.cccclxxxij. | Lett. 1430 H 1, *Written* wyth a cole by your tender louing father.

This use of the past participle in the closing formulae of letters and official documents has been common throughout all the periods of English.

EARLIER. 1443 in Willis & Clark, Cambridge (1886) i, 386, *Yoven* the day and the yere abouesaid. | 1584 Past. Lett. N° 887, iii, 325, *Goven* at Long Stratton the .xx. day of October (OED). | idem 1477 John Paston, in Lett. 915, Wretyn at Mawtby, on Seynt Petrys Day.

LATER. 1833 Fraser's Mag. vii, 49, '*Done* at Battle, in the County of Sussex'; signed as our ambassador at Paris would sign a treaty of peace (OED).

Compare the usage in Norman-French :

1403 in Royal & Hist. Lett. Reign of Henry IV, i, 159, *Escrip*t a Hereford, en tresgraunte haste, a trois de la clocke apres noone, le tierce jour de Septembre.

327. THE PAST PARTICIPLE AS A KIND OF HEADING OR TITLE.

Occasionally the past participle is used as a kind of heading or title announcing in a terse way the discussion of a particular subject :

Rich. 68, The yong kyng and hys brother *murthered*. | Rich. 60, The king *fledde*. | Rich. 60, The prince *borne*. | Rich. 60, King Henry the .vi. *set vp*. | Rich. 57, The Lorde Riuers and other *behedded*. | Rich. 54, The lord Standley *wounded*. | Rich. 45 (= 44), The protectoure *made*. | Rich. 42, The Lorde Rivers *putte* in warde.

These syntactical units, found in the margin of the pages indicated, show a usage which is still preserved in the headings of the news-items in our modern newspapers.

328. THE PAST PARTICIPLE IN A PARENTHETICAL UNIT.

Type *The prayse geuen to god*.

The construction with the past participle used parenthetically in the following passage could not be given a place in any of the above classifications :

Rich. 66 A 3, he woold doe his vttermost deuor to set the realm in good state. Whiche was alreadye in this little while of his protectorship (*the prayse geuen to god*) wel begon, in that...

The construction is clearly equivalent to an independent, coordinated syntactical unit and appears to mean *praise be given to god*. No parallels have been observed in writers either before or after More.

329. THE PAST PARTICIPLE IN SHORTENED UNITS AFTER WHY.

Another usage which could not be classified is illustrated in the following quotation :

Conf.Tynd. 496 E 1, ... how Tindal can proue me that the children of Israell, or as I say Moises either, vnderstode al the ceremonies commaunded by God aboute theire departing out of Egipt? *why* lambe, *why* a kidde, *why* of one yere, *why* without spotte, *why* taken the .x. daye, *why* offred the .xiii. *why* the vengeance of godde *put* from the house at the token of the blood put vpon the postes, *why* eaten by night, *why* none left til the morow, but rather the remenaunt *burnt*, *why* vneleuened bread, *why* wilde letuse.

Earlier and later use does not seem to be on record. The infinitive is similarly used in :

Apol. (Wks.) 486 D 4, When our sauour himselfe sente oute hys disciples, and bade them in the confirmacion of their doctrine, laye theyr handes vpon sicke folke, and thei should be whole, and that they should anoynte some with oyle : woulde it not ... haue done verye well,

that they shoulde haue sayd nay, but if he would tell them *why* lay their handes more then *speake* their bare word, & *why* anoynt them with oyle rather then *smere* them with butter.

330. PARTICIPIAL CONSTRUCTIONS NOT FOUND IN MORE'S WRITINGS.

a. Type *Struck dead at first, what needs a second striking*.

In this quotation from Shakespeare (Ven. & Ad. 250) the subject of the past participle (*struck dead*) is not contained in, nor can be inferred from the principal part of the sentence. More seems to have looked vpon this way of joining two syntactical units as irregular, for he never avails himself of this grammatical short-cut. In Pres. D. Eng. this construction (with the «dangling participle», as it is called)¹⁾ is considered a solecism²⁾.

b. Type *Her soules goon a blakeberied*.

Constructions of the above type were not infrequently used in Middle English :

Chaucer, C. T. C 406, *her soules goon a blakeberied*. | idem F 1579, *I fare To goon a-begged in my kirtle bare*. | idem D 354, *she wolde ... gon a cuterwawed*. | Gower, C. Am. 1, 2030, *he wolde ryde amayed*.

This usage, which seems to have found its origin in mistaking the noun *hunta* in *gangen (riden) on hunta*³⁾ for a verbal form, appears to have become obsolete before More's time.

c. Type *His threatned speare (= his threatening spear)*.

In this construction a past participle is used where in Pres. D. Eng. a present participle would be employed. Of this usage, so often met with in Shakespeare⁴⁾, Marlowe⁵⁾ and Spenser⁶⁾, no examples have been found in More.

Spenser, F. Q. II, i, 26, Suddenly that warrior gan abace *His threatned speare*. | idem I, viii, 34, Whose sencelesse *speach*, and *doted ignorance*. | idem I, ix, 28, so creeping close, as Snake in *hidden weedes*. | Shakesp., Err. v, i, 298, Careful hours with time's *deformed hand* have

¹⁾ Russell 1935; Sugden 1936, § 344.

²⁾ Not so with the form in *-ing* in a few cases and with the infinitive in the type to *say the truth*.

³⁾ As in 1298 Rob. Glouc. (Skeat Spec.) p. 14, 387, *As he rod an hontep*.

⁴⁾ Franz 1914, § 661; Schmidt 1902, p. 1417.

⁵⁾ Vogt 1908, 16.

⁶⁾ Sugden 1936, § 347; Hoffmann 1909, p. 14.

written strange defeatures in my face. | Sonn. 122, 7, Till each to *razed* oblivion yield his part of thee.

331. CONVERSION OF THE PAST PARTICIPLE.

In many cases the character of the past participle is that of an adjective, though the conversion is not always of the same degree. In comparing *a rosted crabbe* (Dial. C. 182) with *borowed ware* (B. of F. p. 6 B 10), it is found that the adjectival nature is the least prominent if — as in the first example — the idea of action or occurrence is not absent. Farthest removed from the adjectival character are 1) those participles that are accompanied by an adjunct necessarily associated with the idea of time or action [e. g. adverbs, as in *long lien drugges* (Last Th. 72 F 1)], 2) those that are used as equivalents to adverb-clauses or 3) those that occur in post-position.

Words like *dead* (used pre-nominally), *drunken*, *bounden* (in *my bounden duty*), etc. may be said to have undergone complete conversion.

Just as in Pres. D. Eng. past participles take *-ly* when used as adverbs :

Conf. Tynd. 786 G 12, he shall speake *vnlearnedly*.

In St. John Fisher we read :

Wks. 67, 25, I fought occasyon to synne, not *faynedly* but from the very herte of me. | Wks. 273, 1, for the whiche it may be thought *vnoubtedly* that he had grete hope and confydence in prayer.

EARLIER. a 1400 Chester Pl. II, 50, One of them thou arte *assuredlye*.

The use of *more* and *most* to express degrees of comparison may be taken as a proof that the conversion from verb to adjective is complete :

Aut. Lett. xni, 21, yor humble Orator & *moost bounden* Beedman Thomas Moore. | Rich 56 C 9, an *vnhappy* ending : which he was now put vnto, by the *most drede* commaundement of the kinges highnes.

332. There are a few instances of the conversion of the past participle into a noun.

Conf. Tynd. 518 H 9, I haue rehersed in the new law the .xv. of the actes, that menne shoulde abstayne from *strangled*, and from bloode. | Conf. Tynd. 442 E 12, to make it open to *learned* and *vnlearned* both. | Conf. Tynd. 430 A 12, if onelye *shauen* and *annoynted* maye preache... | Conf. Tynd. 467 F 9, But when he shal come ... to peruert ... the very *chosen* to...

Strangled in the first of these two examples refers to things and represents a usage unknown in Pres. D. Eng. Coverdale's translation of the same Bible-text (Acts xv, 20, *a suffocatis et sanguine*) runs : *from things strangled...*

The idiom illustrated in the second and third quotation (*learned, shaven, annointed*) was known in earlier English : c 1420 Lydg., *Commend. Our Lady*, 60, *Of al Christen protectrice and tutele ... To wery wandred tent and pavilion*. The usage has not been preserved in Pres. D. Eng. in the same form : when the reference is to a whole class, the definite article is used (*the shaven, the annointed, the learned*) ; in other cases *people* or a synonymous noun is put behind the participle (*shaven people*). There are also examples of this latter usage in More :

Apol. (Wks.) 868 E 15, *I dare be bolde ... to speake agaynste open known theeues, open knowen murderers, open knowen pertured persones*.

The collocations *the lerned* and *a lerned* in the following quotations are semi-independent and do consequently not instance complete conversion :

Dial. Her. 117 B 10, *me thinketh that they be good bokes, bothe for lay men and for the lerned to*. | Dial. Her. 117 F 12, *these two words ... do not so lyuely represent vs the remembrance of his bitter passion, as dothe a blessed ymage of the crucifix, neither to lay man nor vnto a lerned*.

The conversion is also incomplete in the following instances :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1241 G 14, *we shall fynd that the straightest kept of them both ... is ... at hys free libertie to bee where he will*. | Passion 1326 B 3, *The bloude of the Paschal lambe was shedde onely for the first begoten among the children of Israel*.

Words like *abject, elect* must be looked upon as pure nouns ; they can take -s when used in the plural :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1145 A 4, *he is not an abiect, cast out of gods gracious fauour*. | Conf. Tynd. 394 B 8, *an vnknowne church of electes*. | idem C 1, *we be electes*.

Departed in the following passage is not used as a noun, but rather as an attributive adjunct to *one* :

Rich. 57 A 10, *Whose iugement semeth me somewhat like, as though men should gesse the bewty of one longe before departed, by her scalpe taken out of the charnel house*.

Similarly with *known* and *unknowne* in :

Lett. 1451 D 1, [I] *went out with master Leutenante into the galery to hym, where I mette manye, some known and some vknowne in the way*.

In Shakespeare we read :

Meas. III, ii, 286, His old *betrothed* but *despis'd*. | Tit. v, iii, 109, I am the *turned* forth. | Troil. III, iii, 76, the *declined*. | Troil. I, iii, 24, the *unread*. | Sonn. 78, 7, the *learned's* wing.

The plural meaning of the converted past participle is quite exceptionally expressed by the addition of *-s* :

Passion 1295 F 5, these first *begottens* that shoulde that night be slayne. | idem 1296 C 2, the slaughter of al theyr first *begottens*.

This form of *begotten* is not mentioned in OED. The following quotation witnesses to the occurrence of this idiom in earlier English :

1429 Wills & Inv. N. C. (1835) 78, Euery hows of almouse ordeynt for *bedrydens* [= bedridden people] (OED).

In Pres. D. Eng. the usage is rare and restricted to the past participles of only a few verbs, such as *wanted's* [= in colloq. speech : persons wanted by the police] and *unknow'ns* [= unknown persons, but especially in mathematics : unknown quantities].

333. The use of the participle as a conjunction is not clearly demonstrable, though there is often a tendency for that verbal form to develop a conjunctive character when it is placed at the beginning of a clause-equivalent, as in :

Supplic. 315 C 12, *presupposed* the immortalitie of mans soule ..., & therto *agreed* the righteousness of god & his goodness ..., purgatorie must nedes appere.

Provided and *except* are perhaps the only past participles that show complete conversion :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1171 H 11, he that cannot long endure to hold vp his head & hear talking of heuen *except* he be nowe & than betwene ... refreshed with a meri folish tale. | Lett. Frith 834 H 18, *Provided* ... he misconstrue not the scripture.

Graunted introduces a *that*-clause in :

Conf. Tynd. 410 F 4, But *graunted* now that those fautes wer his ..., yet is this none of them.

The earliest quotation in OED of *graunted* so used is dated 1884. More uses *graunte* in a similar way :

Apol. (Wks.) 481 F 13, For *graunte* that priesthod was an office : yet might...

8. — THE FORM IN -ING ¹⁾

334. In the following enumeration and classification of the meanings and functions of the verbal form in -ing no account has been taken of its twofold parentage, i. e. it has been disregarded whether in a particular case the form has descended from an Old English verbal noun in -ung (-ing), or from an Old English "present participle". By the time More wrote, any formal ²⁾ distinction had long disappeared and in most cases nominal and verbal characteristics were conjointly present — either in *esse* or in *posse* — in one and the same form. A division into two groups corresponding to the usage in Old English is therefore not quite justified. For a more satisfactory classification see § 368.

In §§ 335-369 the different functions of the form in -ing in the syntactical unit are discussed.

335. THE FORM IN -ING AS SUBJECT ³⁾.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1160 G 5, *Fasting* is better then eatyng, ... *Praying* is better then drinkyng ... *Waking* in good busines is much more acceptable to God then slepyng. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1188 E 11, & therfore *comforting* of her, could haue no place. | Last Th. 81 E 12, What thing is *dyng*?

¹⁾ In the following passages -ind and ydge may be misprints for -ing and -ynge respectively: Apol. (Wks.) 888 E 14, what good and charitable *handellnd* wyll he deuise to saue his body. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1184 E 8, the true *performydge* of their penaunce. | — For this form *performydge*, however, see: Apol. (Wks.) 860 B 1, Tyndalles confutacion in *mockage* of maunes endeouore towarde the beliefe, and in scorninge that manne shoulde captiue hys vnderstandinge... | — The form *gestinst*, occurring in the following quotation, is not recorded in OED: Supplic. 304 B 1, [Martha] ... was busy aboute almes and hospitalitie and the *gestinst* of the best poore man and most gracious gest that euer was gested in this world.

-enge occurs in Apol. (Wks.) 865 B 13, *prayenge*; Dial. Her. 166 C 7, *sayenge*.

²⁾ It is, however, possible that there was a difference in pronunciation, as still at the present day in Northumberland and the Southern Counties of Scotland (see OED s. v. -ing ²⁾).

³⁾ For the rival usage with the infinitive (e. g. *To geue* ... more godly is) see §§ 245 and 367.

With *the* :

Rich. 56 F 20, *the wondering* of the people caste a comly rud in her chekes. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1164 G 7, *the lyftinge* vp of theyr heart alone ... is more acceptable to him...

With (pro)nouns :

Picus 9 C 10, What sorrow and heuines *his departing* out of this world was, ... | Dial. Her. 136 C 11, And *any beyng* trew al wer thei right few, suffised for our purpose. | Dial. Her. 148 E 4, ye saide, that *Christes being* with hys church, was onely the leuyng of his holy scripture to vs.

The same usage in Pres. D. Eng. No examples with proleptic *it* have been found ¹⁾; cf. :

c 1400 Mandev., Tr. 110, 37, And also to such folke *it* is an euyll meetynge of Ravenes (M.). | Thackeray, Virg., Ch. xcii, p. 984, *It* was not pleasant coming near him (P.).

Occasionally the form in *-ing* as logical subject is announced by proleptic *this* :

Picus 14 C 10, *This* is a very deadly & monstrous perswacion, which hath entred the mindes of men, *beleuing* that the studies of philosophie are of estates and princes.

Pres. D. Eng. would use *to believe* in similar cases.

EARLIER	LATER
1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 800, 9, <i>Your goynge oute thys nyghte</i> <i>shalle wrathe vs alle</i> (D.).	1922 Times, Lit. S. 14, 9, p. 571, <i>Reading htm</i> is like looking at a series of pictures by Rubens (Kr.).

No instances of the type *Myn is the drenching* have been found in More. Cf. :

Chaucer, C. T. A 2456, *Myn is the drenchyng* in the see so wan, ... *Myn is the stranglyng and hangyng* by the throte.

Constructions with introductory *there* are very rare :

Conf. Tynd. 469 A 13, that *there was wrytynge* in the world long ere Abraham... | Conf. Tynd. 469 B 9, though it wer proued as it is not, that *there wer wrytyng* from the begynning.

Chaucer has something similar :

C. T. A 1649, *Ther nas* no 'Good day', ne no *saluyng*.

Here, however, *to be* is approximately synonymous with *to happen*, whereas in the quotations from More it has the meaning of *to exist*. Constructions like *there is no accounting for tastes* do not occur; they are common in Shakespeare :

Henry VIII, 1, iii, 43, *There's no converting* of 'em. | Caes. v, v, 30, *there is no tarrying* here.

¹⁾ Cf. §§ 247 ff.

336. THE FORM IN *-ING* AFTER A COPULA.**a. *Identifying*.**

Dial. Her. 140 F 11, these viages *ben* but *wandring* about vanitie or superstitious deuocion.

Last Th. 83 D 9, our lord, which alway standeth at the dore of mans hert and knocketh, ... And one of his good and gracious knocking *is*, the *putting* vs in remembrance of death. | Dial. Her. 148 E 3, ye saide, that Christes being with hys church, *was* onely the *leuyng* of his holy scripture to vs. | Picus 5 H 3, The fyfth (scil. cause) *was* the... *dispising* of al erthly thinges.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1214 A 14, which *is* an heauy *hearyng* in myne eare. | idem 1167 C 14, the resystynge of suche mocions, *is* ... a *minyshyng* of fleshye wealthe. | Conf. Tynd. 604 B 8, all this he sayeth, *was* no *fayling* of Peters fayth, but an *oppressyng* for the while.

This evidence shows that the form in *-ing* after a copula was mostly preceded by an adnominal word (article, possessive pronoun, etc.). Only one example (the first) in which the form in *-ing* stands by itself has been found; it would seem that More prefers the infinitive in this case. See § 250.

Compare :

c 1366 Chaucer, Rom. R. 2601, Hit *is* but foly and wrong *wenyng*. | 1548 Hugh Latimer, Sermon on the Ploughers 84, ye that be prelates loke well to your office, for right prelatynge *is* busye *labourynge* & not *lordyng*. | 1865 Mrs. Gaskel, Wives II, 245, Telling Roger's father *is* not *making* it public (Kr.). | Pres. D. Eng. : That *is* *hitting* the nail on the head.

b. *Qualifying*.

Picus 7 C 14, howe slipper, & howe *falling* it *is*, that we liue in nowe. | Picus 12 F 11, It *wer* farre more *seeming* that they shoulde ... begin to be men. | Picus 13 C 2, And verelye it *is* *accordyng*, that god should despyse thee being a man, whan thou being a man despysest a man. | Dial. Her. 105 G 2, [I] *am* my selfe so lyttell *mistrustyng*. | Dial. Her. 146 B 12, whoso *be* *willing* to mend & be better, may alway haue lyght to see how.

Even the form *being* is used in this way :

Dial. Her. 146 F 5, a name which from all creatures ... clerelye discerneth his Godhead, which *is* euer *being* & present without difference of time past or to come.

There is hardly any verbal idea left in these forms in *-ing* and they do consequently not essentially differ from ordinary adjectives, with which they are indeed frequently found in juxtaposition (*slipper* and *falling*; *being* and *present*).

EARLIER	LATER
c 1400 Mandev., Tr. 33, 15, the naturell bawme is full cleer & of citryne colour & strongly smellynge (M.).	1913 Walpole, Fortitude I, IV, 38, They were too young ..., too unenterprising (Kr.).
1412-20 Lydgate, Troy Book I, 3937, And þe see is calme and blaundisching.	Pres. D. Eng.: the winter was very trying for our patients.

There are numerous combinations of *to be* + form in *-ing* (e. g. *it is perteyning to him*; *those conclusions were good and standyng with the faith*), in which the character of *to be* as a copula is doubtful. They are discussed in the sections dealing with syntactical units containing two verbs, together with collocations of the types *he was in betyng*; *the book was in making*; etc. (§§ 605 ff.)

337. Occasionally the nominal predicate is preceded by of + possessive pronoun (+ *own*):

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1176 G 3, And he knoweth the frayltye of his earthen vessell that is of his owne making.

With a noun in the genitive:

Lett. 1422 F 6, the matter & the booke both, concerned the porest man in a towne, & were of the simplest mans making.

Earlier example:

1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 460, 27, Anone as Elias wyst that he said hit was of Sir Tristams doying (D.).

In *to be of the true making* the form *-ing* is almost equivalent to the noun *make* or *brand* in Pres. D. Eng.:

Passion 1304 D 2, The oyntment was of Nardus of the true making, as the gospell declareth in thys worde, nardi pistici. And that oyntment truly made, was veri costly: which was the cause that the true making was lesse vsed, and folke for the great cost thereof, vsed a nother making therof, that was called counterfeit ointment of Nardus. But this was of the true makynge.

338. There are no examples in More of the type *they are of good flying* as in:

c 1330 Rolle, Nature of the Bees (Horstmann I, 196, 6), Some are of gode flyghynge for thay fly fra erthe to hevene. | 1491 Paston Lett. (Gairdner) n° 1051, ye thynke he woll be of gode guydyng and demenyng in tyme comyng.

339. THE FORM IN -ING AS DIRECT OBJECT ¹⁾.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1175 A 10, with these reasons in Saxony, many cast *fastyng* of. | Picus 15 G 11, we be wel serued, if we haue the grace to suffre *chiding*. | Apol. (Wks.) 882 H 6, before I heard little *talking* of such maner of deuices. | Dial. Her. 238 B 4, misse vnderstanding maketh *missee reporting*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1259 F 7, those that were whyte, signified *approouyng*, as the blacke signified *reproouing*. | Dial. Her. 151 E 6, then would I counseile him, speciallye to studie for the vertuous framing of his own affeccions, & *using* ²⁾ great moderacion & temperance in the preching to other men. | Picus 8 B 1, *wedding*, & worldly busines, he fled almost alike. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1176 B 4, The scripture is full of places that proueth *fastyng* not to be the inuencion of man.

Though here the form in *-ing* is not preceded by adnominal modifiers, its nominal character is clearly evinced by its being used as a direct object.

EARLIER	LATER
1478-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 265, 21, there he heard moche <i>mornyng</i> (D.).	1513 Hichens, Ambition, vii, 78, She loved <i>giving</i> people the impression that she was adven- turous (Kr.).

340. In its function as direct object the form in *-ing* is frequently preceded by *a*, *the*, a possessive pronoun or another adnominal word :

Passion 1274 D 2, he made it haue a *beyng*. | Last Th. 101 B 15, than shal they fele a *swimming* & *aking* in theyr dronken hed. | Prayer 1418 A 13, Geue me, good lord, a *longing* to be with the(e). | Dial. Her. 175 G 3, if manifest reason ... cannot yet print in your heart a *perceiuing* that the assistance of god ... must nedes preserue his church.

Last Th. 87 G 13, while we cut of the braunches, we lette wel the *growyng*. | Rich. 65 C 2, he ... dystrusted the *commynge* of suche number. | Rich. 43 A 1, she diswaded the *gatheryng* of power aboute the kinge.

Rich. 56 G 5, many good folke ... hated her *liuyng* ³⁾. | Rich. 42 E 9, thei haue kepte *theire dealing* in these matters farre fro the knowledge of your good grace.

341. An unusual construction is met with in the following sentence :

Rich. 61 C 13, the protector *found* by the way *taryng* lest he should preuent those woordes.

¹⁾ For collocations such as *he left off talking* see the section on syntactical units with two verbs (§ 396).

²⁾ For this juxtaposition of a form in *-ing* (*using*) with an infinitive (*studie*), both in the same function see § 367.

³⁾ The context shows that this means : *her way of living*.

The form *found* is the past tense of a now obsolete verb *to found* = *to contrive*, not mentioned in OED in exactly this sense. [Nearest : *found* v¹ 3 (with inf.) ; 3 b (with clause) and 4 b.]. The past participle of this verb is used by More in Last Th. 74 F 2, *a fantasye fownden of myne owne head*. The meaning of the above sentence is therefore *the protector contrived to be late* and *tarying* is approximately synonymous with *delays*. That this is the right interpretation is clearly brought out by the Latin *moras nectente*. Cf. Reed, Phil. Notes to The Eng. Wks. I, 191.

342. THE FORM IN -ING AS AN ATTRIBUTIVE ADJUNCT.

Picus 4 D 2, *a shining* light. | Picus 13 A 2, into *euerlasting* fyer. | Picus 20 B 3, *to liuing* god. | Boke of F. p. 5 C 5, her *wandering* eyes. | Boke of F. p. 2 D 5, *waueryng* rychesse. | Boke of F. p. 2 C 8, *swarmyng* bees. | Boke of F. p. 6 D 1, The *rollyng* dyse. | Last Th. 85 B 5, the *burnyng* hyl of Ethna. | Last Th. 84 A 14, *stynking* carien. | Rich. 70 A 13, the depe *dissimuling* nature. | Rich. 59 D 3, an *onsitting* thing. | Rich. 55 G 16, A *louing* man. | Rich. 51 A 14, *bityng* wordes. | Last Th. 75 B 8, the prompt and *willyng* mynde.

The same usage in earlier English :

1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 96, 22, *traueillynge* men are often wery (D.).

In Pres. D. Eng. very common, e. g. *moving* pictures, *talking* films, etc.

344. A form in -ing, not accompanied by verbal modifiers, is mostly placed before the noun it qualifies. There are, however, a few cases of post-position :

Dial. C. 341, he came forth at the whitsuntide *ensuing*. | Instr. 1405 B 6, Beare no malice ... to no man *liuing*. | Bless. Body 1265 G 9, no manne *liuing* knoweth, whether... | Picus 20 E 1, And also the prophete more expressly declareth in the verse *folowing*. | Picus 10 B 9, She spake of the seconde death and *euerlasting*. | Answer 1043 B 7, *life euerlastyng*.

In Middle English, too, words like *ensuing*, *following* and *everlasting* were often found in the post-nominal position :

1390 Gower, Conf. A. vii, 3736, The night *suiende*. | 1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 64, 32, as it telleth in the book of auentures *folowyng*. | — Later example : 1927 Davies, Super Tramp Ch. ii, p. 93, There was not much chance to ship again for two or three weeks, owing to the number of men *waiting* (Kr.).

Cf. Pres. D. Eng. *for the time being* ; *no one living*.

345. If the form in *-ing* is accompanied by verbal modifiers (objects or adjuncts) the post-nominal position is regular, just as in earlier ¹⁾ and still in Pres. D. Eng.

Rich. 48 (= 45) F 1, thereby shall bee ceased the slaunderous rumoure and obloquye now *goynge*. | Picus 4 E 1, he drew backe his mynd *flowing in riot*. | Picus 2 D 10, fiery garland *standing ouer the chaumber*. | Last Th. 83 G 1, other kindes of pride, *risynge of bewty, strength, wit, or cunning*. | Last Th. 90 F 6, the thynges *comming of the earth*. | Rich. 55 C 7, a token ... *often times ... foregoinge some great misfortune*. | Rich. 36 C 4, The yere *foregoynge hys deathe*. | Rich. 56 B 17, many thynges *highlye redounding to the mintshing of his honor*. | Bless. Body 1265 C 5, a swyne, *wrootyng in the dirte*.

Ill and *well* do not seem to prevent front position :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1179 A 9, such a faythful *wel hopyng* man. | Rich. 55 H 11, old *il faryng* briginders.

Compounds like *way faring* and *way walking* are placed before the noun :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1241 A 12, whether euerye *way walking begger*, be by thys reason oute of prieson or no, we shall consider ferther. | Passion 1340 B 3, Our sauour ... walking with his two disciples toward the castel of Emaux in fourme of a *way faring* man.

EARLIER	LATER
1390 Gower, Conf. A III 857, Hate is a wraththe noght <i>shewende</i> , Bot of long time <i>gaderende</i> (E.).	1927 Davies, Super Tramp Ch. 13, p. 102, The bodies were not those of men <i>coming from the city in search of employment</i> (Kr.).

346. The form in *-ing* in post-nominal position can often be expanded into a relative clause of a restrictive character (*the thynges comming of the earth* = *that come of the earth*). There are, however, also cases in which the form in *-ing* is equivalent to a continuative clause, as in the following quotations.

Rich. 54 A 9, what [punishment] were they worthy to haue, that compasse & ymagine the destruccion of *me, being* so nere of blood vnto the king (= *me, who am*). | Rich. 37 F 8, He slewe with his owne handes king *Henry the sixt, being* prisoner in the Tower (= *Henry, who was*). | Rich. 67 G 12, This John Grene did his errande vnto *Brakenbery, kneeling* before our Lady in the Tower, who plainly answered that ... (= *Brakenbery, who was kneeling*). | Rich. 63 F 1, euery man forbereth

¹⁾ In Pecoock, however, we find : Follower p. 3, 28 (Hitchcock), þei ben not ... in *her propre to hem receyuyng placis* (= in the places proper to receiue them).

to say that he knoweth in auoidinge dyspleasure of my noble lord protector, bearinge as nature requireth a filial reuerence to the duches his mother (= *the protector, who hears*).

In Pres. D. Eng. similar constructions would be considered solecisms, since the subject of the form in *-ing* is now regularly understood to be identical with the subject of the principal part of the sentence. The above construction misses clearness, so that the correct interpretation depends on the context only; this may be the reason why in later periods the usage was avoided. Occasionally, however, instances are met with in Pres. D. Eng., cf. B. Shaw, *Candida*, Act I, I passed *him* in the park, *arguing* with somebody. Earlier instances are not difficult to find:

1380 Wyclif, Mt. 9, 32, thei brouzten to hym a doumbe man, *hauynge* a deuel. | 1590-96 Spenser, F. Q. vi, 28, 3, The Gods, that ... marked well her grace, *beeing* of stature tall ... and beautifull ... as any of the Goddesses, ... stood all astonished. | 1592 Shakesp., Ven. 376, *having* no defects, why dost abhor me?

347. Type *In time coming*.

There are not many instances of this construction, More generally preferring the type *time to come* (§ 256).

Last Th. 89 D 6, Whosoeuer he be that hereth this, and yet puleth & wimpereth for dout & fere of lack in time *comming*. ... he beloueth not that Christ spake these wordes. | Prayer 1419 D 2, prouision to be made ... for sede thys *yere coming*.

This usage, which is now obsolete, was well known in earlier English:

c 1374 Chaucer, Tr. 1, 378, unauised of his *wo cominge*.

To coming in pre-nominal position (*her to coming* husband), so frequent in Caxton (§ 256 note 3), does not occur in More.

For the construction *which is to come* [*coming*] see § 414.

348. Type *Medecines of their own devising* ¹⁾.

This construction is frequently met with:

Dial. C. 131, [they] geue sicke folke *medicines of their owne deuising*. | Dial. Her. 242 G 7, *thynges of mennes making*. | Dial. C. 283, [he] had on a time of his own *drawyng*, a certaine *treatice*. | Debell. 943 F 2, [I will] stande by myne other words & verify them wyth a good *excluding of this mans including*.

The same usage in older English:

a 1366 ²⁾ Chaucer, Rom. R. 5863, With all the folk of her *ledyng*. |

¹⁾ For the type *this is of my own making* (after copula) see § 337.

²⁾ Earliest quotation in OED is dated 1526 (s. v. of 41).

idem Rom. R. 5068, she ... Ne may a *jewel* or other thyng Take of her loves fre *yevyng*. | c 1374 idem Anelida 44, all the *floure* of fortunes *yevyng*. | 1410 YorkMem. Bk. (Surtees) 1, 78, That noon ... make no cazeþ nother of meld woll nor meld *garn*, nother of their awne *spynnyng* nor bought spon.

In Shakespeare we read :

Tempest II, i, 133, Millaine and Naples have Mo *widdowes* in them of this *busnesse making*, Then we bring men.

In Pres. D. Eng. the idiom is well known (*the quarrel is none of my seeking ; trees of my own planting ; etc.*).

Instead of the genitive More uses a noun preceded by *of* in :

Dial. Her. 129 G 2, it can not otherwise be but that *anything of the making of hys goodnes* must nedes be good.

No data as to the earlier or later use of this construction have been discovered.

349. Type *Frying pan*.

Dial. Her. 179 F 4, than lepe they lyke a flounder out of a *frying panne* into the fyre. | Debell. 948 G 6, as for the *rayling fashion*, yf I durst be bold to tel so sad a man a merye tale, I would tel him... | Conf. Tynd. 494 G 2, he maketh saint Paules wordes to serue hym for *hys iuglinge sticke*. | Last Th. 102 F 5, we take it as for a *laughyng matter*. | Jest p. 1 C 1, To goe to *wrytyng scole*. | Rich. 60 E 3, vntil his *dieng day*. | Passion 1270 C 1, We haue not here a *dwellyng citie*. | Last Th. 88 D 2, [we] haue here no *dwellyng place*. | Last Th. 81 A 17, borne with the *falling sicknes*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1183 E 10, those prayers, that the priest in his *clensing dayes*, pray for them that are then confessed alredy. | Pageant, Childh. I. 7, to *myne endyng day*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1172 C 8, my *mending daies* come very seld, & are very shortly gone. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1154 G 7, he setteth the *weping time* before, for that is the time of this wretched world & the *laughyng tyme* shall come after in heauen. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1233 B 6, with their hookes and theyr *stocking yrons*, grubbe vppe these wycked weedes. | Dial. C. 1154 G 14, thys short *sowyng tyme*. | Passion 1297 H 13, our *walking staffe* in our hand. | Supplic. 328 A 17, a paire of *hedging gloues*.

All these collocations have this in common that (in contradistinction to the type *a moving spot*) the noun is not the subject of the action denoted by the form in -ing, and that the nature of the various relations between the two components is determined by the sense. In this peculiarity the form in -ing betrays its descent from the O. E. verbal substantive ; whether the combination was characterized by uneven stress in More's time as it is to-day, cannot be ascertained,

but seems plausible. Examples in Middle and in Pres. D. Eng. abound. A number of similar collocations have now become expressions with established designations, and are regularly hyphenated as an indication of their character as compounds (dancing-master; reaping-hook).

Many of the collocations used by More are no longer current now e. g. *laughing time*, *my mending days*, *the weeping time*, *writing scole*, *dwelling city*, *stocking iron*, *railing fashion*.

The earliest quotation in OED with *juggling stick* is dated 1589.

Earlier examples are :

13... Curs. M. 26775, And siþen þai sal you cast in brine As men do wit *salting swine*. | 1380 Wyclif, J. 21, 5, whethir 3e han ony *souping thing*. | 1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 310, 16, hit was called the castel plure that is to saye the *wepyng castel* (D.). | c 1403 Lydgate, *weping teares; sobbing teres*.

St. John Fisher has :

Wks. 158, 8, *wepyng teres*; idem 151, 21, *restyng place*; idem 295, 1, *etyng day... fastyng day*; idem 325, 22, *a brennyng glasse* (W.).

In Berners we read :

Froiss. II, 302, *scalyng ladders*; II, 403, *restyng place*; v, 13, *hunting tyme*; v, 239, *a hewyng axe*; v, 281, the *kynges dressyng borde*; v, 381, *a resortyng place*.

More's use, in the following passage, of the syntactically ambiguous combinations *weeping time* and *laughing harvest* is a fine instance of word-play :

Dial. C. (Wks.) G 14, in thys short sowyng tyme of thys weepyng worlde, must we water our seede with the showres of our teares, and then shal we haue in heauen a merye *laughing harvest* for euer.

350. The collocation *weeping time* alternates in More's English with *tyme of wepyng* : Dial. C. (Wks.) 1154 G 6, without any perceptible difference in meaning. Both are translations of *tempus flendi*, just as *tempus ridendi* is rendered by *laughing time* (idem 1155 A 1; 1154 G 9) and *time of laughing* (idem 1154 G 7). By the side of *sowyng tyme* (idem 1154 G 14) we find *tyme of sowyng* :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1154 G 11, Ther is also a *tyme of sowyng*, & a *tyme of reapyng* to.

Other constructions with *of* occur in :

Dial. Her. 245 D 4, *the stone of stumbling* and *the stone of falling*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1153 D 13, in purgatory punishment serueth for onelie *purgyng*, because *the place of deseruyng*, is passed.

The fact that in the following characteristic paraphrase of the biblical *domus luctus* (Eccl. vii, 3) *wepyng* and *waylynge* are accompanied by a prepositional object (*for some mannes death*) made of course the shorter construction (*weeping house, wailing house*) impossible :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1165 F 1, Belter is it to goo to the house of *wepyng* and *waylynge* for some mannes death, than to the house of a feast.

351. Type *The torment of beating*.

In this combination the former of the two nouns denotes the class of which the latter is a particular example, so that the former is a connotative and the latter a denotative term ¹).

Apol. (Wks.) 878 B 2, this *faute ... of seruing* god for laude, is ... somewhat amended of late. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1164 F 7, the *tormente ... of beating*, nailinge, and stretching out al his limmes... | Rich. 38 C 11, vnder the *pretext of reuengynge* of olde displeasure. | Dial. C. 143, a *good purpose ... of sure standinge* by his holye faith. | Apol. (Wks.) 859 C 10, the *necessitie of the putting* of all thyng in scripture. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1146 D 9, the *fear of losing* ... the lyfe of his sely soule.

This use of the form in *-ing* as a kind of appositional adjunct is common in earlier and later English :

1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 40, 9, that they shold to london come by Christmas vpon *payne of cursyng*. | 1535 Roper, Life of M. xxxiv, 19, All *corruption of wronge doinge or bribes taking*. | 1647 Chas. I Let. in Antiquary I, 97, The *fear of your being brought* within the power of the army. | Pres. D. Eng. : *New methods of falsifying historical truth ; the action of running ; the fact of your meeting him ; the circumstance of there being no one near* (OED).

352. FORM IN *-ING* AS A PREDICATIVE ADJUNCT.

Picus 11 G 9, these erthly thinges, ... *sweting* and *panting* we shall vnneth ohtayn. | Picus 2 D 10, there appeared a fierye garland *standing* ouer the chaumber of hys mother whyle she trauailed. | Picus 16 D 3, God, whiche hath illumined the(e) *syting* in the shadow of death. | Picus 16 H 7, thei now backbite the(e) *liuing* vertuously. | Picus 20 D 9, it shal aryse in the day of iudgement immortall and *shynyng*. | Dial. C. 227, tell him by what mene you know that you be talking with him well *waking* and dreme it *sleping*. | Dial. C. 225, things that are done *waking*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1254 C 1, on she came *gerning* toward the place. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1254 C 12, these Turkes come *yalping & balling* vpon vs. | Last Th. 72 G 14, he ... that goeth forth *fasting* among sick

¹) For the rival construction with an infinitive (*a desire to get before his neybour*) see § 254.

folk. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1180 G 9, the Lyons whelpes walke about *roryng* in the nyght. | Last Th. 85 F 2, [he] ... shewed hymselfe *wyllynge* to geue eche of them a gyft. | Rich. 58 F 1, the Erle ... founde the parties toward & *willing*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1254 A 5, so sholde he be kild *lying*, where he could not styrrer him.

Dial. Her. 111 C 5, Logicke he reckened but *bablynge*.

In the following quotation the form in *-ing* is preceded by *a*.

Answer 1076 (= 1078) H 5, like as if a ryght great man woulde wantonly walke *a mumming* and disguise hymself ¹⁾.

Occasionally these predicative adjuncts are not easily to be distinguished from adverb adjuncts of manner, and a strict line of demarcation cannot be drawn.

Some instances of the usage in earlier and later English follow.

EARLIER	LATER
c 1386 Chaucer, C. T. A 1661, And in this wise I lete hem <i>flightyng</i> dwelle.	1592 Greene, Messenger 18, By her side she had <i>hanging</i> a maruelous rich purse (T.).
1390 Gower, A. 1 3346, she the king with wordes wise <i>knelende</i> thonketh.	1918 Walpole, Fortitude 1 Ch. 3, p. 28, Mr. Westcott spent the day <i>doing business</i> (Kr.).
c 1400 Mandev. Tr. 7-9, Oure lord was ynaylled on the cros <i>lygyng</i> (M.).	Proverb : I call this <i>robbing</i> Peter to pay Paul.
1470-85 Morte D'A. 678, 7, thus he rode <i>sekyng</i> a grete whyle (D.).	

353. Type *Al wakende*.

No instances of this usage have been found in More.

Cf. 1390 Gower, Conf. A. 111 51, *al wakende* I dreame and meete. | idem vi 1746, *al bledende* he kest him ofte. | a 1300 Floriz and Bl. (in Emerson Mi. Eng. R. p. 39 l. 31), Quap Blauncheflur. 'Ich am cominge', Ac heo hit aede *al slepende*.

354. THE FORM IN *-ING* AFTER PREPOSITIONS.

Jest p. 4 B 7, Tyll *with luggyng* And *with tugging*, They fell downe at last. | Last Th. 90 H 4, yet oughtest not to ... dispayre of gods promyse *for thy lyuing*. | Last Th. 88 C 7, now shal ye se men fal at varyance *for kysyng* of the pax. | Last Th. 93 C 2, who so geueth him aduise to be liberall, semeth to preach to a gloton *for fasting*. | Rich.

¹⁾ Cf. : 1523 Berners, Froiss. 1, 116, He was thre dayes *a landyng* of all his provision. | 1534 Tindale, Matt. ix, 9, He saw a man syt *a receauynge* of custome.

47 E 11, thei dare not abyde with their housbandes *for beatynge*. | Rich. 61 H 14, who... woulde reckon hym selfe Lorde of his own good, *among* so ... much *pillng* and *pollng*. | Picus 11 F 14, *In obteyning* the fauour of the princes ... what an heape of heuines ther is. | Dial. Her. 191 D 12, it is a worde ronne in many mens mouthes, begonne *bi mistaking*, & beleued without examination. | Apol. (Wks.) 865 B 11, they wryte ... agaynste *watchynge* and *prayenge*, *fastynge*, and wylfull pouerlye.

After *as for* (prepositional character not clear).

Last Th. 84, *As for escaping* no man can looke for.

After *concerning*.

Lett. 1423 B 12, there is a byl put in against me into the higher house ... *concerning* my communicacion with the nonne of Canterbury, & *mi wryting* vnto her. | Lett. 1451 B 10, [this] may happe to put you in trouble and feare of mind, *concerning me being* here prisoner.

After *final for*.

Last Th. 98 E 3, if we would not rather take a short pain *for the winning* of euerlasting pleasure, than... | Aut. Lett. vii, 70, instructions geuen vnto theym *for the semblable avauncyng* of themperors army. | Picus 3 C 7, *For the purchasing* wherof ... he scrupulously sought out the famous doctours. | Last. Th. 74 D 9, *For the pulling owte* of whych weedes ... there is not a more mete instrument.

Picus 6 E 3, [he] bet and scourged his own flesh ... *for clenng* of his olde offences. | Rich. 54 F 13, this were done *for sauynge* of his othe. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1158 F 10, the church ... aduyseth euerye man to fast to watche, & pray, bothe *for taming* of his fleshly lustes, & also to mourne & lament hys synne before committed...

The use of the form in *-ing* without preceding article or other adnominal word, as illustrated in the last three of these quotations is no longer possible. Cf. :

c 1366 Chaucer, Rom. R. 2206, Keye, That was sometyme, *for myrseyng* Hated bothe of olde and ying.

For the rival construction with an infinitive (*For to put out al maner dout*) see § 259.

After *to*.

Picus 2 F 10, they be borne *to the atchieuing* of some great thing. | Last Th. 72 B 12, this onely text ... containeth more fruitfull aduise ... *to the formyng and framing* of mannes maners in vertue, ... then... | Picus 12 E 13, are woorthy death : not onely they that do such thinges : but also they, which consent *to the doing*. | Picus 5 G 7, *To the bryngyng* foorth of so wondreful effects in so small time, I considre siue causes to haue come together. | Last Th. 75 F 6, *To thattaining* of which mynde ... there is not anything ... more accomodate nor more effectuall, than...

Quite exceptionally the form in *-ing* stands without article in :

Boke of F. p. 3 C 2, And thus from man to man continually, She useth to geue and take, and slyly tosse, One man to wynnynge of an others losse. | Supplic. 335 E 8, we might be ... borne out to *burying*.

Compare :

1380 Wyclif, John 1, 7, This man cam in to *witnessynge* that he shulde bere witnessynge of the lȳt. | 1601 Ben Jonson, Poetast. iii, iv, 103, you should have seen me unrip their noses now, and have sent them to the next barber's to *stitching*.

The usage of the form in *-ing* after *to* may be opposed to that illustrated in § 259, where *to* is followed by an infinitive (e. g. Dial. Her. 275 D 5, *they had used al the waies they could to allect the people by preaching*). The construction with *-ing* is not possible, if there is no direct object following (e. g. Picus 3 B 3, *he departed to Bononie to studie*). Where the two constructions appear side by side there is no perceptible difference in meaning ; the word *to*, however, when introducing a form in *-ing*, would seem to have preserved more of its original prepositional force than the particle *to* before an infinitive. The difference between the two constructions may be one of aspect.

In Pres. D. Eng. too, there are two possibilities :

1788 Reid, Active Powers 1, vii, 530, We are *accustomed to call* the first the cause, and the last the effect. | Athenæum, 28/3, 14, 4, Another reason is that Europeans are *accustomed to seeing* women and Turks are not (Kr.).

In the following quotations the word *to* does not express aim or purpose :

Last Th. 88 B 12, who wold not disdain to be wroth with a wretched prisoner, with him that is in the cart & in the way to *hanging*. | Rich. 55 C 3, his hors twise or thrise stumbled with him almost to *the falling*.

In both cases Pres. D. Eng. would prefer a different construction.

355. Among the cases in which forms in *-ing* are preceded by a preposition there are a few in which they have the character of a prepositional object. They may be dependent on a verb, on a noun or on an adjective :

a) Dependent on a verb.

Last Th. 75 H 10, they wer set on *babling*. | Rich. 58 G 8, [he] began to *entre in talking*. | Last Th. 73 H 3, Thys other sage foole *laugheth at the castynge* of hys own soule into the fire of hel. | Debell. 990 A 14,

[rather then] *trouble the countrey with callyng vp of the iuries.* | Dial. Her. 131 B 5, *ye speke of seking to saintys.* | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1141 E 13, *I deused with my selfe vpon the Turkes cumming.*

Usage known before and after More :

c 1366 Chaucer, Rom. R. 2042, *It cured me of langwissing.* | 1535 Roper, Life of M. LIV, 26, Mr. Pope... could not *refrayne from weeping.* | 1920 Chapin, New Morality, Brit. Plays p. 552, *save him from promising anything that he can't perform* (Kr.).

b) Dependent on a noun ¹⁾.

Prayer 1417 H 7, Almighty god, take from me all ... *appetite of reuengynge* ..., all *pleasure in prouoking* any parson to wrath. | Aut. Lett. xiii 9, *yor ... dexterite in thacheving & bringing* to good passe his vertuose & honorable appetites. | Last Th. 95 D 2, [she] *toke ... such delyte ... in the beholding* of the apple. | Last Th. 72 B 15, *fruitfull adutse ... to the formynge and framing* of mannes maners.

Usage known before and after More :

EARLIER	LATER
1483 Caxton, G. de la Tour D vj, <i>The delite that men take in the ... etyng</i> of them (OED).	1908 Bennett, Old W. T. iv, Ch. 3, § 3, <i>an astonishment which she had real difficulty in concealing</i> (Kr.).

c) Dependent on an adjective ²⁾.

Apol. 91, they waxed *wery of the sekyng.* | Dial. C. 240, to kepe a serpent in thy bosome and yet be *safe from stingyng.* | Picus 3 A 7, they that are *swifte in taking*, be often times *slowe in remembring.* | Aut. Lett. iii 23, though he be not *glad of the Cardinales delyng* yit is he glad that... | Last Th. 84 B 6, *proud of the wering* of a gay golden gown... | Dial. Her. 154 D 9, we be not sure how *long* it would be *in learnyng.* | Dial. C. 183, you that haue bene *at lerning* so long. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1221 F 7, Never was he *saciate of hearinge* his owne prayse. | Conf. Tynd. 414 G 11, [they] were *conuenient for mouing* men to deuocion.

Usage known before and after More :

EARLIER	LATER
1362 Langl., P. Pl. A. Prol. 7, I was <i>weori of wandring</i> (OED).	a 1586 Sidney, Arcadia 109, Phaulantus <i>angry of this defacing</i> his shield.
c 1366 Chaucer, Rom. R. 3812, His tunge was ... wonder <i>bitter in spekyng.</i>	1918 Walpole, Fortitude i Ch. 2, p. 15, Peter was not <i>afraid of being</i> alone.

¹⁾ For the rival construction with an infinitive, e. g. *redines to wax angry* see § 255.

²⁾ For the rival construction with *to* + infinitive (*glad to get at*) see § 258.

After *worth* the complement follows without preposition :
Dial. C. 160, Some of them ... be not *worth the meatyng*.

The same usage in Pres. D. Eng., but mostly without the definite article (e. g. *Everything he wrote is worth reading*).

356. Type *He gave it in lentyng*.

This construction does not occur in More. Cf. :

Chaucer, Rom. R. 2373, if thou yevest it in *lentyng*.

357. THE FORM IN *-ING* AFTER *THAN* AND *BUT*.

Last Th. 87 B 10, The cause is none other *but thappeasyng* of his minde... | Last Th. 76 B 6, yet better wer it *then holdyng* of thy tong.

Many instances of this usage have not been found. From §§ 278-80 it appears that infinitives were preferred here. Compare :

1607 Shakesp. Cor. iv, v, 234, This peace is nothing *but to rust* Iron...
1756 Toldervy, Hist. 2 Orphans 1, 123, Have you nothing else to do *but cleaning* the books (OED). | Collinson, Spoken Eng. p. 26, My watch gains, which is better *than losing*.

In Pres. D. Eng. there is occasionally hesitation as to the right form of the verb, as Fowler 1926, p. 274 (*-ing* 5) points out. He discusses the following sentences : America is doing *more than furnishing* us with loans. | We are bound to suspect that Italy is doing something *more than raise* a diplomatic question. He adds that *raising* is easily defensible but unidiomatic ; and that *raise* is less easily defensible, but idiomatic.

358. THE FORM IN *-ING* EQUIVALENT TO A CLAUSE.

Just as the corresponding constructions with a past participle these constructions fall into two groups : they are either *related* or *absolute*. In the former case they share their subject with that of the principal part of the sentence ; in the latter they have a subject of their own.

The majority of these constructions denote attendant circumstances or simultaneity and are consequently equivalent to clauses opening with *while*. Occasionally, however, ideas of time, reason, condition etc. are so clearly implied that classification into separate groups is justifiable.

In the non-absolute constructions the relations are sometimes of a nature to make it doubtful whether they had not better be called predicative ¹⁾ or attributive adjuncts.

¹⁾ See the first quotation of § 359.

359. THE FORM IN -ING EQUIVALENT TO A CLAUSE OF ATTENDANT CIRCUMSTANCES.

RELATED ¹⁾).

Picus 8 D 14, *fensyng* my selfe with the crucifixe, bare fote *walkyng* about the worlde, ... I purpose to preche Christ. | Dial. Her. 173 G 2, These thynges ... haue I spoken to you *abiding* here with you | Picus 17 F 9, therefore Dauid, speaking in the parson of a ryghtuous manne of his estate, beginneth with these wordes... | Debell. 933 D 20, as thoughe Salem *talking* with Bizance, had not the wytte to perceiue when Bizance speaketh himself. | Rich. 68 B 5, this comunicacion had he *sitting* at the draught. | Rich. 60 C 12, When he remayned for the space of .ii. yeres, *leuing* hys new wife in westminster in sanctuary. | Apol. (Wks.) 882 D 8, this pacifier accompteth them for discrete, that *leauing* the clergy sufficient, woulde that al the remanaunt were taken away from them ²⁾).

EARLIER	LATER
1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A, 633, 35, they helde alle the knyghtes ... vnder theyre obeyssance ... <i>rob- bynge</i> and <i>pyllynge</i> the poure peple of alle that they had (D.).	1906 Buchanan, Winter N. Ch. 3, She remained outwardly calm, seldom <i>leaving</i> the privacy of her own apartments (Kr.).

With prepositions (with, without, in).

Last Th. 81 H 15, Whiche measuryng of time and minishing of life, *with approachyng* toward deth, is nothing els but ... one contynual dying. | Debell. 931 A 9, Now had I supposed to remedy those thinges, & make him an aunswer in thre or four leaues, *with only pointing* the reader to the places, *with writing* in what leafe he should find the mater. | Picus 32 B 6, of reason bee we seruisable *without the gapyng* after any more, To suche as haue done muche for vs before. | Rich. 41 A 6, it shoulde bee harde for him to brynge his purpose to passe, *without the gathering* and great assemble of people... | Last Th. 77 C 16, as one heareth a worde, and let it passe by hys eare, *without any receiuing* of the sentence into his heart. | Last Th. 81 G 3, *in goyng* hence fro this town, a man is not onely goyng fro this towne... | Rich. 55 B 14, Certain it is also, that *in the ridyng* toward the tower..., his hors twise or thrise stumbled. | Picus 8 D 6, on a time as he walked with John Frauncis ... in an orchard at Farrare, *in the talkyng* of the loue of Christ, he brake out in to these wordes... | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1171 G 6, a certain holy father *in makyng* of a sermon, spake of heauen and heavenly thinges so celestially that...

In the ridyng (= *while ridyng*), and *in the talking* (= *while talking*) are no longer possible.

¹⁾ Deutschbein 1931, p. 147 ("Participium conjunctum").

²⁾ For the collocations *al slepende*, *al bledende*, *al wakende*, see § 353.

EARLIER

a 1320 Sir Tristr. 2620, Tristrem is
went oway, wip *outen coming*
again (OED).

1477 Earl Rivers (Caxton) Dictes 67,
Gladnesse, which encesses
daily in me in *learnynge wys-*
dom (OED).

LATER

1597 Deloney, Gentle Craft, 128, O
my faith (quoth Ioane) you say
not true in so *saying* (T.).

Pres. D. Eng. He was drowned in
crossing the river (OED).

ABSOLUTE.

Dial. Her. 166 C 4, ye both confessed, that neither of ye bothe could
any further thing finde therein, he ¹⁾ *sayenge* still that his waye were
the truthe, ... and *your self* ... *perceyuyng* in your owne mynde none
other. | Picus 16 E 15, *their wickednes blinding* them on this side : and
the deuil pricking them forthwarde on that side : thei renne forth
hedling in to all mischief. | Rich. 54 A 4, [he] sat him downe, in his
place : al *the lordes* much dismayed & sore *meruelling* of this maner
of sodain chaunge. | Rich. 43 F 7, Then was there greate commocion
and murmure ... *the people* diuerselye *diuininge* vpon this dealing. |
Rich. 38 C 2, a long continued grudge ... between the Quenes kinred
and the kinges blood *eyther partye enuyng* others authoritye. | Apol.
78, *the olde feruour* of cheryte so *begynnynge* to cole : it is to be fered
at length, that... | Rich. 68 E 12, Then *all the other beeing* ²⁾ remoued
from them, thys Miles Forest and John Dighton, about midnight (*the*
sely children lying ³⁾) in their beddes) came into the chamber. | Rich.
68 F 6, within a while smored and stifled, *their breath failing* ³⁾, they
gaue up to god their innocent soules. | Supplic. 289 E 8, And *the case so*
standynge ⁴⁾, there woulde ... no manne doubt, but... | Dial. C. 227,
Therefore in his case both playn against Goddes open precept, and the
dispensacion straunge and withoute saumple, *no cause appearing* nor
wel imaginable, but if he wold thinke, that... | Picus 18 F 1, of whiche
vniuersitie God is no part, but he is the *begynnynge*, *nothing* therupon
dependyng. | Last Th. 93 D 10, But loke if ye see not some wretches
that scant can crepe for age, *his hed hanging* in his bosom, and his
body croked, walk pit pat vpon a paire of patens. | Last Th. 84 E 9, in
this prison of yerth we driue forth a while, some bounde to a poste,
some wandring abroad, ... *some bylding* them bowers & *making* palaces
in the prison, *some weping*, some ... *laboring*, *some playing*, ... no man

¹⁾ The oblique case of the pronouns was no longer used in this
function : 1432 Paston Lett. (Gairdner) n° 24, p. 35, without th'advise of
my Lord of Bedford, *him* being in England, and *him* being out, of my
Lord of Gloucestre.

²⁾ Also temporal force.

³⁾ Also causal force.

⁴⁾ Also conditional force.

almost *remembringe* in what case he standeth. | Rich. 43 C 10, Aboute whome he found muche heauinesse, rumble, haste and businesse ... no manne vnoccupied, some *lading*, some *goynge*, somme *descharging*, somme *commynge* for more, some *breakinge* downe the walles to bring in the nexte way, and somme yet drewe to them that holpe to carry a wronge way.

EARLIER

1390 Gower, Conf. A. i 2181, Thei wepte and made mochel mone, *Here her hangende* aboute here eres.

1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 186, 35, And on the morne erly came these foure quenes passyngly wel bysene, *Alle they byddyng* hym good morne and he them ageyne (D.).

LATER

1843 Dickens, Chr. Car. II, They walked along the road, *Scrooge recognising* every gale, and post, and tree.

(1843) Dickens (cited by Wendt 1914, p. 179), *Alarm-bells ringing, drums beating, the sea raging and thundering* on its new beach, the attack begun.

With prepositiōns (without, with).

Rich. 40 F 9,oure enemyes ..., whiche *without* his *wyttyng*, might abuse the name of his commaundement to ani of our vndoing. | Last Th. 97 A 12, What good can the great gloton do *with* his *bely standing* a strote, like a taber ... but balk vp his brewes.

EARLIER

1412-20 Lydgate, Troy Book III 5052, His wif of newe crie gan & shoute, And *with htr pappis* also *hanging oute* ... A ... foīn hir lord gan to wepe & pleue (H.).

LATER

1930 Eng. Hist. Rev. 45 p. 135, Mr. Bickley might very well have cut down his volumes considerably *without* our losing very much (OED).

1848 Thackeray, Virg., *With* the enemy *invading* our country, it was my duty to go on the campaign (Kl.).

360. THE FORM IN -ING EQUIVALENT TO AN ADVERB CLAUSE OF TIME.

RELATED.

Picus 16 H 13, flee as farre as thou mayest their company, & *retournyng* to thy selfe, often times secretly praye. | Rich. 38 G 4, the Kyng *liftyng* vppe *himselfe* and vnder sette with pillowes ... on this wise sayd vnto them. | Apol. (Wks.) 907 H 16, such as were taken for woorthippefull, *beyng called* in for witnesses, haue first made manye delayes. | Picus 9 D 6, [Charles Kyng of Fraunce] *heartyng of the sicknesse* of Picus. ... sent him two of his owne phisicians.

These constructions are still possible, though they are often introduced by *on*.

EARLIER	LATER
1412-20 Lydgate, Troy Book 1, 222, And Anthenor, <i>departyng</i> from Troyens, Gan first þe cite of Venycyens (H.).	1590 Spenser, Fairy Q. 1, v, 39, 4, Which <i>hearing</i> , his ... Syre began to rend his heare.

With prepositions (after ¹), at, in, vpon).

Picus 11 F 5 The marchaunt thinketh him selfe welle serued, if *after* .x. yeris *failng*, ... he maie at last haue a little the more gathered together. | Rich. 53 H 4, *after* a little *talking* with them, he sayd vnto the Bishop... | Rich. 45 (= 44) D 4, amonge whiche stuffe ... somme were harneys, whiche *at* the *breakinge vp* of that householde, muste needes eyther bee broughte awaye or caste awaye. | Apol. (Wks.) 923 C 14, it was well perceiued what greate nede it was ... to repressse ... suche sedicious heresies forthwyth *at the firste springng*. | Dial. C. 336, no man can ... in such wyse chaunge the nature of payne, that *in the hauing* of payn, he fele it not. | Rich. 61 B 11, Nowe was it before deuised, that *in the speaking* of these wordes, the protector should haue comen in among the people. | Rich. 56 E 1, *vpon the proclaimng* therof, one that was scole master of Poules ... said vnto them that stode about him...

EARLIER	LATER
c 1400 Sir Perc. 1531, Thay mone At thaire <i>meting</i> (OED).	1890 Gissing, Odd Women, ch. 3, On <i>asking</i> for Miss Nunn, she was led to a back room (Kr.).

ABSOLUTE.

Picus 2 C 13, In the yere of our Lorde God. 1463., *Pius the seconde being* then the generall vicare of Christ in hys church: and *Frederike the third* of that name *ruling* the empire. | Rich. 60 H 1, god alway so prouideth, that it continueth not in their blood long, but *the trowth comming* to light, the rightful inheritors be restored...

EARLIER. 1470-85, Malory, Morte D'A. 169, 4, *the Kyng beynge set at his dyner*, ther cam in two messagers (D.).

LATER. 1584 Lyly, Campaspe 1, iii, 5, *I nrgng him to giue some answer*, hee tooke vp a booke. | 1643 Prynne, Sov. Power. App. 28, *Charles dying*, his sonne Charles the eight, was re^luted ... King (OED).

Occasionally the form in *-ing* precedes its subject, as in the following instances :

¹) In the following passage we find *comet* instead of *coming* : Supplic. 322 B 2, And diuers that a while had went thei should haue died for pain, yet after once *comet* or twayn [shall we see] so cleane ridde of their grieve, that they neuer fele displeasure of it after. — This use of *once* before a noun of action is also found in other writers, e. g. 1548 Gest, Pr. Masse in H. G. Dugdale (1840) App. 40, Then is the *once sacrifice* of Christ utterly to be abandoned and disauthorized.

Rich. 63 D 14, the children of King Edward the fourth wer neuer lawfully begotten, forasmuch as the king (*liuing his very wise dame Elizabeth Lucy*)¹⁾ was neuer lawfully married vnto the Quene. | Answer 1138 D 3, For this we may be sure, that whoso dishonor god : *standing that false belief* and infidelitic, all honoure that he dooeth hym ... is odious. | Conf. Tynd. 720 C 9; idem E 3.

This use of *living* and *standing* ²⁾ is now obsolete, but was current before More.

EARLIER

c 1380 Wyclif, Sel. Wks III 115, He (Christ) becom man, *stondynge his godhed*, þat he myȝt not lese (OED).

1390 Gower, Conf. A. 1723, He tok upon him alle thing of malice and of tirannie ... *Livende his fader*.

1529 Rastell, Pastyme (1811) 33, He was crownyd *lyuing hys fader* by pope Johnn (OED).

LATER

1569 Abp. Parker, in Corr. (1853) 353, I think he should do this thing ... better cheap than they may be bought from beyond the seas, *standing the paper* and goodness of his print (OED).

a 1641 Bp. Mountagu, Acts 267 *Living his mother Alexandra*, he had been with the High Priesthood nine years (OED).

With prepositions (after, at) ³⁾.

Supplic. 298 A 9, *After which thinge well apperyng*, the matter went forth afore the bishop. | Rich. 58 F 19, *After which done, & the Erle of Warwik being* in his embassiate aboute thafore remembred mariage, this pore Lady made humble sute vnto the king. | Rich. 40 B 5, to the gouernaunce ... of this yong prince *at his sending* thyther, was there appointed sir Antony Woduile. | Rich. 41 F 3, *at their risinge* in the dawning of the day, thei sent about priuily to their seruantes. | Answer 1042 D 14, yet had it not bene euil to begin somewhat before *at Christes disciples going* into the ship in the euening...

Instances of this usage are not numerous.

EARLIER

a 1400 Stanzaic Life of Christ 10153, And þat shwed wel be one thyng þat þe Apostels vseden her *After þe Holy Gost coming*.

LATER

1607 Stat. in Hist. Wakefield Gram. Sch. 58, Leaues word thereof att their howses in *theire beinge* abroad (OED).

¹⁾ Expressing not only time, but also reason. Cf. Rich. 67 G 1, his *nephewes liuing*, men woulde not reckon that hec could haue right to the realm.

²⁾ *Notwithstanding* is always preceded by its subject, if this is expressed : *which notwithstanding, that notwithstanding, all this notwithstanding*. See § 366.

³⁾ Cf. the usage in Old Eng. : c 900 tr. Bæda's Hist. I, VIII, (Schipper). 29, Constantius ... *be Diocletiane lyfȝendum* Gallia rice ... beold.

1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 260, 1,
At his agayne comyng he semed
blewe (D.).

Pres. D. Eng., upon it being an-
nounced ... that there was a
deficit ..., Mr. Wills ... intimated
... (Kr.).

Occasionally the absolute construction occurs without subject.

Aut. Lett. v, 2, 5, after that his grace was cummen home hither and had dyned *being vi of the clokke* in the nyht, I offred myselfe agayne to his grace in his awne chambre.

This usage, which was not yet old in More's days (§ 25), seems to have lived on for a certain time after him. The following quotation from the Auth. Version shows a similar construction, though the form in *-ing* can also be interpreted as dependent on *day*: John 20, 19 Then the same day at euening *being* the first day of the weeke. | In Pres. D. Eng. it is placed before *being* (*it being six o'clock*), if a different turn is not preferred.

361. THE FORM IN *-ING* EQUIVALENT TO AN ADVERB CLAUSE OF REASON, CAUSE, MEANS OR INSTRUMENTALITY.

RELATED.

Rich. 40 A 9, Which countrey *being* far of from the law ... was begon to be farre oute of good wyll ... | Apol. 87, *Hauyng* mete and drynke and where wyth to be covered, lette vs be content. | Instr. 1405 D 5, the roote hath moe branches to be wel waied & considered then I can now conueniently, (*hauing* none other pen then a cole). | Picus 12 B 12, shall we wilfully make our self their bondemen? and with them wretchedly *liuing*, more wretchedlie die? | Picus 22 B 9, oft thou shalt, *restisting* valiauntly, The fendes might and sottle fiery darte: Our sauour Christ resemble in some part. | Rich. 49 C 7, with which disease nature *being forelaborid* ... waxeth the lesse able to beare out a new surfet. | Dial. Her. 181 G 2, than shall it folowe, that he shall bee a member of the very churche and so styll continew, and neuer can be cast out *being* ¹⁾ a stark heretique. | Dial. Her. 155 G 12, ... yet were he not vnylkely ... to fall in to the secte and heresy of the Arrians. And ... to deuise such false gloses as thei dyd, were as ²⁾ *beyng* before taught and confirmed by the faithe of the church, ... [he] shall well perceyue ... that...

The same usage in earlier and later English. Cf.:

1300 Gower, Conf. A. 2479, He contrefeteth ... The vois ... in such a

¹⁾ Pres. D. Eng. would have *for being a heretic*.

²⁾ The meaning of *were as* is *whereas*. W. E. Campbell, in his modern version (The Eng. Wks. II p. 90, 3rd line from bottom) leaves *were as* unchanged; this, however, does not make sense.

wise, That made hire of hire bedd arise, *Wenende* that it were he. | 1412 Lydgate, Troy Book 1, 657, To Colchos ward þei helde þe weye ryȝt, *Gaying* her cors by the lode sterre.

So far the usage illustrated conforms to Pres. D. idiom. Not so in the following instances, where the subject of the form in *-ing* is not identical with that of the principal part of the sentence, but is the same as that denoted by a pronoun occurring in the principal part of the sentence.

Let. 1453 B 8, my duetie was *being* hys subiect ... to make a playne and a terminate aunswere. | Rich. 54 C 17, there upon euery mannes mind sore misgaue them, well *perceiuing* that this matter was but a quarel.

In Pres. D. Eng. a dependent clause opening with a conjunction would be preferred : *as (since) I was his subject ; as (since) they well perceived.*

Similarly in : 1584 Lyly, Campaspe II, ii, 103, it is a king that loueth, and Alexander, whose affections are not to bee measured by reason, *being immortal...*

With prepositions (for, in, by, with).

Dial. Her. 177 B 12, if I were ... lyke my wyfe, I shoulde muse more theron now and eate no meat *for longyng* to know. | Last Th. 75 H 4, it were lesse euil ... to blabber on trifles, ... than whyle they seeme sage, *in kepyng silence* ¹⁾, secretly ... to fantasye wyth them self, fylthy sinful deuises. | Picus 7 E 4, *In louyng* him also we more profit our self. | Rich. 64 A 14, you shall doe gret profite to all this realme ... *in chosing* them so good a king. | Rich. 48 H 11, she *in this doynge* should ... dooe great good to the realme. | Apol. (Wks.) A 1, *by twyse weddyng* [I] am come in the case that I canne neuer be prieste. | Last Th. 92 H 8, [they] liue wretchedly *by sparing* from themself. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1149 G 7, [God] sendeth him tribulacion ... to gar him ken hys maker, and *by lesse liking* the false flattering world, set a crosse vpon the shyp of his hart. | Apol. (Wks.) 861 E 2, [he wyl] walke and worke wyth God *by captiuyng* of hys owne vnderstandinge, and *subdewyng* of hys owne reason, ... and *by callyng* vpon the continuaunce of Goddes gracious helpe thereunto. | Dial. Her. 150 B 4, *with sowyng* sedicion, *setting forth* of errors ..., and *spising* their preching with rebuking of priesthode ..., they tourne many a man to ruyne. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1230

¹⁾ An almost identical use of the form in *-ing* (*sage in kepyng silence*), but without preposition (*deaf not herynge*) is found in St. John Fisher : Wks. 80, 35, suche as be ouercomen by temptacyons are very *blynde not perceyuyng* the vgsomnes of synne, also they be *defe not herynge* the fraude of the deuyll, & last they be *dombe not spekyng* & wysely reprouyng thabomynacyon of it.

No instances of this idiom have been found in More.

C 4, Maye he not leese this countrei againe vnto Christen men, and you *with the taking* of this waye, fall in the same peryll then, that ye woulde nowe eschewe?

The same usage before and after More, except that in Pres. D. Eng. *by* would be substituted for *with* in the last two quotations.

EARLIER	LATER
c 1200 St. Lucy 33, in S. Eng. Leg. 1, 102, þoru ₃ <i>touching</i> ue of seinte Agace tounge þou ₃ schalt beo hol a-non (OED).	c 1500 Medwall, Fulgens II, p. 223, But I se well he is a made man <i>In this message doyinge</i> (T.).
c 1386 Chaucer, C. T. A 2466, I slow Sampson, <i>in shakynge</i> the piler.	1597 Deloney, Gentle Craft 193, proue not a foole <i>by being</i> too fearefull (T.).
c 1400 Mandev. Tr. III 19, Wee synne dedly, <i>in shauynge</i> oure berdes.	1667 Dryden, tr. Life St. Fr. Xav. VI, 667, many sick persons ... were cured <i>with only seeing</i> it (OED).
c 1460 Wisdom 1105 in Macro Plays 72, <i>By towchyng</i> e, I fette peyne smerte (OED).	

What about in the following quotation has the same meaning as *what with* (= *in consequence of*) in Pres. D. Eng. :

Rich. 62 E 16, *what about the getting of the garland, keping it, lesing & winning againe*, it hath coste more englishe blood then hath twice the winning of Fraunce.

Earlier example with *what of* :

a 1400-50, Wars Alex. 781, *Quat of stamping of stedis & sterfing of cernes*, All dymed þe dale.

In the following quotations the subject of the form in *-ing* is not the subject of the principal part of the sentence :

Lett. 1417 D 11, his highnes shoulde *for not disclosing* the causes, accounte me for stubburne and obstinate. | Last Th. 85 H 15, For thou woldest not for shame, that men should think thee so mad, to enuy a poore soule, *for playing* the lord one night in an interlude. | Rich. 68 F 11, Whiche after that the wretches parceiued, first *by the struggling* with the paines of death, and after *long lying styll* to be thoroughly dead. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1162 B 1, ... the self same sinnefull thinges with whiche thei displease God most, and at lengthe *with manye times vayne* thys maner, God vtterly casteth them of.

Pres. D. Eng. usually interpolates possessive pronouns : *for my not disclosing, for his playing, by their struggling, their (using this manner)* or uses clauses introduced by *because, as, since*, etc.

There are a number of instances in which *for* means *fear of* :

Dial. Her. 157 H 12, he gaue them a great hepe of lawes ... to kepe them in straytely *for stryenge* abroad in ryot. | Apol. (Wks.) 881 F 13, [they] ... woulde than very faine saue *for hanging* robbe spirituall and temporall to. | Apol. (Wks.) 925 E 10, those whose corrupte canker no cure can heale, cut of in season *for corrupting* farther. | Apol. (Wks.) 850 E 2, lette him kepe one cople therof with hymselfe *for leesinge*, and send another to me. | Rich. 47 E 10, Mens wyues runne thither with theyr housebandes plate, and saye, they dare not abyde with theyr housbandes *for beatyng*. | Dial. Her. 247 A 2, the father doeth by his discrecion appoynte which of his children may ... kepe a knife to cut his meate, and which shal ... haue his knife taken from him *for cutting* of hys fyngers. | Dial. Her. 168 A 13, I haue shewed you the contrary, and remoued that blocke out of the way *for stomblyng*.

The following quotation illustrates earlier usage ¹⁾ :

c 1460 Contin. Brut ii 460, The stretes wer strawed thurghout *for slidyng* of theire horses.

Shakespeare has :

Sonn. 52, 4, The which (treasure) he will not every hour survey, *For blunting* the fine point of seldom pleasure. | Gentl. i, ii, 136, here they shall not lie, *for catching* cold. | 2 Henry VI, iv, i, 74, now will I dam up this thy yawning mouth *for swallowing* the treasure of the realm ²⁾.

Later examples :

a 1592 Greene, Alphonsus (1861) 231, That you dare Not use your sword *for staining* of your hands. | 1785 Burns, Halloween xxiii, It chanc'd the stack ... Was timmer-propt *for throwin'*. | 1810 Scott, Lady of the L., v, 858, Spare not *for spoiling* of thy steed.

With conjunctions.

There are a few instances in which the causal construction is introduced by a conjunction (*as* ; *for as much as*) ³⁾ :

Last Th. 82 G 15, As *for* wrathe and enuy, be the knowen children of pride *as rising* of an hie estimacion of our self. | Lett. 1432 F 8, *For as much as being* in prison, I cannot tel what nede I may haue ... I hartely besech you all...

¹⁾ OED (s. v. *for* 23 c) has no quotations with a form in -ing anterior to More. There is one without a form in -ing : a 1430 Octouian 682, That wyf therst not say nay, *For wordes ylle*. This usage was known to More too : Dial. Her. 186 G 7, Some that fainted and fled *for martirdom*, were not so euyl as they that pursued them.

²⁾ Schmidt (1902 i p. 437) calls this use in Shakespeare peculiar. The evidence from More shows that this epithet is not deserved.

³⁾ For conjunction + past participle see §§ 319-22.

Causal *as* and *for as much as* are not the only conjunctions used by More to introduce the clause equivalent with the form in *-ing*; in § 363 there is a quotation with *as* (= *as if*), in § 366 another with *how be it* (= *though*).

We seem to have here very early examples of a usage that was to develop more fully later on. None of the earliest instances found in other writers date further back than the last part of the 16th century ¹⁾:

As (causal) 1657 Lud. Carlell, *The Fool Would Be a Favourit*, Act iv, But if you shall make me a tender Of that love which at your Castle I refused, *As being* then a prisoner to anothers beauty, Assure your selfe I shall redeem that errour (C.). | 1677 Morton, *Mech. Exerc.* (1703) 203, The whole Work will be spoiled, *as being* smaller than the proposed Diameter (OED s. v. *as* iv, 18, b).

As (= *as if*) 1590-6 Spenser, *F. Q.* i, i, 1, His angry steede did chide his foming bitt, *As much disdayning* to the curbe to yield. | c 1600 Shaksp. *Sonn.* 132, 1, *as pitying* me.

As if. 1581 Lyly, *Alex. & Campaspe*, Diogenes moves about with a lantern, *as if seeking* someone (E.) [Earliest quot. in OED 1821 s. v. *if*, 8, c].

Though. 1590-6 Spenser, *F. Q.* i, iii, 2, how she ... *Though* nor in word nor deede ill *meriting*, is from her knight divorced in despayre. | 1592 Shaksp., *Ven.* 842, lovers hours are long *though seeming* short.

Whensoever. 1551 tr. *Life Father Paul Sarpi*, 10, Either rising from the board, or from his bed at midnight, or *whensoever applying* himself wholly ... to the subject (OED).

While. 1819 Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.* v, i, 662, Cornish was arrested *while transacting* business on the Exchange (OED).

But (= unless). 1606 Shaksp. *Ant.* iv, ii, 1, *But being charged*, we will be still by land.

When. 1606 Shaksp. *Ant.* ii, ii, 75, I wrote to you *when rioting* in Alexandria.

ABSOLUTE.

Rich. 40 A 9, which countrey ... was ... waxen wild, *robbers and riuers walking at libertie vncorrected*. | Dial. Her. 280 C 1, it is now all one to cal him a Lutherane or to call him an heretike, *those two wordes being in maner equiualent, Luther teaching almost nothing but heresies...* | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1229 H 5, Wene ye now ..., *that Soudane and this Turke, beinge bothe of one false secte, you may not finde them bothe like false of their promise*. | Rich. 67 G 1, *his nephewes lliuing*,

¹⁾ *As touching* occurs already in Chaucer: *Melibeus*, 189, And *as touching* thy frendes, thou schalt considere which of hem beth most faithful. | It is, however, doubtful if this construction belongs here.

men woulde not reckon that hee could haue right to the realm. | Debell. 929 F 13, he so not muche minded as yet, *age now so comming on and waxing*¹⁾ all vnwielye, to goe thyther & giue thassaute. | Last Th. 87 G 3, for the fountayne once stopped, the sore shal some heale of it self, *the matter faylyng that fed it*. | Rich. 41 A 12, *the kyng being on their side*, his part should haue the face and name of a rebellion. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1259 B 10, [we may wel knowe] ... that the very best man liuing here vpon earth (*the best manne ... being no more but a man*) cannot ... atteyn the right imaginacion therof.

Instances abound.

EARLIER	LATER
1403 Lydgate, Troy Book v, 725, Ceptre and crowne this yonge prince halthe lorne, <i>Caranseus</i> <i>vsurpyng</i> moost falsly To be crowned kynge (H.).	1913 Punch 19, 2, <i>We having</i> occa- sion to shut up our flat for a month or so, my wife was all for taking our silver round to a safe deposit (Kr.).

362. THE FORM IN -ING EQUIVALENT TO A CLAUSE OF CONDITION. RELATED.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1191 E 10, But *takyng the scrypture of God for a grounde for thys matter*, you know veri wel your self you shal go som what a shorter wai to worke. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1142 B 3, These thinges ... *cumming to vs*, are matter of wordly wealth : and taken from vs ..., be matter of aduersitie. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1218 F 11, [if we now consider ... these causes] ... we shall well perceiue *waying them well with reason*, that ... thei shall well appeare ... thinges nothing so muche to be dred and fled fro.

This usage is in agreement with older practice. Shakespeare has :

Sonnets LII, 13, whose worthiness gives scope, *Being had*, to triumph ; *being lack'd*, to hope.

In Pres. D. Eng. the construction is often preceded by *if*.

EARLIER	LATER
1402 Lydgate, Troy Book i, 4357, <i>Hauyng rewarde to hir htye</i> <i>degre</i> . He shulde rather ... haue weddid hir þerfore (H.).	Pres. D. Eng. : This same thing, <i>happening in wartime</i> , would amount to disaster (C.).

In the following passage the subject of the form in -ing is not the subject of the principal part of the sentence :

¹⁾ The subject of *waxing* is *he*, the subject of the main part of the sentence ; the quotation, therefore, affords an instance of a mixture of an absolute and a related construction, a usage not possible in Pres. D. Eng.

Rich. 48 B 6, neither king nor Pope can geue any place such a priueledge, that it shall discharge a man of his dettes *being able to paye*.

In Pres. D. Eng. : *if he is able to pay or who is able to pay*.

With preposition (*in*) :

Picus 12 A 11, What thing is ther to be desired among the delites of this world, which *in the seking* wery vs, *in the hauing* blindeth vs, *in the lesing* peineth vs ?

The conditional character of the prepositional construction in this passage is not very clear ; the construction may be developed into : *if we have them, if we lose them* as well as into : *when (while) we have them*, etc.

EARLIER	LATER
c 1400 Mandev. Tr. 3, 19, Wee synne dedly, <i>in etynge</i> of bestes (M.).	1596 Shakesp., Merch. v, iii, 320, <i>In paying</i> it, it is impossible I should live.

Constructions with *in*, clearly denoting condition, do not often occur in Pres. D. Eng.

Huxley, Darw. Ch. II, 24, We do not speak jestingly *in saying* that it is Mr. Darwin's misfortune to know more about the question ... than any man living (P.).

ABSOLUTE.

Aut. Lett. xiv, 57, such final determinacion as may *god willing* be best & moost conducible to the desired ende. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1211 A 4, whan I wake, I wyl againe come to you, and than is (*god willing*) all this daye ours. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1147 E 12, *he dwelling* with vs, what trouble can do vs harme ? | Picus 18 C 3, And that thing taketh he for his chief good, which only hadde, ... he thinketh himselfe happye, and *whyche onely lacking*, ... he thinketh himself vnhappy. | Rich. 49 (= 46) H 6, she myghte happen to brynge that to passe, (as it were no great maistrye, *wee lettinge* her alone)...

Similar conditional constructions are not often met with in Pres. D. Eng., except in stereotyped phrases such as *God willing* and *weather permitting*. Shakespeare has :

Meas. III, i, 68, But in what nature ? — In such a one as, you *consenting* to 't, would bark your honour from that trunk you bear.

363. THE FORM IN -ING EQUIVALENT TO A CLAUSE OF REJECTED COMPARISON.

Dial. Her. 140 B 14, they will make comparisons betwene our Lady of Ippiswitch and our Ladie of Walsingham. *As wening* that one image more of power then the other.

Though *as if* is now the usual introduction, *as* is still occasionally found (Curme 1931, p. 283) :

1880 L. Wallace, Ben Hur., Ch. xi, Then the herald raised his eyes as seeking approval of someone far off (C.).

For instances from Spenser and Shakespeare see § 361.

364. THE FORM IN -ING EQUIVALENT TO A CLAUSE OF RESULT.

Last Th. 78 F 3, [he] founde the meanes ... to depriue vs of paradise, & bereue vs our immortalitie, *making* vs into subieccion... | Last. Th. 85 A 13, [Envy] ... so dysfigureth the visage *leuing* it al bony, leane, pale & wan.

EARLIER

1402 Lydgate, Troy Book III, 1407,
And amonge him, lik Mars hym
sill he rood, Full many Greke
*makyn*g for to sterue (H.).

LATER

Pres. D. Eng. : He mistook me for
a friend, thus *causing* me some
embarrassment (C.).

The relation is clearer if the preposition *to* precedes :

Rich. 62 F 3, In which inward warre among our self, hath ben so gret effucion of the auncient noble blood of this realme, that scarcely the half remaineth, *to the gret infebeling* of this noble land. | Rich. 55 C 2, his hors twise or thrise stumbled with him almost *to the falling*.

Now often with a noun of action not ending in -ing, e. g. *to the destruction of*, *to the total exclusion of*.

365. THE FORM IN -ING EQUIVALENT TO AN ADVERB CLAUSE OF PURPOSE.

Picus 8 G 12, [very God and very man]... whiche at the last for *washing* of oure spottie synne, ... in the aulter of the crosse, shede out his most precieuse bloude. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1149 D 17, God somtyme sendeth tribulacion for *keeping and preseruing* a man from such syn.

Last Th. 99 A 11, For *thabridgynge* wherof, let vs consider it but in the selfe same sinne that we haue in hand. | Rich. 56 B 2, for *the further appesing* of the peoples mind, he sent immediatli after diner..., one herode of armes.

Last Th. 77 A 12, thereby shall we make a profe, what marueilous effect may grow by the diligent remembraunce of all fower, *towarde thauoiding* of al the traines, dartes, entisinge ... of the three mortall enemies. | Apol. (Wks.) 860 A 12, be a woorker with God *towarde the attaining of faith*.

Apol. (Wks.) 860 H 2, God vseth the tone token of the word *to the wasshinge & clennesinge* of the soule. | Picus 6 B 3, All that euer he receyued ... he bestowed in the bying of a litle lande, *to the finding* of him and his howsholde. | Rich. 40 B 5, *to the gouernaunce and ordering* of this yong prince ... was there appointed sir Antony Woduile.

The constructions introduced by *to* may be compared with those in which *to* (denoting purpose) is followed by an infinitive.

tive, e. g. *they used all the wayes they could to alleect the people*. See § 259.

The usage illustrated above differs from that in Pres. D. Eng. only in that forms in *-ing* not preceded by *the* or another adnominal word are rarer now than they were then. Introductory groups like *with a view to*, *for the purpose of*, *with the object of* are now often preferred.

EARLIER : 1340 Pseud. Hampole, Pr. Consc. 2889, *For warnyng of frendes þat lyefes*. | 1451 Capgrave, Life St. Aug. 4, *þei herd sai þat her child had a grete corage to lernyng*.

LATER : 1601 Ben Jonson, Poetaster III, iv, 103, [I] have sent them to the next barber's *to stitcheing*. | 1630-48 Bradford, History of Pl. Plantation 165, They all went *to seeking* of shellfish (C.). | 1806 A. Hunter, Culina (ed. 3) 133, You sit down *to writing* at your bureau (OED). | 1865 Swinburne 877, [I] stand, girt as they *to hunting*. | Pres. D. Eng. : We planted a hedge *for preventing* the cattle from straying (C.).

366. THE FORM IN *-ING* EQUIVALENT TO AN ADVERB CLAUSE OF CONCESSION.

Prayer 1418 B 9, pardon me good lord, that I am so bold to ask so high petitions, *being so vile a sinfull wretch*. | Apol. (Wks.) 863 D 7, god vpon suche folke as *hauynge wytte and learninge* fall wylfullye from faithe, to false heresy, sheweth hys wrathe. | Dial. Her. 144 E 11, the world ... & the frailete of our flesh ... make vs ... *well knowyng & beleuing* the good, yet to walke in the worse as doth somtime the sicke man, that *beleuing* his phisicion, & *hauing* had also right often good prooffe ... before, that some certain meate or drinke shall dooe hym harme, doth yet of an importune appetite fal for his litle pleasure to his great pain & hurt.

The same usage in older and later English.

EARLIER
1402 Ludgate, Troy Book v, 1349,
Til by counseil of þis Eneas, To
support hem in þis gret nede þei
sent in haste for þis Diomede,
knowynge ful wel his desola-
cioun (H.).

LATER
1590-6 Spenser, F. Q. x, ii, 41, 5,
yet, *swimming in that sea of*
blisful joy, he nought forgott
how he whilome had sworne.

With *how be it*.

Picus 6 B 10, He was content with meane fare at his table : *how be it* somewhat yet *reteynyng* of the olde plentie in deintie viande and siluer vessell.

For other conjunctions see § 361.

In the following quotation the subject of the form in *-ing*

is not identical with the subject of the main part of the sentence :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1221 H 14, I lyked my selfe the better, because mee thoughte my woordes *beeynge but a straungyer*, wente yet with some grace in the Almain tong.

The form NOTWITHSTANDING.

Notwithstanding does not seem to have already assumed the character of a preposition, since it is preceded by a pronoun or noun in the function of a subject ; the combination *this (that, etc.) notwithstanding* is therefore clearly an absolute construction.

Lett. 1429 A 1, they shewed me the roll, and let me se the names of the lordes ... which had sworne ... : *Which notwithstanding* when they saw that I refused to swere the same myself, ... I was commaunded to goe downe into the gardein. | Debell. 997 D 10, the law presumeth that *his oth notwythstandyng* he were lykely inough to lye. | Dial. Her. 150 D 4, some haue I sene, whiche when thei haue ... ben by their prelates prohibited to preache, haue (*that notwithstanding*) proceded on stil. | Rich. 51 G 2, *All this notwithstanding*, here I deliver him and hys brother. | Dial. Her. 150 G 4, he would ... preache (*ani prohibicion notwithstanding*).

It is possible that this usage (subject preceding, not following) was not yet old when More wrote ; the earliest quotation in OED of this idiom is :

1490 Caxton, Eneydos vi, 23, *Thys notwystandyng*, alwaye they be in awayte.

In older English *nought (withstanding)* is often met with ; this form does not occur in More :

1300 Gower, Conf. Am. v, 1611, *Noght withstondende* ; idem vi, 683, *nothing withstondende*.

In Pres. D. Eng. the front-position of the subject is less usual than the back-position ; in literary English it is not rare :

1936 Times Lit. Supp., June 27 p. 530, Its indomitable energy *notwithstanding*, the vast work is colourless and wanting in inner cohesion.

367. JUXTAPOSITION OF FORM IN -ING AND INFINITIVE.

Juxtaposition of two different verbal forms in the same function, though in Pres. D. Eng. regarded as a solecism, does not seem to have been irregular in More's time, since it occurs rather frequently.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1142 C 6, wythoute whiche ... all other coumfortes are nothyng, that is to witte, *the referring* the final ende of theyr coumforte vnto God, and to *repute* and *take* for the speciall cause of

counfort, that by the patient sufferance of their tribulacion, they shall atteyne his fauoure. | Dial. Her. 151 E 6, then would I counseile him, specialle to studie for the vertuous framing of his own affeccions, & vsing great moderacion & temporance in the preching to other men. | Debell. 1004 C 7, to confesse hymself gyltie ... and puttyng hymself in worse case ... wer but a poore poynt. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1206 G 6, he shold first haue spoken of *making* restitution ... and then speke of *geuen* his almes after.

In Chaucer we read :

C. T. I 90, *Wepyng*e, and not for to stynte to do synne, may not avaylle.

Instances of this usage are not rare in More's contemporary, St. John Fisher :

Wks. 257, 33, not *spekyng*e one thyng and *thynke* an other. | idem 203, 26, A man *doynge* a trespasse ayenst almighty god & *lye* longe in it offendeth more greuously... | idem 162, 8,...nedes he must be mercyfull & mekely forgyue vs wretched & of no strength, *fallynge* downe at his fete *knowledgyng*e our owne mysery & aske of hym forgyuenes. | idem. 156, 13 ; 128, 5 ; 218, 20 (W.).

That the idiom held its ground for some time after More, appears from the following quotation :

1584 Lyly, Campaspe II, ii, 67, Fall not from the armour of Mars to the armes of Venus, ... *from displaying* the eagle in thine ensigne to set downe the sparrow.

368. THE DIFFERENT CHARACTERS OF THE FORM IN *-ING*.

Though the form in *-ing* is often of a complex nature, since it can simultaneously have an adjectival or nominal *and* verbal character, there are cases in which one of these characters is more prominent than the other. Accordingly we get the following classification :

The character of the form in *-ing* may be :

1. Adjectival.
2. Nominal.
3. Verbal.
4. Mixed.
5. Adverbial.
6. Conjunctional.

369. THE ADJECTIVAL CHARACTER OF THE FORM IN *-ING*.

The form in *-ing* has an adjectival character :

a) When it is used as an attributive prenominal adjunct not accompanied by verbal complements and adjuncts.

Picus 4 D 2, *a shining* light. | Rich. 51 A 14, *biting* wordes. | Last. Th. 75 B 8, the prompt and *willyng* mynde (§ 342).

An exception form the indirectly defining attributes in collocations of the type : *frying panne*, *laughing matter*. See § 349-50.

b) After a copula.

Dial. Her. 105 G 2, I am ... *mlstrustyng* (§ 336).

c) Occasionally if the form in *-ing* is equivalent to a predicative adjunct, especially when occurring in juxtaposition with an ordinary adjective.

Picus 20 D 9, it shal aryse ... *immortall* and *shynyng* (§ 352).

d) If *more* and *most* are used to denote degrees of comparison.

Lett. 1448 A 9, I founde my selfe ... very sensuall, and my fleshe muche *more shrinking* from payn and from death, than... | Rich. 70 C 5, in *most louing* & trusty maner. | Picus 12 F 11, It wer farre *more seeming*... ¹⁾.

Degrees of comparison in *-er* and *-est* of the form in *-ing* do not occur. Shakespeare has :

2 Henry VI, II, i, 24, Then, Saunders, sit there, the *lyngest* knave in christendom.

Just as ordinary adjectives the forms in *-ing* sometimes take the ending *-ly* when they are used as adverbs :

Passion 1321 D 1, linked and cheined *ensewinglye* together. | Dial. C. 190, [he] did spred his armes abroad vpon the crosse, *louyngly* to embrace al them that wil come. | Lett. 1449 D 3, so we may ... enjoye each others company ... *euerlastynglye* in the blisse of heauen. | Picus 20 B 16, Then *suyngly* the prophete sheweth... | Dial. Her. 144 E 12, the frailete of our flesh with the enticement of our ghostlye enemies, make vs *willingly* & *wittingly* well knowyng & beleuing the good, yet to walke in the worse. | Passion 1313 D 2, *felyngly*.

This idiom was known in Middle English :

c 1386 Chaucer, C. T. A 1564, Love hath his flyr dart so *brennyngly* y-stiked thurgh my trewe, careful herte. | idem A 2203, who moost *felyngly* speketh of love. | 1402 Lydgate, Troy Book I, 425, toward Jason he torne gan his face ful *lovyngly* (H.). | 1454 Pecoock, Folower (Hitchcock p. 198, 35), for to lyue *leernyngly* and *remembrtnglt*.

St. John Fisher uses Wks. 307, 19, *folowyngly* ; 127, 26, *euerlastynglye* ; 264, 11, *lovyngly* (W.).

¹⁾ Earlier instance : 1412 Lydgate, Troy Book II, 2769, Because sche was fairest of echon, And most *excellyng* (H.).

Adverbs in *-ingly* are not rare in Pres. D. Eng. *Everlastingly*, *lovingly*, *willingly* and *wittingly* are still used. *Ensewingly* and *suyngly* (= *subsequently*, *afterwards*), however, have fallen into disuse; More seems to have been (one of) the last to use them: OED has no later quotations. For the adverbs *exceding*, *passing* and *notwithstanding* see § 374.

370. THE NOMINAL CHARACTER OF THE FORM IN *-ING*.

The form in *-ing* has the characteristics of a noun:

a) When used as a subject:

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1160 G 5, *Fasting* is better then eatyng ... *Praying* is better then drinkyng (§ 335).

b) After the identifying copula *to be*:

Dial. Her. 140 F 11, these viages ben but *wandring* about vanitie or superstitious deuocion (§ 336).

c) When used as an object:

Dial. H. 238 B 4, misse vnderstanding maketh misse *reporting* (§ 339).

d) When it is accompanied by adnominal words (articles, possessive pronouns, adjectives, etc.):

Passion 1274 D 2, he made it haue a *beyng*. | Rich. 56 G 1, *the wondering* of the people. | Dial. C. 346, a *glimmering*. | Prayer 1418 A 13, a *longing*. | Picus 9 C 10, *his departyng*. | Picus 49 B 11, [he] nedeth good *loking to*. | Boke of F. p. 6 D 7, *your owne fishyng* and not mine. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1175 C 8, [he] was of *his owne llyng* somewhat auster. | Debell. 984 F 13, I se no great difference betwene those two men ..., saue that the tone lieth at *his owne finding*¹⁾, the tother at the bishoppes coast.

The definite article before the form in *-ing* is much more frequently used in More's English than in Pres. D. Eng. More has:

Apol. (Wks.) 859 C 10, the necessitie of *the putting* of all thyng in scripture. | Picus 2 F 10, they be borne to *the atchieuing* of some great thing. | Picus 32 B 6, of reason bee we seruisable withoute *the gapyng* after any more. | Rich. 55 B 14, in *the ridyng* toward the tower, ... his hors ... stumbled.

The same preference for the definite article is met with in Malory (Dekker 1932, § 274), e. g.:

Morte D'A. 372, 18, And wel am I rewarded for *the fyghtyng* with sire márhaus. | idem 298, 10, in *the fallyng* he brake his thygh.

¹⁾ The phrase *at a person's finding(s)* (= *at his own cost or expense*) is obsolete now. Latest quot. in OED is dated 1642.

e) After prepositions :

Apol. 47, they wryte ... *agaynst watchyng and prayeng* (§ 354).

f) When preceded by a noun in the genitive :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1143 E 5, *lette vs consider by Chrystes saying unto them, ...* | Dial. Her. 139 B 1, *What should we geue credence to the ensample of mens doynge* against the plaine commaundement of *gods writtinges* ? | Dial. Her. 242 G 7, *thynges of mennes makyng*. | Lett. 1422 F 8, *of the simplest mans making*. | Aut. Lett. in 23, *though he be not glad of the Cardinalles delyng*. | Answer 1042 D 14, *yet had it not bene euil to begyn somewhat before at Christes disciples going into the ship in the euenyng, and Christes own walkyng after vpon the sea, and after that on the morowe the people coming after to seeke him in other shyps*. | Dial. Her. 134 D 5, *fiue or six days before the kinges commynge thither*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1210 B 2, *this mannes hauyng of riches I myght ... match with another mannes forsakyng of all*. | Dial. Her. 148 E 4, *ye saide, that Christes being with hys church, was onely the leuyng of his holy scripture to vs*. | Conf. Tynd. 727 D 11, *[he] ... sente me woorde ... of Webbes being with him*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1227 G 7, *vnto them that by the Turkes¹⁾ ouer runnyng of the countrey, were happed to be spoyled and robbed*. | Passion 1275 (= 1277) F 12, *the womans preachyng and babelyng ... did so much harme*.

Instead of the genitive, however, the equivalent constructions with *of* are sometimes used :

Dial. Her. 129 G 2, *anything of the making of hys goodnes²⁾ must nedys be good*. | Rich. 56 F 20, *the wondering of the people caste a comly rud in her chekes*.

The use of the neutral case of *kyng* in the following quotation lends a more verbal character to the form in *-ing* :

Lett. 1451 E 10, *Then he asked me whyther I hadde not redde the fyrste statute of them, of the Kyng beyng hedde of the churche*.

This construction made its appearance at least two centuries before More, perhaps in imitation of French usage (V. d. Gaaß 1928 a) :

1338 Rob. of Brunne, Chron. 682, *For the quene comynge he was ful glad*. | a 1349 Pseudo Hampole, Pr. of Consc. 3994, *sere takens sal com, of whilk men may here fynd wreten some, Als of ancrist commyng*,

¹⁾ The context shows that *Turkes* is genitive singular : 1227 B 5, *this tribulacion of the Turke* ; 1261 F 7, *if the Turke stode euen here with all his whole army* ; 1262 E 8, *the Turke is but a shadowe*.

²⁾ The genitive construction is perhaps avoided on account of the fact that *goodnes* ends in a sibilant. Compare the following parallel construction with *gift* instead of *giving* : Apol. (Wks.) 867 A 5, *sees as I haue of the gyfte of the kynges most noble grace*.

and his pouste. | 1461 Paston Lett. (Gairdner) n° 451, p. 269, sone uppon the *chef baron comyng* I schall send you a lettre.

The usage, which seems exceptional in More ¹⁾, held its ground in later English, by the side of the construction with the noun in the genitive :

1686, Orig. Lett. II, iv, cccxxxi (p. 91), It will end in *his Grace becoming* commander of Scotland. | 1605 Shaks., Macb. I, iii, 44, By each at once her choppie finger *laying* Vpon her skinnie lips. | 1848 Thackeray, Van. F. XI, 48, ... I insist upon *Miss Sharp appearing*.

To-day the construction with the noun in the genitive is regarded as the regular form in literary English, except with names of things, and phraseological or involved denominations ²⁾).

g) If found in juxtaposition with ordinary nouns.

Aut. Lett. VII, 81, *travaille* ... taken in the *device* and *pennyng* of so many ... thinges. | Picus 25 C 3, Stande it in *touching* or in wanton *sight*. | Picus 5 H 8, which appertaine to *vnderstanding* and *knowlage*. | Picus 8 B 1, *wedding*, & worldly *busines*. | Rich. 63 H 2, the *guiding* & *gouernance* of his realm. | Last Th. 73 F 2, *foule delite* and filthye *lyktinge*. | Last Th. 73 C 6, *thoperacton* and *workyng* of this medicine.

In the following sentence a form in *-ing* is found in juxtaposition both with an ordinary noun and with an infinitive :

Conf. Tynd. 424 C 12, and therfore lettyng all suche hygh processe passe, of rype synnes, and *ascendyng* to heauen & *wakyng* God out of slepe, and *sette* hym on husbandry, and *drine* hym to heruest ... : I can no more I ³⁾, but praye god amende hym & make him a good man.

h) If an inflectional *-s* is used to denote the plural.

Conf. Tynd. 350 B 11, [he] repeted those wordes with ... *knockinges* vpon his brest. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1260 A 1, [oft haue I been] ... in perylles by false brethern, in labour & misery, in many nights watch in hunger & thirst, in many *fastinges*, in cold and nakednes... | Aut. Lett. xv, 44, he hath commaunde I me to remitt all the said *wrytinges*. | Last Th. 77 A 15, towarde thauoiding of the traines, dartes, sleighes,

¹⁾ When the noun denotes a person, that is. Non-personal nouns do not take the genitive ending : Rich. 36 H 9, vnder pretexte of *discencion* and *debate arlsyng*e in the realme. | Conf. Tynd. 580 C 4, without Goddes *help* and Goddes *grace preuenting* and *foregoyn*g : no manne can belieue.

²⁾ See OED s. v. *-ing*²; Fowler 1926, pp 205 ff ("Fused Participle"); Sweet 1903, §§ 2328-32 ("Full Gerund" and "Half-Gerund"); Curme 1931, p. 368; Poutsma 1929, xix, 5; Onions 1905, 183 b; Krüger 1907, 1917, 4, § 2685; Kruisinga 1931, § 115.

³⁾ For this repetition of the pronoun see § 42.

entisinges, and assaultes of the three mortall enemies. | Last Th. 74 H 5, Howe coulde these .ii. *sayinges* stand together. | Dial. Her. 139 B 1, What should we geue credence to the ensample of mens *doynge*s... | Rich. 57 E 6, Her *doinges* were not much lesse. | Picus 15 G 9, the olde saintes suffred *beatinges*, bynding ¹⁾, prison, swerdes, and death. | Dial. Her. 120 C 1, the lucre and temporall aduantage that them selfe receyue of the *offringes*. | Answer 1045 E 6, the materyall meate that men eate here, hath two maner of *perishinges*. | Dial. Her. 165 B 11, there be two secondes after two maner *countynge*s. | Dial. Her. 157 D 4, pryde longed ... to gete ... many folkes *lyuynge*s in his owne bandes. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1199 F 5, in the shooting of this arrowe of pryde, ther be diuers *purposinges* & *apoyntinges*.

The number of forms in *-ing(e)s* is much greater in More than in Pres. D. Eng. Combinations like *two manner (of) countings*, *perishings* are no longer possible. The following quotations illustrate the usage in periods anterior and posterior to More.

c 1386 Chaucer, C. T. A 284, Who koude telle you the forme of daunces so unkouthes, and so fresshe countenaunces, swich subtil lookyng and *dissymulinges* For drede of jalouse mennes *aperceynges*? | 1470-85 Malory, Morte D'A. 228, 23, he dredde his buffets soo that he graunted al his *askinges*. | idem 572, 16, Soo whanne they came there and gaf *thankynges*. | 1535 St. John Fisher, Wks. 396, 25, whereby wee may the more clearely perceiue the *writings* of this booke. | idem 75, 22, Oftentimes at grete feestes, Ionkeryes, & *drynkynges* we be made more intemperate... | idem 201, 3, the dyuers *fallynges* downe of the synner. | 1561 T. Norton, Calvin's Inst. iv, xix (1634) 723, Some he healed with *touchings*, other some with his word.

A very peculiar use of the form in *-ing* occurs in the following quotation, where it is preceded by *one of* and does not take the sign of the plural :

Last Th. 83 D 9, our lord, which alway standeth at the dore of mans hert and knocketh, ... And *one of* his good & gracious *knocking* ²⁾ is, the putting vs in remembrance of deth.

i) When the verbal character is practically absent on account of the meaning :

Picus 20 A 7, I shall blesse our lorde, which hath geuen me *vnderstandyng*. | Picus 6 F 13, he purposed oftentymes to obey this inspi-

¹⁾ In Wynkyn de Worde's edition *byndynges*.

²⁾ The sign of the plural is also missing in : 1503 Paston Lett. (Gairdner) n° 1071, [I] send yow ... a booke of the *seyng* of dyvers folks. | 1535 St. John Fisher, Wks. 275, 33, so many *holdyng*e vp of his handes, so many *lyftyng*e vp of his eyen, so many *betynges* and *knockynges* of his brest.

racion, and folow his *calling*. | Rich. 58 A 4, such as ... were in a authoritie among the peple for oppinion of ther *lerning*. | Dial. Her. 120 F 13, ye shall not flode ..., that any bishop .., hath the profite of one grote of any suche *offringe*. | Dial. Her. 135 A 10, [many] ... wer fain to throw their *offring* ouer their felowes heddes. | Dial. Her. 126 C 10, they had yet at this daye lacked all that *conning*. | Last Th. 91 B 3, if ... the pore manne that nought hathe, shewe himselfe to lacke fayth ..., yf he fere lack of *findyng*...¹⁾.

371. NOTES.

a) The strong resemblance between nouns of action like *device*, and forms in *-ing* is brought out by the following instances :

Dial. C. 218, then was she so glad in pleasant *deuice* thereof. | Rich. 48 H 8, the counsel... had sent him vnto her, to require her the *deliuerye* of him. | Supplic. 302 B 9, He is angry & freteth at the spirituall iurisdiction for the *punishment* of heretique and burning of their erroneouse bookes. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1146 F 1, to the preserued from the *fal* in temptacion.

It does not appear why More used these forms here instead of forms in *-ing*; in some cases it may have been a question of rhythm or euphony (*delivering him*, *falling in*).

b) In all periods of English we find the form in *-ing* (as in the earlier stages the form in *-ande*, *-ende*) used to denote persons collectively :

c 825 Vesp. Psalter (Zupitza) 21, gefrea mec of þæm *figendum* mec. | c 950 Lindisf. Gosp. xxiv, 19, Wæ uutedlice þæm *berundum* & *foeden-dum*. | a 1175 Cott. Hom. 223, Hi is ælra *libbtnde* moder. | 1300 Curs. M. 27581 (Cott.), þe *standand* fall, þe *falland* rise. | 13... West Midl. Pros. Ps., Ps. xxiv, 6, þis is þe *biȝetyng* of þe *sechand* hym, *sechand* þe face of God of Jacob. | idem Ps. ciii, 6, Our Lord is doand mercies and jugement to alle þe *suffrand* wronge. | c 1350 Sir Perceval of Gales (Campion) 60, 14, it es no synn, The man, þat may þe mete wyynn, To gyffe þe *travellande*. | a 1400 Minor Poems fr. Vernon MS. xxiii, 1129, þe geaunt ... þat wel a-wakeþ þe *sleepyng*e Of sleep of deþ so long. | c 1470 Golagros & Gaw. 954, Lord ... thow life lent to *levand* in leid. | 1605 Shakesp. ²⁾ Macb. ii, ii, 53, The *sleeping*, and the dead, Are but as Pictures. | 1611 Bible, Ruth ii, 20, He ... hath not left off his kindnesse to the *liuing* and to the dead. | 1708 Chamberlayne, St. Gt. Brit. i, ii, vii, 69, their office is to confirm the *wavering*, convince the obstinate. |

¹⁾ = provision, maintenance. Now obsolete.

²⁾ Perhaps also in Shakesp. L. L. L. v, ii, 366, *my lady in courtesy gives underserving praise*, — though this verse is often interpreted in a different way.

1859 Tennyson, *Elaine* 1359, If one may judge the *living* by the dead. | 1860 Flo. Nightingale, *Nursing* 71, Oh! how much might be spared to the *dying*.

No instances of this usage in More have been found ¹⁾. It is, however, met with in the writings of some of his contemporaries :

1526 Tindale, *Rev.* xxi, 8, The singular fearful and *unbeleuyng*, and the abhominable, and murther. | 1535 Coverdale, *Eccl.* vi, 8, What helpeth it the poore, that he knoweth to walke before the *lyuyng*.

The *lyuyng* in the last quotation seems to refer to one person, a usage unknown in Pres. D. Eng.

By More's time it had already become customary to denote *nomina actoris* by adding *-er* to the stem-form of the verb :

Rich. 47 B 12, And muche more *mannequellers* whome Godde badde to take from the aulter. | Picus 13 A 12, the saluacion of the *asker*. | Last Th. 100 H 1, the queste is charged, the verdit geuen, the felony founden, the *doer* endited. | Conf. Tynd. 730 H 18, after the perlayte fayth had, the *hauer* therof may do such horrible deedes... | Apol. (Wks.) 926 H 13, let hym not be lyghte of credence in the beleuing either the tone *dysputer* or the tother.

372. THE VERBAL CHARACTER OF THE FORM IN *-ING*.

The verbal character of the form in *-ing* is prominent :

1. When the form in *-ing* is used as a post-nominal adjunct :

Picus 20 E 3, in the verse *following*. | Dial. C. 314, the *whitsuntide ensuing* (§ 344).

2. When it is accompanied by verbal modifiers (objects, adverb adjuncts, adverbs, etc.) :

Bless. Body 1265 C 5, [a] *swyne, wrootyng in the dirte*. | Rich. 56 B 17, many thinges highlye *redounding to the mntshing of his honor*. | Picus 8 D 14, *fensyng my selfe with the crucifixe*. | Rich. 54 C 17, well *perceiuing that this matter was but a quarel*. | Last Th. 88 D 7, two men *fighting together* (§ 345).

3. When the construction with the form in *-ing* is equivalent to an adverb clause :

¹⁾ The *believing* folk and not the *believing* in : Conf. Tynd. 470 B 3, they made the *better belieuing* folk the fewer, and the false part the greater.

In the following quotation *liuing* is an attributive adjunct to *many* : Rich. 57 E 12, at this daye shée beggeth of many at this daye *liuing*. | Similarly in : Dial. Her. 188 B 12, he [is] not the god of dead men but of *liuing*.

Rich. 40 A 9, which countrey ... was ... waxen wild, *robbers and riuers walking at libertie vncorrected*. (For more examples see §§ 358-366).

373. THE MIXED CHARACTER OF THE FORM IN *-ING*.

a. *Adjectival + verbal*.

A mixture of adjectival and verbal value is to be observed when the form in *-ing* is used as a predicative adjunct :

Picus 11 G 9, these earthly thinges, ... *sweting and panting* we shall vnneth obtain. | Picus 20 D 9, it shal aryse in the day of iudgement immortal and *shynyng*.

b. *Nominal + verbal*.

This mixed character is manifest when the form in *-ing* has an adjectival qualification with a verbal regimen :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1206 D 1, for the not doing of the thing which god hath geuen them no commaundemente of. | Lett. 1449 F 12, (God) ... would not at his *thrise praying*, by and by take it from him. | Apol. (Wks.) 899 F 16, though their so *sayeng* be grounded but vpon imaginacion. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1151 B 11, The bare patient *takyng* of hys death, should haue serued for... | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1151 E 10, thys word is ... not oure eternal dwelling, but oure *lyttle whyle wandryng*. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1169 D 2, since my last *beynge* here. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1169 D 10, beefore my *laste comminge* to you. | Debell. 935 H 17, the *myssehandelyng* the people to theire distruccyon. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1201 E 11, the *geuing* vp hys *reckonyng* onto god. | Passion 1361 E 13, by this his so oft & earnest calling hym father.

374. THE ADVERBIAL CHARACTER OF THE FORM IN *-ING*.

Only a few instances illustrating this usage have been found.

Rich. 55 G 10, Thus ended this honorable man, a good knight and a gentle ... A louing man & *passing* wel beloved.

Boke of F. p. 7 D 1, But *notwithstanding*, ... I durst wel swere...

Dial. Her. 231 A 12, He saith that chastite is an *exceding* seldom gift and vnchastitie *exceding* perilous for the estate.

Passing and *notwithstanding* were so used before More's time :

1387 Trevisa, Higden (Rolls.) II, 411, þan Menelaus ... *gadrede passyng* strong men. | 1471 Paston Lett. (Gairdner) n° 791, Jamys Gressham hath ben *passyng* sekke and ys zet. | c 1440 Alph. Tales, 8, *Not-with-standyng*, afor his bruther was abbot, he was a wurthie merchand.

The earliest quotation in OED of *exceeding* (= *exceedingly*) is dated 1535.

For *everlastingly*, *wittingly*, etc. see § 369.

375. THE CONJUNCTIONAL AND PREPOSITIONAL CHARACTER OF THE FORM IN -ING.

According to. Rich. 63 F 11, the right and title ... is ... *according to* the comon law of this lande, deuolute & comen vnto the ... lord protector. | Rich. 58 F 2, he spedely *according to* his instruccions ... brought the matter to verye good conclusion.

As touching. Dial. Her. 114 B 12, *as touchinge* the coste done vpon the arche ... there is a proper boke... | Aut. Lett. ix, 11, *As towching* the veneson ... he was very gladd...

Concerning. Passion 1344 B 1, *Concernyng* our feare, we haue the Apostle that sayth...

Considering that. Last Th. 82 A 8, So that we neuer ought to loke toward deth, as a thing farre of, *considering that* although he made no hast toward vs, yet we ... make hast toward him.

During ¹⁾. Passion 1301 D 4, ... to contynue his office *during* his life.

Not forbarring. Conf. Tynd. 438 D 1, this ... oure lorde dooeth, ... *not forbarring* his absolute merciful power.

Providing that. Conf. Tynd. 366 D 7, *prouiding* alwai *that*... | idem 779 G 2, *prouiding that* for feare of a rayne the whole plain haue a fayre rouf.

Saving (that). Rich. 62 G 14, that point which ... I am sorye to speke of, *sauing that* it is in vain to kepe in counsel that thing that al men know. | Rich. 53 E 6, loth was [he] to haue loste him, *sauing* for fere lest his life shoulde haue quailed their purpose. | Dial. Her. 134 E 1, he lieth here at saint Albonis, *sauing* some reliques of him, which thei there shew shrined.

Seeing ²⁾. Dial. Her. 138 H 14, And after he sheweth the malediccions that shall fall therwpon. *Seing* lyke mote thei be to them al. | Passion 1365 E 15, Could not he, *seyng* he was god, as well make them as bidde them do it?

Standing. Conf. Tynd. 720 C 6, I can not ... perceyue what counsayle Tyndall can geue any manne toward saluacion, *standyng* his

¹⁾ It is possible that by More's time the conversing of *during* into a preposition was not yet complete: 1480 Caxton, Chron. Eng. lxxxxviii, 72, She neuer was seyn among folke *hir lyf durynge*. | 1523 Berners, Froiss. i, xxxviii, 52. *This sege durynge*, ther wer many skirmysshes. More uses *enduring* in the same way:

Answer 1050 C 7, the Jewes were full of ... incredulitie, whiche vabeliefe *enduring*, they could not entre into the waye of saluacion.

²⁾ More does not seem to use *seen* in this function, though it could be so employed in his time. The usage was apparently rather short-lived, the quotations in OED ranging from a 1470 to 1577, e. g. Malory, M. A. v, viii, 175, For his [Arthur's] myght ... is most to be doubted *seen* the noble kynges and grete multitude of Knyghtes of the round table.

frantike heresies agaynst free will. | Rich. 59 B 3, he could not well otherwise do, *standing* that the Earle of warwik had so far moued already. | Answer 1138 E 5, *standing* that false belief and infidelitie, all honoure that he dooeth hym ... is odious. | Dial. Her. 217 F 13, *standing* the matter in such case ... thei might bee ... deceyued ... Now the matter I say *standing* in suche case ... I wyll not say that.

Touching. Passion 1320 A 4, without fayth there can be no good worke that can be meritorious *touchynge* the blysse of heauen.

Witnessing. Conf. Tynd. 731 D 4, For fayth haue they must, or elles they can neuer stand in goddes fauour and be saued, *witnessing* ¹⁾ saynt Paule, that without fayth it is impossible to please God.

According to, as touching, considering that, providing, saving, standing, standing that, witnessing were already used before More. The earliest quotations in OED of *concerning* (not referring to a preceding noun), *saving that, seeing that* and *seeing* are dated 1535, 1535, 1503 and 1537 respectively. *Standing (that)* and *witnessing* are obsolete now. *Not forbarring* (= *notwithstanding*) is not mentioned in OED. *Pending, supposing, regarding* and *providing* are not used by More.

376. THE DIFFERENT WAYS IN WHICH THE OBJECT OF THE FORM IN -ING IS EXPRESSED.

For the types *their putting to death*; *nothing mistrusting*; *in the dede doing*; *in stede of our grief taking away*; *conforting of her*; *the doing of good*; *declaring the truth* and *the doing many good dedes* see §§ 118-126.

For the type *to be aferde of the losing* (without object following) see § 127.

377. THE DIFFERENT WAYS IN WHICH THE SUBJECT OF THE FORM IN -ING IS EXPRESSED.

That subject may be expressed in the form of :

1. A possessive pronoun.
2. A noun in the genitive.
3. A group consisting of *of* + noun after the form in -ing.

¹⁾ *Witnessing* alternates with *as witnesseth*: Conf. Tynd. 488 E 8, For our sauour, loe, *as witnesseth* S. John in the .xvi. Chapter, sayd...

St. John Fisher uses *wyttenessyng* and *witnes*: Wks. 275, 18, *wyttenessyng* the prophete Ezechiel. | idem 254, 35, *witnes* his owne wordes.

4. A personal pronoun in the oblique case.
5. A personal pronoun in the neutral or common case.
6. A noun in the neutral case.

378. 1. The subject is a possessive pronoun.

Picus 9 C 10, What sorrow and heuines *his departing* out of this world was. | Boke of F. p. 16 D 7, it is *your owne fishyng* and not *myne*. | Rich. 56 G 5, many good folke ... hated *her liuing*. | Rich. 55 H 9, at *their coming*, himself with the Duke of Buckingham, stode harnessed in old il faring briginders. | Lett. 1423 H 11, in *your so doing*, your owne vertuous minde shal giue you ... that... | Rich. 40 F 9, oure enemyes ... whiche without *his wyttyng*, might abuse the name of his commaundement. | Lett. 1453 H 7, gaue me a great praise aboue *my deseruing*. | Lett. 1453 A 6, And after *my coming*, maister Secrelarye made rehearsall in what wyse he had reported ... what had been aunswered by me to them, at *myne other being*¹⁾ before them here last. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1169 D 1, I hearde of youre folk, that you haue hadde since *my last beyng*¹⁾ here ... meetely good reste. | Lett. 1449 F 12, [god] would at *his thrise praying* ..., take it from him.

This is in conformity with both earlier and later usage :

c 1400 Mandev., Tr. 148, 35, his folk *pat weren full glad of hys comynge*. | 1930 Eng. Hist. Rev. 45, p. 135, Mr. Bickley might very well have cut down his volumes considerably without *our losing* very much.

The form *its*, as in Pres. D. Eng. *in honour of its being Christmas*, does not occur in More ; he uses *the* or *whereof*²⁾ :

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1148 F 9, [God] bad them go seke the fault and trye it out by lottes, when the lot fel vpon the very man that dyd it, being tryed by *the* [= of the lot] *fallyng* fyrste vpon his trybe, and then vppon his famylie, and then uppon his house... | Rich. 55 C 2, his horse twise or thrise stumbled with him almost to the falling.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1142 A 10, *the going* and *the coming wherof*.

If the agent of the action denoted by the form in *-ing* is identical with the subject of the verb in the main part of the sentence, there is mostly no possessive pronoun before the form in *-ing* :

¹⁾ At *myne other being here*, and at *my last beyng here* (= when I was here last time) are constructions no longer possible in Pres. D. Eng.; *being* seems to be equivalent to *presence*, a meaning not recorded in OED.

²⁾ Also when in Pres. D. Eng. *its* would be used as the logical object of the form in *-ing* : Last Th. 99 A 11, For thabridgyng *wherof*; Dial. C. 241, the wel vsing *therof*; Last Th. 92 D 3, ... a sure medicine (*yl we forslouth not the receiuyng*).

Apol. 42, they wil not myssspende their tyme in *redyng* of myne answer. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1144 E 9, lyke a man that in peril of *drowning* catcheth whatsoeuer cometh nere to hande.

Occasionally, however, the subject is expressed twice over :

Rich. 41 F 3, at *their risinge* in the dawning of the day, *thei* sent about pryncly to their seruantes.

379. 2. The subject is a noun in the genitive.

See § 370 f.

380. 3. The subject is a group consisting of OF + noun.

Conf. Tynd. 109 C 5, some folk ... thinke this *dealing of the clergy* to be thus. | Picus 15 A 55, the *rombeling of your wordly businesse*. | Rich. 65 B 10, thereupon the duke sent wordes vnto the lord protectour, of the *being there of a great and honourable companye*. | Picus 10 B 1, the wordes, which Picus had saide in his sickenes, of the *appering of our lady*, caused him to doute and to feare. | Picus 16 E 9, like the *rauing of bethlem people*. | Dial. Her. 132 A 9, the *ehhing and flowing of the sea*.

This construction is only possible with subjective verbs. In the following quotation one word seems to be both subject and object :

Dial. Her. 132 B 10, cause can I se none, whye we shoulde ... more meruaille of the *renuyng of a dede man*, than of the *bredyng, bringyng forth and growing of a childe* vnto the state of a man.

Here *child* is the logical object of *bredyng* and of *bringyng forth* and at the same time the logical subject of *growing*¹⁾.

381. 4. The subject is a personal pronoun in the oblique case.

Lett. 1451 B 10, [this] may happe to put you in trouble and feare of mind, concerning *me being* here prisoner.

The oblique form *me* seems due to the prepositional character of *concerning*. The usage is not frequently met with in More. There is one other instance, which, however, only occurs in J. Rastell's and Winkin de Worde's editions, and not in that by W. Rastell :

Picus 15 E 28 (10), our lorde ... affirmeth, that our rewardes shalbe

¹⁾ The causative use of *to grow* was not yet known in More's time. Earliest quotations in OED are dated 1774, 1847, 1819 and 1811.

plentuous in heauen, when men speke euill to vs, and speake all euill against vs *lyuing* [*lyuyng*] for his name ¹⁾).

This idiom was not uncommon in the periods before More and is not infrequently used to-day in unconstrained spoken English :

c 1477 Caxton, Prol. to Life of Jason (Blades, p. 140), besettyng ... the Quene to pardon me so *presuming*. | 1549 Latimer, Seven Sermons (Arber), p. 160, I woulde haue no mans honestye empayred by me *tellynge*. | 1916 Bennett, These Twain i Ch. 7, I don't like the idea of vs *living* in Maggie's house.

More does not make use of the type *him unwitting*, the absolute construction so frequently found in the latinized language of some of his predecessors and contemporaries and a few authors who came after him ²⁾ :

c 1000 Ags. Gosp., Mark v, 35, *Him þa ȝyt sprecundum hi comon*. | 13.. Gosp. Nicod. 17, *hys cnihtas comon on nyght, and eow slæpendum, þone lichaman forstlæon*. | 1380 Wyclif, Mark v, 35, *ȝit him spekyng*, messengeris camen to the prince of a synagoge. | idem John iv, 51, sothely now *hym comyng* doune, the seruantes camen *ȝens* him. | c 1400 Love, Bonavent. Mirr. (1908) 74, After that his parents were gone homwarde, he dwelled stille there in Jerusalem, *hem vnwetyng*. | 1449 Pecoock, Repr. 375, 17, Also this deede, a preest forto freeli take and chese of all maidens to hem a wiif, so that he wedde not of the newe eftsoone, if his first wiif die *him lyuyng* ... was allowid of Poul. | 1549 Coverdale, Erasm. Par. Acts 24 b, Vntill he ascended vp (all vs *beholdyng* hym) to heauen.

382. 5. The subject is a personal pronoun in the neutral case.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1228 B 10, And yet *they being* euen such, thys woulde I fayne aske one of them. | Rich. 49 (= 46) H 8, she myghte happen to brynge that to passe, (as it were no greate maistrye, *wee lettynge* her alone)... | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1147 E 12, *he dwelling* with vs, what trouble can do vs harme? | Dial. Her. 166 C 4, ye both confessed, that neither of ye bothe coulde any further thing finde therein, *he sayenge* still that his waye were the truthe, ... and *your self* ... *perceyuyng* in your owne mynde none other. | Dial. Her. 215 G 5, If Simken ... layd his wager the contrarye, and than they both should chese vs for iudges, &

¹⁾ This is a mistranslation of Matt. v, 11. *et dixerint omne malum adversum vos mentientes, propter me*. W. Rastell correctly prints *lying* (instead of *living*).

²⁾ Trnka 1930, p. 89 therefore wrongly includes More's name in his statement that "dative + participle ... occurs mainly in the writings of those authors, such as Pecoock, Sir Thomas More, Milton, Tillotson and Bentley, who consciously imitated Latin".

we coming all fowre into the waye : Wilken would shew vs... | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1260 R 7, Thys same shorte ... tribulacion of ours ... woorketh within vs the weight of glory aboue measure, in sublimite on high : *we beholding* not these thynges that we see, but those thinges that we see not.

This is the construction ("the nominative absolute") which, in the centuries immediately preceding More, had succeeded in supplanting the Old English dative absolute (*eow slependum*, see § 381)¹⁾. The construction is still found in Pres. D. Eng.

Earlier : 1470-85 Malory, M. A. 186, 35, And on the morne erly came these four quenes passyngly wel bysene, Alle *they byddyng* him good morne and he them ageyne.

Later : 1777 Sheridan, Trip to Sc. 1, 1, *She failing* in her promise, I have been diverting my chagrin.

In Pres. D. Eng. the pronouns *it*, *I*, *they* and *he* (or *the latter*) respectively, would not be omitted before the forms in *-ing* in the following sentences :

Aut. Lett. v, 25, after that his grace was cummen home hither and had dyned, *being* vi of the klokke in the night, I offred myselfe agayne to his grace. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1221 H 14, I lyked my selfe the better, beecause mee thoughte my woordes *beeynge* but a straungyer, wente yet with some grace in the Almain tong. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1182 H 4, of that that is in dede no sinne, [he] maketh a venial : and that that is venial, imagineth to be deadly, & yet for al that falleth in them, *being* namelye of theyr nature such, as no man long liueth without. | Rich. 37 F 8, He slewe with his owne handes King Henry the sixt, *being* prisoner in the Tower.

Shakespeare has : Merch. v, i, 302 she had rather stay, Or go to bed now, *being* two hours to day.

333. 6. The subject is a noun in the neutral case.

Picus 16 E 15, *their wickednes blinding* them on this side : and the

¹⁾ Occasionally, however, a possessive pronoun was substituted for the dative pronoun, as in : a 1300 Cursor M. 3874, Bisid lya al night he lai, *His onwitand*, til it was dai. | 1470 Paston Lett. (Gairdner) n° 759, he sente to my Lady of Norff. by John Bernard ... *my omwetyng*, or without any preyer of me.

Even a noun in the genitive could be used : 1451 Paston Lett. (Gairdner) n° 179, He thought that ye and James Gresham had do it in malyce, ... *your moders unknowyng*.

More has : Rich. 40 F 9, oure enemyes, ... *whiche without his wyttyng*, might abuse the name.

deuil pricking them forthwarde on that side : thei renne forth hedling in to all mischiefe. | Rich. 54 A 4, [he] ... sat him downe, in hys place *al the lordes much dismaied & sore merueilling of this maner of sodain chaunge.* | Rich. 43 F 7, Then was there greate commocion ... *the people diuerselye diuininge vppon this dealinge.* | Rich. 41 A 12, *the Kyng being* on their side, his part should haue the face and name of a rebellion.

More instances are given in the sections on the form in *-ing* equivalent to an adverb clause (§§ 358-366), together with illustration of earlier and later usage.

If the form in *-ing* has a nominal character, the subject-noun mostly appears in the genitive, unless it is plural or does not denote a person, as in :

Passion 1298 F 7, he gaue them warnynge of *hys death coming* so neare at hand.

See § 370 f.

384. VOICE OF THE FORM IN *-ING*.

Whether the form in *-ing* has a passive or an active meaning can only be inferred from the context. Active meaning, however, is the rule, passivity the exception.

Active meaning.

Rich. 42 E 9, thei haue kepte *their dealing* in these matters farre from the knowledge of your good grace. | Picus 9 C 10, what sorrow ... *his departing* out of this world was. | Last Th. 85 A 13, [Envy] dysfigureth the visage *leuing* it al bony, leane, pale, & wan.

Instances abound.

Passive meaning.

Dial. C. (Wks.) 1200 B 4, to kepe a serpent in thy bosome, & yet be safe from *stinging*. | Dial. Her. 127 D 12, the pore man vpon paine of *cursynge*, was commaunded... | Dial. Her. 286 G 14, he is not worth *the redng.* | Conf. Tynd. 110 A 13, a sore thing ... that [thei] should in steede of *teaching* bee beaten cruelly. | Rich. 47 E 11, thei dare not abyde with theyr housbandes for *beatinge*. | Rich. 40 F 12, to any of our *vndoing*... | Dial. Her. 130 C 8, no man was by at your *christeninge*. | Rich. 54 C 2, *their putting* to death. | Last Th. 88 B 15, hym that is in the cart & in the way to *hanging*.

It should be noted that all those forms in *-ing* have a clearly pronounced nominal character ("gerunds"). To-day the complex formulae of the type *being chidden*, *your being christened* are frequently preferred in this case. More,

however, does not use the analytic form ¹⁾, though it was known before his time ²⁾ :

1417 Ellis, Orig. Lett^r. i, 59, [they] may suffer their goods and cattels to remayne in the feilds day & night without *being stolen*. | c 1446 Pecock, Folower Donet 126, þe instrument is not wircher of þe same actyue deede principali and þoruȝ his owen strengþ in *beyng restid*, but in strengþ of an opir, and in *beyng movid*.

Till about 1600 the complex formula remains rare ; Ascham, for one, almost exclusively employs the simple form. In Jonson, Spenser and Shakespeare both constructions occur, though the group consisting of *being* + past participle is in the minority.

It is only after Shakespeare that the analytic form becomes a regular feature.

Without BEING :

1584 Lyly, Campaspe i, ii, 76, there is among you, yea, and of your *bringing* vp, that sought to destroy Alexander. | 1591 Shakesp., Gent, ii, i, 26, like one that fears *robbing*. | 1592 idem Ven. 321, The unbacked breeder, full of fear, jealous of *catching*... | 1598 idem M. Wiv. iii, iii, 206, Excuse his *throwing* into the water. | 1601 idem All's Well iv, iii, 127, This very instant disaster of his *setting* in the stocks.

With BEING :

1590-6 Spenser, F. Q. iii, iv, 50, Yet former feare of *being* lowly shent Carried her forward with her first intent. | 1604 Shakesp., Othello, i, iii, 137, Of *being taken* by the insolent foe. | 1606 idem Ant. i, iv, 44, by *being lacked*. | 1611 idem Cymb. ii, iii, 132, hated for *being preferred* so well. | 1647 Chas. i, Let. in Antiquary i, 97, The feare of your *being brought* within the power of the army. | 1771 Goldsmith, Hist. Eng. ii, 203, From *being attacked*, the French now in turn became the aggressors.

Both constructions occur in juxtaposition in : 1605 B. Jonson, Volpone iii, vii, what, is my Gold The worse for *touching*? Cloths for *being look'd on*?

385. In those cases in which the character of the form in *-ing* is not nominal ("gerund"), but decidedly verbal

¹⁾ Compare the absence of *being* in constructions of the type : Picus 8 D 12, after certaine boke of myne *finished* ; Rich. 69 F 12, after secrete meting ... *had*.

²⁾ Franz 1924, § 665 erroneously states : " das zusammengesetzte gerundium tritt erst im zeitalter der Elisabeth auf..." Jespersen (1935 p. 181) says that about 1600 a [this] new form came into existence.

("present participle"), the use of the complex form with *being* is well established in More, as it was in the periods before him :

Apol. (Wks.) 908 A 1, *heyng called* in for witnesses, [they] haue first made manye delayes. | Rich. 68 E 12, Then at the other *beeing remoued* from them, thys Miles Forest and John Dighton, about midnight ... came into the chamber. | Dial. Her. 155 H 4, *heyng before taught and confirmed* by the faith of the church, ... [he] shall well perceyue, ... that... | Rich. 49 C 6, nature *being forelaborid, forweried and weakened*, waxeth the lesse able to beare out a new surfet. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1193 A 14, certain holy vertuous virgines, ... *being* by Gods enemies infideles *pursued vpon*... | Rich. 68 A 6, [The man], ... nor rising yet so fast as he had hoped, *being hindered and kept vnder* by the meanes of Sir Richard Ratcliffe. | Last Th. 86 E 8, the sinne is somewhat lesse grievous, the rule of reson *being letted* for the while by the sodaine brunte of the iniurye not forethought vpon. | Rich. 56 D 1, his deliuerance, whose hope now *being* by his wel deserued deth politikely *repressed*, al the realm shold bi gods grace rest in good quiete and peace.

Earlier examples :

1422 Ellis, Orig. Lett^r. 1, 96, by meane whereof he *being* sore *febeled and debrused*, now falle to great age and poverty. | 1450 Paston Lett. (Gairdner) n^o 101, p. 121, the seid Duke of Suffolk *being releynd* with you in your wages of werr ... hath often...

Later example :

Shakesp., Gent, 1, iii, 20, how he cannot be a perfect man, Not *being tried and tutored* in the world.

386. TIME-SPHERE OF THE FORM IN *-ING*.

The form in *-ing* being neutral as to time, the time-sphere of the action denoted by it must be inferred from the context :

A-chronic : Dial. C. (Wks.) 1160 G 7, *Praying* is better then drinking.

Future time-sphere : Rich. 60 H 2, the trouth *coming* to light, the rightful inheritors be restored.

Present time-sphere : Dial. C. (Wks.) 1254 C 11, these Turkes come *yalping & balling* vpon vs.

Past time-sphere : Dial. C. (Wks.) 1176 G 4, this earthen vessel that is of his owne *making*. | Picus 5 G 7, To the *bryngyng* foorth of so wondreful effects in so small time, I considre flue causes to haue come together. | Rich. 53 H 4, after a little *talking* with them, he sayd vnto the Bishop... | Picus 11 F 6, after .x. yeres *sailing*. | Apol. (Wks.) 867 A 1, by twyse *weddyngs* [I] am come in the case that I canne neuer be prieste.

The forms in *-ing* in the last paragraph have a nominal

character ("gerunds"); by the side of them no groups consisting of *having* + past participle (e. g. *by having twice wedded*) have been discovered ¹⁾. As late as 1600 the constructions with *have* are still rare; in Shakespeare the simple forms are the rule:

Gent. iv, i, 47, Myself was from Verona banished For practising to steal away a lady.

Having + *past part.* occurs in:

Temp. iii, i, 19, when this burns, 'Twill weep for *having wearied* you. | Gent. i, iii, 15, which would be great impeachment of his age, In *having known* no travel in his youth.

387. Groups with *having*, however, are not infrequently used by More, when their character is verbal ("present participles"):

Dial. Her. 144 F 1, as doth sometime the sicke man, that beleuing his phisicion, & *hauing had* also right often good prooffe ... before, ... doth yet ... fal for his litle pleasure to his great pain & hurt. | Dial. Her. 183 G 1, How ... if some infidels as Turkes, or Sarasins *hauing heard* of Christes name, did long to knowe his scripture.

Yet the simple forms are still in the majority:

Rich. 35 F 5, there was neuer anye Prince of this lande *attaynyng* the Crowne by battayle, so heartily beloued with the substaunce of the people. | Picus 12 B 12, shall we wilfully make our self their bondemen? and with them wretchedly *liuing*, more wretchedly die? | Rich. 38 G 4, the kyng *liftinge* *oppe* himselfe and vnder sette with pillowes ... on this wise said vnto them. | Dial. C. (Wks.) 1188 A 6, a ryche wydowe ... *hauing* al her life an high proud mynde ... was at debate with a nother neighbour of hers.

Similarly with the groups with *being* illustrated in § 385 (*being called in for witnesses* and not: *having been called in for witnesses* etc.).

In Elizabethan English the use of the groups with *having* was well established ²⁾:

Shakesp., Much Ado i, iii, 59, that the prince should woo Hero for

¹⁾ Thus *after that he had put* and not *after having put* in: Conf. Tynd. 588 (= 598) B 5, after that he had put vnto hym the parable of the rich man, ... he sayed forther vnto Dauid ... in this maner wise as foloweth.

²⁾ The evidence shows the erroneousness of A. Baugh's statement (1935 p. 304): "the compound participle, *having spoken thus, having decided to make an attempt*, etc., is conspicuous by its infrequency [in Elizabethan English]. There are only three instances in Shakespeare and less than threescore in the Bible".

himself, and *having obtained* her, give her to Count Claudio. | idem Pericles II, i, 10, And *having thrown* him from your watery grave, Here to have death in peace is all he'll crave. | idem Cymb. v, v, 207, he could not But think her bond of chastity quite crack'd, I *having ta'en* the forfeit. | idem Cymb. v, iii, 45, *having found*... | idem Sonnets ix, 5, *having clim'd*... | idem Temp. i, ii, 475, *Having seen*... | idem Ven. 828, *Having lost*... | idem Meas. i, iii, 23, *Having bound up*... | idem Merry Wives III, i, 50, *having received*... | idem All's W. v, iii, 123, *Having vainly fear'd* ... | idem 2 Henry VI, iv, iv, 53, *having spoiled*. | idem Haml. II, i, 43 (Q²) *Having euer seene*... | B. Jonson, Ev. M. Out of His H., iv, iv, I, *having bound up* my wound... | idem Sejanus I, ii, Tiberius (*having read* the letters)... | idem Sejanus II, ii, *Having commanded* an imperial army seven years together...

Having been + past participle occurs in :

1590 Sidney, Arc. 49, shee said it might very well be, *having bene* many times *taken* one for an other.

END OF THE FIRST PART