

# THE ADVERBIAL ACCUSATIVE OF DURATION AND ITS PREPOSITIONAL EQUIVALENT PART II. EARLY MODERN ENGLISH

By KIKUO YAMAKAWA\*

## I. Introduction

1.1. The present part, Part II, has been intended as a continuation of Part I of "The Adverbial Accusative of Duration and its Prepositional Equivalent"<sup>1</sup> which dealt with the phenomenon as observable in the periods of Old English and Middle English. It will deal with the phenomenon in Early Modern English, that is the English in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In going on with Part II we assume the same principle of historical research in English syntax as we did in composing Part I, and try to observe how the two types of expression in Old and Middle English — types A, B, C and D on the one hand and types A', B', C' and D' on the other<sup>2</sup> — have been handed down to Early Modern English.

It must be admitted that in the course of Middle English the morphological character of the language underwent so much change that at the beginning of the sixteenth century the outward distinctions between the cases of nouns, adjectives, and demonstratives were almost lost and that as for those instances of the non-prepositional type which are found in Modern English texts one cannot tell, from a strictly morphological point of view, an accusative from a dative, as well as from a nominative. In terms of historical or diachronical syntax, however, we would contend that expressions of the non-prepositional type have

\* Emeritus Professor (*Meiyokyōju*) of English.

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<sup>2</sup> In order to facilitate the readers following this introductory explanation for Part II, we shall here remention, with a slight alteration, the categories enumerated in § 1.6, Pt. I. Types A–D are non-prepositional, and types A'–D' prepositional. Each of the prepositional types A'–D' corresponds to each of the non-prepositional types A–D. Type A: "numeral (including indefinite article) or quantifier+noun of time measurement"; e.g.: Doctor Parcival has been in Winesburg *about five years*.—S. Anderson, *Winesburg Ohio*. Type Ab: "determiner+numeral or quantifier+noun of time measurement"; e.g.: I've been living a lie *all these years*...—J. C. Oats, *Sunday Dinner*. Type Ac: "genitive (including *of*-genitive) of 'numeral or quantifier+noun of time measurement'+noun meaning a space of time"; e.g.: Thus they lodged each against other *the space of eighteen days*;—Lord Berners, *The Chronicles of Froissart*. Type B: "determiner (including definite article)+noun meaning a particular period"; e.g.: You'd better stay *the night*.—J. Galsworthy, *The Apple-Tree*. Type C: (article or determiner+) (adjective expressing length of time+) noun meaning a space of time"; e.g.: Billy thought *a long time* what to say.—J. Steinbeck, *The Gift*. Type D: "(all+) possessive personal pronoun+noun meaning lifetime"; e.g.: I've been reading *all my life*.—M. Spark, *The Father's Daughter*. Type A':—e.g.: I've been living...on cold yams and leftover grits *for three months and thirteen days*...—T. Capote, *My Side of the Matter*. Type Ab':—e.g.: What have you done with yourself *for the last ten years*?—J. Wain, *Nuncle*. Type Ac':—e.g.: ...the suspension of worse forms of legal persecution, which has lasted *for about the space of a generation*,...—J. S. Mill, *On Liberty*. Type B':—e.g.: *For most of the week*, highway travel was almost impossible through much of the area...—*Newsweek*, 2 June, '80. Type C':—e.g.: Inchcape...stood *for a long time* in a slatternly room smelling of slop-pails.—S. Lewis, *Arrowsmith*. Type D':—e.g.: The boy...had never been more curious *in his life*.—S. Anderson, *Winesburg Ohio*.

maintained their original function as adverbial accusatives expressing the temporal duration of the actions or states meant by the verbs with which they are closely combined, even after the sixteenth century when the morphological feature as accusative had been lost and the use of the prepositional equivalent was gradually advancing.

In Old and Middle English, as was stated in Part I, the frequency of the prepositional type is incomparably lower than that of the non-prepositional type, and especially the development of the *for*-phrase as equivalent to the latter was still immature. The main purpose of Part II is to see how well the traditional adverbial accusative of duration was preserved in Early Modern English and to what extent the prepositional phrase, particularly introduced by *for*, advanced so as to encroach on the sphere of the non-prepositional type during the two centuries.

At the same time, we must not overlook that the newly-developed *for*-periphrasis has acquired such semantic value of its own as cannot be found in the corresponding adverbial accusative of duration. As *O. E. D.* (s. v. FOR 28a, b) puts it, *for* is used to mark intended duration, as well as actual duration. Furthermore, in its connotation intention is often delicately associated with purpose or restriction, the notion that is primarily inherent in the preposition *for*. In Part II, and Part III, where we are to deal with Late Modern English, we are going to consider the *for*-phrase in question as an analytic expression with such value of its own, not merely as equivalent to the adverbial accusative of duration.

1.2. In Part II, and also in Part III, we shall pay particular attention to two points afresh. One is how the perfect or perfect progressive tense of the verb is used with each of the types of adverbials in question. We shall observe the way that the two elements are semantically related to each other and that the semantic value of the adverbial has been, as it were, reinforced by a compound verb in the perfect or perfect progressive form, especially as it expresses the durative and imperfective aspect, the use of which is becoming more and more frequent in the course of the Modern English period.<sup>3</sup>

The other point is how each of the two types of adverbials in question is used in a negative construction. We shall first observe whether the adverbial is inside the scope of negation or outside it, and then how, when it is outside the scope of negation, the prepositional adverbial is fitter to the construction than the non-prepositional, especially when it is related to a verb in the perfective or frequentative aspect, and which of the prepositions—mostly *for* and *in*—is more appropriate in that case.<sup>4</sup>

In this connection, we would comment that the Middle English use of type D, as seen in “Ymeneus...Saugh nevere *his lyf* so myrie a wedded man” (Ch., *C. T.*, “Mch.,” E 1730-1; cf. ex. 7, § 3.7, Pt. I), might be called rather inadequate or unexpressive from a modern point of view, and that this expressive inadequacy was to be refreshed in the course of Modern English by the usage of type D', in the form of “*in* one's life.”

Here we might be justified in announcing that in Part II, and also in Part III, we restrict

<sup>3</sup> It must be added here that the perfect or perfect progressive form began to be used much earlier than in Modern English. The initial phenomena of the perfect form were already found in Old English. Even the perfect progressive became developed in late Middle English. Among the examples quoted from the corpora adopted in Part I of the present study we find in the Chaucer corpus 10 examples with perfect verbs and 1 with a perfect progressive form, and in the Malory corpus 1 with a perfect verb.

<sup>4</sup> Here we may well compare the following note given in G. Leech and J. Svartvik: *A Communicative Grammar of English* (Longman, 1975), § 152 (p. 80): “*For* is generally not omitted when it comes first in the sentence: *For several years they lived in poverty*; or when it follows a negative: *I haven't seen him for eight years.*”

the sphere of type D' to those prepositional phrases which refer to a person's past experience, or otherwise some continuous activity, during his lifetime. It is in order to pursue so much the more purposively the subject on the use of an adverbial in question combined with a negative that we have ventured to make this slight alteration in the system of the present investigation.

1.3. As material for the investigation we have chosen eight texts<sup>5</sup>—that is, four texts for each of the two centuries, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In choosing them we have tried to cover all the varieties of literary work written by those British writers who are representative of the periods concerned—the prose romance or narrative, the drama, the epic poem, and the biblical version. Little attention has been paid to the average length of each of the texts, since our main purpose is to find out the relative frequencies of the two types in question, which do not seem to be affected to any meaningful extent according to the length of the texts examined.

What must be specially mentioned here is that we have included the Gospels of the Authorised Version in the seventeenth century corpus. We have an intention to make a comparative examination of the four corresponding biblical texts, which represent the four stages in the history of the English language—the West-Saxon Gospels, the Wycliffite Gospels, the Gospels in the Authorised Version, and the Gospels in the New English Bible—of which the first two were already treated in Part I and the last is to be treated in Part III.

## II. *The Sixteenth Century*

2.1. As the sixteenth-century corpus we have examined the following texts:

(1) John Lyly: *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (1579) (abbreviated as Lyly, *A. W.*) and *Euphues and His England* (1580) (abbreviated as Lyly, *E. E.*), in *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. W. Bond (Oxford: Clarendon; 1902, '73), Vol. I, pp. 179–326 and Vol. II, pp. 13–228.

(2) Philip Sidney: *Arcadia* (1590) (abbreviated as Sid., *Arc.*), in *The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge U. P.; 1912, '69): the first two books, pp. 5–353.

(3) Edmund Spenser: *The Faerie Queene* (1590; 2nd ed. 1596) (abbreviated as Sp., *F. Q.*), book III, in *The Works of Edmund Spenser* (London: Rivington, 1805), Vol. IV, pp. 239–542 and Vol. V, pp. 1–130.

(4) Thomas Deloney: *The Pleasant Historie of Iacke of Newberie* (c. 1597) (abbreviated as Del., *J. N.*), in *The Works of Thomas Deloney*, ed. F. O. Mann (Oxford: Clarendon; 1912, '69), pp. 2–68.

2.2. In Lyly's two romances of *Euphues* (1579, '80) we find 52 examples of the adverbial accusative of duration and 19 of the corresponding prepositional type.

The 52 adverbial accusatives of duration contain 22 of type A, 1 of type Ab, 2 of type Ac, 6 of type B, and 21 of type C. Out of these, 12 are used with verbs in the perfect tense—4 of type A, 1 of type Ab, 1 of type Ac, 1 of type B, and 5 of type C. The one

<sup>5</sup> In view of the quantitative plausibility of the incidence of the examples we have sometimes treated as one text more than one work by the same author, as in the case of Lyly (16th c.), Shakespeare (17th c.), and Congreve (17th c.).

instance of type B is used with a perfect progressive form. 10 are used in negative constructions—3 of type A, 1 of type Ab, and 6 of type C.

Type A (22 exx.):

(1) And can you bee so vnnaturall, whome dame Nature hath nourished and brought vpp *so many yeares*, to repine as it were agaynst Nature?—Lyly, *A. W.*, I. 191. 25–7.

(2) haue I serued thee *three yeares* faithfully, and am I serued so vnkindely?—Lyly, *A. W.*, I. 232. 33–4.

(3) as she hath liued *fortie yeares* a virgin in maiestie, so she may lyue *fourescore yeares* a mother, with great ioye,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 212. 11–13.

(4) *Two and twentie yeares* hath she borne the sword with such iustice, that...—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 214. 10–11.

(5) Ieremy...apointeth their exile to continew *threescore and ten yeares*.—Lyly, *A. W.*, I. 297. 33–4.

(6) Wherein she played the nice mother in sending me into the country to nurse, where I tyred at a dry breast *three yeares*, and was at the last enforced to weane my self.—Lyly, *A. W.*, I. 325. 9–11. (*tyred at*: pulled at.)

(7) ...willing to see all cowntries, iourneyed *three or foure dayes* verve deuoutlye lyke a pilgrim,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 20. 3–4.

(8) in this sort they refreshed themselues *3 or 4 daies*,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 35. 26–7.

(9) Besides this thou art to be bounde as it were an Apprentice seruing *seauen yeares* for that, which if thou winne, is lost in seauen houres,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 52. 35–53.1.

(10) In this manner I led my life *almost one yeare*,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 75. 29–30.

(11) Thus they passed the time *many dayes* in England,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 185. 12.<sup>6</sup>

In most of these examples the functional characteristic of the adverbial accusative of duration is fairly well revealed in its being combined with the verb so closely that the two elements can almost constitute a semantic unit. Especially in ex. 3, the parallel adverbial accusatives *fortie yeares* and *fourescore yeares* are placed immediately after “hath liued” and “may lyue,” respectively, even before the predicative appositives “a virgin” and “a mother.” In exx. 2 and 9 the verb *serve* is directly followed by the adverbial accusative of duration, which might be termed “pseudo-object” of it. In ex. 9, the durative connotation of *seauen yeares* is in clear contrast to the perfective of the prepositional adverbial “*in seauen houres*,” used in the subsequent clause of the same sentence.

The same feature is even more conspicuous in:

(12) ...Debora, who ruled *twentie yeares* with religion, or Semyramis that gouerned long with power, or Zenobia that reigned *six yeares* in prosperitie.—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 210. 3–5. [Similarly *E. E.*, II. 267. 26.]

(13) ...so sweete to his nose, that he could hardly suffer it to be *an houre* from his nose.—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 185. 23–5. [Similarly *E. E.*, II. 151. 16.<sup>7</sup>]

<sup>6</sup> With this should be compared:—*Manye dayes* hee vsed speach with Ladyes, sundrye tymes with Gentlewomen, with all became so familiar, that he was of all earnestly beloued.—*E. E.*, II. 185.3–5. Here *manye dayes* is related to the frequentative aspect of “vsed...,” as inferred from the parallel use of “sundrye tymes.” It may therefore be interpreted as adverbial dative, not adverbial accusative.

<sup>7</sup> This may be worth quoting here:—..., who being *meny yeares* in making of it, ... Here “*be*+adverbial accusative of duration” complemented by “*in*+gerund” constitutes a characteristic construction. For the same type of construction, see ex. 32, § 2.2, ex. 18, § 3.5, and ex. 7, § 3.7 below.

In ex. 13, the combination "be *an houre*" (where *be* implies 'remain separate') is so close that one can neither alter the order "to be *an houre* from his nose" to "to be from his nose *an houre*" nor supersede "an houre" by "*for an houre*" (type A').

Here are further examples to be noticed:

(14) It is not straunge whenas the greatest wonder lasteth but *nyne days*: That a newe worke should not endure but *three monethes*.—Lyly, *A. W.*, I. 182. 9–11.

(15) The sharpe Northeast winde...doth neuer last *three dayes*.—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 143. 9.

Here, again, the combination of the verb *last* or *endure* with the adverbial of type A is very close. In the negative construction in ex. 15 the scope of negation covers the whole combination "last *three dayes*"; what is negated is the whole continuous state that lasts three days.

The use of *but* in ex. 14 is worth noting. The first *but* can be interpreted as an intensive meaning 'only, merely.' Genetically, however, it derives from what was used in a construction where the conjunction *but*, meaning 'unless, if not,'<sup>8</sup> is correlated with the preceding negative. We see this original construction manifested in "should *not* endure *but* three dayes." From this the omission of the negative, which was in early English used proclitically to the verb, has led to the use of the adverb *but* (thus ME "he *nis* but a child" has led to "he *is* but a child"). Anyway, both "lasteth *but nyne days*" and "should *not* endure *but* three monethes" in ex. 14 should descriptively be regarded as comprising an intensified combination of the durative verb and the adverbial of type A.

The following shows a somewhat peculiar phenomenon:

(16) she...went to hir Uncles, hauing taried a day longer with my father, then she appoynted, though not *so manye* with me, as shee was welcome.—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 72. 27–30.

In "having taried a day longer," the comparative adverb *longer* is defined by the adverbial of measure or extent *a day*, which should be interpreted as instrumental-dative, rather than as accusative. On the other hand, the elliptic construction "though not *so manye*..." can be structurally expanded into "though she had not taried *so manye days*..."; accordingly, *so manye (days)* can be taken as an adverbial accusative of duration.

Type Ab (1 ex.):

(17) Now is the Temple of Ianus remoued from Rome to England, whose dore hath not bene opened *this twentie yeares*.—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 209. 37–210. 2.

Here "hath not bene opened" expresses the absence of any occasion that the door was opened, but the adverbial *this twentie yeares* (=these twenty years) serves to add a sort of durative implication to the notion, so that the clause has virtually come to mean that the state of the door being unopened has continued for the last twenty years.

Type Ac (2 exx.):

Of the two examples one contains "*the space of*..." and the other "*the term* (=term) *of*..." Both of these forms are now considered somewhat archaic.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *O.E.D.*, s.v. BUT C4a, c. 6. In Part I we already dealt with some ME instances of this use, quoted from *Layamon*—exx. 8 and 27, § 3.1.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *O.E.D.*, s.v. SPACE 3(a); TERM 4a. As for "*the space of*..." an earlier instance, quoted from Malory, was given as ex. 9, § 3.8, Pt. I.

(18) This life I continued *the space of xiiij yeares*,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 24. 7–8.

(19) I determined from that unto my liues end, to lead a solitary life in this caue, which I haue don *the tearm of ful forty winters*,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 25. 9–11.

In ex. 19 the adverbial of type Ac modifies the present perfect *haue don*. If the notion were to be re-expressed in more modern and explicit English, it would read “...I have been doing...,” though it is more likely that the simple perfect in the original context should be interpreted as having a perfective connotation.

Type B (6 exx.):

It is worthy of note that in one (ex. 20) of the 6 examples we have the verb in the present perfect progressive form accompanied by the adverbial of type B.

(20) Philautus I haue well nigh *all this night* beene disputing with my selfe of thy distress,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 155. 35–6.

(21) they daunced *all that afternoone*,—Lyly, *A. W.*, I. 199. 16.

(22) what sports soeuer I haue *all the day*, I loue to haue the game in my dish at night.—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 157. 21–2.

(23) I am content *this winter* to haue my doings read for a toye, that in sommer they may be ready for trash.—Lyly, *A. W.*, I. 182. 8–9.

(24) Thus *all night* tossing in my bedde, I determined the next daye...to offer also my importunate seruice.—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 63. 21–2.

(25) *all that night* he vewed hir with a suspitious eye,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 183. 11.

Type C (21 exx.):

These comprise *long time* (or *longe tyme*) (9 exx.), *all* (or *al*) *this while* (5 exx.), *a while* (2 exx.), and 5 other forms, each occurring once: *all this time*, *any time*, *all the time of...*, *time out of minde*, and *one minute*.

*Long time* (or *longe tyme*) (9 exx.):

The form would now be replaced by “a long time.” This usage seems the more remarkable because the same text contains “for a long time” as an instance belonging to type C’.

(26) Deere daughter, as thou hast *longe tyme* lyued a mayden, so nowe thou must learne to bee a Mother,—Lyly, *A. W.*, I. 227. 11–12. [Similarly *E. E.*, II. 110. 24; *E. E.*, II. 212. 14.]

(27) ...your friend Euphues, who hath not *long time* bene, where he might haue bene welcomed at all times,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 127. 1–2.

(28) I did *long time* debate with my selfe Philautus, whether it might stand with mine honour to send thee an aunswere,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 227. 29–30.

(29) at the last he perceiued Vulcan, to bee wrought in Iuory, Venus to be carued in Ieate, which *long time* beholding with great delyght, at the last he burst out in these words, ...—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 102. 13–16. (*Ieate*: jet.) [Similarly *E. E.*, II. 220. 9.]

(30) *Long time* we loued, but neither durst she manifest hir affection, because I was noble, nor I utter myne, for feare of offence,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 219. 35–6. [Similarly *E. E.*, II. 75. 27.]

In exx. 26–28, *long time* (or *longe tyme*) is placed between the constituents of the compound predicate verb; the two elements are combined so closely. In ex. 27, *long time* directly follows the negative *not*, which, however, does not affect the durative signification expressed by the perfect verb.

*All* (or *al*) *this while* (5 exx.):

(31) Francis..., seeing Philautus *all this while* to be in his dumpes, beganne thus to playe with him.—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 174. 22–4.

(32) But to put you out of doubt that my wittes were not *al this while* a wol-gathering,...—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 175. 22–3. (*a wol-gathering*: in wool-gathering; in a dreamy or inattentive state.)

(33) ...his friend Euphues, who *al this while* lost no time at his booke in London,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 142. 37–143. 1.

(34) hee desired the Merchaunt with whome *all this while* he soiourned to inuite a great number to dynner,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 186. 1–2. [Similarly *E. E.*, II. 173. 27.]

It should be noted that in ex. 32 *al this while* is embedded in the negative construction, though semantically it is outside the scope of the negation.

*A while* (2 exx.):

(35) ...that scaldinge water if it stande *a while* turneth almost to yse,—Lyly, *A. W.*, I. 218. 33–4.

(36) ...and there fell to his Pater noster, wher *a while* I will not trouble him in his prayers.—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 103. 23–4.<sup>10</sup>

The examples of the other forms are:

(37) I meruaile Gentleman that *all this time*, you haue bene tongue tyed,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 47. 11–12.

(38) the pressing yron of the one is neuer out of the fyre, nor the printing presse of the other *any time* lyeth still.—Lyly, *A. W.*, I. 182. 18–19.

(39) This Ladie *all the time of his sisters reigne* was kept close,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 206. 26.

(40) Last of all vppon prescription, whiche is a certeine custome continued *time out of minde*,...—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 195. 18–19.

(41) Their friendship augmented euery day, insomuch that the one could not refraine the company of the other *one minute*,—Lyly, *A. W.*, I. 199. 18–20.

The adverbials in the last three examples have some peculiarity to be commented on. In ex. 39, *all the time of his sisters reigne* determines a particular period; but we have here treated it as a variety of *all the time*, a general way of type C to express length of time. *Time out of mind*, as used in ex. 40, is an idiomatic expression, meaning 'from time immemorial,' which began to be used in the fifteenth century<sup>11</sup>. In view of this non-prepositional idiom originating as early as in Middle English, we have regarded it as an adverbial accusative of type C. *One minute* in ex. 41 is literally an expression of time measurement; but because its contextual function is to denote a very short space of time and reminds us of its later estab-

<sup>10</sup> The following use of *a whyle* should be compared:—seeinge that wee haue but *a whyle* to lyue, who woulde lyue lyke a seruaunt?—*A. W.*, I. 282. 6–7. Here *a whyle* functions as object of *haue*, though its semantic relation to the subjoined infinitive *to lyue* is that of adverbial accusative. We should now be reminded of the later establishment of the verbal combination "*have to ~*," which is in a way ascribable to the structural transition: "*We have but a while to live.*"→"*We have to live but a while.*" In this connection, we might further compare the use of *a short time* in:—The sharpe Northeast winde... doth neuer last three dayes, tempests haue but a *short time*, and the more violent the thunder is, the lesse permanent it is.—*E. E.*, II. 143. 8–10.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *O.E.D.*, s.v. MIND sb.<sup>1</sup> 2f, TIME sb. 29; *M.E.D.*, s.v. MIND (E n. (1) 4b (c)).

ishment<sup>12</sup>, chiefly in the form of “a minute,” as an idiomatic phrase to indicate the minimum of temporal duration, we have also treated it as an adverbial of type C.

Just as exx. 27 and 32 mentioned above, exx. 33, 36, 38 and 41 comprise negative elements. In exx. 38 and 41, as in exx. 27 and 32, the adverbial belongs to the scope of negation; while in exx. 33 and 36 the adverbial, standing at the front-position, is outside the scope of negation. In the latter case, when the non-prepositional adverbial is used in a looser relation with the predicate verb, the prepositional type of adverbial, that is, the *for*-phrase, would be more likely to occur in its place in later English.

2.3. In the Lyly text we find no more than 19 examples of the prepositional type. Out of the 19 examples, 7 are of type Ac', 9 of type C', and 3 of type D'. Of these prepositional phrases, 15 (6 of type Ac' and 9 of type C') are introduced by *for*, 2 (of type D') by *in*, 1 (of type Ac') by *by*, and 1 (of type D') by *during*. With verbs of the perfect form are found 2 *for*-phrases (1 of type Ac' and 1 of type D') and 1 *by*-phrase (of type Ac'); and we cannot find any instance used in a negative construction.

Type Ac' (7 exx.):

These comprise 6 in the form of “for the space of...” and 1 in the form of “by the space of...” These forms are now considered archaic. Especially, the form “by the space of...” though it has been fairly idiomatic since the fourteenth century<sup>13</sup>, was evidently felt archaic by the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

(1) Gentlemen, I haue *for the space of this twenty yeares* dwelt in this place, taking no delight in any thing but only in keeping my Bees,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 44. 13–15.

(2) Being thus by hir *for the space of one moneth* cherished, I waxed strong and so lustie, as though I had neuer bene sicke.—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 78. 35–7.

(3) he became publyque Reader in the Uniuersitie,...in the which he continued *for the space of tenne yeares*, only searching out the secrets of Nature and the hidden mysteries of Philosophy,—Lyly, *A. W.*, I. 286. 23–5.

(4) ...went into the country, where she determined to make hir abode *for the space of three moneths*,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 54. 1–2.

(5) Wher being welcome, they frequented almost euey day *for the space of one moneth*,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 84. 17–19.

(6) I was stricken into such a maze, that *for the space almost of half an houre*, I lay as it had ben in a traunce,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 78. 9–11.

(7) Euphues having soiourned *by the space of two moneths* in Naples,...—Lyly, *A. W.*, I. 196. 31.<sup>15</sup>

Type C' (9 exx.):

These comprise 3 instances of *for the time* and 6 different forms, each occurring once.

<sup>12</sup> *O.E.D.* (s.v. MINUTE *sb.*<sup>1</sup> lb) records the use of *minute* meaning ‘a very short space of time; an instant, moment’ beginning in 1390, but it gives no quotation illustrating the use as adverbial accusative, as seen in “Wait a minute.” Also compare *M.E.D.*, s.v. MINUT (E n. (1) 1 (a)).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *M.E.D.*, s.v. *BY prep.* 4(c).

<sup>14</sup> The latest quotation of this form is given from 1841 by *O.E.D.* (s.v. *BY prep.* 20). Compare also the ME instances of the *by*-phrase quoted from Layamon, Wyclif, and Malory, and the comments on them in §§ 3.2, 3.4, 3.9, Pt. I.

<sup>15</sup> Outwardly the following *for*-phrase looks like an instance of type B':—they all took their leaue *for that night*.—*E.E.*, II. 183. 19. But the main function of *for* in *for that night* here is to denote purpose or intention. *That night* does not mean the actual period occupied by the action but only the intended period.



(8) Many embracings there were, much straunge curtesie, many pretie glaunces, being almost *for the time* but straungers bicause of their long absence,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 154. 12–14.

(9) Fayre words fatte fewe, great promises without performance, delight *for the time*, but yerke euer after.—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 227. 29–30. (*yerke*: irk, disgust, bore.)

(10) ...one of the which braunches if either the man want, or the woman, it may be a lyking betweene them *for the time*, but no loue to continue for euer.—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 182. 21–3.

(11) thus all partes were pleased *for that time*.—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 137. 18–19.

(12) Good Lady leaue off fishing *for this time*.—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 174. 12.<sup>16</sup>

(13) These were *for a long time* ciuill wars in this country, by reason of seuerall claymes to the Crowne, between the two famous and noble houses of Lancaster and Yorke,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 205. 25–7.

(14) And seeing it is so, I will absent my selfe, hier an other lodging in London, and *for a time* giue my selfe to my booke,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 103. 4–6.

(15) When one of the Lacedemonians had bene *for a certeine time* in Athens..., retourninge home hec was asked howe all things stooode in Athens,—Lyly, *A. W.*, I. 275. 25–8.

(16) And so I taking leaue, till I heare thee better minded, England shall be my abode *for a season*.—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 103. 14–16.

What most impresses us is the limited use of *for*-phrases of this type, as compared with the use of the corresponding non-prepositional type (type C). It seems particularly interesting to compare the use of *for a long time* in ex. 13 above with that of *long time*, exemplified in exx. 26–30 in the previous section. Apparently, *for a long time* in ex. 13 above is invested with more value of its own as an adverbial unit than *long time* in exx. 26–30, § 2.2, which looks—functionally, at least—unified with the verbal that follows it.<sup>17</sup>

Type D' (3 exx.):

(17) I for my part wil honour those alwaies that be honest, and worship them *in my life* whom I shall know to be worthy in their liuing,—Lyly, *A. W.*, I. 258. 24–5.

(18) ...his old friend Euphues, whom he was wont to haue alwayes in mirth a pleasant companion, in grieffe a comforter, *in al his life* the only stay of his lybertie,—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 141. 31–3.

(19) so he that seeketh after my youngest daughter, which is deformed, shall finde the great treasure of pietie, to comfort him *during his lyfe*.—Lyly, *E. E.*, II. 61. 36–8.

It should be noted that, unlike the *for*-phrase, these prepositional phrases do not connote the durative aspect of the verbal action, but they themselves denote the whole length of a person's lifetime—thus *in my life* (ex. 17) meaning 'as long as I am alive,' *in al his life* (ex. 18) 'so long as he was alive,' and *during his lyfe* (ex. 19) 'as long as he is alive.'

<sup>16</sup> With this should be compared:—you shall pardon mee Mistresse Lucilla *for this time*, if thus abruptly, I finish my discourse:—*A. W.*, I. 32–4. Here *for* in *for this time* implies the concept of temporal restriction—rather than duration—mingled with that of purpose or intention, just as in the idiomatic phrases: *for once*, *for the time being*, *for the present*, etc.

<sup>17</sup> We might here compare the instances of a similar type:—And to the ende such cures may be wrought, God hath stirred vp *in all times* Clearkes of greate vertue,—*E. E.*, II. 110.4/...your friend Euphues, who hath not long time bene, where he might haue bene welcommed *at all times*.—*E. E.*, II. 127. 1–2. These prepositional phrases introduced by *in* and *at* connote the frequentative aspect of the verbal action, though they are combined with the predicate verbs in the perfect form.

As for the *during*-phrase, the preposition *during*, which began to be used in the fourteenth century<sup>18</sup>, emphasizes the duration of the period or event that is designated by the headword of the phrase, rather than that of the activity or state meant by the verb to which it is related. Furthermore, while the duration indicated by the *for*-phrase characteristically coincides in time with the activity or state expressed by a verb or its equivalent, that is not necessarily the case with the *during*-phrase, which often indicates that only part of the whole space of time denoted by the headword is occupied.<sup>19</sup>

2.4. In the first two books of Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590), we find 62 examples of the adverbial accusative of duration and 25 of the corresponding prepositional type.

Out of the 62 examples of the non-prepositional type, 7 are of type A, 3 of type Ab, 3 of type B, and 49 of type C. Of these 21 (4 of type A, 2 of type Ab, and 15 of type C) are used with verbs in the perfect form, and 4 (1 of type B and 3 of type C) are used in negative constructions.

Type A (7 exx.):

(1) But having laien so, (wet by raine, and burnt by the Sun) *five dayes, and five nights*, she gat up and went over many a high hil, and many a deepe river;—Sid., *Arc.* II. xiv, 241. 32–4.

(2) So having sailed *almost two daies*, looking for nothing but when we might looke upon the land, a grave man ... came unto us,—Sid., *Arc.* II. xxiv, 303. 33–6.

(3) Miso forthwith like a valiant shrew, ... tolde Gynecia, that her daughter had bene *a whole houre* together in secrete talke with Zelmane:—Sid., *Arc.* II. xxv, 309. 1–4.

(4) And so I... went on my journey towards Anaxius, for whom I was faine to stay *two daies* in the apointed place,—Sid., *Arc.* II. xviii, 269. 30–32.

(5) therefore went he to Tiridates, ... living in his Court *eleven or twelve yeares*,—Sid., *Arc.* II. xv. 249. 34–5.

(6) Yet *divers daies* I followed his stepes;—Sid., *Arc.* I. xi, 73. 29. (*divers*: several.)

(7) For after *some dayes* being there... we were brought to receive the favour of acquaintance with this Queene Andromana,—Sid., *Arc.* II. xx, 277. 34–278. 5.

In ex. 6 *divers daies* is related to the verb whose aspect is frequentative, rather than durative, and so implies the notion of prolonged repetition, which should be considered analogous to that of continuous duration. In ex. 7 *some dayes* is not used as regimen of the preposition *after* but functions as an adverbial related to the following gerund “*being* (there).” The gerundial phrase would now be expressed as “after having been there (for) some days.”<sup>20</sup>

Type Ab (3 exx.):

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *O.E.D.*, s.v. DURING 2; *M.E.D.*, s.v. DURING.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. H. Sandhagen, *Studies on the Temporal Senses of the Prepositions at, on, in, by, and for in Present-Day English* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1956), pp. 165–7. We have excluded from type D' such expressions in the form of “in one's life” as in:—if thou loue me as thou protestest in thy letters, then leaue thy vices and shewe it *in thy life*.—*A. W.*, I. 34–6.

<sup>20</sup> The following temporal adverbials are not regarded as denoting duration, but as marking measure or extent:—...: which she finding there *a few dayes* before Zelmanes comming,...—II. iv, 172. 15–16/*A few daies* since, he and Dametas had furnished themselves very richly to run at the ring before me.—II. v, 178. 26–7/*she had not lived a yeare* longer, when she was striken with most obstinate Love,—II. xiii, 232. 29–30.

Each of these adverbials is introduced by the plural demonstrative *these*.

(8) ...Laconia, not so poore by the barrennes of the soyle... as by a civill warre, which being *these two yeares* within the bowels of that estate, ... hath in this sorte as it were disfigured the face of nature,—Sid., *Arc.* I. II, 14. 8–13.

(9) *These thirtie yeares* you have so governed this Region, that neither your Subjectes have wanted justice in you, nor you obedience in them;—Sid., *Arc.* I. IV, 24. 29–31.

(10) *These fiftie winters* married have I beene;—Sid., *Arc.* I. Ecl., 139. 38.

Type B (3 exx.):

(11) But so were they carryed by the tyrannie of the winde, and the treason of the sea, *all that night*, which<sup>21</sup> the elder it was, the more wayward it shewed it selfe towards them:—Sid., *Arc.* I. II, 193. 19–22.

(12) ...and when night came, under tents and bowes making great cheare, and meaning to observe a wassaling watch *all that night* for your sake.—Sid., *Arc.* II. xxvii, 321. 37–40. (*wassaling*: vassalling, characteristic of vassals.)

(13) And so she went, and she went, and never rested *the evening*, wher she went in the morning;—Sid., *Arc.* II. xiv, 241. 38–9.

In ex. 13 the verb *rested* is very closely connected to the adverbial *the evening* and *never* negates the whole group “rested the evening.”<sup>22</sup>

Type C (49 exx.):

These comprise 18 of *a while* (or *a-while*), 10 of *all* (or *al*) *this while*, 7 of *a good while*, 3 of *a great while*, 3 of *long time*, 2 of *some while*, and 1 of each of the 6 other forms. As for the hyphenated form *a-while*, we would comment that in the thirteenth century the weakened numeral *a* (<OE *āne* in *āne hwile*: cf. ex. 12, § 2.2, Pt. I) came to be proclitically combined with the following noun *while*.<sup>23</sup> As in the Lyly text, here is found *long time* without the indefinite article.

*A while* (or *a-while*) (18 exx.):

(14) ...love...; which I have *a while* practised in this sort, then you shall see me turn it to greater matters.—Sid., *Arc.* I. XII, 81. 3–6.

(15) For after that Zelmane had *a while* lived in the lodge with her, ...—Sid., *Arc.* II. iv, 169. 21–2. [Similarly I. x, 63. 36; II. ix, 204. 36; II. xi, 223.1.]

(16) ...there sitting, Pamela having *a while* made the lute in his language, shew how glad it was to be touched by her fingers,—Sid., *Arc.* II. XII, 226. 10–11.

(17) There she paused *a while*, making signe with her hand unto them,—Sid., *Arc.* II. xxvi, 314. 4–5. [Similarly I. x, 62. 39.]

(18) And thus went they to the Lodge, where they found Genecia and her daughters ready to go to the field, to delight themselves there *a while*,—Sid., *Arc.* I. XIX,

<sup>21</sup> This relative pronoun, whose antecedent is *all that night*, is used in anacoluthon, in place of the subordinate conjunction *that*, which should have been correlated with the preceding *so*.

<sup>22</sup> Here we might compare the following instance of the idiomatic *day and night*:—My charme should be, she haunt me *day and night*.—I. Ecl., 130.6. Historically, however, this idiom is derived from the OE adverbial genitive *dæges and nihtes* (WS, *Mark* iv. 27, v. 5; *Luke* ii. 37, xviii. 7; also cf. *O.E.D.*, s.v. *DAY sb.* 1 b). Accordingly, we have excluded it from type B.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *O.E.D.*, s.v. *AWHILE*. This comment also applies to the solid form *awhile*, as it is used by Spenser, Deloney, Shakespeare, and Bunyan—just mentioning the writers examined in this part of the present study.

118. 30-2.

(19) Faire streames..., let the tribute-offer of my teares unto you, procure your stay *a while* with me,—Sid., *Arc.* II. vii, 256. 31-4. [Similarly I. xii, 75. 12; II. iv, 172. 2.]

(20) They doubted *a while* what it should be;—Sid., *Arc.* I. i, 8. 11-12. [Similarly II. xxvi, 314. 7.]

(21) The Captaine I hapt *a while* to fight withall,—Sid., *Arc.* II. xxiv, 305. 33-4. [Similarly I. xvii, 115. 40.]

(22) *a while* we stood wondering, *another while* delighted with the rare bravery therof;—Sid., *Arc.* II. xxii, 292. 22-4.

(23) she had made her self so absolute a maister of her husbands minde, that *a-while* he would not, and after, he could not tell how to govern, without being governed by her:—Sid., *Arc.* II. xx, 278. 12-14.

In ex. 19, though *a while* may be syntactically interpreted to modify the whole infinitive phrase “procure your stay,” it practically functions as defining the durative state implied by the noun *stay*. In ex. 21, *a while* is related more closely to the following infinitive *to fight* than to the preceding finite verb *happt* (=happened). A rather peculiar case is seen in exx. 22 and 23. In ex. 22 *a while* precedes the whole statement “we stood wondering” and is contrasted with the other adverbial of type C *another while*, which also introduces the statement “(we stood) delighted with...”; and in ex. 23 *a-while* is used to introduce the negative statement, in correlation with the succeeding adverb *after* (=after that).

*All (or al) this while* (10 exx.):

(24) Pyrocles minde was *all this while* so fixed upon another devotion, that he no more attentively marked his friends discourse, then the childe that hath leave to playe, markes the last part of his lesson;—Sid., *Arc.* I. ix, 55. 33-6.

(25) But Musidorus had *all this while* helde his looke fixed upon Pyrocles countenance;—Sid., *Arc.* I. ix, 57. 26-7.

(26) ...a yong shepheard, who nether had daunced nor song with them, but layne *al this while* upon the ground at the foot of a cypresse tree,—Sid., *Arc.* I. Ecl., 132. 10-12. [Similarly II. Ecl., 344. 16.]

(27) Mopsa...stood *all this while* with her hand sometimes before her face,—Sid., *Arc.* II. ii, 156. 20-2.

(28) ...her Ladie Philoclea: who *all this while*...kept on her course, like Arethusa when she ran from Alpheus;—Sid., *Arc.* II. ii, 120. 13-15. [Similarly II. xviii, 265. 24.]

(29) And by and by it had burned off the maste, which *all this while* had proudly borne the sayle...but now it fell over boord,—Sid., *Arc.*, II. xxiv, 306. 15-18.

(30) *All this while* Zelmane was racked with jealousie.—Sid., *Arc.* I. xv, 115. 1-2. [Similarly II. xxi, 288. 1.]

*A good while* (7 exx.):

(31) But he craved pardon, protesting unto them that he had onely bene to seeke solitary places, by an extreme melancholy that had *a good while* possesst him,—Sid., *Arc.* II. xi, 225. 9-12.

(32) There had beene *a good while* before, and so continued, a suter to this same lady, a great noble man,...named Demagoras:—Sid., *Arc.* I. v, 32. 25-7. [Similarly II. xxiv, 306. 2.]

(33) I staid *a good while* after her words, in hope she would have continued her speech—Sid., *Arc.* II. II, 156. 35–6. [Similarly II. XIX, 273. 39; II. XIX, 273. 40.]

(34) For so impatiently she commanded, as *a good while* no body knew what she commanded;—Sid., *Arc.* II. XXI, 287. 15–17.

In ex. 32 *a good while* does not define the following adverb *before*, but the latter modifies the former, or rather the whole combination “There had beene *a good while*,” so that *a good while* marks the temporal continuation of the state signified, not the degree for specializing the content of *before*, which would then refer to the point of time when the event began to take place. In ex. 34, *a good while*, standing at the front-position of the clause, indicates the duration of the negated state. It is probable that in later English it will be superseded by *for a good while* (type C’).

*A great while* (3 exx.):

(35) having *a great while* throwne her countenaunce ghastly about her...at length casting up her watrie eyes to heaven, O Sunne (said she)...—Sid., II. I, 145. 27–30.

(36) But Gynecia *a great while* stode still, with a kind of dull amasement, looking stedfastly upon her:—Sid., *Arc.* II. I, 148. 12–14.

(37) And so *a great while* she kept his commandement;—Sid., *Arc.* II. XIV, 241. 26–7.

*Long time* (3 exx.):

(38) And so had I beene like inough to have stayed *long time*, but that...the change of object made mee recover my senses:—Sid., *Arc.* I. XIII, 90. 30–2.

(39) Then let my life *long time* on earth maintained be,—Sid., *Arc.* II. XII, 230. 28.

(40) He chanced at that time (for indeed *long time* none lasted with him) to have next in use about him, a man of the most envious disposition,...—Sid., *Arc.* II. IX, 203. 5–7. (*next*: nearest.)

Just as in the case of ex. 34 above, *long time* in ex. 40 would be superseded in later English by *for a long time* (Type C’).

*Some while* (2 exx.):

(41) where being possesst with an extreeme burning fever, he continued *some while* with no great hope of life:—Sid., *Arc.* I. II, 16. 23–4.

(42) But if my beauty be any thing, then let it obtaine thus much of you, that you will remaine *some while* in this companie, to ease your owne travail, and our solitarines.—Sid., *Arc.* I. XIII, 91. 19–22.<sup>24</sup>

The examples of the other forms<sup>25</sup> of type C are:

(43) if you were sometimes with me to marke him...to see *all the while* with what a grace...he can descend to those poore matters, certainly you would:—Sid., *Arc.* II. V, 177. 6–14.

(44) *The meane while* Gynecia kepte Zelmane with her,—Sid., *Arc.*, II. IV, 168. 33.

(45) And thus remayned they *a time*;—Sid., *Arc.* I. XII, 83. 24.

(46) much it is against my will to forbear *any time* the executing of my just revenge upon this naughtie creature,—Sid., *Arc.* II. XVIII, 265. 36–7.

<sup>24</sup> In the following instance the compound form *somwhile* defines the preposition *before* and so is regarded as alien to type C:—He was one day (*somwhile* before your comming hether) walking abroade,—*Arc.* II. XII, 226. 18–20.

<sup>25</sup> One of these, *another while*, was exemplified above in ex. 22.

(47) ...though Basilius (...being in deede desirous to winne his daughter *as much time as might be*) was loth to suffer it,—Sid., *Arc.* II. xxv, 309. 23–6.

For the inclusion of *as much time as might be* in the last example in type C, the comments made on exx. 39 and 40 in §2.2. should be compared.<sup>26</sup>

2.5. In the Sidney text we find 25 examples of the prepositional type—8 of type A', 3 of type Ac', 13 of type C', and 1 of thpe D'. Of these 25 prepositional phrases, 21 (7 of type A', 2 of type Ac', and 12 of type C') are introduced by *for*, 3 (1 of type Ac', 1 of type C', and 1 of type D') by *in*, and 1 (of type A') by *by*. With perfect verbs are used 4 instances—1 *for*-phrase of type C', 1 *by*-phrase of type A', and 2 *in*-phrases of types Ac' and D'. It is worth noting that all the three *in*-phrases—together with 1 *for*-phrase of type C'—are used in negative constructions.

Type A' (8 exx.):

The use of the one *by*-phrase (ex. 8) deserves special notice. Just as “*by* the space of ...” used by Lyly (cf. ex. 7, §2. 3), it is found in combination with a verb in the perfect form.

(1) Yet could she *for some yeares*, so carry her self among them, that they found cause in the delicacie of her sex, of admiration, not of contempt:—Sid., *Arc.* II. xxi, 283. 21–3.

(2) The young Musidorus...was yet *for some yeares* after...lulled up in as much good luck, as the heedfull love of his dolefull mother...could breed unto him.—Sid., *Arc.* II. iii, 159. 32–160. 3.

(3) they had *for a day and almost a while night*, as pleasing entertainment, as the falsest hart could give to him he meanes worst to.—Sid., *Arc.* II. vii, 192. 4–6.

(4) ...yet because he would entertaine Zelmane,...graunted him to pitch his tent *for three dayes*, not farre from the lodge,—Sid., *Arc.* I. xv, 97. 9–12.

(5) But having as he thought, gotten thus much understanding of the Oracle, he determined *for three daies* after to perfourme certaine rites to Apollo:—Sid., *Arc.* II. xxviii, 328. 14–6.

(6) Which they accordingly did, *for some fewe dayes* forcing themselves to let no change appeare:—Sid., *Arc.* I. v, 29. 30–2.

(7) Wherein so they behaved themselves as *for three daies* they caried the prize;—Sid., *Arc.* II. xxi, 284. 17–18.

(8) ...all his subjectes having *by some yeares* learned, so to hope for good, and feare of harm, onely from her, that it should have unwound so deeply an entred vice.—Sid., *Arc.* II. xx, 278. 21–4.

In these quotations, except exx. 3 and 4, the prepositional adverbial of type A' is used before the predicate verb or its semantically main member or the non-finite verbal phrase; and this point should be contrasted with the case of type A, which was exemplified in exx. 1–7 in the previous section. In ex. 5, furthermore, the *for*-phrase is used to indicate intended duration.

Type Ac' (3 exx.):

(9) In such sort did she serve me in that kingdom of Bythinia, *for two moneths*

<sup>26</sup> Though we cannot find any instance of type D in the Sidney text, we may here mention a very kindred expression containing a cognate accusative:—First she would wish, that they two might live *all their lives* together, like two of Dianas Nimphes.—*Arc.* II.iv, 170.36–8.

*space*.—Sid., *Arc.* II. xxii, 292. 1–2.

(10) ...because he trusted upon the general oath taken *for two yeares space*:—Sid., *Arc.* II. xxix, 337. 25–6.

(11) But who would thinke it possible...that *in almost eight weekes space*, I have lived here...yet could never finde opportunitie to have one minutes leasure of privie conference:—Sid., *Arc.* I. xiv, 93. 11–16.

In ex. 11 the *in*-phrase refers not only to the durative state expressed by the perfect “have lived (here)” but to the negative perfective action expressed by “could never finde...,” as against the *for*-phrases, in exx. 9 and 10, which refer to the imperfective and durative activities.

Type C' (13 exx.):

These comprise 6 examples of *for a while*, 2 of *for that time*, 2 of *for a time*, and the examples of 3 other forms, each occurring once.

*For a while* (6 exx.):

(12) *for a while* she did nothing but turne up and downe, as if she had hoped to turne away the fancie that mastred her,—Sid., *Arc.* II. iv, 173. 32–4. [Similarly I. vi, 32. 23; II. ii, 153. 14.]

(13) I had never any tast of Philosophy, nor inward feeling in my selfe, which *for a while* I did not call for my succour.—Sid., *Arc.* I. xiii, 85. 32–4.

(14) with that he imprisoned his looke *for a while* upon Mopsa,—Sid., *Arc.* II. vi, 184. 11–12. [Similarly II. vii, 258. 5.]

As contrasted with the use of *a while* (type C), exemplified in exx. 14–23 in §2.4, we can note that *for a while* (type C') is used in looser relation to the predicate verb of the sentence or clause concerned. It must be noted that in the negative clause in ex. 13 *for a while*, in spite of its front-position, is inside the scope of negation. With “..., which *for a while* I did not call for my succour” may well be compared “..., which I did not call *a while* for my succour.” There will be no difference in eventual meaning, except that in the original the temporal adverbial is much more emphasized.

*For that time* (2 exx.):

(15) But as he...was returning to the story of himselfe, Philoclea came in, and by and by after her, Miso; so as *for that time* they were faine to let Dorus depart.—Sid., *Arc.* II. xi, 215. 30–3.

(16) But the night had so quietly spent most part of her selfe, that the King *for that time* licensed them:—Sid., *Arc.* II. Ecl., 353. 26–8.

In both examples *for that time* implies the notion of restriction as well as duration, which the non-prepositional *that time* would fail to imply.<sup>27</sup>

*For a time* (2 exx.):

(17) ...; who...had *for a time* left her court, and gone into Laconia.—Sid., *Arc.* I. xv, 97. 26–8.

(18) *for a time* it was well fought between us;—Sid., *Arc.* II. xix, 270. 30–1.

In ex. 17 *for a time*, though placed between the two elements of the perfect tense, con-

<sup>27</sup> Another instance of *for that time* found in the Sidney text is evidently incongruous with type C':—And because I may tell you out his conceipt (though that were not done, till the running *for that time* was ended)...—*Arc.* II. xix, 285.8–9.

notes the notion of intended duration; and in ex. 18 *for a time* stands at the front-position of the sentence. They should be compared with ex. 45, §2.4, where *a time* (type C) is used in close combination with the durative verb *remayned*.

The examples of the other forms are:

(19) But Basilius... gave her a stoppe *for that while*.—Sid., *Arc.* II. xvi, 256. 11–13.

(20) *For which while* the shepheards prepared themselves in their best manner,—Sid., *Arc.* II. xxviii, 328. 37–329. 1.

(21) And yet *in all this time*, betwixt us tway,  
We beare our double yoke with such consent,  
That never past foule word, I dare well say.

—Sid., *Arc.* I. Ecl., 140. 4–6.

In ex. 19 *for that while* is directly related to the verbal concept of the noun *stoppe* in “gave her a *stoppe*,” which means “forced her to stop.” The use of the preposition *in* ex. 21 might be attributed to its indirect reference to the negation of the perfective activity expressed by the subsequent clause “That never past foule word,” which means “that no foul word has ever passed between us.”

Type D' (1 ex.):

(22) She thought, *in her life* she had never seene a man of a more goodly presence, in whom strong making tooke not away delicacie, nor beautie fierceness:—Sid., *Arc.* II. xi, 222. 36–8.

This is a typical example of “*in one's life*” of type D', where it refers to the negation of the person's past experience, expressed by the predicate verb in the negated perfective aspect.<sup>28</sup>

2.6. In Book III of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590, '96) we find 64 examples of the adverbial accusative of duration and 3 of the corresponding prepositional type.

Out of the 64 non-prepositional adverbials 8 are of type A, 1 of type Ac, 7 of type B, 47 of type C, and 1 of type D. Of these adverbials 10 (2 of type A, and 8 of type C) are used with verbs in the perfect form, and 2 (1 of type A and 1 of type C) are found in negative constructions.

Type A (8 exx.):

(1) I lately did depart  
From Faery Court, where I have *many a day*  
Served a gentle Lady of great sway  
And high accompt throughout all Elfin Land,

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. v. iv. 3–6.

(*accompt*: account, estimation, importance.)

(2) O lamentable fall of famous towne,  
Which raignd *so many yeares* victorious,  
And of all Asie bore the souveraine crowne,

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. ix. xxxix. 2–4.

(3) Where he, through fatall error long was led  
*Full many yeares*, and weetlesse wandered

<sup>28</sup> The following instance of *in his life* has been left out of account:—Who for ech fickle feare from vertue shrinkes, Shall *in his life* embrace no worthy thing:—*Arc.* I. Ecl., 139.10–11.



From shore to shore emongst the Lybick sandes,

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. ix. xli. 4–6.

(*error*: wanderings; *weetlesse*: thoughtless.)

(4) Whereat she wandered much, but would not stay  
For gold, or perles, or pretious stones, *an howre*,

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. iv. xviii. 7–8.

(5)                   there he *many yeares* did raine,  
And built Nausicle by the Pontick shore;

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. ix. xxxvii. 2–3.

(*raine*: reign.)

(6) The loving mother, that *nine monethes* did beare  
In the deare closett of her painefull syde  
Her tender babe, it seeing safe appeare,  
Doth not so much reioyce as she reioyced theare,

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. ii. xi. 6–9.

(7) And yet *three yeares* I now abrode have strayd,  
To find them out.

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. ii. lvii. 4–5.

(8) *Some thousand yeares* so doen they there remayne,

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. vi. xxiii. 5.

In ex. 4 the adverbial accusative *an howre* (=hour) is inside the scope of negation and so means '(not...) any while.' It might be eventually treated as an instance of type C.

Type Ac (1 ex.):

(9) Why then is Busirane with wicked hand  
Suffred, *these seven monethes day*, in secret den  
My Lady and my Love so cruelly to pen!

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. xi. x. 7–9.

As for the use of *day* in this sentence, meaning 'space,' *O. E. D.* (s.v. DAY 11) notes "now *Obs.* or *Sc.*" and exemplifies it with the quotations from 1451 to 1825–79.

Type B (7 ex.):<sup>29</sup>

(10) For not of nought these suddein ghastly feares  
*All night* afflict thy naturall repose;  
And *all the day*, whenas thine equall peares  
Their fit disports with faire delight doe chose,  
Thou in dull corners doest thyselfe inclose;

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. ii. xxi. 1–5.

(*peares*: peers, equals.)

(11) As fayre Aurora, rysing hastily,  
Doth by her blushing tell that she did lye  
*All night* in old Tithonus frozen bed,

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. iii. xx. 4–6.

(12) But *all the day* before the sunny rayes

<sup>29</sup> The idiomatic phrases, *day and night* (III.iii.xi. 6, III.vi.xxxii. 4, III.xi.xvii. 2), *both day and night* (III. i.xxxix. 7), and *nor night nor day* (III.x.iii. 7) have been left out of account. Cf. footnote 22.

He us'd to slug, or sleepe in slothfull shade:

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. vii. xii. 7–8.

(*slug*: idle, live idly.)

- (13) *All day* they daunced with great lustyhedd,  
And with their horned feet the greene gras wore;

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. x. xlv. 6–7.

(*lustyhedd*: lustiness, energy, vigour.)

- (14) Embraced of a Satyre rough and rude,  
Who *all the night* did mind his ioyous play:

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. x. xlvi. 3–4.

(*mind*: intend, contemplate.)

- (15) All that same evening she in flying spent,  
And *all that night* her course continewed:

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. vii. ii. 1–2.

In the last quotation, it should be noticed that the semantic function of *all that night*, which is closely connected to the continuous action lasting all the night, is very similar to that of *all that same evening* in the previous line, which is also indirectly related to the continuous action of flying that lasted all the evening, though syntactically the latter functions as object of the transitive *spent*.<sup>30</sup>

Type C:

The 47 instances consist of 15 of *awhile* (or *awhyle*), 10 of *long time*, 7 of *all the while*, 4 of *all* (or *al*) *this while*, 4 of *long while* (or *longwhile*), 2 of *a space*, 2 of *(a) long space*, 1 of *all that time*, 1 of *somewhile*, and 1 of *a certaine space*. As for the non-articled form *long time*, it was already commented on with respect to Lyly's use of it (§ 2.2, p. 6). The similar form *long while* (or *longwhile*), now also considered archaic, should be noticed. For *long space*, *O.E.D.* (s.v. SPACE 1) records the quotations from a. 1300 to 1871; but the use is now apparently archaic.

*Awhile* (or *awhyle*) (15 exx.):

- (16) Tho, having vewd *awhile* the surges hore  
That gainst the craggy clifts did loudly rore,

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. iv. vii. 4–5.

- (17) They, here arriving, staid *awhile* without,  
Ne durst adventure rashly in to wend,

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. iii. xiv. 1–2.

(*adventure*: venture, attempt; *wend*: go.)

- (18) He rested him *awhile*; and then the Mayd  
His readie wound with salves new drest:

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. v. xli. 3–4.

[Similarly III. vii. vii. 7, III. vii. x. 5, III. ix. xxxix. 1.]

- (19) So as they gazed after her *awhyle*,  
Lo! where a griesly foster forth did rush,  
Breathing out beastly lust her to defyle:

<sup>30</sup> Compare also the use of *all that day* in:—*All that day* she outwore in wandering And gazing on that Chambers ornament,—*F. Q.* III. xii. xxix. 1–2 (*outwore*: (vt.) spent, passed).

- Sp., *F. Q.* III. v. xli. 3-4.
- (*griesly*: horrible, grim, ghastly: *foster*: forester.) [Similarly III. xi. xxxix. 2.]
- (20) Thereat she sighing softly had no powre  
To speake *awhile*, we ready answere make;  
—Sp., *F. Q.* III. ii. v. 1-2.
- (21) They rudely drove to ground both man and horse,  
That each *awhile* lay like a fencelesse corse.  
—Sp., *F. Q.* III. ix. xvi. 4-5.
- (*fencelesse*: defenceless; *corse*: body.) [Similarly III. iii. xxi. 4, III. iii. xxxiii. 1.]
- (22) His blindfold eies he bad *awhile* unbinde,  
That his proud spoile of that same dolorous  
Faire Dame he might behold in perfect kinde:  
—Sp., *F. Q.* III. xii. xxii. 6-8.
- (23) Therewith *awhile* she her flit fancy fedd,  
Till she mote winne fit time for her desire;  
—Sp., *F. Q.* III. i. lvi. 1-2.
- (*flit*: fleeting, changing.) [Similarly III. ii. xxii. 6.]
- Long time* (10 exx.):
- (24) Like as a lyon that in drowsie cave  
Hath *long time* slept, himselfe so shall he shake;  
—Sp., *F. Q.* III. iii. xxx. 1-2.
- (25)                   like sunny beames,  
That in cloud their light did *long time* stay,  
Their vapour vaded, shewe their golden gleames,  
—Sp., *F. Q.* III. ix. xx. 6-8.
- (*vaded*: being dispersed.)
- (26) Yet shall he *long time* warre with happy speed,  
—Sp., *F. Q.* III. iii. xxxi. 3.
- (27) Thus warreid he *long time* against his will;  
—Sp., *F. Q.* III. v. xlvi. 1.
- (28)                   himselpe he thought depriv'd  
Quite of all hope wherewith he long had fedd  
His foolish malady, and *long time* had misledd.  
—Sp., *F. Q.* III. viii. iii. 7-9.
- (29) Where wearie wandring they *long time* did wonne,  
And many fortunes prov'd in th'ocean mayne,  
—Sp., *F. Q.* III. ix. xlvi. 7-8.
- (*wonne*: dwell.) [Similarly III. v. iii. 1, III. ix. xliii. 8.]
- (30) *Long time* ye both in armes shall beare great sway,  
—Sp., *F. Q.* III. iii. xxviii. 5.
- [Similarly III. iv. xx. 4.]
- All the while* (7 exx.):
- (31) And *all the while* sweet Musicke did divide  
Her looser notes with Lydian harmony;  
And *all the while* sweete birdes thereto applide

Their daintie layes and dulcet melody,

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. i. xl. 1–4.

[Similarly III. i. lvii. 4, III. v. xvii. 8.]

(32) But *all the while* the fisher did securely sleepe.

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. viii. xxi. 9.

(33) But *all the while*, that he these speeches spent,  
Upon his lips hong faire Dame Hellenore  
With vigilant regard and dew attent,

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. ix. lii. 1–3.

(*dew attent*: due attention.)

(34) And, *all the while* he red, she did extend  
Her sword high over him, if ought he did offend.

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. xii. xxxvi. 8–9.

In exx. 33 and 34, *all the while* is itself followed by its dependent clause, so that the whole combination introduced by *all the while* constitutes an adverbial clause of time. Especially in ex. 34, “*all the while* he red (=read),” without any intermediate relative, forms a very compact clause, meaning ‘while he was reading,’ though we must observe, at the same time, the distinctly durative force connoted by *all the while* in the original context.

*All* (or *al*) *this while* (4 exx.):

(35) She fownd, and brought it to her patient deare,  
Who *al this while* lay bleding out his hart-blood neare.

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. v. xxxii. 8–9.

[Similarly III. v. xiii. 1, III. xii. xxvii. 4.]

(36) Well may I weene, faire Ladies, *all this while*  
Ye wonder how this noble Damozell  
So great perfections did in her compile  
Sith that in salvage forests she did dwell,

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. vi. i. 1–4.

[*compile*: heap up, produce.]

*Long while* (or *longwhile*) (4 exx.):

(37) There shall a sparke of fire, which hath *longwhile*  
Bene in his ashes raked up and hid,  
Bee freshly kindled in the fruitfule Ile  
Of Mona, where it lurked in exile;

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. vi. i. 1–4.

(38) as hollow cave,  
That seemes rough masons hand with engines keene  
Had *long while* laboured it to engrave:

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. viii. xxxvii. 5–7.

(39) So stared he on her, and stood *long while* amaz'd.

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. vii. xiii. 9.

(40) *Long while* he strove in his corageous brest  
With reason dew the passion to subdew,

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. v. xlv. 1–2.

*A space* (2 exx.):

- (41) And, after having whispered *a space*  
 Certain sad words with hollow voice and bace,  
 Shee to the Virgin sayd, thrise sayd she itt;

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. II. I. 4–6.

(*bace*: low, deep.)

- (42) She fled into the wilderness *a space*,  
 Till that unweeldy burden she had reard,

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. VI. X. 3–4.

(*unweeldy*: unwiieldy, clumsy; *reard*: taken away.)

(*A long space* (2 exx.):

- (43) The warlike Mayd, beholding earnestly  
 The goodly ordinaunce of this rich place,  
 Did greatly wonder; ne could satisfy  
 Her greedy eyes with gazing *a long space*:

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. XI. liii. 1–4.

(*ordinaunce*: equipment, furniture; *ne*: nor.)

- (44) It fortunèd, whilst thus she stily strove,  
 And the wide sea importuned *long space*  
 With shrilling shriekes, Proteus abrode did rove,  
 Along the fomy waves driving his finny drove.

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. VIII. xxix. 6–9.

Comparing the fourth line of ex. 43 with the second line of ex. 44, we can see that the use or non-use of *a* before *long space* is ascribable to the metrical structure. In the latter, *impòrtunèd* should be pronounced as four syllables.

*All that while; somewhyle; a certaine space*:

- (45) With that, upleaning on her elbow weake,  
 Her alablaster brest she soft did kis,  
 Which *all that while* shee felt to pant and quake,

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. II. xlii. 6–8.

- (46) Which with the Prince of Darkness fell *somewhyle*  
 From heavens blis and everlasting rest:

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. VIII. viii. 3–4.<sup>31</sup>

- (47) And them awayted there *a certaine space*,  
 To weet if they would turne backe to that place:

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. I. xix. 4–5.

(*weet*: know, learn.)

Type D (1 ex.):

- (48) “Then is he not more mad,” sayd Paridell,  
 “That hath himselfe unto such service sold,  
 In dolefull thraldome *all his dayes* to dwell?”

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. IX. viii. 1–3.

<sup>31</sup> Just as in the case mentioned at footnote 20, we have left out of account *a litle whyle* in:—*A litle whyle* Before that Merlin dyde, he did intend A brasen wall in compas to compyle About Cairmardin,—*F. Q.* III. III. X. 1–4 (*dyde*: died; *compyle*: build).

2.7. In the Spenser text we cannot find any more than 3 examples of the prepositional type—1 of type Ac' and 2 of type C'. All of these are introduced by *during*.

Type Ac':

- (1) Yet after these sorrows, and huge hills  
Of dying people, *during eight yeares space*,  
Cadwallader, not yielding to his ills,  
From Armoricke, where long in wretched cace  
He liv'd retourning to his native place,  
Shal be by vision staide from his intent:

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. iii. xli. 1-6.

This *during*-phrase, however, does not modify the predicate verb of the sentence but defines the temporal duration of the situation implied by the nominal expression "these sorrows, and huge hills of dying people."

Type C':

- (2) *During which time* the Chorle, through her so kind  
And courtese use, conceiv'd affection bace,  
And cast to love her in his brutish mind;

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. vii. xv. 6-8.

(*Chorle*: churl; *cast*: resolved, planned.)

- (3) And Hellenors both eyes did eke beguyle,  
Both eyes and hart attonce, *during the whyle*  
That he there soiourned his woundes to heale;

—Sp., *F. Q.* III. x. v. 4-6.

(*attonce*: together.)

It must here be noted that these *during*-phrases denote the particular periods and are related to the activities that are conclusive, not durative, though in ex. 3 the conjunctive *during the whyle that* introduces a statement of a durative activity.<sup>32</sup>

2.8. In Thomas Deloney's *Iacke of Newberie* (c. 1597) we find 49 examples of the adverbial accusative of duration, as against 9 of the corresponding prepositional type.

The 49 examples of the former type comprise 10 of type A, 3 of type Ab, 1 of type Ac, 21 of type B, and 14 of type C. Among them we find 14 instances with verbs in the perfect form—2<sup>33</sup> of type A, 3 of type Ab, 3 of type B, and 6 of type C; and 8 instances in negative constructions—1 of type Ab, 4 of type B, and 3 of type C.

Type A (10 exx.):

- (1) ...a Gentlewoman..., whom griesely death hath bereft of a kinde husband, making her a widow, ere she had been *halfe a yeare* a wife:—Del., *J. N.* xi. 65. 16-19.

(*griesely*: grisly, horrible, terrible.)

- (2) Notwithstanding he bent his only like to one of his owne seruants, whom he had tried in the guiding of his house *a year or two*—Del., *J. N.* ii. 19. 42-20. 2.

- (3) seeing my going abroad grieues three, where I haue gone forth *one day*, I will

<sup>32</sup> The following *in their dayes* has been excluded from type D', because *dayes* here does not refer to the whole period of the lifetime:—Of mightie conquerors and captaines strong, which were whilome captived *in their dayes* To cruell Love, and wrought their owne decayes:—*F. Q.* III. xi. lii. 3-5.

<sup>33</sup> We have left ex. 3 out of account for the reason that will be mentioned below.

goe abroad *three*; and for one houre,<sup>34</sup> I will stay *fiue*.—Del., *J. N.* i. 17. 23–5.

(4) ...; and in this melancholy humour continued *three weekes or a moneth*, till at last it was her lucke upon a Bartholomew day...to spie her man Iohn...—Del., *J. N.* i. 10. 4–6.

(5) This wedding endured *ten days*, to the great reliefe of the poor that dwelt all about:—Del., *J. N.* ii. 22. 27–8.

(6) The sweet Rose doth flourish but<sup>35</sup> *one moneth*, nor Womens beauties but in yongue yeares.—Del., *J. N.* vii. 49. 43–5.

(7) *Foure dayes* lay these men in the Marshalsey, till at last they made their humble Petition to the King for their release:—Del., *J. N.* vi. 46. 9–11. (*the Marshalsey*: the Marshalsea, *i.e.* a prison in the borough of Southwark.)

(8) one moneths studying for a Sermon, will make him forget his wife *a whole yeare*.—Del., *J. N.* i. 6. 17–18.

In exx. 1, 4, 5, and 6 the combination between the predicate verbs in the durative aspect and the adverbial accusatives is very close; and so is the combination in the emphatic word-order in ex. 7. In ex. 3, unlike the case of exx. 1 and 2, the perfect “haue gone (forth)” is not durative but iterative and *one day* denotes the length of time during which the narrator stayed abroad at one time. Contrarily, *fiue* (= *fiue houres*) is directly combined with the durative verb *stay*. We should also notice that in ex. 8 *a whole yeare* modifies the infinitive phrase “forget his wife,” not the finite verb in the future tense “will make.”

Type Ab (3 exx.):

(9) Hang dogs, I haue dwelt in this towne *these thirty winters*.—Del., *J. N.* x. 62. 2–3.

(10) by the reason that she doubts her selfe to be with childe, she hath vowed not to marry *these twelue moneths*:—Del., *J. N.* xi. 65. 22–3.

(11) we had zold all our kine to make money for my daughters marriage, and *this zeauen yeare* we should not haue been able to buy more:—Del., *J. N.* ii. 22. 43–4. (*zold*: sold; *this zeauen yeare*: these seven years.)

In ex. 10 *these twelue moneths* does not modify the negative infinitive “not to marry,” but the perfect predicate verb “*hath vowed* (not to marry),” which implies the resultant state after the lady had made her vow. In ex. 11, the quotation that directly reports what the old woman said in her dialect, *this zeauen yeare* is related to the whole negative statement.

Type Ac (1 ex.):

(12) If you haue the leasure to stay till the Charme be done, *the space of sixe dayes and fiue nights*, you shall finde me ready to put on my holy-day-apparell, and on Sunday morning for your paines I will giue you a spot of Ale ouer against the May-pole.—Del., *J. N.* i. 3. 38–4. 2. (*against*: towards the front of, near.)

Type B:

*All day* (4 exx.), *all night* (3 exx.):

(13) as you have staid out *all day* for your delight, so you may lye forth *all night*

<sup>34</sup> Here “for one houre” is not in type A', because *for* means ‘in place of.’ It would be impossible to interpret “for one houre” as equivalent to ‘where I have stayed (for) one hour.’

<sup>35</sup> For this *but* see the comment made on ex. 14, §2.2.

for my pleasure.—Del., *J. N.* i. 17. 40–1. (*lye forth*: originally of bees, settle outside the hive; hence, sleep out.)

(14) Shall I content myselfe to be wrapt in sheepes russet that may swim in silks, and sit *all day* carding for a groat, that can haue crownes at my command?—Del., *J. N.* vii. 49. 39–42. [Similarly ii. 20. 45.]

(15) When Princes march with speare and shield,  
the poore man soundly sleepes *all night*.

—Del., *J. N.* iii. 32. 18–19. [Similarly vii. 52. 13.]

(16) These pretty maids did neuer lin,  
But in that place *all day* did spin:

—Del., *J. N.* ii. 20. 33–4. (*lin*: cease.)

*All the yeare* (or *yeere*) (3 exx.); *all the weeke* (1 ex.):

(17) He kept a Butcher *all the yeere*,  
A Baker eke for Ale and Beere:

—Del., *J. N.* ii. 21. 13–14.

(18) Five Cookes within his kitchin great,  
Were *all the yeare* to dresse his meat.

—Del., *J. N.* ii. 21. 17–18.

(19) All those gallant men in white, are his owne seruants, who are maintained *all the yeare* by him:—Del., *J. N.* ii. 24. 8–10.

(20) No man could entice him from his businesse *all the weeke*, by all the intreaty they could vse:—Del., *J. N.* i. 3. 31–3.

In ex. 19 the word order shows that the passive predicate verb “are maintained” is more closely related to the adverbial of duration “all the yeare” than to the adjunct of agency “by him.” In ex. 20, again, *all the weeke* virtually modifies the implicit continuous state that would be expressed as ‘... from *occupying himself* in his business.’

*That night* (3 exx.); *this night* (3 exx.):

(21) His Dame...tooke *that night* but small rest,—Del., *J. N.* i. 8. 36–7. [Similarly vii. 52. 5.]

(22) The woman was very well pleased, hee would be there *that night*.—Del., *J. N.* vii. 51. 27–8.

(23) shee hath promised me to lye *this night* in my house,—Del., *J. N.* vii. 52. 5–6.

(24) as you are perfumed fit for the dogs, so wee enioine you *this night* to serue all our hogs,—Del., *J. N.* iv. 39. 42–3.

(25) I pray you get hence, and request the Constable to prouide you a bed, for *this night* you shall haue no lodging here.—Del., *J. N.* i. 17. 34–6.

*This yeare*; *this day*; *halfe the day*; *this Summer season*:

(26) Now by my honesty I drunke none *this yeare*, and therefore I doe not greatly care if I take a taste before I goe:—Del., *J. N.* x. 61. 17–18.

(27) hee hath not stucke *this day* to vndoe himselfe, onely to become famous by receiuing of your Maiesty:—Del., *J. N.* x. 30. 31–3.

(28) *Halfe the day* sometime would hee sit by her, as shee was waighing wooll, often sighing and sobbing to himselfe, yet saying nothing, ...—Del., *J. N.* vii. 47. 19–21.

(29) ...this quiet Common-wealth, who *this Summer season* are making their



Winters prouision.—Del., *J. N.* III. 27. 29–30.

In ex. 26 *this yeare* modifies the whole negative predicate “drunke (=drank) none,” which means ‘have not drunk a bit.’ In ex. 27, again, *this day* modifies the whole predicate “hath not stuccke to vndoe himselfe,” which can be paraphrased into ‘has not hesitated to ruin himself,’ the negative perfect verb implying durative force.

Type C:

The 14 examples in type C comprise 4 of (*a*) *long time*, 3 of *a while* (or *awhile*), 3 of *a great while*, 2 of *a pret(t)yy while*, 1 of *this great while*, and 1 of *sometime*.

(A) *long time* (4 exx.):

(30) I haue *long time* beene a sutor vnto you, and this day you promised to giue mee a direct answer.—Del., *J. N.* I. 14. 1–2.

(31) the Widow... gently answered, that in respect of his great good will *long time* borne vnto her..., she would not flatly deny him.—Del., *J. N.* I. 10. 19–23.

(32) Thus lay the poore Draper *a long time* in prison.—Del., *J. N.* IX. 58. 13.

(33) she was so ashamed of her selfe, that shee went not forth of her doores *a long time* after:—Del., *J. N.* X. 63. 42–3.

It may be worth noting that the use of the variants *a long time* and *long time*<sup>36</sup> is ascribable to a structural factor. The shorter form *long time* is used immediately before the past participle—*beene* (in ex. 30) or *borne* (in ex. 31)—whose durative sense seems to be directly emphasized by the preceding adverbial, while the longer form *a long time*, with its full force as an adverbial, modifies the preceding verb—*lay* (in ex. 32) or *went (not forth...)* (in ex. 33).

Since the clause in ex. 33 expresses a negative activity with conclusive aspect, “*a long time* after” indicates a period during which the activity has never been done. In later English, the prepositional *for a long time* would more likely be used here.

*A while* (or *awhile*) (3 exx.):

(34) After they had sitten *awhile*, and well refreshed themselues, the Widow... drunke vnto the whole company,—Del., *J. N.* I. 13. 5–7.

(35) You shall not chuse but stay *a while*—Del., *J. N.* VIII. 54. 5. [Similarly I. 8. 18.]

In ex. 35 *a while* modifies the preceding infinitive *stay*, not the negative finite verb *shall not chuse* (=choose).

*A great while* (3 exx.):

(36) What mistres Franke... in faith welcome: how haue you done *a great while*?—Del., *J. N.* X. 61. 7–8.

(37) By this meanes the Seruing-man ouertooke him, and taking him by the sleeue, being as windlesse as the other, stood blowing and puffing *a great while* ere they could speake one to another.—Del., *J. N.* IX. 59. 7–9.

(38) Her husband... would needes know the cause of her sorrow: but *a great while* she would not shew him,—Del., *J. N.* VII. 50. 32–4.

In ex. 36, *haue...done* is evidently imperfective in aspect, and more explicitly would be expressed as “have...been doing.” In ex. 38, *a great while* refers to the whole negative statement. We might expect that in later English it would be replaced by the prepositional *for a great while*.

<sup>36</sup> Compare its use by Lyly exemplified in exx. 26–30, § 2.2, by Sidney exemplified in exx. 38–40, § 2.4, and by Spenser exemplified in exx. 24–30, § 2.6.

*A pret(t)y while* (2 exx.):

Both instances are found in close combination with verbs in the perfect tense.

(39) When hee had *a pretty while* been washed in this sort, at the length he croucht downe vpon his knees,—Del., *J. N.* iv. 39. 23–4.

(40) after they had sitten *a prety while* merrily talking, the Widow called her man Iohn to bring her a bowle of fresh Ale,—Del., *J. N.* i. 13. 38–9.

*This great while; sometime:*

(41) By the Masse, che earnd not halfe a groat *this great while*.—Del., *J. N.* x. 63. 1–2. (*che earned not* (vulg.): I have not earned.)

(42) But againe, when hee considered...that she that *sometime* had been his Dame, would (perhaps) disdaine to bee gouerned by him that had been her poore seruant,...—Del., *J. N.* i. 8. 29–30.

2.9. The Deloney text contains 9 examples of the prepositional type—1 of type A', 4 of type Ac', 3 of type C', and 1 of type D'. The 5 phrases of types A' and Ac' are introduced by *for*, while the 4 phrases of types C' and D' are *in*-phrases. One of the *for*-phrases of type Ac' is used with a verb in the perfect tense, and the one *in*-phrase of type D' is found in a negative construction.

Type A' (1 ex.):

(1) Thus the matter rested *for two or three dayes*,—Del., *J. N.* i. 9. 47.

The construction of “rested *for two or three dayes*” here should be compared with that of “continued *three weekes or a moneth*” (ex. 4, § 2.8) or “endured *ten dayes*” (ex. 5, § 2.8). The delicate difference seems to consist in the stronger force displayed by the verb *continued* or *endured* in the latter, which causes its combination with the adverbial of duration to appear so much the more natural, than the force displayed by the verb *rested* in the former.<sup>37</sup>

Type Ac' (4 exx.):

(2) Neuerthelesse, I haue made a vowe not to love any man *for this twelue moneths space*.—Del., *J. N.* xi. 67. 16–17.

(3) Wherefore she, hauing a good opinion of her man Iohn, committed vnto his gouernement the guiding of all her worke-folkes *for the space of three yeares together*<sup>38</sup>:—Del., *J. N.* i. 3. 27–30.

(4) Whereupon hee willed him *for two yeares space* to take his dyet and his Ladies at his house:—Del., *J. N.* xi. 68. 1–2.

(5) Euery day therefore *for the space of a moneth* after shee was married, it was her ordinary custome, to goe forth in the morning among her Gossips and acquaintance to make merry, and not to returne home till night, without any regard of her household.—Del., *J. N.* i. 17. 3–6.

It may be worth noting that, amid the strikingly lower frequency of the prepositional type on the whole, we can find four examples of type Ac', as against the just single example

<sup>37</sup> The following *for*-phrase, relevant as it appears, functions as defining the frequentative (not durative) notion of the predicate verb, and so it has been left out of account:—after they had *for halfe a score times* tryed him to this intent, and saw he would not bee ledde by their lure, they left him to his owne will.—i. 4. 13–15.

<sup>38</sup> *O. E. D.* (s.v. TOGETHER 5) gives the quotations of *together* in this use, meaning ‘without intermission, continuously, running, on end,’ from c. 1290 to 1856.

of type Ac (ex. 12, § 2.8). It is particularly interesting to compare ex. 2 above with ex. 10 under § 2.8, that is, in type Ab. The two sentences are structurally parallel to each other, but the *for*-phrase in "I haue made a vowe...*for this twelue moneths space*" has more compact and self-sufficient value as an adverbial unit than the non-prepositional phrase in "she hath vowed...*these twelue moneths*." We might notice the use of the collective singular *this* in *for this twelue moneths* (=months) *space*.<sup>39</sup>

Type C' (3 exx.):

In each of these *in*-phrases the headnoun is determined by *which*, the relative pronoun in attributive use.

(6) Wherefore she...committed vnto his gouernement the guiding of all her worke-folkes for the space of three yeares together: *In which time* shee found him so carefull and diligent, that all things came forward and prospered woundrous well.—Del., *J. N. I.* 3. 27–31.

(7) Thus lay the poore Draper a long time in prison, *in which space*, his Wife... was glad to goe about and wash buckes at the Thames side, and to be a chare-woman in rich mens houses,—Del., *J. N. IX.* 58. 13–17. (*buckes*: dirty linen.) [Similarly *I. 9.* 47.]<sup>40</sup>

Type D' (1 ex.):

(8) She neuer gaue me hurtfull counsell *in all her life*, but hath alwaies been ready to tell mee things for my profit,—Del., *J. N. VIII.* 57. 22–4.

Here *in all her life* is used to qualify the negative statement concerning the woman's conduct. It would sound irrelevant if it were expressed so as to refer to the subsequent positive statement "hath alwaies been ready to...."<sup>41</sup>

### III. *The Seventeenth Century*

3.1. As the seventeenth century corpus we have examined the four texts, as follows:

(1) William Shakespeare: *Hamlet* (1600–1) (abbreviated as Sh., *Ham.*), *Measure for Measure* (1604–5) (abbreviated as Sh., *M.M.*), and *The Tempest* (1611–2) (abbreviated as Sh., *Tem.*). The edition we have adopted is *The Norton Facsimile: The First Folio of Shakespeare*, prepared by Charlton Hinman (New York: Norton, 1968). Especially for *M.M.*, we have made primary reference to *Measure for Measure: An Old-Spelling and Old-Meaning Edition* prepared by Ernst Leisi (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1964).

(2) The Authorised Version of the English Bible (1611) (abbreviated as A. V.): *The Gospels*, ed. W. A. Wright (Cambridge U.P., 1909): Vol. V, pp. 4–257.

(3) John Bunyan: *The Pilgrim's Progress* Parts I and II (1673, '84) (abbreviated as Bun., *P. P.*); in *The Complete Works of John Bunyan*, ed. Henry Strebbing (Hildesheim: Olms, reprinted 1970); Vol. II, pp. 12–133.

(4) William Congreve: *The Old Batchelour* (1693) (abbreviated as Con., *O. B.*), and

<sup>39</sup> Compare, however, Lyly's use of type Ab exemplified in ex. 17, § 2.2; also ex. 11, § 2.8.

<sup>40</sup> The following *for this time* denotes a point of time intended for a particular purpose and so has been left out of account:—seeing the time agrees with our stomackes, though loth, yet will we giue ouer *for this time*, and betake our selues to our suppers.—*I. 8.* 14–16.

<sup>41</sup> The following instance has been excluded from type D', for the same reason that was mentioned at footnote 32:—I haue been a pretty wench *in my dayes*, and seene some fashions.—*VIII.* 55. 8–9.

*Love for Love* (1695) (abbreviated as *Con.*, *L. L.*); in *The Complete Plays of William Congreve*, ed. Herbert Davis (Chicago U. P., 1967), pp. 37–112 and 216–314.

3.2. In Shakespeare's three plays *Ham.*, *M. M.*, and *Tem.*, we find 43 examples of the adverbial accusative of duration and 16 of the corresponding prepositional type.

The 43 examples of the former type comprise 13 of type A, 1 of type Ab, 8 of type B, 20 of type C, and 1 of type D. Of these 9 (4 of type A, 1 of type Ab, 3 of type B, and 1 of type C) are used with verbs in the perfect tense. Only one example (of type A) is found in a negative construction.

Type A (13 exx.):

(1) I haue bin sixeteene heere, man and Boy *thirty yeares*.—Sh., *Ham.* v. i. 176–7. (*sixeteene*: sexton; *heere*: here.)

(2) *Escalus* ... how long haue you bin in this place of Constable?  
*Elbow* *Seuen yeere, and a halfe* sir.—Sh., *M. M.* II. i. 250–2.

(3) And let vs once againe assaile your eares,  
That are so fortified against our Story,  
What we *two Nights* haue seene.

—Sh., *Ham.* I. i. 31–3.

(4) *Two nights* together,<sup>41</sup> had these Gentlemen  
(Marcellus and Barnardo) on their Watch  
In the dead wast and middle of the night  
Beene thus encountred.

—Sh., *Ham.* I. ii. 196–9.

These are examples with perfect verbs. In ex. 2 *seuen yeere, and a halfe* should be contextually interpreted as dependent on "I have been here," though the part has not been expressed in actual speech. In exx. 3 and 4, *two nights* does not refer to the continuous duration of the action or event meant by the predicate verb but to the prolonged repetition of it. This use should be understood as analogous to the primary function that the adverbial accusative of duration has to perform.

(5) But *two months* dead: Nay, not so much; not two,  
So excellent a King, that...

—Sh., *Ham.* I. ii. 138–9.

(6) Into a clouen Pyne, within which rift  
Imprison'd, thou didst painefully remaine  
*A dozen yeeres*:

—Sh., *Tem.* I. ii. 277–9.

(7) you would lift the Moone out of her speare, if she would continue in it *fiue weekes* without changing.—Sh., *Tem.* II. i. 183–4.

(8) What is this Maid, with whom thou was't at play?  
Your eld'st acquaintance cannot be *three houres*:

—Sh., *Tem.* v. i. 185–6.

(9) show your sheepe-biting face, and be hang'd *an houre*:—Sh., *Tem.* v. i. 384–5.

(10) You know sometimes  
He walkes *foure houres* together, heere

<sup>41</sup> For the use of *together* in this example and ex. 10 below, compare ex. 3, § 2.9, and the footnote (38) about it.

## In the Lobby.

—Sh., *Ham.* III. ii. 141–2.

(11) a great mans Memorie, may out-liue his life *halfe a yeare*:—Sh., *Ham.* III. ii. 141–2.

(12) Ifaith, if he be not rotten before he die...he will last you *some eight yeare, or nine yeare*. A Tanner will last you *nine yeare*.—Sh., *Ham.* v. i. 181–4.

In ex. 5, “two months dead” may be interpreted as expandable to the structure “he (i.e. the king) has been two months dead.” In ex. 9, *an houre* in “be hang’d *an houre*” is used figuratively meaning ‘a moment, a minute, a little,’ and so might be included in type C. In exx. 11 and 12, the adverbial accusatives after “out-liue his life” and “last you,” respectively, are used in such close combination with the preceding verbs that they might almost as well be called accusative objects. They could never be replaced by the corresponding prepositional phrases—“for halfe a yeare,” “for some eight yeare, or nine yeare,” and “for nine yeare,” respectively. It is interesting, in this respect, to see that in ex. 12 the two consecutive sentences, which the clown said to Hamlet, contain the repetitive use of the dative *you*, each time invested with a delicately different shade of function. The first *you* may be termed an ethical dative and so can logically be dropped, while the second *you* is functionally more literal and might as well be interpreted as indirect object with direct object “nine yeare” following.

Type Ab (1 ex.)<sup>42</sup>:

(13) by the Lord Horatio, *these three yeares* I haue taken note of it,... —Sh., *Ham.* v. i. 150–1.

Type B (8 exx.):

These contain 6 instances with *night* and 2 with *day*.

(14) I haue been drinking *all night*,—Sh., *M. M.* IV. iii. 41. [Similarly *M. M.* IV. iii. 51.]

(15) He that drinckes *all night*, and is hanged betimes in the morning, may sleepe the sounder *all the next day*.—Sh., *M. M.* IV. iii. 43–5.

(16) I haue sat here *all day*.—Sh., *M. M.* IV. i. 19–20.

(17) Some sayes, that euer ’gainst that Season comes  
Wherein our Saviours Birth is celebrated,  
The Bird of Dawning singeth *all night long*:

—Sh., *Ham.* I. i. 158–60.

<sup>42</sup> From outside our Shakespearean corpus, we would here quote as further expressions of type Ab used by Shakespeare the instances of that remarkable subtype where the “demonstrative+numeral+noun of time measurement” is preceded emphatically by *any time*:—I haue maintain’d that Salamander of yours with fire, *any time this two and thirtie yeeres*,—*1H. IV* III. iii. 52–4/ that I doe, and haue done *any time these three hundred yeeres*.—*M.W.W.* I. i. 12–13/*Autolycus* I know yon are now (Sir) a Gentleman borne. *Clown I*, and haue been so *any time these foure houres*.—*W.T.* v. ii. 145–8.

Below we shall enumerate the abbreviations, together with the dates of composition, of those works by Shakespeare outside our corpus from which we have quoted here and shall quote in footnotes 43–46 and 48 below. *C.E.*=*The Comedy of Errors* (1592–3). *R. III*=*King Richard The Third* (1592–3). *T.S.*=*The Taming of the Shrew* (1593–4). *L.L.L.*=*Love’s Labour’s Lost* (1594–5). *M.V.*=*The Merchant of Venice* (1596–7). *1H. IV*=*The First Part of King Henry The Fourth* (1597–8). *2H. IV*=*The Second Part of King Henry The Fourth* (1597–8). *M.A.N.*=*Much Ado About Nothing* (1598–9). *M.W.W.*=*The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1600–1). *Lear*=*King Lear* (1605–6). *Mac.*=*Macbeth* (1605–6). *Cym.*=*Cymbeline* (1609–10). *W.T.*=*The Winter’s Tale* (1610–1). *H. VIII*=*King Henry The Eighth* (1612–3).

- (18) Therefore I haue intreated him along  
With vs, to watch *the minutes of this Night*,  
—Sh., *Ham.* i. i. 27–8.
- (19) I am thy Fathers Spirit,  
Doomed for a certain terme to walke *the night*;  
—Sh., *Ham.* i. v. 9–10.

For the emphatic use of the subjoined adverb *long* in *all night long* in ex. 17, *O.E.D.* (s.v. *LONG adv.* 6) records the quotations beginning in c. 1290, referring to the corresponding German use, as in “sein Leben *lang*” (=all his life). The close combination to express an action lasting the whole length of a period designated, such as “watch *the minutes of this night*” (ex. 18) or “walke *the night*” (ex. 19), is characteristic of the idiomatic usage that is grounded upon the historical heritage, though it may now be described as obsolete.<sup>43</sup>

Type C (20 exx.):

These comprise 15 examples of *a while* (*a-while*, or *awhile*) and 5 other forms, each of them occurring once: *a little while*, *a great while*, *the while*, *some time*, and *some little time*.

- (20) Stay Sir, stay *a while*.—Sh., *M. M.* v. i. 380. [Similarly *Ham.* ii. ii. 115, *M. M.* ii. iii. 18.]
- (21) leaue me *a while* with the Maid,—Sh., *M. M.* iii. i. 3–4. [Similarly *Ham.* i. i. 30, *Ham.* iii. ii. 235, *Ham.* v. i. 245, *Ham.* v. i. 272, *Ham.* v. ii. 295, *Ham.* v. ii. 358.]
- (22) Yet may be he liue *a while*:—Sh., *M. M.* ii. iv. 35. [Similarly *M. M.* iii. i. 177.]
- (23) If it will please you  
To shew vs so much Gentry, and good will,  
As to expend your time with vs *a-while*,  
For the supply and profit of our Hope,  
—Sh., *Ham.* ii. ii. 21–4.
- (24) her cloathes spred wide,  
And Mermaid-like, *a while* they bore her vp,  
—Sh., *Ham.* iv. vii. 176–7.
- (25) This is meere Madnesse:  
And thus *awhile* the fit will worke on him:  
—Sh., *Ham.* v. i. 307–8.
- (26) Stay *a little while*: y’are welcome: what’s your will?—Sh., *M. M.* ii. ii. 35.
- (27) Why sir, his hide is so tan’d with his Trade, that he will keepe out water *a great while*.—Sh., *Ham.* v. i. 186–8.
- (28) If you’l sit downe  
Ile beare your Logges *the while*:  
—Sh., *Tem.* iii. i. 23–4.
- (29) I thought by the readiness in the office, you had continued in it *some time*:  
—Sh., *M. M.* ii. i. 253–4.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *O.E.D.*, s.v. *NIGHT n.* 6c. We might here add instances of a similar diction from those works by Shakespeare which are outside the corpus here examined:—Forbeare to sleepe *the night*, and fast *the day*:—*R. III* iv. iv. 118 / Haue you a Ruffian that will sweare? drinke? dance? Reuell *the night*?—*2H. IV* iv. v. 125–6. Another instance might be referred to as possibly belonging to type B:—Life’s but a walking Shadow, a poore Player, That struts and frets *his hours* vpon the Stage, And is heard no more.—*Mac.* v. v. 24–6.



present moment), respectively. "How does your Honor...?" (ex. 3) means 'How have you been getting along...?' and "Hee's safe..." (ex. 4) means 'He is remaining safe, i.e. unable to do any harm.'<sup>46</sup>

Type B' (2 exx.):

- (5) I am the Fathers Spirit,  
Doom'd for a certaine terme to walke the night;  
And *for the day* confin'd to fast in Fiers,

—Sh., *Ham.* I. v. 9–11.

- (6) Sir, I inuite your Highnesse, and your traine  
To my poore Cell: where you shall take rest  
*For this one night,*

—Sh., *Tem.* v. i. 300–2.

In ex. 5 *for the day* expresses the length of time during which the state of the ghost's being confined to fires continued, and at the same time it connotes the notion of restriction to the daytime as contrasted with the nighttime during which the ghost was walking about. This notion of restriction is also explicitly denoted by "*for this one night*" in ex. 6.

Type C' (7 exx.):

- (7) Season your admiration *for a while*  
With an attent eare; till I may deliuer  
Upon the witnessse of these Gentlemen,  
This maruell to you.

—Sh., *Ham.* I. ii. 192–5.

(*Season*: temper, modify; *admiration*: astonishment; *attent*: attentive.)

- (8) I *for a while*  
Will leaue you;

—Sh., *M. M.* v. i. 286–9.

- (9) I am thy Fathers Spirit,  
Doom'd *for a certaine terme* to walke the night;

—Sh., *Ham.* I. v. 9–10.

- (10) But you must know, your Father lost a Father,  
That Father lost, lost his, and the Suruiuer bound  
In filiall Obligation, *for some terme*  
To do obsequious Sorrow.

—Sh., *Ham.* I. ii. 89–92.

(*bound*: was bound; *obsequious*: proper to obsequies, mourning, funeral.)

- (11) *For this time* Daughter,  
Be somewhat scanter of your Maiden presence;

—Sh., *Ham.* I. iii. 120–1.

(*scanter*: more chary.)

- (12) *for a little*  
Follow, and doe me seruice.

<sup>46</sup> Here we may add the following instance of type Ac' quoted from outside our Shakespearean corpus: —if you please, I onely swore to study with your grace, And stay heere in your Court *for three yeeres space.*—*L.L.L.* I. i. 50–2.



—Sh., *Tem.* iv. i. 268–9.

- (13) He (to giue feare to vse, and libertie  
Which haue, *for long*, run-by the hideous law,  
As Myce, by Lyons) hath pickt out an act,

—Sh., *M. M.* i. v. 65–7.

(*giue feare to*: intimidate; *vse, and libertie*: licentious practice; *hideous*: horrible, terrifying.)

It should first be noted that the Shakespeare text contains no more than 2 instances of *for a while* (type C'), as against 15 of *a while* (*a-while*, or *awhile*) (type C). Especially, *for a while* in "I *for a while* will leaue you" (ex. 8), which denotes intended duration, should be compared with *a while* in "leaue me *a while*..." (ex. 21, §3.2).

As for ex. 11 we have a textual variance. For "*for this time*" in *F1* we find "*from this time*" in *Q* 2-4. So *The Riverside Shakespeare* reads at the corresponding place (p. 1147r):—"From this time / Be something scunter of your maiden presence," The variant readings of this sentence convey different meanings. According to the reading in *F1* it means 'for some time at present...', the *for*-phrase denoting the notion of duration mingled with restriction.

For *for a little* (=for a little while) in ex. 12, a historical comparison should be made with the ME accusative adverbial use of *a litil*, *a lite* (cf. footnotes 39 and 44 in §§I. 3.3 and I. 3.5). For the *for*-phrase, *O.E.D.* (s.v. LITTLE 5) gives as the earliest quotation the same that has been cited here,<sup>47</sup> and this instance of *for a little* is the only one that can be adduced from all the works by Shakespeare.<sup>48</sup>

*Long* in *for long* in ex. 13 is a neuter adjective used absolutely; and the use of it governed by the preposition, according to *O.E.D.* (s.v. LONG a<sup>1</sup> B1d), originated in *Cursor Mundi* (a. 1300.), where the prepositional phrase means 'long ago,' as in:—*For lang* was said, ...—4507. With the sense of 'for a long time' it began to be used in the sixteenth century,<sup>49</sup> that is, the period when the preposition *for* has established the sense of 'for the duration of.'

Type D' (3 exx.):

- (14) Or, if thou hast vp-hoarded *in thy life*  
Extorted Treasure in the wombe of Earth,  
(For which, they say, you Spirits oft walke in death)  
Speake of it.

—Sh., *Ham.* i. i. 136–9.

- (15) It was, as I haue seene it *in his life*,  
A Sable Siluer'd.

—Sh., *Ham.* i. ii. 241–2.

- (16) Whether you had not sometime *in your life*  
Er'd in this point, which now you censure him,

<sup>47</sup> *M.E.D.* (s.v. LITEL n. 1c) records *for (a, so) litel* meaning 'for (so) little cause or reason,' but not meaning 'for (such) a little while.'

<sup>48</sup> Contrarily, there can be adduced from Shakespeare several instances of *a little*, meaning 'a little while,' which should be classified as type C:—stay *a little*—*I H. IV* ii. iv. 63; *R. III* i. iv. 120; *Lear* v. iii. 271; *Cym.* i. i. 109 / Heare me *a little*,—*M.A.N.*, iv. i. 157 / Tarry *a little*,—*M.V.* iv. i. 305.

<sup>49</sup> As the earliest quotation of the same use *O.E.D.* (s.v. LONG a<sup>1</sup> B1d) gives the one dated a. 1548.

And puld the Law vpon you.

—Sh., *M. M.* i. v. 15–17.<sup>50</sup>

(*which*: for which; *censure*: condemn; *puld*: pulled.)

3.4. In the four Gospels of the Authorised Version (1611) we find 47 examples of the adverbial accusative of duration, as against 7 of the corresponding prepositional type.

Now when we compare the case of A.V. (in Early Modern English) with that of WS (in Old English) and Wyc. (in Middle English), we can see a very slight alteration in the ratio of prepositional phrases against non-prepositional phrases as they are used in each of the biblical versions, though we can perceive a considerable increase in it in passing from WS to Wyc. and A.V.:

	Non-prepositional	Prepositional
WS	34 (94%)	2 (6%)
Wyc.	31 (86%)	5 (14%)
A.V.	47 (87%)	7 (13%)

3.5. Out of the 47 examples of the non-prepositional type, 25 are of type A, 3 of type Ab, 9 of type B, 9 of type C, and 1 of type D. Of these 12 examples are used with verbs in the perfect tense—6 of type A, 1 of type Ab, 1 of type B, and 4 of type C. There are 3 examples of type A found in negative constructions.

Type A (25 exx.):

Of these 18 are found in A.V. in the same syntactic form of adverbial accusative as was used at the corresponding places both in WS (OE) and in Wyc. (ME). These are:

(1) when hee had fasted *forty dayes and forty nights*, hee was afterward an hungred.—A.V., *Matt.* iv. 2.

(2) These last haue wrought but *one houre*,—A.V., *Matt.* xx. 12 (cf. ex. 6, §I. 2.1; ex. 5, §I. 3.3).

(3) she was of a great age, and had liued with an husband *seuen yeaeres* from her virginitie.—A.V., *Luke* ii. 36 (cf. ex. 3, §I. 2.1; ex. 1, §I. 3.4).

(4) he abode *two dayes* still in the same place where he was.—A.V., *John* xi. 6.

(5) Mary abode with her *about three moneths*,—A.V., *Luke* i. 56. (cf. ex. 5, §I. 2.1; ex. 4, §I. 3.3). [Similarly *John* iv. 40.]

(6) as Ionas was *three dayes and three nights* in the whales belly: so shal the sonne of man be *three daies and three nights* in the heart of the earth.—A.V., *Matt.* xii. 40 (cf. ex. 4, §I. 2.1; ex. 3, §I. 3.3).

(7) he was there in the wilderness *fourtie daies* tempted of Satan,—A.V., *Mark* i. 13. [Similarly *Luke* iv. 1–2.]

(8) after those dayes his wife Elizabeth conceiued, and hid her selfe *five moneths*,—A.V., *Luke* i. 24.

(9) many widowes were in Israel in the dayes of Elias, when the heauen was shut vp *three yeres and sixe moneths*:—A.V., *Luke* iv. 25.

(10) a certaine woman which had an issue of blood *twelue yeaeres*,...—A.V.,

<sup>50</sup> The following instance of *in thy life* has been excluded from type D':—Moone-calfe, speak once *in thy life*, if thou beest a good Moone-calfe.—*Tem.* iii. ii. 25–6.

*Mark* v. 25 (cf. ex. 7, § I. 2.1; ex. 6, § I. 3.3). [Similarly *Matt.* ix. 20; *Luke* xiii. 11.]

(11) they continued there not *many dayes*.—A.V., *John* ii. 12.

(12) What, could ye not watch with me *one houre*?—A.V., *Matt.* xxvi. 40. [Similarly *Mark* xiv. 37.]

The negative *not* in ex. 11 may be interpreted as being related to the following numeral *many* (*dayes*) rather than the preceding verb *continued*, since we can get a kind of corroborative proof from the corresponding expression in the Vulgata:—*ibi manserunt non multis diebus*.<sup>51</sup>

In the A.V. text there are 4 examples of type A to which we have the corresponding expression in WS but not in Wyc.:

(13) they haue now bene with me *three daies*.—A.V., *Mark* viii. 2.

(14) they continue with me now *three dayes*.—A.V., *Matt.* xv. 32.

(15) a certaine man was there, which had an infirmitie *thirtie and eight yeeres*.—A.V., *John* v. 5. [Similarly *Luke* viii. 43.]

Besides, there are 3 examples of type A to which neither WS nor Wyc. has any syntactical correspondence:

(16) Then when Iesus came, hee found that hee had lien in the graue *four dayes* already.—A. V., *John* xi. 17 (cf. ex. 1, § I. 2.6).

(17) he hath beene dead *four dayes*.—A.V., *John* xi. 39 (cf. ex. 2, § I. 2.6).

(18) *Fourty and six yeres* was this Temple in building.—A.V., *John* ii. 20.

Type Ab (3 exx.):

Of these 2—exx. 19 and 20—correspond to adverbials of type A in WS and Wyc. and the other—ex. 21—has no syntactical correspondence either in WS or in Wyc.

(19) ought not this woman being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, loe *these eigheteene yeeres*, be loosed from this bond on the Sabbath day?—A.V., *Luke* xiii. 16 (cf. WS: *Ðas Abrahames dortor, ðe Satanas geband, nu! ehtatyne gear, ne gebyrede hyre beon unbunden of ðissum bende on reste-dæge? | Wyc.: Bihofte it not this dougtre of Abraham, whom Sathanas hath bounden, loo! ten and eizte zeeris, to be vnbounden of this bond in the day of saboth?*).

(20) *these many yeeres* doe I serue thee.—A. V., *Luke* xv. 29 (cf. ex. 1, § I. 2.1; ex. 1, § I. 3.3).

(21) Beholde, *these three yeeres* I come seeking fruit on this figtree.—A.V., *Luke* xiii. 7.

Type B (9 exx.):

Out of these, we find 2—exx. 22 and 23—following the use in WS and Wyc., 2—exx. 24 and 25—following the use in WS, 1—ex. 26—following the use in Wyc., and 4—exx. 27, 28, and 29—used afresh irrespective of the use in WS or Wyc.

(22) Why stand ye here *all the day* idle?—A.V., *Matt.* xx. 6.

(23) Lord, let it alone *this yeere* also, till I shall digge about it and dounge it:—A. V., *Luke* xiii. 8.

<sup>51</sup> Here we might compare the corresponding expressions in WS and Wyc.:—WS: *wunedon ðar feawa daga* (=a few days). / Wyc.: *thei dwelten there not many dayes*. The more modern Versions read:—R.S.V.: *there they stayed for a few days*. / N.E.B.: *they did not stay there long*. We would here mention the abbreviations and dates of those biblical Versions, except WS and Wyc., whose verses are subsidiarily quoted in this and the following section. Tyn.=Tyndale's New Testament (1526). R.V.=The Holy Bible: Revised Version (1886). R.S.V.=The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version (1946). N.E.B.=The New English Bible (1961).

(24) Master, wee haue toiled *all the night*, and haue taken nothing:—A.V., *Luke*. v. 5.

(25) being high Priest *that yeere*, he prophecied that Iesus should die for that nation:—A.V., *John* xi. 49 (cf. ex. 8, §I. 2.1).

(26) hee went out into a mountaine to pray, and continued *all night* in prayer to God.—A.V., *Luke* vi. 12 (cf. ex. 7, §I. 3.3).

(27) They came and saw where he dwelt, and abode with him *that day*:—A.V., *John* i. 39. (cf. WS:...mid him wunodon *on ðam dæge*. / Wyc.:...thei dwelten at him *in that day*.)

(28) ...which was the hight Priest *that same yeere*.—A.V., *John* xviii. 13 (cf. WS:..., and se Caiphas wæs *ðæs geares bisceop*. / Wyc.:..., that was bishop *of that 3eer*.) [Similarly *John* xi. 49.]

(29) And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments, and rested *the Sabbath day*, according to the commandement.—A.V., *Luke* xxiii. 56 (cf. WS:...*on sæterdæg* hig gestildon, ... / Wyc.:...*in the saboth* thei restiden,...).

It seems to be of particular interest that in the case of exx. 27 and 29 we have in A.V. non-prepositional adverbials, which may be functionally interpreted as adverbial accusatives of duration, corresponding to prepositional phrases in WS and Wyc. In ex. 28, again, we have the genitive attributive in WS and the *of*-genitive attributive in Wyc. superseded in A.V. by the non-prepositional adverbial, which can also be interpreted as an adverbial accusative of duration. This may be seen as a phenomenon which shows that the newer expressions have been settled in the context so as to display greater idiomatic value.<sup>52</sup>

#### Type C (9 exx.):

In A.V. we find 9 examples of type C, as against 8 examples either in WS or in Wyc.

(30) When Iesus saw him lie, and knew that hee had beene now *a long time* in that case, he sayth vnto him, ...—A.V., *John*. v. 6 (cf. ex. 12, §I. 2.1).

(31) when he went forth to land, there met him out of the citie a certaine man which had deuils *long time*,—A.V., *Luke* viii. 27.

(32) Haue I bin *so long time*, with you, and yet hast thou not knowen me, Philip?—A.V., *John* xiv. 9 (cf. ex. 10, §I. 2.1; ex. 10, §I. 3.3).

(33) Litle children, yet *a litle while* I am with you.—A.V., *John* xiii. 33 (cf. ex. 9, §I. 2.1.; ex. 9, §I. 3.3). [Similarly *John* xii. 33; *John* xii. 35.]

(34) Come yee your selues apart into a desert place, and rest *a while*.—A.V., *Mark* vi. 31.

(35) calling vnto him the Centurion, hee asked him whether hee had beene *any while* dead.—A.V., *Mark* xvi. 44.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Here it might be added that already in Tyndale (1526) we have the same non-prepositional expressions as in A.V. With exx. 27, 28 and 29 should be compared:—... abode with hym *that daye*.—Tyn., *John* i. 39 / ..., which was the hye preste *thatt same yeare*.—Tyn., *John* xviii. 13 / ...*the saboth daye* they rested,...—Tyn., *Luke* xxiii. 56.

<sup>53</sup> Cf.: they had *a great while agoe* repented, sitting in sackcloth and ashes.—*Luke* x. 13 (cf. ex. 12, §I. 2.1). Here *a great while agoe* primarily indicates a point of past time, though it connotes at the same time the duration of the state ever since its initial occurrence (cf. footnote 12 in Pt. I). In all the three later Versions—R.V., R.S.V and N.E.B.—the corresponding sentence reads:—they would have repented *long ago*, sitting in sackcloth and ashes.

(36) loe, I am with you *alway*, euen unto the end of the world.—A.V., *Matt.* xxviii. 20.

For the use of *long time* in ex. 31, as against *a long time* in ex. 30, should be compared the use by Lyly and Deloney, as exemplified in §§ 2.2 and 2.8, respectively.

*Alway* (<OE *ealne weg*), in ex. 36, originated in the adverbial accusative of spatial extent and became transferred to denote temporal duration. It has been fossilized into one adverb meaning 'all the time, continuously, for ever.' The form *alway* has now been superseded by *always* (<ME *alles weis* (gen.) 'in every way'); and in the later Versions the corresponding sentence reads:—R.S.V.: lo, I am with you *always*, to the close of the age. / N.E.B.: be assured, I am with you *always*, to the end of time. In making a philological examination of the A.V. text we should like to treat *alway* in this quotation as an instant of type C, observing the morphological feature of this adverbial,<sup>54</sup> though we shall have no scruples about treating *always*, as it is used in the corresponding place in R.S.V. and N.E.B., as an adverb and so excluding it from type C.

Type D (1 ex.):

The use of the one instance corresponds to that of a dative word-group in WS and an *in*-phrase (type D') in Wyc.:

(37) ...that wee... might serue him without feare, In holinesse and righteousnesse before him, *all the dayes of our life*.—A.V., *Luke* i. 74-5 (cf. ex. 4, § I. 3.4).

3.6. The A.V. text contains no more than 7 examples of the prepositional type, all of which belong to type C.<sup>55</sup> Of these 6 are introduced by *for* and 1 by *of*. One of the 6 *for*-phrases is used with a negative.

It may be worth specially mentioning that although none of these 6 *for*-phrases can be traced to the use in WS and Wyc., yet in 4 of them—that is, *Mark* iv. 17, *Luke* viii. 13, *Luke* xx. 9, and *John* v. 35—the use of the *for*-phrases in A.V. is anteceded by that in Tyn., and that the use of the one *of*-phrase (*Luke* xxiii. 8) is anteceded by that in Wyc. and Tyn.

(1) Yet hath hee not root in himselfe, but dureth *for a while*:—A.V., *Matt.* xiii. 21. (Cf. Tyn.:...he dureth but *a season*: [Type C])

(2) And haue no roote in themselues, and so endure but *for a time*:—A.V., *Mark* iv. 17. (Cf. Tyn.:...and so endure but *for a season*:)

(3) these haue no roote, which *for a while* beleuee, and in time of temptation fall away.—A.V., *Luke* viii. 13. (Cf. Tyn.:...which *for a whyle* beleve...)

(4) she came vnto him, saying, Auenge me of mine aduersarie: And hee would not *for a while*.—A.V., *Luke* xviii. 3-4. (Cf. ex. 3, § I. 3.4 / Tyn.:... *a greate whyle* [type C] he wolde noott.)

(5) ye were willing *for a season* to reioyce in his light.—A.V., *John* v. 35. (Cf.

<sup>54</sup> Tyndale (1526) has as the corresponding sentence:—lo! I am with you *all waye*, euen vntyll the ende off the worlde. Further we might add that the Greek version has a distinct accusative here:—...ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας (=all the days)... This is also the case with WS:—ic beo mid eow *ealle dagas*....

<sup>55</sup> The following instance of a *for*-phrase appears to be of type C':—thou hast much goods layd vp *for many yeeres*.—*Luke* xii. 19. This *for*-phrase, however, does not denote so much duration as intended purpose. In the earlier Versions, it corresponds to *to manegum gearum* (WS) and *to ful manye zeeeris* (Wyc.). In the later Version N.E.B. the corresponding sentence reads:—you have plenty of good things laid by, enough *for many years*:

ex. 2, §I. 3.4 / Tyn.: ye wolde *for a season* have reioysed in his light.)

(6) A certaine man planted a vineyard, and let it foorth to husbandmen, and went into a farre countrey *for a long time*.—A.V., *Luke* xx. 9. (Cf. Tyn.:... and went hym silfe into a straunge countre *for a greate season*.)

(7) hee was desirous to see him *of a long season*,—A.V., *Luke* xxiii. 8. (Cf. Wyc.: he was coueitinge *of moche tyme* to se him, / Tyn.: he was desyrus to se hym *off a longe season*.)

In the negative construction in ex. 4 the *for*-phrase is rather loosely connected with 'would not (avenge her of her adversary)'; and the non-prepositional *a while*, if used at this position, would be felt unfit. In ex. 6 *for a long time* is used to denote intended duration. The use of *a season* to mean 'some time, a while' (cf. *O.E.D.*, s.v. SEASON *sb.* 12b) in exx. 5 and 7 is now felt somewhat archaic.

For "*of a long season*" in ex. 7 should be compared ex. 1 in §3.3 and the comment made there. The expression, incidentally, is to be superseded by the adverb *long* in the later Versions, as in:—R.S.V.: he had *long* desired to see him, / N.E.B.: he had *long* been wanting to see him,

3.7. In the two Parts of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678, '84), we can find 85 examples of the adverbial accusative of duration and 33 of the corresponding prepositional type.

Out of the 85 examples of the former type, 11 are of type A, 1 of type Ab, 13 of type B, 59 of type C, and 1 of type D. Of these, 18 (4 of type A, 1 of type Ab, and 13 of type C) are used with verbs in the perfect form, and 3 (1 of type A and 2 of type C) are found in negative constructions.

Type A (11 exx.):

(1) I have learned since, that Pagan has been dead *many a day*;—Bun., *P. P.* I. 36r. 44–5. [Similarly II. 111l. 29.]

(2) I would have stayed at that good man's house *a twelvemonth*, but that I knew I had farther to go.—Bun., *P. P.* I. 29r. 18–20.

(3) So they consented, and stayed there *about a month* or above,—Bun., *P. P.* I. 97l. 19–20. [Similarly II. 113r. 47; II. 115r. 50.]

(4) 'Tis easier, watching *a night or two*, than to sit up *a whole year* together:<sup>56</sup>—Bun., *P. P.* I. 89l. 55–6.

(5) Thus they did *several days and nights*.—Bun., *P. P.* I. 55l. 8.

(6) I have seen some that...one would have thought could not have lived *a day*, that have yet proved very good pilgrims.—Bun., *P. P.* II. 111r. 4–8.

(7) They were *seven dayes* in destroying of that (*i.e.* Doubting-castle);—Bun., *P. P.* II. 121r. 36.

In ex. 4 *a night or two* in "watching *a night or two*" is so closely combined with "watching" that it might as well be interpreted as a quasi-object. In ex. 5 *several days and nights* is related to the prolonged repetition of the conduct implied by "thus they *did*." In the negative construction in ex. 6 the scope of negation is a whole group "have lived *a day*."

Type Ab (1 ex.):

<sup>56</sup> For this use of *together* appended to an adverbial of duration see footnotes 38 and 41' above.

The single instance occurs with a present perfect progressive:

(8) I...went out to see, and have been seeking this city *these twenty years*, but find no more of it than I did the first day I set out.—Bun., *P.P.* I. 63r. 62–64l. 3.

Type B (13 exx.):

These contain 7 examples with the emphatic *long* appended to the headwords<sup>57</sup> and 6 others, each of which occurs once.

(9) On either side of the river was also a meadow, curiously beautified with lilies; and it was green *all the yeare long*.—Bun., *P.P.* I. 54r. 34–55l. 2. [Similarly I. 45l. 30, I. 45r. 20, I. 66r. 6–7, II. 120r. 25.]

(10) She (*i.e.* the hen) had a common call, and that she hath *all the day long*.—Bun., *P.P.* II. 88r. 9–10.

(11) they sing these notes but seldom, except it be at the spring, ...and then you may hear them *all day long*.—Bun., *P.P.* II. 101r. 21–4.

(12) They lay, therefore, *all day* on Saturday in a lamentable case, as before.—Bun., *P.P.* I. 57l. 48–9.

(13) So she had them to bed—and they slept well; but the rest sat up *all night*;—Bun., *P.P.* II. 113r. 57–9.

(14) so they continued together in the dark *that day*, in their sad and doleful condition.—Bun., *P.P.* I. 56r. 48–50.

(15) So they asked if they might lie there *that night*.—Bun., *P.P.* II. 111r. 26–7.

(16) Where did you lie *the last night*?—Bun., *P.P.* I. 63r. 4–5.

(17) so *all that day* they spent their time in nothing but sighs and bitter lamentations.—Bun., *P.P.* I. 56l. 44–6.

Type C (59 exx.):

These comprise 22 examples of *a while* (or *awhile*), 8 of *a great while*, 8 of *all this while*, 4 of *all the while*, 4 of *a long time*, 3 of *a good while*, 2 of *all the time*, 2 of *some time*, 2 of *a little while*, 2 of *a little*, 1 of *how long time*, and 1 of *some considerable time*.

*A while* or *awhile* (22 exx.):

(18) after they had *awhile* been kept in the dungeon, he at last did put out their eyes,—Bun., *P.P.* I. 58r. 57–8.

(19) Well, after he had been entertained there *a while*,...he was bid go on his way,—Bun., *P.P.* II. 108l. 40–2.

(20) so he sat still *a while*, and then thus replied:—Bun., *P.P.* II. 113r. 23–4. [Similarly I. 24l. 56, I. 58r. 12, I. 71r. 9, I. 72r. 51, II. 96l. 7, II. 125r. 17, II. 133r. 8.]

(21) So he left them *a while* in a summer parlour below, where they entered into talk by themselves;—Bun., *P.P.* II. 84l. 22–4.

(22) I must stay *awhile* behind.—Bun., *P.P.* I. 69l. 53–4. [Similarly I. 58r. 4.]

(23) my brother, let us be patient, and endure *a while*;—Bun., *P.P.* I. 56r. 44–5. [Similarly II. 88l. 62, II. 90r. 51, II. 124l. 18.]

(24) Pray, if they invite us to stay *awhile*, let us willingly accept of the proffer.—Bun., *P.P.* II. 97l. 3–4. [Similarly II. 97l. 5, II. 97l. 16.]

(25) Here, because they were weary, they betook themselves *a while* to rest.—

<sup>57</sup> For this use of *long* see footnote 32 in Pt. I.

Bun., *P. P.* II. 130r. 45-6.

(26) Thus pleasing himself *a while*, he at last fell into a slumber,—Bun., *P. P.* I. 26r. 1-2.

In all these quotations but two, that is, exx. 18 and 25, *a while* (or *awhile*) stands very closely behind the verb. In ex. 18 *awhile* is placed amid the verb compound in the passive perfect tense; and in ex. 25 *a while* is also placed amid the verbal group so as to precede the infinitive *to rest*, which it modifies. In ex. 21, the predicate verb *left* denotes the instantaneous aspect in itself, but in this particular context it has some durative value superadded, so that “he left them *a while*...” means, if put in a more explicit way, ‘he left them to stay *a while*....’

*A great while* (8 exx.):

(27) he has lain there *a great while*.—Bun., *P. P.* II. 104r. 32-105l. 1. [Similarly II. 108l. 12-13.]

(28) I have been trained up in this way *a great while*;—Bun., *P. P.* II. 113r. 30-1.

(29) So he came up to the gate, ...and there also he stood *a great while* before he would venture to knock.—Bun., *P. P.* II. 108l. 18-22. [Similarly I. 35r. 60, I. 65l. 4, II. 119r. 1.]

(30) But you fought *a great while*; I wonder you were not weary.—Bun., *P. P.* II. 125r. 25.

*All this while* (8 exx.):

(31) Is this the happiness you have told me *all this while* of?—Bun., *P. P.*, I. 14r. 49-50.

(32) had she stood by *all this while*, you could not more amply have set her forth before me, and have better described her features.—Bun., *P. P.* II. 130r. 33-6.

(33) he walked *all this while* by himself,—Bun., *P. P.* I. 41l. 47-8.

(34) Then the judge called to the jury, (who *all this while* stood by to hear and observe,)...—Bun., *P. P.* I. 48r. 44-6.

(35) *All this while* the guide, Mr. Great-heart, was very well pleased, and smiled upon his companions.—Bun., *P. P.* II. 107r. 7-9. [Similarly I. 60r. 24, II. 83r. 17, II. 116r. 16.]

*All this while* (4 exx.); *all the time* (2 exx.):

(36) He went like one that was *all the while* treading on forbidden ground,—Bun., *P. P.* I. 19r. 2-3.

(37) Thus, after divers words had passed on both sides, (the men behaving themselves *all the while* very wisely and soberly before them,) they fell to some blows among themselves, did harm one to another.—Bun., *P. P.* I. 46r. 57-61.

(38) I never saw him *all the while* give so much as one pleasant look, till he perceived he had wounded leaves of the tree of life,—Bun., *P. P.* I. 34r. 25-7.

(39) there was not any thing that Christian either said to her, or did before her, *all the while* that his burden did hang on his back,—Bun., *P. P.* II. 79l. 62-79r. 2.

(40) In this combat no man can imagine...what yelling and hideous roaring Apollyon made *all the time* of the fight:—Bun., *P. P.* I. 34r. 19-22.

(41) also the women and children did nothing but sigh and cry *all the time* the battle did last.—Bun., *P. P.* II. 105r. 22-4.

From these quotations we can see that in *P. P.* the phrase *all the while* is



used as a more idiomatic unit to denote the whole length of a definite period, while *all the time* is used to express a more particular period, defined by the following determiner "of the fight" (ex. 40) or introducing a subordinate clause of temporal determination (ex. 41), though in ex. 39 *all the while* also introduces a clause that begins with the relative particle *that*.

In the negative construction in ex. 38 *all the while*, though closely embedded in it, is used to qualify the whole negative statement.

*A long time* (4 exx.); *how long time* (1 ex.):

(42) My lord, I have known this man *a long time*,—Bun., *P. P.* I. 48l. 5–6. [Similarly I. 48l. 53.]

(43) Then were they very merry, and sat at the table *a long time*, talking of many things.—Bun., *P. P.* II. 113r. 13. [Similarly I. 59l. 24.]

(44) Then I asked, *how long time* he would have me live with him?—Bun., *P. P.* I. 38l. 36–7.

*A good while* (3 exx.):

(45) So when he had been there *a good while*, he seemed to get some heart, and to be a little more comfortable.—Bun., *P. P.* II. 108r. 12–4.

(46) He lay thereabout in the cold *a good while*, before he would adventure to call;—Bun., *P. P.* II. 108l. 46–8.

(47) let us stay here *a good while*,—Bun., *P. P.* II. 113r. 42.

*Some time* (2 exx.); *some considerable time* (1 ex.):

(48) Wherefore there they lay crying *some time*, for they could not get themselves out.—Bun., *P. P.* I. 63l. 32–3.

(49) after we had been *some time* at the house of Gaius, ... we were minded upon a time to take our weapons with us,—Bun., *P. P.* II. 119l. 4–7.<sup>58</sup>

(50) When Christian had travelled in this disconsolate condition *some considerable time*, he thought he heard the voice of a man, ...—Bun., *P. P.* I. 36l. 35–7.

*A little while* (2 exx.); *a little* (2 exx.):

(51) Then he ... led him into a very large parlour, that was full of dust, because never swept; the which, after he had reviewed it *a little while*, the Interpreter called for a man to sweep.—Bun., *P. P.* I. 21l. 8–12.

(52) Let Ignorance *a little while* now muse

On what is said, ...

—Bun., *P. P.* I. 60l. 23–4.

(53) There I confess he desired to stay *a little* to look,—Bun., *P. P.* II. 108r. 31–3.

(54) Demas cried again, that ... if they would tarry *a little*, he also himself would walk with them.—Bun., *P. P.* I. 53r. 1–3.<sup>59</sup>

Type D (ex. 1):

(55) But what should be the reason that such a good man should be *all his days* so much in the dark?—Bun., *P. P.* II. 109r. 20–2.

<sup>58</sup> One should compare *some time ago* used with a present perfect verb in the durative aspect, as in:—Have not you *some time ago* been acquainted with one Mr. Fearing, a pilgrim?—*P. P.* II. 115l. 53–5. Cf. footnote 12, Pt. I and footnote 53, Pt. II.

<sup>59</sup> *A little* in the following instance, however, is interpreted as an adverbial of distance or local extent:—So it is, as you may well perceive, if you will go *a little* to the wall.—*P. P.* II. 93l. 48–50.

3.8. Of the prepositional type we find in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* 34 examples—4 of type A', 1 of type Ab', 2 of type Ac', 1 of type B', 21 of type C', and 5 of type D'. Out of these, as many as 26 (4 of type A', 1 of type Ab', 2 of type Ac', and 19 of type C') are introduced by *for*; while 5 (1 of type C' and 4 of type D') are introduced by *in*, 1 (of type B') by *during*, 1 (of type C') by *about*, and 1 (of type D') by *through*. The perfect tense is found with 3 instances (1 of type Ab' and 2 of type C'); while in negative constructions we find 4 (1 of type B' and 3 of type C').

Type A' (4 exx.):

(1) This sore combat lasted *for above half a day* even till Christian was almost quite spent;—Bun., *P.P.* I. 34l. 17–19.

(2) I heard that he lay roaring at the Slough of Despond *for above a month together*<sup>60</sup>;—Bun., *P.P.* II. 108l. 2–4.

(3) he would also walk solitarily in the fields, sometimes reading, and sometimes praying: and thus *for some days* he spent his time.—Bun., *P.P.* I. 12r. 1–3.

(4) they...could produce, if need were, testimony that would witness it, *for more than a thousand years*.—Bun., *P.P.* I. 25l. 15–17.

The front position of *for some days* in ex. 3 reminds us of the functional appropriateness of type A' for this position as against the post position of non-prepositional adverbials of type A, as we exemplified it with exx. 1–6 in the previous section (§ 3.7).

Type Ab' (1 ex.):

(5) His labourers also have, by the direction of his Majesty's surveyors, been *for above these sixteen hundred years* employed about this patch of ground, if perhaps it might have been mended:—Bun., *P.P.* I. 15r. 7–10.

Type Ac' (2 exx.):

Both of these are in the form "for the space of..."

(6) thus he fought *for the space of an hour* to that height of heat, that the breath came out of the giant's nostrils as the heat doth out of a boiling caldron.—Bun., *P.P.* II. 105r. 17–20.

(7) So we fell to it, one against three, *for the space of above three hours*.—Bun., *P.P.* II. 125l. 51–2.

Type B' (1 ex.):

The one phrase is introduced by *during*.

(8) Sir, although it was not my hap to be much in your good company *during the days of my pilgrimage*, yet, since the time I knew you, you have been profitable to me.—Bun., *P.P.* II. 133l. 44–7.

In the subordinate clause of this sentence the *during*-phrase is outside the scope of negation.

Type C' (21 exx.):

These comprise 19 *for*-phrases—6 of *for a while* (or *for awhile*), 5 of *for a time*, 3 of *for some time*, 2 of *for a long season*, 1 of *for a great while*, 1 of *for a space*, and 1 of *for that time*—1 *in*-phrase, and 1 *about*-phrase. Here it may be worth comparing the 6 examples of *for a while* (or *for awhile*), the 3 of *for some time*, and the 1 of *for a long while* respectively, with the 22 examples of *a while* (or *awhile*), the 2 of *some time*,

<sup>60</sup> Compare footnotes 38, 41' and 56 above.

and the 8 of *a great while*, which were described in the previous section.

*For a while* (or *for awhile*) (6 exx.):

(6) it was *for awhile* in everybody's mouth.—Bun., *P. P.* I. 37l. 51–2.

(7) he seemed *for a while* after to be a little cheery.—Bun., *P. P.* II. 108r. 23–109l. 1.

(8) Nor durst they *for a while* to knock any more, for fear the mastiff should fly upon them:—Bun., *P. P.* II. 83l. 40–1.

(9) Then Mercy blushed and trembled, and *for awhile* continued silent.—Bun., *P. P.* II. 90l. 53–4.

(10) Now, by this time he was come to the harbour again, where *for a while* he sat down and wept;—Bun., *P. P.* I. 27l. 43–4.

(11) *Christian* And did you think yourself well then?

*Hope* Yes, *for a while*; but at the last my trouble came trembling upon me again, ...—Bun., *P. P.* I. 65r. 24–7.

In each of exx. 6–10. *for a while* (or *for awhile*) precedes the predicate or the semantically main part of it and so displays more of its own force as an adverbial unit for temporal determination than does *a while* (or *awhile*), whose use was exemplified by exx. 17 through to 25 under §3.7. Especially, the contrast will be clearly perceived if we, for instance, compare “*for awhile* continued silent” in ex. 9 above with “he sat still *a while*” in ex. 19, §3.7. There can be seen in the latter an evidently closer combination between the verb and the adverbial to express a durative state lasting a short time than in the former. It should be further noted that in ex. 8 above *for a while*, though structurally embedded in the negative construction, is semantically outside its scope, referring to the whole negative statement.

For the absolute use in the elliptical sentence in ex. 11, see ex. 2, §3.2 and the comment made there.

*For a time* (5 exx.):

As contrasted with the case of *a while* and *for a while*, there is no instance of *a time* (type C) as against the 5 instances of *for a time* (type C'). This seems to be due to the fact that while *a while* had historically been established as an adverbial accusative of duration, *a time* was more likely to mean ‘an occasion, once’ than ‘for a particular portion of time,’ for which the explicit *for a time* was felt more appropriate.

(12) Here, therefore, they wallowed *for a time*, being grievously bedaubed with the dirt;—Bun., *P. P.* I. 14r. 41–3.

(13) he fell into one of his fits, ... and lost *for a time* the use of his hands.—Bun., *P. P.* I. 56r. 1–4.

(14) the river and the way *for a time* parted, at which they were not a little sorry;—Bun., *P. P.* I. 55l. 20–1.

(15) Here, therefore, they stood looking and looking upon it, but could not *for a time* tell what they should make thereof.—Bun., *P. P.* I. 53r. 40–1.

(16) Also, since I came away, I heard one say that they were yet alive, and so would be for the increase of the church in that place where they were, *for a time*.—Bun., *P. P.* II. 133r. 55–8.

In ex. 15 *for a time*, meaning ‘for some time,’ is evidently outside the scope of negation, though it is closely embedded in the construction.

*For some time* (3 exx.):

(17) There therefore they lay *for some time*, and were made the objects of any man's sport, or malice, or revenge;—Bun., *P.P.* I. 46r. 26–9.

(18) Wherefore they were forced, *for some time*, to feel one for another by words;—Bun., *P.P.* II. 127r. 33–4.

(19) There was also an act made in the days of Darius, that whoso *for some time* called upon any god but him, should be cast into the lions' den.—Bun., *P.P.* I. 48r. 62–49l. 3.

Comparing these with exx. 47 and 48 in §2.7, one can see a distinct feature in the looseness with which *for some time* is related to the predicate verb while *some time* is more closely combined with the preceding verb. In ex. 18 the parenthetical nature of *for some time* is explicitly shown in the written form, and in ex. 19 *for some time* takes the pre-verbal position.

*For a long season* (2 exx.):

The location with the headword *season*, which is now felt literary, is recorded by *O.E.D.* (s.v. SEASON *sb.* 12b) with quotations ranging from 1465 to 1871.

(20) I have been a true man *for a long season*, and therefore it could not be expected that I could now cast in my lot with thieves.—Bun., *P.P.* II. 125l. 35–8.

(21) I had *for a long season*, as soon almost as I entered into the valley, a dreadful combat with that foul friend Apollyon;—Bun., *P.P.* I. 39r. 55–7.

*For a great while* (1 ex.); *for a space* (1 ex.); *for that time* (1 ex.):

(22) a great mist and darkness fell upon them all; so that they could scarce, *for a great while*, see the one the other.—Bun., *P.P.* II. 127r. 30–2.

(23) he... was remanded back to prison; so he there remained *for a space*.—Bun., *P.P.* I. 49r. 18–20.

(24) But He that overrules all things... so wrought it about, that Christian *for that time* escaped them, and went his way.—Bun., *P.P.* I. 49r. 21–4.

The use of *for a great while* in ex. 22, which is parenthetical and so is outside the scope of negation, is in contrast with that of *a great while*, as it was exemplified in exx. 26–29 under §3.7, in each of which *a great while* stands closely following the verb.

*About this time* (1 ex.):

(25) And *about this time* the sun was rising, and this was another mercy to Christian;—Bun., *P.P.* I. 36r. 16–17.

Here *about this time*, where *about* means 'around' and is interpreted as a preposition, can be treated as an instance of type C'.

*In all ages* (1 ex.):

(26) that ditch is it into which the blind had led the blind *in all ages*, and have both there miserably perished.—Bun., *P.P.* I. 35r. 25–8.

Here *in all ages* refers to the prolonged repetition of the action of the blind leading the blind into the ditch and so may be regarded as an adverbial of duration.

Type D' (5 exx.):

Four of these instances are *in*-phrases, which are used in subordinate clauses related either to antecedents with adjectives in the superlative degree or to adjectives or adverbs that are structurally used to impart a superlative notion.

(27) it was one of the best night's lodgings that I ever had *in my life*.—Bun.,

*P.P.* II. 97l. 13–14.

(28) he was one of the most troublesome pilgrims that ever I met with *in all my days*.—*Bun.*, *P.P.* II. 107l. 15–17.

(29) When we went also from the house Beautiful, down the hill, into the Valley of Humiliation, he went down as well as ever I saw a man *in my life*;—*Bun.*, *P.P.* II. 190l. 14–17.

(30) the water of that river was lower at this time than ever I saw it *in all my life*;—*Bun.*, *P.P.* II. 109r. 2–3.

“As well as ever I saw a man...” in ex. 29 means ‘like the *happiest* man that I ever saw...’, and “lower...than ever I saw it...” in ex. 30 means ‘the lowest... that I ever saw...’.<sup>61</sup>

The other instance is a *through*-phrase used in a verse context:

- (31) *Through all my life* thy favour is  
So frankly show’d to me,  
That in thy house for evermore  
My dwelling-place shall be.

—*Bun.*, *P.P.* II. 101r. 9–12.

3.9. In Congreve’s two plays *The Old Batchelor* (1693) and *Love for Love* (1695), we find 43 examples of the adverbial accusative of duration and 13 of the corresponding prepositional type.

Out of the former 43 examples 6 are of type A, 5 of type Ab, 13 of type B, 14 of type C, and 5 of type D. 19 examples—3 of type A, 5 of type Ab, 2 of type B, 8 of type C, and 1 of type D—are used with verbs in the perfect tense, and 8—1 of type A, 2 of type Ab, 4 of type B, and 1 of type C—are found in negative constructions.

Type A (6 exx.):

(1) What, dost think I don’t know how to behave my self in the Employment of a Cuckold, have been 3 *Yeares* Apprentice to Matrimony?—*Con.*, *L.L.* iv. iv. 194–7.

(2) the Roses of these Cheeks have been gather’d *many Years*;—*Con.*, *L.L.* III. i. 602–3.

(3) if she had staid *two Minutes* longer,<sup>62</sup> I shou’d have wish’d for her coming.—*Con.*, *L.L.* III. i. 17–18.

(4) stay here *a Quarter of an Hour*, and I’ll come and explain it to you.—*Con.*, *L.L.* v. i. 297–8.

(5) But to live even *Three days*, the Life of a Play, I no more expect it, than to be Canoniz’d for a Muse after my Decease.—*Con.*, *L.L.* I. i. 73–5.

(6) he does not know his Mind *Two Hours*.—*Con.*, *L.L.* IV. i. 753–4.

It is worth noting that in ex. 5 *to live* is followed by the adverbial accusative *Three days*, and then, as if appositively, by the cognate accusative *the Life of a Play*. In ex.

<sup>61</sup> From a functional point of view we have excluded from type D/ the following:—...of his travels and wars, which he underwent *in his days*.—*P.P.* II. 107l. 41–2 / ...might he have had a week to run twenty miles *in his life*,...—*P.P.* II. 111l. 23–4 / Mr. Honest *in his lifetime* had spoken to one Good-conscience to meet him there,—*P.P.* II. 132r. 58–60.

<sup>62</sup> We would treat *two Minutes* here as an adverbial accusative, noticing its durative sense, though it is accompanied with the comparative adverb *longer*. Compare, however, ex. 16, §2.2 and the comment made there, and also footnote 20 above.

6 *Two Hours* is so closely combined with “does *not* know his Mind” as to be incorporated in the scope of the negation.

Type Ab (5 exx.):

Each of these is used with a verb in the perfect tense. One of them, shown as ex. 7, refers to the prolonged repetition of the state rather than its continuous duration, as it is explicitly indicated by the adverb *off-and-on* (=intermittently). On the other hand, the same adverbial has its notion of duration emphasized by *any time* prefixed to it.<sup>63</sup>

(7) I think, you and I have been Play-fellows *off-and-on*, any time *this Seven Years*.—Con., *O. B.* v. ii. 141–3.

(8) Dick, body o’me, Dick has been dead *these two Years*;—Con., *L. L.* III. i. 292–3.

(9) I have been married *these two Hours*.—Con., *O. B.* v. i. 317–8.

(10) I han’t seen him *these Three Years*.—Con., *L. L.* III. i. 213–4.

(11) feel, feel here, if I have any thing but like another Christian, or any Teats, but two that han’t given Suck *this Thirty Years*.—Con., *L. L.* II. i. 124–6.

In the negative constructions in exx. 10 and 11 the adverbials of type Ab are used to delimit the periods during which the experiences have never occurred. In each of these adverbials we feel as if the definiteness of the demonstrative, which would have been expressed in a distinctly inflected form as accusative in Old English, had heightened the self-sufficient force in the whole phrase as an adverbial.

Type B (13 exx.):

(12) I have been told she had that admirable quality of forgetting to a man’s face in the morning, that she had layn with him *all night*.—Con., *L. L.* IV. i. 333–6.

(13) He not coming home *all Night* a Letter was deliver’d to me by a Servant, in the Morning: Upon the Perusal I found the Contents so charming, that I cou’d think of nothing *all Day* but putting ’em in practice.—Con., *O. B.* IV. ii. 51–4.

(14) I could look upon’em *all day*.—Con., *O. B.* III. ii. 26–7.

(15) I had Hopes of finding another opportunity of explaining my self to you—but was disappointed *all the day*;—Con., *L. L.* III. i. 589–90.

(16) I have it in Charge to attend her *all this Evening*, in order to conduct her to the Place appointed.—Con., *O. B.* v. i. 215–7.

(17) What fine Lady hast thou been putting out of conceit with her self, and perswading that the Face she had been making *all the morning*, was none of her own?—Con., *O. B.* I. i. 182–5.

(18) *Foresight* I am in Health, I think.

*Scandal* So was Valentine *this Morning*; and look’d just so.

—Con., *L. L.* III. i. 569–70.

(19) I have been asleep since; slept *a whole Night*, and did not so much as dream of the matter.—Con., *L. L.* v. i. 327–8.

(20) Why, Sir, there are not three words of Truth, *the Year round*, put into the Gazette.—Con., *O. B.* II. i. 192–4.

(21) I think I shan’t endure the sight of a Fire *this Twelvemonth*.—Con., *O. B.*

<sup>63</sup> This emphatic type of adverbial accusative of duration (type Ab) was mentioned in footnote 42 as already used by Shakespeare.

ii. ii. 164-5.

(22) One would have thought we were ever after to live under Ground, or at least making a Voyage to Greenland, to inhabit there *all the dark Season*.—Con., *L. L.* ii. i. 82-5.

(23) You must know, Sir, I was resident in Flanders *the last Campagn*.—Con., *O. B.* ii. i. 195-6.

Among these quotations there are some where the combinations between the verbs and the adverbials are very close, as in ex. 19, where *a whole Night* might as well be taken as quasi-object towards *slept*, “slept *a whole Night*” virtually meaning ‘passed a whole night in sleeping,’ and on the other hand we see others where the adverbials appear fairly independent, as in ex. 20, where *the Year round* is loosely inserted in the predicate and modifies the whole negative statement. Incidentally, the form with the headword accompanied by the intensive adverb *round* is exemplified by *O.E.D.*<sup>64</sup> as beginning with the quotation from 1753, but this one from Congreve antedates it by sixty years. Another instance of the close combination is seen in ex. 17. In “the Face she had been making *all the morning*” the past perfect progressive tense primarily denotes the notion of prolonged repetition and then acquires the connotation of continuous volition, so that “had been making” effectually means ‘had been intending to make’; and this connotation, we might say, has been furthered by the adjacent adverbial *all the morning*.

In each of the negative constructions in the first part of ex. 13, ex. 20, and ex. 21, the adverbial is outside the scope of negation.

Type C (14 exx.):

These comprise 5 examples of *a great while*, 3 of *all this while*, 2 of *a moment*, and the following, each occurring once: *all the while*, *a long time*, *a little*, and *an age*, *an age*.

*A great while* (5 exx.):

All the instances occur with verbs in the present perfect tense.

(24) As you say, Madam, ’tis pretty bad Weather, and has been so *a great while*.—Con., *O. B.* iv. iv. 39-40. [Similarly *L. L.* iv. i. 30-1, *L. L.* v. i. 172.]

(25) ’Tis true, you have *a great while* pretended Love to me;—Con., *L. L.* v. i. 531-2.

(26) I have not been honour’d with the Commands of a fair Lady, *a great while*.—Con., *L. L.* v. i. 13-14.

In the last quotation, *a great while* is expressed in extraposition after the main negative statement that describes the continuous absence of the speaker’s experience of being honoured with the commands of a beautiful lady. In more modern style, it would have been replaced by “*for a great while*” or “*for a long time*.”

*All this while* (3 exx.):

(27) She has been breeding Love to thee *all this while*, and just now she is deliver’d of it.—Con., *O. B.* iv. i. 166-8.

(28) He has a mind to try, whether his playing the Madman, won’t make her play

<sup>64</sup> *O.E.D.*, s.v. *ROUND* *adv.* and *prep.* A lc. There is put a note “Chiefly in phr. *all the year round*. The use approaches that of the *prep.* following the sb.” Then at the item of *prep.*, B 2, the first quotation is given from a. 1715, and there the use of the preposition following the noun is exemplified with one quotation:—Oh, thou, wouldst promise me *the clock round*.—Bailey, *Festus* 317 [1839-52].

the Fool, and fall in Love with him, or at least own that she has lov'd him *all this while*, and conceal'd it.—Con., *L. L.* iv. i. 8–11.

(29) What d'ee mean *all this while*, to make a fool of me?—Con., *L. L.* iv. i. 426–7.

*A moment* (2 exx.):

(30) If you will tarry *a Moment*, till I fetch my Papers, I'll wait upon you down stairs.—Con., *O. B.* iv. iv. 43–4.

(31) Then, let me beg these Ladies to wear their Masks, *a Moment*.—Con., *O. B.* v. ii. 90–1.

The functional and structural closeness of *a moment* to the verb appears conspicuously different in these two quotations. In ex. 31, "...to wear their Masks, *a Moment*," where the adverbial is expressed in extraposition, may be expanded into '...to wear their masks—indeed, do it *a moment*.'

The other examples of type C are:

(32) I know, she commended him *all the while* we were in the Park;—Con., *O. B.* v. i. 200–1.

(33) For Faith, honest Isaac, I have *a long time* designed thee this favour—Con., *O. B.* iv. iv. 206–7.

(34) Damn your pity. But let me be calm *a little*.—How have I deserv'd this of you?—Con., *O. B.* v. ii. 50–1.

(35) *Heartwell* Certainly, irrecoverably married.

*Sharper* Heav'n forbid, Man. How long?

*Heartwell* Oh, *an Age, an Age*:

—Con., *O. B.* v. i. 315–7.

*All the while* in ex. 32 is used to introduce an adverbial clause of duration without any intervening relative. The third sentence of ex. 35 is contextually to be expanded into 'Oh, I have been married *an age, an age* (=many, many years).'<sup>65</sup>

Type D (5 exx.):

(36) Oh! methinks I'm sick when I think of a Man; and if I can't have one, I wou'd go to sleep *all my life*:—Con., *L. L.* v. i. 308–10.

(37) I'd rather go plain *all my life*:—than wear such Finery.—Con., *O. B.* iii. i. 334–5.

(38) A man that is marri'd, d'ee see, is no more like another man, than a Galley-slave is like one of us free Sailors, he is chain'd to an Oar *all his life*:—Con., *L. L.* iii. i. 315–7.

(39) Why every Man plays the Fool once in his Life: But to Marry is playing the Fool *all ones Life long*.<sup>66</sup>—Con., *O. B.* iii. ii. 117–8.

(40) That was as well as if you had been born and bred in Covent-Garden, *all the days of your Life*:—Con., *L. L.* ii. i. 644–5.

3.10. The 13 examples of the prepositional type used in Congreve's two plays comprise 1 of type A', 1 of type Ab', 1 of type Ac', 1 of type B', 3 of type C', and 6 of type D'. Out of these prepositional phrases 4 (1 of type A', 1 of type Ab', 1 of type Ac', and 1 of type C') are introduced by *for*, 8 (2 of type C' and 6 of type D') by *in*, and 1 (type B) by *by*. While 4 examples (1 of type Ac', 2 of type C', and 1 of type D')

<sup>65</sup> Cf. ex. 2, §3.2 and ex. 11, §3.8 above.

<sup>66</sup> For this use of *long*, see footnote 32 in Pt. I; also cf. exx. 8–10, §3.7 above.



are used with verbs in the perfect form, 6 examples (1 of type B', 1 of type C', and 4 of type D') are found in negative constructions.

Type A' (1 ex.):

(1) If I can give that Cerberus a Sop, I shall be at rest *for one day*.—Con., *L. L.* i. i. 225–6.

Type Ab' (1 ex.):

(2) Your love is like your courage, which you shew *for the first year or two* upon all occasions; till in a little time, being disabled or disarm'd, you abate of your vigor;—Con., *O. B.* i. i. 245–8.

In this example it should be observed that the *for*-phrase implies the notion of restriction as well as duration.

Type Ac' (1 ex.):

(3) Sir, if you please to give me a small Certificate of Three Lines...; That the Bearer hereof, Jeremy Fetch by Name, has *for the space of Sev'n Years* truly and faithfully serv'd Valentine Legend Esq;...—Con., *L. L.* i. i. 64–8.

Type B' (1 ex.):

(4) *In all this time*...this rascally Gazette-writer never so much as once mention'd me—Not once *by the Wars*—Con., *O. B.* ii. i. 201–4.

*In all this time* in the quotation above belongs to type C'. For the archaic use of *by*, which means 'during,' in *by the Wars*, see ex. 7, § 2.3 (Lyly) and ex. 8, § 2.5 (Sidney) and the comments made on them. Here the two adverbial phrases are used to delimit the period during which the occurrence has never taken place.

Type C' (3 exx.):

(5) You may stand a Bay *for a while*; but when the full Cry is against you, you won't have fair Play for your Life.—Con., *L. L.* i. i. 140–2.

(6) I could have brought young Mr. Prig, to have kept my Mistress Company *in the mean time*.<sup>67</sup>—Con., *O. B.* iv. i. 23–4.

The other example of type C' was shown above in ex. 4.

Type D' (6 exx.):

It is worth noting that all the examples except one (ex. 11) describe the non-existence of the subject-referent's experience in his lifetime. The *if*-clause in ex. 10, though positive in structure, has a negative implication. In each of these examples the *in*-phrase is related to the predicate verb whose aspect is perfective and frequentative.

(7) I never had it in my Power to say any thing to a Lady's Prejudice *in my Life*.—Con., *L. L.* iii. i. 101–2. [Similarly *L. L.* v. i. 465.]

(8) You never lay with an honest Man's Wife *in your life*.—Con., *O. B.* iv. iv. 200–1.

(9) For certainly Mr. Tattle was never deny'd any thing *in his Life*.—Con., *L. L.* iii. ii. 77–8.

(10) The Devil take me if ever I was so much concerned at any thing *in my Life*.—Con., *L. L.* v. i. 460–1.

(11) I might have sav'd several others *in my time*;—Con., *L. L.* v. i. 212–3.

<sup>67</sup> *In the mean time* here is related to the durative activity that is to last for the time indicated. The more usual use of *in the mean time* (e.g.: And *in the mean time*, I will reason with myself...—*O. B.* iv. i. 49) has been left out of account.

## IV. Summary

4.1. In summing up what we have observed in Part II, we shall first show the statistical distribution of the uses of the respective types as examined in the eight texts that we have chosen from the works composed during the two centuries of Early Modern English—the four sixteenth-century texts: Lyly, *A. W.* and *E. E.*; Sid., *Arc.*; Sp., *F. Q.*; Del., *J. N.*; and the four seventeenth-century texts: Sh., *Ham.*, *M. M.*, and *Tem.*; A. V.; Bun., *P. P.*; Con., *O. B.* and *L. L.* Since the main purpose of our study is to observe the development of *for*-phrases as equivalent to adverbial accusatives of duration, particular attention will be paid to the use of *for*-phrases that should belong to each of the six prepositional types—types A', Ab', Ac', B', C' and D'. In the annexed table the parenthesized figures show the frequencies of those *for*-phrases belonging to the respective types.

	<i>Lyly</i>	<i>Sid.</i>	<i>Sp.</i>	<i>Del.</i>	16th c. total	<i>Sh.</i>	<i>A. V.</i>	<i>Bun.</i>	<i>Con.</i>	17th c. total	Total
Type A	22	7	8	10	47	13	25	11	6	55	102
Type Ab	1	3		3	7	1	3	1	5	10	17
Type Ac	2		1	1	4						4
Type B	6	3	7	21	37	8	9	13	13	43	80
Type C	21	49	47	14	131	20	9	59	14	102	233
Type D			1		1	1	1	1	5	8	9
Subtotal	52	62	64	49	227	43	47	85	43	218	445
Type A'		8(7)		1(1)	9(8)	1		4(4)	1(1)	6(5)	15(13)
Type Ab'						3(3)		1(1)	1(1)	5(5)	5(5)
Type Ac'	7(6)	3(2)	1	4(4)	15(12)			2(2)	1(1)	3(3)	18(15)
Type B'						2(2)		1	1	4(2)	4(2)
Type C'	9(9)	13(12)	2	3	27(21)	7(7)	7(6)	21(19)	3(1)	38(33)	65(54)
Type D'	3	1		1	5	3		5	6	14	19
Subtotal	19(15)	25(21)	3	9(5)	56(41)	16(12)	7(6)	34(26)	13(4)	70(48)	126(89)
Total	71(15)	87(21)	67	58(5)	283(41)	59(12)	54(6)	119(26)	56(4)	288(48)	571(89)

As compared with the table for the Old and Middle English phenomenon shown in § 4.1, Pt. I, this tells us, first of all, that in Early Modern English predominantly more instances of the adverbial accusative of duration were still used than instances of the corresponding prepositional type. At the same time, there is a considerable discrepancy among the frequencies in the respective texts. This may be to a great extent ascribed to the stylistic difference observable in each of the texts. For example, the strikingly low frequency of the prepositional type as against the non-prepositional type in *Sp.* and *A. V.* is apparently due to the poetic or classical style of these texts.

We can see in the Early Modern English texts a steady advance in the use of the *for*-phrase as equivalent to the adverbial accusative of duration, whereas in the Old and Middle English texts its use was still in the stage of immaturity and its frequency was almost negligible. In Early Modern English, we can now compare the relative frequencies of the two types—the non-prepositional adverbial of duration and the *for*-phrase of duration—in the following way:

	Non-prepositional phrases	For-phrases
16th c.	85%	15%
17th c.	82%	18%

Apart from *for*, there are three kinds of prepositions used to introduce phrases of types A'—D' in the Early Modern English texts. Of the first kind are those prepositions whose use is now considered archaic or obsolete. We find three instances of *by*-phrases—1 (ex. 7, §2.3) of type Ac' used by Lyly, 1 (ex. 8, §2.5) of type A' used by Sidney, and 1 (ex. 4, §3.10) of type B' used by Congreve; and two instances of *of*-phrases—1 (ex. 1, §3.3) of type A' used by Shakespeare and 1 (ex. 7, §3.6) of type C' used in the A. V. Gospels. These instances, though found in very low frequency, are worth noting from a historical point of view; but they are to be superseded by *for*-phrases or non-prepositional adverbials of duration in later standard English.

Of the second kind are *during* (5 exx.) and *through* (1 ex.), which denote the notion of duration more explicitly than *for* and whose function is sometimes, as in the case of the instances quoted in this Part, identical with that of *for*. It must be noted, however, that the primary function of *during* and *through* is to denote the duration of the period or event that is meant by the headword of the prepositional phrase, rather than the duration of the activity expressed by the verb or verb-equivalent to which the phrase is related, the denotation of which is the very characteristic function for the preposition *for* to perform. In this respect, neither *during* nor *through* can be so equal to the status of equivalent to the adverbial accusative of duration as *for* is.

Next comes *in*, whose use to introduce the phrase in question occurs 25 times in the Early Modern English corpora. Out of these 25 *in*-phrases 17 occur in type D'. As was stated in the Introduction (§1.2), it is now our subsidiary purpose to examine the potentiality of the *in*-phrase to be used especially in type D'; and so this phenomenon is worth noticing. Furthermore, 10 *in*-phrases, including 7 of type D', are found in negative constructions, and 4 *in*-phrases of type D', all quoted from Bunyan, are used in clauses that are, either structurally or semantically, related to the superlative degree. This feature perceptible in this kind of *in*-phrase is due to the basic function of *in* to specify the limits of a space of time, introducing an adverbial phrase to modify a verb in the perfective aspect. Its sphere, however, has a tendency to spread encroaching on that of the *for*-phrase, as we shall see it realized in the Part on Late Modern English.

4.2. Next we shall see how in Early Modern English adverbial accusatives of duration and their prepositional variants were respectively used with verbs in the perfect (or perfect progressive) form or in negative constructions. The distribution of these constructions found in each of the texts is tabulated in the following way. The parenthesized figures in the column of "Perfect" indicate the frequencies of perfect progressives.

From this it may be concluded that in both the sixteenth-century and the seventeenth-century corpus perfect verbs are used far more frequently with non-prepositional adverbials (types A—D) than with prepositional adverbials (type A'—D'), whereas, especially in the seventeenth-century corpus, strikingly more negative constructions are found with prepositional adverbials (type A'—D') than with non-prepositional ones (types A—D). This phenomenon can be expected from the fact that the intrinsic nature of the non-prepositional type, that is, the adverbial accusative of duration, is more likely to be realized with the verb that refers to the past time-sphere and is in the durative aspect and that the

		Types A—D			Types A'—D'		
		Total	Perfect	Negative	Total	Perfect	Negative
16th c.	<i>Lyly</i>	52	12(1)	10	19	3	0
	<i>Sid.</i>	62	21	4	25	4	4
	<i>Sp.</i>	64	10	2	3	0	0
	<i>Del.</i>	49	14	8	9	1	1
Subtotal		227	57(1) [25%]	24 [11%]	56	8 [14%]	5 [9%]
17th c.	<i>Sh.</i>	43	9	1	16	4	2
	<i>A.V.</i>	47	11	3	7	0	1
	<i>Bun.</i>	85	18(1)	3	34	3	4
	<i>Con.</i>	43	19(2)	8	13	4	6
Subtotal		218	57(3) [26%]	15 [7%]	70	11 [16%]	13 [19%]
Total		445	114(4)	39	126	19	18

prepositional type is freer to display its functional value as a temporal determiner when it is used with the negative predicate. One may anticipate that this tendency will be strengthened in Late Modern English where much more distinct and explicit ways of expression are to be met with.

It is furthermore enlightening to see the distribution of the 57 instances used in negative constructions—39 of the non-prepositional type and 18 of the prepositional type. First, out of the 39 non-prepositional adverbials of duration, 13 (33%) stand inside the scope of negation and are used with verbs in the durative aspect. Secondly, out of the 18 prepositional adverbials in question, 12 (67%)—of which 10 are introduced by *in*—stand outside the scope of negation and are used with verbs in the perfective aspect. These points indicate the prevalent potentiality with respect to the syntactic usage concerned. On the other hand, the rather surprising fact is that out of the 39 non-prepositional adverbials of duration 11(28%)—*exx.* 17, § 2.2; 33, § 2.2; 20, § 2.8; 26, § 2.8; 33, § 2.8; 41, § 2.8; 38, § 3.7; 10, § 3.9; 11, § 3.9; 13, § 3.9; 20, § 3.9—stand out of the scope of negation and are used with verbs in the perfective aspect. We have considered this phenomenon as associated with the stage of Early Modern English where the adverbial accusative of duration, as against its prepositional equivalent, was still maintained to a considerable extent. How this traditional feature has become modified in Late Modern English—that is one of the main points to be considered in the following Part.