

THE ADVERBIAL ACCUSATIVE OF DURATION  
AND ITS PREPOSITIONAL EQUIVALENT  
PART I. OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH

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I Introduction

1.1. The purpose of the present study is first to observe how the accusative case of temporal extension, that is, duration—a means of expression which is intrinsically characteristic of English, an originally inflectional language as one of the Indo-European languages—has been inherited down to the present-day English period. Secondly, it is to examine how adverbial phrases introduced by prepositions, typically *for*, have come to be used, whether alongside of non-prepositional accusatives or superseding the latter. Special attention will be paid to the degree of semantic equivalency perceived in each other of the different means of expression as well as to their historical continuation.

For the greatest stimulus and instruction ever afforded me I must specially acknowledge my obligation to the two articles by S. Brorström: “A Historical Survey of Prepositions Expressing the Sense ‘for the duration of’” (*English Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 2, 1971) and “Phrases in Earlier English Corresponding to the Present-day Type ‘I have *not* seen him *for a long time (while)*’” (*English Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 6, 1973). In Brorström’s studies, however, much interest was taken in the use of prepositions meaning ‘for the duration of’ and corresponding non-prepositional phrases, particularly in the sort of sentence that means negative experience. My chief interest lies in a somewhat different aspect, that is, the historical nature and maintenance of the adverbial accusative as it denotes duration and how and in what semantic condition *for*-phrases have succeeded in superseding it.

1.2. At the outset, we should like to ascertain what the primary function of the accusative case was. It was to express destination or the goal of motion,<sup>1</sup> as in Latin “*Rōmam ire*” (=go to Rome); whence arose the notion ‘influence on the goal of motion reached,’ as in Latin “*Rōmam petere*” (=visit or hurry to Rome), and eventually the notion ‘influence on what is expressed by the direct object, even in such a Latin instance as “*Rōmam linquere*” (=leave Rome).<sup>2</sup> This primary connotation “the goal of motion, or movement towards

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<sup>1</sup> *O.E.D.*, s.v. ACCUSATIVE n. 1. Here let us note the etymology of the word. *Accusative* was adopted from F *accusatif*, adaptation of L *accūsātivus*, literally ‘of the nature of accusation,’ which is, however, a verbal rendering of Gk (πρωσις) ἀιτιαιική ‘(the case) of accusing,’ but also ‘of or pertaining to that which is caused or effected (τὸ ἀιτιᾶτόν).’ Hence, it is properly the case of the effect, or thing directly affected by verbal agency.

<sup>2</sup> K. Schibbye, *Origin and Development of the English Language*, III (Copenhagen: Nordish, 1977), 35.

a goal” very naturally led to “spatial extension or temporal duration, or extent of space or time.”

1.3. Now we shall go on observing the characteristic features of these two kinds of adverbial accusatives—(A) local accusatives and (B) temporal accusatives—by quoting some of the most typical instances from present-day British and American works.

A. (1) He had been known to drive *miles* in the rain to see a new kind of rose in somebody’s garden,...—J. Conrad, *Amy Foster*.

(2) they tramped *twenty miles* on end,...—S. Lewis, *Arrowsmith*, XL. ii.

(3) He walked quietly along the road *a hundred yards*, and then stopped and listened.—J. Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath*, XXXVI.

(4) He had to walk *the whole length of the road* before he could go to his bedroom...—J. Wain, *The Life Guard*.

(5) Among the prisoners was a young chief, ...of such strength and ferocity that the King’s people came *a day’s journey* to look at him.—W. Cather, *Coming, Aphrodite!* v.

B. (6) Thus the Fosters had to wait *almost a complete week* to find out whether anything of a satisfactory nature had happened to him or not.—Mark Twain, *\$30,000 Bequest*, III.

(7) Doctor Parcival had been in Winesburg *about five years*.—S. Anderson, *Winesburg, Ohio*, “The Philosopher.”

(8) I’ve been living a lie *all these years*—pretending to be good, to be moral, even to be a finicky eater!—J. C. Oates, *Sunday Dinner*.

(9) I worked *an awfully long time* on both of them (*i.e.*, the subjects).—T. Wilder, *Our Town*, I.

(10) I’ve been reading *all my life*, and you won’t stop me, Carmelita.—M. Spark, *The Father’s Daughters*.

It is worth noting that in these examples the semantic combination between verbs of motion or activity and adverbials of place or time is so close that “drive *miles*,” “wait *almost a complete week*,” etc. can be interpreted as composing single units, each to express the performance of one spatially or temporally continuous activity. In each of these combination, it may be said, the sense of the adverbial has been integrated into that of the verb. Even though in exx. 3, 7, and 8 the adverbial is structurally separated from the verb so that it appears like a unit of greater functional independence, yet we can no less clearly see the closeness of semantic relation, in which it denotes the spatial extension or temporal duration of the motion or state expressed by the verb.

This fact will be more distinctly perceived if we replace these non-prepositional adverbials with *for*-phrases. For instance, *for miles* in “He had been known to drive *for miles* in the rain...,” as contrasted with ex. 1, would have its functional independence as an adverbial of distance unduly set off. Evidently *for*-phrases in place of the non-prepositional adverbials in exx. 4, 5, 8, and 10 would be interpreted unidiomatic, or even un-English. This indicates that the non-prepositional type of adverbial, as it is exemplified above, is the outcome of natural development of the “adverbial accusative” and has maintained, down to present-day English, the intrinsic features that the latter had in origin.

As against ex. 7, “Doctor Parcival has been in Winesburg *for about five years*” would seem to express virtually the same meaning. Apart from the somewhat clumsy contiguity

of "for about," the *for*-phrase would here tend to strengthen the force of temporal specification as an adverbial element.

Ex. 5 has an adverbial phrase *a day's journey*, which means 'distance travelled in a day' and so may be defined as an adverbial of distance based upon specification of time. It is therefore a phenomenon showing the close association of spatial extension with temporal duration and so reflects the interrelation that is inherent in these two kinds of adverbial accusatives.

It is from a historical point of view that I now term such non-prepositional adverbials as were exemplified above *adverbial accusatives*. The question remains which of the two classes should have more priority. Following Otto Jespersen's surmise,<sup>3</sup> we may say that the primary function of the accusative case is localistic, and that the other function—the one that is temporal—is an extension of it. As the theme of the present study, however, I have adopted the adverbial accusative of duration, and that is because I expect to find far more phenomena of interest, both historical and descriptive, about this kind of adverbial accusative, particularly as it is contrasted with its prepositional equivalent.

1.4. There is truly a general tendency of synthetic types of expression being replaced by analytic ones. Just so the new type, which is for the most part introduced by the preposition *for*, has succeeded, to a considerable extent, in performing the function of the old non-prepositional type, so much so that we sometimes find instances where there can hardly be any semantic difference between them. For example, if one compares the corresponding passages in the two versions of the English Bible:

(1a) a certain man was there, which had an infirmitie *thirtie and eighty years*.—A. V., *John* v. 5 [1611].

(1b) Among there was a man who had been crippled *for thirty-eighty years*.—N.E.B., *John* v. 5 [1961].

(2a) he abode *two dayes* still in the place where he was.—A.V., *John* vi. 6.

(2b) Jesus waited *for two days* in the place where he was.—N.E.B., *John* vi. 6.

one cannot find between the adverbial accusatives in exx. 1a and 2a and the *for*-phrases in exx. 1b and 2b, respectively, any difference but in stylistic value, which is due to the diachronic transition of the language.

1.5. Nevertheless, I should like to pay the greatest attention to the aspect where the prepositional equivalent, even the *for*-phrase, has failed to display the semantic value of the genuine adverbial accusative. Compared with ex. 9 under §1.3, the following:

(1) I ain't seen him around *for a long time*.—Steinbeck, *op. cit.*, xviii.

(2) I was just thinking we haven't had any real fun *in a long time*.—A. Lawrence, *The Dean's Death*.

will present us with the fact that the use of a prepositional phrase, instead of an adverbial accusative, is ascribable to a semantic and structural condition. In these sentences the negation of the predicate verbs implies disruption in the activity or state they express. This is a condition to which the use of an adverbial accusative is felt less suited, since we recognize the intrinsic feature of the adverbial accusative where it connotes the coincidence of a durative activity and the time that it takes.

It is also worth noting that the preposition *for* implies a limited duration of time and

<sup>3</sup> *The Philosophy of Grammar* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1924), p. 179.

that the idea of temporal limitation is more manifest in the preposition *in*. Again, no connotation of this sort is shared by the genuine adverbial accusative. In contrast to the use of *all my life* in ex. 10, §1.3, we can clearly see this semantic feature of the *in*-phrase, as distinguished from that of the genuine adverbial accusative, in the use of *in my life* in:

(3) I ain't never been so sad *in my life*.—Steinbeck, *op. cit.*, XXIII.

We feel great interest in what form in early English "*in my life*" originated, whether it had any functional or semantic connection with the OE adverbial accusative to which "all my life" can be unquestionably traced back, and how these forms have respectively come down to the present.

1.6. Before entering into the subject, we should like to classify from a structural and semantic point of view those kinds of expressions which we have to investigate:

Type A:—Non-prepositional; "numeral (including indefinite article) or quantifier + noun of time measurement." Exx. 6 and 7, §1.3; 1a and 2a, §1.4.

Type Ab:—Non-prepositional; "determiner + numeral or quantifier + noun of time measurement." Ex. 8, §1.3.

Type Ac:—Non-prepositional; "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*, XXIII.

Type B:—Non-prepositional; "determiner (including definite article) + noun meaning a particular period." *E.g.*: You'd better stay *the night*.—J. Galsworthy, *The Apple-Tree*, VII.

Type C:—Non-prepositional; "(indefinite article + adjective expressing length of time +) noun meaning a space of time." Ex. 9, §1.3.

Type D:—Non-prepositional; "(*all*+) possessive personal pronoun + noun meaning lifetime, reign, or the like." Ex. 10, §1.3.

Type A':—Prepositional, corresponding to type A. Exx. 1b and 2b, §1.4.

Type Ab':—Prepositional, corresponding to type Ab. *E.g.*: What have you done with yourself *for the last ten years*?—J. Wain, *Nuncle*.

Type Ac':—Prepositional, corresponding to 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*, II.

Type B':—Prepositional, corresponding to 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':—Prepositional, corresponding to type C. Exx. 1 and 2, §1.5.

Type D':—Prepositional, corresponding to type D. Ex. 3, §1.5.

## II Old English

2.1. To investigate the use of adverbial accusatives of duration and prepositional phrases that correspond to them in Old English, we shall first examine four corpora: (1) the West Saxon Gospels (abbr. *WS*), (2) *Beowulf* (abbr. *Beo*), (3) the *Blickling Homilies* (abbr. *Bl. Hom.*), and (4) the first five chapters of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* (abbr. *ÆLS*).

In *WS*<sup>4</sup> we find 32 examples of the adverbial accusative of duration, of which 23 are of type A, 1 of type B, and 8 of type C. Of the 23 examples of type A, 7 *dæg* (m.; > ModE *day*), 6 contain *gēar* (n.; > ModE *year*), 4 *dæg and niht* (f.; > ModE *night*), 2 *mōnþ* (= *mōnaþ*) (m.; > ModE *month*), 2 *tīd* (f.; > ModE *tide*, 'hour'), 1 *gēar and mōnþ*, and 1 *winter* (m., n.: > ModE *winter*, 'year'). The one example of type B is *þæt gear* ('that year'). Of the 8 examples of type C, 5 contain *tīd* ('time') and 3 *hwīl* (f.; > ModE *while*).

From a comparative point of view, we shall append to the *WS* examples the corresponding versions in Greek,<sup>5</sup> Latin,<sup>6</sup> and, when adducible, Gothic.

Type A:

(1) he wunode ðær *twegen dagas*. —*WS*, *John* iv. 40. (=He stayed there two days.) (Gk: *ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ δύο ἡμέρας* [acc. pl. f.] / L: *mansit ibi duos dies* [acc. pl. m.] [Similarly *Matt.* xv. 32, *Mark* viii. 2, *Luke* iv. 2, *John* ii. 12, vi. 6.]

(2) *swa fela geara* ic ðe þeowode, —*WS*, *Luke* xv. 29. (=I have served you a great many years.) (Gk: *τοσαῦτα ἔτη* [acc. pl. n.] *δουλεύω σοι* / L: *tot annis* [abl. pl. m.] *servio tibi* / Goth.: *swa filu yere* [acc. n. + gen. pl. n.] *skalkinoda þus*,) [Similarly *Matt.* ix. 20, *Luke* ii. 36 (cf. ex. 3), viii. 43, xiii. 11, xiii. 16.]

(3) *Þeos wunode mænigne dæg*, and heo lyfode mid hyre were *seofen gear* of hyre fæmnhade. —*WS*, *Luke* ii. 36. (=This woman was advanced many a day, and she had lived with her husband seven years from her virginity.) (Gk: *αὐτή προβηβηκυῖα ἐν ἡμέραις πολλαῖς* [prep. + dat. pl. f.], *ζήσασα μετὰ ἀνδρὸς ἔτη ἑπτὰ* [acc. pl. n.] *ἀπὸ τῆς παρθενίας αὐτῆς*, / L: *haec processerat in diebus multis* [prep. + abl. pl. m.] *et vixerat cum viro suo annis septem* [abl. pl. m.] *a virginitate sua* / Goth.: *Soh framaldra dage managaize* [gen. pl. m.] *libandei miþ abin yera sibun* [acc. pl. n.] *fram magapein seinai*.)

(4) *swa swa Ionas wæs on þæs hwæles innoþe þry dagas and preo niht*, *swa byþ mannes sunu on eorþan heortan þry dagas and preo niht*. —*WS*, *Matt.* xii. 40. (=As Jonas was in the whale's belly three days and three nights, so will the Son of man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights.) (Gk: *ὡσπερ... ἦν Ἰωνᾶς ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους τρεῖς ἡμέρας* [acc. pl. f.] *καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας* [acc. pl. f.], *οὕτως ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας*, / L: *sicut...fuit Ionas in ventre ceti tribus diebus* [abl. pl. n.] *et tribus noctibus* [abl. pl. f.] *sic erit Filius hominis in corde terrae tribus diebus et tribus noctibus*) [Similarly *Matt.* iv. 2, *Mark* i. 13.]

(5) *Maria wunede mid hyre swylce þry monþas*, —*WS*, *Luke* i. 56. (=Mary remained with her about three months.) (Gk: *Ἐμεινεν... Μαριάμ οὖν αὐτῇ ὡς μῆνας τρεῖς* [acc. pl. m.], / L: *mansit...Maria cym illa quasi mensibus tribus* [abl. pl. m.] / Goth.: *Gastop ... Mariam miþ izai swe menos rins* [abl. pl. m.],) [Similarly *Luke* i. 24.]

(6) *Ðas ytemestan worhton ane tide*, —*WS*, *Matt.* xx. 12. (=These last have worked

<sup>4</sup> For the text we have depended on *The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels with the Versions of Wycliffe and Tyndale*, ed. J. Bosworth and G. Waring (London: Reeves & Turner, 1888). The West Saxon text adopted there is based on MS. 140 in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and it is dated c. 995.

<sup>5</sup> For the quotations from the Greek Version we have depended on *The Interlinear Greek-English New Testament*, ed. A. Marshall (London: Bagster, 1959). The Greek text adopted there is based on E. Nestle's *Novum Testamentum Graece*.

<sup>6</sup> For the quotations from the Latin Version we have depended on *Biblia Sacra: Vulgata* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975).

one hour.) (Gk: *οδοι οι ἑσχατοι μίαν ὥραν* [acc. sg. f.] *ἐποίησαν*, / L: *hii novissimi una hora* [abl. sg. f.] *fecerunt*) [Similarly *Mark* xiv. 37.]

(7) *ðæt wif ðe on blodess ryne twelf winter wæs*, —WS, *Mark* v. 25. (=the woman who was in a flow of blood twelve years) (Gk: *γυνή οὐσα ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος δώδεκα ἔτη* [acc. pl. n.], / L: *mulier quae erat in profluvio sanguinis annis duodecim* [abl. pl. m.] / Goth.: *ginono suma wisandei in runa bloþ is yera twalif* [acc. pl. n.])

Type B:

(8) *ða he wæs ðæt gear bisceop*, —WS, *John* xi. 51. (=when he was bishop that year,) (Gk: *ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν τοῦ εμαυτοῦ ἐκείνου* [gen. sg. m.] / L: *cum esset pontifex anni illius* [gen. sg. m.]

Type C:

(9) *nu gyt ic eom gehwæde tid mid eow*; —WS, *John* xiii. 33. (=Yet a little while I am with you.) (Gk: *ἔτι μικρὸν* [acc. sg. n.] *μεθ' ὑμῶν εἶμι*; / L: *adhuc modicum* [acc. sg. n.] *vobiscum sum* / Goth.: *Nauh leitil mel* [acc. sg. n.] *miþ izwis im*);

(10) *swa lange tid ic wæs mid eow, ...?* —WS, *John* xiv. 9. (=Have I been so long time with you?) (Gk: *τοσούτον χρόνον* [acc. sg. m.] *μεθ' ὑμῶν εἶμι...?* / L: *tanto tempore* [abl. sg. m.] *vobiscum sum* / Goth.: *Swalaud melis* [acc. sg. n. + gen. sg. n.] *miþ izwis was, ...?*) [Similarly *Mark* ii. 19, *Luke* viii. 27, 29].

(11) *Gyt ic beo sume hwile mid eow*, —WS, *John* vii. 33. (=Yet I shall be with you a little while.) (Gk: *ἔτι χρόνον μικρὸν* [acc. sg. m.] *μεθ' ὑμῶν εἶμι* / L: *adhuc modicum tempus* [acc. sg. n.] *vobiscum sum* / Goth.: *Nauh leitila wheila* [acc. sg. f.] *wiþ izwis im*.) [Similarly *John* v. 35].

(12) *Ða se Hælend...wiste, ðæt he lange hwyle ðar wæs*, —WS, *John* v. 6. (=When the Saviour knew that he had been there a long time,...) (Gk: *γνοὺς ὅτι πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον* [acc. but not adv.] *ἔχει*, / L: *cum...Iesus...cognovisset quia multum iam tempus* [acc. but not adv.] *habet*)

From the citation above we can see that the use of adverbial accusatives in the West Saxon Gospels generally corresponds to the use in the Greek and Gothic versions, but much more to the use of ablatives in the Latin version, where only three (exx. 1, 9, and 11) out of the twelve instances contain accusatives. In the case of ex. 8 (type B) the Greek as well as the Latin version contains an adverbial genitive while in *WS* the accusative *ðæt gear* is used to denote a definite period during which a state has continued. These facts enable us to reconfirm that the extensive use of the adverbial accusative of duration in Old English was largely of native origin, independent of any influence from Latin syntax.

Besides those examples given above it may be worth noticing the following one of an adverbial dative, which corresponds to type D:

(13) *Ðæt we...him peowian*, On haligness beforan him *eallum urum dagum*. —WS, *Luke* i. 74–5. (=...that we might serve him in holiness all our days.) (Gk: *λατρεῖν αὐτῷ ἐν σοσιότητι...ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις* [dat. pl. f.] *ἡμῶν*. / L: *serviamus illi in sanctitate...coram ipso omnibus diebus* [abl. pl. m.] *nostris* / Goth.: *skalkinon imma*, In sunyai yah garaihtein in andwairþya is *allans dagans unsarans* [acc. pl. m.]

This dative in *WS*, which accords to the dative in the Greek version and to the ablative in the Latin version, is to be superseded by the accusative in the Authorised Version, as we shall describe in Part II. In this respect we should remark the use of the accusative in the

Gothic version.

For the two instances of the *for*-phrase in *WS* we shall describe them later (§ 2.6), along with those other prepositional phrases in Old English which may functionally correspond to adverbial accusatives of duration.

2.2. In *Beowulf*<sup>7</sup> we find 35 adverbial accusatives of duration, 5 *tō*-phrases of type D', and 3 *on*-phrases of type D'.

The 35 adverbial accusatives comprise 11 of type A (6 with *winter*, 4 with *missēra* [n.; 'half-year'], and 1 with *niht*), 2 of type Ac, 3 of type B (2 with *dæg* and 1 with *niht*), 18 of type C (12 with *hwīl*, 3 with *prāg* [f.], 1 with *tīd*, 1 with *fyrst* [m.], and 1 with *fæc* [n.]), and 1 of type D.

Type A:

(1) *gebad wintra worn, ær he on weg hwurfe, —Beo. 264.*  
(=He waited many years before he passed away.) [*wintra* gen. pl. + *worn* acc. sg. of *worn* (m.) 'a great number'.]

(2) *þeak ðe wintra lýt*  
*under burhlocan gebiden hæbbe,*  
*Hæreþes dohtor; —Beo. 1927–9.*  
(=...although the daughter of Hæreth had dwelt just a few years within the walls of the stronghold.) [*wintra* gen. pl. + *lýt* acc.]

(3) *Ic ðas leode heold*  
*fiftig wintra; —Beo. 2732–3.*  
(=I have ruled over this people fifty years.) [Similarly ll. 2209, 2278, 3050.]

(4) *Swa ic Hring-Dena hund missera*  
*weold under wolcnum —Beo. 1769–70.*  
(=So I have ruled the Ring-Danes fifty years under the heavens.) [*hund* acc. + *missera* gen. pl.] [Similarly l. 1498.]

(5) *He ða frætwe geheold fela missera*  
*bill and burnan, —Beo. 2620–1.*  
(=He kept these treasures, sword and corslet, many years.) [*fela* acc. + *missera* gen. pl.] [Similarly l. 153.]

(6) *Git on wæteres æht*  
*seofon niht swuncon; —Beo. 516–7.*  
(=You two toiled in the water's realm seven nights.)

Type Ac:

(7) *twelf wintra tide torn gepolode*  
*wine Scyldinga, —Beo. 147–8.*  
(=The Scyldings' lord endured distress for the space of twelve years.) [*twelf wintra* gen. pl. m. + *tīde* acc. sg. f.]

(8) *Ða wit ætsomne on sæ wæron*  
*fif nihta fyrst, —Beo. 544–5.*  
(=Thus we two were together in the sea for the space of five nights.) [*fif nihta* gen. pl. f. + *fyrst* acc. sg. m. 'space of time, time.']

Type B:

<sup>7</sup> The text adopted is the one edited by F. Flaeber, 3rd ed. (Boston: Heath, 1922). The dialect is late West Saxon with Anglian, and the date is the end of the tenth century.

- (9)                    þær þæt eorlweorod  
*morgenlongne dæg*    modgiomor sæt, —*Beo.* 2893–4.  
 (= ...where the band of warriors remained, sad at heart, the whole forenoon.)
- (10) Swa we þær inne *andlangne dæg*  
 niode naman, oð ðæt niht becwom  
 oðer to yldum. —*Beo.* 2115–7.  
 (= Thus we took our pleasure there the livelong day, until another night came for men.)
- (11)                    wean oft gehet  
 earmre teohhe *ondlonge niht*, —*Beo.* 2937–8.  
 (= He often threatened the wretched band with misery through the long night.)
- Type C:
- (12)                    Nu is þines mægnes blæd  
*ane hwile*; —*Beo.* 1761–2.  
 (= Now the fullness of your strength will last a while.)
- (13)                    ne meahte horde neah  
 unbyrnende *ænige hwile*  
 deop gedygan for dracab lege. —*Beo.* 2547–9.  
 (= He could not any while endure unscorched the hollow near the hoard by reason of the dragon's flame.)
- (14) Þær unc *hwile* wæs hand gemæne; —*Beo.* 2137.  
 (= There we were a while, hand to hand.)
- (15)                    fifelcynnes eard  
 wonsæli wer weardode *hwile*, —*Beo.* 104–5.  
 (= The unblessed creature dwelt for a long while in the lair of monsters.) [Similarly ll. 152, 240.]
- (16)                    Bill ær gescod  
 —ecg wæs iren— ealdhlaforde  
 þam ðara maðma mundbora wæs  
*longe hwile*, —*Beo.* 2777–80.  
 (= The sword of the aged prince—its blade was iron—had before wounded the man who had been protector of the treasure for a long time.) [Similarly ll. 16, 2159.]
- (17)                    He on weg losade,  
*lytle hwile* lifwynna breac; —*Beo.* 2096–7.  
 (= He slipped away and enjoyed the sweets of life a little while.) [Similarly l. 2030.]
- (18)                    Scyld wel gebearg  
 life ond lice *læssan hwile*  
 mærum þeodne, þonne his myne sohte, —*Beo.* 2570–2.  
 (= The shield gave its good shelter to the famous chief in life and limb a shorter time than his longing had looked for.)
- (19)                    þætt wrecend þa gyt  
 lifde æfter lapum, *lange þrage*,  
 æfter guðceare; —*Beo.* 1256–8.  
 (= ...that an avenger still lived after the hateful foe, a long time after the grievous strife.) [Similarly ll. 54, 114.]
- (20) se þe ær *lange tid* leofra manna



fus æt faroðe feor wlatode; —*Beo.* 1915–6.

(=...he who had before looked out a long time far over the sea, longing for the dear men.)

(21) gif þu Grendles dearest

*nighlongne fyrst* nean bidan. —*Beo.* 527–8.

(=...if you dare await Grendel at close quarters for the space of a night.)

(22) þæt he *lytel fæc* longgestreona

brucan moste. —*Beo.* 2240–1.

(=...that he might own just a little while the treasures that had been accumulated for a long time.)

Type D:

(23) ne seah ic *widan feorh*

under heofones hwealf healsittendra

medudream maran. —*Beo.* 2014–6.

(=Never in my life have I seen under the vault of heaven greater joy at mead among men sitting in a hall.)

It is particularly noteworthy that ex. 23, which expresses a negative experience on the part of the subject-referent, and yet has the temporal limitation denoted by the adverbial accusative *widan feorh* (*widan*, adj. acc. sg. m. wk., 'wide, long,' + *feorh*, acc. sg. m., 'life'), which, though it might correspond to ME *my lyf* (cf. § 3.7), one would expect to have been prepositional. Actually, in another place in *Beowulf* we see "to *widan feore*" used in exactly the same sense, though it is merely one of the five *to*-phrases that can be found in *Beowulf*. These, together with the three *on*-phrases, will be dealt with in § 2.6.

2.3. In the *Blickling Homilies*<sup>8</sup> we find 35 adverbial accusatives and 2 prepositional phrases in the corresponding function—one *þurh*-phrase of type B' and one *on*-phrase of type D' (cf. § 2.6).

Out of the 35 examples of the former category, 17 belong to type A (7 with *dæg*, 4 with *winter*, 2 with *gēar*, 2 with *mōnaþ*, 1 with *niht*, and 1 with *gēar and mōnaþ*), 5 to type Ab (4 with *dæg* and 1 with *gēar*), 7 to type B (3 with *dæg*, 3 with *niht*, and 1 with *gēar*), 4 to type C (2 with *hwil*, 1 with *þrāg*, and 1 with *fæc*), and 2 to type D.

Type A:

(1) he þær wunode mid him *seofon dagas*, —*Bl. Hom.* 249. 16–17. (=He stayed there with him seven days.) [Similarly 217. 17, 221. 25, 249. 8–9.]

(2) Þa wæs he þær *dagas wel manige*; —*Bl. Hom.* 217. 15. (=Then he was there a great many days.)

(3) Onbid her *xxvii daga*, —*Bl. Hom.* 237. 34. (=Abide here twenty-seven days, ...) [*xxvii*=*seofon and twentig* acc. + *daga* gen. pl.]

(4) on þæm lande *feala wintra* wunode, —*Bl. Hom.* 113. 13. (=...in that land he dwelt many years.) [*feala*=*fela* acc. + *wintra* gen. pl.]

(5) A he onbad...þæt *feowertig wintra* hweþer hie gecyrran woldan, —*Bl. Hom.* 79. 3–5. (=He always awaited, forty years, that they would yet turn,...) [Similarly 71. 29, 79. 2.]

(6) hine man þa sona gefulwade ond he *feala geara* æfterðon lifde. —*Bl. Hom.* 219.

<sup>8</sup> The text is edited by R. Morris, E.E.T.S., Nos. 58, 63, 73, 1874–80, reprinted as one volume 1967. The MS. was written in late West Saxon and is dated 971.

1-2. (=He was immediately baptized and then lived many years.) [*feala* acc. + *gēara* gen. pl.]

(7) on þam halgan breostum he eardode *nigon monaþ*; —*Bl. Hom.* 105. 16. (=In the holy bosom he abode nine months.) [Similarly 89. 19.]

(8) þær wæron gehealdene heora lic *an gear ond seofan monaþ*, —*Bl. Hom.* 193. 12-13. (=There their bodies were kept for a year and seven months.)

(9) Ac onbid her *seofon ond twentig nihta*; —*Bl. Hom.* 231. 5. (=But stay here twenty-seven nights.) [*seofon ond twentig* acc. + *nihta* gen. pl.]

Type Ab:

(10) Riht þæt is þæt ealle geleafulle men *þis feowertig daga* on for-hæfdnesse lifgean, —*Bl. Hom.* 33. 16-17. (=It is right that all believers should live these forty days in abstinence.) [*þis feowertig* acc. + *daga* gen. pl.]

(11) gif we *þa dagas* fulfremedlice for Gode lifgeaþ, þonne hæbbe we ure daga þone teoþan dæl for Gode gedon. —*Bl. Hom.* 35. 24-6. (=If we live perfectly before God during those days, then we have given for God the tenth part of our days.) [Similarly 35. 32 (cf. ex. 14), 71. 32.]

(12) wæs he beforan ær *þa þreo gear* gecristnod, —*Bl. Hom.* 215. 35-6. (=He had been christened those three years before.)

Type B:

(13) steorran yrnaþ wipersynes *ealne þone dæg*; —*Bl. Hom.* 93. 18-19. (=The stars will run across our sight all the day.) [Similarly 91. 35.]

(14) swa we nu on maran forhæfdnesse lifiaþ *þas dagas*, ...swa magon we þe maran blisse habban *þa Easterdagas*, —*Bl. Hom.* 35. 32-4. (=The more we now live those days in abstinence, ...the greater bliss may we have during the Easter days,...) [*þas dagas* belongs to type Ab.]

(15) þa beoð simle mid ele gefylde ond *aghwylce niht* byrnaþ; —*Bl. Hom.* 126. 34-5. (=Those [*i.e.* lamps] are always filled with oil and burning all the night.) [Similarly 129. 4.]

(16) to þon leohte ond beorhte scinaþ *ælce niht* þurh þa eagpyrelo, —*Bl. Hom.* 127. 35-6. (=They shine very light and bright each night through the windows.)

(17) geþencean we þæt we *ealne þysne gear* lifdon mid ures lichoman willan. —*Bl. Hom.* 35. 26-7. (=Let us remember that all this year we have lived carnally minded.)

Type C:

(18) gif we *ane hwile* beoþ on hwylcum earfoþum þær we ures feores ne wenap, —*Bl. Hom.* 51. 27-8. (=If we for a while are in any tribulation where we despair of our lives,...)

(19) Ða he þa *lange hwile* on þæm gebede wæs, þa ongeat he þæt þær god cundlic mægen ondweard, —*Bl. Hom.* 217. 27-9. (=When he had been a long time in prayer, then he perceived that there was a divine power present.)<sup>9</sup>

(20) Ac se heaþrym þæs Godes hades þæm englicum weorodum simle ondweard wæs, peah þe he *þrage* mid us wunode, —*Bl. Hom.* 131. 18-20. (=But the exalted majesty of the Godhead was always present with the angelic hosts, though he dwelt with us for a

<sup>9</sup> We have taken out of account the instances of *þā hwile þe*, which is compounded of the adverbial accusative *þā hwile* and the connective particle *þe* and as a whole functions as subordinate conjunction meaning 'while.' In *Bl. Hom.* we find 12 exx. of *þā hwile þe*, one of which is: "swa we sceolan *þa hwile þe* we lifgaþ her on worlde." —35. 35-6. (=...so we shall while we live here in this world.)

season.)

(21) *Medmycel fæc nu gyt wuna mid us*, —*Bl. Hom.* 247. 30–5. (=Stay with us yet a little time.)

Type D:

(22) *we sceolan ure daga þone teoþan dæl on forhæfdnesse lifgean*. —*Bl. Hom.* 35. 20–1. (=We must live the tenth part of our days in abstinence.) [*üre daga* gen. pl. m. + *þone tēoþan dæl* acc. sg. m.]

(23) *þæs feorþan dæl*, þæt he her on worlde mancynne þurh his lare eces lifes wegas sægde ond tacnode; —*Bl. Hom.* 129. 16–18. (=...that during the fourth part of the time he here in the world proclaimed and showed, by his teaching, the ways of eternal life to mankind.) [*þæs* gen. sg. n., ‘of that’ (contextually referring to the period for which Christ has led his life) + *fēorþan dæl* acc. sg. m.]

In each of these quotations the adverbial accusative is more or less closely connected to the verb so as to amplify the notion of duration that the verb implies. It should be noted that the verbs used in these sentences—*libban* (>ModE *live*) (exx. 6, 19, 11, 14, 17, 22), *wunian* (‘ *dwell, stay*’) (exx. 1, 4, 20, 21), *onbīdan* (>ModE *abide*, ‘*wait*’) (exx. 3, 5, 9), *bēon* (>ModE *be*) (exx. 2, 18, 19), *eardian* (‘ *dwell, live*’) (ex. 7), *habban* (>ModE *have*) (ex. 14), *bēon gehealden* (‘ *be kept*’) (ex. 8), *bēon gecristnod* (‘ *be christened*’) (ex. 12); *yrnan* (>ModE *run*) (ex. 13), *byrnan* (>ModE *burn*) (ex. 15), *scīnan* (>ModE *shine*) (ex. 16), *secgan* (>ModE *say*) (ex. 23), *tācnian* (‘ *point out, indicate*’) (ex. 23)—are either themselves in the durative aspect or contextually invested with durative force. It is to complete or reinforce the sense of this durative aspect that the adverbial accusatives are used in combination with the verbs in these sentences.

In this respect, it would seem rather unintrinsic to the adverbial accusative to be used in a position detached from the verb, as in:

(24) *þa wæs feower gear ær his fulwihte þæt he woroldwæpno wæg*, —*Bl. Hom.* 213. 3–4. (=It was four years before his baptism that he bore arms.)

(25) *Swa swa hit seoþpan gelamp xl wintra æfter þon ðe hie Crist on rode ahengon*, —*Bl. Hom.* 79. 1–3. (=So it afterwards happened forty years after they hanged Christ on the rood.)

In ex. 24 the adverbial accusative *feower gear* is structurally detached from the verb *wæg* that it should be semantically related to. In ex. 25 *xl wintra* is expressed quite absolutely, though it denotes the duration of the period in itself, just as *feower gear* does in ex. 24. What is noteworthy is that we also find in *Bl. Hom.* the use of the adverbial dative, which should be compared with that of the adverbial accusatives in exx. 24 and 25.

(26) *Hælend com syx dagum ær eastrum to Bethania*; —*Bl. Hom.* 71. 24–5. (=The Saviour came to Bethany six days before Easter.)

(27) *syx dagum ær þissum dæge gelimpeþ syllice tacn æghwylce ane dæge*. —*Bl. Hom.* 91. 28–9. (=Six days before this day various marvellous tokens will occur each day.)

The event expressed by “*com syx dagum* (=on the sixth day)” in ex. 26 is that done at a point of time, not the event that was continuous for a period, as it is expressed by “*feower gear...wæg*” in ex. 24. Ex. 27 describes by means of the iterative aspect the event that occurs repetitively, whereas in ex. 25 “*xl wintra æfter...*” implies the durative aspect, which has not been expressed by a verb. Incidentally, the other adverbial dative in ex. 27 “*æghwylce ane dæge*” should be compared with the adverbial accusative “*æghwylce niht*” in ex.

15 above.

2.4. Though not counted among the adverbial accusatives of duration in *Bl. Hom.*, there are a kind of expressions that are very significantly associated with such instances given in the previous section as “*feala geara...lifde*” (ex. 6, § 2.3), “*ealne þysne gear lifdon*” (ex. 17, § 2.3), and “*sceolan ure daga þone teoþan dæl... lifgean*” (ex. 22, § 2.3). They are structures with *libban* accompanied by what are termed “cognate accusatives,” as in the following examples:

(1) *eal his lif he lifde buton synnum, þeah þe he hine lete costian.* —*Bl. Hom.* 33. 16–17. (= He lived all his life without sin, though he permitted himself to be tempted.)

(2) *gif hie on ænigum dæle wolice libban heora lif, syn hie þonne sona from heora wonessum onwende,* —*Bl. Hom.* 109. 19–20. (= If they live their life amiss in any way, let them then at once be converted from their wickedness.) [Similarly 45. 11, 19.]

In each of these sentences the cognate object with the noun ‘life’ as its headword denotes the full extent of time through which one’s living lasts. Its syntactic function is therefore of the same nature as that of *feala geara*, *ealne þysne gear*, and *ure daga þone teoþan dæl* in exx. 6, 17, and 22, respectively, under § 2.3. Indeed, we can clearly see a syntactic affinity between the two sentences: “He lifde *fela geara*” and “He lifde *eal his lif*.” In this respect, it is worth noting that we can also find two instances in *Bl. Hom.* where the cognate object in the same type of predicate is expressed in the dative case:

(3) *...forþon þe he her on eorþan engelice life lifde.* —*Bl. Hom.* 167. 33. (= ...because he lived an angelic life here on earth.)

(4) *...þæt he efne munuclife gyta swiþor lifde þonne þonne læweddes mannes.* —*Bl. Hom.* 213. 10–11. (= ...that he even lived more the life of a monk than that of a layman.)

In these sentences the cognate object in the instrumental-dative denotes the manner of the person’s living, not the temporal duration of his living as it is denoted by the accusative. We should remark that here are exhibited the two sides of the original nature of the cognate object in later English.

2.5. In the first ten chapters of Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints*<sup>10</sup> we find 23 examples of the adverbial accusative of duration—of which 21 (9 with *gēar*, 6 with *niht*, 4 with *dæg*, 1 with *winter*, and 1 with *mōnaþ*) belong to type A, 1 belongs to type B (with *niht*), and 1 belongs to type C (with *tīd*)—and 17 examples of the prepositional type.

Type A:

(1) *Þa wunode se cnæplingc on cappadoniscre byrig fif gear on lare,* —*ÆLS* III. 8–9 (= Then the stripling dwelt in the Cappadonian city five years while learning.) [Similarly III. 23, VI. 361, X. 10.]

(2) *his cepte sum beddryda se læg seofon gear to-slopenum limum,* —*ÆLS* VI. 254–5. (= He was sought by a bed-ridden man who had lain seven years with relaxed limbs.)

(3) *Twa gear rixode þæs reða Iulianus* —*ÆLS* III. 289. (= This cruel Julian reigned two years.) [Similarly IX. 42, X. 7.]

(4) *...god...se ðe...of heofonum asende his folce big-leofan feowertig geara.* —*ÆLS* VI. 278–80. (= ...God who sent food for his people from Heaven forty years.) [*fēowertig* acc. + *gēara* gen. pl.]

<sup>10</sup> The text is edited by W. W. Skeat, *E.E.T.S.*, No. 76, 1886, chiefly dependent upon MS. Julius E7. It is dated 1025–50; the dialect is late West Saxon.

(5) ...and wacodon þa *preo niht*, —ÆLS III. 339. (=...and then they watched three nights.) [Similarly III. 329, III. 343, VII. 267.]

(6) Heo wunode þa swa *seofon niht* meteleaf, —ÆLS X. 293. (=She thus remained seven nights meatless.)

(7) He wearð þa ge-bysgod on his ge-bedum *seofan niht*, —ÆLS IV. 9. (=Then he was busied in his prayers seven nights.)

(8) hi smeadon *ðry dagas* swiðe smeapancollice ymbe þæt ece lif —ÆLS III. 44–5. (=They meditated three days very searchingly about the eternal life.) [Similarly VIII. 231, X. 78.]

(9) þa bædon hi Petrum þæt he andbidode þær *ane feawa daga* æfter heora fulluhte. —ÆLS X. 170–1. (=Then they prayed Peter to tarry there for a few days after their baptism.) [*āne* acc. pl. + *fēawa daga* gen. pl.]

(10) he wunode mid him *twentig wintra* siððan, and on his agenum mynstre *em feowertig geara*. —ÆLS VI. 359–61. (=He [*i.e.* Maurus] remained with him [*i.e.* Saint Benedict] twenty years thereafter and in his own monastery just forty years.)

(11) ...and þær leornode *twelf monaþ* on halgum bocum be ðæs hælendes fære, —ÆLS III. 33–4. (=...and there he learned twelve months in holy books concerning the Saviour's life.)

Type B:

(12) ...and wacode *ealle þa niht* ofer ðæs wodan lic, —ÆLS VI. 208. (=...and he kept the vigil all night by the madman's corpse.)

Type C:

(13) *Ane tid* ic wene þæt þin sawul wunige on þe, —ÆLS III. 586. (=I think that your soul will remain in you one hour.)

We have our attention drawn to the fact that the use of the prepositional type is overwhelmingly more frequent in ÆLS than in any other OE corpus. The 18 instances of the prepositional type in ÆLS comprise 6 of type A' (2 introduced by *geond*, 2 by *for*, 1 by *tō*, and 1 by *binnan*), 1 of type Ab' (introduced by *binnan*), 3 of type Ac' (introduced by *geond*), 2 of type C' (1 introduced by *tō* and 1 by *binnan*), and 5 of type D' (introduced by *on*). These will be treated in the following section.

2.6. In this section we shall describe the use in Old English of the prepositional type that corresponds to the adverbial accusative of duration. We shall chiefly observe its use in the four OE corpora, with regard to each of the types concerned—types A', Ab', Ac', B', C', and D'—and the individual prepositions used in them, supplementing it, as occasion arises, with quotations from some other OE works. The distribution is tabulated in the following way:

	Type A'	Type Ab'	Type Ac'	Type B'	Type C'	Type D'	Total
<i>tō</i>	1 (ÆLS)				1 (ÆLS)	5 (Beo.)	7
<i>geond</i>	2 (ÆLS)						5
<i>for</i>	4 (WS 2/ÆLS 2)		3 (ÆLS)				4
<i>binnan</i>	1 (ÆLS)	1 (ÆLS)			1 (ÆLS)		3
<i>þurh</i>				1 (Bl. Hom.)			1
<i>on</i>						9 (Beo. 3/Bl. Hom. 1/ÆLS 5)	9

## Type A':

(a) *For*-phrases:

In the corpora, unlike the three other prepositions, *for* is not found anywhere but in type A'. This preposition was to turn out the only one, except *in* (OE *on*) introducing phrases of type D', that could introduce those phrases deservedly equivalent to adverbial accusatives of duration. It must be remarked, nevertheless, that the status of *for* in this use was far from established in Old English. *O.E.D.* (s.v. *FOR prep.* 28a) records the earliest quotation dated as late as c. 1450. Evidently the development was not so much delayed, as will be further clarified in the chapter on Middle English; and yet it is true that the use was in a germinal stage at least in Old English. This delay may be ascribed to the fact that whereas *for*, among some other prepositions in Old English, had the greatest functional potentiality to form the phrase equivalent to the adverbial accusative of duration, the use of genuine adverbial accusatives of duration was so firmly established as to preclude any introduction of substitutes.

In Old English, the primary function of *for* as a temporal preposition governing the dative was to mark length of time *since an event* and so its sense was something like 'before, since, ago.'<sup>11</sup> Thence it came to indicate the duration of an event whose resultant state has continued since it occurred.<sup>12</sup> It may be inferred that the process took place very naturally, since this kind of *for*-phrase was apt to be used in a context where it could be interpreted as referring to the starting point of an activity but at the same time as connoting the resultant state of it. It would be possible to trace, more or less distinctly, the functional transition in the following instances found in the corpora:

(1) gemette ðæt he wæs forþ-faren, and *for feower dagum* bebyrged. —WS, *John* xi. 17. (=He found that he was dead and had been buried for four days.)

(2) he wæs *for feower dagum* dead. —WS, *John* xi. 39. (=He has been dead for four days.) (Cf. *WSH*<sup>13</sup>: he was *feower dagen* dead. [*dagen*, corrupted from *dagum* (dat. pl.).])

(3) þæs þægnes ge-bedda...wæs *for six gearum* for swiðlicre untrummysse hire spræce be-næmed, —*ÆLS* V. 90–2. (=The wife of the officer had been deprived of his speech through a severe illness for six years.)

(4) þa gemette he anne bædrydan binnon þam weallum, Eneas gehaten, *for eahte gearum* lama. —*ÆLS* X. 41–2. (=Then he found a bedridden man within the walls, called *Æneas*, lame for eight years.)

In exx. 1 and 3 the predicate verbs are in the passive and the *for*-phrases, which primarily referred to the time when the action occurred, have come naturally to be related with the period during which the resultant state has continued. In exx. 2 and 4 the *for*-phrases are expressed immediately before the predicative adjectives *dead* and *lama* so that they can be

<sup>11</sup> *A.-S.D.*, Sup., s.v. *FOR A II* [1–2]. Also cf. S. Ichikawa, *A Monograph on the Historical Development of the Functions of "For"* (Tokyo, 1909), pp. 232ff. Here we are to be reminded that *for* originally meant 'before,' etymologically assumed to be reduction of Germanic *\*fora* 'before' (of place and time).

<sup>12</sup> It is interesting to see that exactly the reverse process can be perceived in the functional development of *ago*, which goes back to the past participle of OE *āgān* ('go or pass away'); so, for example, ME *ago fif yer* ('five years (having) passed') leads to ModE *five years ago*.

<sup>13</sup> MS. Hatton 38 (dated the 12th century), one of the MSS. upon which the West Saxon Gospels were edited. For the text we are dependent on *The Gospel according to Saint Luke and according to Saint John*, ed. W. W. Skeat; Cambridge, 1874–8; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970.

more closely related with the notion of statal continuity denoted by these adjectives. About ex. 2, for example, one can see clearly the semantic shift from 'he was already dead four days ago, or has been dead since four days ago' to 'he has been dead for four days.'

Here we may well add three other examples:

(5) He cwæð þæt he...wære gefullod *for hund-seofontig geara*, and to masse-preoste gehalgod *for manegum gearum*. —*ÆCHom.*<sup>14</sup> II. 310. 16–18. (=He said that he had been baptized seventy years ago and hallowed a mass-priest for many years.)

(6) Ic wat ðone mann on Criste, þe wæs gegripen nu *for feowertyne gearum*, and gelæd oð ða þridan heofenan; (L: Scio hominem in Christo, *ante annos quatuordecem*, raptum usque ad tertium usque ad tertium cælum;) —*ÆCHom.* II. 332. 17–19. (=I know a man in Christ, who was snatched fourteen years ago and led to the third heaven.)

(7) hu mæg ic yrnan mid eow þonne ic ne aras of pysum bedde ana nu *for nigon gearum* butan opres mannes fylste? —*ÆLS XXI.* 343–5. (=How can I run with you when I have not arisen from this bed alone, now for nine years, without some man's help?)

In exx. 5 and 6, again, the *for*-phrases are used with the passive predicate verbs. Though *wæs gegripen* ('snatched') in ex. 6 is interpreted as actional, *nu* ('now') appended to the *for*-phrase serves to indicate the association of the past time when the action occurred with the present when the speaker is looking back to the past. The same is true in the case of ex. 7, where the negated preterite verb *ne aras* has been invested with some of the iterative aspect by "*nu+for*-phrase" so that it has been enabled to express the non-experience of the action during the period up to the present. It is worth noting that the notion would be more explicitly conveyed by the present perfect tense of the verb in Modern English.<sup>15</sup>

(b) *Geond*-phrases:

As a preposition governing the accusative, *geond* (>ModE *yond*), together with *purh* (>ModE *through*), introduces the sort of phrase that can exhibit greater affinity, by denoting a motion fully directed to a goal, with a genuine adverbial accusative of duration. The use of *geond* as a temporal preposition, however, was so short-lived as to be limited to the period of late Old English, for it was superseded by the corresponding use of *through* in the periods of Middle and Modern English. As examples of the *geond*-phrase of type A' the following two can be quoted from the *ÆLS* corpus:

(8) *geond twæntig daga* hyre næs getyðod æniges big-leofan binnan ðan þeostrum, —*ÆLS* II. 401–2. (=For twenty days there was not granted her any sort of sustenance amid the darkness.)

(9) betæhte hi anum fulum wife...þæt heo *geond þrittig nihte* hire þeawas leornode, —*ÆLS VIII.* 9–12. (=He delivered her to a foul women...that she might learn her evil ways for thirty nights.)

(c) *Tō*-phrases:

Among the Old English prepositions that govern the dative case *tō* expresses in the greatest degree the temporal relation that should be expressed by the adverbial accusative of duration. It must be noticed, however, that *tō*, as *O.E.D.* (s.v. *TO prep.* II. 6) describes,

<sup>14</sup> *The Sermones Catholici* or *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. B. Thorpe (London: Ælfric Society, 1844–46; N.Y.: Johnson Repr. Corp., 1971). Composed in late WS, c. 1000.

<sup>15</sup> Here we might as well mention the occurrence of the idiom *for life*, which could be compared with the instances of type D', as early as Old English (e.g. *The Creed* 51; *The Seasons for Fasting* 39; *ÆCHom.* I. 332. 15–16), though *O.E.D.* (s.v. *LIFE n.* II. 8b) records it as beginning in 1576.

is primarily used to indicate a final limit of time and then is transferred to express an extent in time. It is on account of this intrinsic implication of a limit in time that the prepositional phrase is often related to the effective or perfective aspect of the verb. Herein lies a remarkable feature of the *tō*-phrase as distinguished from the non-prepositional adverbial accusative. For examples of Type A' we shall add two others to the one found in the *ÆLS* corpus.

(10) He wearð þa ge-bysgod on his ge-bedum þearle on Martines cyrcan...to *ðriddan healfan geara* mid geornfulnyse, —*ÆLS* VI. 298–300. (=He was then very much busied with his prayers in St. Martin's church for two years and a half with all fervour.)

(11) Þa onfeng he eac þone foresprecenan abbud Iohannem ond in Breotone gelædde, þæt he sceolde in his mynstre þone song læran to *twelf monþum*, —*Bede*<sup>16</sup> IV. xviii (314. 17–19). (=Then he also took charge of the aforesaid abbot John and brought him to Britain, to teach the music in his monastery for twelve months.)

(12) hi namon mid him þæt hi hæfdun to *seofon nihtum* mete; —*Park. Chron.*<sup>17</sup> an. 891. (=They took enough food with them that they might have it for seven nights.)

(d) *Binnan*-phrases:

In Old English *binnan* is sometimes used as a preposition governing the dative to indicate a temporal relation. It primarily means 'within, in the course of,' and then contextually means something like 'for the duration of, for.' Although the word, in the form of *bin*, *binne* and in the use as a temporal preposition, is recorded by *O.E.D.*<sup>18</sup> as lasting down to c. 1400, yet we cannot find any relevant instances of it anywhere but in *ÆLS* of all the OE and ME corpora.

(13) ...and cwæð þæt man ne sceolde ænigne bigleofan hire don *binnon seofon nihton*. —*ÆLS* X. 280–1. (=...and he said that no man should give her any sustenance for seven nights.)

Type Ab':

In the OE corpora we find only one instance of type Ab', introduced by *binnan*:

(14) wolde witan æt him hwæt his suna hræddon *binnan þam ðrittigum nihtum* þe he him let fyrste, —*ÆLS* V. 155–6. (=He desired to learn from him what his sons had decided on during the thirty nights that he had allowed them for respite.)

Type Ac':

Only the *ÆLS* corpus contains three examples of type Ac', all introduced by *geond* and having the accusative *fæc* as headword:

(15) ac he wunade swa ðeah on þam wundum cucu *geond þreora daga fæc*, —*ÆLS* II. 306–7. (=Nevertheless he remained alive after the wounds for the space of three days.)

(16) Mid þam wunode an mæden mærllice drohtnigende *geond feowertig geara fæc* fægre gehealdem. —*ÆLS* III. 468–9. (=With him dwelt a virgin of good repute, living virtuously for the space of forty years.) [*gēare*=*gēara* gen. pl.; *fæc*=*fæc* acc. sg.]

<sup>16</sup> *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. T. Miller, E.E.T.S., Nos. 95, 110, 111; 1890, '98. It is based mainly on MS. Tanner 10 and dated the end of the 10th century, the dialect being WS-Mercian. It was translated from Latin possibly by Alfred's initiative.

<sup>17</sup> The Parker MS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The text is edited by C. Plummer and J. Earle, Oxford, 1892. The part as far as *anno* 891 was composed c. 900 by the first scribe in the genuine Alfredan language, i.e. West Saxon dialect.

<sup>18</sup> *O.E.D.*, s.v. BIN, BINNE 2. Also cf. *M.E.D.*, s.v. BINNE 2 (a).



(17) hire arn blod *geond feower geare fæc*, —*ÆLS IX*. 8–9. (= She had a flux of blood for the space of four years.)

Type B':

The one instance of a *purh*-phrase<sup>19</sup> in *Bl. Hom.* is particularly noteworthy in that *purh* is postposed to an accusative nominal group.<sup>20</sup> It appears as if *purh*, whose generic nature is adverbial, were appended to the accusative so as to reinforce that adverbial implication to denote the temporal duration of an action which the accusative possesses in itself. The instance is as follows:

(18) he hwilum *ealle niht purh* wacode on halgum gebedum; —*Bl. Hom.* 227. 6–7. (= He sometimes kept a vigil in holy prayers all night.)

Apart from the phenomenon in the corpora, it is interesting to remark that the Metrical Psalms of the Paris Psalter<sup>21</sup> contain *purh*-phrases (type B') where the corresponding parts in the Vespasian Psalter<sup>22</sup> have adverbial accusatives (type B):

(19a) gemyndig ðu earð edwita ðinra ðeara ða fram ðæm unwise sind *alne deg* / memor esto improperiorum tuorum eorum qui ab insipiente sunt *tota die* —*Vesp. Ps.* 73. 22. (= Be mindful of those reproaches which are cast on you by the foolish man every day.)

(19b) eac wes gemyndig,  
hu þe unwise edwita fela  
*purh ealne dæg* oft aspræcon. —*Paris Ps.* 73. 20.

(= Also remember how the foolish have often cast many reproaches on you every day.)

(20a) ic cleopade to ðe dryhten *alne deg* / clamavi ad te Domine *tota die* —*Vesp. Ps.* 87. 10. (= I have called on you, Lord, all day.)

(20b) ic me to wuldres gode  
*puruh ealne dæg* elne clypig —*Paris Ps.* 87. 9.

(= I always call on glorious God all day long.)

In these instances we see that ablatives in the Latin version were rendered into adverbial accusatives in the Vespasian Psalter and into "*purh* + accusative" in the Paris Psalter.<sup>23</sup> This may be said to prove the synonymy of these two types of adverbials in Old English.

Type C':

First we shall show the instance of a *tō*-phrase in the *ÆLS* corpus:

(21) ... se wæs fram cyld-hade swiðe ge-healdsum, peah þe he to *langum fyrste un-*

<sup>19</sup> As for the OE use of *purh*-phrases as equivalent to adverbial accusatives of duration, some instances in *Bede*, for example, show that it might be ascribed to the influence by the Latin prepositional phrase "*per* + accusative." Cf. J. E. Wülfing, *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, II. II (Bonn: Hanstein, 1901), pp. 493–4.

<sup>20</sup> It seems rather unaccountable that *O.E.D.* (s.v. THROUGH, *prep.* 4b) merely records the post-positive use of *through* by giving a quotation from 1535 as the earliest one, noting "esp. preceded by *all*."

<sup>21</sup> The text is *The Paris Psalter* (Ps. 51–150), ed. G. P. Krapp (*The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, V, Columbia U.P., 1932). It was composed in WS-Kentish, dated c. 970.

<sup>22</sup> The text is taken from *The Oldest English Texts*, ed. H. Sweet (E.E.T.S., No. 83, 1885). It was composed of Latin and interlinear gloss written in Mercian, dated the late 9th century.

<sup>23</sup> In the following instance, however, the same Latin ablative *tota die* is rendered into an Old English adverbial accusative both in *Vesp. Ps.* and in *Paris Ps.*:—in noman ðium gefiað *alne deg* / in nomine tuo exultabunt *tota die*—*Vesp. Ps.* 88. 17. (=In your name they will rejoice all the day.) // on naman þinum neode swylce beoð *ealne dæg* eac on blisse —*Paris Ps.* 88. 14. (=In your name they will also be in great bliss all the day.)

ge-fullod wære. —ÆLS III. 2–3. (=...who from childhood was very continent, although he was unbaptized for a long period.)

As for the Old English use of *tō*-phrases of type C', we should add here the following instances where we can apparently attribute it to the imitation of the Latin prepositional phrase "ad+accusative"<sup>24</sup>:

(22) *to tid [to huil] gelefað / ad tempus credunt* —Li.,<sup>25</sup> *Luke* viii. 13. (=They believe for a while.) (Cf. WS: *hi hwilum gelyfaþ*.)

(23) *Wlnade he in neawiste ðara haligra stowe to tide elðiodgian on eorðan*, —*Bede* V. vii (406. 13–16). (=He desired for a time to be a pilgrim on earth in the neighbourhood of the saints' abode.) (Cf. L<sup>26</sup>: *cupiens in vicinia sanctorum locorum ad tempus peregrinari in terris*.)

(24) *þa hreowe ða he to medmicelre tide mid forgifnisse wæstmæ forælde doan, þa he vitum underðeoded butan wæstmæ in ecnesse doð*. —*Bede* V. xiii (440. 18–20). (=The repentance, which he has delayed to practise for a short time with fruits of forgiveness, he now carries out in eternity, subject to punishment, without fruit.) (Cf. L: *poenitentiam quam ad breve tempus cum fructu veniæ facere supersedit, in æternum sine fructu poenis subditus facit*.)

(25) *Swa þonne þis monna lif to medmiclum fæce ætyweð*; —*Bede* II. xiii (136. 5). (=So then this life of man appears for just a little while.) (Cf. L: *Ita hæc vita hominum ad modicum apparet*.)

*Tō tide* and *tō hwile*, as in exx. 22 and 23, are regarded as having become idiomatic in Old English, though *O.E.D.* only records the latter (s.v. WHILE *n.* 2c), noting also the connective use of this obsolete idiom.

The ÆLS corpus contains another instance of type C', a *binnan*-phrase:

(26) *hi ða begen bædon binnon þam fyrste god*, —ÆLS V. 208. (=Then they both prayed to God during that time.)

Type D':

The OE corpora contain 14 instances of type D', 9 introduced by *on* and 5 by *tō*. First concerning the *on*-phrases, we must comment on this use of the OE preposition *on*. The function of OE *on*, governing the dative, often corresponds to that of *in* in later English. It sometimes denotes a temporal relation, and its sense is apt to be transferred from 'in the course of, within the space of'<sup>27</sup> to 'for the duration of.'<sup>28</sup> This semantic transition of *on* is as it were realized in the idiomatic combination with 'one's life' as its regimen.

(27) *he wæs swiðe gepyldig, ond eaðmod, ond gemetfæst on eallum his life*. —*Bl. Hom.*

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Wülfing, *op. cit.*, pp. 556–7.

<sup>25</sup> The Lindisfarne Gospels, which are composed of Latin and interlinear gloss in North Northumbrian, dated c. 950. The text has been taken from Skeat, ed.: *op. cit.*

<sup>26</sup> The Latin text of *Beadae Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* has been taken from *Baadae Opera Historica*, edited with an English translation by J. E. King, 1930, in *The Loeb Classical Library*.

<sup>27</sup> E.g.: *ðu cwæde þæt þu hit ne mihte on ðrim dagum hidir gefaran*, —*Bl. Hom.*, 235. 35–6. (=You said that you could not journey to this place in three days.)

<sup>28</sup> The following instance might have been included in type B': *Heo...cwæð þæt heo wære wydewe on þam gear*. — ÆLS II. 152–4. (=She said that she had been a widow that year.) Here, however, "...on þam gear" should be compared with "...þæt gear."

213. 7-8.<sup>29</sup> (= He was very patient, humble, and modest in all his life.)

(28) Ðas martyras næron næfre *on life* purh wif besmytene, —*ÆLS* II. 380-1.<sup>30</sup> (= These martyrs were never defiled with women throughout their lives.) [Similarly V. 400.]

(29) Ne gymde Ic nanes læce-cræftas næfre *on minum life*, —*ÆLS* VIII. 135. (= I never cared for any leechcraft in my life.) [Similarly III. 203, IV. 70.]

(30) ne wæs his drohtoð þær  
swylce he *on ealderdagum* ær gemette. —*Beo.* 756-7.

(= His plight was unlike anything he had met with there in his lifetime before.)

(31) Heold hine fæste  
se þe manna wæs mænege strengest  
*on þam dæge þysse lifes.* —*Beo.* 788-90.

(= He who was strongest of men in might in this life's day held him fast.) [Similarly I. 197.]

With the negative constructions seen in exx. 28, 29, and 30 we can perceive a kind of semantic affinity that the *on*-phrases of type D' have. We even feel that *næfre on (minum) life* has almost turned into an idiomatic combination, which leads to *never in my life* in later English. As for the superlative construction in ex. 31, we must recognize its inner association with the negative construction, since it implies that there cannot be anything that exceeds the degree indicated by the superlative.

Next, the instances of *tō*-phrases of type D', all quoted from *Beowulf*, are:

(32) næs ic him *to life* laðra owihte,  
beorn in burgum, þonne his bearna hwylc, —*Beo.* 2432-3.

(= Never through life was I a whit less liked by him as a warrior within the stronghold than were any of his sons.)

(33) Ðæt wæs ungeara þæt ic ænigra me  
weana ne wende *to wīdan feore*  
bote gebidan, —*Beo.* 932-4.

(= It was recently that I despaired of ever seeing a remedy for any of my troubles.) [*feore*, dat. of *feorh* (m., n.) 'life'.]

(34) Þu þe self hafast  
dædum gefremed þæt þin dom lyfað  
awa *to aldre.* —*Beo.* 953-5.

(= You have brought to pass for yourself by your exploits that your fame shall live for ever and ever.) [*aldre*, dat. of *ealdor* (n.) 'life'; *āwa* (adv.) 'always' intensifying *tō aldre*.] [Similarly ll. 2005, 2498.]

Again it must be remarked that *tō life* and *tō wīdan feore* in exx. 32 and 33 are used in negative constructions. With *tō wīdan feore* in ex. 33, also, should be compared *wīdan feorh* (type D) in ex. 23, § 2.2.

<sup>29</sup> We should observe a close structural affinity between this instance and the following: ænig...þe æfre God *on eallum his life* lufode... —*Bl. Hom.* 169. 2-3. (= anyone who always loved God all his life). Cf. § 2.4, particularly ex. 1 there.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. the following "*on life*," which means 'alive,' expressing the state specified by the noun, not the temporal relation: he abad *on life* mid his leofan gebroðrum tihende hi geornlice to ðam to-werdan gecampe. —*ÆLS* IV. 102-3. (= He continued in life with his dear brethren, eagerly persuading them to the future conflict.)

### III Middle English

3.1. In Middle English, especially in the later stage, the inflectional system of the language has decayed so much that accusatives can hardly ever be distinguished from datives from a morphological point of view. In examining Middle English texts, therefore, we often find it difficult to make a morphological identification of adverbial accusatives of duration as distinct from datives in the similar function. On historical principles, however, we should like to place greater emphasis on functional consideration and venture to observe the inheritance in Middle English of the Old English adverbial accusative of duration that we have described in the previous chapter. It is needless to say that the morphological trace, which has been considerably preserved in early Middle English texts, such as *Layamon*, will afford us forceful confirmation.

For the investigation of the phenomena in Middle English we shall chiefly depend on the examination of the following four corpora: (1) *Layamon's Brut*, vv. 1–10229 (abbr. *Lay.*), (2) the Wycliffite Gospels (abbr. *Wyc.*), (3) Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, Group A (abbr. *Ch.*), and (4) Malory's *Works*, pp. 545–648 in Vinaver's edition, 1967 (abbr. *Mal.*).

In *Lay.*<sup>31</sup> we find 103 examples of the adverbial accusative of duration and 18 of the corresponding prepositional type. The 103 adverbial accusatives of duration comprise 64 examples of type A (29 with *zer* (<OE *gēar*), 14 with *winter*, 5 with *niht*, 5 with *dæi* and *niht* or *niht and dæi* (<OE *dæg*), 3 with *wike* (<OE *wicu* f. 'week'), 3 with *dæi and zer* or *zer and dæi*, 2 with *dæi*, 1 with *monþ*, 1 with *zer and niht*, and 1 with *wike and dæi*), 3 examples of type Ab (2 with *zer* and 1 with *niht*), 14 examples of type B (6 of *aldai* or *al(le) dæi*, 3 of *al niht* or *alle nihte*, 2 of *(al) þene dæi longe*, 1 of *alle þa nihte*, 1 of *al þat winter*, and 1 of *alcne zere*), and 22 examples of type C (17 with *while*, 4 with *stunde*, and 1 with *prowe* (<OE *þrāg*)).

#### Type A:

- (1) *Ten zer* heo wes mid Loctrine; —*Lay.* 2514. (=She was with Loctrine ten years.) (O.MS.: *Ten zer* 3eo was mide Loctrin;) [Similarly vv. 2402, 2580, 3719, 3914, 3923, etc.]
- (2) *Ful soue zere* mid þon kinge he wunede þere. —*Lay.* 3966–7. (=He dwelt there with the king full seven years.) [Similarly vv. 109, 252, 2774, 3728, 5987, etc.]
- (3) swa he leoueden here *wel feole zere*. —*Lay.* 6937–8. (=So he lived here well many years.) [Similarly vv. 3654, 9635, 10229.]
- (4) *Feour winter* he heuede þat wif, —*Lay.* 194. (=He had the lady four winters.) [Similarly vv. 2140, 2534, 2682, 2765, 2898, 2907.]
- (5) *four and pritti winter* he heold þat lond and þa leoden mid blissen. —*Lay.* 240–2. (=He held the land and the people with bliss thirty-four years.) (O.MS.: ...held þat lond and þat folke wid blisse.) [Similarly vv. 2046, 2092, 2804, 3872, 9028.]
- (6) swa heo hit walden *wel feole wintre*. —*Lay.* 7901–2. (=...so they governed it well many years.) (O.MS.: þare ine wonede *wel fale wintres*. [=...dwelt therein...])
- (7) *fulle pre nihtes* heo hærabarewude hine and is cnihtes. —*Lay.* 3444–5. (=She

<sup>31</sup> The text is Vol. I of *Layamon's Brut*, ed. F. Madden (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1847; AMS repr. 1970). The quotations have been taken from A-text (MS. Cott. Calig. A. IX, composed in the Southwestern Midland dialect, dated 1200–25), along with, whenever adducible, the collateral B-text (MS. Cott. Otho. C. XIII, in the Southwestern dialect, dated 1250–75).

lodged him and his knights fully three nights.) (O.MS.: *folle 3ree niptes* 3eo herbor3ede him and his cniptes.) [Similarly vv. 1632, 2410, 4434.]

(8) Nes he þer buten *enne niht*, þe wind wende forð riht framward þan stronde in to pissen londe. —*Lay.* 9406–9. (= He was there but one night, when the wind turned directly from off the strand into this land.) (O.MS.: Nas þare bote *one niht*, þe winde tornde forþ riht framward þare strode in to pisse londe.)

(9) *Feouwer daies fulle* forð ward heo wenden. —*Lay.* 5369–70. (= They went forward full four days.) (O.MS.: *Four dai3es* fulle hii forðwardes wende.)

(10) *þre dæ3es* hit rinde blod: *þreo dæies and þreo niht*; —*Lay.* 3895–6. (= Three days it rained blood—three days and three nights.) (O.MS.: *þreo dai3es* hit reinede blod: *þreo dai3es and þreo nipt*);

(11) *Seoue niht and enne dæi* Brutus i þare hauene læi; —*Lay.* 1402–3. (= Brutus lay in the haven seven nights and one day.) [Similarly vv. 1113, 1275, 8724.]

(12) Suðden com Lago, þa *æhte wike* liuede. —*Lay.* 3918–9. (= Then came Lago, who lived eight weeks.) (O.MS.: Seoppe com Lago, þat *ehte wike* lifuede.) [Similarly vv. 3921, 9541.]

(13) *moni 3er and moni dæi* þe king in þære ture læi. —*Lay.* 6817–8. (= The king lay in the tower many years and many days.) (O.MS.: *mani 3er and mani dai* þe king in þane tur lay.) [Similarly vv. 217, 2516.]

(14) *rædden pissen* þeoden *half 3er and seouen niht*, —*Lay.* 7038–9. (= He governed this kingdom half a year and seven nights.)

(15) Swa þe king seoc læi *þreo wiken and enne dæi*; —*Lay.* 6781–2. (= So the king lay sick three weeks and one day.) (O.MS.: So þe king seac lay *þreo wike and on dai*.)

(16) *þreottene monðes* wunede Julius in Oðeres. —*Lay.* 7771–2. (= Julius remained in Othres thirteen months.)

In “Nes...buten *enne niht*” in ex. 8 *enne niht*, though indirectly related to the verb *wes* (‘was’), which is expressed as *nes* with the negative particle *ne* proclitically fused with it, remains an adverbial accusative of duration, since (*ne...*) *buten* functions conjunctionally, not as a preposition governing “*enne niht*” as its regimen. We also see instances of the same construction, e.g.: *ne leouede...neuer...buten seouen 3ere* —*Lay.* 8982–3 (= lived but seven years). Also cf. ex. 27 under type C below.

Type Ab:

(17) swa *al þet halue 3er* mid al his hirede he wes 3er. —*Lay.* 3377–8. (= So he was there with all his retinue all the half year.) (O.MS.: so þat *al þat alue 3er* mid alle his cnihtes he wonede þer.)

(18) swa heo heolden al þis lond *ale þe twa 3ere* on heore heond. —*Lay.* 3788. (= So they held all this land all the two years in their hand.) (O.MS.: so hii heolde þat long *folle two 3ere* in hire hond. [= ...fully two years...; Type A])

(19) *al þa seouen nihte* his iwil þar hefde ælc cniht. —*Lay.* 5934–5. (= All the seven nights each knight had his will there.) (O.MS.: alle þe seoueniht his wille hadde ech cniht.)

Type B:

(20) *Alle dæi* wes þat fehti a þet com þe þestere niht. —*Lay.* 7562–3. (= The fight lasted all day until the dark night came.) (O.MS.: *Alle dai* was þat fiht forte hit were dorcke nipt.) [Similarly vv. 8736, 8742, 9801; v. 7941 (*al dæi*); v. 1678 (*ældai*).]

(21) þe king and alle his cnihtes wakeden *alle nihte*. —*Lay.* 9858–9. (= The king and

all his knights waked all night.) (O.MS.: *identical.*) [Similarly vv. 5776, 9860 (*al niht*).]

(22) *þeo fihten wið þone duke al þene dæi longe.* —*Lay.* 6403–4. (=They fought with the duke all the day long.) (O.MS.: *þane duck hii fohten wiþ,*) [Similarly v. 5668 (*þene dæi longe*).]

(23) *alle þa nihte greiðeden his cnihtes heore scæftes and heore sceldes;* —*Lay.* 7977–9. (=All the nights his knights made ready their shafts and shields.) (O.MS.: *þilke nihtes [gen.] a-redi* ['ready'] were his cnihtes.)

(24) *Vaspasiæn and his iuerens al þat winter wuneden here.* —*Lay.* 9886–7. (=Vespasian and his companions dwelt here all the winter.) (O.MS.: *Vaspasian and hiis i-veres al þat winter wonede ere.*)

(25) *and mid þan feo sculden faren æuer alcne zere to Oðres þeon ture.* —*Lay.* 7790–2. (=...and with the money they should go every year to the tower of Others.)

In each of all these instances belonging to type Ab and type B the adverbial in question contains the determinative *al* ('all') (or *alc*), often followed by the demonstrative, such as *þat*, *þene*, *þa*, *þe*, so that the notion of "wholeness" of a particular period has been distinctly emphasized. This indicates that the adverbial accusative has as its essential factor in meaning the notion of *whole* length of the period throughout which an activity or state continues. Especially in ex. 22, the accusative noun *dæi* is doubly defined by preposed *al þene* and postposed *longe*. This use of adverb *long* subjoined to the accusative noun designating a period of time begins in *Layamon*, as it is shown in this quotation.<sup>32</sup>

Here it is worth noting that in ex. 25 the adverbial accusative *alcne zere* is emphasized by *æuer* ('ever'), so that the iterative force which would otherwise have been produced can be intensified and brought nearer to the durative—the aspectual force that the accusative will naturally display. The usual way of expressing the sense 'each year,' which is properly associated with the iterative aspect, is by the dative, as we actually see in *Layamon* about the following quotations:— *and alche zere him sende þreo þusend punden.* —*Lay.* 8956–7. (=...and he should send him three thousand pounds each year.) / *hu þu mine fader swore to lasten alche zere...gauel in to Rome* —*Lay.* 9847–50. (=...how you swore to my father to observe tribute into Rome each year.)

Type C:

(26) *Rummarus wes ane while king,* —*Lay.* 6353. (=Rummarus was king a while.) (O.MS.: *Rumarus wes erest* ['first'] king,) [Similarly v. 343.]

(27) *ah Lador ne luuede buten ane lutle wile.* —*Lay.* 6859–60. (=But Lador lived but a little while.) (O.MS.: *and Lador ne lefde bote lutel wile.*) [Similarly v. 5818.]

(28) *Ah ful lutle wile liuede þas ilke.* —*Lay.* 6949–50. (=But these same lived a very little while.) (O.MS.: *Ac fol lutele wile lifuede þeos ilke.*) [Similarly v. 7042.]

(29) *Claudien hæuede isend to Rome; þa while iwende Claudius and the king Aruiragus into Orcaneize,* —*Lay.* 9553–6. (=Claudien had sent to Rome; Claudius and King Arviragus went into Orcany the while.) (O.MS.: *þe ferdes wende om and þe wile wende Claudius...in to Organeye,* [=The armies went home...]) [Similarly vv. 4190, 4390.]

(30) *swa he hit ilæste þe while þe he luuede,* —*Lay.* 9880–1. (=So he observed it [*i.e.* the compact] while he lived.) (O.MS.: *so it ilaste* ['lasted'] *wil þat he luuede.*)

(31) *oðer wile he heold grið, and oðer while me fæht him wið.* —*Lay.* 7061–2. (=

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *O.E.D.*, s.v. *LONG adv.* 6; *M.E.D.*, s.v. *LONGE adv.* 3.

One while he held peace and another while he was fought against.) (O.MS.: *o per wile he heold grip o per wile me faht him wiþ.*) [Similarly v. 9297.]

(32) þus *ane stonde* hit stod æ ðon ilka. —*Lay.* 3117–8. (=Thus it stood a while in the same way.) (O.MS.: þus *one stunde* hit stod a þan ilke.) [Similarly vv. 3716, 6951.]

(33) þer ich wulle wunie and polie þeos wænen *ane lutele stunde*; —*Lay.* 3438–40. (= I will dwell there and endure this harm a little while.)

(34) He tah hine aȝein *ane þrowe*, —*Lay.* 640. (=He drew himself back a while.) (O.MS.: He ternde [‘turned’] him aȝein.)

As for the instances containing *while*, we have principally taken out of account the conjunctive combination *þa* [*þe*] *while* (*þe*) (‘while’), as in: *þe wile þe ~* (O.MS.: *wile ~*) (v. 227), *þe whilen ~* (O.MS.: *þe wile ~*) (v. 2222), *þa while þe ~* (O.MS.: *þe wile þat ~*) (v. 2421), etc.<sup>33</sup>; but observing the original quality of this syntactic unit, we have specially counted those instances of it where it is comparatively apparent that the accusative *þe while* specifies the notion of the verb in the principal clause with its own durative force. One of those instances is the one given above as ex. 30; the others are:— He heold þis lond stille ...*þe while* his tir (‘authority’) læste. —*Lay.* 6539–42. (O.MS.: ...*þe wile* hit ilaste.) / he lædde his lif *þe while þe* hit ilæste. —*Lay.* 7015–6. (O.MS.: he ladde his lif *wil þat* he lifuede.) / heo þer boȝeden (‘abode’) *þe wile þe* heo luueden. —*Lay.* 7903–4. / *þa while þe* he luuede his lond he huld a (‘in’) blisse. —*Lay.* 10088–9.

In ex. 31 “*oðer wile...oðer while*” might be interpreted as adverbial datives, when such instances are compared as:— *Whil* heo weoren and laðliche iburste, *whil* heo weoren ræde and hehliche wenden. —*Lay.* 1888–91. (=Sometimes they were black and loathly swollen, and sometimes they were red and highly enraged.); yet in view of their implying the notion of duration we have here counted them as instances of type C.

Although we cannot find any instance of type D in the *Lay.* corpus, we should mention the following instances of cognate accusatives as intrinsically related to the expressions belonging to this type, as we have observed in § 2.4 concerning the OE use that can be found in the *Blicking Homilies*:

(35) ne leuede he noht *half his lif*, þat him ne com his dæd-sih. —*Lay.* 6347–8. (=He had not lived half of his life before his death-time came to him.) (O.MS.: ne liuede he noht *half his lif*, þat he ne madeð his deap-siþ.)

(36) swa vuele he luuede *his lif* þat þe scucce hine i-fenge. —*Lay.* 6837–8. (=He lived his life so evilly that the devil seized him.) [Similarly v. 5959.]

With these should be compared those instances above which have *libben* (‘live’) as predicate verb—exx. 3 and 12 under type A, and exx. 27 and 28 under type C.

3.2. As examples of the prepositional type we find in the *Lay.* corpus 3 of type B’ (composed of *on* [*o*, *a*] and *dæi* or *niht*) and 15 of type D’ (5 of the type “*to his liue*,” 5 of the type “*on (his) liue*,” 3 of the type “*bi his liue*,” and 2 of the type “*bi his daȝen* (dat. pl. < OE *dagum*; ‘days, lifetime’)”). Out of the prepositions introducing these phrases, *on* [*o*, *a*] and *to* should be compared with OE *on* and *tō*, as they were treated in § 2.6. As for *bi* (> ModE *by*) in the five *bi*-phrases, its sense ‘for the duration of, for (a certain time)’ did not appear till about 1300, but in combination with ‘one’s life,’ that is in type D’, it began to

<sup>33</sup> The following instance is conspicuous in that the single *while*, as in ModE, functions as a subordinate conjunction:—cnihtes ȝit beoð boðe kene, *while* ich wes quene. —*Lay.* 5099–5100. (=You were both brave knights while I was queen’)

be used earlier, about 1200.<sup>34</sup>

Type B':

(1) *æfter þan ađelene lazen þat stoden oþen ilke dæzen, nome heo him aræhten; —Lay. 9618–20.* (=According to the noble laws that stood in those days they bestowed a name on him.) [*oþen*=*o* (=on) *þen*.] (O.M.S.: after þan apelene lawe þat stode *bi pilke dawe*, name hii him a-rehte;) [Similarly v. 8047 (*oðen ilke dazen* | O.M.S.: in *þan ilke dawe*).]

(2) and al makeden heore faren, also ha wolden *a þare niht* faren. —*Lay. 5700–1.* (=...and they made all their proceeding as if they would march in the night.)

Here the preposition *on* [*o*, *a*] is used in the sense of 'in,' just as OE *on* was. Comparing the two versions of ex. 1, we see that there was a certain vacillation in the use of prepositions to introduce the kind of phrase in question. Anyway, it can be remarked that these prepositional phrases, though each of them designates a period of time during which something occurs or remains, are essentially different from the corresponding adverbial accusatives of duration in that they fail to express an entire association with the continuity of an event or notion.

Type D':

(3) ah he luuede his quene æuere *bi his liue*. —*Lay. 6983–4.* (=But he loved his queen ever in his life.) (O.M.S.: ac he loue his cwene efre *bi his lifue*.) [Similarly vv. 5997, 9178.]<sup>35</sup>

(4) alle lazen gode *bi his dazen* stode. —*Lay. 4276–7.* (=All good laws stood in his days.)

(5) and habben þa ilke læzen þe stoden *bi heore ældre dæwen*. —*Lay. 5960–1.* (=...and let them have the same laws that stood in the lifetime of their elders.) (O.M.S.: and habben þe ilke lawes þat stode *bi hire eldrene dawes*.)

(6) þer Brutus bi-com, and *to his liue* he wunede þer an. —*Lay. 7274–5.* (=Brutus arrived there and he dwelt there in his life.) (O.M.S.: þar on Brutus bicom, and *al his lif* he wonede þar on.) [Similarly vv. 8074 (*auere to ure liue*), 10077 (*a to his liue*).]

(7) bi-þenc þe of þan fore, hu þu mine fader swore to lasten alche ȝere al *to þene liue*, gael in to Rome of þine kine-dome. —*Lay. 9846–51.* (=Think of the compact, how you swore to my father to observe tribute to Rome from your kingdom each year in all your life.) (O.M.S.: bi-þenche of þe fore, ou þou to mi fader swore to senden eche ȝere *bi al þine lifue* feo ['money'] into Rome of þine kinedome.)

(8) Brutlond wes bliðe a *to þeos kinges liue*. —*Lay. 9892–3.* (=Britain was blithe in all this king's life.) (O.M.S.: Brutlonde was blipe *in pisse kinges lifue*.)

(9) *on his liue* he wes swa riche; alle þon oðere vnliche. —*Lay. 7045–6.* (=In his life he was so powerful that he was unlike all the others.) (O.M.S.: *in his lifue* he was so riche; alle oþer oniliche.) [Similarly v. 2906 (*an his liue*).]

(10) þa wes þa king swa bliðe swa he nas nauer ære *on his liue*. —*Lay. 8357–8.* (=

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *M.E.D.*, s.v. *bi prep.* 4(b)(c). For the development of this use in ME *bi* the OE idiom "be him lifgendum" ('while he was alive, in his lifetime') may be to a certain extent responsible.

<sup>35</sup> With this should be compared the following instance, where the prepositional phrase, though of a formally similar composition, is used as an intensifier for asseveration (cf. *M.E.D.*, s.v. *LIF n.* 1c(b)):  
—Ah for nauer nare teonen nulle we þe trukien neuer ane siðen *bi ure quike liuen*. —*Lay. 4362–5.* (=But never for any injury will we fail you, never one time, by our quick lives.) (O.M.S.: Ac for neuere none teone nole we þe bileue ['desert'] neuere on siþe *bi houre cwike liue*.)



Then the king was as blithe as he was never before in his life.)

(11) *þe næuer eær on liue ne dursten hider liðen, axien king of pissen londe, þat he zelue ʒeld in to Rome.* —*Lay.* 7191–4. (= ..., who dared never before in life come and ask the king of this land to give tribute to Rome.) (O.M.S.: *þe neuere her on lifue ne dorste hii hider lipe, ne axi king of þisse londe, ʒield in to Rome.*) [Similarly v. 9575.]

These examples show that the greater part of the prepositional phrases are preceded by intensive adverbs, such as *æuere* ('ever'), *al* ('all'), *a* ('ever'), *næuer* ('never'), as we see in exx. 3, 7, 8, 10, and 11, so that the wholeness of the lifetime may be denoted the more explicitly. The difference in the use of prepositions in the two texts are also to be observed, as in exx. 7, 8, and 9. In the case of ex. 9 we can see the very natural transition from *on* in the early version to *in* in the late version. What seems more noteworthy is that in ex. 6 the prepositional phrase *to his liue* corresponds to the non-prepositional adverbial accusative *al his lif* (type D) in the later text. The negative construction in exx. 10 and 11, which should be compared with the OE instances of type D'—exx. 28, 29, and 30 under § 2.6, exhibits an idiomatic feature that has been traditionally inherited by the structure containing an adverbial, particularly of type D or D'.<sup>36</sup>

3.3. As a fourteenth-century text we shall adopt the Wycliffite Gospels,<sup>37</sup> with a particular view of making a contrastive examination of the phenomenon of it with that of the West Saxon Gospels, which was dealt with in § 2.1.

We have a point to mention here. It is a well-known fact that the English of the Wycliffite Bible was to a conspicuous extent influenced by the Latin of the *Vulgata*. They made such a scrupulous attempt to copy out the Latin original in English that the resultant translation may be said to be too literal or rather Latinish in many places, though we must admit that it was no less symbolic of a characteristic stage in the history of the English language. This Latin influence can be more or less perceived about the expressions in question. So we shall add the Latin sentences of the *Vulgata* that correspond to the quotations from *Wyc.* given below in this and the following sections, except where they were already quoted along with the examples under § 2.1.

In comparison with the case in *WS*, there is in *Wyc.* a very slight alteration in the use of the adverbial accusative of duration and the corresponding prepositional type. Here we find 29 examples of the adverbial accusative of duration—20 of type A, 1 of type B, and 8 of type C—and 4 examples of the prepositional type—1 of type A', 2 of type C', and 1 of type D'. The only feature is that there is a slight increase in the ratio of prepositional phrases against adverbial accusatives in *Wyc.* (29: 4), as compared with that in *WS* (32: 2). Below we shall show some of the examples, clarifying where the alteration exists in comparing the corresponding passages in the OE and ME versions.

Type A:

Just as in *WS*, we see examples of type A in *Wyc.*:

(1) *so manye ʒeeris* I serue to thee, —*Wyc.*, *Luke* xv. 29 (cf. ex. 1, § 2.1).

<sup>36</sup> In the *Lay.* corpus there is an instance of *for liue*, which appears to be an instance of the use mentioned as ft. 15 (§ 2.6), but actually, belonging to a different category, is an element of an emphatic idiom for asseveration (cf. *M.E.D.*, s.v. *LIF* n. 1c(b)):*—Nulle we þe bilæuen, for liue ne for dæðen.* —*Lay.* 9448–9. (= We will not desert you, for life nor for death (i.e. whatever the cost).)

<sup>37</sup> The text is that in Bosworth and Waring, eds.: *op. cit.* There the editors depended on the Later Version of the Wycliffite Bible. The dialect is Oxford and the composition is dated 1389.

- (2) he dwelte there *twey dayes*. —Wyc., *John* iv. 40 (cf. ex. 2, § 2.1).  
 (3) as Jonas was in the womb of a whall *three days and three niztes*, so mannus some shal be in the herte of the erthe *three days and three niztis*. —Wyc., *Matt.* xii. 40 (cf. ex. 4, § 2.1).  
 (4) Marye dwellide with hir *as three monethis*, —Wyc., *Luke* i. 56 [*as* ‘about.’] (cf. ex. 5, § 2.1).  
 (5) These laste diden worche *oon our*, —Wyc., *Matt.* xx. 12 (cf. ex. 6, § 2.1).  
 (6) a womman that was in the flux of blood *twelue zere*, —Wyc., *Mark* v. 25 (cf. ex. 7, § 2.1).

## Type B:

Corresponding to the one instance—*John* xi. 51—that contains an adverbial accusative of type B in *WS* (cf. ex. 8, § 2.1), we have in *Wyc.* an irrelevant construction:—whanne he was bischop *of that zeer*,—where the *of*-phrase, which functions as attributive to the preceding noun *bischop*, corresponds to the postponed genitive in the Greek and Latin versions. On the contrary, there is one instance containing an adverbial accusative in *Wyc.* that corresponds to the one containing no temporal adverbial in *WS*:

- (7) he was *al nyzt* dwellinge in the preier of God. —Wyc., *Luke* vi. 12 (cf. L: *erat pernoctans* [‘passing the night’] in *oratione Dei* / *WS*: *wæs ðar wacigende* [‘keeping watch’] on Godes gebede.)<sup>38</sup>

## Type C:

The following can be quoted from *Wyc.* just as from *WS*:

- (8) *3it a litel tyme* I am with *3ou*, —Wyc., *John* vii. 23 (cf. ex. 9, § 2.1).  
 (9) *3it a litil* I am with *3ou*; —Wyc., *John* xiii. 33 (cf. ex. 11, § 2.1).  
 (10) *So moche tyme* I am with *3ou*,...? —Wyc., *John* xiv. 9 (cf. ex. 12, § 2.1).

*A litil* (> ModE *a little*), as in ex. 9, in which the adjective *little* is used nominally, is to be interpreted as neuter accusative, though the use is recorded by *O.E.D.* (s.v. LITTLE II. 5b) as beginning c. 1175 (cf. also *M.E.D.*, s.v. LITEL *n.* 1b (b)), and in the quotation the phrase concerned shows no morphological distinction as neuter accusative.<sup>39</sup>

One instance (*John* v. 6) containing an irrelevant construction in *Wyc.*:—Whanne Jhesus...hadde knowe, for now he hadde *moche tyme*—corresponds to the one containing an adverbial accusative in *WS* (cf. ex. 10, § 2.1). On the contrary, there is one instance containing an adverbial accusative in *Wyc.* that corresponds to the one containing an irrelevant construction in *WS*:

- (11) *sum tym* thei sittinge in heer and aische, schulden haue don penance. —Wyc., *Luke* x. 13 (=Sitting in sackcloth and ashes some time, they would have done penance.) (Cf. L: *olim* [adv.; ‘long ago, for a long time’] in *cilicio et cinere sendentes paeniterent* / *WS*: *gefyrn* [adv.; ‘long, for a long time’] *hig on hæren and on axan, hreowsunge dydon*.)

3.4. The *Wyc.* corpus contains 1 example of type A' (an *in*-phrase), 2 examples of type

<sup>38</sup> For this instance the corresponding Greek sentence is of the same construction as the Latin or the *WS* is:—*ἦν διανυκτερεύων* [‘spending the whole night’] *ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ*—whereas the corresponding Gothic contains an adverbial accusative of type C, as does the *Wyc.*:—*wæs naht* [acc. sg. < *nahts* (f.) ‘night’] *pairhwakands in bidai Gups*.

<sup>39</sup> For this may be compared older German *lützel*; cf. R. Priebsch and W. E. Collinson, *The German Language* (London: Faber, 1948), p. 320. In ModE *a little* in the temporal sense is mainly used in the combination “*a little* before [after, past]....”

C' (1 introduced by *at* and 1 by *by*), and 1 example of type D' (an *in*-phrase).

Type A':

(1) she hadde gon forth *in many dayes*, and hadde lyued with hir hosebonde *seuen zeer* fro hir maydenhed. —Wyc., *Luke* ii. 36 (cf. ex. 3, § 2.1).

Here we can see that *Wyc.* "hadde gon forth *in many dayes*" is the very literal translation of L "processerat *in diebus multis*," whereas *WS* has "wunode *mænigne dæg*," where the verb along with the temporal adverbial, *i.e.* adverbial accusative, is expressed so much better that they can denote the more appropriately the duration of the process throughout the period that has been meant in this context.

Type C':

(2) ȝe woldon glade *at oon our* in his list. —Wyc., *John* v. 35. (= You would rejoice in his light for a while.) (Cf. L: vos...voluistis exultare *ad horam* [*ad* 'to, at' + *hōram*, acc. sg. of *hōra* f. 'hour, season'] in luce eius / *WS*: ge woldon *sume hwile* [acc. sg. f.] geblissian on his lehte.)

(3) And he wolde not *by myche tyme*. —Wyc., *Luke* xviii. 4. (= And he did not want it for a long time.) (Cf. L: et nolobat *per multum tempus* [*per*+acc. sg. n.] / *WS*: Ða nolde he *langre tide* [dat. sg. f.]

It is specially apparent that the use of *at* in *Wyc.*, as in ex. 2, is ascribable to that of Latin *ad*. The use of *by*, as in ex. 3, can also be considered due to the influence by that of Latin *per*. It should be remarked that the *by*-phrase displays in itself that semantic value which can be more likened to the value of the genuine adverbial accusative of duration, though it must, at the same time, be noticed that the *by*-phrase here (as well as in the adverbial dative in *WS*) is used in a negative construction.

Type D':

(4) That we...serue to him, In hoolynesse and riȝtfulnesse bifore him *in alle oure days*. —Wyc., *Luke* i. 74–5. (=...that we might serve him in holiness and righteousness before him in all our days.) (Cf. L: ut...serviamus illi in sanctitate et institia coram ipso *omnibus diebus nostris* [abl. pl. m.] / *WS*: Ðæt we...him þeowian, On halignesne beforan him *eallum urum dagum* [dat. pl. m.]

This use of *in*-phrase could be compared with the use of the OE *on*-phrase, such as we quoted from *Beo.*, *Bl. Hom.*, and *ÆLS* in the previous chapter. It is very significant, at the same time, to see that the *in*-phrase in *Wyc.*, as well as the adverbial dative in *WS*, is to be superseded by the adverbial accusative in the later versions of the English Bible, as it will be described in the chapter of Modern English.

As for the expressions corresponding to the two *for*-phrases of type A' in *WS* (cf. exx. 1 and 2, § 2.6), we find in *Wyc.* irrelevant constructions, upon which the Latin expressions are evidently reflected:—fond him, hauynge now *four dayes* in the graue. —Wyc., *John* xi. 17 (cf. L: invenit eum *quattuor dies* iam in monumento habentam ['having, having passed']<sup>40</sup> / cf. ex. 1, § 2.6) / he is *of foure dayes*. —Wyc., *John* xi. 39 (cf. L: *quadriduanus* [adj.; 'of four days'] ...est / cf. ex. 2, § 2.6).

3.5. As for the usage of Chaucer, the virtual representative of fourteenth-century English, we shall first describe it chiefly according to the selection of his works, Group A of

<sup>40</sup> This is in its turn to be compared with the Greek version:—*ἔδρεν αὐτὸν τέσσαρας ἡμέρας* [acc. pl. f.; 'four days'] *ἔχοντα* [acc. sg. m.; 'having'] *ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ*.

*The Canterbury Tales* (ll. 1–4422).<sup>41</sup> In the Chaucer corpus we find 54 examples of the adverbial accusative of duration (12 of type A, 2 of type Ab, 26 of type B, 8 of type C, and 6 of type D), and 6 examples of the corresponding prepositional type.

Type A:

The 12 instances contain 6 with *yeer*, 5 with *day*, and 1 with *hour*.

(1) Whan he endured hadde *a yeer or two*

This cruel torment and this payne and wo,

At Thebes,...

—Ch., “Kn”, 1381–3.

(=When he had endured a year or two this cruel torment and this pains and woe at Thebes,...) [Similarly 1426.]

(2) Goddesse of maydens, that myn herte hast knowe

*Ful many a year*, and woorst what I desire, —*Ibid.*, 2300–1.

(=You Goddess of maidens, who have known my heart so many years, and do know what I desire,...) [Similarly 1729.]

(3) Syn he hath served yow *so many a year*,

And had for yow so greet adversitee,

It moste been considered, leeveth me; —*Ibid.*, 3086–8.

(=Because he has served you so many years and has suffered so great adversity for you, believe me, it must be considered.)

(4) And *thre yeer* in this wise his lif he ladde, —*Ibid.*, 1446.

(=And he led his life in this way three years.)

(5) A millere was ther dwellynge *many a day*. —Ch., “Rv.,” 3925.

(=There was a miller dwelling many days.) [Similarly “Kn.,” 2784; “Mil.,” 3668.]

(6) And fully heeld a feeste *dayes thre*, —Ch., “Kn.,” 2736.

(=...and he held a feast fully three days.)

(7) No neer Atthenes wolde he go ne ride,

Ne take his ese *fully half a day*, —*Ibid.*, 968–9.

(=He would not go or ride any nearer to Athens, nor take a rest fully half a day or two.)

(8) Therefore I wol go slepe *an hour or tweye*, —Ch., “Mil.,” 3684.

(=So I will go to sleep an hour or two.)

It must be noted that exx. 1, 2, and 3, like some others that will be quoted below, contain adverbial accusatives combined with verbs in the perfect tense and so clearly expressing the duration of the conduct or activity up to the time signified. The same durative aspect is no less distinctly denoted by the construction of the present participle *dwellynge* immediately combined with *many a day* in ex. 5. In the negative sentence, ex. 7, again, the adverbial accusative *fully half a day* does not modify the negative predicate as a whole but the positive part *take his ese*. In other words, the scope of negation in this sentence is the whole unit “take his ese *fully half a day*.”

Type Ab:

(9) Heere in this temple of the goddess Clemence

<sup>41</sup> For the text we have depended on F. N. Robinson, ed.: *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd edition (Oxford U.P., 1957). Group A of *The Canterbury Tales* (abbr. *C.T.*) comprises “General Prologue” (abbr. “Prol.”), “The Knight’s Tale” (abbr. “Kn.”), “The Miller’s Prologue and Tale” (abbr. “Mil.”), “The Reeve’s Prologue and Tale” (abbr. “Rv.”), and “The Cook’s Prologue and Tale” (abbr. “Co.”). It was composed c. 1385–95 in London dialect.

We han be waitynge *al this fourtenyght*. —Ch., “Kn.,” 928–9.

(=Here in this temple of the goddess Clemency we have been waiting all this fortnight.)

(10) In derknesse and horrible and strong prisoun

*Thise seven year* hath seten Palamoun

Forpyned, what for wo and for distresse. —*Ibid.*, 1451–3.

(=In darkness and horrible and strong prison Palamon has sat these seven years, suffering through woe and distress.)<sup>42</sup>

Type B:

The 26 instances comprise 13 with *day* as headword, 12 with *nyght* as headword, and 1 with *nyght and day*. These headwords are invariably intensified by such preceding determiners as *al*, *al the* [*this*, *that*], *al the* [*this*] *longe*, etc. Indeed one might say that this type of adverbial was well adapted to Chaucer's vivid narrative style.

(11) They foughte *al day*, and yet hir part was noon. —Ch., “Kn.,” 1178.

(=They [*i.e.* the dogs] fought all day and yet there was nothing for their share.) [Similarly “Kn.,” 1168, 1380, 1481, 1524, 2476; “Co.,” 4398.]

(12) With John the clerk, that waked hadde *al nyght*, —Ch., “Rv.,” 4284.

(=...with John the clerk, who had waked all night.) [Similarly “Kn.,” 1004; “Mil.,” 3672, 3684.]

(13) Syngynge he was, or floytynge, *al the day*; —Ch., “Prol.,” 91.

(=He was singing or whistling all the day.) [Similarly 641.]

(14) And smale fowels maken melodye,

That slepen *al the nyght* with open ye —*Ibid.*, 9–10.

(=And small birds, which sleep all the night with open eyes, sing melodiously.)

(15) He waketh *al the nyght and al the day*; —Ch., “Mil.,” 3373.

(=He wakes all the night and all the day.)

(16) His table dormant in his halle alway

Stood redy covered *al the longe day*. —Ch., “Prol.,” 353–4.

(=His table, permanently in place in his hall, stood ready covered with boards all day long.) [Similarly “Mil.,” 3438.]

(17) Aleyn wax wery in the dawenyng,

For he had swonken *al the longe nyght*, —Ch., “Rv.,” 4234–5.

(=Aleyn grew weary at dawn, for he had been toiling all the night long.) [Similarly “Kn.,” 2717.]

(18) My mouth hath icched *al this longe day*; —Ch., “Mil.,” 3682.

(=My mouth has itched all this long day.)

(19) And we han had an il fit *al this day*; —Ch., “Rv.,” 4184.

(=And we have had a bad bout all this day.)

(20) That *al that nyght* thogh that men wolde him shake,

The gayler sleep, he myghte nat awake; —Ch., “Kn.,” 1373–4.

(=...that all that night, though people would shake him, the jailor slept and could not awake.)

<sup>42</sup> Since no instance of type Ac can be cited from our corpus, we should like to quote here one of type Ac from the other part of Chaucer:—But kepte it strongly *many a wyntres space* Under Alla, kyng of al Northumbrelond, —Ch., *C.T.*, “M.L.,” B577–8. (=...but he kept it [*i.e.* the place] strongly for many years under Aella, king of all Northumberland.)

(21) But onward on his way *that nyght* he lay, —*Ibid.*, 970.

(=...but he lodged that night onward on his way.)

In ex. 14, the figurative description “slepen *al the nyght* with open ye” has set off effectively enough the characteristic feature of the adverbial accusative of duration. Here *all the nyght* is so closely connected with *slepen* as to imply the continual action of the birds singing throughout the nighttime and vividly evoke a vision of their waking all the night without a wink of sleep.

Type C:

The 8 instances comprise 4 with *tyme*, 2 with *stounde* (<OE *stūnd*), 1 with *space*, and 1 with *wight*.<sup>43</sup> Now the last needs a comment. *Wight* (<OE *wiht* (f., n.) ‘thing, being’), qualified by *a lite* or the like, originally means ‘(a little) amount’ and then, constituting an adverbial phrase, comes to mean ‘for (a little) time (or distance).’ The use of this noun as head of an adverbial accusative of duration chiefly occurs in the Middle English period.<sup>44</sup>

(22) And with that word he fil down in a traunce

*A long tyme*, and after he up sterte. —Ch., “Kn.,” 1572–3.

(=And with these words he fell down in a trance a long time and then he started up.)

(23) And thus they been accorded ysworn

To wayte *a tyme*,... —Ch., “Mil.,” 3301–2.

(=And thus they are agreed and sworn to wait a while.)

(24) Though Mars shal helpe he knyght, yet nathelees

Bitwixe yow ther moot be *som tyme* pees, —Ch., “Kn.,” 2473.

(=Though Mars may help his knight, yet nevertheless there must be peace between you for some time.) [Similarly 2636.<sup>45</sup>]

(25) Upon the wardeyn bisily they crye

To yeve hem leve, but *a litel stounde*,

To goon to mille and seen hir corn ygrounde; —Ch., “Rv.,” 4006–8.

(=They busily cried on the warden to give them leave, just a little while, to go to the mill and see their corn ground.)

<sup>43</sup> The other nouns that were used by Chaucer as heads of adverbial accusatives of type C are *while* and *throwe* (<OE *prāg*). Below we shall add some of the examples found outside of our corpus:—*A longe whil* to wayten hire she stood, —Ch., *C.T.*, “Sq.,” F444. (=She stood a long while awaiting her [*i.e.* the hawk].) / Or elles stynt *a while*, and thou shalt see. —*C.T.*, “Fri.,” D1558 / And Wille, his daughter, temprede *al this while* The hevedes in the welle, —*P.F.* 214–5. (=And Wille, his daughter, tempered the heads [of the arrows] in the well all this while.) // she loved Arcite so That when that he was absent *any throwe* Anon her thoghte her herte brast a-two. —*Anel.* 92–4. (=She loved Arcite so much that when he was absent any while it immediately seemed to her that her heart would burst in two.) / I wole with Thomas speke *a litel throwe*. —*C.T.*, “Sum.,” D1815.

<sup>44</sup> *O.E.D.*, s.v. *WIGHT* 3. This functional change of *wight* is similar to that of *a lit* (cf. ex. 9, § 3.3). Although we do not count it among the instances of type C, we find the following in our corpus:—But stynte I wole of Theseus *a lite*, And speke of Palamon and of Arcite. —Ch., “Kn.,” 2093–4. (=But I will leave off Theseus a little and speak of Palamon and Arcite.)

<sup>45</sup> In Chaucer there are a good many instances where it is rather delicate to determine whether *som tyme* is an adverbial accusative, meaning ‘for some time’, or an adverbial dative, meaning ‘at some time’ or ‘sometimes’. In the latter case it often spelt *somtyme*, but this orthography is not consistently observed. The following, for example, may be interpreted as an adverbial dative:—And *some tyme* dooth hem Theseus to reste, Hem to refresshe and drynken, if hem leste. —Ch., “Kn.,” 2621–2. (=And sometimes Theseus orders them to rest, so that they may refresh and drink if they like.)

(26) That if so were that Arcite were yfounde  
Evere in his lif, by day or nyght, *oo stounde*

In any contree of this Theseus, —Ch., “Kn.,” 1211–3.

(= ...that if Arcite should ever in his lifetime be found in any part of this Theseus' domain, by day or night, even for a while,...)

(27) And Theseus abiden hadden *a space*

Er any word cam fram his wise brest, —*Ibid.*, 2982–3.

(= ...and Theseus had waited a while before any word came from his wise breast,...)

(28) For she was falle aslepe *a lite wight*

With John the clerk,... —Ch., “Rv.,” 4283–4.

(= For she had fallen asleep a little while with John the clerk.)

Type D:

Of the six instances of type D, five belong to the type “*al his [my, thy, etc.] lyf*” and the other one is an idiomatic phrase “*terme of his lyf*,” which is explained by *O.E.D.* (s.v. TERM *n.* 4b) as “chiefly in legal use.” The predominant type “(*al his lyf*” seems to deserve so much attention, especially when it is contrasted with the corresponding prepositional type (type D’) “*in (al) his lyf*,” that we would deal with it in a later section (§ 3.7), where the types of expression will be observed over the whole range of Chaucer’s writings.

(29) Chaste goddesse, wel wostow that I

Desire to ben a mayden *al my lyf*, —Ch., “Kn.,” 2304–5.

(= Chaste goddess, you will know well that I desire to be a maiden all my life.) [Similarly “Prol.,” 459; “Mil.,” 3581.]

(30) So Juppiter have of my soule part,

As in this world right now ne knowe I non

So worthy to ben loved as Palamon,

That served yow, and wol doon *al his lyf*. —*Ibid.*, 2792–5.

(= As I hope Jupiter may have part of my soul, never in this world do I know just now anyone so worthy to be loved as Palamon, who has served you and will do all his life.)

(31) And eek it is nat likly *al thy lyf*.

To stonden in hir grace; namoore shal I; —*Ibid.*, 1172–3.

(= Besides, it is not likely that you should keep standing in her grace all your life. No more shall I.)

(32) And ther he lyveth in joye and in honour

*Terme of his lyf*;... —*Ibid.*, 1028–9.

(= And there he lived in joy and honour for the term of his life.)

Concerning the last example it must be noticed that “*terme of his lyf*” in “*lyveth...terme of his lyf*” is functionally kindred with the cognate accusative “*his lyf*” in “*lyveth his lyf*.”<sup>46</sup>

3.6. As for instances of the prepositional types corresponding to the non-prepositional ones described in the previous section, the Chaucer corpus comprises no more than six—1 *for*-phrase of type A’, 1 *of*-phrase of type B’, and 4 *in*-phrases of type D’.

<sup>46</sup> We may well show here instances of the type “*lyve his [a] lyf*” used by Chaucer that are found outside of our corpus:—The hye God...In wilful poverte chees to *lyve his lyf*. —Ch., *C.T.*, “W.B.,” D1178–9. (= The high God preferred to live his life in voluntary poverty.) / But I desire...To *lyve my lyf* with hem in reste and pees. —*Ibid.*, “Cl.,” E486–7. (=But I desire to live my life with them in rest and peace.) [Similarly “Pard.,” C800; “Mch.,” E1284, 1446.]

Type A':

(1) And eek therto he is a prisoner

Perpetually, nought oonly *for a yer*. —Ch., "Kn.," 1457–8.

(=And also, moreover, he is a prisoner perpetually, not only for a year.)

Here, it must be noted, *for a yer* is clearly expressed to emphasize a temporal limit so as to be contrasted with the notion meant by *perpetually*. The sense of *for a yer* is as it were detached from that of the predicate "is a prisoner"; it is not directly associated with the continuous state meant by the latter.<sup>47</sup> In this point can be perceived a marked difference between the function of the *for*-phrase and that of the adverbial accusatives, such as are seen in exx. 1, 2 and 3 under the previous section.<sup>48</sup>

Type B':

To introduce prepositional phrases of type B' Chaucer used *of*. *O.E.D.* (s.v. OF 53) defines this *of* as 'during, for (a space of time),' labels it *obs.* or *arch.*, and exemplifies it with quotations from c. 1369 (Chaucer) down to 1833, adding the note "in later use only with a negative." This note implies that the *of*-phrase in this use has a semantic affinity for a situation where an activity has not occurred during the period specified. As for the rise of *of* in this use in late Middle English, Mustanoja<sup>49</sup> ascribes it to the influence by French *de*, referring to such modern French instances as:— Je ne mangerai pas *de la journée*. (= I did not eat anything for the day.) / Je n'ai rien fait *de six semaines*. (=I have not done anything for six weeks.)

(2) *Of al that day* she saugh hym nat with ye; —Ch., "Mil.," 3415.

(=She had not seen him with her eyes in all that day.)

It must be observed that in the sentence quoted above more emphasis is placed on the non-performance of a perfective activity within the period indicated than on the continuance of the non-activity during it.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> One should compare the following instances, where the *for*-phrases have the notion of a particular purpose mingled with that of duration and so are not so much connected to the verbs as to the preceding nominals:—This Nicholas...doth ful soft to his chambre carie Bothe mete and drynke *for a day or tweye*, —Ch., "Mil.," 3409–11. (=This Nicholas carries very softly to his room both food and drink for a day or two.) / In which we mowe...han therinne vitaille suffisant But *for a day*, —*Ibid.*, 3550–2. (=...in which we can have food sufficient only for a day.)

<sup>48</sup> Here we might mention that the corpus comprises an instance that apparently belongs to type Ac' but is actually a different kind of temporal phrase:—By processe and *by lengthe of certeyne yeres*, Al stynted is the moorynge and the teres Of Grekes, —Ch., "Kn.," 2967–9. (=In course of time, and after some years the mourning and tears of the Greeks had all ceased.) This *by*-phrase is associated with the perfective, not durative, aspect of the predicate verb. On the other hand, exactly the same type of phrase is used to get associated with the durative aspect, that is as a type Ac':—when that I, *be lengthe of certeyne yeres*, Had evere in oon a tyme sought to speke, To Pitee ran I,... —Ch., *Pity* 8–11. (=When I had continually sought a time to speak for several years, I ran to Pity...)

<sup>49</sup> T. Mustanoja, *A Middle English Syntax*, I (Helsinki: Soc. Néophilologique, 1960), 350–1.

<sup>50</sup> Since no instances of type C' are found in our corpus, we may add here some taken from the other part of Chaucer—two containing *for*-phrases and one an *of*-phrase:—tak there the verrey degre of the ecliptik in which the sterre stondith *for the tyme*. —Ch., *Astr.* II. xvii. 21–3. (=...take there the very degree of the ecliptic in which the star stands for the time.) / Thus with hire fader, *for a certeyn space*, Dwelleth this flour of wyfly pacience, —Ch., *C.T.*, "Cl.," E918–9. (=Thus this flower of wifely patience dwells with her father for a certain space of time.) / I knowe, *of longe tyme agon*, His thewes goode, —Ch., *T.C.* II. 722–3. (=I have known, now for a long time, his fine qualities...)



## Type D':

Here can be seen a distinct structural feature in the use of the four *in*-phrases—two with *lyf* and two with *tyme* as head noun.

- (3) That if so were that Arcite were yfounde

Evere *in his lif*, by day or nyght, oo stounde

In any contree of this Theseus,

—Ch., "Kn.," 1211-3. [See ex. 26, § 3.5.]

- (4) He nevere yet no vileynye ne sayede

*In al his lyf* unto no maner wight. —Ch., "Prol.," 70-1.

(= He has never yet said any discourteous word to any kind of person in all his life.)

- (5) Of Atthenes he was lord and governour,

And *in his tyme* swich a conquerour,

That gretter was ther noon under the sonne. —Ch., "Kn.," 861-3.

(= He was lord and governor of Athens and was such a conqueror in his reign that there was none greater under the sun.) [Similarly 1814.]

Of these the subtype "*in his* [*my*, etc.] *tyme*" has more limited significance, both in sense and in function, as is seen from the fact that it has no counterpart belonging to the type D. Contrarily, the subtype "*in (al) his* [*my*, etc.] *lyf*," as it was used with its counterpart "*(al) his* [*my*, etc.] *lyf*" by Chaucer, has so much importance that it requires a new section to be treated in.<sup>51</sup>

3.7. In this section we shall describe how Chaucer in all his writings<sup>52</sup> used the favourite types of expression belonging to types D and D': "*(al) his* [*my*, *hir*, etc.] *lyf*" on one hand and "*in (al) his* [*my*, *hir*, etc.] *lyf*" on the other. First, our attention is drawn to the fact that there are found in Chaucer just as many instances (30 exx.) of the type "*(al) his lyf*" (type D) as of the type "*in (al) his lyf*" (type D'). A second striking feature is that in the case of type D', particularly of the subtype "*in al his lyf*," conspicuously more instances occur in negative than in positive constructions, while in the case of type D far more instances occur in positive than in negative constructions. A third feature can be perceived in the fact that in positive constructions the intensive adverb *evere* is often used, particularly with the subtype "*his lyf*" (type D), while in negative constructions the negative intensifier *nevere* is often used, conspicuously with *in*-phrases (type D').

The following table shows the distributive incidence concerning the respective uses of

<sup>51</sup> Corresponding to the type "*terms of his lyf*" (type D), as was exemplified as ex. 32, § 3.5, the following instance of type D' can be quoted from Chaucer, though outside of our corpus:—How he Symplicius Gallus lefte his wyf, And hir forsook for *terme of al his lyf*, —Ch., *C.T.*, "W.B.," D 644-5.

<sup>52</sup> They include all the works generally accepted as Chaucer's, excepting *The Romaunt of the Rose* beyond Fragment A (ll. 1-1705). Below we shall show the abbreviations concerning the titles of those works, outside of Group A of *The Canterbury Tales*, which are quoted from or are otherwise referred to in this section, together with those which were quoted from in the footnotes of §§ 3.5 and 3.6. The dates of composition will be parenthesized after the group-works or full titles of the respective works. *C.T.*:—B (c. 1390): "M.L."="The Man of Law's Tale"; "Sh."="The Shipman's Tale"; "Mel."="The Tale of Melibeus"; "Mk."="The Monk's Tale." C (c. 1390): "Phs."="The Physician's Tale"; "Pard."="The Pardoner's Tale." D (c. 1495): "W.B."="The Wife of Bath's Tale"; "Fri."="The Friar's Tale." E (c. 1395): "Cl."="The Clerk's Tale"; "Mch."="The Merchant's Tale." F (c. 1395): "Sq."="The Squire's Tale"; "Fkl."="The Franklin's Tale." H (c. 1390): "Mcp."="The Manciple's Tale." I (c. 1390): "Pars."="The Parson's Tale." *Pity*=*The Complaint unto Pity* (c. 1370). *Anel.*=*Anelida and Arcite* (c. 1375). *P.F.*=*The Parlement of Foules* (c. 1380). *T.C.*=*Troilus and Criseyde* (c. 1385). *L.G.W.*=*The Legend of Good Women* (c. 1386). *Buk.*=*Envoy to Bukton* (c. 1396). *Astr.*=*Treatise on the Astrolabe* (c. 1400).

these subtypes. The parenthesized figures in the column "Positive" indicate the frequencies of instances accompanied by *evere*, and the bracketed figures in the column "Negative" those of instances accompanied by *nevere*.

		Positive	Negative	Total
Type D	{ <i>his lyf</i>	6 (4)	3 [3]	9 } 30
	{ <i>al his lyf</i>	19 (0)	2 [0]	21 }
Type D'	{ <i>in his lyf</i>	8 (1)	11 [6]	19 } 30
	{ <i>in al his lyf</i>	1 (1)	10 [7]	11 }

Subtype "*al his lyf*" (type D):

(1) I have now been a court-man *al my lyf*, —Ch., *C.T.*, "Mck.," E1492.  
 (=I have been a courtier all my life.) [Similarly *C.T.*, "Prol.," A459; "Kn.," A 1172 (cf. ex. 31, § 3.5), 2305 (cf. ex. 29, § 3.5), 2795 (cf. ex. 30, § 3.5); "Mil.," A3581; etc.]

(2) Have I the nought honoured *al my lyve*  
 As thow wel woost, above the goddes alle? —Ch., *T.C.* iv. 267–8.  
 (=Have I not honoured you all my life, as you know well, above all the gods?)

(3) No spot of thee ne knew I *al my lyf*. —Ch., *C.T.*, "Mch.," E2146.  
 (=I have not known any defect of you all my life.)

Subtype "*his lyf*" (type D):

(4) and evere *his lyf* in feere  
 Was he to doon amys or moore trespace; —*Ibid.*, "Mk.," B3369–70.  
 (=...and he was always afraid to do wrongly or more sinfully in his life.) [Similarly *T.C.* v. 436, *L.G.W.* F1246.]

(5) Therto he is the frendlieste man  
 Of gret estate, that evere I saugh *my lyve*, —Ch., *T.C.* ii. 204–5.  
 (=Moreover he is the friendliest man of high rank that I ever saw in my life.)

(6) But thow shal have sorwe on thy flessh, *thy lyf*, —Ch., *Buk.* 19.  
 (=But you will feel distressed for your flesh all your life.) [Similarly *T.C.* ii. 1056.]

(7) Ymeneus, that god of weddyng is,  
 Saugh nevere *his lyf* so myrie a wedded man. —Ch., *C.T.*, "Mch.," E1731.  
 (=Hymenaeus, who is god of marriage, never saw so merry a married man in his life.) [Similarly *C.T.*, "W.B.," D392; *T.C.*, iv. 165.]

Subtype "*in his lyf*" (type D'):

(8) So wel arrayed hous as ther was oon  
 Aurelius *in his lyf* saugh nevere noon. —Ch., *C.T.*, "Fkl.," F1187–8.  
 (=Aurelius never saw such a well-equipped house as that in his life.) [Similarly *C.T.*, "M.L.," B1924; "Mcp.," H311; *L.G.W.* F1099.]

(9) That nevere *in my lyf* for lief ne looth,  
 Ne shal I of no conseil yow biwreie. —Ch., *C.T.*, "Sh.," B1324–5.  
 (=...that I shall never betray your confidence for anything.) [Similarly *C.T.*, "Mel.," B 2249.]

(10) Ther loved no wight hotter *in his lyve*. —Ch., *L.G.W.* F59.  
 (=There was no person who loved more passionately in his life.) [Similarly *C.T.*, "Mch.," E2077; "Pars.," I703, 1001; *L.G.W.* F1624.]

- (11) No man hateth his flessch, but *in his lyf*  
 He fostreth it,... —Ch., *C.T.*, "Mch.," E 1386-7.  
 (=No man hates his flesh, but he cherished it in his life.) [Similarly *C.T.*, "Kn.," A 1212  
 (cf. ex. 3, § 3.6); "Sq.," F233; "Fkl.," F1003; "Pars.," 1428; *L.G.W.* F521, 2572.]
- (12) O doghter, which that art my laste wo,  
 And *in my lyf* my laste joye also, —Ch., *C.T.*, "Phs.," C221-2.  
 (=O daughter, who are my last woe and also my last joy in my life,...)  
 Subtype "*in al his lyf*" (type D'):
- (13) Ne was I nevere er now, wydwe ne wyf,  
 Somoned unto youre court *in al my lyf*: —*Ibid.*, "Fri.," D1619-20.  
 (=Never before now, widow or wife, was I summoned to your court in all my life.)  
 [Similarly *C.T.*, "Prol.," A71 (cf. ex. 4, § 3.6); "W.B.," D1222; *L.G.W.* F433.]
- (14) So glad ne was he nevere *in al his lyve*, —Ch., *T.C.*, II. 1538.  
 (=He was never so glad in all his life.) [Similarly *C.T.*, "Fkl.," F746; "Mcp.," H297.]
- (15) No children hadde he no *in al his lyf*. —Ch., *C.T.*, "Phs.," C6.  
 (=He had no more children in all his life.) [Similarly *C.T.*, "Pars.," I313, 916.]
- (16) heere I take my leve,  
 As of the treweste and the beste wyf  
 That evere yet I knew *in al my lyf*. —*Ibid.*, "Fkl.," F1538-40.  
 (=Here I will take my leave as of the truest and best wife that I ever knew in all my life.)

From these quotations we can see clearly that the adverbials in question, especially when they belong to the type "*in (al) his lyf*" (type D'), have a sort of semantic adaptability to negative constructions where they define a time frame in which one's experience has never occurred. In exx. 5 and 16 the adverbials, though used in positive constructions, are expressed in relative clauses that define the antecedents containing adjectives in the superlative degree and thus imply the negative of anything that comes short of the highest degree specified. The same feature might also be perceived in "*in my lyf my laste joye*" in ex. 12.

On the other hand, it is worth noticing that the instances of the type "*(al) his lyf*" (type D) more usually contain positive constructions, where the adverbial accusatives are closely connected to the predicate verbs that express the positive duration of an action or state. Even when they are used in negative constructions in the same way that phrases of the type "*in (al) his lyf*" (type D') are, we should observe a functional difference between the two types, even if we must admit the factor of metrical consideration on the part of the poet. For example, when we compare "...saugh nevere *his lyf*..." in ex. 7 with "...*in his lyf* saugh nevere..." in ex. 8, we can see that there is a far more closeness between the verb (with nevere) and the adverbial in the former than in the latter. A similar difference might also be observable between "the frendlieste man...that evere I saugh *my lyve*" in ex. 5 and "the treweste and the beste wyf that evere yet I knew *in al my lyf*" in ex. 16.

3.8. As the corpus of fifteen-century English, we have selected a part of the *Works of Sir Thomas Malory*<sup>53</sup>—"The Book of Sir Tristram de Lyones," VI-VIII (pp. 545-648). In this Malory corpus we find 30 examples of the adverbial accusative of duration and 6 ex-

<sup>53</sup> We are dependent on the text edited by E. Vinaver, Oxford, 1967. It is based upon Winchester MS. (dated c. 1485). The work was composed in London dialect c. 1469-70.

amples of the corresponding prepositional type. The 30 examples of the former type comprise: 7 of type A, 4 of type Ab, 3 of type Ac, 2 of type B, 13 of type C, and 1 of type D.

Type A:

(1) ...I pray you...that ye wolle gyff me to a knyght of this contrey that hath been my frende and loved me *many yerys*. —*Mal.* 642. 20–3. (*gyff* ‘give.’)

(2) Thus Anglydes endured *yerys and wynters*, tyll Alysaundir was bygge and stronge, —*Mal.* 639. 13–14. (*endured* ‘continued to live.’)

(3) he let crye that he wolde kepe that pyce of erthe...*a twelve-monthe and a day* from all maner of knyghtes that wolde com. —*Mal.* 644. 22–5. (=He let his men proclaim that he would guard that piece of ground a year and a day from all manner of knights that would come.)

(4) there was one knyght that ded mervaylously *three dayes*, —*Mal.* 545. 14–15. (*ded* ‘did, fought.’) [Similarly 566. 16–17.]

(5) as yett my woundis bene grene, and they wolle be sorer hereaftir *seven-nyght* than they be now, —*Mal.* 624. 12–14. (*bene, be* ‘are.’)

(6) they fought *more than fyve owres*, —*Mal.* 595. 37–596. 1. (*owres* ‘hours.’)

Type Ab:

(7) I wolle not ryde *this three dayes*, —*Mal.* 604. 9–10. [Similarly 619. 20.]

(8) And than may ye kepe the rome of this castell *this twelve-monthe and a day*, —*Mal.* 644. 4–5. (=And then you may keep within the confines of this castle this year and a day.) [Similarly 643. 2.]

Type Ac:

Among instances of type Ac used by Malory, it must be specially mentioned that the corpus contains two that have as the headword the noun *mowntenaunce*, as will be exemplified below as ex. 10. This *mowntenaunce*, which is a variation of *mounaunce* (<OF *montance* ‘amount, quantity, size, extent’), was used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the sense of ‘length of time, duration,’ composing an adverbial accusative phrase.<sup>54</sup>

(9) And thus they fought *the space of four owres*, —*Mal.* 568. 25–569. 1.

(10) by than they had foughtyn *the mowntenaunce of an owre*, sir Trystram waxed faynte and wery, —*Mal.* 624. 12–14. (=By the time they had fought an hour, sir Trystram grew faint and weary.)

Type B:

(11) thereby at a pryory they rested them *all nyght*. —*Mal.* 603. 13–14.

(12) whan sir Trystram was let into that castell he had good chere *all that nyght*. —*Mal.* 553. 30–1. (*chere* ‘cheer; cordial welcome, entertainment.’)

Type C:

The 13 instances comprise 12 with *whyle* and 1 with *tyme* as headword. The adverbial accusative with *tyme* as headword occurs along with a prepositional phrase of type Ac’, and so the sentence will be shown as ex. 5 in the following section, under the item of type Ac’.

(13) Than sir Trystram reposed hym there *a whyle* tyll that he was amended of hys syknes, —*Mal.* 552. 32–3. (*reposed hym* ‘reposed himself, rested.’) [Similarly 591. 2, 611. 37, 641. 6.]

(14) And *som whyle* they foyned and *somwhyle* they strake downe as wylde men.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *M.E.D.*, s.v. MOUNTAUNCE.

—*Mal.* 602. 6–7. (= And some time they thrust and some time they struck down as wild men.)

(15) ye may not holde it (*i.e.* the castell) *nowhyle*. —*Mal.* 620. 18.

(16) in this thought he studyed *a grete whyle*. —*Mal.* 617. 13–14. [Similarly 639. 17.]

(17) *all this whyle* he was in prison with sir Darras, sir Palomydes, and sir Dynadan. —*Mal.* 551. 2–3. [Similarly 579. 20.]

(18) And *all this whyle* that this fyre was in the castell, he abode in the gardyne. —*Mal.* 644. 21–2.

In the last example the adverbial accusative *all this whyle* and the following relative particle *that* compose a subordinate conjunction meaning 'while'; and yet we should remark the former performing the full function of its own by getting semantically associated with the durative aspect of the main verb *abode* as well as the subordinate verb *was*.

Type D:

(19) I shall love you *dayes of my lyff* afore all other knyghtes excepte my brother sir Saphir. —*Mal.* 603. 6–8. (*afore* 'more than, above.')

3.9. As for prepositional phrases corresponding to adverbial accusatives of duration, we find in the Malory corpus four *of*-phrases of type A', one *by*-phrase of type Ac', and one *in*-phrase of type D'.

Type A':

It is worth noting that of the four *of*-phrases that occur in Winchester MS., three correspond to *in*-phrases in Caxton's edition.<sup>55</sup>

(1) And so she gaff him *sucche a drynke that of three dayes\* and three nyghtes* he waked never, but slepte. —*Mal.* 642. 30–3. (*gaff* 'gave.')[\*C in thre dayes]

(2) So than sir Alysauindir made bothe tho knyghtes to swere to were none armour *of a\* twelve-monthe and a day*. —*Mal.* 646. 14–15. (*were* 'wear.')[\*C armour in a]

(3) So he made them to swere to were none armys *of a twelve-monthe.\** —*Mal.* 647. 2–3. [\*C armes in a twelue moneth.]

(4) ever as the smote downe knyghtes, he made them to swere to were none harneyse *of a twelve monthe and a day*. —*Mal.* 639. 13–14. (*harneyse* 'harness; arms, armour.')

In view of the fact that those prepositional phrases are used in constructions that are structurally or semantically negative, the textual variation seems to reflect on one hand the instability of *of* in this use and on the other hand the structural appropriateness of *in*—the sense that was being felt of the standard English usage in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

Type Ac':

(5) And than they russed togydyrs lyke two boorys, and leyde on the helmys and shyldia *longe tyme by the space of three owrys*, —*Mal.* 641. 22–4. (= And then they rushed together like two boars and went on striking the helmets and shields a long time for three hours.)

Here we see *longe tyme* of type C alongside *by the space of three owres* of type Ac'. With the latter should be compared *the space of four owres* (type Ac) in ex. 9, § 3.8. It is clear that the *by*-phrase in the sentence above has been expressed in its own distinct status

<sup>55</sup> Caxton's edition (abbr. C), entitled *Morte Arthur*, is dated 1485.

as an adverbial of temporal specification, whereas in ex. 9, § 3.8 the verb and the adverbial accusative are combined into a semantic unit so as to express a continuous action during the time indicated.

Type D':

(6) Merlyon profecied that in that same sholde fyght two the best knyghtes that ever were in *kyng Arthurs days*, —*Mal.* 568. 18–20. (=Merlin prophesied that there in the same place should fight two of the best knights that ever were in King Arthur's days.)

#### IV Summary

4.1. Now that we have finished a sweeping survey of the phenomenon that ranges from Old to Middle English, we may well attempt an intermediate summarization of what we have hitherto observed. First let us show the statistic distribution of the uses of the respective types as examined in the eight copora—the four in OE: *WS*, *Beo.*, *Bl. Hom.*, and *ÆLS*; and the four in ME: *Lay.*, *Wyc.*, *Ch.*, and *Mal.*

	<i>WS</i>	<i>Beo.</i>	<i>Bl. Hom.</i>	<i>ÆLS</i>	OE total	<i>Lay.</i>	<i>Wyc.</i>	<i>Ch.</i>	<i>Mal.</i>	ME total	Total
Type A	23	11	17	21	72	64	20	12	7	103	175
Type Ab			5		5	3		2	4	9	14
Type Ac		2			2				3	3	5
Type B	1	3	7	1	12	14	1	26	2	43	55
Type C	8	18	4	1	31	22	8	8	13	51	82
Type D		1	2		3			6	1	7	10
Subtotal	32	35	35	23	125	103	29	54	30	216	341
Type A'	2			6	8		1	1	4	6	14
Type Ab'				1	1					0	1
Type Ac'				3	3				1	1	4
Type B'			1		1	3		1		4	5
Type C'				2	2		2			2	4
Type D'		8	1	5	14	15	1	4	1	21	35
Subtotal	2	8	2	17	29	18	4	6	6	34	63
Total	34	43	37	40	154	121	33	60	36	250	404

From this we may summarize in the following way. First, while the use of adverbial accusatives of duration, particularly of type A, had been steadily advancing, that of those prepositional phrases which we have regarded as corresponding to adverbial accusatives of duration was proceeding almost negligibly, except in the case of type D', throughout the periods of Old and Middle English. Even including types D and D', we can compare the relative frequencies of non-prepositional and prepositional phrases in the two period:

	Non-prepositional	Prepositional
OE	81%	19%
ME	86%	14%

Secondly, in the case of types D and D', though the total incidence is far from high, the instances of type D' outnumber those of type D by the ratio 3.5:1. This indicates that the temporal specification about a person's lifetime (or a ruler's reign) can be more distinctly expressed by phrases introduced by prepositions, such as *in* (OE *on*), than by adverbial accusatives of duration.

In view of the ModE usage, on the other hand, our special attention has been drawn to the existence of type D, which starting in OE *wīdan feorh* ('all my life, ever'—*Beo.* 2014) succeeded so remarkably in developing into ME *al my lyf* (Ch., "Kn.," 2305). Apart from the corpora, we have been particularly interested in finding that the use of the type "(*al*) *his lyf*" (type D), as against the type "*in (al) his lyf*" (type D') was strikingly prevalent in Middle English, as we have seen by examining the whole writings of Chaucer. This phenomenon intrigues us all the more because the type "never [ever]...*his life*," which was so predominant in Chaucer's English, seems to have suddenly disappeared in Modern English.

Thirdly, there is a point to be mentioned, minor though it may be. The Chaucer corpus contains the predominant frequency of type B (e.g.: *slepen all the nyght*—"Prol.," 10). This seems significant, considering that the kind of expression has turned out a favourite subtype of adverbial accusative of duration in later English.

4.2. With all the statistic summarization, we must not overlook the greater importance of the qualitative aspect. We have observed the use of the prepositional phrases introduced by *tō*, *geond*, *purh*, *for*, *on*, *binnan* in Old English, and *to*, *by*, *of*, *on* [*o*, *a*], *in*, *for*, *at* in Middle English. But few of these prepositional phrases, *in*-[*on*]-phrases of type D' probably excepted, have succeeded in deserving the term of "equivalents" to adverbial accusatives of duration, whose intrinsic and traditional function we have confirmed.

Especially, the use of *for* as preposition to introduce the kind of phrase concerned was still in the stage of immaturity in the Old and Middle English periods. This induces us to entertain peculiar interest in that advance of *for*-phrases in the direction of the genuine equivalency which has been so conspicuously achieved in the Modern English period.