<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>項目</th>
<th>内容</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>タイトル</td>
<td>The Adverbial Accusative of Duration and Its Prepositional Equivalent  Part I. Old and Middle English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>著者</td>
<td>Yamakawa, Kikuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>引用</td>
<td>Hitotsubashi journal of arts and sciences, 21(1): 1-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>発行日</td>
<td>1980-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>形式</td>
<td>Departmental Bulletin Paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>デジタル版</td>
<td>publisher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URL</td>
<td><a href="http://doi.org/10.15057/3130">http://doi.org/10.15057/3130</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE ADVERbial ACCUSATIVE OF DURATION
AND ITS PREPOSITIONAL EQUIVALENT

PART I. OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH

By Kikuo Yamakawa*

1 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 charac-
teristic 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 his-
torical 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,¹ 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).² This primary connotation “the goal of motion, or movement towards

* Professor (Kyōju) of English.
¹ 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 accusātīvus, literally ‘of the nature of accusation,’ which is, however, a verbal
rendering of Gk (πείται) ακτήτικος (the case) of accusing,’ but also ‘of or pertaining to that which is
caused or effected (τὸ ακτήτων).’ Hence, it is properly the case of the effect, or thing directly affected by
verbal agency.
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 ad-
verbial 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 some-
body’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!*

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

(7) Doctor Parcival had been in Winesburg *about five years*.—S. Anderson, *Wines-
burg, 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 com-
plete week,” etc. can be interpreted as composing single units, each to express the perform-
ance 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 mo-
tion or state expressed by the verb.

This fact will be more distinctly perceived if we replace these non-prepositional adver-
bialss 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 adver-
dials 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 out-
come 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,3 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 infirmity 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

---

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. ÆELS).
In WS⁴ 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 dag (m.; > ModE day), 6 contain gær (n.; > ModE year), 4 dag and niht (f.; > ModE night), 2 mōnþ (= mōnþ) (m.; > ModE month), 2 tīd (f.; > ModE tide, 'hour'), 1 gær and mōnþ, and 1 winter (m., n.; > ModE winter, 'year'). The one example of type B is þæt gær ('that year'). Of the 8 examples of type C, 5 contain tīd ('time') and 3 hwil (f.; > ModE while).

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

**Type A:**

1. *he wunode ðær twegen dagas*. — WS, John iv. 40. (= He stayed there two days.)

2. *swa swa lonas wunode þæt geþe wærde, ic 6e peowode*. — WS, Luke xv. 29. (= I have served you a great many years.)

3. *Deos wunode meenigne deþg, and heo lyfode mid hyre were seafen 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.)

4. *swa swa Ionas wunode mid hyre swylce pry monpas*. — WS, Luke i. 56. (= Mary remained with her about three months.)

5. *Das ytemestan worhton ane tīde*. — WS, Matt. xx. 12. (= These last have worked

---

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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*.

⁶ For the quotations from the Latin Version we have depended on *Biblia Sacra: Vulgata* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975).
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 deet 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 þeowian, On halignesse beforan him eallum urum dagum. —WS, Luke i. 74–5. (=...that we might serve him in holiness all our days.) (Gk: λατρεῖεν αὐτῷ ἐν αἰειτῇ...ἐνώπιον ἀντῷ πάσας ταῖς ἡμέραῖς [dat. pl. f.] ἡμῶν. / L: serviamus illi in sanctitate...coram ipso omnibus diebus [abl. pl. m.] nostris / Goth.: skalkinon imma, In sunyai yah garaihten in andawirþa 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 by 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* we find 35 adverbial accusatives of duration, 5 *to*-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 *tid*, 1 with *fyrst* [m.], and 1 with *fæc* [n.]), and 1 of type D.

Type A:
(1) *gebād *wintra *worn, ǣr *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) peak ðe *wintra lyt* under *burhlocan* gebidden *hābbe,* Hārēpes *dohtor*; —*Beo.* 1927-9.
(= ...although the daughter of Hārēth had dwelt just a few years within the walls of the stronghold.) [*wintra* gen. pl. + *lyt* acc.]

(3) Ic ðās *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 *missēra* weold under *wolcnum* —*Beo.* 1769-70.
(=So I have ruled the Ring-Danes fifty years under the heavens.) [*hund* acc. + *missēra* gen. pl.] [Similarly l. 1498.]

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

(6) Git on *wāteres 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. + *tide* acc. sg. f.]

(8) Ða wit ætssonne on *sē *wāren 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:

---

7 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.
8

HITOTSUBASHI JOURNAL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

[December

(9) ðær ðæt eorlweorod
dæg morgenlongne dæg modgimor sæt, —Beo. 2893-4.
(= ...where the band of warriors remained, sad at heart, the whole forenoon.)

(10) Swa we ðær inne andlangne dæg
niode naman, 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
earmrc teohhe ondlonge niht, —Beo. 2937-8.
(= He often threatened the wretched band with misery through the long night.)

Type C:

(12) Nu is ðines mægnes blæd
ane hwile; —Beo. 1761-2.
(= Now the fullness of your strength will last a while.)

(13) ne meahte horde neah
unbyrnende anige hwile
dœp 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) ðær unc hwile wæs hand gemæne; —Beo. 2137.
(= There we were a while, hand to hand.)

(15) fifelcynnes eard
wonsæli wer weardode hwile, —Beo. 1015.
(= The unblessed creature dwelt for a long while in the lair of monsters.) [Similarly ll.
152, 240.]

(16) Bill ðær gescod
—ecg wæs iren— ealdlaforde
þam ðara máþma 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 lassan 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) ðætt wrecend þa gyt
lifde æfter lapum, lange prage,
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 þæt 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 nightlongne fyrst nean bidan. —Beo. 527–8.

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

(22) þæt he lytel faec 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 Homilies⁸ we find 35 adverbial accusatives and 2 prepositional phrases in the corresponding function—one purh-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 de₃g, 4 with winter, 2 with gēar, 2 with mónap, 1 with niht, and 1 with gēar and mónap), 5 to type Ab (4 with de₃g and 1 with gēar), 7 to type B (3 with de₃g, 3 with niht, and 1 with gēar), 4 to type C (2 with hwil, 1 with prāg, and 1 with faec), and 2 to type D.

Type A:

(1) he þær wunode mid him seofon dagas, —Bl. Hom. 249. 16–17. (=He stayed there with them 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 hwe₃për 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 æfterdon lifde. —Bl. Hom. 219.

—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 brestom he eardode nigon monap; —Bl. Hom. 105. 16. (=In the holy bosom he abode nine months.) [Similarly 89. 19.]

(8) þæt wæron gehealdene heora lic an gear ond seofan monap, —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.) [seafon ond twentig acc. + nihta gen. pl.]

Type Ab:

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

(11) gif we pa dagas fulfremedlice for Gode lifgeap, þonne hæbbe we ure daga þone teopan 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) waes he beforan æt pa preo gear gecristnod, —Bl. Hom. 215. 35-6. (=He had been christened those three years before.)

Type B:

(13) steorran yrnap wipersynes ealne pone dag; —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 lifiap pas dagas, ...swa magon we þe maran blisse habban pa 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,...) [pas dagas belongs to type Ab.]

(15) þa beoð simle mid ele gefylde ond aghwylce niht byrnap; —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 leohete ond beorhte scinap ælce niht þurh þa eagþyrelo, —Bl. Hom. 127. 35-6. (=They shine very light and bright each night through the windows.)

(17) geþencean we þæt we ealne pysne 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 beop on hwylcum earfopum 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) þa 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.)

(20) Ac se heaphrym þæs Godes hades þæm englicum weordum simle ondweard wæs, þeah þe he prage 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

---

9 We have taken out of account the instances of þa hwile pe, which is compounded of the adverbial accusative þa hwile and the connective particle pe and as a whole functions as subordinate conjunction meaning 'while.' In Bl. Hom. we find 12 exx. of þa hwile pe, one of which is: "swa we sceolan þa hwile pe we lifgah 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 pone teopan dæl on forhæfndnesse lifgean. —Bl. Hom. 35. 20–1. (=We must live the tenth part of our days in abstinence.) [ure daga gen. pl. m. + pone teopan dæl acc. sg. m.]

(23) pas feorpan dæl, ðæt he heron worlde mancynne þurh his lare eces lifes wegas sægede 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.) [pas gen. sg. n., 'of that' (contextually referring to the period for which Christ has led his life) + feorpan 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), onbidan (>ModE abide, 'wait') (exx. 3, 5, 9), bëon (>ModE be) (exx. 2, 18, 19), eardian ('dwell, live') (ex. 7), habban (>ModE have) (ex. 14), bëon gehalden ('be kept') (ex. 8), bëon gecristnod ('be christened') (ex. 12); yrnan (>ModE run) (ex. 13), byrnan (>ModE burn) (ex. 15), scënan (>ModE shine) (ex. 16), secgan (>ModE say) (ex. 23), tăcniæn ('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 unintrinsical to the adverbial accusative to be used in a position detached from the verb, as in:

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

(25) Swa swa hit seoPPan gelamp xl wintra æfter þon ðæ 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 gelimpþ 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.
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 "faela geara...lifde" (ex. 6, § 2.3), "ealne pysne gear lifdon" (ex. 17, § 2.3), and "sceolan ure daga pone teopan dal... 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 ðele 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 faela geara, ealne pysne gear, and ure daga pone teopan dal in exx. 6, 17, and 22, respectively, under § 2.3. Indeed, we can clearly see a syntactic affinity between the two sentences: "He lifde feala 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) ...forpon þe he her on eorþan engelice life lifde. — Bl. Hom. 167. 33. (= ...because he lived an angelic life here on earth.)

(4) ...pæt he efne munuclife gyta swipor lifde Ponne Ponne lœwedes 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 Ælfrie's Lives of Saints we find 23 examples of the adverbial accusative of duration—of which 21 (9 with geær, 6 with niht, 4 with dag, 1 with winter, and 1 with mônâp) belong to type A, 1 belongs to type B (with niht), and 1 belongs to type C (with tid)—and 17 examples of the prepositional type.

Type A:

(1) ða wunode se cnæplinge on cappadoniscre byrig fifgear on lare, — AELS 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, — AELS 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 Julianus — AELS III. 289. (= This cruel Julian reigned two years.) [Similarly IX. 42, X. 7.]

(4) ...god...se ðæ...of heofonum asende his folce big-leofan feowertig geara. — AELS VI. 278-80. (= ...God who sent food for his people from Heaven forty years.) [fëowertig acc. + geära gen. pl.]

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 meteleas, —ÆLS X. 293. (=She thus remained seven nights meatless.)
(7) He weard pa 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 smea-Pancollice 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.) [ãne acc. pl. +feawa daga gen. pl.]
(10) he wunode mid him twentig wintra siððan, and on his agenum mynstre em feowwertig 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 monap 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 pa niht ofer ðæs wodon lic, —ÆLS VI. 208. (=...and he kept the vigil all night by the madman’s corpse.)

Type C:
(13) Anæ tid ic wene þæt þæt pin sawul wunige on þæc, —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 t6, 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 t6 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Type A’</th>
<th>Type Ab’</th>
<th>Type Ac’</th>
<th>Type B’</th>
<th>Type C’</th>
<th>Type D’</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t6</td>
<td>1 (ÆLS)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (ÆLS)</td>
<td>5 (Beo.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geond</td>
<td>2 (ÆLS)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for</td>
<td>4 (WS 2/ÆLS 2)</td>
<td>3 (ÆLS)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binnan</td>
<td>1 (ÆLS)</td>
<td>1 (ÆLS)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (ÆLS)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (Bl. Hom.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 (Beo. 3/Bl. Hom. 1/ÆLS 5)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.' Thence it came to indicate the duration of an event whose resultant state has continued since it occurred. 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 was for-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. WSH13: 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-named, —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 bedrydan 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
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...wæræ gefullod for hund-seofontig geara, and to masse-preoste gehalgod for manegum gearum. —ÆCHom.14 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 gegrípen nu for feowertyne gearum, and gelæd oð ða ðriddan heofenan; (L: Scio hominem in Christo, ante annos quattuordecem, 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 ðæg ic yrnan mid eow ponne ic ne aras of þysum bedde ana nu for nigon gearum butan ðæres 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 gegrípen ('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.15

(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 twantig daga hyre nœs getyðod ænges 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 prittig 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) Tô- phrases:

Among the Old English prepositions that govern the dative case tô expresses in the greatest degree the temporal relation that should be expressed by the adverbial accusative of duration. It must be noticed, however, that tô, as O.E.D. (s.v. to prep. II. 6) describes,15

15 Here we might as well mention the occurrence of the idiom for lîfe, 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. Lîfe 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 weardā pa ge-bysgod on his ge-bedum þeoral on Martines cyrcan...to ðriddan healfan geare mid geornfulnyssé, —*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) Pa onfeng he eac þone foresprecan abbud Iohannem ond in Breotone gelædde, þæt he sceolde in his mynstre þone song læran to twelf monpum, —*Bede*¹⁶ 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 nihton mete; —*Park. Chron.*¹⁷ 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.*¹⁸ 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 cwaed þæt man ne sceolde æigne 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 hræðdon binnan pam ʒrittum nihtum þæt 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 preora daga fæc, —*ÆLS* II. 306–7. (=Nevertheless he remained alive after the wounds for the space of three days.)

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

¹⁶ 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.

¹⁷ 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.

THE ADVERBIAL ACCUSATIVE OF DURATION AND ITS PREPOSITIONAL EQUIVALENT

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

Type B':

The one instance of a purh-phrase19 in Bl. Hom. is particularly noteworthy in that purh is postposed to an accusative nominal group.20 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 Psalter21 contain purh-phrases (type B') where the corresponding parts in the Vespasian Psalter22 have adverbial accusatives (type B):

(19a) gemydng du earð edwita ðinra ðeara ða from ðæm unwisan sind alne deg / memor esto improeriorum tuorum eorum qui ab inspiente 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 gemydng, hu þe unwise edwita fela

purh ealne deg oft aspreacon. —Paris Ps. 73. 20. (=Also remember how the foolish have often cast many reproaches on you every day.)

(20a) ic cleopade to þe 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 deg elne cylypig —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.23 This may be said to prove the synonymity 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 swīðe ge-healdsum, peah þe he to langum fyrsre un-

19 As for the OE use of purh-phrases as equivalent to adverbial accusatives of duration, some instances in Beothe, 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 Alfreeds des Grossen, II. II (Bonn: Hanstein, 1901), pp. 493–4.

20 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."


22 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.

23 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 gefiða 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 deg eac on blisse —Paris Ps. 88. 14. (=In your name they will also be in great bliss all the day.)
As for the Old English use of to-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”:

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

(23) *Wilnade he in neawiste ðara haligra stowe to tide el6iodgian 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: *cupiens in vicinia sanctorum locorum ad tempus peregrinari in terris,*)

(24) *pa hreqwe ða he to mednicelre tide mid forgifnisse westme forælde doan, pa he vitum underdœoded butan westme in ecnese doð.* — Bede V. xiiiiii (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 veniae facere supersedit, in aeternum sine fructu poenis subditus facit,*)

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

To-`tide and to `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 connectival use of this obsolete idiom.

The EELS corpus contains another instance of type C', a `binnan-phrase:

(26) *hi ða begen bædon binnon pam fyrste god,* — AELS 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 to. 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’ to ‘for the duration of.’ 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 gepylidig, ond eaðmod, ond gemetfaet on eallum his life.* — Bl. Hom.

---

25 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.
26 The Latin text of Beadae Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum has been taken from Baedae Opera Historica, edited with an English translation by J. E. King, 1930, in The Loeb Classical Library.
27 E.g.: *du cwæde þæt þu hit ne mihte on þrim dagum hidir gefaran,* — Bl. Hom., 235. 35–6. (= You said that you could not journey to this place in three days.)
28 The following instance might have been included in type B': *Heo...cwæð þæt heo wære wydewe on pam geare.* — AELS II. 152–4. (= She said that she had been a widow that year.) Here, however, “...on pam geare” should be compared with “...pæt geare.”
213. 7–8.\(^{29}\) (= He was very patient, humble, and modest in all his life.)

(28) "Das martyräs neron nēfre on life þurh wif besymetene. —ÆLS II. 380–1.\(^{30}\) (= These martyrs were never defiled with women throughout their lives.) [Similarly V. 400.]

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

(30) ne wæs his drohtod 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 þæm dege þæs ðælfe. —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 nafre on (na-num) ll-ilfe has almost turned into an idiomatic combination, which leads to never in my llfe 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 læðra 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) ßæt wæs ungeara þæt ic ænigra me weana ne wende to widan 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) ßu þe self hafast
dædum gefremed þæt þin dom lyfæð

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 II. 2005, 2498.]

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

---

\(^{29}\) We should observe a close structural affinity between this instance and the following: ænig... þe æfere 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.

\(^{30}\) 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 tihtende 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.)
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 useful confirmation.


In Lay.31 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 3er (<OE geard), 14 with winter, 5 with niht, 5 with daei and niht or niht and daei (<OE dag), 3 with wike (<OE wicu f. 'week'), 3 with daei and 3er or 3er and daei, 2 with daei, 1 with monp, 1 with 3er and niht, and 1 with wike and daei), 3 examples of type Ab (2 with 3er and 1 with niht), 14 examples of type B (6 of aldaei or all(le) daei, 3 of al niht or alle nihte, 2 of (al) pense daei longe, 1 of alle pa nihte, 1 of al pat winter, and 1 of alone 3ere), and 22 examples of type C (17 with while, 4 with stunde, and 1 with prowte (<OE prág)).

Type A:

(1) *Ten 3er heo wes mid Locrine;* —Lay. 2514. (=She was with Locrine ten years.)

(O.M.S.: *Ten 3er 3eo was mide Locrin;*) [Similarly vv. 2402, 2580, 3719, 3914, 3923, etc.]

(2) *Ful soue 3ere mid pon kinge he wunede pere.* —Lay. 3967–8. (=He dwelt there with the king full seven years.)

(3) *swa he leoueden here wel feole zere.* —Lay. 693–8. (=So he lived here well many years.)

(4) *Feour winter he heuede pat wif,* —Lay. 194. (=He had the lady four winters.)

(Similarly vv. 2140, 2534, 2682, 2765, 2898, 2907.)

(5) *four and pritti winter* he heold pat lond and pa leoden mid blissen. —Lay. 240–2.

(=He held the land and the people with bliss thirty-four years.)

(O.M.S.: ...held pat lond and pat folke wid bliss.) [Similarly vv. 2046, 2092, 2804, 3872, 9028.]

(6) *swa heo hit walden wel feole wintre.* —Lay. 7991–2. (=...so they governed it well many years.)

(O.M.S.: pare ine wonede wel falte wintres. [=...dwelt therein...])

(7) *fulle pre nihtes heo herabarewude hine and is cnihthes.* —Lay. 3444–5. (=She

---

lodged him and his knights fully three nights.) (O.M.S.: folle three nihtes 3eo herborzede 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 þissen londe. —Lay. 9406–9. (=He was there but one night, when the wind turned directly from off the strand into this land.) (O.M.S.: Nas þære bote one niht, þe winde tornde forþ riht framward þære strode in to þisse londe.)

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

(10) pre daizes hit rinde blod: preo daies and preo niht; —Lay. 3895–6. (=Three days it rained blood—three days and three nights.) (O.M.S.: proo daizes hit reinede blod: proo daizes and proo nipt.)

(11) Seouer ni/It and enne dcei Brutus i Pare hauene l~i; —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.M.S.: Seofpe com Lago, þat æhte wike liuede.) [Similarly vv. 3921, 9541.]

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

(14) redden þissen peoden half zer and seouen niht, —Lay. 7038–9. (=He governed this kingdom half a year and seven nights.)

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

(16) preottene mondes wunede Julius in Õeres. —Lay. 7771–2. (=Julius remained in Otheres 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 zere —Lay. 8982–3 (=lived but seven years). Also cf. ex. 27 under type C below.

Type Ab:

(17) swa al pet halve zer mid al his hirede he wes þer. —Lay. 3377–8. (=So he was there with all his retinue all the half year.) (O.M.S.: so þat al pat alue zer mid alle his cnihtes he wonede þer.)

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

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

Type B:

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

(21) þe king and alle his cnihtes wakeden alle nihte. —Lay. 9858–9. (=The king and
all his knights waked all night.) (O.M.S.: identical.) [Similarly vv. 5776, 9860 (al niht).]

(22) þeo fihten wið pone duke al pene daï longe. —Lay. 6403-4. (=They fought with the duke all the day long.) (O.M.S.: þane duck hii fohten wiþ,) [Similarly v. 5668 (pene daï longe).]

(23) alle pa nihte greiðeden his cnihtes heore sceftes and heore sceldes; —Lay. 7977-9. (=All the nights his knights made ready their shafts and shields.) (O.M.S.: þilke nihtes [gen.] a-reði ['ready'] were his cnihtes.)

(24) Vaspasën and his iuerns al pat winter wuneden here. —Lay. 9886-7. (=Vaspasian and his companions dwelt here all the winter.) (O.M.S.: Vaspasian and hiis i-верес al pat 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 Otheres.)

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 pat, pene, pa, pe, 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 daï is doubly defined by preposed al pene 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.32

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 alcne zere him sende þeo pusend punden. —Lay. 8956-7. (=...and he should send him three thousand pounds each year.) / hu þu mine fader swore to lasten alcne 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.M.S.: Rummarus 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.M.S.: 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.M.S.: Ac fol lutel wile lifuede þeos ilke.) [Similarly v. 7042.]

(29) Claudien hœuede isend to Rome; pa while iwende Claudius and the king Arv iragus into Orcaneï3e, —Lay. 9553-6. (=Claudien had sent to Rome; Claudius and King Arviragus went into Orcany the while.) (O.M.S.: þe ferdes wende om and þe wile wende Claudius...in to Organeye, [=The armies went home...] [Similarly vv. 4190, 4390.]

(30) swa he hit ilaste pe while þe he luuede, —Lay. 9880-1. (=So he observed it [i.e. the compact] while he lived.) (O.M.S.: so it ilaste ['lasted'] wil þat he liuede.)

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

---

32 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.: *oper wile he heold grip *oper wile me faht him wip.) [Similarly v. 9297.]

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

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

(34) *He tah hine a3ein ane prowe*, —Lay. 640. (=He drew himself back a while.) (O.MS.: He ternde ['turned'] him a3ein.)

As for the instances containing *while*, we have principally taken out of account the conjunctional combination *pa* [pe] *while* (*pe*), ('while'), as in: *pe wile pe* (O.MS.: *wile ~*) (v. 227), *pe whilen ~* (O.MS.: *pe wile ~*) (v. 2222), *pa while pe ~* (O.MS.: *pe wile pat ~*) (v. 2421), etc.; 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 *pe 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 pis lond stille *pe whiJe his tir* ('authority') lâste. —Lay. 6539–42. (O.MS.: *pe wile hit ilaste.*) / he lædde his lif *pe while pe hit ilæste.* —Lay. 7015–6. (O.MS.: he ladde his lif *wil pat* he lifuede.) / heo per bô3eden ('abode') *pe wile pe heo luueden.* —Lay. 7903–4. / *pa while pe* he luuede his lond he huld a ('in') blisse. —Lay. 10088–9.

In ex. 31 "*ödær wile...ödær while*" might be interpreted as adverbial datives, when such instances are compared as:— *Whil heo weoren and la6liche iburste, whil heo weoren râdde 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 leouede he noht halfhis lif*, pat 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.M.S.: *ne liuede he noht hal his lif*, pat he ne makede his deap-sîp.)

(36) *swa vuele he luuede his lif* pat *pe scucke 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 da3en* (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 *tô*, 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

---

88 The following instance is conspicuous in that the single *while*, as in ModE, functions as a subordinate conjunction:—*cnihtes 3it beoð boðe kene, while ich wes quene.* —Lay. 5099–5100. (=You were both brave knights while I was queen)
be used earlier, about 1200.34

Type B':

(1) after pan ædelene læzen þat stoden *open ilke dagen*, nome heo him aræhten; —Lay. 9618-20. (=According to the noble laws that stood in those days they bestowed a name on him.) *[open] =o (=on) pen.] (O.M.S.: after pan ædelene lawe þat stode bi pilke dawe, name hii him a-rehte;) [Similarly v. 8047 (oðen ilke dagen / O.M.S.: in pan ilke dawe).]

(2) and al makeden heore faren, alsa ha wolden a pare 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 æure e 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.]

(4) alle læzen gode bi his dagen stode. —Lay. 4276-7. (=All good laws stood in his days.)

(5) and habben þa ilke læzen þe stoden bi heore eddre dagen,1. —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 llire eldrene dawes.)

(6) þer Bruttus 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 Bruttus bicom, and al his lif he wonden þar on.) [Similarly vv. 8074 (aure e to ure liue), 10077 (a to his liue).]

(7) bi-penc þe of þan fore, hu þu mine fader swore to lasten alche þere al to pene liue, gauel in to Rome of pine kine-dome. —Lay. 9845-51. (=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-penche of þe fore, ou þou to mi fader swore to senden eche þere bi al pine lifue feo ['money'] into Rome of pine kinedome.)

(8) Brutlond wes bli6e a to peos kinges liue. —Lay. 9892-3. (=Britain was blithe in all this king's life.) (O.M.S.: Brutlone was blipe in pisse kinges lifue.)

(9) on his liue he wes swa riche; alle pon obere vniliche. —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 oper oniliche.) [Similarly v. 2906 (an his liue).]

(10) þa wes þa king swa bli6e swa he nas nauer ære on his liue. —Lay. 8357-8. (=...
Then the king was as blithe as he was never before in his life.)

(11) *pe nœuer eax on liue ne dursten hider liðen, axien king of pisse londe, pat he gelue ȝeld 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.MS.: *pe neuere her on lifue ne dorste hii hider lipe, ne axi king of pisser londe, ȝeld in to Rome.) [Similarly v. 9575.]

These examples show that the greater part of the prepositional phrases are preceded by intensive adverbs, such as *auere* (‘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 lïf* (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*’.

3.3. As a fourteenth-century text we shall adopt the Wyclifte Gospels,37 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 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 zeeris I serue to thee,* —Wyc., Luke xv. 29 (cf. ex. 1, § 2.1).

36 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 pe bileuen, *for liue ne for daðen.* —Lay. 9448-9. (= We will not desert you, for life nor for death (i.e. whatever the cost).)

37 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.
he dwelte there twey dayes. —Wyc., John iv. 40 (cf. ex. 2, § 2.1).

(3) as Jonas was in the wom of a whall three days and three niztes, so mannus sone 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 bishop of that 3eer,—where the of-phrase, which functions as attributive to the preceding noun bishop, 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 ny3t 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.)

Type C:

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

(8) sit a litel tyme I am with 50u, —Wyc., John vii. 23 (cf. ex. 9, § 2.1).

(9) sit a liti! 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 n. 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.

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 penaunce. —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 cilio 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

88 For this instance the corresponding Greek sentence is of the same construction as the Latin or the WS is: —ὅπως διανυκτερεύων ['spending the whole night'] ἐν τῷ προσευχῷ τοῦ θεοῦ—whereas the corresponding Gothic contains an adverbial accusative of type C, as does the Wyc.: —was naht [acc. sg. < nahts (f.) 'night'] pairhwakands in bidai Gups.

89 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 manigne dag," 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) 3e woldon glade at oon our in his li3t. —Wyc., John v. 35. (=You would rejoice in his light for a while.) (Cf. L: vos...voluistis exultare ad horam [ad ‘to, at’ + horam, acc. sg. of hora f. ‘hour, season’] in luce eius / WS: ge woldon sume hwile [acc. sg. f.] gebli ssian on his leohte.)

(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 nolebat per multum tempus [per+acc. sg. n.] / WS: Da 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 ri3tfulnesse bifore him in alle oure days. —Wyc., Luke i. 71~5. (=...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: Dæt we...him þeowian, On halignesse 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’] / cf. ex. 1, § 2.6) / he is of four days. —Wyc., John xi. 39 (cf. L: quadriduanus [adj.; ‘of four days’] / 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

\[\text{This is in its turn to be compared with the Greek version:}--εὗρεν αὐτῶν τισαραγάς ἡπῃ γνήμεα [acc. pl. f.; ‘four days’] ἐξορτά [acc. sg. m.; ‘having’] ἐν τῷ μνήμειῳ.\]
The Canterbury Tales (ll. 1–4422). 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) Goddess of maidens, 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, Ieeveth 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 three, —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) Therfore I wol go slepe an houre 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

---

We han be waitynge a/ 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
Fornyned, 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.)

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 t/1e 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 dawenynge,
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.)

42 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 Northumbreland, —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.)
But onward on his wey that nyght he lay, —Ibid., 970.

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 ständ), 1 with space, and 1 with wight. 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.

(22) And with that word he fil doun in a trunce
A long tyme, and after he up sterte. —Ch., "Kn.," 1572–3.

(23) And thus they been accorded ysworn
To wayte a tyme, ... —Ch., "Mil.," 3301–2.

(24) Though Mars shal helpe he knyght, yet nathelees
Bitwixe yow ther moot be som tyme pees, —Ch., "Kn.," 2473.

(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.

The other nouns that were used by Chaucer as heads of adverbial accusatives of type C are while and throwe (<OE þrōg). 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 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.

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 hte 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.)

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.)
THE ADVERBIAL ACCUSATIVE OF DURATION AND ITS PREPOSITIONAL EQUIVALENT

(26) That if so were that Arcite were ye found
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 “(a)l 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 “(a)l his lyf” seems to deserve
so much attention, especially when it is contrasted with the corresponding prepositional
type (type D') “in (a)l 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.”

3.6. As for instances of the prepositional types corresponding to the non-prepositional
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’.

We may well show here instances of the type “lyveth 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. 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.

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 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 semaineis. (=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.

47 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 softe unto his chambre carie Bothe mete and drynke for a day or twye, —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.)

48 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 styned 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....)


50 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, Dwellyth this flor of wyffly patience, —Ch., C.T., "Cl.," E918-9. (=Thus this flower of wisely patience dwells with her father for a certain space of time.) / I knowe, of longe tyme agon, His thewes goode, 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.

(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.

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.51

3.7. In this section we shall describe how Chaucer in all his writings52 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

---

51 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 hls lyf —Ch., "W.B.", D 644-5.

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*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type D</td>
<td>{his lyf}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (3)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>al his lyf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19 (0)</td>
<td>2 (0)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type D'</td>
<td>{in his lyf}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 (6)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in al his lyf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>10 (7)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?)

(= 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 shalt 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 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 shall I of no conseil you biwreye. —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...
(= 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.,” I428; 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,
(= 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 in 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.
(= 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
(= 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 fifteenth-century English, we have selected a part of the Works of Sir Thomas Malory⁵³—“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-

⁵³ 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 woll 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 woll be sorer hereaftir seven-nyght than they be now, —Mal. 624. 12–14. (bene, be 'are.')</n(6) they fought more than fyve owres, —Mal. 595. 37–596. 1. (owres 'hours.')

Type Ab:
(7) I woll 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-wonthe 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 mountaunce (<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.54
(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.')</n
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.

54 Cf. M.E.D., s.v. MOUNTAUNCE.
THE ADVERBIAL ACCUSATIVE OF DURATION AND ITS PREPOSITIONAL EQUIVALENT

—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 studied 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.')[55]

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.[55]

(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 Alysaundir 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.')[55]

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 russhed 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

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 kynge 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>WS</th>
<th>Beo.</th>
<th>Bl. Hom.</th>
<th>ÆLS</th>
<th>OE total</th>
<th>Lay.</th>
<th>Wyc.</th>
<th>Ch.</th>
<th>Mal</th>
<th>ME total</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type A</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type Ab</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type Ac</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type C</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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    |          |     | 1        |      |      |     |     | 0        | 1     |
| Type Ac' | 3  | 3    |          |     |          | 1    | 1    |     |     | 1        | 4     |
| Type B' | 1  | 1    | 3        | 1   | 1        | 4    | 5    |     |     | 4        | 5     |
| Type C' | 2  | 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-prepositional</th>
<th>Prepositional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OE</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ME</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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'—Bœo. 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.