

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF *WHEN* AS SUBORDINATE CONJUNCTION OR RELATIVE ADVERB

By KIKUO YAMAKAWA\*

## I. Introduction

One of the most conspicuous features in the history of English syntax is that purely functional words, such as relatives and subordinate conjunctions, have come to supersede notionally concrete words, especially demonstratives. Through this historical process, we can see the general transition of English subordinate constructions, originally concrete in nature and loosely paratactic in structure, turning more abstract and compact for the subsequent periods. Now the most prevalent categories of logical subordination are syntactically expressed by connectives that indicate relations of time and place. Modern English connectives for these two relations are respectively represented by *when* and *where*. The intrinsic nature of the present theme can be fully clarified only when this closely allied couple of words have been studied comparatively; but I should like now to confine myself to the investigation of the temporal conjunction *when*.

It is true that morphologically *when* has been derived from OE *hwonne* [*hwænne*]; but with respect to syntactic function we must say that ModE *when* as a conjunctive or relative adverb has replaced OE *þonne* (>ModE *then*). In Old English *þonne* is in itself a demonstrative, indicating the time that some condition or occurrence takes place. It is with this demonstrative force that it displays a kind of double function when it is expressed at the beginning of a sentence or clause. On one hand it denotes the time of a condition or occurrence described in the clause it directly introduces; on the other it indicates the temporal relation of the two conditions or occurrences, one of which is described in the subsequent or preceding clause. Below I shall quote one Old English biblical passage, together with its modern version, so as to show how OE *þonne* corresponds to ModE *when* and what difference may be perceived in syntactic features between the two constructions.

(1) Eornustlice *þonne* ðu ðine ælnessan sylle, ne blawe man byman beforan ðe, ...  
Soþlice *þonne* ðu ðine ælnessan do, nyte ðin wynstre hwæt do ðin swyðre, ... And *þonne*  
ge eow gebiddon, ne beo ge swylce liceteras, ... Ðu soþlice *þonne* ðu ðe gebide, gang  
into ðinum bed-clyfan, ... Soþlice *þonne* ge eow gebiddon nellon ge sprecan fela, swa swa  
hæðene, ... —A.-S. Gosp.,<sup>1</sup> *Matt.* vi. 2-7.

(1a) Therefore, *when* thou doest thine almes, doe not sound a trumpet before thee, ...

\* Professor (*Kyōju*) of English.

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviated from the Anglo-Saxon Gospels (dated 995). For the quotations from them and the corresponding parts of the Wycliffite Bible (dated 1389), I have depended on *The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels with the Versions of Wycliffe and Tyndale*, edited by J. Bosworth and G. Waring (3rd edition; Reeves & Turner, London; 1888).

But *when* thou doest almes, let not thy left hand know what thy right doeth: ... And *when* thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are: ... But thou *when* thou prayest, enter into thy closet, ... But *when* yee pray, vse not vaine repetitions, as the heathen doe.—A.V.,<sup>2</sup> *Matt.* vi. 2-7.

Compared with *ðonne* in example 1, *when* in example 1a is felt to have some genuinely conjunctive force with which the hypotactic constructions have been compactly formed. The use of *ðonne* in 1, on the contrary, suggests with its morphological feature as a demonstrative some remnant characteristic that pertains to the paratactic stage in the history of subordinate constructions.

Besides *ponne* there is in Old English another important temporal conjunction *pā*, also a particle of demonstrative origin, though unlike *ponne* it fails to make a morphological contrast with *hwonne*. The semantic differences between *ponne* and *pā* will be described in II below.

In the present article I shall try to clarify what original nature in *when* caused it to be favoured as a new conjunction or relative and through what diachronical process *ponne* and *pā* came to be supplanted by the newer form. Before investigating the historical transition of the English words, however, I think it worth while to take a glimpse of the corresponding situations in the kindred languages German and French, so that I may remark some general and yet intrinsic trends that may be proved common to the Indo-European languages and thus realize more clearly the characteristic features particularly inherent in the English language as it is observed in that section of syntax which concerns subordinate constructions of temporal determination.

In German the representative conjunction of time, corresponding to English *when*, is *wenn*, as in:

(1b) *Wenn* du nun Almosen gibst, sollst du nicht lassen vor dir posaunen, ... *Wenn* du aber Almosen gibst, so laß deine linke Hand nicht wissen, was die Rechte thut. ... Und *wenn* du betest, sollst du nicht sehn wie die Heuchler, ... *Wenn* aber du betest, so gehe in dein Kämmerlein, ... Und *wenn* ihr betet, sollt ihr nicht viel plappern, wie die Heiden; ... —G,<sup>3</sup> *Matt.* vi. 2-7.

Now, the original English form *hwonne* [*hwanne*, *hwænne*] is closely cognate with the Old High German form *hwanne* [*hwenne*], from which the New High German form *wenn* has derived. Both OE *hwonne* and OHG *hwanne* were used as interrogatives meaning 'at what time', just as ModE *when* and NHG *wann* are. It should be taken into account, however, that the development of English *when*, as well as German *wenn*, as subordinate conjunction or relative adverb is considerably ascribable to its nature as indefinite, meaning 'at some or any time'. This origination in an indefinite is also the case with other relatives in general beginning in *wh-*, such as *who*, *what*, *which*, *where*, *why*, and *how*. In Middle High German, when the temporal adverb was used as a conjunction or relative, it appeared in the form of *swenne* or *swanne*, as in:

(2) Die lukten so mit glanze, *swenne* er gie be dem tanze.—Helmbrecht.<sup>4</sup> (=They [*i.e.*

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviated from the Authorized Version. For the quotations from it I have depended on *The Authorized Version of the English Bible, 1611*, edited by W. A. Wright; 5 volumes; Cambridge, 1909.

<sup>3</sup> The modern German biblical quotations are taken from *Das Neue Testament unsers Herrn und Heilandes Iesu Christi* (American Bible Society, New York; 1902).

<sup>4</sup> Quoted from W. B. Lockwood, *Historical German Syntax* (Oxford, 1969), p. 229.

the buttons] shone with such brightness whenever he danced.)

*Swenne* [*swanne*], in turn, goes back to OHG *sō hwanne sō* (cf. OE *swā hwonne swā* 'whenso, whensoever, whenever'), as in:

(3) *So hwanne so dhu dhina daga arfullis, dhasz dhu faris zi dhinem fordhrom, ih arwehhu dhinen samun after dhir.—Isidor 37. 9.*<sup>5</sup> (=When you have fulfilled your days, that you may go to your fathers, I will set up your seed after you.)

Here the double demonstrative "*sō* (OE *swā*)... *sō*" was affixed to the originally indefinite word so as doubly to intensify the indefinite or generic implication of it and at the same time doubly to determine the statement that was to follow.

In Old High German this indefinite relative *hwanne* was not so commonly used; the more usual word was demonstrative *danne*, which exactly corresponds to OE *þonne* [*þanne*, *þænne*], originally meaning 'then, at that time'. So *Matthew* xxiv. 33 in the modern German Bible:

(4) Also auch, *wenn* ihr die alles sehet; so wisset, daß es nahe vor der Thüre ist. (Cf.

A.V.: So likewise yee, *when* ye shall see all these things, know that it is neere, even at the doores.)

corresponds to the following sentence in the Old High German version, *Morseer Fragmente*,<sup>6</sup> which is dated about 800:

(4a) So auch *danne* ir diz al kisehet uuizit danne daz iu az selbem turim ist. (Cf. A.-S.

Gosp.: And wite ge swa, *ðonne* ge ðas þing geseoþ, ðæt he ys on durum gehende.)

Here we can see between the two Germanic languages a strikingly parallel process in this section of syntactic history. Another important temporal conjunction in German, *als*, will be treated in II below, in association with OE *pā*.

Of the Romance language French, the historical situation is fairly different from that of the two Germanic languages; and it is this difference that makes us more ready to assume the existence of French or Latin influence for the remarkable advance of *when* as conjunction in the Middle English period. The commonest temporal conjunctions in French are *quand* and *lorsque*. Of these the former is more usual and is of much older origin than the latter. *Quand* (<OF *quant*) is, like English *when* and German *wenn*, properly an interrogative and indefinite adverb, and goes back to Latin *quandō*. The use of *quand* as conjunction was found in the earliest period of the French language, as in:

(5) *Quant* an la cambra furent tut sul remés,

Danz Alexis la prist ad apeler:

—*La Vie de Saint Alexis* 61-2<sup>7</sup> [c. 1150].

(=When they were left all alone in the chamber, Sir Alexis began to upbraid her.)

The newer word *lorsque* is compounded of the demonstrative adverb *lors* (= 'then'), which goes back to OF *lores* (L *illā horā* [ablative case] 'at that time' + *s* [adverbial ending]) and the relative particle *que*, which is equivalent to English *that*. It began to be used in the sixteenth century<sup>8</sup> by the side of the older *quand*. So the Biblical verses *Matthew* vi. 2-7,

<sup>5</sup> Quoted from O. Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax* III. (Carl Winter, Heidglberg; 1928) § 1026, A. I. a) 1.

<sup>6</sup> For the quotations from the OHG and MHG versions of the Bible I have depended on F. Tschirch, *1200 Jahre deutsche Sprache: Die Entfaltung der deutschen Sprachgestalt in ausgewählten Stücken der Bibelübersetzung vom Ansgang des 8. Jahrhunderts bis in die Gegenwart* (Walter de Gruyter, Berlin; 1955).

<sup>7</sup> Quoted from A. Ewert, *The French Language* (Faber and Faber, London; 1953), p. 357.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. A. Hatzfeld & A. Darmeteter, ed.: *Dictionnaire général de la langue française* (Réimpression intégrale; Delagrave, Paris; 1964), s. v. LORSQUE.

quoted above under 1, 1a, and 1b, run in the French version<sup>9</sup> as follows:

(1c) *Lors donc que* tu fais l'aumône, ne sonne pas de la trompette devant toi, ... *Mais quand* tu fais l'aumône, que ta main gauche ne sache pas ce que fait ta droite, ... *Lorsque* vous priez, ne soyez pas comme les hypocrites, ... *Mais quand* tu pries, entre dans ta chambre, ... En priant, ne multipliez pas de vaines paroles, comme les païens, ...

It would be worth while to compare these with the corresponding verses in the Latin Bible:<sup>10</sup>

(1d) *Cum* ergo facis eleemosynam, noli tuba canere ante te, ... Te autem faciente eleemosynam, nesciat sinistra tua quid faciat dextera tua: ... Et *cum* oratis, non eritis sicut hypocritæ, ... Tu autem *cum* oraveris, intra in cubiculum tuum, ... Orantes autem nolite multum loqui, sicut Ethnici: ...

Latin *cum* here used, whose older form is *quom*, is also a word of an indefinite root. It was replaced in Vulgar Latin by *quandō*, which became French *quand*.

From what has been described above, we may conclude that the process is from the demonstrative to the indefinite in English and German, while in the case of French the factor of the indefinite is primarily rooted and that of the demonstrative is in a way posterior, and that here consists a fundamental difference in syntactic nature between the Germanic and the Romance languages.

## II. *OE þonne and þā*

Besides *þonne* referred to in the previous chapter, *þā* (cf. OHG & MHG *dō*, NHG *da*) must be taken into consideration as an important temporal conjunction in Old English. This Old English particle is etymologically traceable to the instrumental case of the demonstrative pronoun,<sup>11</sup> and therefore is equal to *þonne* in deriving from the demonstrative stem. Loosely speaking, we can say that *þonne* and *þā* are synonymous with each other, whether they are used as demonstrative adverbs in the sense of 'then' or as subordinate conjunctions in the sense of 'when'. With more semantic precision, however, it must be asserted that there is a fairly clear distinction in general between these two particles. *þonne* as conjunction, generally corresponding to German *wenn*, is used when the time of an action or occurrence is indefinite and general or it is to be habitually repeated, and is usually found either with a predate verb in the present tense meaning a generic or future time-sphere or with a predicate verb in the past tense that implies a habitual or repeated state or action. On the other hand, *þā* as conjunction, generally corresponding to German *als*, is used when the narrator is going to describe a definite action or occurrence confined to a particular point of time, and is most commonly found with a predicate verb in the past tense.<sup>12</sup> It is owing to these semantic features that among the Old English texts *Pastoral Care*, the homiletic writing whose main

<sup>9</sup> For the quotations from the French Bible I have depended on L. Segond, ed.: *La Sainte Bible* (Paris, 1959).

<sup>10</sup> The Latin Biblical verses are quoted in this article from *Biblica Sacra Latina; Vulgata Editiones* (Bagster, London; 1794).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. F. Holthausen, *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Carl Winter, Heidelberg; 1963), p. 359.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *A.-S. D.* (abbreviated from J. Bosworth & T.N. Toller, ed.: *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Oxford, 1898-1921) s. v. *þANNE* (p. 1037 l).

purport was to preach eternal truths, contains a relatively large number of *ponne*, while *Orosius* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the historical works where the scribes intended to record past facts or events, contain predominantly numerous instances of *þā*.<sup>13</sup> Generally speaking, *þā* is appropriate to descriptions in a lively narrative style, while *ponne* is sometimes rather equivalent to 'whenever'.

The semantic features of *ponne* and *þā* are shown fairly distinctly in the following quotations:

(1) Sua eac se læce, *ðonne* he bietre wyrta deð to hwelcum drence, he hie gesuet mid hunige, ðylæs he ða bieternesse ðære wyrte ðe hine gehælan sceal æt fruman gefrede, ac *ðonne* se swæc ðære bieternesse bið bediegled mid ðære swetnesse, *ðonne* bið se deaðbæra wæta on ðæm menn ofslægen mid ðæm biteran drence.—*Pastoral Care*,<sup>14</sup> Hatton MS., 303. 12-7. (=So also the physician, when he makes a draught of bitter herbs, sweetens it with honey, lest the patient should at first notice the bitterness of the herbs that are to cure him; but when the bitter taste is concealed by the sweetness, the deadly humour in the man is neutralized by the bitter drink.)

(2) *Þa* he com on India eastgemæra, *þa* com him þær on gean twa hund þusenda monna gehorsades folces, ...—*Orosius*<sup>15</sup> 132. 29-30. (=When he came on to the east boundary of India, there came against him two hundred thousand cavalrymen.)

(3) ...*þa* he þær to gefaren wæs, *þa* eodon hie to hiora scipum.—*The Parker Chronicle*,<sup>16</sup> an. 892 (87. 6-7). (=When he was marching there, they retired to their ships.)

(4) Ond he forþon oft in geborscipe, *ponne* þær wæs blisse intinga gedemed, þæt heo ealle scalde þurh endebyrdnesse be hearpan singan, *ponne* he geseah þa hearpan him nealecan, *ponne* aras he for forscome from þæm symble and ham eode to his huse. *Þa* he þæt þa sumre tide dyde, þæt he forlet þæt hus þæs gebeorscipes, and ut wæs gongende to neata scipene, ... *Þa* he ða þær in gelimplice tide his leomu on reste gesette and onslepte, *þa* stod him sum mon æt þurh swefn ...—*Bede*<sup>17</sup> IV. xxiv (342. 20-8). (=And so often at a feast, when it was arranged as an occasion for merriment that they should all in turn sing to the harp, whenever he saw the harp come near him, he rose out of shame from the feast and went back to his house. When on one occasion he

<sup>13</sup> Cf. K. Kivimaa, *Þe and Þat as Clause Connectives in Early Middle English with Especial Consideration of the Emergence of the Pleonastic Þat* (Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Helsinki; 1966), pp. 159, 167.

<sup>14</sup> The text adopted here is *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, edited by H. Sweet (E. E. T. S., O. S. Nos. 45, 50; 1876, reprinted 1958). MS. Hatton 20 is dated between 890 and 897.

<sup>15</sup> The text adopted here is *King Alfred's Orosius*, edited by H. Sweet (E. E. T. S., O. S. 79, 1883). It is edited from the Lauderdale MS., dated at the end of the ninth century, though the part of pp. 18/2-42/25 in Sweet's edition is supplied from the Cotton MS., which was composed in the mid-eleventh century.

<sup>16</sup> For the quotations from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* I have depended on *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (Vol. I), edited by J. Earl and C. Plummer, Oxford, 1952. As to the date of the Parker MS., the most authentic West Saxon of the seven MSS. of the *Chronicle*, we may quote from the above-mentioned work, II, p. xxvii: "from 892, or a little earlier, to 1001 the entries were made not very long after the events which they describe."

<sup>17</sup> The text adopted here is *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, edited by T. Miller (E. E. T. S., O. S. Nos. 95, 96; 1890, '91, reprinted 1959). It is mainly edited from MS. Tanner 10 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which was composed at the end of the tenth century in the dialect West Saxon mixed with Mercian.

left the house of the convivial meeting and went to the cattle shed ..., when in due time he stretched his limbs on bed there and fell asleep, then a man stood by him in a dream.)

It is worth to note that the second *ðonne* in example 1 and *þa* in examples 2 and 3 are correlated with the anaphoric demonstratives *ðonne* and *þa* respectively. This kind of double construction is indeed a favoured one in older English; and it is in example 4 that the characteristic of this type of construction is significantly manifested. Example 4 is particularly noteworthy in displaying both *þonne* and *þa* used, each in its own proper place, in the same context. In this passage three *þonne*'s are used for the description of the herdsman Cædmon's habitual conduct, and then to describe what he did on one particular occasion, the writer had recourse to four *þa*'s, one of which is spelt *ða*. Apart from this, it has something suggestive of the paratactic nature of Old English subordinate constructions. The two clauses introduced by the first two *þonne*'s can be judged to be subordinate from the word order where the verb follows the subject or the element that can be formally substituted for the subject. Structurally, however, we feel them placed paratactically, and in logical relation the second clause is subordinated to or rather integrated into the first one. The force of paratactic arrangement further goes on to the third clause, where the word order of the verb preceding the subject shows that it is a principal clause. That is also the case with the four-fold use of *þa*. Here the punctuation in Miller's edition, which I have adopted for the quotation above, is misleading.<sup>18</sup> The second *þa* appears at the beginning of the new sentence. In fact it is placed paratactically after the first *þa*, but before the second *þa* there has not been expressed any principal clause that is to govern the subordinate one introduced by the first *þa*. We should notice the correlative or appositional use of *þæt* in "*Þa he þæt...dyde, þæt...*". Both the first clause and the second one should be subordinated to the one introduced by the fourth *þa*. So according to the other editions this part is differently punctuated; there the second *þa* is not rendered to open the new period. In Sweet's edition,<sup>19</sup> the second *þa* (spelt *ða*) is placed after a comma; and in the editions by Mossé,<sup>20</sup> Wyatt,<sup>21</sup> and Bolton,<sup>22</sup> it is placed after a semicolon. It must be admitted that this type of loose, cumulative, and anacoluthic structure is characteristic of Old English syntax; and it is just in this characteristic context that we can perceive the paratactic nature of the successive use of *þonne* and *þā*, whose origin remains demonstrative, even when they function as subordinate conjunctions. The third *þa*, spelt *ða*, in the quotation above is not apparently a subordinate conjunction but seems to be an anaphoric adverb. The fact is, however, that the third *þa* is used, with its genuine demonstrative function, to strengthen or emphasize the second *þa* in its demonstrative force, that is, the force with which to indicate the time of the action predicated by the clause that the second *þa* introduces, and at the same time to connect the clause to the principal one introduced by the fourth *þa*, which has its demonstrative function fully displayed and is correlated with the second and the third *þa*. In this structure of double or triple determination we can see a fundamental feature in Old English subordinate constructions.

In the following quotation, *ðonne* functions as relative adverb, referring to a noun which

<sup>18</sup> By the way, the second period is not rightly construed in Miller's modernization (*op. cit.* 343. 23-4): "*Having done so on one occasion, the left the house of entertainment, and...*" (Italics mine).

<sup>19</sup> H. Sweet, ed.: *An Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse* (Oxford, 1928<sup>7</sup>), p. 47.

<sup>20</sup> F. Mossé, ed.: *Manuel de l'anglais du moyen âge*; I. Veil-anglais I (Aubier, Paris; 1950<sup>3</sup>), p. 240.

<sup>21</sup> A. J. Wyatt, ed.: *An Anglo-Saxon Reader* (Cambridge U. P., 1962), p. 56.

<sup>22</sup> W. F. Bolton, ed.: *An Old English Anthology* (Edward Arnold, London, 1963), p. 2.

expresses a space of time.

(5) Soþlice ða dagas cumaþ, ðonne se brydguma him byþ afyrred, ðonne fæstaþ hig on ðam dagum.—A.-S. Gosp., *Luke* v. 35. (=Truly the days will come when the bridegroom will be taken away from him; then they will fast in those days.)

The second *ðonne* in this sentence, by the way, cannot be structurally interpreted as correlative with the first *ðonne*. But there can be felt in this expression something that associates the two *ðonne*'s with each other. If we remove the part "Soþlice ða dagas cumaþ" from this sentence, we shall clearly perceive the perfect correlation of "*ðonne*...*ðonne*..."; so the expression again partakes of the anacoluthic character of Old English syntax.

Next let us quote an instance where we can see parataxis passing very naturally to hypotaxis in the successive use of *pā*.

(6) *Þa* bletsode he hine and axode hine, hu eald he wære. *Þa* andswarode he him and cwæð: Anhundwintre and xxx wintre. ... *Þa* heora feoh geteorode, *þa* com eall Egypta folc to Iosepe, ...—Ælfric,<sup>23</sup> *Gen.* xlvi. 7-15. (=Then he blessed him and asked him how old he was. Then he answered him saying, "A hundred and thirty."...When their money ran short, all the Egyptian people came to Joseph.)

If we were to alter the first two periods into one: "*Þa* he bletsode hine and axode hine hu eald he wære, *þa* answerode he him..." the original parataxis would turn into hypotaxis. We can readily perceive this syntactic tone smoothly running to the following normal hypotaxis: "*Þa* heora feoh geteorode, *þa* com...".

*pā* in this use was sometimes followed by the connective particle *pe*, though this combination was not so usual as simple *pā*.

(7) Et monn ða ðe he in are wes ne onget he efenmeten wes neatum unwisum...—*Vespasian Psalter*<sup>24</sup> xlvi. 21. (=And when a man was in honour but did not understand, he was compared to an ignorant animal.) (Cf. L: Homo, *cum* in honore est, non intellexit: comparatus est jumentis insipientibus, ...)

Here is really revealed the original nature of *pā* as demonstrative adverb, for it is interpreted to have been turned into a conjunction by connective *pe* being appended to it. *pe* itself is of the demonstrative stem *pa-* (<pre-Germanic *to-*). From a viewpoint of historical syntax, therefore, *pā pe* might as well be termed a double determinative as *pā*...*pā*..., the form illustrated by examples 2, 3, and 6 above.

It seems relevant here, by the way, to remark the kindred use of OHG and MHG *dō*, which is just cognate with OE *pā*. The old German *dō* was originally a demonstrative adverb and was most frequently used to indicate a definite point of the past time. It became NHG *da*, and so by the end of the MHG period it was morphologically incorporated with local demonstrative *da* (<OHG *dār*), meaning 'there'. Since OHG it had been used in a relative or conjunctive function, and this use was found in Luther (1483-1546) and still later. It is, however, now limited only to biblical contexts and generally has been replaced by the use of

<sup>23</sup> For the quotations from Ælfric's version of the Bible I have depended on *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Aelfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis*, edited by S. J. Crawford (E. E. T. S., O. S. No. 160, 1922). It is edited from MS. Cott. Claud. B. IV, which is dated c. 1000.

<sup>24</sup> Adopted from *The Oldest English Texts*, edited by H. Sweet (E. E. T. S., O. S. No. 83; 1885, reprinted 1957). The Old English interlinear version of the Psalms is contained in the Cottonian MS. Vespasian A.1, which was originally composed in Mercian in the eighth century.

*als* (<MHG *alsō*, cf. E *as*). Below I shall arrange, after the Anglo-Saxon version of *Luke* i. 23, the German versions of the same Biblical verse, where the diachronical transition of the temporal conjunctions will be clearly perceived.

(8) *Ʒa wæs geworden, Ʒa his Ʒenunga dagas gefyllede wæron, he ferde to his huse.*—A.-S. Gosp. (Cf. R.S.V.<sup>25</sup>: And *when* his time of service was ended, he went to his home.)

(8a) *Inti gifulte wurdun tho taga sines ambahtes, gieng in sin hus.*—Tatian [c. 830].

(8b) *Abir geschen ist, do irfullit sint di tage sines ammechtis, do ginc her inwec in sin hus.*—Evangelienbuch [1343].

(8c) *Vnnd es begab sich, da die zeyt seynes ampts aus war, gieng er heym ynn seyn haus, ...*—Luther [1522].<sup>26</sup>

(8d) *Und es begab sich, da die Zeit seines Amtes aus war, ging er heim in sein Haus.*—Modern German Version [1902].

(8e) *Als die Tage seines Amtes erfüllt waren, ging er nach Hause.*—Modern German Version [1958].<sup>27</sup>

This replacement of *dō* by *als* in the history of the German language naturally reminds us of the development of English *as* (<OE *eal-swā* 'quite so') as temporal conjunction, which may be expected to replace OE *þō*. It should be of great significance concerning the decay of *þō* which is a main theme in the present study; but since the subject is out of the sphere of my intended observation, I shall here be content to make just a short comment on it. The use of *as* as synonymous with *when* began in the thirteenth century,<sup>28</sup> especially in the South and West Midland dialects.<sup>29</sup> This dialectal location of the first appearance of *as* meaning 'when' seems to be significant because it was the same place where, as will be described in IV below, the use of *panne* [*þen*] as subordinate conjunction had begun to decay most conspicuously in the corresponding period. *As* in the sense of 'when' came to be used more widely, though much less commonly than *whan* [*when*], in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It would be enough here to quote one instance from the Wycliffite Bible in the fourteenth century, the verse just corresponding to the one quoted above as examples 8~8e. Special attention should be paid to the use of *as* in Wycliffe as compared with *Ʒa* in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels.

(8f) *And it was maad, as the dayes of his office weren fulfilled, he wente in to his hous.*—Wycliffe, *Luke* i. 36.

### III. OE *hwonne*

In Old English it was truly very seldom that *hwonne* was used, instead of *ponne* or *þā*,

<sup>25</sup> Abbreviated from Revised Standard Version. The New Testament of R. S. V. was completed in 1946. The edition adopted here is *The Holy Bible with References and Concordance: Revised Standard Version*, published by Thomas Nelson and Sons, New York, in 1959.

<sup>26</sup> The text adopted here is *Nachbildung der Septembibbel: Das Neue Testament deutsch*, introduced by J. Köstlin (Berlin, 1883).

<sup>27</sup> For the quotation from the newer German Version I have depended on *Neues Testament*; 3. verbesserte und in den Anmerkungen erweiterte Auflage (Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau; 1958).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. OED (abbreviated from *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 1933), s. v. *As adv.* 16; MED (abbreviated from *Middle English Dictionary*, Michigan U. P., 1956- ), s. v. *As conj.* 10.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Kivimaa, *op. cit.*, p. 246.



as subordinate conjunction or relative adverb. We shall here observe that the rare use of *hwonne* in this function should be ascribed to the indefinite<sup>30</sup> nature of *hwonne* or other *hw*-words of the same kind, which also caused them to be used as interrogatives. As an external factor, we must not neglect the influence of the use of Latin *quandō* and *cum*, but it was no more than an accelerator given from outward to the inner native force.

First the noticeable case of *hwonne* is the structure where it introduces an additional clause dependent upon a preceding verb that expresses desire, waiting, or expectation with hope or fear.<sup>31</sup> Though *hwonne* in Old English was not yet fully established as subordinate conjunction, yet we can find instances of *hwonne* used in its original function as indefinite adverb and implying that the time of an action or occurrence is unknown or uncertain. When *hwonne* in this use appears in the typical structure, it is expressed after a verb of cognitive sense, that is, such a verb as means knowing, asking, or doubting, and introduces a dependent or indirect question, which may be syntactically termed a noun clause functioning as object of the verb. *Hwonne* in this case can be called an interrogative, so far as we admit that the category is founded upon the indefinite nature that is intrinsically characteristic of *hwonne* or such other words beginning in *hw*.

As for *hwonne* as dependent interrogative, it would be enough to quote one typical instance, as follows:

- (1) ...se fæder nyste hu he befeng on hi, ne hwænne heo aras, for hys druncen-  
nysse.—Ælfric, *Gen.* xix. 35. (=The father did not know how he had to do with her,  
nor when she arose, on account of his drunkenness.) (Cf. L: ne...quidem *sensit* quando  
concupuerit, uel *quando* illa surrexerit.)

From this use it is quite natural to pass to the structure where *hwonne* introduces a complementary clause dependent upon a preceding verb that expresses such a kind of meaning as desire, anxiety, waiting, or expectation. In this case the *hwonne*-clause is not always connected so closely to the verb in a function of object, but has sometimes become looser in semantic relation till it appears adverbial towards the verb or verbal expression that precedes it.

Below I shall illustrate some such phenomena.

- (2) hæleð langode,  
wægliðende, swilce wif heora,  
*hwonne* hie of nearwe ofer nægledbord  
ofer streamstaðe stæppan mosten

—*Genesis*<sup>32</sup> 1431-4.

<sup>30</sup> For the term "indefinite" I have depended on G. O. Curme, who regards interrogatives as a kind of indefinites and defines the use of *wh*-words as interrogatives in direct and indirect questions as "only a special function which they often perform" (*Syntax* [Heath, Boston; 1931], p. 182). Also compare G. Karlberg, *The English Interrogative Pronouns* (Almqvist, Stockholm; 1954), p. 27ff., where he gives the new term "cognitives" for approximately the same category after introducing many other grammarians' terms and explanations.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *A.-S. D.*, s. v. HWANNE II and Sup., s. v. HWANNE II. For composing this part of my article, furthermore, I must acknowledge myself to be greatly indebted to B. Mitchell, "The Status of *Hwonne* in Old English" (*Neophilologus*, 1965, pp. 157-160) and the same author's *A Guide to Old English* (Blackwell, Oxford; 1965), §§ 158, 174.

<sup>32</sup> The text adopted here is G. P. Krapp, ed.: *The Junius Manuscript*; Vol. I of *A.-S. P. R.* (abbreviated from *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, published by Columbia U. P., 1931). The MS. is dated about 1000. Of the two different parts of the poem, *Genesis A* (ll. 1-234 and ll. 852-2936) was originally composed in an Anglian dialect at the end of the seventh century or at the beginning of the eighth century, though later transcribed into West Saxon; and *Genesis B* (ll. 235-851) was translated into West Saxon from the Old Saxon original in the second half of the ninth century.

(=The seafaring men, as well as their wives, longed for the time when they could go aboard across the seashore out of the confinement.)

(3) ...he sorgende *bæd hwonne* seo aǰl to him cwome, ... —*Bede* III. xii (186. 23-4).

(=He was praying anxiously for the time when the pain would come to him.)

(4) "Læt nu geferian flotan userne,  
lid to lande ofer lagufæsten,  
ond þonne *gebidan* beornas þine,  
aras on earde, *hwænne* ðu eft cyme."

—*Andreas*<sup>33</sup> 397-400.

(=Let us now bring our ship to land over the sea, and then let your brave servants wait at home till you come back.)

(5) Ac hwæt is þæt þæm men sy mare þearf to *þencenne* þonne embe his sawwle þearf, & *hwonne* se dæg cume þe he sceole wið þæm lichomon hine gedælon, & hwylce latteowas he hæbbe, ... —*Blickling Homilies*<sup>34</sup> VIII (97. 16-9). (=But what is more needful for a man to think of than about his soul's need, and when the day will come that he must separate himself from the body, and what guides he may have?)

(6) ...he sceal *winnan & sorgian*, *hwonne* se dæg cume þæt he sceole þæs ealles idel hweorfan, buton he ær hwæt mid godum willan for Gode gedyde.—*Ibid.* (97. 23-5). (=He will suffer and grieve, thinking when the day will come that he must depart without anything of it at all, unless he has done something for God with a good will.)

(7) beoð *beofigende* *hwonne* him bearn godes  
deman wille þurh his dæda sped.

—*Christ and Satan*<sup>35</sup> 620-1.

(=They are trembling when the Son of God will judge them with his power of deeds.)

(8) ...hie selfe wæron ælce dæg *on þære ondrædinge hwonne* hie on þa eorþan besuncene wurden.—*Orosius* II. vi (88. 13-5). (=They themselves were every day fear-stricken when they should sink into the earth.)

In all these examples the verbs or verbal expressions are more or less intransitive; and the *hwonne*-clauses must be syntactically interpreted as adverbial rather than objective, though semantically each of them implies the time whose arrival is feared or wished for by the person or persons that the grammatical or sense subject refers to. As to example 6, it would be enlightening to compare the original "He sceal *winnan* and *sorgian*, *hwonne* se dæg cume" with "He sceal *winnan* and *sorgian*, *þonne* se dæg cymþ" or "*þonne* se dæg cymþ, (*þonne*) sceal he *winnan* and *sorgian*." In the latter sentence, the principal clause would describe the mental condition in which the person referred to will be found at some future time, while the principal clause of the original statement relates to the conjectured condition in which he is now and will be till the day arrives. But this is a delicate difference; and herein consists a transitional stage where *hwonne* was turning from an indefinite adverb which introduced a noun clause to a subordinate conjunction which introduced an adverb clause. For examples

<sup>33</sup> The text adopted here is G.P. Krapp, ed.: *The Vercelli Book*; Vol. II of *A.-S.P.R.*, 1932. The MS. of the Vercelli Book is dated A. D. 960-980.

<sup>34</sup> The text adopted here is *The Blickling Homilies*, edited by R. Morris. Although the date 971 is recorded in the MS. (XI. 119.2), the linguistic archaism suggests that it was composed before 900.

<sup>35</sup> The text is in *The Julius Manuscript* (edited by Krapp). The composition of the poem is dated before 800 or between 790 and 830.

7 and 8 I have given the modern translations in which the adverb clauses introduced by *when* correspond to the *hwonne*-clauses in the originals. But if I were to modernize them more accurately, they might be rendered: (7) "They are trembling for fear the time should come when..." and (8) "They themselves were...fear-stricken, uncertain as to when..." In this respect it may be worth to note that for the textual variation of example 7 the editor, Krapp, gives the footnote (*op. cit.* p. 155): "620 *hwonne*] *þonne* with *þ* altered to *w* and *h* prefixed above the line." Here we can see an evidence of linguistic change that is induced by the fluctuation in the speaker's mind when it is influenced by a delicate shade of meaning, along with a motivation of transition from *þonne* to *hwonne*.

Closely associated with the structure mentioned above is the idiomatic construction: "Hit biþ lang *hwonne*..." or "Him þyncþ lang *hwonne*...", where the meaning of *hwonne* comes very near to 'before.'

(9) Hit bið long *hwonne* se hlaford cume;...—*Pastoral Care*, Hatton MS., 121. 11-12. (=It will be long before the lord comes.)

(10) To lang hit him þuhte,  
*hwænne* hi togædere garas beron.

—*The Battle of Maldon*<sup>86</sup> 66-7.

(=It seemed too long to them before they could clash their spears together.)

About all these instances of *hwonne* there is more or less subjective tone of apprehension or expectancy. The tone is also observable in a construction where the preceding predicate contains some nominal expression with a temporal sense or any other kind of sense towards which *hwonne* appears as if it performed the function of a relative adverb.

(11) siteð æt symble, *sæles* bideþ,  
*hwonne* ær heo cræft hyre cyþan mote  
werum on wonge.

—*Riddles*<sup>87</sup> xxxi. 12-4.

(=She sits at the feast, waiting for the occasion when she can soon display her art to the people in the plain.)

(12) Þær se halga bad,  
sunu Lameches, *sōðra gehata*  
lange þrage, *hwonne* him lifes weard  
frea ælmihtig frecenra siða  
reste ageafe,

—*Genesis* 1424-8.

(=Then the holy son of Lamech waited a long time for the true promises when God Almighty, guardian of creatures, would allow him to rest from the dangerous voyage.)

(13) ...he for ðæm deaþe ne forhtode, ah hine ðæs heardost langode *hwanne* he of ðisse world moste.—*Blickling Homilies* XVIII (225.36-227.2). (=He was not afraid of death but longed very strongly for it when he might depart from this world.)

<sup>86</sup> Quoted from the text in E. Dobbie, ed.: *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*; Vol. VI of *A.-S.P.R.*, 1942. The poem is supposed to have been written very shortly after the battle, which took place in 993.

<sup>87</sup> Quoted from the text in G.P. Krapp & E.V.K. Dobbie, ed.: *The Exeter Book*; Vol. III of *A.-S.P.R.*, 1936. Many of the Riddles date from the early eighth century. The MS. of the *Exeter Book* was composed about 970.

- (14) *Ic þæs færes a*  
 on wenum sæt *hwonne* ne wraðra sum  
 ellþeodigne aldre beheowe,

—*Genesis* 2700-2.

(=I have always been expecting that danger when some hostile man may deprive me, the stranger, of the old woman.)

Of these examples, 11 and 12, where *hwonne*-clauses are indirectly dependent on the verb *bidan* ('await'), should be compared with 4 above, where *gebidan* is used as the governing verbal. Example 13, where *langian* appears as an impersonal verb, should be contrasted with 2 above, where the same verb is used in a personal construction.

It must be noted that all the examples cited above have *hwonne*-clauses placed after the governing predicates. This post-verbal position of *hwonne*-clauses shows that they have retained some of their original nature as dependent questions introduced by the interrogative *hwonne*. As contrasted with the use of *hwonne*, below can be cited two instances which are rather in the nature of syntactic idioms and where the indefinite implication of *hwonne* has been explicitly intensified.

(15) ...*loc whenne* þæt flod byþ ealra hehst and ealra fullost beo an scip flotigende swa neh þan lande swa hit nyxt mæge, and þar beo an mann stande on þan scipe and habbe ane taper æx on his hande...<sup>38</sup>—*The Parker Chronicle*, an. 1031<sup>39</sup> (158.4-7). (=Whenever the tide is at its highest and at the full, and a ship is floating as near to the shore as it can be, and there is a man standing on the ship with a small axe in his hand, [the monastery shall receive the dues from as far inland as can be reached by a small axe thrown from the ship.]

(16) ...man sceal wacigean and warnian symle þæt man geara weorðe huru to ðam dome, *weald hwænne* he us to cyme,...—Wulfstan, *Homilies*<sup>40</sup> II. 62-3. (=People should watch and always keep on guard so that they may get ready for the judgement, at all events, whenever it may come to us.)

In example 15, *lōc* is the imperative of *lōcian* (>ModE *look*) and the following clause is originally expressed as a loosely related object of the imperative verb. *Lōc* has effectually come to emphasize the indefinite force inherent in the interrogative that introduces a dependent question, or rather exclamation. The whole sentence structure was a piece of parataxis, but *lōc hwonne* has come to have approximately the same meaning as ModE *whenever*, and so may be described as introducing an adverbial clause of indefinite time.<sup>41</sup> A parallel thing can be said of *weald hwænne* in example 16, the combination that can also be described to mean 'whenever'. Here again, *weald* was the imperative of *wealdan* (>ModE *wield* 'govern, rule'), but has come to emphasize the indefinite or generic implication of the following *hwonne*-clause and invest it with a concessive tone.<sup>42</sup> Now it should be remarked that the old syntactic pattern "*swā*+indefinite+*swā*" can hardly ever be attested in the case of *hwonne*

<sup>38</sup> These spaced dots, which have been copied from the text, denote that the part was erased in the manuscript. The principal clause, supplemented in brackets in the modernization, has been taken from G. N. Garmonsway, ed.: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Dent, London; 1953).

<sup>39</sup> This part of the Parker MS. is dated about 1075.

<sup>40</sup> The text adopted here is D. Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford, 1957). The composition of most of the MSS. is assigned to about 1050.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. OED, s. v. LOOK *v.* 4b; A.-S. D., s. v. LOC, Sup., s. v. LOC II.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. A.-S. D., s. v. WEALD *adv. conj.* II; Holthausen, *op. cit.* p. 385.

in Old English literature,<sup>43</sup> and that the more concrete and straightforward ways of expression *lōc hwonne* and *weald hwonne* began to be used in Late Old English before *swā hwonne* *swā* became commoner. It is true that the use of both these combinations, especially of the latter, seems almost a special phenomenon limited to the period of Late Old English, though *lōc* (>ME *lōke*) and *weald* (>ME *wāld*) themselves were sometimes found in a similar function in the later periods; but it remains very characteristic of Old English syntax in the section concerned.

No less worthy to be mentioned here is the following instance, where *hwænne* appears at the head of the sentence.

(17) *Hwænne* ic bræc fif hlafas and twegen fixas, *and* hu fela wyligena ge namon fulle? Hi cwædon ða, Twelwe. And *hwænne* seofon hlafas feower þusendum, *and* hu fela wyligena brytsena ge namon fulle? Hi sædon, Seofon.—A.-S. Gosp., *Mark* viii. 19-20. (=“When I broke five loaves and two fishes, how many basketfuls did you take?” Then they said, “Twelve.” “And when I broke seven loaves among four thousand men, how many baskets full of fragments did you take?” They said, “Seven.”)

It may well be conjectured that this use of *hwænne* has been induced by the use of Latin *quandō* in the Vulgate, where the corresponding verses run:

(17a) *Quando* quinque panes fregi in quinque millia: quot cophinos fragmentorum plenos sustulistis? Dicunt ei: Duodecim. *Quando* et septem panes in quattuor millia: quot sportas fragmentorum tulistis? Et dicunt ei: Septem.

Here *quandō* is used with stronger and more argumentative force than the commoner temporal conjunction *cum*. The force has been conveyed to the Old English version. If we compare the original with this expression where *hwænne* has been replaced by *ponne*: “*Ponne* ic bræc fif hlafas and twegen fixas, hu...? ... And *ponne* seofon hlafas feower þusendum, hu...? ...,” we shall feel the catechistic force suited to the original context much weakened in the latter. By the way, *and* in either of the two original interrogative sentences has been expressed just as a connecting form-word between the subordinate and the principal clause and therefore used quite superfluously.<sup>44</sup> This superfluous use of *and* was carried over to the Wycliffite Version in Middle English. The corresponding verses by Wycliffe run as follows:

(17b) *Whanne* I brak fyue looues in to fíue thousande, *and* hou manye coffyns ful of brokene mete 3e token vp? Thei seyn to him, Twelue. *Whanne* and seuene looues in to four thousande of men, how many leepis of brokene mete 3e token vp? And thei seyn, Seuene.

We can feel this *and* almost equal in strength to the anaphoric demonstrative *ponne* (‘then’), and yet invested with more straightforward simplicity than the latter. Here in example 17 is perceptible, though in a crude form, a source of the conjunctive use of *when*.

#### IV. ME than and thō

In the Middle English period the conjunctive or relative use of *panne* [*penne*, *then*] (<OE *ponne*) and *þō* [*thō*] (<OE *þā*) was considerably decreased, though it persisted in existence

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Kivimaa, *op. cit.* p. 159; also OED, s. v. WHENSO.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. A.-S. D., Sup., s. v. AND II.

till the early part of the fifteenth century. By OED the latest instance with *then* in the sense of 'when' is quoted from a. 1440, while with *thō* in the sense of 'when' the latest record is of c. 1425. We are now going to investigate how in the course of the Middle English period the semantic domains that were properly assignable to *panne* and *pō* came to be confused, and how *panne*, and consequently *pō*, came to be replaced by *hwanne* [*hwenne*, *whan*, *when*] (<OE *hwonne*).

First we shall observe the general phenomena in Early Middle English. In the twelfth century the Old English use of *panne* [*penne*] and *pō* was generally kept on, though the use of *hwanne* [*hwenne*] was already promoted to a considerable extent especially in the Southern and West Midland dialects. In some West Midland texts, also, we can see a tendency of *pō* being replaced by *penne*, and consequently by *hwenne*. In the thirteenth century the dominant tendency was that *panne* [*penne*] was falling into disuse, especially in the Southern and West Midland dialects, and that *hwanne* [*hwenne*] was remarkably advancing through all the dialects. According to Kivimaa,<sup>45</sup> there are some Southern and West Midland texts of the thirteenth century where we cannot find any instance of *panne* [*penne*] as temporal conjunction, though the word was used as an adverb meaning 'then' in some of those texts: such as *King Horn* (Southwestern; c. 1250-60), *Floriz and Blancheflur* (Southwestern; c. 1250-60), *Poema Morale*, M<sup>46</sup> (Kentish; c. 1300), *Kentish Sermons* (Kentish; c. 1250), *Sainte Marherete* (West Midland; c. 1225), *Sainte Iulienne* (West Midland; c. 1225), *Sawles Warde* (West Midland; c. 1225), and *Hali Meidhad* (West Midland; c. 1225). To these may be added another text: *Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle* (Southwestern; a. 1300). The absence of conjunction *panne* [*penne*] in them means a marked advance of *hwanne* [*hwenne*] in the corresponding sphere. *pō* is still found in most of these texts, especially frequently in the Southwestern ones; while in East Midland texts it is apparently on the retreat. The morphological substitution brought about a movement in the semantic or functional domains. In those texts where *hwanne* was not yet used so much, it was mostly used, in the thirteenth century, with a verb in the present or future tense, as OE *ponne* had been; but where *hwanne* was commonly used with a verb in any tense, the past as well as the present or future, that the context required. It may be assumed, therefore, that first *panne* advanced into the domain of *pō* where a preterite verb is appropriate, and then or rather at the same time *hwanne* began to supplant *panne* in the new domain, while retaining the old one, originally occupied by *panne*, where a verb denoting the present or future is appropriate.

Below we shall quote some instances from Early Middle English where both *panne* and *pō* were used in the same work. The first six are quoted from the texts dating from the twelfth century, and the second ten from the texts dating from the thirteenth century. The quotations are also arranged in a dialectal order: East Midland (exx. 1-4, 7-12), West Midland (exx. 5, 6, 13, 14), and Southwestern (exx. 15, 16).

(1) ...þarfore hie lieð þan hie crist louerd clepieð.—*Trinity Homilies*<sup>47</sup> IV (21.1).

<sup>45</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 176f., 182f., 195ff. Although Kivimaa's work was intended for a purpose different from mine, it must be admitted that I have been most indebted to its strictly documentary observations for the valuable information that is relevant to the present article.

<sup>46</sup> In this respect the D version of *Poema Morale*, also a Kentish text of the early thirteenth century is strikingly different from the M version. In M there are ten instances of *whane* and none of *panne*, while in D there are ten instances of *panne*, one of *pō*, and none of *whane* (cf. Kivimaa, *op. cit.* p. 181f.).

<sup>47</sup> Quoted from *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century*, edited from MS. B. 14. 52 in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; by R. Morris (E. E. T. S., O. S. No. 53, 1873).

(=Therefore they lie when they call Christ lord.)

(2) ...alswo þe engel hit seide þo he hire brohte þe blisfule tiðinge.—*Ibid.* (21.11).  
(=So the angel said it when he brought her the blissful tiding.)

(3) Ðe inreste þesternesse is in ðare hierte ðe ne wile forsceawin hwider he scal ðanne he henen farð.—*Vices and Virtues*<sup>48</sup> 17.28-9. (=The inmost darkness is in the heart that will not forshow where he is to go when he leaves here.)

(4) Ac hie kedde sone ðat þies hali mihte was on hire, ða hie sæde: Ecce ancilla domini,...—*Ibid.* 53.30-2. (=But she soon declared that this holy virtue was in her when she said: "Look here, God's servant.")

(5) ...oðer siðe þu scalt beon iwesscen et soð scrite, þenne þu forlest þine sunne.—*Lambeth Homilies*<sup>49</sup> III (37.18-9). (=The second time you will be washed at true confession, when you renounce your sins.)

(6) Efter þan drihten him ti-tahte twa stanene tables breode on hwulche godalmihti heofde iwritene þa ten laze þe þa israelisce folc sceolde halden þa he heom ledde of egipte londe...—*Ibid.* II (11.18-20). (=After that the Lord gave him two stone tables on which God Almighty had written the ten laws which the Israelite people should observe, when he led them from the land of Egypt.)

(7) vre louerd crist it lene us ðat his lage us fede,  
nu and o domesdei, and tanne we hauen nede.

—*The Bestiary*<sup>60</sup> 215-6.

(=May our Lord Christ grant us that his law may feed us, now and on the doomsday, and whenever we have need.)

(8) Ðo ure drigten ded was,  
and doluen also his wille was,  
In a ston stille he lai,  
til it kam ðe dridde dai. —*Ibid.* 26-9.

(=When our Lord was dead and buried, as it was his will, he lay still in a tomb in the rock till the third day.)

(9) ðan coren wantede in oðer lond,  
ðo ynug was vnder his hond.

—*Genesis and Exodus*<sup>61</sup> 2155-6.

(=When corn was lacking in the other country, there was enough under his hand.)

(10) ðo iacob sag dat sori writ,  
He gret, and seide ðat 'wilde der

<sup>48</sup> The text adopted here is *Vices and Virtues*: a Middle English dialogue of about 1200 A.D., from the Stowe MS. 240 in the British Museum; edited by F. Holthausen; Part I (E. E. T. S., O. S. No. 89; 1880, reprinted 1967). The dialect is considered that of Essex or Middlesex, in the Southeast Midlands.

<sup>49</sup> Quoted from *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, edited from MSS. in the British Museum, Lambeth, and Bodleian Libraries; by R. Morris (E. E. T. S., O. S. No. 29, 1867).

<sup>60</sup> Quoted from J. Hall, ed.: *Selections from Early Middle English 1130-1250*, I (Oxford, 1953). The MS. of *The Bestiary*, Arundel 292 in the British Museum, was originally written before 1250 in the East Midland dialect.

<sup>61</sup> Quoted from R. Morris & W. W. Skeat, ed.: *Specimens of Early English*, I (Oxford, 1926). The MS. of *Genesis and Exodus*, Corpus Christic College, Cambridge, 444, was composed in the Southeast Midland dialect of about 1250.

Hauen min sune swolgen her.' —*Ibid.* 1974-6.

(=When Jacob saw that painful writing, he wept and said, "A wild animal has swallowed my son here.")

- (11) For *panne* he weren alle samen  
At Lincolne, at þe gamen,  
And þe erles men wornen alle þore,  
Was Havelok bi þe shuldren more  
Ðan þe meste þat þer kam:

—*Havelok the Dane*<sup>52</sup> 979-83.

(=For when they were all together at games at Lincoln and the earls' vassals were all there, Havelok was taller by the shoulder than the biggest that came there.)

- (12) *þo* hise mayster it him bad,  
He was of him ful sore adrad; —*Ibid.* 1047-8.

(=When his master bad him do so, he was greatly afraid of him.)

- (13) *þenne* ich wæs on bedde iswaued, mid soft mine slepen,  
*þen* com biuoren, þa fæireste þing þat wes iboren,  
—*Lazamon*,<sup>53</sup> Caligula MS., 7838-9.

(=When I was softly asleep in bed, then came before me the most beautiful thing that was born.)

- (13a) and *þo* ich was abedde, mildeliche on slepe,  
þar com me bi-vore þat fayrest þinge þat was ibore —*Ibid.*, Otho MS.<sup>64</sup>

- (14) *þa* mi time com, þisne cnaue ich hæfuede. —*Ibid.*, Caligula MS., 7849.

(=When my time came, I had this boy.)

- (14a) *þo þat* þe time com, þisne cnaue ich hadde. —*Ibid.*, Otho MS.

- (15) *þane* myn hus stont briȝt & grene,  
Of þine nis noþing isene.

—*The Owl and the Nightingale*,<sup>55</sup> Cotton MS., 624-5.

(=When my house stands bright and green, there is nothing seen of yours.)

- (16) Ac *þo* ho bet do ne micte,  
Ho uaȝt mid hire wise tunge. —*Ibid.* 1070-1.

(=But when she could not do better, she fought with her wise tongue.)

Most of these quotations show that the use of *panne* and *þō* in Early Middle English has

<sup>52</sup> The text adopted here is *The Lay of Havelok the Dane*, re-edited from MS. Land Misc. 108 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by W. W. Skeat and K. Sisam (Oxford, 1967). The original of the poem was composed earlier than 1300 in Lincolnshire in the East Midlands, though the extant MS. has passed through many copies and no longer represents any pure dialect.

<sup>53</sup> The text adopted here is *Lazamon: Brut*, edited from British Museum MS. Cotton Caligula A. IX and British Museum MS. Cotton Otho C. XIII, by G. L. Brook and P. F. Leslie; Vol. I (E. E. T. S., No. 250, 1963). The earlier version Caligula was written about 1205 in the West Midland dialect.

<sup>54</sup> The Otho MS. of *Lazamon* is dated about half a century later than the Caligula MS., and is assigned to the Southwestern dialect.

<sup>55</sup> The text adopted here is *The Owl and the Nightingale*, edited by J. H. G. Grattan and G. F. H. Sykes (E. E. T. S., E. S. No. 119; 1935, reprinted 1959). One of the two extant MSS., C (MS. Cotton Caligula A IX in the British Museum), is of a somewhat earlier date, about 1250, and it is assigned to the Southwestern dialect. The other version J (MS. Jesus College, Oxford, E 29), which will be treated in V, is dated the second half of the thirteenth century, and the dialect in which it was written is considered West Midland.



preserved approximately the same semantic differentiation that was observed in *ponne* and *pā* in Old English. *Panne* still has the semantic domain of its own, denoting an indefinite or general time-sphere or occasion that often refers to a present or future state or occurrence, or else to a habitual action that is to be repeated, as contrasted with the definite implication of *pō*, which most commonly refers to a particular action or occurrence in the past.

It is truly a general situation that the semantic differentiation of OE *ponne* and *pā* was thus kept on to that of EME *panne* and *pō*; but particularly speaking, we must also point out the fact that the domains of the two conjunctions came to be confounded more frequently, and that especially for some contextual or stylistic reasons *panne* was more likely to be used in place of *pō*.<sup>56</sup> An illustration of this tendency can be found in example 13 above, where the Caligula MS. of *Lazamon* has *penne* used with a preterite verb, though in the Otho MS. (example 13a) *po* is still used in the corresponding position.

Below another instance will be given from *Havelok the Dane*, the same text as examples 11 and 12 above have been taken from. Here again *pan* is used with a verb in the past tense that refers to a definite occurrence in the past. It would be worth noting, by the way, that *Havelok the Dane* has thirty occurrences of *pan* or *panne* against just one occurrence of *po*, which has been quoted in example 12 above, and all those thirty occurrences of *pan(ne)* are accompanied by verbs in the past or past perfect tense.<sup>57</sup>

- (17) *Pan* he was to þe erþe brouht,  
 Þe riche erl ne foryat nouht,  
 Ðat he ne dede al Engeland.  
 Sone sayse intil his hond;

—*Havelok the Dane* 248–51.

(When he was brought to the ground, the rich earl did not forget immediately to put all England into his possession.)

*Dan*...*ðo*... in example 9 and *penne*...*pen*... in example 13 are suggestive of that favoured type of double determinative constructions which appears in Old English as *ponne*...*ponne*... or *pā*...*pā*... Correlative forms of the same kind are also attested in Middle English, though less frequently than in Old English. Here are some instances of the constructions that can be taken from Early Middle English texts.

- (18) ...*ponne* hi wæron be easton, *ponne* heold man fyrde be westan, and *ponne* hi wæron be suðan, *ponne* wæs ure fyrd be norðan.—*The Peterborough Chronicle*,<sup>58</sup> an. 1010 (140.25–7). (=When they were in the east, then we mustered levies in the west; and when they were in the south, then our levies were in the north.)

- (19) *Danne* ðu ðus hauest ðine luue te gode, *ðanne* behoueð ðe ðat ðu bie wel warr þat tu luuize ðine nexte,...—*Vices and Virtues* 39.12–3. (=When you have thus your love for God, then it behoves you to be well aware that you should love your neighbour.)

<sup>56</sup> The following example illustrates a rather exceptional use of *pō* referring to a general or indefinite time-sphere which can be quoted from the same work as examples 5 and 6 above have been taken from: "...*pā* zet þu hersumest þere sunner þet is þet holh...hwa cropeð þer-in..."—*Lambeth Homilies* II (23. 33–4). (=Moreover when you obey the sin, that is the hole..., who creeps into it?).

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Kivimaa, *op. cit.* p. 235.

<sup>58</sup> The text adopted here is in Earle & Plummer, ed.: *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel. The Peterborough Chronicle*, or otherwise called the Laud MS. of the Chronicle, was composed in the first hand (which covers the items down to 1121) about 1122 and continued in various hands to 1154. The dialect is East Midland.

(20) ...*penne* þe þreost hit deð in his muþe, *penne* cumeð drihtenes engel and biniemeð þa halinesse mid him toward heouene riche.—*Lambeth Homilies* III (27.1-3). (=When the priest puts it in his mouth, the Lord's angel comes and takes the holiness with him towards the kingdom of heaven.)

(21) for *ðanne* we of wenden, *ðanne* is ure winter. —*The Bestiary* 202.  
(=For when we depart from life, there will be a winter for us.)

(22) *Denne* feowerti dawes beoð agan, *penne* cuðe he anan;  
to leue mine lauerd, þat Leir is an is londe.

—*Lazamon*, Caligula MS., 1787-8.

(=When forty days have passed, let him at once tell my dear lord that Lear is in his land.)

Cf. (22a) *Are* fourti daiȝes beo a-gon, *panne* cuþe he hit a-non,  
to leofue mine louerd þat Leir his in londe.

—*Ibid.*, Otho MS. [*Are* <OE *ǣr* 'ere, before'.]

(23) *þa* ðeos scipfyrd ðus geendod wæs, *þa* com sona æfter hlammessan se ungemetlica unfriðhere to Sandwic.—*The Peterborough Chronicle*, an. 1009 (139.8-10). (=When this naval expedition was thus finished, the immense hostile army came to Sandwich immediately after Lammas.)

(24) *Ða* ðe werewede gastes iseizen ðat ðu naked ware and helpleas, *ða* spaken hie hem betwienen and seiden:... —*Vices and Virtues* 23.20-2. (=When the cursed spirits saw that you were naked and helpless, they spoke between themselves and said:...)

(25) *þa* þis child was feir muche, *þa* luuede he a maide.

—*Lazamon*, Caligula MS., 130.

(=When this child was fairly grown up, he loved a maiden.)

(25a) *þo* þis child was mochel *þo* loued he a mayde. —*Ibid.*, Otho MS.

(26) *þa þa* Mærling wes ilad, *þa* wes Dinabus ful glad.

—*Ibid.*, Caligula MS., 7802.

(=When Merlin was led, Dinabus was very glad.)

(26a) *þo þat* Merlyn was ilad, *þo* was Dunabuz fol glad. —*Ibid.*, Otho MS.

In the sentences of the Otho MS. of *Lazamon*, examples 14a and 26a above, we see the combination *þō þat* as a temporal conjunction. Here the accompanying *þat* originates in a demonstrative pronoun but now functions as a connective particle, just as *þe* in OE *þā þe* exemplified by 7 under II. Kivimaa<sup>59</sup> considers that *þō þat*, which is attested only in Southern texts of the thirteenth century,<sup>60</sup> was developed from *þā* [*þō*] *þe*, which in turn is assumed either to have come from *þā þā* through the weakening of the second *þā* or to be due to the fusion of this *þā þā* and OE *þā þe*. *þō þe* in Early Middle English is commoner than *þā þe* in Old English.<sup>61</sup> The following are some Early Middle English examples with *þō þe*,

<sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 185, 187, 222, 224.

<sup>60</sup> Another example is: "...*þo þat* he alast of þis wordle naam fles and blod ine þe Maidene seinte Marie, and seauede ine þis world, *þo* fond he Men pet al day hedden ibe idel."—*Kentish Sermons* 236-8. (=When toward the end of this world he took flesh and blood in the Maiden Saint Mary and appeared in this world, he found people who had been idle all day.)

<sup>61</sup> The similar combination *þanne þe*, as exemplified below, is rare, and even in Old English *þonne þe* can only be attested exceptionally (cf. Kivimaa, *op. cit.* p. 159). "Ne ne wite wanne ne awiche halue ne awiche wise he hem wile bisette *þanne þe* he hem unwarliche his dintes giueð."—*Trinity Homilies* XXX (191. 31-2). (=They do not know when, nor on what side, nor in what way he will attack them when he unexpectedly gives them his dints.)

followed—all except in example 28—by the correlative adverb *pō*.

(27) *Do þe com to bethfage...*, *þo sende tweien of hise diciples into þe bureh of ierusalem.*—*Trinity Homilies* XV (89.12-5). (=When he came to Bethphage..., he sent two of his disciples into the city of Jerusalem.)

(28) *Anon, ðo ðe he lokede upen him, he agann to wepen, and his sennen him wæren forziuene.*—*Vices and Virtues* III. 31-3. (=Immediately, when he looked upon him, he began to weep, and his sins were forgiven him.)

(29) *Ða þe hes comen on middan þere se, þa wes þet godes folc up of þere se agan.*—*Lambeth Homilies* IX (87.13-4). (=When they came into the midst of the sea, God's people had gone up from it.)

(30) *Ða þe wes wel ald mon, þa com him uuel on.*

—*Lazamon*, Caligula MS., 5680.

(=When he was a very old man, a disease came upon him.)

Cf. (30a) *Ðo he was wel hold man, þo com him vuel an.*

—*Ibid.*, Otho MS.

Now, it is noteworthy that especially in the West Midland and Southern dialects of the thirteenth century there are some texts where no *penne* [*panne*] can be found, apparently superseded by *hwenne* [*hwanne*], while *pō* has still retained its own domain. It seems that in those dialects *pō*, with its vivid narrative force in stylistic value, succeeded in maintaining its proper function of indicating a definite and particular action or occurrence, as against the indefinite implication of *hwenne*, to which older *penne* had succumbed. One of those texts is the Otho MS. of *Lazamon*, though the earlier version Caligula has instances of *penne*, as already illustrated in examples 13 and 22, contrasted with examples 13a and 22a respectively. The four following examples with *pō* are taken from some of the other texts where no instance of conjunction *penne* can be attested.

(31) *Leafdi seinte maria for þe ilke muchele blisse þet tu hefdest þa þu sehe þe ilke blisfule bearn iboren of þi cleane bodi to moncunne heale, ...heal me þet am purh wil tobroken as ich drede hwet se beo of dede.*—*Ancrene Wisse*<sup>62</sup> 23.11-6. (=Lady St. Mary, because of the great joy that you had when you saw that blissful child born of your pure body for the salvation of mankind, ...heal me that am broken in my will, as I fear, however I am in deed.)

(32) *Amoreze þo*<sup>63</sup> *þe day gan springe*

*Ðe king him rod an huntinge,* —*King Horn*<sup>64</sup> 645-6.

(=In the morning when the day began to dawn, the king rode on hunting.)

(33) *Ðo William hurde þat he wolde susteini is tricherie,*

*He let of-sende is kniȝtes of al Normandie,*

*To conseili him in þis cas & to helpe him in such nede;*

<sup>62</sup> The text adopted here is *Ancrene Wisse* (the English text of *Ancrene Riwl*), edited from MS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 402, by J. R. R. Tolkien (E. E. T. S. No. 249, 1962). The MS. is dated about 1225, and the dialect is West Midland.

<sup>63</sup> The combination "amorwe *pō*" is rather idiomatic in Early Middle English (cf. Kivimaa, *op. cit.* p. 176). With the use of *pō* in this combination should be compared the relative use of *pō* as in example 35 below. Also compare the use of *wen* (= 'when') in "On the morn, *wen*..." (example 24 in V).

<sup>64</sup> Quoted from the text in R. Morris, ed.: *Specimens of Early English*, I (Oxford, 1926). The poem was written about 1260 in the Southwestern dialect.

—*Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle*,<sup>65</sup> A 31-3.

(=When William heard that he, *i.e.* Harold, would maintain his treachery, he sent for his knights to come from all Normandy, to counsel him in this case and help him in such need.)

(34) Bie þe Morghen iherde ure lord werkmen in to his winyarde, þo ha sente þe patriarches ate begininge of þis wordl ine is seruise.—*Kentish Sermons* 228-31. (=Before the morning our Lord hired the workmen into his vineyard, when he sent the patriarchs in his service at the beginning of this world.)

The *Peterborough Chronicle*, an East Midland text in the twelfth century, is rather remarkable in containing a high frequency of *pō*. This is due to the genuinely documental style of the Chronicle in which the scribes intended to record the past facts or events as objectively as possible. It may be worth to note the following instance from the *Peterborough Chronicle* which illustrates a relative use of *pō* referring to the antecedent noun of time.

(35) Ðer efter in þe lengten þestrede þe sunne and te dæi, abuton non tid dæies, þa men eten.—*The Peterborough Chronicle*, an. 1140 (266.12-3). (=Afterwards in Lent the sun and daylight was eclipsed about noon, when people were eating.)

Concerning *Ancrene Wisse* there is a phenomenon worth to be mentioned. Although *Ancrene Wisse* has no instance of *penne* as conjunction, *Ancrene Riwe* (the Nero MS.),<sup>66</sup> which is another English text of the same original, has the one instance of conjunction *penne*<sup>67</sup>:

(36) ...ðe engel wende in to hire, þeonne heo was inne in onlicke stude al hire one. —*Ancrene Riwe* 71.11-4. (=The angel went in to her when she was indoors quite alone.)

The corresponding passage (84.14-6) of *Ancrene Wisse* is:

(36a) ...þe engel wende in to hire, þenne wes heo inne in anli stude hire ane.

Here *penne* is followed by the inverted order "verb+subject," which enables us to judge that this *penne* is an adverb, not a subordinate conjunction. The unique pair of instances suggest to us on one hand the natural shifting from a demonstrative to a conjunction, and on the other the very prevalent tendency of *pen(ne)* as a genuine subordinate conjunction to be replaced by *hwen*.

Next, as for the situation in the fourteenth century, it may be said that the tendency of *pen* [*pan*] and *pō* in the sense of 'when' to be declining was generally furthered, but that especially in the South or Southwestern dialects *pō* in the sense of 'when' was still preserved. In *Cursor Mundi*, a representative Northern text dated before 1400, we see a marked advance of *quen* [*wen*] and a comparatively rare use of *pan*, while no use of *pō* can be attested.

(37) *pan* gaue þat kyng his craft to kepe,  
 .sleli adam *pen* gart he slepe; —*Cursor Mundi*, Cotton MS.,<sup>68</sup> 625-6.

<sup>65</sup> Quoted from the text in R. Morris & W. W. Skeat, ed.: *Specimens of Early English*, II (Oxford, 1922). The date of the MS. is assigned to 1298, and the chronicler's language represents the Southwestern dialect of Gloucester.

<sup>66</sup> The text adopted here is *Ancrene Riwe*, edited from Cotton MS. Nero A. XIV, by M. Day (E. E. T. S., OS. No. 225; 1952, reprinted 1957). The Nero MS. was written later than the Corpus Christi MS. (the so-called *Ancrene Wisse*), in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The dialect is Southwest Midland.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Kivimaa, *op. cit.* p. 205.

<sup>68</sup> The text adopted here is *Cursor Mundi*, edited by R. Morris (E. E. T. S., O. S. Nos. 57, 59, 62, 66, 68; 1874-'78). The main quotations are taken from the version of Cotton MS. Vesp. A iii in the Library of the British Museum; which was composed about 1300 in Scotland, or somewhat less likely, Northumberland.

(=When the Lord had given Adam his power of government, he slyly made Adam sleep.)

But the syntactic status of *pan* in this quotation is questionable, for *pan* is immediately followed by the predicate verb *gaue* and it appears structurally that the two clauses, "*pan* gaue þat kyng..." and "sleli adam *pen*...", are simply arranged in parataxis. It may be logically interpreted, however, that the former is subordinated to the latter, and therefore that *pan* is symbolic of the transitional stage from demonstrative adverb to subordinate conjunction. In this respect the corresponding expression in the Fairfax MS.<sup>69</sup> of the same work is enlightening.

(37a) *quen* adam had al to kepe  
slely our lorde made him slepe.

(=When Adam had all power to govern, our Lord slyly made him sleep.)

Here the first clause is introduced by the explicitly subordinating *quen* (>*when*). This suggests one of the motive factors that might have induced *then* to be replaced by *when*, that is, the fact that the latter was semantically more distinct as a subordinate conjunction than the former. Below is an indubitable instance of *pan* as a subordinate conjunction taken from the same text.

(38) For *pan* he had may rachell wedd,  
Lia he stall vn-til his bedd;

—*Cursor Mundi*, Cotton MS., 3871-2.

(=For when he had married Maiden Rachel, he secretly put Leah into his bed.)

Next, let us turn our attention to the works written in the East and West Midland dialects of the fourteenth century. As East Midland texts we may here take into consideration Chaucer, Mandeville, and the Wycliffite Versions of the Bible, and as a West Midland text *Gawain*. In these texts we can find *whan* [*whanne*, *when*, *quen*] commonly used, but neither *pan* [*thanne*, *thenne*, *then*] nor *pō* [*thō*].<sup>70</sup> In this respect the following instance with *thanne* taken from Chaucer would be worth to notice:

(39) For which I seye, *if that* yow list to heere  
Moralitee and vertuous mateere,  
And *thanne that* ye wol yeve me audience,  
I wol ful fayn, at Cristes reverence,  
Do yow plesaunce leefful, as I kan.

—Chaucer, *C. T.*,<sup>71</sup> "The Parson's Prologue," X 37-41.

(=For this I say, if you would like to hear any morality or virtuous subject and then you would hear me speak, I should be pleased, in reverence of Christ, to give you as lawful pleasure as I could.)

<sup>69</sup> This version of *Cursor Mundi* is edited from Fairfax MS. 14 in the Bodleian Library. It was composed in the West Midland dialect, probably that of North Lancashire, in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

<sup>70</sup> *Thō* as adverb can be attested, for example, in Chaucer, as in: "Ne was ther swich a wondryng as was *tho*."—*C. T.*, "The Squire's Tale," V 308. (=There had never been such amazement as it was then.)

<sup>71</sup> Abbreviated from *The Canterbury Tales*, the MSS. of which were composed between 1389 and 1400. Chaucer's language is assigned to the Southeast Midland dialect. For the quotations from Chaucer I have depended on F. N. Robinson, ed.: *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd edition (Oxford U.P., London; 1957).

In this context *that* in *thanne that* (l. 39) can be explained as a substitute for conjunction *if* (l. 37) and *thanne*, preceded by *and*, may be regarded as a conjunctive adverb.<sup>72</sup> Now it seems to allow of another interpretation. Just as *if that* (l. 37) appears as a compound conjunction, so *thanne that* (l. 39), composed of demonstrative adverb *thanne* and connective particle *that*, may properly be interpreted as a compound conjunction, meaning 'when' or 'if.' It is the admittance of the latter interpretation that suggests the potentiality of *thanne* used as adverb in such a construction to be shifted to *thanne* as subordinate conjunction, though Chaucer has already passed the historical stage when the shifting was actually occurring.

On the other hand, in Southern or Southwestern texts, such as *The Aynbite of Inwyt*, *Piers Plowman*, and Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (the dialect of the last being the East Midland mingled with Southeastern or Kentish elements), we find as a temporal conjunction *pō* [*thō*] as well as *huanne* [*huan*, *whan*, *whanne*, *when*, *whenne*], but not *panne* [*thenne*, *then*]. Below we shall cite some instances of *pō* [*thō*] as seen in the above-mentioned texts.

(40) And huanne he acsede ate guode wyfman *pō* he hedde hise yclepted hou moche hi hedde him y-lete, hi andzuerede, þet uerst hi hedde y-write ine hare testament, þet he him let a pousend and vyf hondred pond.—*The Aynbite of Inwyt*<sup>73</sup> 190.34-191.2. (=And when he asked the good woman, after having called her, how much she had left to him, she answered that first she had written in her will that she had left him a thousand and five hundred pounds.)

(41) Riche men rutte *tho* and in here reste were,  
*Tho* it schon to the schepherdes a schewer of blisse.

—*Piers Plowman*<sup>74</sup> B XII. 152-3.

(=Rich people were snoring in their beds, when a shower of bliss shone upon the shepherds.)

(42) And *tho* this man  
 Hir tale hath herd, he goth ayein,  
 And tolde unto his maister plein  
 That sche hath seid;...

—Gower, *Confessio Amantis*<sup>75</sup> VIII. 1466-9.

(=And when this man had heard her tale, he went back and told his master plainly what she had said.)

Example 40 above may be specially noteworthy. Here in the same sentence appear both temporal conjunctions *huanne* and *pō*. It is true that the old semantic distinction between *pō* on one hand and *panne* and *huanne* on the other, that is, the contrast of particularity and generality, had been lost; but *pō* here is used in a lighter tone, retaining more concrete force

<sup>72</sup> Cf. H. Eitle, *Die Satzverknüpfung bei Chaucer* (Carl Winter, Heidelberg; 1914), p. 21; also Robinson, *op. cit.* p. 765r.

<sup>73</sup> The text adopted here is *Dan Michel's Aynbite of Inwyt or Remorse of Conscience*, R. Morris's transcription, now newly collated with the unique manuscript British Museum MS. Arundel 57, by P. Gradon (E. E. T. S., O. S. No. 23, reissued 1965). The work was composed in the Kentish dialect in 1340.

<sup>74</sup> The text adopted here is W. W. Skeat, ed.: *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*, I (Oxford, 1954). The B-text is edited from MS. Laud 851 in the Bodleian Library, which is dated about 1377. The language is assigned to the Southwestern or West Midland dialect.

<sup>75</sup> The text adopted here is *The English Works of John Gower*, edited by G. C. Macaulay (E. E. T. S., E. S. Nos. 81, 82; 1900-1, reprinted 1957). The MS. of *Confessio Amantis* was composed about 1393.

of its own, than *huanne*. In example 41 the anticipatory demonstrative *thō* is correlated with the subordinate conjunction *thō*. Though "*thō...thō...*" appears here in the unusual order of the adverb preceding the conjunction, not the conjunction preceding the adverb, yet it represents the favoured type of double determinative construction which has already been illustrated by a number of examples.

In *Piers Plowman*, also, we can find instances of *thō that*. The combination, which was even less common than in the Early Middle English period, was used there probably as a metrical variant of simple *thō*, and it was still characteristic of the Southern or West Midland dialect.

- (43) Bote haue this for that *tho that* thow toke  
Mercy for mede and my lawe breke,

—*Piers Plowman C*<sup>16</sup> x. 277-8.

(=But have this punishment for that conduct, since you bestowed indulgence for bribery and broke my law.)

In the fifteenth century the tendency went on growing to substitute *whan* [*whan*] for *then* [*than*] and *thō* as temporal conjunctions till the latter fell into complete disuse in the course of the century. It would suffice to mention one work in the East Midland dialect, Malory. The Winchester MS. of Sir Thomas Malory's Works was composed about 1470. The commonest temporal conjunction in Malory is *whan* [*whanne*, *when*]. The use of *than*, as in the following instance, is rather exceptional.

- (44) *Than* he saw hym lye as a dede corse, he loked aboute hym and was ware of a damesel that com rydyng full faste as the horse myght dryve, on a fayre palferey.  
—Malory,<sup>77</sup> II. VI (51.34-6). (=When he saw him lying as a dead body, he looked about him and was aware of a damsel who came riding, as fast as the horse could drive, on a beautiful saddle-horse.)

In this simple narrative style, where the narrator mainly intended to describe a rapid succession of events and movements, the introductory particle *than* has much of its proper demonstrative force. If we were to substitute a full stop for the comma after "a dede corse" and add "And" to the head of the new sentence, altering the original construction into this: "*Than* he saw hym lye as a dede corse. And he loked aboute hym...", we should be able to keep Malory's style absolutely unimpaired. This again reminds us of the natural process from *than* to *whan* and, at the same time, of the functional distinctness of *whan* as subordinate conjunction that is apparently greater than that of *than*.

The following is an instance of the double determinative construction that is characteristic of traditional English syntax.

- (45) *Than* Balyn went a litill frome hym and loked on hys horse, *than* herde Balyne hym sey thus:... —*Ibid.* II. XVI (65.23-4). (=When Balin went a little from him and looked at his horse, Balin heard him saying:...)

This "*than...than...*" should be considered to have a very close affinity to "*whan...than...*," as in example 34 under V, which will be taken from the same work.

<sup>76</sup> The C-text of *Piers Plowman* is edited from MS. Phillipps 8231, and it was composed about 1393.

<sup>77</sup> The text adopted here is E. Vinaver, ed.: *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory* (Oxford U. P., London; 1954).

V. *ME* when

Generally speaking, the Middle English period is the stage when the process of replacing *then* and *thō* by *when* was going on with such steadiness that the conjunctive use of *then* and *thō* disappeared in the latter part of the fifteenth century. We have already remarked in III some initial traces of this process in a number of Old English phenomena, some of which may be ascribable to Latin influence. In the Middle English period when many works were produced either as translations, whether literal or not, from Latin or French originals, or on the model of Latin or French sources. The Latin or French influence, consequently, may be considered partially responsible for the remarkable advance of *hw*-words and the gradual retreat of *p*-words as relatives or conjunctions during the Middle English period. This seems more specially applicable to the advance of *hwanne*, attended by the retreat of *panne* and *pō* in the corresponding function, in Early Middle English.<sup>78</sup> It is worth mentioning that the presence of the form *qu-* (*quen*) for *hw-* (*hwen*) in Northern texts, for example *Cursor Mundi*, may be associated with some influence by Latin *quandō* or Old French *quant* (>ModF *quand*).

There is a second reason, no less important than the first, for the replacement of *panne* and *pō* by *hwanne*. As already described in the previous chapter, the semantic domains of the two old words *panne* and *pō* were gradually confused and the distinction between them was liable to get obscure. Furthermore, the two words, especially *panne*, kept on, more steadily than before, their status as anaphoric demonstrative adverbs. Although the delicate shift in syntactic nature from paratactic determinative to hypotactic connective, often perceived in instances of *panne* or *pō*, offers us suggestive data for considering the historical movement in the sphere concerned, it implies, at the same time, a weak point in functional distinctness that *panne* or *pō* has when used as a subordinate or relative conjunction.<sup>79</sup> This seems to be an internal motive that caused *panne* or *pō* to be replaced by *hwanne*, which was of an indefinite origin and was felt to have apparently better and more distinct value as a connective that was to perform a function of abstract nature.

Another important factor to be considered is the gradual growth of *as* (<OE *eal-swā*) as conjunction for indicating some definite time-relation, which supposedly did a good deal in inducing *pō* to be discarded. On this subject I am now obliged to content myself with referring to what was briefly commented on, in association with the German replacement of *da* by *als*, at the end of Chapter II.

First we shall observe how *penne* [*panne*] was replaced by *hwenne* [*hwanne*, *wanne*] in the West Midland dialect of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by contrasting the two versions of *Poema Morale*, *Lazamon*, and *The Owl and the Nightingale* in the use of the temporal conjunctions. Of *Poema Morale* the Lambeth MS.<sup>80</sup> was composed nearly half a

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Kivimaa, *op. cit.* pp. 215f., 246, 257, 259.

<sup>79</sup> In judging the expressive or functional value of these words, it is necessary to take into account the synchronic coexistence of grammatical homophones. The coexistence in Middle English of *pan* meaning 'then, when' and *pan* which means 'than' and is used after a comparative, and of *pō* meaning 'then, when' and *pō* as plural demonstrative meaning 'those,' should also be responsible for the tendency of these words to be disused as equivalents to *hwan*.

<sup>80</sup> The text is taken from MS. Lambeth 487, which was written in the West Midland dialect towards the end of the twelfth century. The quotations are taken from Hall, ed.: *op. cit.* VIII. pp. 30-46.



century earlier than the Jesus MS.<sup>81</sup> Comparing the 270 lines that correspond to each other of the MSS., we see *penne* [*pen*, *pan*] used seven times (ll. 6, 23, 74, 94, 233, 234, 262) in the Lambeth MS. and only once (l. 230) in the Jesus MS., while *wenne* [*hwenn*] is used three times (ll. 35, 127, 150) in the former and six (ll. 6, 20, 36, 127, 156, 229) in the latter. In the first 8020 lines of *Lazamon*, besides that there are found much more occurrences of *wanne* [*wane*, *wan*, *wenne*, *whenne*, *weonne*] in the later MS. Otho than in the early MS. Caligula, I have found ten instances (ll. 357, 1194, 1705, 3542, 5677, 5716, 5891, 7593, 7060, 7067) where *penne* in the Caligula MS. corresponds to *wanne* in the Otho MS. As to *The Owl and the Nightingale*, there are eight instances (ll. 165, 327, 463, 482, 682, 804, 890, 894) where *pane* [*pan*] in the earlier Cotton MS. (Southwestern) corresponds to *hwanne* [*hwenne*] in the Jesus MS. (West Midland), with an exceptional single instance (l. 1244) where *hwanne* in the Cotton MS. corresponds to *panne* in the Jesus MS., though generally *hwanne* (mostly spelt *wan(n)e* in the Cotton MS.) is found in high frequency in both MSS.<sup>82</sup> Below we shall arrange such instances from these three works as illustrate contrastable uses of *panne* and *hwanne*.

- (1) *penne* he bið in þere hete, þe chele him þunchet blisse,  
*penne* hi cumeð eft to þe chele, of hete hi habbeð misse.

—*Poema Morale*, Lambeth MS., 233-4.

(=When they are in the heat, the chill seems to them a bliss. When they come back to the chill, they are in want of the heat.)

- (1a) *Hwenne* heo comeþ in hete, þe chele heom þincheþ lysse,  
*Denne* heo cumþ eft to chele, of hete heo habbeþ mysse.

—*Ibid.*, Jesus MS., 229-30.

- (2) . . . þat seoððen sculden moni mon,  
*pennen* þe king weoren dæd, demen of his weorken.

*Lazamon*, Caligula MS., 3541-2.

(=...so that many people might afterwards judge of the king's deeds when he was dead.)

- (2a) . . . þat þar-after solde mani man,  
*wan* þe king were dead, speken of his workes.

—*Ibid.*, Otho MS.

- (3) *Pane* þu wilt þin unriht spene,  
 Loke þat it ne bo isene.

—*The Owl and the Nightingale*, Cotton MS., 165-6.

(=When you want to do your wrong trick, see that it is not seen.)

- (3a) *Hwanne* þu wilt þn vriht spene,  
 Loke þat hit ne beo isene. —*Ibid.*, Jesus MS.

It is interesting to notice that in example 1a the newer and more distinct construction "*hwenne...penne...*" can be seen just where in the older version (example 1) the typically

<sup>81</sup> The text is taken from MS. Jesus College, Oxford, E 29, in which *The Owl and the Nightingale* has also been contained (cf. footnote 55). The quotations are taken from Morris, ed.: *Specimens of Early English* I. xvii. pp. 194-212.

<sup>82</sup> We must here take into account that, since in the Cotton MS. of *The Owl and the Nightingale* *hwone* [*hwane*, *hwan*] is mostly spelt in a *h*-less form and there seems to have been some paleographical confusion between the letters "wen" and "thorn," no philological certainty can be warranted about the figures of frequency of *wone* [*wane*, *wan*] on one hand and *pone* [*pane*, *pan*] on the other. Cf. Grattan & Sykes, ed.: *op. cit.* p. xiiif.

double determinative "penne...penne..." is still used. All these sets of instances above illustrate how *hwanne* was replacing *panne* in Early Middle English, especially in the West Midland dialect. This tendency also implies that the semantic sphere of *hwanne* was spreading into that which OE *pā* had primarily occupied. It would now be important to observe throughout the Middle English period the uses of *hwanne* and *pō* with respect to their semantic domains, where we can find instances of both these conjunctions but none of *panne*. Here we may regard as relevant texts those that roughly belong to the South and South-western dialects from which we quoted to illustrate the use of *pō* [*thō*] with examples 31~43 in the previous chapter. They are *Ancrene Wisse*, *King Horn*, *Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle*, *Kentish Sermons*, *Ayenbite Inwyt*, *Piers Plowman*, and Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. Below we shall exemplify the use of *hwanne* [*hwenne*, *whan*, *when*] in each of these texts, paying special attention to its semantic feature.

(4) *Hwen* ze earst ariseð, blescið ow ant seggeð. In nomine patris... —*Ancrene Wisse* 12. 17-8 (cf. ex. 31 in IV). (=When you rise in the morning, first bless yourselves and say, "In the name of the Father...")

(5) *Whane* þe kyng arise  
On a squieres wise  
To wude for to pleie

Nis non þat him biwreie. —*King Horn* 359-62 (cf. ex. 32 in IV).

(=When the king goes up, like a squire, to the wood to play, no one will discover him.)

(6) For *whan* he moste of oreisouns reste for werinisse,  
To worke he wolde his honden do to fleo idelnisse.

—*Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle*, B 61-2 (cf. ex. 33 in IV).

(=For when he had to rest from his prayers for weariness, he would let his hands work to avoid idleness.)

(7) ...*wann* ye hit habbeth hifunde swo anuret hit.—*Kentish Sermons* 21-2 (cf. ex. 34 in IV). (=When you have found it, then honour it.)

(8) Vor *huanne* þe glotoun geþ in to þe tauerne, ha geþ oprigt; *huanne* he comþ a-yen, he ne heþ uot þet him moze sostyeni ne bere. *Huanne* he þerin geþ, he y-zycþ and y-herþ and specþ wel and onderstant; *huan* he comþ ayen, he heþ al þis uorlore ase þe ilke þet ne heþ wyt ne scele ne onderstandinge.—Dan Michel, *Ayenbite of Inwyt* 56. 28-34. (=For when the glutton goes into the tavern, he goes upright. When he comes back, he has no food to sustain him. When he goes there, he sees and hears and speaks well and understands. When he comes back, he has lost all this, as the man who has no wisdom, nor reason, nor understanding.) (Cf. F<sup>83</sup>: Car *quant* li glous va en la taverne, il va touz dres; *quant* il revient, il n'a pié qui le puisse soustenir ne porter. *Quant* il i va, il voit e oit e parle bien e entent; *quant* il revient, il a tout ce perdu comme cil qi n'a sens ne raison ne memoire.)

<sup>83</sup> The French original is taken from Friar Loren's *Sommes des Vices et des Vertues* (composed 1279). It has been quoted here from F. Mossé: *Manuel de l'anglais du moyen âge* II. I. p. 259. The comparative observation, however, cannot necessarily lead us to conclude that Dan Michel was intentionally influenced in his use of *huanne* [*huan*] by the expression of *quant* in the French original. In the following sentence, which can be seen in the same section that the quotation above (example 8) is taken from, we find *po* corresponding to *quant* in the French original: "...*po* hi weren ine ham, hise adreynten ine þe ze."—50. 17-8. (=When they [*i.e.* the devils] were in them [*i.e.* the swine], they were drowned as if in the sea.) (Cf. F: ...*quant* il i furent entré, il les noierent en la mer, ... [q. Mossé, *op. cit.* p. 255f.]

- (9) 'Go to the gospel,' quath heu 'and see what god seyde,  
*Whanne* the puple aposed hym of a peny in the temple,

—*Piers Plowman*, C II. 44-5 (cf. exx. 41, 43 in IV).

(="Go to the gospel," she said, "and see what Christ said when the people asked Him about a penny in the temple.")

- Cf. (9a) 'Go to þe gospel,' quap heo, 'þat god seide himseluen,  
*Do þe* peple hym aposide with a peny in þe temple

—*Ibid.*, A<sup>84</sup> I. 44-5.

- (10) So that it myghte in such a wyse,  
*Whan* we ben dede and elleswhere,  
 Beleve to the worldes eere  
 In tyme comende after this.

—Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, Prol. 8-10 (cf. ex. 42 in IV).

(=...so that it may in such a way remain in the world's ear till the time coming after this, when we are dead and are somewhere else.)

In each of these instances except example 9, *hwen* [*huanne*, *whan*, *whanne*, *wann*] introduces a clause where the predicate verb is either in the present tense (in 5 and 10 in the present subjunctive) or present perfect or in the past tense that expresses a habitual or repeated action. This functional feature of *hwen* is just the dominant one of OE *þonne* as contrasted with OE *þā*. In Middle English, especially in the later part of it, the characteristic distinction between *hwanne* [*whan*] and *þō* [*thō*] was largely lost, and the general tendency was to have *þō* replaced by *hwanne*; and yet it is noteworthy to see this distinctive feature considerably preserved in the use of *hwanne* and *þō* in the South and Southwestern dialects. In this respect *Robert of Gloucester* is especially remarkable. It might reflect, to some extent, the general use of *þō* and *wanne* [*whan*] in *Robert of Gloucester* to report the distribution of the two words in the 622 lines of the material I have adopted. There *þō* is used as many as twenty-five times, always with a verb in the past or past perfect tense, meaning a particular occurrence or action, while *wanne* [*whan*] is found only seven times (ll. A 310, 342, 361, 447, 477, B 61, 65) and is used with a verb either in the past tense meaning a habitual and repeated state or action or, though once (l. A 310), in the past subjunctive.

Next, in the dialects except the South or Southwestern, there can be observed a remarkable advance of *when* at the expense of *thō* (and also of course *then*) especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By some East Midland writers in the fourteenth century, such as Chaucer, Wycliffe, and Mandeville, *whan* [*whanne*, *when*, *whenne*] was exclusively used as temporal subordinate conjunction; no instance of *thanne* [*panne*, *pan*] nor of *thō* [*þō*] can ever be found in any of their works. *Gawain*, which was written in the Northwest Midland dialect, belongs to the same category as mentioned above. The growing use of *when* naturally involves the expansion of its semantic domain where it could be freely used whether the verb in the clause was in the present tense or in the past. Below we shall pick up some instances with *when* from this group of texts, roughly belonging to the Northern and East Midland dialects and ranging over the whole period of Middle English.

- (11) ...þe holie gast wile cumen uppen þe, and godes mihte make ðe mid childe, and

<sup>84</sup> For this quotation from the A-text, the earliest version composed about 1362, of *Piers Plowman* I have depended on G. Kane, ed.: *Piers Plowman: The A Version*, an edition in the form of Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. R. 3. 14 corrected from other MSS. (University of London, 1960).

*hwanne* hit beð iboren, men sullen clepen hit godes bern.—*Trinity Homilies* IV (21. 18-20). (=The Holy Ghost will come upon thee, and God's might will make you with child; and when it is born, people will call it God's Child.)

(12) ...alswa godd haueð ore and milsce of him, swa he mai of hem, *whanne* his wille is.—*Vices and Virtues* 57. 24-5. (=As God has mercy and pity on him, so he may on them when it is His will.)

(13) For sextene ger ioseph was old,

*Quane* he was in-to egipte sold; —*Genesis and Exodus* 1907-8.

(=For Joseph was sixteen years old when he was sold into Egypt.)

(14) *Quen* al was tift was þar no bide,

—*Cursor Mundi*, Cotton MS., 1761.

(=When all was done, there was no delay.)

(15) *When* þay had waschen worpyly, þay wenten to sete,

—*Gawain*<sup>85</sup> 72.

(=When they had washed themselves fittingly, they went to sit down.)

(16) Right as an aspes leef she gan to quake,

*Whan* she him felte hir in his armes folde.

—Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*<sup>86</sup> III. 1201-2.

(=She shook like an aspen leaf when she felt herself folded in his arms.)

(17) And *whenn* to þe byggers faylide prise, come all Egypte to Joseph... —Wycliffe, *Gen.*<sup>87</sup> xlvi. 15. (=And when the buyers were short of money, all the Egyptians came to Joseph.) (cf. L: *Cum*que defecisset emptoribus pretium, uenit cuncta Ægyptus ad Ioseph,...)

(18) Therefore *when* thou dost almesse, nyle thou synge byfore thee in a trumpe,... And *when* ze shuln preye, zee shuln nat be as ypocritis,... But *whan* thou shalt preye, entre in to thi couche, and the dore schet, preye thi fadir in hidlis,... —Id., *Matt.* vi. 2-6. [For the Authorized Version and Latin version corresponding to these verses, see examples 1a and 1d in I.]

(19) And *whan* the worthi men of the contree hadden perceyued this sotyll falshod of this Gatholonabes, þei assembled hem with force and assayleden his castell... —*Mandeville's Travels*<sup>88</sup> XXXI (186. 20-9). (=And when the worthy men of the country had perceived this crafty falsehood of this country had perceived this crafty falsehood of this Gatholonabes [*i.e.* Old Man of the Mountain], they gathered with force and assailed his castle.) (Cf. F<sup>89</sup>: Et, *quant* ly riches hommes de pais eurent aparceu la cautele et la

<sup>85</sup> The text adopted here is *Sir Gawain and The Green Knight*, re-edited from MS. Cotton Nero A x in the British Museum, by I. Gollancz (E. E. T. S., O. S. No. 210, 1940). The MS. was composed about 1390, most probably in Derbyshire in the northwest of the Midlands.

<sup>86</sup> Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* is dated about 1385.

<sup>87</sup> For this quotation from Wycliffe's *Genesis* I have depended on *MS. Bodley 959: Genesis-Baruch 3.20 in the Earlier Version of Wycliffite Bible*, I, edited by C. Lindberg (Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm; 1959). The MS. is roughly dated before 1390.

<sup>88</sup> The text adopted here is *Mandeville's Travels*, translated from the French of Jean d'Outremeuse, edited from MS. Cotton Titus C xvi in the British Museum, by F. Hamelius (E. E. T. S., O. S. No. 153; 1919, reprinted 1960). The date of its composition is conjectured to be 1410-'20, and the dialect is, like that of Wycliffe, Southeast Midland.

<sup>89</sup> The French original appended here was composed about 1356-7. The quotation has been taken from Mossé, *op. cit.* p. 310.

malice de cesti Gathalonabez, ils assemblerount et alerount assailler soun chastel...

(20) Thenne Arthur made grete doole *whan* he understood that syre Ector was not his fader.—Malory, I. VI (9. 34-5). (=Then Arthur lamented a great deal when he understood the Ector was not his father.)

(21) He hath a book of my syster Annys of the *Sege of Thebes*; *when* he hathe doon with it, he promysed to delyver it yow.—*The Paston Letters*,<sup>90</sup> No. 804 [1472] (V. 144. 23-5).

Of the texts that these examples are taken from, it is necessary to make a note of the two twelfth-century ones: the *Trinity Homilies* and *Vices and Virtues*. As expected from these earliest Middle English texts, the conjunctive use of *hwanne* [*whanne*] was not yet common there. Especially in *Vices and Virtues*, *ðanne* is commonest, as illustrated by examples 3 and 19 in IV, and *ðā* or *ðō ðe*, as in examples 4, 24, and 28 in IV is far from rare, while we can find only two instances of conjunctive *hwanne* [*whanne*], including the one quoted above as example 12. The other instance, which will be given as example 29 below, is of a construction where *hwanne* is correlated with *ðanne*.

Now it would be needless to repeat the remarkable advance of conjunctive *when* [*whan*] from the fourteenth century onward, more particularly in the East Midland dialect. The quotations from the Wycliffite Bible, examples 17 and 18, should be compared with the corresponding parts of the Old English Versions, quoted as examples 1 in I and 6 in II respectively. Here is shown a consequence of the process how ME *when* came to supplant both OE *ðonne*, whose characteristic function was to introduce an action on an indefinite occasion in the present or future, and OE *pā*, whose primary function was to determine an action on a definite occasion in the past.

It is a natural sequence of things that *when* in Middle English, more frequently than *then* or *thō*, came to function as a relative adverb when it was placed so as to refer immediately to a preceding noun that implied some temporal relation. This use probably is more significantly ascribable to the indefinite nature of *when*, as we have already observed in III about the relevant Old English phenomena. The following are Middle English instances that contain constructions of *when* as relative adverb.

(22) ...seotte *pā dæi hwonne* man scolde pæt mynstre gehalegon.—*The Peterborough Chronicle*, an. 656 (30. 8-9). (=He appointed the day when the monastery should be consecrated.)

(23) At *Middai wanne* pō dai is alper hotestd be tokned pō men of xxx<sup>ii</sup> wyntre, oper of furti.—*Kentish Sermons* 265-7. (=At midday when the day is hottest it should signify the men who are thirty or forty years old.)

(24) On *the morn, wen* it was dai,  
Jacob ros fro p̄ar he lai,

—*Cursor Mundi*, Cotton MS., 3797-8.

(=The next morning, when it was day, Jacob got up from where he lay.)

(25) The lewedeste wolf that she may fynde,  
Or leest of reputacioun, wol she take,  
In *tyme whan* hir lust to han a make.

—Chaucer, *C.T.*, "The Manciple's Tale," IX 184-6.

<sup>90</sup> Quoted from *The Paston Letters: A.D. 1422-1509* (6 vols.), edited by J. Gairdner (AMS, New York, 1965). They were written in Norfolk in the Southeast Midlands.

(=She [*i.e.* The she-wolf] will take the lewdest or worst-reputed wolf that she can find, every time she desires to have a mate.)

(26) Sothli *dayes* schulen come, *whanne* the spouse shal be taken away fro hem, thanne thei schulen faste in tho dayes.—Wycliffe, *Luke* v. 35 (cf. ex. 5 in II). (Cf. L: Venient autem *dies*: cum ablatu fuerit ab illis sponsus, tunc jejunabunt in illis diebus.)

(27) But Machomete made hire to beleuee þat *all tymes whan* he fell so Gabriel the angel cam for to speke with him... —*Mandeville's Travels* XVI (90. 32-4). (=But Mahomet made her believe that, every time he fell so, Gabriel the Angel came to speak with him.)

(28) So hit befelle on *a tyme whan* kynge Arthure was at London, ther com a knyght and tolde the kynge tydyngis how the kynge Royns of Northe Walis had rered a grete numbir of peple... —Malory, II. I (45. 3-5). (=So it happened once when King Arthur was at London that there came a knight and he told the king the news how King Rience of North Wales had reared a great number of people...)

Example 22 may virtually belong to Old English; and this fact is the more noticeable because *hwonne* as an apparently relative adverb was used in such an early stage and because the construction here suggests the original nature of *hwonne*, which introduces a statement of an indefinite occurrence in prospect. That is also the case with example 26. Furthermore it offers us a datum of historical interest, with *whanne* here in Wycliffe corresponding to *ðonne* in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, as was illustrated by example 5 in II. *Wanne* and *wen* as non-restrictive relatives in examples 23 and 24 loosely introduce clauses that might be termed appositive, and therefore are in a closer affinity to subordinate conjunctions.

As *panne* or *pō* was more or less replaced by *when* in Middle English, so the old double determinative form "*panne...panne...*" or "*pō...pō...*" naturally changed to the more distinct correlative form "*when...then...*" The new form is never rare even in Modern English, especially in the argumentative style of the language; but here from a historical point of view we should like to remark the newly differentiated form of the double construction, whose expressive or functional value had become apparently improved. We have already observed an instance of this substitution by examples 1 and 1a, quotations from the two texts of *Poema Morale*. Below we shall add some more instances that contain the same kind of constructions.

(29) Oðerhwile, *hwanne* ðu ðencst ðat godd ðe hafð forlaten oðer forzeten, *ðanne* seið he: ...'Hv mai ðat moder forzeten ðat child ðe hie bar in hire wombe?...—*Vices and Virtues* 87. 20-4. (=At another time, when you think that God has forsaken or forgotten you, He says, "How can the mother forget the child that she bore in her womb?")

(30) *Wane* þis folk his hider icome, and habbeþ hire stude inome,  
*pan* his al þis faire lond, iset Bruttes an hond.

—*Lazamon*, Otho MS., 5891-2.

(=When these people have come and have been settled here, Britain has put all this fine land in her land.)

Cf. (30a) *Denne* þis folc bið hider icumen, and heo stude habbeð i-numen,  
*penne* bið al þis fæire lond, iset Brutten an hond.

—*Ibid.*, Caligula MS.

(31) And *huanne* þe mes byeþ y-come on efter þe oþer, *panne* byeþ þe burdes and þe truffles uor entremes.—*Ayenbite of Inwyrt* 56. 4-6.

(=And when the mess comes on one after another, there appear jokes and trifles for the

entrées.) (Cf. F: Et *quant* li mes sont venuz l'un après l'autre, *lors* sont les bordes e les truffes por entremes.)

(32) *Wen* Adam wroght was also

In paradis *pen* was he don;

—*Cursor Mundi*, Cotton MS., 617-8.

(=As soon as Adam was made, he was placed in Paradise.)

(33) For *whan* we may nat doon, *than* wol we speke;

—Chaucer, *C.T.*, "The Reeve's Prologue," I 3881.

(=For when we may not do, then we will speak.)

(34) But *whan* the messynge com to the kyng Royns, than was he woode oute of mesure... —Malory, I. xxviii (44. 27-8). (=But when the errand came to King Rience, he was exceedingly angry.)

As to the alteration from "*penne...penne...*" to "*wane...pan...*," as seen in the contrasted examples 30 and 30a from the two versions of *Lazamon*, examples 2 and 2a above and the comment that I made on them should be consulted.

There is another kind of double determinative form *when that*, where *that*, after indefinite adverb *when* may be described as a linking form-word for introducing a subordinate clause, or rather considered pleonastic. Genetically, however, the double form *when that* may be alleged as a transitional phenomenon for having the simple form *when* established as a subordinate conjunction. According to Kivimaa,<sup>91</sup> the earliest use of *when þat* can be attested in the three following East Midland texts of the thirteenth century: *De Wohunge of Ure Lauerd, Genesis and Exodus*, and *Havelok the Dane*; and one Southwestern text that also dates from the thirteenth century: *The South-English Legendary*. In Late Middle English the use expanded. Especially in verse the pleonastic form was often chosen to satisfy the metrical requirements. It is now an interesting, though merely casual, phenomenon that the expansion of *when that* in Late Middle English chronologically succeeded the decay of *þō þat* or *þō þe* in Early Middle English. This new pleonastic form *when that*, with other similar combinations, such as *if that*, *though that*, *because that*, *after that*, *before that*, *till that*, *since that*, etc., was handed down to Early Modern English and is now considered a kind of archaism. The following instances may practically just illustrate the use of a casual or metrical variant of simple *when* in Middle English, but they should be considered to be of some historical value in the development of this representative temporal conjunction.

(35) *Quen þat* þe seuen yere war gane

Iacob hasked his lemman.

—*Cursor Mundi*, Cotton MS., 3867-8.

(=When the seven years had passed, Jacob asked his lover.)

Cf. (35a) *Whenne* þo seuen ȝeer were goon

Iacob asked his lemmon.

—*Ibid.*, Trinity MS.<sup>92</sup>

(36) Bot *quen þat* comly he keuered his wyttes,

Swenges out of þe sweuenes & swareȝ with hast,

Þe lady luffych com laȝande swete,

Felle ouer his fayre face & fetly hym kyssed;

—*Gawain* 1755-8.

<sup>91</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 242, 255 f.

<sup>92</sup> That is, MS. R. 3.8. Trinity College, Cambridge; this version of *Cursor Mundi* was composed in the West Midlands, possibly Herefordshire, in the early part of the fifteenth century.

(=But when he befittingly recovered his wits, started out of his dreams, and answered hastily, the lovely lady came sweetly laughing, swooped over his fine face, and kissed him gracefully.)

- (37) And *whenne that* my wil is ich wol hit ouer-throwe,  
And er thre dayes after edefye hit newe;

—*Piers Plowman*, C XIX. 161-2.

(=And whenever I wish so, I will overthrow it [*i.e.* the temple] and build it newly within three days.)

- (38) Betwen tuo Stoles lyth the fal,  
*Whan that* men wenen best to sitte:

—Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, Prol. 336-7.

(=Men fall down between two stools when they think it best to sit down.)

- (39) And specially from every shires ende  
Of Engelond to Caunterbury they wende,  
The hooly blisful martir for to seke,  
That hem hath holpen *whan that* they were seeke.

—Chaucer, *C.T.*, "Prologue," I 15-8.

(=And especially from the end of every shire of England they go to Canterbury, to seek the holy blissful martyr, who has cured them when they have fallen ill.)

- (40) And *whan pat* ony gode knyght pat was hardy and noble cam to see this rialtee, he wolde lede him in to his paradys and schewen him peise wonderfull things to his desport... —*Mandeville's Travels* XXXI. 29-32. (=And when any good knight who was brave and noble came to see this kingdom, he would lead him into his paradise and show him these wonderful things to his satisfaction.) (Cf. F: Et, *quant* ascum bon bachiler qi estoit pruz et hardis le venoit veer, il le menoit en soun Paradys et le mounstroit les diverses choses et le desduit...)

We have hitherto observed the indefinite nature inherent in *when* (<OE *hwonne*) as it was used to introduce a temporal clause. What now remains to us is to see what form this word assumed when its indefiniteness was to be explicitly intensified or reinforced and how it came to have its particular function, as perceived in ModE *whenever*, established. From Old English we can hardly attest any such intensified form of *hwonne*, except the kindred, though genetically alien, combinations *lōc hwonne* and *weald hwonne*, as exemplified by 15 and 16 in III respectively. According to OED (s.v. WHENEVER I), the earliest instance of the modern form *whenever* can be given from c. 1380 Wycliffe. Though we must say that the form was not fully established till the fifteenth century, the prototypical forms of *whenso*, *whensoever*, and *whenever* can be illustrated from a number of Middle English texts, as follows:

- (41) ...þet is unorne mare, þet bitacneð ure unorne fleis, *hwense* we haffeð imaked þene licome to þer saule bihoue.—*Lambeth Homilies* VIII (85. 3-4). (=That is a rude mare, which denotes our vile flesh whenever we have made the body subject to the soul.)

- (42) *Hwen se* 3e gað to ower bedd i niht oðer in euen, falleð on cneon ant þencheð i hwet 3e habbeð i þe dei iwreaðet ure lauerd.—*Ancrene Wisse* 27. 12-4. (=Whenever you go to your bed at night or in the evening, fall upon your knees and think in what you have angered our Lord during the day.)

- (43) ...ower cneolunges *hwen se* 3e *eauer* mahen izemen.—*Ibid.* 27. 23-4. (=Take



care to kneel whenever you can.)

- (44) *annd dide recless inn inoh*  
*Drihhtin þærwiþþ to þeowtenn,*  
*a33 whann he sholde ganngenn inn*  
*upp to þatt oþerr allterr;*

—*The Ormulum*<sup>93</sup> 1074-7.

(=And he put in incense enough to serve the Lord with, whenever he had to go up to the other altar.)

- (45) *a33 whann-se þu forrþifesst tuss*  
*þin wraþþ annd ec þin wræche,*  
*a33 þanne lakesst tu þin Godd*  
*gastlike i þine þæwess,*

—*Ibid.* 1466-9.

(=Whenever you thus forgive your wrath and anger, you offer sacrifice to your God in your spiritual service.)

- (46) *For þe þur may mon lach when-so mon lykeþ.* —*Gawain* 1682.

(=For anyone can take the disaster whenever he likes.)

(47) ...for *whan* I ete or drynke, or what so that I do, *evere* semeth me that the trompe sowneth in myn ere:... —Chaucer, *C.T.*, "The Parson's Tale," X 160. (=For whenever I eat or drink, or whatever I do, it seems to me that the trumpet sounds in my ear.)

- (48) *Evere whan that* I spoke of his falshede,  
 For shame of hym my chekes wexen rede.

—*Ibid.*, "The Canon's Yeoman's Tale," VIII 1094-5.

(=Whenever I speak of his falsehood, my cheeks become red for shame of him.)

- (49) Welcome the sixte, *whan that evere* he shal.

—*Ibid.*, "The Wife of Bath's Prologue," III 65.

(=Let the sixth be welcome, whenever he may.)

- (50) What deyntee sholde a man han in his lyf  
 For to go love another mannes wyf,  
 That hath hir body *whan so that* hym liketh?

—*Ibid.*, "The Franklin's Tale," V 1003-5.

(=What daintiness should a man have in his life who goes about to love another man's wife and can enjoy her body whenever he likes?)

- (51) That, by my thrift, he shal it nevere wynn,  
 For aught he kan, *whan that so* he bygynne.

—*Id.*, *Troilus and Criseyde* II. 1483-4.

(=...so that, by certainty, he will never win it, for aught he can, whenever he tries to.)

(52) Wherefore as wele as I my said cousin...desire and hertly pray you...to take and resceive the profites of alle the said landes,...deliveryng alwey the oon moyte of your receites to my resceivoure, and the other moitee to my said cousin Tyndale, *whan so ever* the said profits by you so shalle be taken and resceived.—*The Paston Letters*, No. 1034 [1486-9] (VI. 134. 12-9). (=...always delivering one half of your receipts to my

<sup>93</sup> For the quotations from *The Ormulum* I have depended on the text (pp. 48-81) in H. Sweet, *First Middle English Primer* (Oxford, 1950). The MS. of the *Ormulum* is preserved in Junius I in the Bodleian Library, which was composed about 1200 in the East Midland dialect.

receiver and the other half to my above-mentioned cousin Tyndale, whenever the profits may be thus taken and received by you.)

*Se* in *hwēn-se* or *whann-se* in examples 41, 42, 43, and 45 had been weakened from *sō* (<OE *swā*), the demonstrative adverb added to reinforce the force of indefinite determination that was to be displayed by *hwēn* [*whan*].<sup>94</sup> The remarkable phenomena are shown in the detached use of *eauer* [*evere*] in examples 43 and 47; there, especially in the latter, the original function of the intensive adverb *ever* can be explicitly perceived. It was of a free intensive, not of such solid nature as is expected from *whan so ever* in example 52, or from the modern consolidated forms *whensoever* and *whenever*. It is indeed for this reason that the adverb, or the synonymous *a33* (=‘ay, ever’, <ON *ei*, cognate with OE *ā* ‘ever’),<sup>95</sup> could be placed before the indefinite, as in examples 44, 45, and 48. The full correlative construction “*a33 whanne-se...a33 panne...*” in example 45 should be compared with those in examples 1a and 29~34 above. It would be needless to refer to the appendage *that in evere whan that* (ex. 48), *whan that evere* (ex. 49), *whan so that* (ex. 50), and *whan that so* (ex. 51), all found in the quotations from Chaucer, which should be interpreted as kindred to *that* [*pat*] in examples 35~40.

## VI. Summary

Hitherto we have cursorily observed how the temporal conjunction *when* came to be established in the course of the Old and Middle English periods. The representative words in Old English that corresponded to *when* in Modern English were *ponne* and *pā*, which both originated in demonstrative adverbs, meaning ‘then’. These demonstrative conjunctions often displayed their determinative force in a more concrete and straightforward manner by appearing in a double or even triple form. In such sequence of determinatives as “*Ponne...ponne...*” and “*Pā...pā...*,” it is sometimes perceptible, parataxis in structure naturally passed on to hypotaxis, thus conditioning the demonstratives to turn into subordinate conjunctions. This type of double determinative construction was kept on till the Middle English period, though *panne* [*than, then*], and consequently *pō* [*thō*], became more liable to be replaced by *hwanne* [*whan, when*], as the period proceeded. Amid this general process, it is noteworthy that *pō* [*thō*], whose functional characteristic was to connote a point of time, most commonly indicated by the accompaniment of a verb in the past tense, when a definite or particular occurrence

<sup>94</sup> Although the original function of *sō* [*se*] was to intensify the force of indefinite determination, the compound that contained it as a suffix was also sometimes used as a mere intensive variant of simple *hwēn* (cf. OED, s. v. *WHENSO* I). It was then as possible for compound *hwēn-so* to mean ‘when,’ as well as ‘whenever,’ as it was for simple *hwēn* to imply ‘whenever’ contextually. The following is taken from the *Lambeth Homilies*, the same text as example 41 has been quoted from: “In þe deie of liureisun *hwense* god almihtin wule windwin þet er wes iporschen, he wile ison hwiche boð þo, þet muze stonden azein þes fleisces lust...”—VIII (85. 21-3). (=In the day of judgement when God Almighty wishes to winnow what has been thrashed out, He will see which are those who can withstand the lust of the flesh.)

<sup>95</sup> For the illustration of *ai whan* (=‘whenever’) MED (s. v. *AI adv.* 4c) records only two quotations: one from a. 1375 *The Romance of William of Palerne*, and the other from a. 1400 (a. 1325) *Cursor Mundi*. This combination failed to be maintained till the Modern English period. Cf. also OED, s. v. *AY-WHEN*.

took place, succeeded in maintaining its longer existence down to the fourteenth century, especially in the South and Southwestern dialects.

*Hwonne*, on the other hand, was not yet established as a subordinate conjunction in Old English. The word originated in an indefinite adverb that referred to some unknown point or space of time, vaguely implying 'at some or any time'. Naturally it was often, as *when* is now, used to introduce a clause of dependent question, referring to a verbal expression of waiting, longing, or apprehending. We have remarked the transition from a nominal clause to an adverbial or adjectival clause, which can be perceived in the context where indefinite *hwonne* introduces this kind of subordinate clause. The relative function of *hwonne* was accordingly easy to be developed when it was expressed so as immediately to refer to a preceding noun. Our chief attention has been paid to the process in the Middle English period how *hwanne* [*hwenne*, *whan*, *when*] (<OE *hwonne*) came to replace *panne* [*penne*, *than*, *then*] (<OE *ponne*), and consequently also *pō* [*thō*] (<OE *pā*), as subordinate conjunction or relative adverb.

The indefiniteness inherent in OE *hwonne* came to be explicitly reinforced, especially in the Middle English period. The prototypes of ModE *whenever* were seen in such forms as ME *hwen-se*, *whan...evere*, *whan so ever*, and so forth. The replacement of *panne* [*then*] by *hwanne* [*when*] should be eventually interpreted as a process towards more distinct expressiveness and greater functional value. This process can be perceived with special clarity when the old favoured construction of double determination "*penne* [*Danne*]...*penne* [*panne*]..." is compared with the newer correlative construction "*Hwenne* [*Hwanne*]...*penne* [*panne*]..." To this internal motive force may be added as a subsidiary factor the influence of Latin *quandō* or *cum* or French *quand* for the advance of *when* in Middle English, though the tendency can be traced in some respect to the Old English period.

In concluding this short survey of the development of *when*, I should like to mention *where*, the indefinite adverb of similar nature. The replacement of demonstrative *there* (<OE *pær*, OHG *dār*, cf. G. *da*) by *where* (<OE *hwær*, OHG (*h*)*wāer*, cf. G *wo*) is historically parallel to that of *then* by *when*. On closer observation, however, we find that the retention of *there* as a relative or subordinate conjunction is stronger than that of *then*, as will be apparent, for example, in the relevant instances of Chaucer. Again, the intensified indefinite combination *swā hwær swā* was established as early as in Old English; and this phenomenon should also be contrasted with the case of *when*. It is this peculiarity of the analogous fact in English syntax which looms large to the researcher contemplating his future theme.