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

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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* (*hwaenne*); but with respect to syntactic function we must say that ModE *when* as a conjunctional or relative adverb has replaced OE *ponne* (>ModE *then*). In Old English *ponne* 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 *ponne* corresponds to ModE *when* and what difference may be perceived in syntactic features between the two constructions.

(1) Ornustlice *donne* ðu ðine ælnessan syle, ne blawe man byman beforan ðe, ….
    Soþlice *donne* ðu ðine ælnessan do, nyte ðin wynstre hwæt do ðin swyðre, ….
    And *donne* ge eow gebibdon, ne beo ge swylce liceteras, ….
    ðu soþlice *donne* ðu ðe gebide, gang into ðinum bed-clifan, ….
    Soþlice *donne* ge eow gebibdon nellon ge sprecan fela, swa swa

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

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1 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., 2 Matt. vi. 2-7.

Compared with _ponne_ in example 1, _when_ in example 1a is felt to have some genuinely conjunctinal force with which the hypotactic constructions have been compactly formed. The use of _ponne_ 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 giebst, sollst du nicht lassen vor dir posaunen, ⋅⋅⋅. _Wenn_ du aber Almosen giebst, so laß deine linke Hand nicht wissen, was die Rechte thut. ⋅⋅⋅ And _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, 4 Matt. vi. 2-7.

Now, the original English form _hwonne_ [hwanne, hwænne] is closely cognate with the Old High German form _hwanne_ [hwe, me], 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. 4 (=They [i.e.

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2 Abbreviated from the Authorized Version. For the quotations from it I have depended on The Authorised Version of the English Bible, 1611, edited by W. A. Wright; 5 volumes; Cambridge, 1909.
3 The modern German biblical quotations are taken from Das Neue Testament unsers Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi (American Bible Society, New York; 1902).
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. 6 (=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 ponne [panne, pænne], 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 Fragmenten, 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, donn ge ës ës geseop, ëst 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 qua.nt) 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 remës, 
Danz Alexis la prist ad apeler:

—La Vie de Saint Alexis 61–27 [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 hora [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 by the side of the older quand. So the Biblical verses Matthew vi. 2–7,

8 Quoted from O. Behaghel, Deutsche Syntax III. (Carl Winter, Heidgiberg; 1928) § 1026, A. I. a) 1.
9 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 Anfang des 8. Jahrhunderts bis in die Gegenwart (Walter de Gruhter, Berlin; 1955).

7 Quoted from A. Ewert, The French Language (Faber and Faber, London; 1953), p. 357.
8 Cf. A. Hatzfeld & A. Darmeeter, ed.: Dictionnaire général de la langue française (Réimpression intégrale; Delaggrave, Paris; 1964), s. v. LORSQUE.
quoted above under 1, 1a, and 1b, run in the French version9 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:10

(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 hypocritae, ⋯. 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 *ponne* and *pā*

Besides *ponne* referred to in the previous chapter, *pā* (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,11 and therefore is equal to *ponne* in deriving from the demonstrative stem. Loosely speaking, we can say that *ponne* and *pā* 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. *Ponne* 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 predecate 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, *pā* 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.12 It is owing to these semantic features that among the Old English texts *Pastoral Care*, the homiletic writing whose main

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9 For the quotations from the French Bible I have depended on L. Segond, ed.: *La Sainte Bible* (Paris, 1959).
10 The Latin Biblical verses are quoted in this article from *Biblica Sacra Latina*; Vulgata Editiones (Bagster, London; 1794).
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 *pā*. Generally speaking, *pā* is appropriate to descriptions in a lively narrative style, while *ponne* is sometimes rather equivalent to 'whenever'.

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

1. (1) *Sua eac se læce, ḷonne he bietre wyrta deð to hwelcum drence, he hie gesuet mid hunige, ðylæs he ąda bieternesse ðære wyrte ðe hine gehælan sceal æt fruman gefrede, ac ḷonne se swæc ðære bieternesse bið bediegled mid ðære swetnesse, ḷonne bið se deaðhæra waæta on ðæm menn ofslægen mid ðæm biteran drence.*—*Pastoral Care*,14 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. (2) *Pa he com on India eastgemæra, pa com him þær ongean twa hund þusenda monna gehorsades folces,* —-*Orosius*15 132. 29-30. (=When he came on to the east boundary of India, there came against him two hundred thousand cavalrymen.)

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

4. (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 forsome from þæm symble and ham eode to his huse. Pa he þæt pā sumre tide dyde, þæt he forlet þæt hus þæs gebeorscipes, and ut wæs gongende to neata scipene,*—*Bede*17 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

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13 Cf. K. Kivimaa, *Pe and Pat as Clause Connectives in Early Middle English with Special Consideration of the Emergence of the Pleonastic Pat* (Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Helsinki; 1966), pp. 159, 167.
14 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.
15 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.
16 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.”
17 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 *onne* in example 1 and *pa* in examples 2 and 3 are correlated with the anaphoric demonstratives *onne* and *pa* 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 *onne* and *pa* used, each in its own proper place, in the same context. In this passage three *onne*’s are used for the description of the herdsman Caedmon’s habitual conduct, and then to describe what he did on one particular occasion, the writer had recourse to four *pa’s*, one of which is spelt *da*. Apart from this, it has something suggestive of the paratactic nature of Old English subordinate constructions. The two clauses introduced by the first two *onne*’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 *pa*. Here the punctuation in Miller’s edition, which I have adopted for the quotation above, is misleading. The second *pa* appears at the beginning of the new sentence. In fact it is placed paratactically after the first *pa*, but before the second *pa* there has not been expressed any principal clause that is to govern the subordinate one introduced by the first *pa*. We should notice the correlative or appositional use of *pæt* in “*Pa he pæt...dyde, pæt...*”. Both the first clause and the second one should be subordinated to the one introduced by the fourth *pa*. So according to the other editions this part is differently punctuated; there the second *pa* is not rendered to open the new period. In Sweet’s edition, the second *pa* (spelt *da*) is placed after a comma; and in the editions by Mossé, Wyatt, and Bolton, 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 *onne* and *pa*, whose origin remains demonstrative, even when they function as subordinate conjunctions. The third *pa*, spelt *da*, in the quotation above is not apparently a subordinate conjunction but seems to be an anaphoric adverb. The fact is, however, that the third *pa* is used, with its genuine demonstrative function, to strengthen or emphasize the second *pa* in its demonstrative force, that is, the force with which to indicate the time of the action predicated by the clause that the second *pa* introduces, and at the same time to connect the clause to the principal one introduced by the fourth *pa*, which has its demonstrative function fully displayed and is correlated with the second and the third *pa*. In this structure of double or triple determination we can see a fundamental feature in Old English subordinate constructions.

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

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18 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).
expresses a space of time.

(5) Soplice ə dagas cumap, əonne se brydguma him byf yrred, əonne fəstap hig on əam 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 əonne in this sentence, by the way, cannot be structurally interpreted as relative with the first əonne. But there can be felt in this expression something that associates the two əonne’s with each other. If we remove the part “Soplice ə dagas cumap” from this sentence, we shall clearly perceive the perfect correlation of “əonne...əonne...”; 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 əə.

(6) pa bletsode he hine and axode hine, hu eald he waere. pa andswarode he him and cwæð: Anhundwintre and xxx wintre. …pa heora feoh geteorode, pa com eall Egypta folc to losepe, …—Ælfric,28 Gen. xlvii. 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: “pa he bletsode hine and axode hine hu eald he waere, pa answarode he him,” the original parataxis would turn into hypotaxis. We can readily perceive this syntactic tone smoothly running to the following normal hypotaxis: “pa heora feoh geteorode, pa com…”.

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

(7) Et monn əa ðə he in are wes ne onget he efenmeten wes neatum unwisum…—Vespasian Psalter24 xlviii. 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 əə as demonstrative adverb, for it is interpreted to have been turned into a conjunction by connectival pe being appended to it. Pe itself is of the demonstrative stem pa- (<pre-Germanic to-). From a viewpoint of historical syntax, therefore, əə pe might as well be termed a double determinative as əə…əə…, 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 əə. 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 conjunctional 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

23 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.

24 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) Da wās geworden, ēa his ēnuna dagas gefyllede wēron, he ferde to his huse. —A.-S. Gosp. (Cf. R.S.V.25: And when his time of service was ended, he went to his home.)

(8a) Inti gifulte wurdun tho tāga sines ambahtes, gieng in sin hus.—Tatian [c. 830].
(8b) Abir geschen ist, do irfullit sint di tāge sines ammechtis, do ginc her inwec in sin hus.—Evangelienbuch [1343].
(8c) Vnnd es begab sich, du die zeyt seynes ampts aus war, gieng er heym ynn seyn haus, ——Luther [1522].26
(8d) Und es begab sich, du die Zeit seines Amts 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].

This replacement of dō by als in the history of the German language naturally reminds us of the development of English as (<OE eal-swō 'quite so') as temporal conjunction, which may be expected to replace OE pō. It should be of great significance concerning the decay of pō 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,28 especially in the South and West Midland dialects.29 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 [pen] 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 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 ēa 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 pā,
as subordinate conjunction or relative adverb. We shall here observe that the rare use of *hwonne* in this function should be ascribed to the indefinite29 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 *quando* 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.30 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 *hwinne* heo aras, for hys druncennysse.—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 concubuerit, 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,
   wæglînde, swilce wif heora,
   *hwonne* hic of nearwe ofer næglebdord
   ofer streamståðe stæppan mosten
   —*Genesis*31 1431–4.

29 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.


31 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.
1969] THE DEVELOPMENT OF WHEN AS SUBORDINATE CONJUNCTION OR RELATIVE ADVERB 17

(=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 byad hwonne seo ægl 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,
onde þonne gebidan beornas þine,
aras on earde, hwonne ðu eft cyrne."

—Andreas® 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 pencenne þonne embe his sauwle þearf, & hwonne se dæg cume þe he sceole wið þæm lichomon hine gedælon, & hwylce latteowas he hæbbe, ... —Blickling Homilies® 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 beofigeende hwonne him bearn godes
deman wille þurh his ðædæ sped.

—Christ and Satan® 620-1.

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

(8) ...he selfe waron ælce dæg on þære ondréedinge hwonne hie on ða 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 cump" or "þonne se dæg cump, (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


®® 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.

®®® 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] ponne with p 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 ponne to hwonne.

Closely associated with the structure mentioned above is the idiomatic construction: “Hit bip lang hwonne...” or “Him þyneþ lang hwonne...,” where the meaning of hwonne comes very near to ‘before.’

(9) Hit bip lang 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, hwonne hi to gædere garas beron. —The Battle of Maldon66 66-7.

(11) 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, sóðra gehata lange þrage, hwonne him lifes weard frea ælmihtig frecenra siða reste ageafe, —Genesis 1424-8.

(13) ...he for ðæm deape 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.)

88 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.

89 Quoted from the text in G. P. Krappe & 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.
Ic pæs 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 þær beo an mann stande on þan scipe and habbe ane taper æx on his hande...[The Parker Chronicle, an. 10319 (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 5am dome, weald hwonne he us to cyme,...—Wulfstan, Homilies40 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 book) 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.41 A parallel thing can be said of weald hwonne 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.42 Now it should be remarked that the old syntactic pattern "swā+indefinite+swā" can hardly ever be attested in the case of hwonne...
in Old English literature, 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, Twelfe. And hwænne seofon hlafas feower þusendum, and hu fela wyligena brytsena ge namon fulle? Hi cwædon ða, Twelfe. 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 quando in the Vulgate, where the corresponding verses run:


Here quando 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. 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 fiue thousande, and hou manye coffyns ful of brokene mete 5e token vp? Thei seyn to him, Twelue. Whanne and seuene looues in to four thousande of men, how many leepis of brokene mete 5e token vp? And thei seyen, 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 conjunctival use of when.

IV. ME than and tho

In the Middle English period the conjunctive or relative use of panne [penne, then] (<OE ponne) and þo [ðo] (<OE þā) was considerably decreased, though it persisted in existence
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, 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 Blaunccheflur* (Southwestern; c. 1250–60), *Poema Morale*, M* (Kentish; c. 1300), *Kentish Sermons* (Kentish; c. 1250), *Sainete Marherete* (West Midland; c. 1225), *Sainete Iulienne* (West Midland; c. 1225), *Sawules Warde* (West Midland; c. 1225), and *Hali Meithadh* (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) "...parfore hie lieð pan hie crist louerd clepieð.—Trinity Homilies* IV (21.1).

(-- 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.

(-- 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 *po*, and none of *whane* (cf. Kivimaa, op. cit. p. 181f.).

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

(3) Þe inreste þesternesse is in ðære hierte ðe ne wile forscæwin hwider he scal ðanne he henen farð.—Vices and Virtues* 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 iwwesceen et soð scrifte, penne þu forletest þine sunne.—Lambeth Homilies* 3 (37.18-9). (=The second time you will be washed at true confession, when you renounce your sins.)

(6) After pan drihten him ti-tahte twa stanene tables breode on hwulche godalmihti heofde iwríene þa ten laȝe þe þa israelisc folic scëolde halden þa he hoom ledde of egipete londe...—Ibid. 11 (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) ...óer siðe þu scalt beon iwwesceen et soð scrifte, penne þu forletest þine sunne. —Lambeth Homilies* III (37.18-9). (=The second time you will be washed at true confession, when you renounce your sins.)

(8) Do 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) ...óer siðe þu scalt beon iwwesceen et soð scrifte, penne þu forletest þine sunne. —Lambeth Homilies* III (37.18-9). (=The second time you will be washed at true confession, when you renounce your sins.)

(10) ao iacob sag dat sori writ,
He gret, and seide ðat ‘wilde der
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 were alle samen
   At Lincolne, at þe gamen,
   And þe erles men weren alle pore,
   Was Hauelok bi þe shuldren more
   Þan þe meste þat þer kam:
   —Havelok the Dane52 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) po 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) penne ich wæs on bedde iswaued, mid soft mine slepen,
    þen com biuoren, þa færreste þing þat wes iboren,
    —Lazamon,53 Caligula MS., 7838–9.

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

(13a) and po ich wæs abedde, mildeliche on slepe,
    þar com me bi-vore þat fayrest þinge þat was ibore  —Ibid., Otho MS.44
(14) pa mi time com, þisne cnaue ich hæfuede.  —Ibid., Caligula MS., 7849.

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

(14a) po pat þe time com, þisne cnaue ich hadde.  —Ibid., Otho MS.

(15) pane myn hus stont briȝt & grene,
    Of þine nis noping isene.
   —The Owl and the Nightingale,54 Cotton MS., 624–5.

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

(16) Ac po ho bet do ne micte,
    Ho uagt 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 po in Early Middle English has

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52 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.


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

55 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*. 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.

(17) *Pan* he was to pe erpe brouht,
Pe riche erl ne foryat nouht,
Pat he ne dede al Engelond.
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*⋅⋅⋅*do*⋅⋅⋅ 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 fyrð be norðan.—*The Peterborough Chronicle*, 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, *danne* behoueð de ðat ðu bie wel warr ðat tu luui3e ðine neste,⋅⋅⋅—*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.)

56 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* get þu hersumeset þere sunner *pet* is þet holh...hwa cropeð *per-in*..."—*Lambeth Homilies* II (23. 33-4). (=Moreover when you obey the sin, that is the hole..., who creeps into it?).

...penne pe preost hit deð in his mype, penne cumeð drihtenes engel and biniemeð ða 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) Þenne feowerti dawes beðan agan, Þenne cuðe he anan; to leue mine lauerd, Þat Leir is an is londe.

—Laʒamon, Caligua 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 daiges beo a-gon, panne cupe he hit a-non, to leofue mine louerd Þat Leir his in londe.

—Ibid., Otho MS. [Are <OE ær ‘ere, before’.]

(23) Þa ðeos scipfyrd ðus geendod waes, Þa com sona æfter hlammessan se ungemetlicia unfrithere to Sandwíc.—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) Þe werewede gastes iseþen ðat ðu naked ware and helpleas, Þa 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.

—Laʒamon, Caligua MS., 130. (=When this child was fairly grown up, he loved a maiden.)

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

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

—Ibid., Caligua MS., 7802. (=When Merlin was led, Dinabus was very glad.)

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

In the sentences of the Otho MS. of Laʒamon, examples 14a and 26a above, we see the combination þo 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 þa þe exemplified by 7 under II. Kiviimaa59 considers that þa þat, which is attested only in Southern texts of the thirteenth century,60 was developed from þa þe, [þa þe], which in turn is assumed either to have come from þa þa through the weakening of the second þa or to be due to the fusion of this þa þa and OE þa þe. þa þe in Early Middle English is commoner than þa þe in Old English.61 The following are some Early Middle English examples with þo þe,

60 Another example is: "...þo þat he alast of þis wordle naam flies and blod ine þe Maidene seinte Marie, and saeueðe 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.)
61 The similar combination panne þe, as exemplified below, is rare, and even in Old English panne þe can only be attested exceptionally (cf. Kiviimaa, op. cit. p. 159). "Ne ne wite wanne ne awiche halue ne awiche wise he hem wile bisette panne 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) Po pe com to bethmage..., po sende tweien of hise diciples into pe burch of ierusalem.—Trinity Homilies xv (89.12-5). (=When he came to Bethmage..., he sent two of his disciples into the city of Jerusalem.)

(28) Anon, do de he lokede upon him, he agann to wepen, and his sennen him waren forjuene.—Vices and Virtues III. 31-3. (=Immediately, when he looked upon him, he began to weep, and his sins were forgiven him.)

(29) Pa pe hes comen on middan pere se, pa wes pet godes folc up of pere 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) Pa pe wes wel ald mon, pa com him uuel on.
—La3amon, Caligula MS., 5680.

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

Cf. (30a) Po he was wel hold man, po 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 La3amon, 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 pe ilke muchele blisse pet tu hefdest pa pu sehe Pe ilke blisfule bearn iboren of pi cleane bodi to moncunne heale, "heal me Pet am purh wil tobroken as ich drede hwet se beo of dede.—Ancrene Wisse62 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) Amore5e p063 Pe day gan springe
Pe king him rod an huntinge, —King Horn64 645-6. (=In the morning when the day began to dawn, the king rode on hunting.)

(33) Po William hurde pat he wolde susteini is tricherie,
He let of-sende is kni5tes of al Normandie,
To conseili him in pis cas & to helpe him in such nede;


63 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).

64 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.
The development of *when* as subordinate conjunction or relative adverb


(=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 *pô*. 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 *pô* referring to the antecedent noun of time.

(35) Per efter in þe lengten pestrede þe sunhe and te ðai, abuton non þid ðaies, 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 Riwle (the Nero MS.),66 which is another English text of the same original, has the one instance of conjunction *penne*67:

(36) Ìe engel wende in to hire, peonne heo was inne in onlicke stude al hire one. —Ancrene Riwle 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) Ìe engel wende in to hire, penne 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 *hven*.

Next, as for the situation in the fourteenth century, it may be said that the tendency of *pen* [*pan*] and *pô* in the sense of ‘when’ to be declining was generally furthered, but that especially in the South or Southwestern dialects *pô* 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 *pô* can be attested.

(37) pan gaue þat kynge his craft to kepe,

—Cursor Mundi, Cotton MS.,68 625–6.

65 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.

66 The text adopted here is Ancrene Riwle, 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 Southwestern Midland.


68 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.
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 ūt kyng..." and "slei 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.69 of the same work is enlightening.

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

(=When Adam had all power to govern, our Lord slily 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 when [whanne, when, quen] commonly used, but neither pan [thanne, thenne, then] nor p~ [th~]. To 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 leefull, as I kan.


(=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.)

69 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.

70 Thŏ 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.)

71 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.\(^72\) Now it seems to allow of another interpretation. Just as *if* (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 Inwyte*, *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 po he hedde hise yclepted hou moche hi hedde him y-lete, hi andzuerede, pet wersst hi hedde y-write ine hare testament, pet he him let a pouesend and vyf hondred pond.—*The Aynbite of Inwyte*\(^73\) 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 scheherdes a schewer of blisse.

—*Piers Plowman*\(^74\) 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;…


(=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

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\(^{72}\) Cf. H. Eitle, *Die Satzverknüpfung bei Chaucer* (Carl Winter, Heidelberg; 1914), p. 21; also Robinson, *op. cit.* p. 765r.

\(^{73}\) 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.

\(^{74}\) 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.

\(^{75}\) 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 thō that thow toke
   Mercy for mede and my lawe breke,
   —Piers Plowman C\textsuperscript{76} 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 when [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 rydynge full faste as the horse myght dryve, on a fayre palferey.
   —Malory,\textsuperscript{77} 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.

\textsuperscript{76} The C-text of Piers Plowman is edited from MS. Phillipps 8231, and it was composed about 1393.

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 conjunctural 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. 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 hwan. 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. This seems to be an internal motive that caused panne or pō to be replaced by hwan, 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-swa) 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 panne [panne] was replaced by hwan [hwanne, wanne] in the West Midland dialect of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by contrasting the two versions of Poema Morale, LaJamon, and The Owl and the Nightingale in the use of the temporal conjunctions. Of Poema Morale the Lambeth MS. was composed nearly half a
century earlier than the Jesus MS. 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 [wenne] 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 La3amon, besides that there are found much more occurrences of wenne [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 wenne 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 [hwene] 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. Below we shall arrange such instances from these three works as illustrate contrastable uses of penne and hwanne.

(1) penne he bið in þere hete, þe chele him þinchet blisse,
penne hi cumeth eft to þe chele, of hete hi habbeð misse.


(1a) Hwenne heo comeP in hete, pe chele heom pincheP lisse,
penne heo cumÞ eft to chele, of hete heo habbeÞ mysse.

Ibid., Jesus MS., 229-30.

(2) · · · pat seóðen sculden moni mon,
pennen þe king weoren dæd, demen of his weorken.

La3amon, Caligula MS., 3541-2.

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

(2a) · · · þat þær-after solde mani man,
wane þe king were dead, speken of his workes.

Ibid., Otho MS.

(3) pane þu wilt þin unriht spene,
Loke þat it ne bo iseñe.

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 þin vniht spene,
Loke þat hit ne bo iseñe.

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

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81 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.

82 We must here take into account that, since in the Cotton MS. of The Owl and the Nightingale hwayne [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 pane [pan, pan] on the other. Cf. Grattan & Sykes, ed.: op. cit. p. xiii.
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 Midlands 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 pā 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 Southwestern dialects from which we quoted to illustrate the use of pā [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 ȝe earst arise, blesciȝ ow ant seggeȝ. In nomine patris... —Ancrene Wisse 12. 17–(cf. ex. 31 in IV). (=When you rise in the morning, first bless yourselves and say, "In the name of the Father...")

(5) Whane pe kyng arise
On a squieres wise
To wude for to pleie
Nis non Pat him biwreie. —King Horn 359–62 (cf. ex. 32 in IV).

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

(7) ¥¥¥wann ye hit habbeth hifunde swo anuret hit.—Kentish Sermons 21–2 (cf. ex. 34 in IV). (=When he had to rest from his prayers for weariness, he would let his hands work to avoid idleness.)

(8) Vor huanne pe glotoun gep in to pe tauerne, ha gep opriȝ; huanne he comp a-yen, he ne heȝ uot pet him moȝe sosteyni ne bere. Huanne he perin gep, he y-zycp and y-herp and specp wel and onderstant; huan he comp ayen, he heȝ al þis uorlore ase þe ilke þet ne heȝ wyt ne scele ne onderstondinge.—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*: 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 qui n’a sens ne raison ne memoire.)

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, hisi 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. exs. 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 pe gospel,’ quap heo, ‘pat god seide himseluen, Po pe peple hym aposide with a peny in pe temple
—Ibid., A 44 1. 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 ponne as contrasted with OE ða. In Middle English, especially in the later part of it, the characteristic distinction between hwanne [whan] and ðo [ðo] was largely lost, and the general tendency was to have ðo replaced by hwanne; and yet it is noteworthy to see this distinctive feature considerably preserved in the use of hwanne and ðo 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 ðo and wann [whan] in Robert of Gloucester to report the distribution of the two words in the 622 lines of the material I have adopted. There ðo 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 wann [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 ðo (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 ðo [ðo] 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) ¥¥¥pe holie gast wile cumen uppen pe, and godes mihte make ðe mid childe, and

64 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) Ñalswa 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 joseph 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 hide, —Cursor Mundi, Cotton MS., 1761. (=When all was done, there was no delay.)

(15) When þay had waschen worpyly, þay wenten to sete, —Gawain85 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 Criseyde86 III. 1201-2. (=She shook like an aspen leaf when she felt herself folded in his arms.)

(17) And when to þe byggers faylide prise, come all Egipte to Joseph—Wycliffe, Gen.87 xlvii. 15. (=And when the buyers were short of money, all the Egyptians came to Joseph.) (cf. L: Cumque defecisset emptoribus pretium, uenit cuncta Ægyptus ad Ioseph, ···)

(18) Therefore when thou dost almesse, nyle thou synge byfore thee in a trumpe,···. And when þe shuln preye, þee shuln nat be as ypocrisis,···. 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 when the worthi men of the contree hadden perceyued this sotyll falshood of this Gatholonabes, þei assembled hem with force and assayleden his castell—Mandeville’s Travels88 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. F89: Et, quant ly riches hommes de pais eurent apareau la cautele et la

85 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.

86 Chaucer’s Troilus and Criseyde is dated about 1385.

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

88 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.

89 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 assemblount et alerount assailler soun chastel…)

(20) Thenne Arthur made grete doole when 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,90 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 conjunctional use of hwanne [whanne] was not yet common there. Especially in Vices and Virtues, danne is commonest, as illustrated by examples 3 and 19 in IV, and ðā or ðō ðē, as in examples 4, 24, and 28 in IV is far from rare, while we can find only two instances of conjunctional 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 danne.

Now it would be needless to repeat the remarkable advance of conjunctional when [tehan] 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 danne, whose characteristic function was to introduce an action on an indefinite occasion in the present or future, and OE þā, 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 þā, 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 pa dcei hwonne man scolde þæt mynstre gehalegon.—The Peterborough Chronicle, an. 656 (30. 8-9). (=He appointed the day when the monastery should be consecrated.)

(23) At Middai wanne þo dai is alper hotestd be tokned þo men of xxx11 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 þar 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 when hir lust to han a make.

90 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 lowest or worst-reputed wolf that she can find, every time she desires to have a mate.)

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

(27) But Machomete made hire to beleue *pat all tymes when* 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 when* kyngge Arthure was at London, ther com a knyght and tolde the kyngge tydyngis how the kyngge Royns of Northe Walis had rered a grete numbir of peple…—*Malory, II. 1* (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 *whenne* here in Wycliffe corresponding to *donne* 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 forgætæn, ðanne seîð he:*‘Hv mai ðat moder forgætæn 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* ðis folk his hider icome, and habbeþ hire stude inome, 
*pan* his al ðis faire lond, iset Bruttes an hond.

—*Laȝamon, 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) *Penne* ðis folc bið hider icumen, and heo stude habbeð i-numen,  
*penne* bið al þis faire lond, iset Brutten an hond.  

—Ibid., *Caligula MS.*

(31) And *huanne* þe mes byeþ y-come on efter þe oper, *panne* byeþ þe burdes and þe trufles uor entremes.—*Ayenbite of Inwyt* 56. 4-6. 
(=And when the mess comes on one after another, there appear jokes and trifles for the
entrées.) (Cf. F: Et guant li mes sont venuz l’un aprés l’autre, lors sont les bordes e les truffes por entremes.)

(32) Wen Adam wroght was alson
In paradis pen was he don;
—Curson 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;

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

(34) But whan the messynge com to the kynge 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 “wan⋯pan⋯,” as seen in the contrasted examples 30 and 30a from the two versions of Lajamon, 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,91 the earliest use of when pat can be attested in the three following East Midland texts of the thirteenth century: Pe 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 pō pat or pō pe 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 pat pe 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 po seuen zeer were goon
Iacob asked his lemman. —Ibid., Trinity MS.92

(36) Bot quen pat comly he keuered his wyttes,
Swenges out of pe sweuenes & sware5 with hast,
Pē lady luflych com la3ande swete,
Felle ouer his fayre face & fetly hym kyssed;
—Gawain 1755–8.

92 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:

(=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.)

(39) And specially from every shires ende
Of Engelond to Cauterbury they wende,
The hoo ly blisful martir for to seke,
That hem hath holpen whan that they were seeke.
—Chaucer, C.T “Prologue” 1 15 8

(=And whenever 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 sou Paradyset 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 *líc 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 whensou, whensoever, and whenever can be illustrated from a number of Middle English texts, as follows:

(41) *pet is unorne mare,* *pet bitacneð ure unorne fleis,* *hwense* we haffed imaked ðene licome to þer saule bhhoue.—Lanlambeth 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 ze gað to ower bedd i niht oðer in euen,* falleð on cneon ant þencheð i hwet ze 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 ze eauer mahen iggermen.—Ibid. 27. 23-4. (=Take
care to kneel whenever you can.)

(44) and dide reckles inn inoh
Drihthiin þærwipþ to þeowtenn,
\[a33 \text{whann}\] he sholde ganngenn inn
upp to þatt operr allterr;

—*The Ormulum*\(^a\) 1074-7.

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

(45) \[a33 \text{whann-se} \] þu forrîfesst tuss
þin wrapp annsd ec þin wræche,
a33 \text{panne} lakest tu þin Godd
gastlike i þine pæwess,

—Ibid. 1466-9.

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

(46) For þe lur may mon lach \textit{when-so} mon lykeȝ. —*Gawain* 1682.

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

(47) ⋯for \textit{whan} I ete or drynke, or what so that I do, \textit{evere} semeth me that the
trompe sowmeth in myn ere:⋯ —Chaucer, \textit{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) \textit{Evere whan that} I spoke of his falshe,\nFor shame of hym my chokes wexen rede.


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

(49) Welcome the sixte, \textit{whan that evere} he shal.


(=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,\nThat hath hir body \textit{whan so that} hym liketh?


(=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 thrifte, he shal it nevere wynn,\nFor aught he kan, \textit{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) Wherfore as wele as I my said cousin⋯desire and hertly pray you⋯to take and
receive the profites of alle the said landes,⋯deliveryn alwey the oon moyte of your
receites to my rescieivoure, and the other moitee to my said cousin Tyndale, \textit{whan so
ever} the said profits by you so shall be taken and receivèd.—*The Paston Letters*, No.
1034 [1486-9] (VI. 134. 12-9). (=⋯always delivering one half of your receipts to my

\(^a\) 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 hwen-se or whann-se in examples 41, 42, 43, and 45 had been weakened from só (<OE swā), the demonstrative adverb added to reinforce the force of indefinite determination that was to be displayed by hwen [whan]. 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’), 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 when that (ex. 48), when that evere (ex. 49), when so that (ex. 50), and when 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 “onne…onne…” 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 accompanyment of a verb in the past tense, when a definite or particular occurrence

94 Although the original function of só [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 hwen (cf. OED, s.v. WHENSO I). It was then as possible for compound hwen-so to mean ‘when,’ as well as ‘whenever,’ as it was for simple hwen to imply ‘whenever’ contextually. The following is taken from the Lambeth Homiclcs, the same text as example 41 has been quoted from: “In pe deie of liureisun hwellse god almihtin wule windwin pet er wes iporschen, he wile ison hwiche b06 Po, pet mu5e stonden a3ein Pes fieisces lust...”—VIII (85. 21-3). (=In the day of judgement when God Almighty wishes to winnow what has been threshed out, He will see which are those who can withstand the lust of the flesh.)

95 For the illustration of ai whan (=‘whenever’) MED (s.v. 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 [hwonne, whan, when] (<OE hwonne) came to replace panne [penne, than, then] (<OE ponne), and consequently also pā [thā] (<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 [Panne]···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 pār, OHG dār, cf. G. da) by where (<OE hwār, OHG (h)wār, 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 hwār 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.