

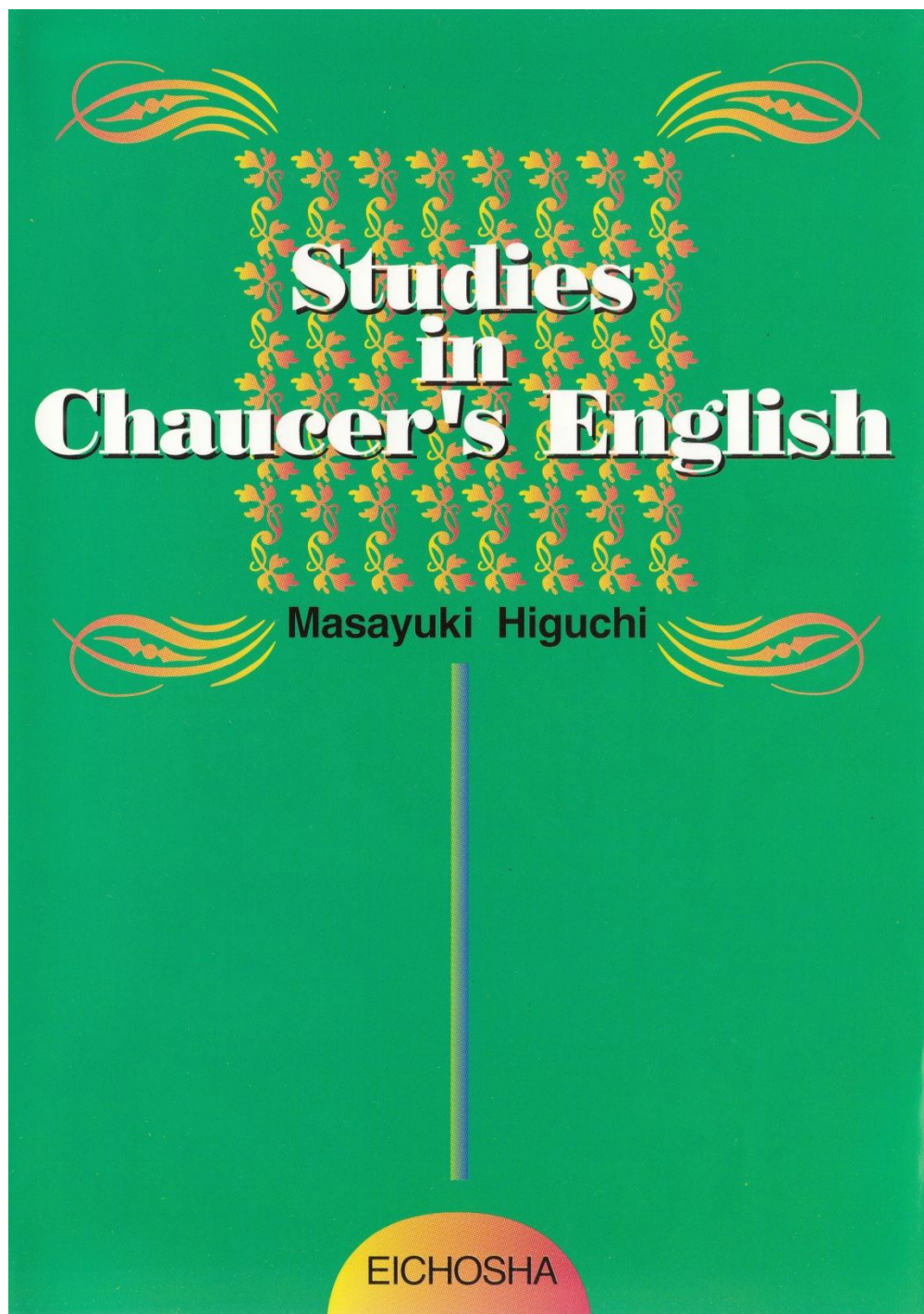
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Masayuki Higuchi

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PREFACE

The present study on Chaucer's English is composed of two parts. The first part is devoted to syntactic studies of Chaucer's English: Chapter 1 investigates how Chaucer employs progressive forms in his writings; Chapter 2 treats of various problems of perfect forms; Chapter 3 describes the attributive, predicative and free-adjunct uses of the present participle; and Chapter 4 discusses functions of the past participle. The second part is concerned with lexical and textlinguistic aspects of Chaucer's language: Chapter 5 proposes a theoretical framework for describing literary texts and, applying the theory, analyzes three tales from the *Canterbury Tales*; Chapter 6 is an attempt to prove that WENEN, an ME ideative verb, is used mainly of a counterfactive state of affairs; lastly, Chapter 7 discusses which one of Chaucer's works can justifiably be called a "comedy".

The main purpose of this book is to describe the actual state of the poet's language. The approach in this study is descriptive in the sense that observations are comprised of actual examples. Though much has been said about Chaucer's English or, for that matter, Middle English, some of the arguments hitherto unchallenged turn out to be nothing more than sheer "myths". Mustanoja (1960: 447) says, for example, "It [the prefix *y-*] occurs in Chaucer's poetry, but not in his prose"; actually, Chaucer's prose contains not a few instances of the past participle prefixed with *y-* (see Chapter 4). The present work is also speculative and explanatory in the sense that it endeavors to explain how and why two or more rival forms are used. Thus, an explanation is offered in §2.1.5 on the use of the subjunctive expressions, e.g., *be gone*, *were gone* and *had gone*; the semantic distinction between the first two has not been explored before. This study is philological in its widest sense: it tries to retrace what Chaucer recognized ("erkannte") during his literary creation (Part II). It is to be hoped that this study with a detailed description of various aspects of Chaucer's English will contribute to uncovering how fourteenth

century English was and what Chaucer recognized in the process of his poetic creation.

To a possible criticism that this study is overabundant with citations, I would like to repeat the words of predecessors: “The large number of quotations will, I hope, be deemed a guarantee against hasty statements and rash conclusions on my part” (van der Gaaf), and “although theory may date, description remains” (Ando).

This book is a revised version of my doctoral dissertation titled “Studies in Chaucer’s English”, which was accepted by Kansai University of Foreign Studies in March 1994. I would like to thank my committee members, Sadao Ando, Daisuke Nagashima and Tamotsu Koizumi, for their valuable criticism, for their helpful suggestions, and for their encouragement. I wish to acknowledge the generosity and integrity of Sadato Tanimoto, President of Kansai University of Foreign Studies, who decided to award the PhD degree to someone who did not graduate from his university.

The present work is based on *The Riverside Chaucer* edited by Larry D. Benson (1988). Brackets in the original are removed, however, in order to avoid confusion between brackets supplied by the editor and those supplied by the present writer. Italics in the original are rendered into Roman types to make clear that italics are by the present writer. For the sake of comparison I have concurrently referred to Skeat’s and Robinson’s editions (1884-87; 1957), since these books, formerly the standard texts of Chaucer’s works, used to be referred to in previous studies. I have used the Oizumi and Miki concordance (1991), which is literally “a complete concordance to the works of Geoffrey Chaucer”. I have also used the concordance compiled by Tatlock and Kennedy (1963), which, though insufficient in the treatment of function words, conveniently cites variant forms at the same place and distinguishes identical forms by their functional differences.

Some parts of this book have been published elsewhere in different forms. Chapter 1 is based on Higuchi (1988c); Chapter 3 first appeared in Higuchi (1987a, 1988b); part of Chapter 4 is expressed in abbreviated form in Higuchi (1985, 1990a); Chapter 5 is a revision of Higuchi (1980, 1981, 1988a); Chapter 6 is reprinted, *mutatis mutandis*, from Higuchi

(1983); and Chapter 7 includes some material which is also contained in Higuchi (1986, 1991b). I am grateful to the publishers for permission to use this reworked material.

I am much indebted to the scholarship of predecessors, to name just a few, Fridén, Visser, Söderlind, Mustanoja, Kerkhof, Halliday and Hasan, whose works have been an indispensable help to me. My thanks are due to Professors Tetsuya Kunihiro and Tetsuo Nawata, both of whom instilled in me a lasting interest in language and scholarship. It gives me pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to the late Professor Michio Masui, Professor Emeritus at Hiroshima University, who introduced me to Chaucer's language and literature. I have also benefitted from discussions with my colleagues, former and present. Not least, I should like to record my appreciation of the patience and understanding of my parents, wife and children. I wish also to thank Shozo Doki, President of Eichosha Publishing Company, for his cooperation and assistance in publishing this book. Finally, I acknowledge gratefully the financial help provided by the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, as a Grant-in-Aid for Publication of Scientific Research Result.

Masayuki Higuchi

Hiroshima, Japan

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOS

ABBREVIATED TITLES

ABC	<i>An ABC</i>
Adam	<i>Chaucers Wordes unto Adam, His Owene Scriveyn</i>
Anel	<i>Anelida and Arcite</i>
Astr	<i>A Treatise on the Astrolabe</i>
BD	<i>The Book of the Duchess</i>
Bo	<i>Boece</i>
Buk	<i>Lenvoy de Chaucer a Bukton</i>
CompL	<i>A Complaint to his Lady</i>
CT	<i>The Canterbury Tales</i>
FormA	<i>The Former Age</i>
Fort	<i>Fortune</i>
Gent	<i>Gentilesse</i>
HF	<i>The House of Fame</i>
LGW	<i>The Legend of Good Women</i>
Mars	<i>The Complaint of Mars</i>
PF	<i>The Parliament of Fowls</i>
Pity	<i>The Complaint unto Pity</i>
Prov	<i>Proverbs</i>
Purse	<i>The Complaint of Chaucer to his Purse</i>
Rosem	<i>To Rosemounde</i>
RR	<i>The Romaunt of the Rose</i>
Scog	<i>Lenvoy de Chaucer a Scogan</i>
Sted	<i>Lak of Stedfastnesse</i>
TC	<i>Troilus and Criseyde</i>
Venus	<i>The Complaint of Venus</i>
WNob	<i>Womanly Noblesse</i>

Poems not ascribed to Chaucer in the manuscripts

BalCo	<i>A Balade of Complaint</i>
CompA	<i>Complaynt D'Amours</i>
MercB	<i>Merciles Beaute</i>
WUnc	<i>Against Women Unconstant</i>

LANGUAGES

AF	Anglo-French
MD	Middle Dutch
ME	Middle English
MHG	Middle High German
Mod	Modern English
OE	Old English
OF	Old French
PrE	Present-day English

GRAMMATICAL TERMS

NP	Noun Phrase
PP	Prepositional Phrase
VP	Verb Phrase
Obj	Object
Subj	Subject
pp.	past participle

symbols

* (before clause or phrase)	ungrammatical or unacceptable
* (before line number)	non-Chaucerian instance
+ (after entry verb)	not recorded by Fridén

Other abbreviations used are self-explanatory.

PART I

SYNTACTIC STUDIES

CHAPTER 1

THE PROGRESSIVE FORM

It is well known that the progressive is of rare occurrence in the ME period, but it is not well known what kinds of verbs Chaucer uses in the progressive, what types of progressive occur in Chaucer's English, or how Chaucer employs the progressive in his French, Italian and English period, respectively. In this chapter, I shall (1) propose criteria for distinguishing the present participle from the participial adjective; (2) describe all the instances of the progressive in Chaucer's writings; (3) consider characteristics of the ME progressive; and (4) observe how Chaucer's employment of the progressive changes with time.

1.1 Participial adjective vs. participle

Before proceeding to the description of the progressive forms in Chaucer's English, it is necessary to present criteria for distinguishing the participial adjective from the participle. First, *-ing/-en* forms should be treated as participial adjectives in the following environments:

a) when an *-ing* form is followed by a preposition not required by the corresponding verb (Jespersen 1940: 418, Visser 1973: 1934):

- (1) (Bo IV, p.6, 229) *thilke man that thow wenest to ben ryght just and ryght *kepyng* of equite* ['holding to justice'],
- (2) (Bo III, p.11, 20) *iche of hem is *lakkyng* to othir*,
- (3) (RR *3795) *So that it *lykyng* to hir be*,
Also in CT VII, 1719.

Note. An asterisk (*) before a line number indicates that the instance is from a work that is not ascribed to Chaucer.

By this criterion alone, however, it is sometimes impossible to decide whether the *-ing* form is adjectival or verbal because the prepositional phrase may be deleted, as in (4b), and because the same *-ing* form may be used with or without a preposition, as in (5):

- (4) a. (RR *4824) Which love to God is not *plesyng*;
 b. (RR *6865) These nonnes, and these burgeis wyves, That riche ben
 and eke *plesyng*,
 (5) a. (RR 986) To hem was wel *sittyng* [‘well-suited’] and able [‘fitting’]
 The foule croked bowe hidous,
 Also in RR *4675.
 b. (RR *2309) For men shulde ... Do thing that hem *sittyng* is,
 Cf. also TC IV, 437; RR *3654; (sittand) *2263.

Other environments in which *-ing/-en* forms should be treated as adjectives are as follows:¹

- b) when a prenominal *-en* form, which is otherwise pronounced [-t], is to be pronounced [-ed] or [-id] (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 416, Swan 1995: §13):

- (6) (CT VI, 474) Oure *blissèd* Lordes body they totere—
 Cf. (CT III, 44; IV, 1404) (Y)bléssed bè Gód (cf. also 4.2.3.4.)
 (7) (CT VI, 761) if that yow be so leef To fynde Deeth, turne up this *crókèd*
 wey,
 (8) (CT III, 1360) And he wolde fecche a *féynèd* mandement,

- c) when an *-ing* or an *-en* form cooccurs with a degree word such as *how*, *more*, *-est*, *best*, *too*, *so* (cf. Jespersen 1940: 417, Visser 1973: 1932):

- (9) (Bo III, p.6, 34) what man is it that ne may wele seen how veyn and
how flyttynge a thyng it es?
 Also in Bo III, p.7, 22 (bytynge).

¹ Some of the tests proposed here are recorded in Denison (1993: 372ff.).

- (10) (Bo II, p.7, 67) Seestow nat thanne how streyte and *how compressid* is thilke glorie that ye travailen aboute to schewe and to multeplye?
- (11) (CT VII, 1450) The moore cleer and the *moore shynyng* that Fortune is, the moore brotil and the sonner broken she is.
Also in Bo III, p.8, 38 (flyttyng).
- (12) (Bo III, p.4, 46) For yif a wykkyd wyght be in so mochel the fowlere and the *more outcast* that he is despysed of moost folk,
Also in: Bo I, p.4, 104 (asseured); Bo III, p.4, 51 (despised); CT X, 1054 (apayed).
- (13) (CT VII, 1155) And as touchynge thy freendes, thou shalt considere which of hem been moost feithful and moost wise and eldest and most *approved* in conseillyng;
- (14) (PF 551) Me wolde thynke how that the worthieste of knyghthod, and lengest had used it ... Were *sittyngest* for hire,
- (15) (CT I, 2201) What ladyes fairest been or *best daunsynge*, (Cf. OED, s.v. Dancing, ppl.a.)
- (16) (CT VII, 1577) For a man that is *to desiryng* to gete riches abaddoneth hym ['devotes himself'] first to thefte, and to alle othere yveles;
- (17) (Bo IV, p.1, 11) the thinges ... ben to me so cleer and *so schewynge* by the devyne lookynge of hem ... that they ne mowen nat ben overcomen.
Also in: Bo IV, p.6, 299 (overthrowynge); TC III, 241 (langwissh-ynge); RR *3283 (short lastyng ['short-lived']); *4789 (devyaunt).
- (18) (CT X, 723) Thanne comth undevocioun, thurgh which a man is *so blent* ['deluded'],
Cf. (RR *3110) [the botoun] is moost passaunt of beaute,

d) when an *-ing* or an *-en* form is coordinated (or juxtaposed) with an adjective (Visser 1973: 1933):

i) *-ing* form:

- (19) (Astr I, 16, 7) And understond wel that degres of this bordure ben *aunswering* and consentrike to the degrees of the equinoxiall,

- (20) (Bo II, p.1, 29) For thow were wont to hurtlen and despysen hir with manly woordes whan sche was *blaundyssching* ['favorable'] and present,
- (21) (RR *5424) And hem she hoteth ['promises'] stabilite In a stat that is not stable, But *chaungynge* ay and variable;
- (22) (RR 867) Hir heer was yelowe and clere *shynynge*;
- (23) (RR 1268) And by hir wente a knyght dauncyng, That worthy was and wel *spekyng* ['well-spoken'],

Other instances from *Boece*: I, p.1, 56 (fructifyenge ['fruitful'] nor profitable); II, p.2, 44 (calm and blaundysschyng ['gentle']); III, p.3, 91 (gapynge and gredy); III, p.11, 147 (softe and fletynge ['moving']); IV, p.2, 124 (opene and schewynge ['evident']); IV, p.3, 115 (dredful and fleynge).

Note. The adjectival character of *a(u)nswering* in (19) is exhibited by the coordination of *answering* and *consentrike*. If *answering* in (19) is to be looked on as a participial adjective, *answering* in the following citation should also be treated as such because the context below is virtually identical with the context above. This argument requires a revision of the OED, which cites the example below under *Answer* (v. 27):

(Astr II, 10, 8) But understond wel that evermo generally the houre inequal of the day with the houre inequal of the night contenen 30 degrees of the bordure, which bordure is evermo *answeryng* to the degrees of the equinoxial.

ii) *-en* form:

- (24) (CT X, 780) That oother marchandise ... is *cursed* and dampnable.
- (25) (Bo III, p.6, 25) it byfalleth that he that thow wenest be glorious and *renomed* semeth in the nexte partie of the erthes to ben withouten glorie and withouten renoun.
- (26) (Bo IV, p.2, 9) thow most nedes knowen that good folk ben alwey strong and myghti, and the schrewes ben feble and *desert* and *naked* of alle strengthes.

e) when an *-ing* or an *-en* form is used as a paraphrase of an adjective:

(27) (CT VII, 1510) The joye of God . . . is perdurable—that is to seyn,
everelastyng.

(28) (CT X, 718) Thanne comth the synne that men clepen tarditas, as
whan a man is to laterede or *tariynge* er he wole turne to God,

f) when an *-ing* or an *-en* form has a derived adverb ending in *-ly* (Ando 1976: 592):

(29) (CT I, 1564) Love hath his firy dart so *brennyngly* Ystiked thurgh my
trewe, careful herte

Also in TC I, 607.

(30) (LGW 1485) Ful *cunnyngly* [‘politely’] these lordes two he grette,

Also in CT IV, 1017.

(31) (Anel 171) She wepith, waileth, swowneth pitously; To grounde ded
she falleth as a ston; Craumpysssheth her lymes *crokedly*;

(32) (CT X, 604) I kan nat seye but that they doon *cursedly* and dampnably
agayns Crist and al the feith of hooly chirche.

(33) (CT VII, 2627) And in this styngk and this horrible peyne, He starf ful
wrecchedly in a monteyne.

g) when an *-ing* or an *-en* form has no corresponding verb (Visser 1973: 1934,
Ando 1976: 592):

(34) (CT I, 2393) I am yong and *unkonnyng*,

Also in: TC V, 1139; Bo V, m.3, 36; CompL 69; RR 686.

(35) (CT X, 449) whan they sourden by [‘originate from’] freletee *unavysed*,
and sodeynly withdrawen ayeyn,

(36) (TC IV, 1457) It is ful hard to halten unespied [‘pretend to limb
undetected’] Byfore a crepel, for he kan the craft;

(37) (Bo I, p.4, 312) and every luxurious turmentour dar doon alle felonye
unpunysshid,

(38) (CT X, 1010) lat no synne been *untoold*,

(There are no such verbs as *UNCONNEN, *UNAVYSEN, *UNESPIEN, *UNPUNISSHEN, or *UNTELLEN.²)

h) when an *-ing* or an *-en* form is collocated with a noun which normally does not occur with the verb corresponding to the *-ing* or *-en* form. The *-ing* or *-en* form thus collocated is often used in a figurative meaning.³ *Bytynge* in (40), for example, does not mean ‘nipping with the teeth’ but ‘pungent’.

(39) (CT VIII, 118) And right so as thise philosophres write That hevene is swift and round and eek *brennynge* [‘on fire’], Right so was faire Cecilie the white Ful swift and bisy evere in good werkyng, And round and hool in good perseveryng, And *brennynge* [‘on fire with feeling and passion’, ‘ardent’] evere in charite ful brighte.

(40) (Bo III, p.1, 28) And certes the remenant of thynges that ben yet to seie ben swiche that first whan men tasten hem they ben *bytynge* [‘pungent’]; but whan they ben resceyved withynne a wyght, thanne ben thei swete.

(Notice the contrastive use of *bytyng* and *swete*.)

(41) (BD 801) For al my werkes were *flyttyng* [‘changing’] That tyme, and al my thocht *varyng* [‘unstable’].

(42) (Pity 97) though I be not *konnynge* for to pleyne [‘skilled in composing appeals’], For Goddis love have mercy on my peyne.

Also in RR 1111.

(CONNEN is usually followed by a bare infinitive. See also Visser 1973: 1974.)

(43) (BD 959) I knew on hir noon other lak That al hir lymmes nere pure *sewyng* [‘in proportion’] In as fer as I had knowyng.

(The verb SEWEN means ‘to follow’.)

(44) (CT I, 3913) This *dronke* Millere hath ytold us heer How that bigyled was a carpenteer,

Cf. *to drink a miller.

² For more instances of *un-* words, see Shimogasa (1976).

³ Visser (1973: 1933) seems to mean the same when he says “the *-ing* refers to a natural or innate quality or property.”

Notwithstanding these criteria, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the *-ing* or *-en* form is a participle or a participial adjective. *Haboundinge* in the following example, for instance, is taken as a present participle by Skeat, but as a participial adjective by Davis et al.:

- (45) (ABC 135) For evere in you is pitee *haboundinge* To ech that wole of pitee you biseeche.

In order to make the description exhaustive, I shall cite below all the *-ing* forms that are hard to decide whether verbal or adjectival.

Note. Considering the PrE usage, the *-ing* form in (45) seems to be an adjective (cf. criteria *a* and *h*):

- i. She abounds in good will.
- ii. *Good will abounds in her.

The instance from ABC 135 antedates the earliest citation in the OED (1631, Donne).

1.2 Verbs used in the progressive: classification

In ME, both stative and non-stative (or dynamic) verbs are used in the progressive. The former include (a) verbs of ‘living’, (b) verbs of ‘rest’, (c) verbs of ‘relation’ and (d) verbs of ‘intellect’; the latter can be divided into (e) verbs of ‘motion’, (f) verbs of ‘statal change’, (g) verbs of ‘activity’ and (h) verbs of ‘emotional expression’. Out of these the most common are verbs of ‘living’.

1.3 Stative verbs (25) (Non-Chaucerian examples excepted)

It is noteworthy that stative verbs, which usually do not have a progressive form in PrE, can be used in the progressive in ME.

1.3.1 Verbs of ‘living’ (7)

Of all the verbs in Chaucer, DWELLEN is most frequently used in the

progressive. While DWELLEN means ‘to inhabit’, the participial form of LIVEN is used only in the sense ‘to have life, be alive’. Other verbs of ‘living’ are not used in the progressive. (For the simple past form of ABIDEN, see (49).)

a) independent clauses (4):

- (46) (CT VII, 2822) A povre wydwe, somdeel stape in age, *Was* whilom *dwellyng* in a narwe cotage, | (Anel 72) Among al these Anelida, the quene Of Ermony, *was* in that toun *dwellynge*, | (HF 608) First, I . . . *Am dwellynge* with the god of thonder,

b) dependent clause (4):

i) relative clauses (3):

- (47) (CT I, 1419) He fil in office with a chamberleyn The which that *dwellynge was* with Emelye; | (LGW 718) That other hadde a doughter, the fayreste That estward in the world *was* tho *dwellynge*. | (Bo III, p.12, 43) Ne the certein ordre of nature ne schulde not brynge forth so ordene moevynges by places, by tymes, by doynges, by spaces, by qualites, yif ther ne were on, that *were* ay stedfaste *duellynge*, that ordeynide and disponyde these diversites of moevynges.
- (48) (CompA *2) I, which that am the sorwefulleste man That in this world *was* ever yit *livinge* . . . , Beginne right thus my deedly compleininge On hir | (CompA *52) she is the fayrest creature . . . that ever *was livinge*,

ii) *whil*-clause (1):

- (49) (TC I, 129) And in hire hous she abood with swich meyne As til hire honour nede was to holde; And whil she *was dwellynge* in that cite, Kepte hir estat, and both of yonge and olde Ful wel biloved, and wel men of hir tolde.

1.3.2 Verbs of ‘rest’ (5)

Verbs of this class indicate that the subject is in a non-dynamic state.

a) independent clauses (5):

(50) (Bo II, m.7, 29) than *is* the seconde deth *duellynge* [‘waiting’] unto yow.

(51) (TC III, 1140) syn ye ben brought In thus good plit, lat now no hevvy thought *Ben hangyng* in the hertes of yow tweye

(52) (RR *1718) The God of Love ... *Was stondyng* by a fige-tree.

(53) (TC V, 24) This Troilus ... *Was waytyng* on his lady evere more

The following are notable as instances of the types “haven+ben+*-ing*” (see also (81)) and “modal+ben+*-ing*”:

(54) (CT I, 929) Heere in this temple of the goddesse Clemence We *han ben waityng* al this fourtenyght.

(55) (Bo V, p.1, 40) For what place *myght ben left* or *duellynge* to [‘remain for’] folie and to disordenaunce,

Cf. Car quieux lieus puet estre demourans a folie et a desordenance, [Jean de Meun]

(Notice “left or” is Chaucer’s addition.)

b) dependent clause (relative clause) (1):

(56) (RR *7423) So longe forth her way they nomen, Tyl they to Wicked-Tonge comen, That at his gate *was syttyng*, And saw folk in the way passyng.

1.3.3 Verbs of ‘relation’ (10)

Verbs of this class refer to a ‘relation’ between two things, such as adjacency, inclusion, subordination, accordance, fittingness and tendency; thus, they are basically two-argument verbs.

a) independent clauses (6):

- (57) (TC I, 282) She nas nat with the leste of hire stature, But alle hire lymes so wel *answerynge Weren* to wommanhod, that creature Was nevere lasse mannyssh in semynge;
- (58) (TC II, 53) And ful of bawme *is fletyng* [‘suffused with balm’] every mede,
- (59) (ABC 135) For evere in you *is pitee haboundinge* To ech that wole of pitee you biseeche.
- Cf. (CT VII, 2925) Swevenes engendren of replecciouns ... Whan humours been to *habundant* in a wight.
- (60) (LGW 1962) The tour ... *Was joynynge* in the wal to a foreyne; And it *was longynge* to the doughtren tweyne Of Mynos,
- Cf. (CT I, 1060) The grete tour ... Was evene *joynant* to [‘just next to’] the gardyn wal
- (61) (CT I, 307) *Sownynge* in [‘tending to’] moral vertu *was* his speche,

b) dependent clauses (relative clauses) (4):

- (62) (Bo III, p.12, 94-95) and that they ne converten hem of here owene wil to the wil of here ordeynour, as thei that *ben accordynge* and *enclynyng* to here governour and here kyng.
- Cf. (CT VII, 2836) Hir diete [‘food’] was *accordant* to hir cote. | CT V, 103.
- (63) (CT VIII, 785) Ther is also ful many another thyng That *is* unto oure craft *apertenyng*.
- Cf. (CT IV, 1010) Ful bisy was Grisilde in every thyng That to the feeste was *apertenaunt*. | CT VII, 2315 (apertinent).
- (64) (Bo II, p.6, 52) Maystowe remuwen [‘move away’] fro the estat of his propre reste a thought that *is clyvynge* [‘adhering’] togidre in hymself by stedfast resoun?
- (65) (RR *2309) For men shulde ... Do thing that hem *sittyng is*,

Note 1. Mossé (1938: 183) treats *joynynge*, *longynge* and *sownynge* in (60-61) as adjectives. He says, “tandis que la FP [Forme Périphrastrique] verbale est transitive directe, l’adjectif est suivi d’une preposition”. This view, however, is incorrect,

because these verbs inherently require a preposition. Notice also that (60) is not synonymous with “the tower joined an outer privy”, but with “the tower joined (itself) to an outer privy”. Observe the following examples:

- i. (Bo IV, m.6, 26) the colde thingis joynen hem [= ‘themselves’] by feyth to the hote thingis;
- ii. (CT X, 802) the rightes that longen to hooly chirche.
- iii. (CT VII, 1967) I wol doon al my diligence, As fer as sowneth into honestee,

Note 2. In connection with example (57), it should be noted that ANSWEREN may be used intransitively:

(Bo IV, p.3, 62-3) that also moot the peyne of yvel *answere* ...
to schrewes.

Note 3. *Accordynge* can be adjectival, as is evident from its coordination with an adjective:

(Bo III, p.11, 139) And forsothe every thing kepeth thilke that is *accordynge* [‘in agreement with’] and propre to hym,
Also in Bo III, p.11, 132.

1.3.4 Verbs of ‘intellect’ (3)

All the examples are from *Boece*. It is worthy of note that the structure “BEN+knowyng” corresponds, not to the Latin original, but to the French translation “ESTRE+consachable”.

a) independent clause (1):

- (66) (Bo I, p.4, 45) Thow and God . . . *ben knowynge* [“conscii”; “estes consachable et savés”] with me that nothyng ne brought me to maistrie or dignyte but the comune studie of alle goodnesse.

b) dependent clauses (*that*-clause) (2):

- (67) (Bo I, p.4, 182) For whan he was accused by Gaius Cesar, Germaynes

sonne, that he *was knowynge* and *consentyng* [“consciuous”; “esté consachable”] of a conjuracioun ymaked ayens hym, this Canyus answeride thus:

Note 1. *Knowyng* in the following example is an adjective because, if it is a verb, it requires an object, and because it means ‘conscious’ (Skeat, s.v. Knowinge) or ‘intelligent’:

(Bo III, p.11, 154) Ne I ne trete not here now of willeful moevynges of the soule that is *knowyng* [“animae cognoscentis”; “l’ame cognoisant”],

This example antedates the earliest record in the OED dated 1649 (Taylor).

Note 2. For the preposition *of* used with CONSENTEN, see:

(Wyclyf, PSacr 221) 3if twei or þre of 3 ou consenten togedre *of* ony þing erþe [etc.] [MED]

1.4 Non-stative verbs (22)

1.4.1 Verbs of ‘motion’ (10)

Verbs of this class indicate a change in place.

a) independent clauses (3):

(68) (CT V, 264) Phebus hath laft the angle meridional, And yet *ascendynge* was the beest roial, The gentil Leon, with his Aldiran,

(69) (CT IV, 805) And trewely thus muche I wol yow seye: My newe wyf *is comynge* by the weye.

(70) (Bo III, p.8, 37) But the schynynge of thi forme . . . , how swyftly *passynge is* it, and how transitorie!

b) dependent clauses (7):

i) relative clauses (3):

(71) (CT VII, 27) Amonges alle his gestes, grete and smale, Ther was a

monk, a fair man and a boold . . . That evere in oon *was drawynge* to that place.

- (72) (CT VIII, 623) I seye, my lord kan swich subtilitee . . . That al this ground on which we *been ridyng* . . . He koude al clene turnen up-so-doun, And pave it al of silver and of gold.
- (73) (LGW F 47) As I seyde erst, whanne comen is the May, That in my bed ther daweth me no day That I *nam* up and *walkyng* in the mede To seen this flour ayein the sonne sprede,

ii) *as/if/whan/that*-clauses (4):

- (74) (TC II, 559) for, as I *was comynge*, Al sodeynly he lefte his complaynyng.
- (75) (CT X, 12) Therwith the moones exaltacioun—I meene Libra—alwey gan ascende As we *were entryng* at a thropes ende;
- (76) (TC III, 692) Ther was nomore to skippen nor to traunce, But boden [‘was bid to’] go to bedde, with meschaunce, If any wight *was steryng* anywhere, And lat hem slepen that abedde were.
- (77) (Astr II, 4, 30) But sothly, if he passe the boundes of these forseide spaces, above or bynethe, thei seyn that the planete *is* “*fallyng* fro the ascendent.”
- (78) (RR *5544) Whanne upon men she [Fortune myshappyng] *is fallyng*, Thurgh mysturnyng of hir chaunce, And casteth hem out of balaunce, She makith, thurgh hir adversite, Men full clerly for to se Hym that is freend in existence From hym that is by apparence.

Note. *Droppyng* (‘leaky’) may be used adjectivally:

(CT X, 631) An hous that is uncovered and *droppyng* and a chidyng wyf been lyke. | (CT III, 278) Thow seyst that *droppyng* houses, and eek smoke, And chidyng wyves maken men to flee Out of hir owene houses;

1.4.2 Verbs of ‘statal change’ (3)

By verbs of ‘statal change’ is meant a group of verbs that indicate a

transition from one state to another, such as GROWEN, WEXEN and LANGUISHEN.⁴

a) independent clauses (2):

(79) (RR 1563) Abouten it [‘well’, ‘spring’] *is* gras *spryngyng*, For moiste so thikke and wel likyng

(80) (CT I, 2078) And undernethe hir feet she hadde a moone—*Wexynge* it *was* and sholde wanye [‘wane’] soone.

b) dependent clause (relative clause) (1):

(81) (PF 472) But as possible is me to deye to-day For wo as he that *hath ben languysshyng* This twenty wynter,

1.4.3 Verbs of ‘activity’ (6)

a) independent clauses (3):

(82) (CT I, 91) *Syngynge* he *was*, or *floytynge*, al the day;

(83) (CT I, 2699) For he *was* yet in memorie and alyve, And alwey *criynge* after Emelye.

b) dependent clauses (3):

i) relative clause (1):

(84) (CT III, 1409) This somonour, which that *was* as ful of jangles ... And evere *enqueryng* upon every thyng,

ii) *as/whan*-clauses (2):

⁴ Visser (1973: 1962) cites the following as an instance of the progressive:

(BD 587-8) This ys my peyne wythoute red, Alway *deynge* and be not ded,

The *deynge* in the above instance, however, is a case of a dangling participle (see 3.3.2e).

- (85) (CT V, 410) Amydde a tree, for drye as whit as chalk, As Canacee *was pleyng* in hir walk, Ther sat a faucon over hire heed ful hye,
 (86) (TC IV, 31) Liggyng in oost ... The Grekes stronge aboute Troie town, Byfel that, whan that Phebus *shynnyng is* Upon the brest of Hercules lyoun, That Ector ... Caste on a day with Grekis for to fighte ... to greve hem what he myghte.

Note. Though frequently used in the progressive in OE, FIGHTEN is not used in the progressive in Chaucer. Its simple form appears where in PrE the progressive is expected:

(CT I, 1699) whan this duc was come unto the launde, Under the sonne he looketh, and anon He was war of Arcite and Palamon, That *foughten* breme [‘fiercely’] as it were bores two.

1.4.4 Verbs of ‘emotional expression’ (2)

Verbs of this class express the subject’s emotion, such as happiness or sadness.

a) independent clauses (2):

- (87) (CT I, 1366) And solitarie he *was* and evere allone, And *waillynge* al the nyght, makyng his mone;
 (88) (RR 156) Frounced foule *was* hir visage, And *grennyng* for dispitous rage,

b) dependent clauses (0).

1.5 Doubtful cases (3)

An *-ing* form accompanied by an *as*-phrase (or clause) should be interpreted as adjective, because it is part of a simile and because it does not express an activity but a characteristic of the subject:

(89) (Mars 120) Derk was this cave and *smokyng* as the helle;

(Notice the coordination with *derk*.)

(90) (CT I, 2174) His voys was as a trompe *thonderynge*.

(91) (CT I, 3263) *Wynsynge* she was, as is a joly colt, Long as a mast, and upright as a bolt.

Mossé (1938: 182) treats the *-ing* forms in (90) and (91) as adjectives, while the OED cites *wynsynge* in (91) as an instance of the verb WINCEN. I agree with Mossé in interpreting *thonderynge* as an adjective since the *-ing* form indicates a feature of his (= King Emetreus) voice: the thing that is “thundering” is not King Emetreus himself but his voice (i.e., ‘his voice was “as loud as thunder”’ [OED]). *Wynsynge* in (91) functions as an adjective because “wincing as is a jolly colt” is in parallel, though somewhat loosely, with “long as a mast” and “upright as a bolt”. The example of *thundering* (CT I, 2174), incidentally, predates the earliest record in the OED (1576, Gascoigne).

1.6 Type: *There was many a bird singing*

Judging from the surface structure, the *-ing* form in the construction “there/here BEN NP *-ing*” is attributive. However, it is possible to assume that these attributive-like constructions are derived from progressive constructions through *there*-insertion (cf. Scheffer 1975: 8, Quirk et al. 1972: 958f.). Compare the following examples:

(92) a. No one was waiting.

b. There was no one waiting.

(93) a. Something is causing him distress.

b. There’s something causing him distress.

This type of construction is sometimes encountered in Chaucer’s English.⁵ Verbs occurring in this type are those indicating ‘rest’, ‘statal change’, ‘activity’ and ‘living’:

⁵ Constructions with *there be*+NP+*-ing* are cited as instances of the progressive in Gaaf (1930: 211).

- (94) (CT III, 2052) *Ther is* ful many an eye and many an ere *Awaityng* on a lord, and he noot where.
- (95) (RR 1367) *Ther was* eke *wexyng* many a spice, As clowe-gelofre and lycorice, Gyngevre and greyn de parys, Canell and setewale of prys, And many a spice delitable To eten whan men rise fro table.
- (96) (RR 655) For *there was* many a bridd *syngyng*, Thoroughout the yerd al thringyng;
- (97) (RR 1404) Conies *there were* also *playinge*,

Instead of *there*, *here* may occur:

- (98) (LGW F 559) For *here ben* twenty thousand moo *sittyng*e Than thou knowest, goode wommen alle, And trewe of love for oght that may byfalle.

As example (97) shows, the order of word may be “NP there BEN -ing”. Most frequent, however, is the order “there BEN -ing NP”. DWELLEN is often used in the formula “(whilom) ther was/were dwellynge NP” to introduce a new character (or characters):

- (99) (CT I, 3187) Whilom *ther was dwellynge* at Oxenford A riche gnof, that gestes heeld to bord, | (CT I, 3190) With hym *ther was dwellynge* a poure scoler, | (CT I, 3925) A millere *was ther dwellynge* many a day. | (CT III, 1301) Whilom *ther was dwellynge* in my contree An erchedeken, a man of heigh degree, | (CT IV, 1245) Whilom *ther was dwellynge* in Lumbardy A worthy knyght, that born was of Pavye, | (LGW 710) *There were dwellyng* in this noble toun Two lordes, whiche that were of gret renoun,

With *here*:

- (CT VII, 816) *Heere is* the queene of Fayerye, With harpe and pipe and symphonye, *Dwellynge* in this place. (Cf. note 7 to this chapter)

LIVEN is not used for introducing a new character:

(100) (CompL 76) For in this world *livyng* than *is ther* noon That fayner wolde your hertes wil fulfille.

Note. The following is not an instance of the progressive because it does not mean ‘there lived a shipman far in the West’, but ‘there was [also] a shipman [in the group], whose home was far in the west’ (cf. Oizumi 1965: 24):

(CT I, 388) A SHIPMAN was ther, wonyng fer by weste;

There-insertion is also observed in dependent clauses:

(101) (TC I, 65) Now fel it so that in the town *ther was Dwellynge* a lord of gret auctorite, A gret devyn, that clepid was Calkas, | (LGW F 5) But, natheles, yet wot I wel also That *ther nis noon dwellyng* in this contree That eyther hath in hevене or helle ybe,

Tatlock and MacKaye seem to take the following as a case of the progressive:

(102) (HF 122) In which ther were moo ymages Of gold, stondynge in sondry stages, . . . , then I saugh ever. (“in which were more golden images standing in sundry niches”) [T&M trans.].

Note. Arguing about TISs [there-insertion sentences] in PrE, Williams (1984: 135) says that HNPS [Heavy NP Shift] does not occur in TISs:

- i. There are several of George’s recent acquaintances sick.
- ii. *There are sick several of George’s recent acquaintances.

If I understand Williams correctly, examples (95, 99, 101) show that his argument does not apply to TISs in ME.

1.7 BEN-ellipsis

BEN may be left unsaid when it is easily supplied from a preceding clause. A typical example of BEN-ellipsis in Chaucer’s English is observed in (103);

other *-ing* forms below allow a free-adjunct interpretation (cf. Chapter 3).

- (103) (BD 634) Without feyth, lawe, or mesure She ys fals, and Δ ever
laughynge With oon eye, and that other Δ *wepyng*.
- (104) (CT I, 2163) His cote-armure was of clooth of Tars Couched with
perles white and rounde and grete; His sadel was of brend gold newe
ybete; A mantelet Δ upon his shulder *hangynge* . . .; His crispe heer lyk
rynges was yronne,
- (105) (CT I, 201) He was a lord ful fat and in good poynt [‘condition’]; His
eyen [‘eyes’ (pl.)] Δ stepe, and *rollynge* in his heed, That stemed as a
forneys of a leed [‘cauldron’]; (Cf. OED, s.v. Roll 18b.)

Notice in (105) the expressed form of BEN is *was*, and the form to be supplied is *were* (cf. §2.6).

1.8 The meaning of the progressive

Let us now consider the meaning of the progressive. In Chaucer’s writings the progressive form and the simple form are occasionally found side by side; for instance, either could be used in the pattern “there V NP”:

- (106) a. (RR 1367) *Ther was eke wexyng* many a spice,
b. (RR 1365) And alemandres gret plente, Fyges, and many a date-tree
There wexen, if men hadde nede, Thorough the gardyn in length
and brede [‘breadth’].
- (107) a. (TC I, 65) Now fel it so that in the town *ther was Dwellynge* a lord of
gret auctorite,
b. (CT V, 10) At Sarray, in the land of Tartarye, *Ther dwelte* a kyng
that werreyed Russye,

The interchangeability in some contexts, however, does not entail that the progressive in ME was employed merely to meet the exigencies of verse, such as meter, rime or alliteration. The progressive also occurs in prose:

- (108) (Bo I, p.4, 45) Thow and God . . . *ben knowynge* [“conscii”; “estes

consachable et savés”] with me that nothyng ne brought me to maistrie or dignyte but the comune studie of alle goodnesse.

The original expressions cited in brackets show that the above example is not a word for word translation from the Latin or the French. The ME progressive has a semantic value of its own. I shall now examine previous views on the meaning of the progressive.⁶

On the progressive form in earlier English, Goedsche (1932: 469) says that “The progressive form may express under certain circumstances ... the action as a whole, thus having terminate aspect.” As Goedsche himself suggests, however, his article is not an attempt to determine the fundamental meaning of the progressive form.

Mossé (1938: 177) states that the essential function of the progressive is to express duration (“durée”). But in the following examples, as Mossé (1938: 181f.) himself admits, the progressive expresses “la notion de permanence, de durée non plus indéterminée, mais illimitée”.

(109) (Destruction of Troy 923) þis stone ... *Is erdand* [‘exist’] in Judé.

(110) (Kyd, Spanish Tragedies 1.2.28-30) [Fortune] whose foot *is standing* on a rowling stone And minde more mutable then fickle windes.

According to Mustanoja (1960: 593f.), ME periphrasis “be + -ing/-ende” is used (1) to express “imperfectivity (durativity)”, and (2) to “describe the action in a more graphic and forceful way”. A problem with his account is that by “imperfective (durative) aspect” Mustanoja means only an “activity ... conceived as a continuous line in time” (p.445), or an activity that is “taking place” (p.445): he does not pay due attention to stative verbs, such as *hangyng/ stonding*; *joynyng/ sownyng*; *knowyng/ consentyng*, which indicate a state, not an activity or action.

Lastly, Visser (1973: 1924) claims that his definition of the “expanded form” is applicable to all cases in Old, Middle and Modern English:

⁶ For other views on the progressive than those given here, see Hatcher (1951), Ota (1963), Ando (1983) and Denison (1993).

The Expanded Form is that colligation of a form of *to be* with an *-ing* which is used when the speaker chooses to focalize the listener's attention on the POST-INCEPTION PHASE of what is, was or will be going on at a point of time in the present, past or future. A cover term for the binary opposition 'expanded form' versus 'non-expanded form' would then be FOCALIZATION.

This definition, however, is misleading in that the "post-inception phase" is not always clear, especially when the verb in the progressive denotes terminate aspect, such as COMPLETE, DIE, END, FINISH and TERMINATE:

- (111) The gallant half-city *is dying* on its feet. (Brown Corpus)|Hand-shaking on introduction *is largely dying* out in Britain although it is still very much the correct thing on the Continent. (Lob Corpus)

These verbs, when used in the progressive, denote a "process" to termination, not a "post-inception phase" (for the progressive use of DIE, see also Comrie 1976: 47).

The ME progressive seems to be best characterized by considering the characters of the *-ing* form. One of the characteristics of the ME *-ing* form is that it behaves like a free adjunct. It would not be impossible, especially when the *-ing* form is a verb of 'living' or 'rest', to interpret the ME "BEN-ing" construction as "existential BEN+free adjunct" (cf. Curme 1913: 165, Mitchell 1985: 179f.). Examples (112-114, a), for instance, can be punctuated as in (112-114, b):⁷

- (112) a. (TC I, 129) she was dwellynge in that cite,
 (113) a. (CompA *52) she is the fayrest creature ... that ever was livinge.
 (114) a. (RR *1718) The God of Love ... Was stondyng by a fige-tree.

⁷ Citing the following instance, Fischer (1992: 251) says "it is not clear whether the *-ing* form is ... an appositive participle or already part of the progressive":

(CT VII, 814-16) Heere is the queene of Fayerye, With harpe and pipe and symphonie, Dwellynge in this place.

- (112) b. she was₁ dwelling(,) in that city,
 (113) b. she is the fairest creature ... that ever was₁ living.
 (114) b. The God of Love ... was₁ standing(,) by a fig-tree.

This analysis can be supported by the following facts. First, that BEN is existential is shown by a cooccurring locative phrase which is normally required by BEN and other verbs of rest. In (112a), it can be conjectured, “in that cite” functions as an adjunct to *was* and/or *dwellinge*. Secondly, the comma in (115a) reveals that several editors take “BEN -ing” as “BEN, -ing”:

- (115) a. (HF 122) In which ther were moo ymages Of gold₁ stondynge in
 sondry stages, (Riverside, Robinson, Skeat, etc.)
 b. in which were more golden images standing in sundry niches, [T&M
 trans.]

Lastly, the following citations show that, as far as word order is concerned, there is no difference between the constructions of “BEN -ing” and “BEN, -ing”:

- (116) a. (CT I, 3925) A millere was ther dwellynge many a day.
 b. (CT I, 388) A shipman was ther, wonynge fer by weste;

A second character of the ME *-ing* form is that, as in PrE, the participle is sometimes adjectival (cf. Curme 1913: 160f.). In the following example the *-ing* form can be replaced by an adjective:

- (117) a. (Bo III, p.11, 154) Ne I ne trete not here now of willeful moevynges
 of the soule that is *knowyng*,
 b. Nor are we now dealing with the voluntary motions of the
 intelligent soul, [Tester trans.]

The adjectival character is also observed when the *-ing* form denotes a permanent quality of a person (notice *evere* in the following examples):

- (118) (ABC 135) For evere in you is pitee *haboundinge* To ech that wole of pitee you biseeche.
- (119) (CT III, 1409) This somonour, which that was as ful of jangles ... And evere *enqueryng* upon [‘inquisitive about’] every thyng,

The adjectival character of the *-ing* form is most obvious, as we have seen above, when the participle cooccurs with an *as*-phrase/clause:

- (120) a. (CT I, 3263) Wynsynge she was, as is a joly colt,
b. She was skittish as a jolly colt, [T&M trans.]

The ME *-ing* form has a third feature: it is of nominal character. A historical explanation of this is that the *-ing* form was the object of the preposition *on* (or its weakened form *a*) or *in*:

- (121) a. (ÆColl 68) ac gyrstandæg [‘yesterday’] ic wæs *on huntunge*.
b. While this gode was *in gederyng* the grettes among, Antenor to the temple trayturly yode. (While this wealth was being collected among the nobility, Antenor treacherously went to the temple.) [Denison 1993: 388]

In Chaucerian English the *-ing* form below, which accompanies a prepositional phrase, may be of nominal character, though in ME an intransitive use of ENTREN is as common as a transitive use:

- (122) (CT X, 12) we *were entryng* at a thropes ende; (we were entering the edge of a thorp) [T&M trans.]

- Cf. a. (Cleanness 329) Pou schal *enter* þis ark. [MED]
b. (CT I, 3585) on that ilke nyght That we ben *entred* into shippes bord,

Note. In the following instance, since CONSENTEN is an intransitive verb, the *of*-phrase does not indicate an “objective” relation between the *-ing* form and the NP:

(Bo I, p.4, 182) he was accused by Gaius Cesar, Germaynes sone,

that he was knowynge and *consentyng*e of a conjuracioun
ymaked ayens hym,

Incidentally, prepositional phrases that show the adjectival character of the *-ing* form (cf. 1.1) are mostly *to*-phrases.

The discussion above suggests that the *-ing* form in ME is not fully verbal⁸ and that the ME “BEN *-ing*” construction is not established as an aspectual system.⁹ Nevertheless, the ME “BEN *-ing*” construction is pregnant with the notion of “continuity” or “incompletion” because the *-ing* form, on account of its non-verbal force, does not indicate a completed action. None of adjectives, nouns or nonfinite clauses indicate tense or aspect; they can denote action, but they do not imply a completion of an action. The ME “BEN *-ing*” construction, therefore, denotes ‘incompletion’, ‘unfinishedness’ or ‘continuity’, whatever the term may be. Let us express these notions by [–terminate].

By postulating the feature [–terminate], the following characteristics of the ME progressive can be adequately explained:

- 1) the progressive form is used to make the narrative more vivid and picturesque (Mustanoja 1960: 593f., Sweet 1898: 97, Mossé 1938: 266, Brunner 1963: 88). The “descriptive” force of the progressive can be explained as follows: since the *-ing* form does not indicate a completion of activity, it serves to focus the reader’s attention on what is going on, rather than on an activity as a whole.
- 2) the verbs used in the ME progressive are mostly intransitive verbs or transitive verbs used absolutely (Ota 1957: 11, Nakao 1972: 261, Nickel 1966: 135, 173). This tendency can be explained by the adjectival character of the *-ing* form: an adjective cannot be directly followed by an object (with the exception of *worth*). Semantically, it should also be

⁸ There is, however, a Chaucerian instance that exhibits verbal nature of the *-ing* form. Observe example (108), in which the progressive (ben knowynge) takes a *that*-clause as the object. See also 1.9.c.

⁹ Bauer (1970: 150) says that the grammaticalization of the expanded form had not yet begun at the time of Chaucer and Gower. Strang (1982: 429) also asserts “we can classify the pre-1600 period as one of unsytstamatic use [of the progressive]”.

noticed, the adjective usually expresses a permanent characteristic or a general quality; if the *-ing* form takes an object, it would express a temporal action.

- 3) Unlike the simple form, the progressive rarely cooccurs with an adverbial phrase indicating specified duration¹⁰ or termination (except for the perfect progressive, cf. (54) and (81)):

- (123) [unspecified duration] (CT I, 3925) A millere was ther dwellynge many a day.
 (124) [specified duration] (CT V 813) [Arveragus] dwelled there two year; Also in LGW 2259.
 (125) [termination] (Mars 65) She hath so gret compassioun of her knyght, That dwelleth in solitude til she come

Note. Instances of “non-perfect progressive + durative phrase”:

- i. he was her on [ese liue wuniz ende þrie and þrihti wintre and an half. [Mossé 1938: 192]
- ii. þreo dæies wes þe king wuniende þere. [Mossé 1938: 192]

In these examples, it seems, the simple past is used for the perfect. Observe the following examples:

- iii. (CT I, 459-60) She was [‘had been’] a worthy womman al hir lyve: Housbondes at chirche dore she hadde [‘had had’] fyve, [Nakajima 1985: 226fn.]
- iv. (TC V, 1351) Considered this, that ye thise monthes tweyne Han taried, ther ye seyden, soth to seyne, But dayes ten ye nolde in oost sojourne—But in two monthes yet ye nat retourne [‘you have not returned’]. [instanced by Fischer 1992: 242]
- v. (Laz amon: Brut) ne isæh nævere na man selere cniht nenne, [‘no one had ever seen a better knight’, [Burrow and Turville-Petre 1992: 45]

Related to this is the fact that the progressive form occurs in an *as/whan/*

¹⁰ This tendency is also observed in OE (Mitchell 1985: 276).

while-clause, but never in an *after (that)*-clause. This restriction comes from the semantic conflict between [-terminate] of the progressive and the ‘specified duration’ of (*for*) *two years* or [+terminate] of an *after (that)*-clause.

1.9 Frequency and significance of the progressive in Chaucer

Let us now observe how Chaucer uses the progressive in his works. First, the types occurring in his works are as follows:

a) simple progressive (43)

e.g., I ... *Am dwellynge* with the god of thonder (HF 608)

b) perfect progressive (2)

e.g., We *han ben waitynge* al this fourtenyght. (CT I, 929)

Note. Here is another instance of this type:

(PF 472) as he that *hath ben languysshynge* This twenty wynter,
Notice the Chaucerian instances of the perfect progressive are both in the present tense. In Visser (1973: 2415f.) the perfect progressive is not recorded until the fourteenth century.

c) progressive + *that*-clause (1)

e.g., Thow and God ... *ben knowynge* with me *that* nothyng ne brought me to maistrie or dignyte but the comune studie of alle goodnesse. (Bo I, p.4, 45)

Note. This example is notable in that it takes a *that*-clause as an object. Though it is often pointed out that OE and ME progressives rarely take an accusative (or direct) object, no grammarians seem to have paid attention to a *that*-clause functioning as object. The passage in Jean de Meun’s text reads:

Tu et diex ... estes a moy consachable et savés avecques moy
que nule chose ne me porta onques a mestrie ne a dignité

d) modal + infinitive progressive (1)

e.g., For what place *myght ben* left or *duellynge* to folie and to disordenaunce, (Bo V, p.1, 40)

Note. Visser (1973: 2412) records abundant instances of “modal + infinitive progressive” from OE, thereby disproving Mustanoja’s (1960: 591) argument that this type is an ME innovation. Visser, however, does not give instances with *might*. The instance above is a translation of “puet estre demourans”. In 18th century English, incidentally, the combination “modal + be -ing” was still rare (cf. Strang 1982: 440).

e) non-modal + infinitive progressive (1)

e.g., lat now no hevy thought *Ben hangyng* in the hertes of yow tweye (TC III, 1140)

Note. Mustanoja (1960: 591) cites the above as the first instance of “the periphrastic imperative with *let*”.

f) progressive + *of* NP (2)

e.g., For whan he was accused by Gaius Cesar, Germaynes sone, that he *was knowynge and consentynge of* a conjuracioun ymaked ayens hym, this Canyus answeride thus: (Bo I, p.4, 182)

Note. The *of*-phrase above should not be confused with the *of*-phrase that indicates an objective relation between verb and noun: KNOWEN in this example is a transitive verb used absolutely, i.e., know [something] of NP; CONSENTEN here is an intransitive verb.

g) *there/here*-insertion (12)

e.g., Whilom *ther was dwellynge* at Oxenford A riche gnof (CT I, 3187)

h) BEN-ellipsis (4)

e.g., A mantelet Δ upon his shulder *hangynge* (CT I, 2163)

Note. In Chaucer's English there are no such types as "he is doing NP" (with a direct object), "he had been coming" (pluperfect), "he may/must have been coming" (with a modal other than *might*), "Be coming" (imperative), "he is being kind" (adjective) or "the house is being built" (passive). There are also no instances of "BEN going" used of a future event.

I shall now show in tabular form how many instances occur in each of Chaucer's works (Table 1). (Examples of *there/here*-insertion and non-Chaucerian instances are not counted; instances of BEN-ellipsis are also excluded).

Table 1 The progressive forms in Chaucer's works

		RR	BD	HF	PF	Bo	TC	LGW	CT	Other Works	
STATIVE											(25)
living	ind			1					1	1	7 { 3 4
	dep					1	1	1	1		
rest	ind					2	2		1		5 { 5 0
	dep										
relation	ind						2	2	1	1	10 { 6 4
	dep					3			1		
intellect	ind					1					3 { 1 2
	dep					2					
NON-STATIVE											(21)
motion	ind					1			2		10 { 3 7
	dep						2	1	3	1	
stat. ch.	ind	1							1		3 { 2 1
	dep				1						
sctivity	ind								3		6 { 3 3
	dep						1		2		
em. exp.	ind	1							1		2 { 2 0
	dep										
TOTAL		2	0	1	1	10	8	4	17	3	46

From Table 1 the following facts emerge:¹¹

- 1) Verbs of 'rest' and verbs of 'emotional expression' are not used in the dependent clauses (this may be accidental);
- 2) Counter to Fischer's (1992: 254) argument that "it [the progressive] is particularly frequent in temporal subclauses" (cf. also Strang 1982: 441f.), the progressive occurs not only in independent clauses but also in dependent clauses.
- 3) In *Boece* most of the verbs used in the progressive are stative verbs (this is presumably because the philosophical work contains almost no description of action);
- 3) Another feature of *Boece* is that it is the only work in which verbs of 'intellect' are used in the progressive;
- 4) The progressive is used with increasing frequency starting from the so-called French period (RR, BD) and continuing through the Italian period (HF, PF, Bo, TC, LGW) up to the English period (CT). The progressive occurs most frequently and displays the widest variety of forms in the *Canterbury Tales*.

¹¹ Though Mustanoja (1960: 586) says, "In Chaucer's earlier poetry the periphrasis occurs in rhyme more frequently than in his later poems", his assertion cannot be verified on account of the scarcity of examples.

CHAPTER 2

THE PERFECT FORM

2.1 BEN-perfect vs. HAVEN-perfect

Perfect forms in ME are composed either of “BEN + pp.” (hereafter BEN-perfect) or “HAVEN + pp.” (hereafter HAVEN-perfect). While BEN is typically used with intransitive mutative verbs (e.g., COMEN, GON; CHANGEN, GROWEN), HAVEN is typically used with transitive verbs and intransitive verbs other than those denoting mutation. The semantic difference between the two perfect forms is that, as noted by Fridén (1957: 56, cited in §2.1.4), the BEN-perfect tends to express a “resultant state”,¹ and the HAVEN-perfect tends to express an “action” (cf. §2.1.4.2c; §2.1.5). Although mutative verbs used in the HAVEN-perfect are already treated elaborately by Fridén (1948), there still remain problems to be dealt with: for example, supplementation of examples left uncited in his book, correction of his inappropriate examples and revision of his argument. I shall first cite all the instances of “mutation verbs” (cf. §2.1.1) used in the perfect and later discuss in detail the contexts in which the HAVEN-perfect is preferred to the BEN-perfect.

2.1.1 Classification of verbs

Visser (1973: 2044ff.) classifies verbs used with BEN/HAVEN into the following groups:

- (a) *verbs not denoting motion, such as be, abide, sit, rest, dwell, etc.*
- (b) *verbs of becoming, appearing, originating, etc.*
- (c) *verbs of happening, befalling, chancing, etc.*

¹ It should be kept in mind, however, that the BEN-perfect “refers to a state as the result of a preceding action” (Visser 1973: 2042), or it “could imply action in addition to state” (Rydén 1991: 350) (cf. §2.1.4.2c).

- (d) *verbs of motion*
- (e) *verbs of altering, changing, etc.*
- (f) *verbs of finishing, ceasing, disappearing, dying, ending, etc.*

This classification is not very effective for describing BEN-perfects in Chaucer's English, because the first group is never used with BEN in the poet's writings, and because the groups (b), (e) and (f) all denote a change in state. Visser's classification may reasonably be modified as follows:

- (a) verbs of motion (i.e., verbs denoting a change in place or time)
- (b) verbs of changing (i.e., verbs denoting a change in state)
- (c) verbs of happening (i.e., verbs denoting an occurrence of an event or state)

It would be convenient if we have a general cover term for verbs of 'motion', 'changing' and 'happening'. Though the term "mutative verb" is traditionally established, this word usually refers to verbs of motion and verbs of changing (cf. Poutsma 1926: 23); traditional grammar has no term that applies to the three verb groups. For the sake of convenience, I shall hereafter refer to these verbs as "mutation verbs". Following the classification above, I shall now list the perfect forms of mutation verbs in Chaucer's writings. (A superscript plus (+) after a verb indicates that the verb in question is not covered in Fridén's 1948 treatise.)

2.1.2 Description of BEN- and HAVEN-perfects

2.1.2.1 BEN-perfect

2.1.2.1a Verbs of motion

AGON⁺ (28)

(CT I, 1276) Upon that oother syde Palamon, Whan that he wiste Arcite *was agon*, Swich sorwe he maketh that the grete tour Resouneth of his youlyng and clamour. | (CT I, 1782) And shortly, whan his ire *is* thus *agoon*, He gan to looken up with eyen lighte And spak these same wordes al on highte ['aloud']: | (TC II, 410) For of this world the feyth *is al*

agoon. | (LGW 1797) What shal she seyn? Hire wit *is* al *ago* . | (PF 465) For every foul cryeth out to *ben ago* Forth with his make, or with his lady deere;

Also in: CT I, 2336; 2802; 2823; III, 1953; 2070; IV, 631; 1764; 2158; V, 626; 1204; VI, 246; 810; VII, 307; 3030; 3206; BD 479; Anel 61; 172; TC IV, 1180; 1317; V, 1054; LGW 1766; 2359||RR *2932; *3842; *6703.

ALIGHTEN (1)

(CT I, 722) But now is tyme to yow for to telle How that we baren us that ilke nyght, Whan we *were* in that hostelrie *alyght* ['arrived'];

APASSEN+ ('pass away') (1)

(Bo II, p.5, 31) and whan they *ben apassed*, nedes they maken hem pore that forgoon tho rychesses.

ARISEN (1)

(CT I, 1041) Er it were day, as was hir wone to do, She *was arisen* and al redy dight ['prepared'],

ARRIVEN (4)

(CT II, 386) *Arryved been* this Cristen folk to londe In Surrye, | (TC I, 526) God wold I *were aryved* in the port Of deth, | (LGW 1049) For al the companye of Eneas ... *Aryved is* nat fer from that cite; | (HF 1047) And with this word both he and y As nygh the place *arryved were* As men may casten with a spere.

ASCENDEN+ (1)

(CT VII, 2857) For whan degrees fiftene *weren ascended*, Thanne crew he that it myghte nat been amended.

ASTERTEN+ ('escape') (1)

(CT I, 1592) And though that I no wepene have in this place, But out of prison *am astert* by grace,

BICOMEN+ ('go') (1) (☞ §2.1.2.2)

(Anel 247) Alas! Wher *is become* your gentillesse,

DEPARTEN (10)

(CT I, 1621) And thus they *been departed* til amorwe, Whan ech of hem had leyd his feith to borwe. | (CT I, 3060) Why grucchen we, why have we hevynesse, That goode Arcite ... *Departed is* with duetee and honour Out of this foule prisoun of this lyf? | (CT IV, 1800) For which *departed is* this lusty route Fro Januarie, | (Bo I, m.7, 13) And the fleetyng stream ... is areestid and resisted ofte tyme by the encountrynge of a stoon that *is departed* and fallen fro some roche. | (Bo II, p.1, 35) and so is it byfallen that thou *art* a litil *departed* fro the pees of thi thought. | (Bo II, p.2, 80) And what ek yif Y ne *be* nat al *departed* fro the? | (Bo II, p.5, 107) For al so wel scholde they han ben fayre by hemselve, though thei *were departed* fro alle thyne rychesses. | (Bo IV, p.7, 32) so that it seme nat to hem that I *be* overmoche *departed* as fro the usage of mankynde? | (TC I, 323) Whan he *was* fro the temple thus *departed*, He streght anon unto his paleys torneth. | (HF 2068) And nat so sone *departed nas* Tho fro him, that he ne mette With the thridde;

Also in RR *5826.

Note. The following is a passive construction:

(TC I, 960) But he that *departed is* [Robinson: *parted is*] in everi place Is nowher hol, (But he that is distributed into every place ... is whole nowhere. [T&M trans.]

There are some cases in which “ben + pp.” is ambiguous between perfect and passive. In fact, eighteenth century grammarians referred to the BEN-perfect as a passive (Denison 1993: 369); Quirk et al. (1985: 170n.) call the surviving remnants “pseudo-passives”. See aslo the note to CHAUNGEN.

ESCAPEN (5)

(CT VII, 2735) Whanne he *escaped was*, he kan nat stente For to bigynne a newe werre agayn. | (Bo I, p.2, 6) Art nat thou he ... that whilom ... *were escaped* and comyn to corage of a parfit man? | (LGW 815) so sore she was awhaped, And ek so glad that that [Robinson: so

glad of that] she *was escaped*; | (LGW 2320) as the culver [‘dove’] ... *is*
out of his clawes forth *escaped*, | (HF 167) and how that he *Escaped was*
from al the pres [‘crowd’],

Also in: MercB *27; *32; *37.

FLYEN (1)

(HF 905) But thus sone in a while he *Was flowen* fro the ground so hye
That al the world, as to myn yë, No more semed than a prikke;

GLIDEN (1)

(CT IV, 1887) The moone, that at noon was thilke day That Januarie
hath wedded fresshe May In two of Tawr, *was* into Cancre *glyden*;

PROCEDEN+ (1)

(Bo I, p.6, 43) “Certes,” quod sche, “thou wost wel whennes that alle
thynges *bien* comen and *proceded*?”

REPEYREN+ (‘return’) (1)

(LGW 1136) *Repeyred is* this Achates agayn, And Eneas ful blysful is
and fayn To sen his yonge sone Ascanyus.

RETOURNEN (3)

(CT VII, 973) Whan Melibeus *retourned was* into his hous, and saugh al
this meschief, he ... gan to wepe and crie. | (CT X, 701) Looke forther ...
the joye and the feeste of the goode man that hadde lost his sone, whan
his sone with repentaunce *was retourned* to his fader. | (TC IV, 1143)
But whan hire woful weri goostes tweyne *Retourned ben* ther as hem
oughte to dwelle, ... Criseyde to Troilus thise ilke wordes seyde:

RISEN (6)

(CT I, 1065) Palamoun ... *Was risen* and romed in a chambre an heigh,
| (CT I, 1499) Arcita ... *Is risen* and looketh on the myrie day. | (CT I,
3798) This Nicholas *was risen* for to pisse, | (CT VII, 89) Daun John *was*
rysen in the morwe also, | (CT VII, 1075) oure Lord Jhesu Crist, whan he
was risen fro deeth to lyve, appeered rather to a womman than to his

Apostles. | (Bo II, m.3, 6) This to seyn, whan the sonne *is rysen*, the day-sterre waxeth pale, and leeseth hir lyght for the grete bryghtnesse of the sonne.

SCAPEN+ ('escape') (2)

(CT II, 1151) Now *is* she *scaped* al hire aventure. | (LGW F 131) The smale foules ... from the panter ['bird snare'] and the net *ben scaped*,

Note. The first instance above (CT II, 1151) is worthy of note since the BEN-perfect construction contains a transitive verb (cf. OED, s.v. Scape 1b; MED s.v. scapen 2b(c)). The SCAPEN above is presumably influenced by the ordinary combination "BEN scaped from".

SETTEN+ (1) (reflexively) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT VI, 663) These riotours thre of whiche I telle, Longe erst er prime rong of any belle, *Were set* hem in a taverne to drynke,

Note. The above is instanced by Gräf (1888: 78) and Mustanoja (1960: 503). Mustanoja holds that "In late ME the auxiliary *be* is occasionally used to form the perfect and pluperfect tenses of reflexive verbs: ... This usage may be due to French influence". No other grammars, however, record instances of reflexive verbs used in the BEN-perfect.

SINKEN (2)

(CT V, 1269) Or ellis they *were sonken* under grounde. | (Anel 8) For hit ful depe *is sonken* in my mynde,

Also in RR *5113.

Note. Gräf (1888: 71), Fridén (1948: 99) and Visser (1984: 2069) cite the following as an instance of the perfect. Following the MED (s.v. sinken 2b), I interpret the SINKEN below as transitive (see also the note to CHAUNGEN in §2.1.2.2b):

(CT V, 892) But wolde God that alle these rokkes blake *Were*

sonken into helle for his sake [‘would be sunk (by God) into hell’]!

STELLEN (‘go secretly’) (1)

(LGW 2154) [Theseus] with hem alle thre *Is stole* away out of the lond by nyghte,

STERTEN+ (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT II, 4) And though he *were* nat depe *ystert* [‘advance’] in loore, He wiste it was the eightetethe day Of Aprill, | (CT V, 1377) They prively *been stirt* [‘leap’] into a welle And dreynte hemselven,

VOYDEN+ (‘vanish’, ‘depart’) (3)

(CT V, 1195) He saugh, whan *voyded were* these wilde deer, These fauconers upon a fair ryver, That with hir haukes han the heron slayn. | (TC II, 912) So whan it liked hire to go to reste, And *voided weren* thei that voiden oughte, She seyde that to slepen wel hire leste. | (TC III, 232) Whan every wight *was voided* but they two . . . , This Pandarus . . . Up roos, and on his beddes syde hym sette,

WASTEN+ (‘pass’) (1)

(LGW 2678) The nyght *is wasted*, and he fyl aslepe.

WINNEN+ (‘succeed in reaching’) (1)

(LGW 2428) Unnethe *is* Demophon to londe *ywonne*, Wayk, and ek wery, and his folk forpyned Of werynesse, and also enfamyned, That to the deth he almost was ydriven.

2.1.2.1b Verbs of changing

CESEN (1)

(TC II, 787) ek men ben so untrewre, That right anon as *cessed is* hire lest, So cesseth love, and forth to love a newe.

DAWEN+ (‘dawn’) (1)

(CT III, 353) But forth she wole, er any day *be dawed*, To shewe hir skyn
and goon a-caterwawed.

ENCRESEN (1)

(CT IV, 408) For though that evere vertuous was she, She *was encressed*
in swich excellence Of thewes goode, yset in heigh bountee,

FADEN+ (1)

(RR 354) So feble and eke so old was she That *faded was* al her beaute.

GROWEN (3)

(CT I, 3973) This wenche thikke and wel *ygrowen was*, With kamus
nose and eyen greye as glas, | (TC II, 403) So longe mote ye lyve, and
alle proude, Til crowes feet *be growe* under youre yë, | (TC II, 872) In
which [myn owen knyght] myn herte *growen is* so faste,

Also in RR *3135.

SPRINGEN (4)

(CT I, 1437) And thus withinne a while his name *is spronge*, Bothe of
his dedes and his goode tonge, | (CT VII, 1210) Thou shalt eek
considere alle these causes, fro whennes they *been sprongen*. | (LGW
1054) Swich renoun *was* there *sprongen* of hire goodnesse. | (HF 2081)
And whan that *was ful yspronge* ... , hit wente anon Up to a wyndowe
out to goon;

Also in: RR *3975; *6954.

TURNEN (6) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(TC III, 1074) For now *is wikke turned* into worse, | (TC III, 1400) but
al swich hevynesse ... *was turned* to gladnesse. | (LGW F 512 (= G 500))
Hastow nat in a book, lyth in thy cheste, The grete goodnesse of the
quene Alceste, That *turned was* into a dayesye ... ?

Also in: TC V, 732; 1378||RR *2582.

Note. Constructions of “BEN turned” other than those cited
above seem to be passive (cf. Davis et al., s.v. tornen 1):

(BD 689) For al my wille, my lust holly *Ys turned*; | (Bo II, p.5, 128) So *is* thanne the condicion of thynges *turned* [“est bestournee”] up-so-down, | (Bo III, p.3, 77) Than *is* this thyng *torned* [“relapsa est”; “se tournee”] into the contrarie, | (Bo IV, p.3, 126) syn he ne may nat passe into the condicion of God, he *is torned* [“vertatur”; “soit muéz”] into a beeste.

VANISSHEN (1)

(CT III, 996) er he cam fully there, *Vanysshed was* this daunce, he nyste where.

WAXEN (30)

impersonal subject: (CT IV, 1762) Now wolde God that it *were woxen* nyght, | (CT VIII, 379) Cecile cam, whan it *was woxen* nyght, With preestes that hem cristned alle yfeere; | (TC V, 1014) whan it *was woxen* eve And al was wel, he roos and tok his leve.

personal subject

adjective-complement: (CT IV, 400) To every wight she *woxen is* so deere And worshipful | (CT IV, 2071) [Januarie] *Is woxen* blynd, and that al sodeynly. | (CT VIII, 381) whan day *was woxen* light, Cecile hem seyde with a ful stedefast cheere, | (CT X, 137) for youre synne ye *been woxen* thral [‘captive’], and foul, | (CT X, 1021) Thou most eek shewe thy synne by thyn owene propre mouth, but thow *be woxe* dowmb, | (Bo I, p.5, 74) [thilke passiouns] *ben waxen* hard in swellynge by perturbacions flowynge into thy thought, | (TC V, 275) On hevene yet the sterres weren seene, Although ful pale *ywoxen was* the moone, | (TC V, 708) Ful pale *ywoxen was* hire brighte face, | (BD 414) For al the woode *was waxen* grene; | (BD 1275) But if myn herte *was ywaxe* Glad, that is no nede to axe! | (HF 1146) So unfamous *was woxe* hir fame. | (HF 1494) For-why this halle . . . *Was woxen* on highte, length, and brede, Wel more . . . Than hyt was erst, | (HF 2082) And whan that *was* ful yspronge, And *woxen* more on every tonge Than ever hit was, hit wente anoon Up to a wyndowe out to goon; | (RR 355) Ful salowe *was waxen* her colour; | (RR 359) Al *woxen was* her body unwelde [‘feeble’], And drie and dwyned al for elde. | (RR 1676) And some wel beter *woxen*

were;

Also in: RR *3628; *4013; *7140.

noun-complement: (CT VI, 71) For al to soone may she lerne loore Of booldnesse, whan she *woxen is* a wyf. | (Bo I, m.5, 27) and the seedes ... *ben waxen* heye cornes | (Bo IV, m.3, 24) [Thei] *weren waxen* swyn | (TC V, 1374) Myn eyen two ... Of sorwful teris salte *arn waxen* welles; | (TC V, 1376) myn ese ek *woxen helle is*;

without complement: (CT IV, 1462) I fare as dooth a tree That blometh er that fruyt *ywoxen bee*; | (Bo II, p.7, 64) and yit *was* thilke tyme Rome wel *waxen*, and greetly redouted of the Parthes | (Bo V, p.1, 51, 52) And yif that any thing *is waxen* or comen of no causes, thanne schal it seme that thilke thing *is* comen or *woxen* of nawght; | (TC V, 827) And Troilus wel *woxen was* in highte, | (RR 605) And whan the trees *were waxen* on highte, This wall ... Dide Myrthe enclosen al aboute;

2.1.2.1c Verbs of happening

OVERCOMEN+ ('happen') (1)

(TC IV, 1069) So myghte I wene that thynges alle and some That whilom ben byfalle and *overcome Ben* cause of thilke sovereyne purveyaunce That forwoot al withouten ignoraunce.

2.1.2.2 BEN/HAVEN-perfect

2.1.2.2a Verbs of motion

CLIMBEN (5)

BEN-perfect (4): (CT II, 12) And therefore by the shadwe he took his wit That Phebus ... Degrees *was* fyve and fourty *clombe* on highte, | (CT VII, 2402) Why sholde I nat thyn infortune acounte, Sith in estaat thow *cloumbe were* so hye? | (CT VII, 3198) The sonne ... *is clomben* up on hevене Fourty degrees and oon, and moore ywis. | (TC I, 215) This Troilus *is clomben* on the staire, And litel weneth that he moot descenden;

Also in RR *6933.

HAVEN-perfect (1): (Bo II, p.7, 63) in the tyme of Marcus Tulyus, as hymselfe writ in his book, that the renoun of the comune of Rome ne *hadde nat* yit passid ne *clomben* over the montaigne that highte Caucasus;

Also in RR *3911.

COMEN (122)

BEN-perfect (117)

time-subject: (CT I, 1732) For sith the day *is come* that I shal dye, I make pleylnly my confessioun | (CT II, 722) The tyme *is come* a knave child she beer; | (Bo I, m.1, 13) For eelde *is comyn* unwarly uppon me, | (Bo I, m.5, 20) Thow devydest the swyfte tydes of the nyght, whan the hote somer *is comen*. | (LGW F 37) But yt be seldom on the holyday, Save, certeynly, whan that the month of May *Is comen*, and that I here the foules synge,

Also in: CT I, 4237; II, 260; 261; III, 988; IV, 1700; 1856; VII, 2174; VIII, 130; X, 727; TC I, 155; III, 1668; LGW F 45 (= G 45); 2622||RR *2553.

other subject: (CT I, 23) At nyght *was come* into that hostelrye Wel nyne and twenty in a compaignye Of sondry folk, | (CT I, 671) With hym ther rood a gentil pardoner Of Rouncivale, his freend and his compeer, That streight *was comen* fro the court of Rome. | (CT I, 2799) For from his feet up to his brest *was come* The coold of deeth, that hadde hym overcome, | (CT I, 4031) And forthy *is I come*, and eek Alayn, To grynde oure corn and carie it ham agayn; | (Bo I, p.3, 11) *Artow comen* for thou art maad coupable with me of false blames?

Also in: CT I, 77; 894; 1194; 1355; 1696; 2188; 2701; 2799; 4272; II, 327; 390; 1130; 1149; III, 1023; 1342; IV, 939; 947; 1946; 2325; 2403; V, 96; 294; 735; 1089; 1166; 1171; VII, 308; 312; 335; 350; 838; 1226; 1808; 3288; 3411; VIII, 121; 582; IX, 242; Bo I, p.2, 7; p.3, 10; p.4, 225; p.6, 43; II, p.4, 4; III, p.4, 1; 62; V, p.1, 51; 52; TC II, 78; 1111; 1170; 1443; III, 62; 75; 554; 604; 757; 788; 792; 1555; 1800; V, 71; 197; 484; 512; 1031; 1463; LGW 823; 856; 1015; 1019; 1051; 1103; 1580; 1712; 1776; 1901; 2342; BD 135; 1222; PF 36; 98; 295; HF 673; 1074; 1533; 1603; 1872; Anel 25; FormA 58; Mars 81; 91; RR 917; 1205; 1510||RR *3404; *3408;

*3500; *4365; *5403; *5462; *7473; *7484.

HAVEN-perfect (5): (CT V, 971) I wolde that day that youre Arveragus Wente over the see, that I, Aurelius, Hadde went ther nevere I sholde *have come* agayn. | (CT V, 1341) She wende nevere *han come* in swich a trappe. | (Bo IV, p.7, 91) Ne certes thou . . . ne *hast* nat *comen* to fleten with delices, | (TC V, 282) This Pandare . . . Ne myghte *han comen* Troilus to se, | (LGW 2018) The same weye he may returne anon, Folwyng alwey the thred as he *hath come*.

Also in RR *7605.

CREEPEN (4)

BEN-perfect (3): (CT V, 1614) I releesse thee thy thousand pound, As thou right now *were copen* out of the ground, | (Bo I, p.6, 35) I nas nat desseyved . . . that ther ne faileth somewhat, by whiche the maladye of perturbacion *is crept* into thi thought, | (TC III, 1011) noot I for-why ne how That jalousie . . . Thus causeles *is copen* into yow,

HAVEN-perfect (1): (CT I, 4259) He wende *have copen* by his felawe John, And by the millere in he creep anon,

DESCENDEN (9)

BEN-perfect (8): (CT I, 3983) For hooly chirches good moot been despended On hooly chirches blood, that *is descended*. | (CT III, 1110) But, for ye speken of swich gentillesse As *is descended* out of old riches, That therefore sholden ye be gentil men, | (CT V, 1242) [Aurelius and this magicien] *been descended* ther they wolde abyde. | (CT VII, 2252) Of kynges blood of Perce *is she descended*. | (CT X, 2) The sonne fro the south lyne *was descended* So lowe that he nas nat . . . Degreës nyne and twenty as in highte. | (TC V, 1514) This ilke boor bitokneth Diomede, Tideus sone, that down *descended is* Fro Meleagre, that made the boor to blede; | (Astr II, 3, 51) Tho leyde I my label over the degre of the sonne, that *was descendid* under the west orisounte, | (RR 1575) For whanne the sonne . . . Cast in that well his bemys brighte, And that the heete *descendid is*, Thanne taketh the cristall stoon, ywis, Agayn the sonne an hundrid hewis,

HAVEN-perfect (1): (CT VII, 1074) oure Lord Jhesu Crist wolde nevere

have descended to be born of a womman, if alle women hadden been wikke.

ENTREN (10)

BEN-perfect (8): (CT I, 2583) And westward, thurgh the gates under Marte ['Mars'], Arcite, and eek the hondred of his parte, With baner reed *is entred* right anon; | (CT I, 3585) Be wel avysed on that ilke nyght That we *ben entred* into shippes bord, That noon of us ne speke nat a word, | (CT IV, 10) For what man that *is entred* in a pley ['game'], He nedes moot unto the pley assente. | (CT VII, 970) Thre of his olde foes . . . by wyndowes *been entred*, | (CT VII, 1424) the deedly synnes that *been entred* into thyn herte by thy fyve wittes. | (CT VII, 1425) thy three enemys *been entred* into thyn house by the wyndowes | (CT X, 891) or of folk that *been entred* into ordre, | (Bo II, p.1, 39) But now is tyme that thou drynke and ataste some softe and delitable thynges, so that whanne thei *ben entred* withynne the, it mowe maken wey to strengere drynkes of medycines.

HAVEN-perfect (2): (CT VII, 1812) For ye *han entred* into myn hous by violence, | (Bo II, p.5, 179) yif thou *haddest entred* in the path of this lif a voyde weyfarynge man, thanne woldestow synge byfor the theef.

FALLEN (including figurative use) (43)

BEN-perfect (37): (CT I, 324) In termes hadde he caas and doomes alle That from the tyme of kyng William *were falle*. | (Bo I, p.2, 19) he *is fallen* into a litargye, whiche that is a comune seknesse to hertes that been desceyved. | (LGW 590) So fil it, as Fortune hym oughte a shame, Whan he *was fallen* in prosperite Rebel unto the toun of Rome is he.

Also in: CT I, 2703; 2930; 3231; 3451; 3460; 4283; 4288; II, 303; 909; IV, 938; V, 431; 684; VI, 367; 938; VII, 1976; 2006; 2078; VIII, 61; IX, 22; X, 136; Bo I, m.7, 13; TC I, 555; III, 841; 859; IV, 713; 954; V, 549; LGW 1726; 1826; 1946; BD 384; PF 406; Pity 61; 88||RR *2653; *4136; *5456.

HAVEN-perfect (6): (CT VI, 78) Outher for ye han kept youre honestee, Or elles ye *han falle* in freletee, And knowen wel ynough the olde daunce, | (CT VII, 2797) nere clynkyng of youre belles . . . , I sholde er this *han fallen* down for sleep, | (CT X, 969) The fifthe circumstaunce is . . . how

ofte that he *hath falle*. | (Bo I, m.1, 31) For he that *hath fallen* stood
 noight in stedefast degre. | (Bo II, p.4, 53) ne overgreet tempest *hath*
 nat yit *fallen* upon the, | (Bo V, p.2, 33) but the laste servage is whan
 that thei ben yeven to vices and *han ifalle* fro the possessioun of hir
 propre resoun.

FAREN (12) (☞ §2.2.1)

BEN-perfect (10): (CT I, 2436) And thus with joye and hope wel to fare
 Arcite anon unto his in *is fare*, | (CT II, 512) The constable of the castel
 doun *is fare* To seen this wrak, | (CT IV, 896) And in hir smok . . .
 Toward hir fadre hous forth *is she fare*. | (CT V, 1169) And on his wey
 forthward thanne *is he fare* In hope for to been lissed [‘relieved’] of his
 care. | (CT V, 1546) And hoom unto hir housbonde *is she fare*, | (CT VII,
 199) I yow swere, and plichte yow my trouthe, That whan youre
 housbonde *is* to Flaundres *fare*, I wol delyvere yow out of this care; |
 (CT VII, 2879) My lief *is faren* in londe! | (TC III, 577) Troilus *was* out
 of towne *yfare*, | (TC IV, 1169) He seyde how she *was* fro this world
yfare. | (LGW 2271) This Tereus let make his shipes yare [‘prepare’],
 And into Grece hymself *is* forth *yfare*.

HAVEN-perfect (2): (CT III, 1773) Ful ofte *Have* I upon this bench
faren ful weel; | (LGW 2209) And up she rist, and kyssed . . . The
 steppes of his fet ther he *hath fare*,

FLEEN (10)

BEN-perfect (8): (CT II, 541) Alle Cristen folk *been fled* fro that
 contree Thurgh payens, | (TC I, 87) Gret rumour gan, whan it was first
 aspied Thorough al the town, and generaly was spoken, That Calkas
 traitour *fled was* and allied With hem of Grece, | (TC I, 463) Alle other
 dredes *weren* from him *fledde*, | (TC III, 1091) The felyng of his sorwe,
 or of his fere, Or of aught elles, *fled was* out of towne; | (TC IV, 661) The
 swifte Fame . . . *Was* thoroughout Troie *yfled* with preste wynges Fro man
 to man, | (TC IV, 868) The pleye, the laughter, . . . , and ek hire joies
 everichone, *Ben fled*; | (LGW 664) His wif, that coude of Cesar have no
 grace, To Egipt *is fled* for drede and for destresse. | (BD 490) The blood
was fled for pure drede Doun to hys herte,

Also in RR *3167.

HAVEN-perfect (2): (CT III, 798) And whan he saugh how stille that I lay, He was agast and wolde *han fled* his way, | (CT VII, 3283) This Chauntecleer, whan he gan hym espye, He wolde *han fled*, but that the fox anon Seyde,

Also in RR *3854.

GON (90)

BEN-perfect (74)

time-subject: (CT II, 17) The fourthe party of this day *is gon*. | (CT II, 132) *goon is* many a yeere, | (CT IV, 2140) The wynter *is goon* with alle his reynes weete. | (CT VII, 3190) Syn March [*was gon*] [sic; Riverside's emendation], | (LGW F 427 (= G 417) *goon ys* a gret while,

other subject: (CT I, 1413) To Atthenes *is* he *goon* the nexte way. | (CT I, 3400) And so bifel it on a Saterdag, This carpenter *was goon* til Osenay; | (CT III, 47) Whan myn housbonde *is* fro the world *ygon*, Som Cristen man shal wedde me anon, | (CT V, 1351) For out of towne *was goon* Arveragus. | (CT I, 3879) for thogh oure myght *be goon*, Oure wyl desireth folie evere in oon. | (CT I, 4078) What, whilk way *is* he *geen*? | (CT II, 720) Now faire Custance . . . So longe *is goon* with childe, | (PF 102) The cartere dremeth how his cart *is gon*;

Also in: CT I, 3574; 4092; II, 599; 717; 1006; III, 477; 849; 1778; IV, 774; 2324; V, 293; 766; 1021; 1184; 1235; VI, 806; VII, 212; 332; 1508; 1846; 3418; VIII, 183; 705; 718; 902; 907; 1425; Bo IV, p.2, 163; TC II, 1022; 1158; III, 539; 894; 1494; IV, 647; V, 235; LGW G 94; 792; 916; 1193; 1456; 1469; 1481; 1653; 1656; 1826; 2206; 2213; 2656; 2719; BD 387; 396; 540; 1218; HF 365; 434; 802; 1110; Astr II, 12, 29; RR 358; 1060; (yede) CT VIII, 1281 || RR *2423; *2680; *3964; *3971; *4000; *5494; *6834.

HAVEN-perfect (16):

(CT I, 286) A clerk ther was of Oxenford also, That unto logyk *hadde* longe *ygo*. | (CT I, 4219) I *hadde* almoost *goon* to the clerkes bed. | (CT IV, 1115) Thise ladyes . . . *Han* taken hire and into chambre *gon*, | (Bo III, p.5, 56) of whiche two Senek enforcede hym to yeven to Nero his riches, and also to *han gon* into solitarie exil./ (without a goal

phrase) (CT VI, 711) Whan they *han goon* nat fully half a mile . . . , An oold man and a povre with hem mette. | (CT VII, 388) Ye sholde han warned me, er I *had gon*, That he yow hadde an hundred frankes payed By redy token; | (CT VII, 800) Til he so longe *hath* riden and *goon*

Also in: Bo IV, m.1, 23; TC V, 334./ (without a goal phrase) Bo I, p.3, 43; p.5, 11; TC III, 1705; LGW 1243; 2016; 2463; RR 135||*7605.

Note 1. The perfect imperative “be gone”, which is sometimes met with in Shakespeare, is not found in Chaucer’s works (cf. Franz 1982: 649n, Ukaji 1978: 66ff.). See also the note to DON in §2.2.

Note 2. PF 647 is an instance of the BEN-perfect in Robinson’s edition:

Almyghty queen! unto this yer *be gon*, I axe respit for to avise me, And after that to have my choys al fre:

The passage in the Riverside edition reads:

Almyghty queen, unto this yer *be don*, I axe respit for to avise me, And after that to have my choys al fre.

PASSEN (44) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

BEN-perfect (42)

impersonal subject: (CT I, 3889) And yet ik have alwey a coltes tooth, As many a yeer as it *is passed* henne Syn that my tappe of lif bigan to renne. | (CT III, 1476) The day is short, and it *is passed* pryme [cf. MED, s.v. *passen* 4c],

Also in: CT VII, 88; 3222; TC II, 1095; Astr II, 3, 55.

time-subject: (CT IV, 610) In this estaat ther *passed been* foure yeer Er she with childe was, | (LGW G 89) Whan *passed was* almost the month of May, And I hadde romed, al the someres day, The grene medewe, . . . , Upon the freshe dayseie to beholde, . . . , Hom to myn hous ful swiftly I me spedde,

Also in: CT II, 1143; IV, 1892; 2133; VII, 2289; 3189; TC V, 681; Astr II, 11, 7; 8; 44, 15; 50; 52; 58; 45, 4; 7; 13; 30; RR 380.

other subject: (CT I, 3897) The sely tonge may wel rynge and chymbe

Of wrecchednesse that *passed is* ful yoore; | (CT IV, 2010) Al *passed was* his siknesse and his sorwe. | (RR 406) But she *was past* al that passage,

Also in CT IV, 1252; 2010; VII, 1508; 1846; X, 1077; Bo II, p.3, 77; p.4, 63; TC III, 1399; 1628; V, 475; PF 81; Astr II, 13, 9; Mars 111; RR 1682|| RR *5618.

HAVEN-perfect (2): (CT VII, 3067) [Two men] wolde *han passed* over see, | (Bo II, p.7, 62) the renoun of the comune of Rome ne *hadde* nat yit *passid* ne clomben over the montaigne that highte Caucasus;

RENNEN (12) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1):

BEN-perfect (8): (CT I, 2165) His crispe heer lyk rynges *was yronne*, | (CT I, 2693) As blak he lay as any cole or crowe, So *was* the blood *yronnen* in his face. | (CT IV, 214) No likerous lust *was* thurgh hire herte *yronne*. | (CT V, 386) That in the Ram *is* foure degrees up *ronne* | (TC III, 84) And sire, his lessoun . . . *is* thurgh his wit *ironne*. | (LGV 1943) This wiked custom *is* so longe *yronne*, | (HF 1644) thurghout every regioun Wente this foule trumpes soun, As swifte as pelet [‘canon-ball’] out of gonne Whan fyr *is* in the poudre *ronne*. | (RR 1396) The croppes *were* so thicke *ronne*,

HAVEN-perfect (4): (CT I, 3893) And ever sithe *hath* so the tappe *yronne* Til that almoost al empty is the tonne. | (CT I, 4090) Thise sely clerkes *han* ful faste *yronne* Toward the fen, | (TC II, 1464) O verray God, so *have I ronne!* | (CT VII, 3194)² [the brighte sonne] in the signe of Taurus *hadde yronne* Twenty degrees and oon, and somewhat moore,

RIDEN (10)

BEN-perfect (4): (CT I, 1503) He on a courser . . . *Is riden* into the feeldes hym to pleye, | (CT I, 1628) Arcite *is riden* anon unto the toun, | (CT I, 1687) Theseus with alle joye and blis, With his Ypolita, the faire queene, And Emelye, clothed al in grene, On huntynge *be* they *riden* roially. | (TC II, 933) [Troilus] *is* to paleis *riden* Fro the scarmuch

² CT VII, 3194 (had run twenty degrees and one), which may better be dealt with in §2.2.1, is cited here to show the opposition with CT V, 386 (is run four degrees).

of the which I tolde,

HAVEN-perfect (6): (CT I, 48) therto *hadde he riden* . . . As wel in cristendom as in hethenesse, | (CT VII, 800) [he] priketh over stile and stoon An elf-queene for t'espye, Til he so longe *hath riden* and goon That he foond . . . The contree of Fairye So wilde; | (TC V, 68) This Troilus . . . rood and did hire companye, Passyng al the valeye fer withoute, And ferther wolde *han riden*, out of doute, Ful fayn,

Also in: CT I, 57; VIII, 555; 575.

ROMEN (3) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

BEN-perfect (2): (LGW 1589) Jason *is romed* forth to the cyte That whilom cleped was Jaconitos, | (CT I, 1065) And Palamoun, this woful prisoner, As was his wone, by leve of his gayler, *Was risen* and *romed* in a chambre an heigh,

HAVEN-perfect (1): (CT I, 1528) Whan that Arcite *hadde romed* al his fille, And songen al the roundel lustily, Into a studie he fil sodeynly,

WALKEN (2)

BEN-perfect (1): (CT I, 2368) Arcite unto the temple *walked is* Of fierse Mars to doon his sacrifice,

HAVEN-perfect (1): (LGW 978) Saw ye, . . . , as ye *han walked* wyde, Any of my sustren walke yow besyde With any wilde bor or other best,

WENDEN (17)

BEN-perfect (13): (CT I, 3665) I trowe that he *be went* For tymber, | (CT II, 173) Hoom to Surrye *been* they *went* ful fayn, | (CT IV, 276) Grisilde . . . To fecchen water at a welle *is went*, | (CT IV, 1013) [Grisilde] with glad cheere to the yate *is went* With oother folk to greeete the markysesse, | (CT IV, 1701) But finally ycomen is the day That to the chirche bothe *be* they *went* For to receyve the hooly sacrement [i.e., marriage]. | (CT V, 567) And shortly, so ferforth this thyng *is went* That my wyl was his willes instrument; | (CT VII, 540) I wol do my diligence To konne it al er Cristemasse *be went*. | (CT VII, 679) And after that they ryse, and forth *been went*, | (CT VII, 968) Upon a day bifel that he for his desport *is went* into the feeldes hym to pleye. | (TC IV, 935) So

shapeth how destourbe youre goynge, Or come ayeyn soon after ye *be went*. | (TC V, 546) Wel oughtestow to falle, and I to dye, Syn she *is went* that wont was us to gye [‘guide’]! | (TC V, 1808) And whan that he was slayn in this manere, His lighte goost ful blisfully *is went* Up to the holughnesse of the eighthe spere, In convers letyng everich element; | (LGW 1651) Now hath Jason the fles, and hom *is went* With Medea, and tresor ful gret won;

Also in: RR *2634; *6185; *7355.

HAVEN-perfect (4): (CT V, 971) I wolde that day that youre Arveragus *Wente* over the see, that I, Aurelius, *Hadde went* ther nevere I sholde have come agayn. | (TC V, 444) Nor in this world ther is non instrument Delicious, thorough wynd or touche of corde, As fer as any wight *hath* evere *ywent*, | (TC V, 737) Allas, I ne *hadde* trowed on youre loore And *went* with yow, | (HF 976) And whan he *hath* so fer *ywent*, Than may be seen behynde hys bak Cloude

Also in RR *7377.

Note. *Wente* in the following instance is a past form (notice the suffix *-e*).

(CT IV, 1945) This purs hath she inwith hir bosom hyd And *wente* hire wey;

2.1.2.2b Verbs of changing

BICOMEN (5) (☞ §2.1.2.1)

BEN-perfect (4): (CT IV, 1724) For Januarie *was bicom*e hir knyght | (CT IV, 2098) Upon that oother syde Damyan *Bicomen* *is* the sorwefulleste man That evere was, | (TC III, 253) for the *am* I *bicomen* . . . swich a meene As maken wommen unto men to comen; | (RR 407) But she . . . *was* a doted thing *bicomen*.

Also in RR *7454.

HAVEN-perfect (1): (BD 767) I *have* . . . through plesaunce *become* his thral With good wille, body, hert, and al.

BIGINNEN+ (8)

BEN-perfect (6): (CT I, 2173) His berd *was* wel *bigonne* for to sprynge;
 | (CT I, 2438) And right anon swich strif ther *is bigonne*, | (CT I, 2660)
 Anon ther *is* a noyse of peple *bigonne* For joye of this, so loude and
 heighe withalle | (CT I, 3117) For trewely the game *is* wel *bigonne*. |
 (LGW F 196 (= G 80)) For this thing is al of another tonne, Of olde
 storye, er swich stryf *was begonne*. | (RR 43) God graunt me in gree
 [‘kindly’] that she it take For whom that it *begonnen is!*

HAVEN-perfect (2): (TC II, 48) syn I *have bigonne*, Myn auctour shal I
 folwen, | (TC II, 1584) After compleynte, hym gonnen they to preyse, As
 folk don yet whan som wight *hath bygonne* To preise a man,

Note. The following seems to be a passive construction since it
 has the active counterpart “begin the werk” (cf. TC II, 960):

(TC III, 735) So helpeth to this werk that *is bygonne!*

Lumiansky and Morrison take the line in question as perfect
 (“this work which has begun/this enterprise that has begun”)
 while Krapp interprets it as passive (“this work that is begun”).

CHAUNGEN (10)

BEN-perfect (8): (CT I, 1400) And with that word he caughte a greet
 mirour, And saugh that *chaunged was* al his colour, | (CT IV, 601) For
 now gooth he ful faste ymaginyng If by his wyves cheere he myghte se,
 Or by hire word aperceyve, that she *Were chaunged*; | (CT IV, 709) He
 waiteth if by word or contenance That she to hym *was changed* of
 corage, | (CT VII, 1065) For I seye that it is no folie to chaunge conseil
 whan the thyng *is chaunged*, | (Bo II, p.1, 12) Sche (that ilke Fortune) ...
is chaunged ... to the-ward, | (Bo II, p.1, 51) Thou wenest that Fortune
be chaunged ayens the; | (TC IV, 865) Hire face ... *Was* al *ychaunged* in
 another kynde. | (Mars 235) he that hath with love to done Hath after
 wo then *changed ys* the mone.

HAVEN-perfect (2): (Bo III, p.5, 6) the olde age of tyme passed ... is ful
 of ensaumples how that kynges *han chaungyd* into wrecchidnesse out of
 hir welefulness. | (TC V, 1683) I nevere wolde han wend, er this, That
 ye, Criseyde, koude *han chaunged* so;

Note. The construction “BEN chaunged” can be passive:

(Bo IV, m.3, 11, 14) And aftir that hir [Circe] hand, myghti over the erbes, hadde chaunged hir gestes into diverse maneres [Agent = Circe], that oon of hem is coverid [passive] his face with forme of a boor; the tother *is chaungid* into a loun of the contre of Marmoryke, and his nayles and his teth waxen; that oother of hem *is newliche chaunged* into a wolf, and howleth whan he wolde wepe; [‘est muéz’]

A criterion for distinguishing passive and perfect constructions is whether or not the activity is [\pm controllable]. In the first instance above (CT I, 1400), for example, one cannot easily change his “color” (‘complexion’). This criterion is valid in some other cases which are, on the face of it, ambiguous between perfect and passive.

2.1.2.2c Verbs of happening

BIFALLEN (7)

BEN-perfect (6): (CT II, 726) This constable ... wroot unto his kyng ... How that this blisful tidyng *is bifalle*, | (Bo I, p.3, 21) Schulde I thanne ... agrysen [‘shudder’] as though ther *were byfallen* a newe thyng? | (Bo II, p.1, 34) and so *is* it *byfallen* that thou art a litil departed fro the pees of thi thought. | (Bo V, p.1, 73) thanne wenen folk that it *is byfalle* by fortunous bytydyng. | (TC IV, 1069) thynges alle and some That whilom *ben byfalle* and overcome [see the citation under OVERCOMEN] | (RR 29) But in that sweven is never a del That it *nys* afterward *befalle*,

Also in RR *3973.

HAVEN-perfect (1): (CT I, 795) And homward he shal tellen othere two, Of adventures that whilom *han bifalle*.

BITIDEN+ (8)

BEN-perfect (4): (CT III, 2191) an odious meschief This day *bityd is* to myn ordre and me, (HF 578) And this caas that *betyd* the *is*, Is for thy lore and for thy prow [‘profit’]. | (HF 680) [thou shalt here] moo loves

casuelly That *ben betyd*, | (HF 2048) Nost not thou That *ys betyd* . . .
late or now?

HAVEN-perfect (4): (Bo V, p.6, 213) by the whiche . . . thei hadden
power noght to *han bytyd*. | (TC III, 288) And thynk what wo ther *hath
bitid* er this, | (HF 384) But wel-away, the harm, the routhe, That *hath
betyd* for such untrouthe, | (CT VII, 758) hym *hadde* almost *Bitid* a sory
care.

TIDEN+ (4)

BEN-perfect (3): (TC II, 224) What list yow thus youreself to disfigure,
Sith yow *is tid* thus fair an aventure? | (TC II, 464) A, Lord! What me *is
tid* a sory chaunce! | (HF 255) Ther sawgh I grave how Eneas Tolde
Dido every caas That hym *was tyd* upon the see.

HAVEN-perfect (1): (TC I, 907) For by my trouthe, in love I dorste have
sworn The sholde nevere *han tid* thus fayr a grace.

2.1.2.3 HAVEN-perfect

Mutation verbs which are used only in the HAVEN-perfect are as follows.

2.1.2.3a Verbs of motion

MISGON (4)

(CT I, 4218) “Allas!” quod she, “I *hadde* almoost *mysgoon*; | (CT I, 4252) “By God,” thoughte he, “al wrang I *have mysгон*. | (CT I, 4255) I woot wel by the cradel I *have mysго*; | (CT X, 80) which may nat fayle to man ne to womman that thurgh synne *hath mysgoon* fro the righte wey of Jerusalem celestial;

MISWENDEN (1)

(TC I, 633) And there thow woost that I *have* aught *myswent*, Eschuw thow that, for swich thing to the scole [‘lesson’] is;

Note. MISWENDEN is used in the BEN-perfect in RR *7488:

And thus bothe we ben sent Throughout this world, that *is miswent*, To yeve ensample, and preche also.

ROWEN+ (1)

(TC I, 969) And sith that God of Love hath the bistowed In place digne unto thi worthinesse, Stond faste, for to good port *hastow rowed*;

Verbs of motion other than those listed above are not used in the perfect in Chaucer’s English; e.g., BREKEN, DROPPEN, FLEETEN, ETEN, LEPEN, LOITREN, OVERPASSEN, SETTEN, SLYDEN, SWIMMEN, UPRISEN, WADEN, WANDREN, WITHEREN.

2.1.2.3b Verbs of changing

APPEREN (1)

(LGW 934) And Ector *hadde*, after his deth, *apeered*;

DYEN (4)

(CT VII, 651) as by wey of kynde I sholde *have dyed*, ye, longe tyme agon. | (CT X, 324) he [Adam] that first was so myghty that he sholde nat *have dyed*, bicam swich oon that he moste nedes dye, | (LGW 1677) O, haddest thow in thy conquest ded ybe, Ful mikel untrouthe *hadde* ther *deyd* with the! | (RR 456) And if the wedir stormy were, For cold she shulde *have deyed* there.

Also in RR *6237.

Verbs of changing other than those cited above are not used in the perfect in Chaucer's works; e.g., DECAYEN, DECEASEN, DECLINEN, EXPIREN, STARVEN, SWELLEN.

2.1.2.3c Verbs of happening

Of verbs of happening only MISHAPPEN is used in the HAVEN-perfect.

(CT VIII, 944) And though this thyng *myshapped have* as now, Another tyme it may be well ynow.

No verbs of happening other than MISHAPPEN are used in the perfect in Chaucer's writings; e.g., FAREN, HAPPEN, MISFALLEN.

2.1.2.4 Inadequate citations in previous studies

Although the following examples may at first sight seem to be instances of the perfect, they are, in my interpretation, not cases of the perfect. My interpretations are offered in parentheses after quotations.

APPAYREN (Visser 1973: 2073)

(Bo I, p.5, 61) thow hast wepen for the damage of thi renoun that *is apayred* ['injured']; (passive)

BRESTEN (Visser 1973: 2048; cf. also Gräf 1888: 67)

(LGW 1300) For which, me thynketh, *brosten is* myn herte! (passive; cf. Davis et al., s.v. bresten 1)

DRAWEN (Visser 1973: 2057)

(Anel 70) So, what for love of him and what for awe, The noble folk *were* to the toun *idrawe*. (passive)

ENCRESEN (Gräf 1888: 64; Fridén 1948: 113; Kerkhof 1982: 143)

(CT VII, 81) And how that he despended hadde his good, And if that he *encrested* [‘enriched’] *were* or noon. (passive; cf. Davis et al., s.v. *encreessen* 1)

ENDEN (Kerkhof 1982: 142; cf. Visser 1973: 2080)

(CT VII, 325) This marchant, whan that *ended* *was* the faire, To Seint-Denys he gan for to repaire [‘return’], (passive)

Note. The following are passive constructions:

(Bo II, p.7, 101) bothe tho spaces ben endyd [“est finie”], | (Bo IV, p.4, 163) thou preyedest that it [the licence of mowyng to don yvel] myghte sone ben ended [“finiri”; “fust feniz”], | (RR *2543) And whanne thi speche is eendid [“auras fenie”] all, Ryght thus to thee it shall byfall:

FLITTEN (‘move’) (Visser 1973: 2060)

(TC V, 1544) as regnes shal *be flitted* Fro folk in folk, (passive, cf. 2.4; see also OED, s.v. *Flit* 1)

MELTEN (Gräf 1888: 67; Fridén 1948: 113; Visser 1973: 2074; cf. Poutsma 1926: 23)

(HF 1145) They were almost ofthowed [‘thawed’] so That of the lettres oon or two *Was molte* away of every name, | (HF 1149) Thoo gan I in myn herte caste That they *were molte* away with hete, (passive; see also OED, s.v., *melt* v, 8c)

Note. Considering the fact that the transitive use of MELTEN is established in Chaucer’s English, the examples above should be interpreted as passive constructions:

(HF 1648) As doth where that men *melte* led,
 (TC V, 10) The gold-tressed Phebus heighe on-lofte Thries
 hadde alle with his bemes cleene The snowes *molte*,

In connection with the HF examples, it should be noticed that a semantic factor contributes to the choice of *was/were*. While *had molte* calls attention to the process or happening, the intended meaning in the passage from HF is that the letters are now faded and difficult to read; that is, attention is drawn to the present state rather than the previous happening. In ME the resultative state can be expressed not only by the BEN-perfect but also by the passive, as in *Me reweth soore I am unto hire teyd* [‘tied’] (CT IV, 2432) / *And he was clad in cote and hood of grene* (CT I, 103), hence the occurrence of *was/were* in the passage above.

SINKEN ☞ note to SINKEN in §2.1.2.1.

WAXEN (Benson’s note to TC V, 618)

(TC V, 618) And of hymself ymagened he ofte To ben defet, and pale, and
waxen lesse Than he was wont, (infinitive; cf. T&K, s.v. wax)

MEETEN and SWOONEN, which Visser (1973: 2064, 2083) includes under “verbs of motion” and “verbs of finishing, ceasing, disappearing, dying, ending, etc.”, should not be treated as such since they are not mutation verbs. It should also be added that the following instances of MEETEN, which Fridén (1948: 92) treats as cases of the BEN-perfect, are passive constructions (also in: Gräf 1888: 71, Söderlind 1951: 55, Rydén and Brorström 1987: 131)

(CT VII, 341) As freendes doon whan they *been met* yfeere. | (CT IV, 1113) Walter hire dooth so feithfully plesaunce That it was deyntee [‘delight’] for to seen the cheere Bitwixe hem two, now they *been met* yfeere.

Also in CT I, 1636.

“They been met” is, in my opinion, derived from “they meet themselves” as “be revenged” is derived from “to revenge oneself” (cf. OED, s.v. Meet 4c, 8; Ando 1976: 165ff.). This view is supported by examples that are composed of “BEN + pp.” and are indicative of reciprocity:

(CT I, 3301) And thus they *been accorded and ysworn* To wayte a tyme,
| (CT II, 1074) I trowe an hundred tymes *been* they *kist*,

Visser (1973: 2068), truncating the passage at “the someres day,” cites the following as an instance of an intransitive mutation verb; however, the *romed* below is undoubtedly transitive:

(LGW G 90) Whan . . . I *hadde romed*, al the someres day, The grene medewe, of which that I yow tolde, . . . , Hom to myn hous ful swiftly I me spedde,

2.1.3 List of verbs used with BEN and/or HAVEN

It will be helpful if we show here in tabular form which verb cooccurs with which auxiliary (Table 2).

Table 2 List of verbs used with BEN/HAVEN

BEN	BEN/HAVEN	HAVEN
agon, alighten, apassen, arisen, arriven, ascenden, asterthen, bicomen, departen, escapen, flyen, gliden, proceden, repeyren, retournen, risen, scapen, setten (rfl.), sinken, stelen, sterten, voyden, wasten, winnen.	climben, comen, creepen, descenden, entren, fallen, faren, fleen, gon, passen, rennen, riden, romen, walken, wenden.	misgon, miswenden, rowen.
cesen, dawen, encresen, faden, growen, springen, turnen, vanishen, waxen.	bicomen, biginnen, chaungen.	apperen, dyen.
overcomen ('happen')	bifallen, bitiden, tiden.	mishappen.

A glance at Table 2 reveals that, as suggested by Gräf (1888: 73ff.), verbs of Romance origin tend to be used in the BEN-perfect. This tendency is explicable on semantic grounds: many of the verbs of Germanic origin, such as CLIMBEN, CREEPEN, RENNEN and RIDEN indicate “manner”, i.e., how an activity is carried out; they may, therefore, be used with HAVEN. By contrast, since most of the Romance verbs do not indicate “manner”, they cannot be used with HAVEN; hence, the choice of BEN.

The reason why the verbs on the right column are used exclusively with HAVEN can be explained by their meanings (cf. §2.1.4.2). MISGON, MISWENDEN and MISHAPPEN, for example, require HAVEN because they put

more emphasis on process or activity than result: ‘to go from the right path, go the wrong way’; ‘to happen unfortunately’ (cf. OED, s.v. Misgo 1; Mishap 2). ROWEN requires HAVEN because it indicates a manner of moving: ‘go by using oars’. APPEREN, on the other hand, takes HAVEN because it implies a process, as well as a result, of coming into view. DYEN presupposes a cause and manner of dying: ‘lose life by some cause’. These verbs, in a word, denote some kind of activity rather than a resultant state.

2.1.4 Choice of HAVEN

On the distribution of HAVEN and BEN, Fridén (1957: 56) says:

All that can be said for certain is that *have* is used with the past participle of intransitive non-durative verbs in such connections as stress the idea of action, while *be* is used to indicate the idea of state. To sum up the result for the period from Chaucer to Shakespeare: no definite rules or final explanation can be given for the use of *have* or *be* to form the perfect and the pluperfect tenses. It seems most likely that definite rules will never be formulated for this early period, although a great number of investigations may enable future scholars to give a more conclusive explanation for the distribution of the two auxiliaries. It is doubtful, however, whether these investigations will ever be carried out.

I shall now try to carry out an investigation into the distribution of these auxiliaries and point out some contexts, not “definite rules”, in which HAVEN is preferred to BEN.

2.1.4.1 Coordination of a non-mutation verb and a mutation verb

Fridén (1948: 57, 117) points out coordination as one of the environments in which mutation verbs are used with HAVEN.

(CT IV, 1115) These ladyes . . . *Han taken* hire and into chambre *gon*, (cf. T&K, s.v. gone) | (Bo I, p.5, 11) thow *hast fayled* of thi weye and *gon*

amys. (cf. T&K, s.v. gone) | (TC V, 737) Allas, I ne *hadde trowed* on
youre loore And *went* with yow, as ye me redde er this! | (BD 767)
Dredeles, I *have* ever yit *Be tributarye* and *yive* rente To Love ... And
through plesaunce *become* his thral With good wille, body, hert, and al.
(cf. T&K, s.v. given, become)

Note. In Chaucer's English other sorts of coordination can also be observed:

(a) Coordination of a mutation verb and a non-mutation verb:

(CT II, 174) And whan they han this blisful mayden sayn,
Hoom to Surrye *been* they *went* ful fayn, And *doon* [cf. T&K,
s.v. done] hir nedes as they han doon yoore, And lyven in
wele;

(b) Coordination of a perfect and a passive:

(CT VIII, 121) This mayden bright Cecilie ... *Was comen* of
Romayns and of noble kynde, And from hir cradel up *fostred*
in the feith Of Crist,

Also in: Bo II, p.7, 64 (was [waxen & redouted]); TC V, 827
(was [woxen & formed]); LGW G 94 (was [closed & gon], cf. F
198).

See also §2.5.1.1.

(c) Coordination of an NP and a past participle:

(CT V, 735) For she *was oon* the faireste under sonne, And
eek therto *comen* [cf. T&K, s.v. comel] of so heigh kynrede
That wel unnethes dorste this knyght, for drede, Telle hire
his wo, his peyne, and his distresse.

2.1.4.2 Modifiers used with the HAVEN-perfect

Mustanoja (1960: 502) enumerates contexts in which HAVEN is used (cf. also Fridén 1948: 116f., Fischer 1992: 261):

if these verbs [mutative intransitives] occur with a durative meaning, *have* is more common ...; this is the case also when the verb expresses recurring (repeated) action ... and in statements containing adverbs of

time, place, manner, etc. . . . If the auxiliary *be* occurs in statements of this kind, it is usually because a state rather than an action is expressed.

Mustanoja's observations, in the main, apply to Chaucer's English, though, as we shall see later, the contexts cited above are not sufficient conditions for the use of HAVEN. Here are some specimens of HAVEN cooccurring with the modifiers enumerated above.

a) adverbials expressing duration:

(TC V, 334) fro many a worthi knyght *Hath* his lady *gon* a fourtenyght,
| (RR 135) And whan I *had* a while *goon*, I saugh a gardyn right anoon,
Ful long and brood,

Adverbials expressing duration, it should be noted, may be used with the BEN-perfect:

(CT I, 1437) And thus withinne a while his name *is spronge*, Bothe of
his dedes and his goode tonge, That Theseus hath taken hym so near
That of his chambre he made hym a squier, | (CT I, 4283) For she *was
falle* aslepe a lite wight ['while'] With John the clerk, that waked hadde
al nyght, | (RR 1682) I love well sich roses rede, For brode roses and
open also *Ben passed* in a day or two,

b) adverbials expressing repetition:

(CT III, 1773) Ful ofte *Have* I upon this bench *faren* ful weel; | (CT X,
969) The fifthe circumstaunce is how manye tymes that he hath synned,
if it be in his mynde, and how ofte that he *hathe falle*.

As quoted above, Mustanoja cites "recurring action" as a context in which HAVEN is used. This argument, however, is somewhat tautological because HAVEN is mainly used of an action and BEN mainly of a state (cf. the paragraph below). There are no Chaucerian instances of the BEN-perfect

expressing “recurring action”.

c) adverbials expressing time, place, or manner:

time: (CT I, 4090) Thise sely clerkes *han* ful faste *yronne* Toward the fen, | (CT VII, 800) Til he so longe *hath riden* and goon | (CT I, 285) A Clerk ther was of Oxenford also, That unto logyk *hadde* longe *ygo*.

place: (LGW 978) Saw ye, . . . , as ye *han walked* wyde, Any of my sustren walke yow besyde With any wilde bor or other best . . . ? | (HF 976) And whan he *hath* so fer *ywent*, Than may be seen behynde hys bak Cloude

manner: (LGW 1243) The wikke fame upros, and that anon, How Eneas *hath* with the queen *ygon* Into the cave; | (CT VIII, 575) For he *hadde riden* moore than trot or paas; | (LGW 2016) by a clewe of twyn [‘ball of twine’], as he *hath gon*, The same weye he may returne anon, Folwyng alwey the thred as he hath come. | (CT VII, 1812) For ye *han entred* into myn hous by violence,

Adverbials of this kind may cooccur with the BEN-perfect:

time: (CT V, 294) The spices and the wyn *is come* anon. | (CT VII, 1508) considerynge that the tribulaciouns of this world but litel while endure and soone *passed been* and *goon*, | (CT VII, 1846) the olde good loos [‘reputation’] or good name of a man *is* soone *goon* and *passed*, whan it is nat newed ne renovelled. | (CT II, 720) Now faire Custance . . . So longe *is goon* with childe, | (LGW 1943) This wiked custom *is* so longe *yronne*, Til that of Athenes kyng Egeus Mot senden his owene sone, Theseus, . . . , To ben devoured,

place: (HF 802) And thus fro roundel to compas, Ech aboute other goyng Causeth of othres steryng And multiplyng ever moo, Til that hyt *be* so fer *ygo* That hyt at bothe brynkes bee.

manner: (CT II, 599) This knyght, thurgh Sathanas temptaciouns, Al softly *is* to the bed *ygo*, | (TC V, 1808) And whan that he was slayn in this manere, His lighte goost ful blisfully *is went* Up to the holughnesse of the eighthe spere, | (Mars 81) [Phebus] *was comen* hastely Within

the paleys yates sturdely [‘boldly’], With torche in honde, | (PF 102)
The cartere dremeth how his cart *is gon*;

Though it is generally agreed that the BEN-perfect expresses a state, the examples of the BEN-perfect cooccurring with such adverbials as cited above show that the BEN-perfect expresses not only a resultant state but also how the state is brought about, that is, an action that causes the state (see also §2.1.5.2 and Footnote 1 to this chapter).

The following adverbials, which are not mentioned by Fridén or Mustanoja, may justly be added as factors for promoting the use of HAVEN.

d) adverbial object (5):

(LGW 2463) At shorte wordes, ryght so Demophon The same wey, the same path *hath gon*, That dide his false fader Theseus. | (TC III, 1702)
Allas, now am I war That Piros and tho swifte steedes thre ... *Han gon* som bi-path in dispit of me; | (CT VI, 711) Whan they *han goon* nat fully half a mile ... , An oold man and a povre with hem mette. | (CT I, 1528)
Whan that Arcite *hadde romed* al his fille ... , Into a studie he fil sodeyn- ly, | (CT VII, 3194) Bifel that Chauntecleer in al his pryde ... Caste up his eye to the brighte sonne, That in the signe of Taurus *hadde yronne* Twenty degrees and oon, and somewhat moore,

Note. Instances of the BEN-perfect occurring with an adverbial object (3):

(CT I, 1413) To Atthenes *is he goon* the nexte [‘nearest’] way.
| (CT V, 386) [the yonge sonne] in the Ram *is* foure degrees up *ronne* | (Mars 111) For she that hath thyn herte in governaunce *Is passed* half the stremes of thin yën;

The reason for the choice of HAVEN in this context seems to be that the “intransitive verb + adverbial object” combination is felt like a “transitive verb + Obj” combination, which almost always requires HAVEN as the aspectual auxiliary. I concur with Fridén’s (1948: 42) remark: “the difference between a direct object and an accusative of this kind [e.g., *half*

a mile in CT VI, 711] is not great.”

e) adverbials indicating anteriority (4):

(CT I, 795) And homward he shal tellen othere two, Of adventures that
whilom *han bifalle*. | (TC III, 288) And thynk what wo ther *hath bitid* er
this, For makynge of avantes, | (Bo II, p.7, 62) the renoun of the comune
of Rome ne *hadde* nat yit *passid* ne *clomben* over the montaigne that
highte Caucasus; | (Bo II, p.4, 53) ne overgreet tempest *hath* nat yit
fallen upon the,

There are no instances attested of the BEN-perfect used with adverbials indicating anteriority. The reason for the choice of HAVEN in this context is that HAVEN can express time relationship more clearly than BEN (cf. §2.1.4.4).

2.1.4.3 Animate subject

The HAVEN-perfect, whether indicative or subjunctive, or whether finite or nonfinite, often takes an animate noun as subject.

(CT I, 48) Ful worthy was he in his lordes werre, And therto *hadde* he
riden, no man ferre, As wel in cristendom as in hethenesse, And evere
honoured for his worthynesse; | (CT I, 4259) He wende *have copen* by
his felawe John, And by the millere in he creep anon, | (CT III, 798)
And whan he saugh how stille that I lay, He was agast and wolde *han
fled* his way, Til atte laste out of my swogh [‘swoon’] I breyde. | (Bo I,
m.1, 31) For he that *hath fallen* stood nocht in stedefast degre. | (Bo III,
p.5, 56) of whiche two Senek enforcede hym to yeven to Nero his
richesses, and also to *han gon* into solitarie exil. | (TC II, 1464) O
verray God, so *have* I *ronne*! Lo, nece myn, se ye nought how I
swete? | (LGW 978) Saw ye . . . , as ye *han walked* wyde, Any of my
sustren walke yow besyde With any wilde bor or other best . . .? | (HF
976) And whan he *hath* so fer *ywent*, Than may be seen behynde hys
bak Cloude | (RR 135) And whan I *had* a while *goon*, I saugh a gardyn

right anon, Ful long and brood,

Also in: CT I, 56; 286; 1528; 4090; 4219; III, 1773; IV, 1060; 1115; V, 971 (past perf. subj.); 971 (inf.); 1341; VI, 78; 711; VII, 388; 800 (2x); 1074; 2797; 3067; 3283; VIII, 555; 575; X, 969; Bo I, p.3, 43; p.5, 11; III, p.5, 6; IV, m.1, 23; p.7, 91; V, p.2, 33; TC III, 1705; V, 68; 282; 334; 444; 737; 1683; LGW 1243; 2016; 2018; 2209; 2463.

There are, in Chaucer's English, sixty instances of mutation verbs used in the HAVEN-perfect. Fifty of them take an animate subject. One of the remaining ten is an impersonal construction with *the(e)* in subject position:

(TC I, 907) For by my trouthe, in love I dorste have sworn The sholde nevere *han tid* thus fayr a grace.

In two instance of the remaining nine the subject is a thing in action:

(CT I, 3893) And ever sithe *hath* so the tappe *yronne* Til that almoost al empty is the tonne. | (CT VII, 3194)³ the brighte sonne, That in the signe of Taurus *hadde yronne* Twenty degrees and oon, and somewhat moore,

Five of the remaining seven occur with an adverbial indicating anteriority (see §2.1.4.2e above; *passid and clomben* in Bo II, p.7, 62-63 is counted as two verbs). Of the remaining two, one is in the infinitive (Bo V, p.6, 213, cited in §2.1.4.4b). In the last instance, it is possible to interpret the subject as personified or allegorized:

(HF 384) But wel-away, the harm, the routhe, That *hath betyd* for such untrouthe, As men may ofte in bokes rede,

Note. Instances of *harm/reuthe* used as actor:

(RR *2749) as *the harmes telle* Of hem that with love dwelle

³ Cf. footnote 2 to this chapter.

In servyse, | (Cursor 24089) *Dis harm* mi hert it *held* sa hard.
 [MED] | (Cursor 26052) *Reuth clensses* saul o plight and sak
 ['of crime and sin']. [MED]

The high frequency of the animate subject in the HAVEN-perfect can be explained by the meaning of it: the HAVEN-perfect expresses an action, which can be performed only by animate beings. (This does not mean that the BEN-perfect always takes an inanimate subject.)

The HAVEN-perfect, on the other hand, is never used of time.⁴ This must be because the time-subject suggests a resultant state. “The night is come” (LGW 2621), for example, means ‘it is night now’; “how many hours of the clock are passed” (Astr II, 11, 7) is virtually synonymous with ‘it is X o’clock now’.

(CT III, 1476) The day is short, and it *is passed* pryme [cf. MED, s.v. *passen* 4(c); OED, s.v. *past* (prep)], | (CT IV, 1762) Now wolde God that it *were woxen* nyght, | (LGW 2622) The nyght *is come*, the bryd shal go to bedde. | (CT IV, 2140) The wynter *is goon* with alle his reynes weete. | (Astr II, 11, 7) Wherefore whan the list to knowe hou many houres of the klokke *ben passed*, or eny part of eny of these houres that *ben passed* . . . , know the degre of thy sonne, and ley thy label on it. | (CT III, 353) But forth she wole, er any day *be dawed* [‘dawned’], To shewe hir skyn and goon a-caterwawed. | (LGW 2678) The nyght *is wasted* [‘passed’], and he fyl aslepe.

Also in: (it) CT I, 3889; VII, 88; 3222; VIII, 379; TC II, 1095; V, 1014; Astr II, 3, 54; (day/nyght/month/yere, etc.) CT I, 1732; 4237; II, 17; 132; 260; 261; 722; 1143; III, 988; IV, 610; 1252; 1700; 1856; 1892; 2133; VII, 2174; 2289; 3189; 3190; VIII, 130; 381; X, 727; Bo I, m.1, 13; m.5, 20; TC I, 155; III, 1668; V, 275; 681; LGW F 37; F 45 (= G 45); G 89; PF 81; Astr II, 11, 8; 44, 15; 50; 52; 58; 45, 4; 7; 13; 30||RR *2553.

The relationship between the subject and the aspectual auxiliaries in

⁴ After discovering this restriction, I got Gräf’s dissertation and found that this had been remarked more than a century ago (1888: 76).

Chaucer's English may roughly be diagrammed as follows:

Figure 1: Territory of BEN and HAVEN

subject		
animate	inanimate	
BEN		mutation verbs
HAVEN		non-mutation verbs

2.1.4. Perfect infinitive

Another context in which HAVEN is favored over BEN is the perfect infinitive. Fridén and Mustanoja say as follows:

(Fridén 1948: 53, 116f.) In the perfect infinitive after modal and temporal auxiliaries *have* is the rule.

(Mustanoja 1960: 502) *Have* is commoner than *be* also in perfect infinitives after auxiliary and non-auxiliary verbs: —*nevere I sholde have come agayn* (Ch. CT F Fkl. 971); —*Gamelyn com perto for to have comen in* (Gamelyn 291).

Instances of the perfect infinitive are not numerous in Chaucer's English:

a) after modals (10):

(TC V, 1683) Allas, I nevere wolde han wend, er this, That ye, Criseyde, *koude han chaunged* so; | (TC V, 282) This Pandare, that of al the day biforn Ne *myghte han comen* Troilus to se, Although he on his hed it hadde sworn | (CT V, 971) I wolde that day that youre Arveragus Went over the see, that I, Aurelius, Hadde went ther nevere I *sholde have come* agayn. | (CT VII, 2797) For sikerly, nere clynkyng of youre belles . . . , I *sholde* er this *han fallen* doun for sleep, | (TC I, 907) For by

my trouthe, in love I *dorste have sworn* The sholde nevere han tid thus fayr a grace. | (CT III, 798) And whan he saugh how stille that I lay, He was agast and *wolde han fled* his way, Til atte laste out of my swogh I breyde [‘awoke’]. | (CT VII, 1074) oure Lord Jhesu Crist *wolde* nevere *have descended* to be born of a womman, if alle wommen hadden been wikke. | (CT VII, 3067) Two men that *wolde han passed* over see ... into a fer contree, If that the wynd ne hadde been contrarie, | (CT VII, 3283) He *wolde han fled*, but that the fox anon Seyde, “Gentil sire, allas, wher wol ye gon? ...” | (TC V, 68) This Troilus ... rood and did hire companye, Passyng al the valeye fer withoute, And ferther *wolde han riden*, out of doute, Ful fayn,

In Chaucer’s usage there is not a single exception to the “rule” pointed out by Fridén (but cf. RR *2653: The which may *fall a-slepe be*).

Note 1. As noted in §2.1.2.5, the following is a passive construction:

(Bo IV, p.4, 163) and of the licence of mowynge to don yvel that thou preyedest that it myghte sone *ben ended* [“il fust tost feniz”],

Note 2. In ModE the “modal + BEN-perfect” construction is fairly common. (The last three examples below are from Rydén & Brorström 1987: 186, 191f.).

(Authorized Version, Gen. 31: 30) And now, though thou *wouldest* needs *be gone*, because thou sore longedst after thy father’s house, yet wherefore hast thou stolen my gods? | (Verney I: 345) we ... left the Servants to assist the Crazy Carriage, which is so shattered that *’twould* not *be reached* home that Night, but drop’d in the midway | (Darwin I: 97) By that time I hope Sismondi *will be arrived* | (Cumberland MT V: 235) Where *can* he *be come* from?

b) after non-modals (6):

BEN-perfect (2):

(Bo IV, p.2, 163) thou myghtest demen hym myghty of goinge that goth on his feet til he myghte comen to thilke place fro the whiche place ther ne laye no weie forthere to *be gon*, | (PF 465) For every foul cryeth out to *ben ago* Forth with his make, or with his lady deere;

HAVEN-perfect (4):

to-infinitive: (Bo III, p.5, 56) of whiche two Senek enforcede hym to yeven to Nero his riches, and also to *han gon* into solitarie exil. | (Bo V, p.6, 213) yit algates ne lese thei nat hir propre nature in beinge, by the whiche, first or that thei weren idon, thei hadden power nought to *han bytyd*.

bare infinitive: (CT I, 4259) He wende *have copen* by his felawe John, And by the millere in he creep anon, | (CT V, 1341) She wende nevere *han come* in swich a trappe.

In the “non-modal + infinitive” construction, though there are two instances exceptional to Fridén’s generalization, HAVEN is more common than BE. This is because “the difference in time-relations is not clearly brought out by *be*” (Söderlind 1951: 58).⁵ The infinitival use of the BEN-perfect, on the other hand, seems to have escaped grammarians’ notice; in fact, as far as I can tell, no grammars contain a description of what it means or how it is used. It is feasible to speculate that BEN is adopted in Bo IV, p.2, 163 and PF 465 for two reasons. First, BEN refers to a time-relation different from the HAVEN-perfect; while “to have gone” expresses an unrealized past action, “to be (a)gone” expresses an action to be performed after some other action denoted by the main verb. Secondly, it presumably expresses unreality more explicitly than “to go”; while “to go” is non-committal to the possibility of realization, “to be (a)gone” indicates impossibility of realization: in Bo IV, p.2, 163, when there is no way, it is impossible to go further; in PF 465, lower-class birds cannot go until higher-class birds choose their mates (cf. PF 390ff., 400ff.).

2.1.4.5 Subjunctive

⁵ Cf. also Rydén & Brorström (1987: 28, 186) and Rydén (1991: 350).

Continuing his observation on the contexts in which the HAVEN-perfect is preferred, Mustanoja (1960: 502) observes:

Unreality seems to provide a favourable ground for the use of *have* as a temporal auxiliary. In ME, as in the earlier stages of other Germanic languages, *have* is clearly preferred in hypothetical statements, even with mutative intransitive verbs: — *I wolde that day that youre Arveragus Wente over the see, that I, Aurelius, Hadde went ther nevere I sholde have come agayn* (Ch. CT F Fkl. 971). *Be* is also used, but less frequently: — *sore hure dradde þat Horn isterve were* (Horn 1166)); — *God wold I were aryved in the port Of deth* (Ch. TC i 526).

On the subjunctive use of the BEN- and HAVEN-perfects Fridén (1948: 116f.) states more specifically (cf. also *ibid.*, 50ff.):

[a] The subjunctive mood of the verb seems to promote the use of *have*. *Have*+the past participle of mutative verbs may be regarded as the usual construction in conditional context, both in the protasis and the apodosis.

[b] *Have* is used in hypothetical comparative clauses [i.e., *as if*-clause], in concessive clauses [i.e., *though*-clause], and in clauses after optative expressions; it is found in sentences with *almost* denoting an imaginary action.

I shall now test the validity of Fridén's remarks by examining how Chaucer uses HAVEN and BEN in various subjunctive contexts.

2.1.4.5.1 Construction with *almost*

As quoted above, Fridén says that “[HAVEN] is found in sentences with *almost* denoting an imaginary action”. This statement applies to Chaucer's usage, though the instance found is only the following:

(CT I, 4219) I *hadde almost goon* to the clerkes bed.

Note. “I hadde almoost mysگون” (CT I, 4218) is excluded since MISGON is always used with HAVEN in Chaucer’s English (cf. §2.1.2.3a).

2.1.4.5.2 Other subjunctive contexts

In other subjunctive contexts both BEN and HAVEN occur. There are, in Chaucer’s English, about thirty unambiguous cases in which the BEN-perfect is used in the subjunctive.

a) *if/but/as*-clause or in the domain of *if/as*-clause (10):

if: (Bo II, p.2, 80) And what ek yif Y ne *be* nat al *departed* fro the? | (LGW 856) If it so falle that my Piramus *Be comen* hider, and may me not yfynde, He may me holde fals and ek unkynde. | (Astr II, 45, 4) and if so be that thy yer *be passid* the date, wryt that date, and than wryt the number of the yeres. | (Bo III, p.4, 62) yif that a man hadde used and had manye maner dignytees of consules, and *weere comen* peraventure among straunge nacions, scholde thilke honour maken hym worschiful and redouted of straunge folk? | (CT IV, 601) For now gooth he ful faste ymaginyng If by his wyves cheere he myghte se, Or by hire word aperceyve, that she *Were chaunged*;

but: (CT IV, 938) Ther kan no man in humblesse hym acquite As womman kan, ne kan been half so trewe As wommen been, but it *be falle* of newe [‘recently’]. | (CT X, 1021) Thou most eek shewe thy synne by thyn owene propre mouth, but thow *be woxe* dowmb, and nat by no lettre;

as (‘as if’): (CT V, 1614) Sire, I releesse thee thy thousand pound, As thou right now *were copen* out of the ground, | (RR 917) He semede as he were an aungell That down *were comen* fro hevene cler. | (Bo I, p.3, 21) Schulde I thanne redowte [‘fear’] my blame and agrysen [‘shudder’] as though ther *were byfallen* a newe thyng?

Note. The BEN-perfect in an *if*-clause can be in the indicative:

(Bo V, p.1, 51) And yif that any thing *is* woxen or comen of no

causes, thanne schal it seme that thilke thing is comen or
woxen of nawght;

Also in BD 1275.

b) *though/er/til*-clause (14):

though: (CT I, 3879) for thogh oure myght *be goon*, Oure wyl desireth folie evere in oon. | (TC III, 1800) And though that he *be come* of blood roial, Hym liste of pride at no wight for to chace; | (CT II, 4) And though he *were* nat depe *ystert* in loore, He wiste it was the eightetethe day Of Aprill, | (CT VI, 367) For though a man *be falle* in jalous rage, Lat maken with this water his potage, And nevere shal he moore his wyf mystriste, | (CT V, 96) That Gawayn, with his olde curteisye, Though he *were comen* ayeyn out of Fairye, Ne koude hym nat amende with a word. | (CT V, 684) I hadde levere than twenty pound worth lond, Though it right now *were fallen* in myn hond, He were a man of swich discrecioun As that ye been! | (RR 358) great qualm ['evil'] ne were it non, Ne synne, although her lyf *were gon*.

er: (CT III, 353) But forth she wole, er any day *be dawed*, To shewe hir skyn and goon a-caterwawed. | (CT IV, 1462) Though I be hoor, I fare as dooth a tree That blometh er that fruyt *ywoxen bee*; | (CT VII, 540) I wol do my diligence To konne it al er Cristemasse *be went*. | (CT X, 727) Wherefore swich sorwe shorteth ful ofte the lif of man, er that his tyme *be come* by wey of kynde.

til: (TC II, 1158) I kan abyde til they *be gon*; | (PF 81) brekers of the lawe ... And likerous folk, after that they ben dede, Shul whirle aboute th'erthe alwey in peyne, Tyl many a world *be passed*, | (HF 802) And thus fro roundel to compas, Ech aboute other goynge Causeth of othres steryng And multiplyng ever moo, Til that hyt *be* so fer *ygoo* That hyt at bothe brynkes bee.

c) after HOLDEN/SEEMEN/TROWEN/WENEN/*wolde* (*God*) (7):

(BD 540) I holde that this hert *be goon*; | (Bo IV, p.7, 32) so that it seme nat to hem that I *be* overmoche *departed* as fro the usage of mankynde?

| (CT I, 3665) I trowe that he *be went* For tymber, | (Bo II, p.1, 51) Thou wenest that Fortune *be chaunged* ayens the; | (TC I, 526) God wold I *were aryved* in the port Of deth, to which my sorwe wol me lede! | (CT IV, 1762) Now wolde God that it *were woxen* nyght, | (CT IV, 1764) I wolde that al this peple *were ago*.

d) after negation (1):

(Bo I, p.2, 6) Art nat thou he ... that whilom, norissched with my melk and fostred with myne metes, *were escaped* and *comyn* to corage of a parfit man?

The HAVEN-perfect, on the other hand, rarely occurs in the contexts listed above. Only four instances are attested.

a') *if*-clause (1):

(Bo II, p.5, 179) yif thou *haddest entred* in the path of this lif a voyde weyfarynge man, thanne woldestow syngen byfor the theef.

b') *er*-clause (1):

(CT VII, 388) Ye sholde han warned me, er I *had gon*, That he yow hadde an hundred frankes payed By redy token;

c') after *wold*/WENEN (2):

(CT V, 971) I wolde that day youre Arveragus *Wente* over the see, that I, Aurelius, *Hadde went* ther nevere I sholde have come agayn. | (Bo I, p.3, 43) and with tho cloutes that thei hadden arased out of my clothes thei wenten away wenyng that I *hadde gon* with hem every del.

d') after negation (0).

The citations above definitely show that, as far as unambiguous

subjunctive instances are concerned, Chaucer chooses BEN far more frequently than HAVEN. The observations by Fridén and Mustanoja—“*Have*+the past participle of mutative verbs may be regarded as the usual construction in conditional context” and “*Be* is also used, but less frequently”—should be modified as follows: in Chaucer’s English the subjunctive BEN-perfect is more frequent than the subjunctive HAVEN-perfect in clauses opening with *if*, *but* (‘unless’), *as* (‘as if’), *though*, *er*, and *til* and in clauses following verbs of thinking and appearance (e.g., WENEN, SEEMEN).

2.1.5 Subjunctive BEN- and HAVEN-perfects

In earlier English, as we have repeatedly seen, both BEN and HAVEN are used in the subjunctive. To the best of my knowledge, however, no question has ever been raised if there is any semantic difference between the subjunctive BEN-perfect and the subjunctive HAVEN-perfect. A discussion on their semantic differences will contribute to a detailed description of ME grammar and also to a correct reading of ME literature.

Let us first consider if there is any semantic difference between the hypothetical perfect with *be* (i.e., “*be*+pp.”; hereafter *be*-subjunctive) and the hypothetical perfect with *were* (i.e., “*were*+pp.”; hereafter *were*-subjunctive). Observe the following pairs:

- (1) a. (LGW 856) If it so falle that my Piramus *Be comen* hider, and may me not yfynde, He may me holde fals and ek unkynde.
- b. (CT V, 96) That Gawayn . . . , Though he *were comen* ayeyn out of Fairye, Ne koude hym nat amende with a word.
- (2) a. (CT VI, 367) For though a man *be falle* in jalous rage, Lat maken with this water his potage, And nevere shal he moore his wyf mystriste,
- b. (CT V, 684) I hadde levere than twenty pound worth lond, Though it right now *were fallen* in myn hond, He were a man of swich discrecioun As that ye been!

What is important here is that examples (1-2, a) express situations that

might possibly be true, while examples (1-2, b) express situations that are unlikely to happen.⁶ To put this in linguistic terms, the *be-subjunctive* (e.g., *be come*) indicates non-factivity (i.e., the speaker is non-committal to the truth of the proposition expressed in the clause), while the *were-subjunctive* (e.g., *were come*) indicates counterfactivity (i.e., the speaker presupposes the falsity of the proposition expressed in the clause).⁷ Once this distinction is recognized, the following pair can be paraphrased as in brackets (notice each example denotes a resultant state):

- (3) a. (CT I, 3879) for thogh oure myght *be goon* [i.e., though our virility is gone], Oure wyl desireth folie evere in oon.
 b. (RR 358) great qualm [‘loss’] ne were it non, Ne synne, although her lyf *were gon* [i.e., if she had died].

Next, let us consider if there is any difference between the *were-subjunctive* and the hypothetical perfect with HAVEN (e.g., “*had/would have+pp.*”; hereafter *had-subjunctive*). Compare the following pairs:

- (4) a. (CT V, 1614) Sire, I releesse [present action] thee thy thousand pound, As thou right now *were copen* [counterfactive present state; notice *right now*] out of the ground,
 b. (CT I, 4259) He wende [past action] *have copen* [unrealized action before “weening”] by his felawe John, And by the millere in he creep anon,
 (5) a. (RR 917) He semede [past state] as he were [counterfactive past state] an aungell That doun *were comen* [counterfactive past state] fro hevене cler.
 b. (CT V, 1341) She wende [past action] nevere *han come* [unrealized action before “weening”] in swich a trappe.
 (6) a. (Bo III, p.4, 62) yif that a man hadde used and had

⁶ Here “situation” is used as a general cover term; a situation may be either a state, or an event, or a process (Comrie 76: 13).

⁷ “Non-factivity” may include “counterfactivity”:

(Bo II, p.1, 50) Thou wenest that Fortune be chaunged ayens the; but thow wenest wrong (yif thou that wene):

[counterfactive present state; back-shifted from the pres. perf.]
 manye maner dignytees of consules, and *weere comen*
 [counterfactive present state] peraventure among straunge
 nacions, scholde thilke honour maken hym worschipful and
 redouted of straunge folk?

- b. (CT V, 971) I wolde [present situation] that day that youre
 Arveragus Wente [past action] over the see, that I, Aurelius,
Hadde went [unrealized action before “wishing”] ther nevere I
 sholde *have come* [unrealized action before “wishing”] agayn.

The notes in brackets will be informative enough to show that the *were-subjunctive* and the *had-subjunctive* are not synonymous: the *were-subjunctive* expresses a state which is unreal at the time of speaking; the *had-subjunctive* expresses an action which has failed to be realized before the situation expressed by the main verb.⁸

Let us now examine if the same holds true in other ME works. I shall investigate how *be-*, *were-* and *had-*subjunctives are used in Gower’s *Confessio Amantes* and Metrical Romances. The verbs chosen for the survey are those occurring more than ten times in Chaucer’s works: COMEN, FALLEN, FAREN, GON, PASSEN, RENNEN, WENDEN; CHAUNGEN, TURNEN, and WAXEN. (Some of these, however, do not occur in the subjunctive.⁹)

a) *be-*subjunctive:

(CA IV, 3391) Whan Slowthe hath don al that he may To dryve forth the
 longe day, Til it *be come* to the nede [i.e., it is necessary or unavoidable,
 cf. MED, s.v. nede 2a)], Thanne ate laste upon the dede He loketh hou

⁸ In the following example “koude han chaunged” does not indicate an event prior to the event expressed by the main clause. This must be because “wolde han wend” is also in the subjunctive.

(TC V, 1683) Allas, I nevere wolde han wend [reference time = past],
 er this, That ye, Criseyde, koude han chaunged [reference time = past] so;

⁹ None of the ten verbs are used in the perfect subjunctive in the *Gawain group*.

his time is lore, | (CA VII, 2995) And therupon thei swore here oth,
 That fro the time that he goth, Til he to hem *be come* ayein [i.e., he is
 with them again], Thei scholde hise lawes wel and plein In every point
 kepe and fulfillle. | (CA VIII, 985) To knowe what it mene may, Til it *be
 come* thei abide; | (CA VIII, 2852) And afterward the time is schape To
 frost, to Snow, to Wind, to Rein, Til eft that Mars *be come* ayein: | (CA P,
 592) He hath his prophecie sent, In such a wise as thou schalt hiere, To
 Daniel of this matiere, Hou that this world schal torne and wende, Till
 it *be falle* to his ende [i.e., it comes to its final state]; | (CA II, 1132)
 Hire Schip goth in among hem alle, And stinte noght, er it *be falle* [i.e.,
 it stops; cf. MED, s.v. fallen VI ‘to have a particular place of arrival or
 location’] And hath the vessell undergete [‘come under’], Which Maister
 was of al the Flete, Bot there it resteth and abod. | (CA VII, 303)
 Thanne is it chased sore aboute, Til it to fyr and leyt [‘flame’] *be falle*
 [i.e., it becomes fire and flame], | (CA VIII, 2105) Thus love is blind and
 can noght knowe Wher that he goth, til he *be falle* [i.e., he falls into a
 pit]:

b) *were*-subjunctive:

(CA II, 1524) For thogh his Moder *were come* Fro deth to lyve out of the
 grave, He mihte nomor wonder have Than he hath whan that he hire
 sih. | (CA II, 1539) This Emperour thoghte al to late, Til that the Pope
were come [i.e., the Pope is not with the Emperor], And of the lordes
 sende some To preie him that he wolde haste: | (CA III, 1568) Bot mihte
 I ben [‘if I could be’] of such maistrie, That I Danger hadde overcome,
 With that *were* al my joie *come* [i.e., I would be happy]. | (CA V, 3504)
 And thanne of leisir sche him tolde, And gan fro point to point enforme
 Of his bataile and al the forme, Which as he scholde finde there, Whan
 he to thyle [‘the ile’] *come were*. | (CA V, 3746) Ha lord, now al is wonne,
 Mi kniht the field hath overcome: Nou wolde god he *were come*; Ha lord,
 that he ne were alonde! | (CA V, 4450) And if myn happ *were* so wel
went, That for the hole I mihte have half, Me thenkth I were a
 goddeshalf. | (Hav. 128) Yif scho coupe on horse ride, And a thousande
 men bi hire syde, And sho *were comen* intil helde [in actuality, she is so

young that she cannot go on foot], And Engelond sho coupe welde
 ['govern'], . . . , Ne wolde me neuere iuele like ['please me ill'], Ne þou
 ['though'] ich were in heuene-riche!

c) *had*-subjunctive:

(CA VI, 1674) The cause why he comth he telleth Unto the kepers of the
 gate, And wolde *have comen* in therate, Bot schortli thei him seide nay:
 | (CA I, 1534) This knyht behield hir redely, And as he wolde *have*
passed by, Sche cleped him and bad abide; | (Lau. 199) To-day to
 cherche y wolde *haue gon*, But me fawtede ['lacked'] hosyn and schon,
 Clenly brech and scherte;

The citations above show that the distinction observed in Chaucer's instances is also observed in other ME works. A possible counter-argument here is that examples of *be falle* express an action. However, a careful reading reveals that, in addition to the meaning 'to come down to a place or state', *be falle* implies 'to remain there/so', thereby denoting a resultant state.¹⁰ The examples of *be falle* in CA II, 1132; VII, 303; VIII, 2105 can be interpreted, respectively, as 'their ship stops and remains where it is' (notice the expression *there it resteth and abod*); 'it becomes fire and flame and so it remains';¹¹ 'he falls into a pit and remains there'.¹² It seems safe to say that the distinctions between *be-*, *were-* and *had-* subjunctives are established in Late ME grammar.

Note. The semantic distinction is still observed in Late ModE. See the examples collected by Rydén and Brorström (1987: 186ff.), who, however, mention nothing about the semantic

¹⁰ The same holds true with the examples (1-3) in §2.1.5.

¹¹ This interpretation is evidenced by CA VII, 319ff.:

And forto speken over this, In this partie of thair ['the air'] it is That
 men fulofte sen be nyhte The *fyr* in sondri forme alyhte.

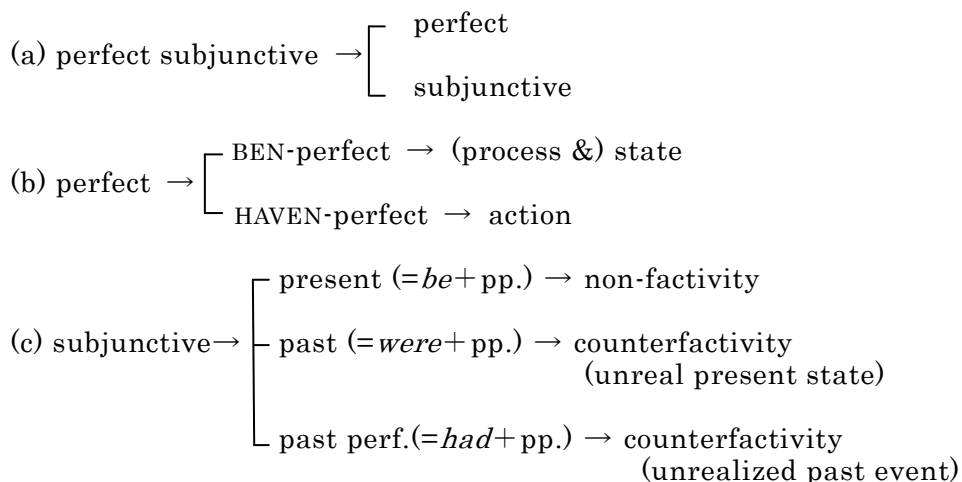
¹² The expression in CA VIII, 2105 is based on *Matthew* 15: 14:

And if a blind man leads a blind man, both will fall into a pit.
 The passage above suggests that the blind men, unable to go out, are
 both left in the pit.

difference.

Our task now is to consider where the semantic difference comes from. Before proceeding to an explication of this problem, it will be helpful to diagram what is to be discussed below:

Table 3 Reductions of the perfect subjunctive



Note. In System Network (c) “*were + pp.*” is not termed “past perfect subjunctive” because, while the past perfect subjunctive means ‘unrealized past event’, “*were+ pp.*” expresses ‘counterfactivity’, that is, ‘unreal present state’. In fact, the functions of *be* and *were* in “*be+ pp.*” and “*were + pp.*” are the same as those in other subjunctive constructions; e.g., “though he *be/were* false”.

The perfect subjunctive is a composite of the perfect and the subjunctive. The perfect is constructed either with “BEN+ pp.” or “HAVEN+ pp.” The former expresses a state resulting from an action expressed by the verb,¹³ and the latter expresses an action.

The subjunctive, on the other hand, may be present, past or past perfect (including past perfect equivalents, e.g., *could/might/ought/should/would have gone*). The present subjunctive expresses non-factivity. The past and

¹³ That “been gone” expresses a state is clearly seen in the following example:

(Ath. 764) For þy falsnesse and þy lesyng I slow3 myn heyr, [who] scholde haue ben kyng When my lyf *hadde ben gon* [i.e., when I am dead].

past perfect subjunctives express counterfactivity.

The speaker's judgment to the content of his speech may be factive, non-factive or counterfactive. Factivity is expressed by the indicative mood (e.g., *he is come/he hast done*); a non-factive state is expressed by "be+pp."; a counterfactive (i.e., unreal) state is expressed by "were+pp."; a counterfactive (i.e., unrealized) action is expressed by "had (or *could/would, etc. have*)+pp."¹⁴ In Chaucer's English there is no present subjunctive with HAVEN (e.g., **if he have come*).

What is important here is that the past subjunctive (i.e., *were*-perfect) and the past perfect subjunctive (i.e., *had*-perfect) have different functions. The function of the former is to express counterfactivity at the time of speaking, that is, unlikely or unreal present state. This function is quite irrelevant to time-relations (notice (*right*) *now* in (2b) and (4a)). The function of the *had*-subjunctive is to express counterfactivity prior to the point of reference, namely, unrealized past action.

The seemingly entangled knot is thus disentangled: *had gone*, for example, expresses an unrealized previous action because it is composed of the subjunctive (which means unreality) and the HAVEN-perfect (which expresses an action); *were gone* expresses a counterfactive state because it is an amalgamated form of the past subjunctive (which means counterfactivity) and the BEN-perfect (which expresses a resultant state). The choice of HAVEN or BEN is, counter to Fridén's (1948: 51) inference, not "influenced by the ordinary use of *be* in combination with these [mutative] verbs"; nor is it a matter of tendency. The choice is semantically conditioned. What has been observed in this section may be summarized as Table 4:

¹⁴ ME has no grammatical systems to express future non-factivity or counterfactivity.

Table 4 Meanings and the perfect forms

state	factive	<i>am/are/is</i> , etc. + pp.
	non-factive	<i>be</i> + pp.
	counterfactive	<i>were</i> + pp.
action	realized	<i>have/hast/had</i> , etc. + pp.
	unrealized	<i>had (almost)</i> + pp. <i>could/might/should/would</i> + <i>have</i> + pp.

2.2 Present perfect: description

This section will present in alphabetical order all the examples of the present perfect composed of “HAVEN + pp.” found in Chaucer’s whole works. (For the BEN-perfect, see 2.1.) Syntactic features of the present perfect will be discussed in 2.3.

2.2.1 Active voice

ABIDEN (3) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 1888) So longe *hath* Mayus in hir chambre *abyden*, As custume is unto thise nobles alle. | (Bo III, p.9, 188) “Certes,” quod I, “that desire I gretly and *have abyden* longe tyme to herkne it.” | (TC II, 935) [Troilus] in his chaumbre sit and *hath abiden* Til two or thre of his messages yeden For Pandarus,

ABYEN (‘pay for’) (3) (cf. BYEN)

(CT I, 3099) And God, that al this wyde world *hath* wrought, Sende hym his love that *hath* it deere *aboght*; | (LGW 1387) For they shal have wel betere love and chere Than he that *hath abought* his love ful dere, Or hadde in armes many a blody box [‘blow’]. | (LGW 2483) For unto Phillis yit ne com he nought, And that *hath* she so harde and sore *abought*—

ACCORDEN (2)

(Bo III, p.12, 55) and we *han accorded* that God is thilke same blisfulnesse? | (Bo III, p.12, 72) syn he, whiche that we *han accordid* to ben good, governeth alle thinges by hymself;

ACCUSEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.2)

(Bo I, p.4, 114) Also Opilion and Gaudencius *han accused* me,

ACHEVEN (1)

(HF 1738) But natheles yet preye we That we mowe han as good a fame,
And gret renoun and knowen name, As they that *han* doon noble gestes,
And *acheved* alle her lestes, As wel of love as other thyng.

Also in RR *2049.

AGILTEN ('do wrong, offend') (8) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT X, 131) First, for man *hath agilt* his Lord and his Creatour; and moore sharp and poynaunt for he *hath agilt* hys Fader celestial; | (CT X, 984) for he *hath agilt* his God and defouled his soule. | (TC IV, 261) What have I don? What *have* I thus *agylt*? | (ABC 122) Queen of comfort, yit whan I me bithinke That I *agilt have* bothe him and thee,
And that my soule is worthi for to sinke, Allas, I caityf, whider may I flee?

Also in: CT VII, 1818; 1826; X, 132.

ALLEGEN (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *3391) Mi freend hath seid to me so wel That he me esid *hath* somdell, And eke *allegged* of my torment;

ANIENTISSEN ('annihilate') (1)

(CT VII, 1248) the whiche thre thinges ye *han nat anientissed* or destroyed hem, neither in youreself, ne in youre conseilours,

ANNEXEN (1)

(Bo IV, p.4, 118) "Thanne certes," quod sche, "*han* schrewes, whan thei ben punyschid, somewhat of good *anexid* to hir wrecchidnesse [?]"

ANNOYEN (1)

(Bo II, p.5, 172) Sertes rychesse *han annoyed* ful ofte hem that han tho rychesse,

ANSWEREN (3)

(CT VII, 1271) And, sire, right as they *han answered* wisely and discretly, | (CT VII, 1780) ye *han* wel and goodly *answered*, | (Bo V, p.4, 22) The whiche resoun and cause of difficulte I schal assaye at the laste to schewe and to speden, whan I *have* first ispendid and *answerd* to the resouns by whiche thou art ymoeved.

APAYEN ('satisfy') (1)

(TC V, 1249) She elliswhere *hath* now here herte *apayed*.

Note. Davis et al. take *apayed* as a participial adjective. The MED (s.v. *apaien*), on the other hand, cites TC V, 1249 as an instance of the verb *APAIEN*.

APEYSEN (2)

(TC I, 250) And ofte it [love] *hath* the cruel herte *apesed*, And worthi folk maad worthier of name, And causeth moost to dreden vice and shame. | (TC I, 940) and now I hope That thow the goddes wrathe *hast* al *apesed*:

APPROVEN (1)

(CT VII, 1211) And whan ye han examyned youre conseil . . . , and *han approved* it by manye wise folk and olde,

AREISEN (2)

(Bo V, m.5, 22) [thou] *hast areised* thi forheved, to beren up an hye thi corage, | (LGW 1525) This Ercules hath so this Jason preyed That to the sonne he *hath* hym up *areysed*, That half so trewe a man there nas of love Under the cope ['canopy'] of heven that is above:

ARRAYEN ('arrange') (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 980) And she . . . *Hath* every chambre *arrayed* and his halle. |
 (TC II, 1187) Nece, who *hath araid* thus The yonder hous, that stant
 aforyeyn ['opposite'] us?

ASKEN ☞ AXEN

ASSAYEN (8) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 1054) I *have* thy feith and thy benyngnytee, As wel as evere
 womman was, *assayed*, In greet estaat and povreliche arrayed. | (Bo II,
 p.4, 96) for alwey to every man ther is in somewhat that, unassayed, he
 ne woot nat, or elles he dredeth that he *hath assaied*. | (TC IV, 1104)
 Thow *hast* nat yet *ssayed* al hire wit.

Also in: CT VII, 1089; 1114; Bo III, p.7, 23; TC I, 646; IV, 639||RR
 *2417; *2892; *5249.

ASSAYLEN (1) ('attack') (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(Bo I, p.5, 69) But for that many turbacions [Robinson: tribulacions] of
 affecciions *han assailed* the, and sorwe and ire and wepyngre todrawen
 the diversely, as thou art now feble of thought, myghtyere remedies ne
 schullen nocht yit touchen the.

Also in: RR *3953; *4050.

ASSEMBLEN (2)

(Bo III, p.9, 100) and [he] eek withdraweth from hymself manye naturel
 delites, for he nolde leese the moneie that he *hath assembled*. | (Bo III,
 m.9, 28) whan it es thus divyded and *hath assembled* a moevynge into
 two rowndes, it gooth to torne ayen to hymself,

ASSENTEN (1)

(CT X, 61) Upon this word we *han assented* soone . . . To enden in som
 vertuuous sentence,

ASSOILEN ('absolve') (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *6392) he . . . *Hath* me *assoiled*,

ASSUREN (1)

(CT IV, 2191) I have . . . of my wyfhod thilke tendre flour, Which that I
have assured in youre hond,

ATTAMEN (‘start’, ‘commence’) (1)

(CT VII, 2818) And right anon his tale he *hath attamed*, And thus he
seyde unto us everichon,

ATTEYNEN (1)

(Bo II, p.1, 58) Thou *hast* now knowen and *ateynt* [‘experienced’] the
doutous or double visage of thilke blynde goddesse Fortune.

AVAUNCEN (1)

(Bo II, p.4, 64) I *have* somewhat *avaunced* and forthred the . . . , yif that
thow anoye nat, or forthynke nat of al thy fortune.

Also in: RR *3468; *4345; *7298.

AWAKEN (1)

(CT IV, 1957) Adoun by olde Januarie she lay, That sleep til that the
coughe *hath* hym *awaked*.

AXEN (1)

(HF 1766) Now, Eolus, withouten slouthe, Tak out thy trumpe of gold,
let se, And blow as they *han axed* me,

Also in RR *3586 (asked).

BATHEN (2)

(CT I, 3) Whan that Aprill with his shoures soote The droghte of March
hath perced to the roote, And *bathed* every veyne in swich licour Of
which vertu engendred is the flour; | (CT I, 2006) The sleere [‘slayer’] of
hymself yet saugh I ther—His herte-blood *hath bathed* al his heer—The
nayl ydryven in the shode [‘temple’] anyght;

BEN (66) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT II, 272) Housbondes been alle goode, and *han ben* yoore [‘for a long time’]; | (CT III, 1592) I *have been* syk, and that ful many a day. | (CT III, 1860) So dide oure sexteyn and oure fermerer, That *han been* trewe freres fifty yeer; | (CT IV, 1140) This world is nat so strong, it is no nay, As it *hath been* in olde tymes yoore, | (CT IV, 1236) And yet, I trowe, he that al his lyve Wyfleees *hath been* . . . ne koude in no manere Tellen so muchel sorwe | (CT IV, 1492) I *have now been* a court-man al my lyf, | (CT IV, 2401) Right so a man that longe *hath* blynd *ybe*, Ne may nat soodeynly so wel yse, First whan his sighte is newe come ageyn, As he that hath a day or two yseyn. | (CT VI, 69) Swich thynges maken children for to be To soone rype and boold . . . , Which is ful perilous and *hath been* yoore. | (CT VI, 735) Mooder, with yow wolde I chaunge my cheste That in my chambre longe tyme *hath be*, Ye, for an heyre clowt to wrappe me! | (CT VII, 3239) Witnessse on hym that any parfit clerk is, That in scole is greet altercacioun In this mateere, and greet disputisoun, And *hath been* of an hundred thousand men. | (CT VII, 3297) My lord youre fader . . . And eek youre mooder . . . *Han* in myn hous *ybeen* to my greet ese; | (CT VIII, 262) In dremes . . . *han we be* Unto this tyme, | (TC II, 1480) For I *have ben* right now at Deiphebus, At Ector, and myn oother lordes moo, | (LGW 2120) Upon my trouthe I swere and yow assure, This sevene yer I *have* youre servaunt *be*.

Also in: CT I, 923; 929 (progressive); 4267; 4348; III, 175; 1788; 2101; 2102; 2117; IV, 1922; V, 598; VII, 1073; 1095; 2772; 2775; VIII, 1053; X, 945; Bo I, p.4, 25; 49; II, m.5, 40; III, m.2, 15; IV, p.6, 195; V, p.6, 88; TC I, 248; 585; II, 524; 996; 1271; 1393; III, 102; 352; 1312; IV, 643; 690; 1108; 1467; V, 142; 550; 1317; 1645; LGW F 6 (= G 6); 879; 1261; 2353; BD 765; PF 472 (perf. prog.); HF 1338; 1733; ABC 33; 45; 157; Venus 51 ||CompA *78; RR *2416; *2826; *3374; *3567; *3593; *3829; *3841; *3900; *3903; *3951; *3977; *5964; *6705.

BEREN (5) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 443) Nat longe tyme after that this Grisild Was wedded, she a doghter *hath ybore*, Al had hire levere have born a knave child; | (CT V, 43) And so bifel that whan this Cambyuskan *Hath* twenty wynter *born* his diademe, . . . , He leet the feeste of his nativitee Doon cryen

thurghout Sarray his citee, | (PF 109) Thow *hast* the so wel *born* In
 lokynge of myn olde bok totorn . . . That sumdel of thy labour wolde I
 quyte. | (HF 1484) [Virgile] *bore hath* up a longe while The fame of Pius
 Eneas. | (Anel 323) Arcite *hath* born away the keye Of al my world, and
 my good aventure.

BETEN (1) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(HF 1041) Or elles lyk the last humblynge [‘rumbling’] After the clappe
 of a thundringe, Whan Joves *hath* the air *ybete*.

BIBBEN (‘imbibed’) (1)

(CT I, 4162) This millere *hath* so wisely *bibbed* ale That as an hors he
 fnorteth in his sleep,

BIDDEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT II, 440) And in a ship al steerelees . . . They *han* hir set, and *bidde*
 hire lerne saille Out of Surrye agaynward to Ytaille.

Also in RR *2721.

BIGINNEN (8) (☞ §2.1.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(CT V, 1029) With pitous herte his pleynt *hath* he *bigonne* Unto the
 goddes, | (TC III, 250) For the *have* I *bigonne* a gamen pleye Which
 that I nevere do shal eft for other, Although he were a thousand fold my
 brother. | (LGW 1007) This noble queen that cleped was Dido . . . This
 noble toun of Cartage *hath bigonne*;

Also in: CT VII, 1216; 1682; VIII, 428; X, 735; TC II, 960.

BIGYLEN (2) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.2)

(CT VIII, 985) Ful many a man *hath* he *bigiled* er this, And wole, if that
 he lye may a while; | (LGW 2547) For he begiled Adriane, ywis, With
 swich an art and with swich subtilte As thow thyselven *hast begyled*
 me.

Also in: RR *2048; *5008.

BIHETEN (‘promise’) (5) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT V, 788) And therefore *hath* this wise, worthy knyght, To lyve in ese, suffrance [‘permission’] hire *bihight*, | (Bo III, p.9, 143) Now torne and flytte the eighen of thi thought, for ther shaltow seen anoon thilke verray blisfulnesse that I *have behyght* the. | (TC V, 354) And syn she the to comen *hath bihyght*, She nyl hire heste breken for no wight.

Also in: CT VII, 1066; Bo IV, p.6, 2.

BIHOLDEN (5)

(CT VIII, 179) And whan that ye Seint Urban *han biholde*, Telle hym the wordes whiche I to yow tolde; | (TC V, 1252) Thus yn my drem Criseyde *have I byholde* | (LGW 2373) And whan that Progne *hath* this thing *beholde*, No word she spak, for sorwe and ek for rage, But feynede hire to gon on pilgrymage To Bacus temple;

Also in: Bo III, p.1, 47; IV, p.6, 216.

BIJAPEN (1)

(CT I, 1585) Now artow hent, that lovest my lady so . . . , And *hast byjaped* heere duc Theseus, And falsly chaunged hast thy name thus!

BIKNOWEN (1)

(Bo V, p.4, 39) But thanne, yif that prescience ne putteth no necessite to thingis to comen, as thou thiself *hast* confessed it and *byknowen* a litel herebyforn,

BINDEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1; §2.4.1.2)

(Bo III, p.12, 39) and the same diversite of here natures . . . most departen and unjoynen the thinges that ben conjoynid, yif ther ne were oon that contenyde that he *hath* conjoynid and *ybounden*.

Also in RR *5127.

BIREVEN (7) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT III, 2071) *Hath* wyn *bireved* me myn eyen sight? | (CT IV, 2067) And now thou *hast biraft* hym bothe his yen, | (Bo II, p.2, 6) What godes *have I byreft* the that weren thyne? | (TC IV, 283) And hire, allas, than *hastow me biraft*.

Also in: CT III, 475; VII, 1000; Venus 78.

BISEGEN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(TC I, 558) God save hem that *biseged han* oure town, That so kan leye oure jolite on presse, And bringe oure lusty folk to holynesse! | (TC I, 802) What may she demen oother of thy deeth, If thow thus deye, and she not why it is, But that for feere is yolden [‘yielded’] up thy breth, For Grekes *han biseged us*, iwys?

BISETTEN (4) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 3012) He *hath* so wel *biset* [‘establish’] his ordinaunce That speses of thynges and progressiouns Shullen enduren by successiouns, | (CT III, 1952) Certeyn, my good *have* I almoost *biset* [‘disposed of’]. | (TC I, 879) Love *hath byset* the wel; | (TC II, 834) Ye, blisful god, *han* me so wel *byset* In love, iwys, that al that bereth lif Ymagynen ne kouthe how to be bet;

BISHETTEN (not Chaucer’s instance)

(RR *4488) They han my joye fully let, Sith Bialacoil they *have bishet* Fro me in prisoun wikkidly,

BISTOWEN (5)

(CT VII, 419, 420) For by my trouthe, I *have* on myn array, And nat on wast, *bistowed* every deel; And for I *have bistowed* it so weel For youre honour . . . lat us laughe and pleye. | (TC I, 967) And sith that God of Love *hath* the *bistowed* In place digne [‘suitable’] unto thi worthinesse, Stond faste, for to good port hastow rowed; | (TC III, 1271) And for thow me . . . *Hast* holpen, ther I likly was to sterve, And me *bistowed* in so heigh a place That thilke boundes may no blisse pace, I kan namore; | (CompL 33) Now *hath* not Love me *bestowed* weel To love ther I never shal have part?

BITAKEN (‘commit, entrust’) (1)

(Bo II, p.1, 108) Thow *hast bytaken* thiself to the governaunce of Fortune and forthi it byhoveth the to ben obeisaunt to the maneris of

thi lady.

BITRAYEN/BITRAYSEN/BITRASSEN/BIWRAYEN (7)

(CT VIII, 1092) He *hath bitrayed* folkes many tyme; | (TC V, 1247) My lady bryght, Criseyde, *hath me bytrayed*, In whom I trusted most of ony wight. | (RR 1648) Me hadde bet ben elliswhere, For in the snare I fell anon That *hath bitrashed* many oon.

Also in: CT VII, 1146; LGW 1390; 1658; 2541.

BLAMEN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(Bo I, p.5, 58)¹⁵ Thow *hast eek blamed* gretly and compleyned of the wrong[ful] dede of the senat, and thow hast sorwyd for my blame, | (TC V, 1710) O Pandarus, that in dremes for to triste Me *blamed hast* . . . , Now maistow sen thiself . . . How trewe is now thi nece, bright Criseyde!

Also in RR *3980.

BLASPHEMEN (1)

(CT III, 2183) And yet ne greveth me nothyng so soore, As that this olde cherl with lokkes hoore *Blasphemed hath* oure hooly covent eke.

BLENDEN (2)

(BD 647) For many oon *hath* she thus *yblent*. | (RR 1610) Full many worthy man *hath* it *Blent* [Robinson: Yblent], for folk of grettist wit Ben soone caught heere and awayted;

Also in: RR *4642; *6652.

BLOWEN (1)

(LGW 1365) For thilke wynd that blew youre ship away, The same wynd *hath blowe* away youre fey.

BORWEN (1)

(CT VIII, 735) And yet I am endetted ['in debt'] so therby Of gold that I *have borwed*, trewely, That whil I lyve I shal it quite nevere.

¹⁵ The hyphen after *wrong* in Benson's edition is unnecessary.

BOSTEN ('boast') (1)

(LGW 1262) Where sen ye oon that he ne *hath* laft his leef, Or ben unkynde, or don hire som myscheef, Or piled hire, or *bosted* of his dede?

BREKEN (3) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 1735) I am thilke woful Palamoun That *hath* thy prisoun *broken* wikkedly. | (CT X, 978) and [he] *hath* peraventure *broken* therfore his penance enjoyned, | (TC V, 1204) For whan he saugh that she abood so longe, He nyste what he juggen of it myghte, Syn she *hath broken* that she hym bihighte.

BRINGEN (23) (☞ §2.4.1.1; §2.4.1.2)

(CT V, 1083) His brother, which that knew of his penaunce ['suffering'], Up caughte hym and to bedde he *hath* hym *brought*. | (LGW 2508) But for al that, yif I shal soothly seyn, Yit *hath* the strem of Sytho nat *ybrought* From Athenes the ship; yit cometh it noght. | (Bo II, m.8, 8) the moone hath comaundement over the nyghtes, whiche nyghtes Esperus, the eve-sterre, *hath brought*;

Also in: CT I, 1797; 2099; 3770; 3794; VII, 1246; VIII, 227; 281; IX, 272; 290; TC I, 424; II, 1638; III, 246; 1260; 1599; IV, 292; LGW 904; 1045; 1655; Anel 297; CompL 5||RR *3103; *3709; *4422.

BYEN (7) (cf. ABYEN; ☞ §2.4.1.1)

(Bo III, m.12, 47) he *hath* wel *ybought* hire by his faire song and his ditee. | (TC I, 810) What, many a man *hath* love ful deere *ybought* Twenty wynter that his lady wiste, That nevere yet his lady mouth he kiste. | (ABC 86) Lat not oure alder foo make his bobaunce ['boast'] That he hath in his lystes of mischaunce Convict ['overcome'] that ye bothe *have bought* so deere.

Also in: Bo IV, p.6, 275; TC IV, 291; V, 965; Mars 168||RR *2739; *3222; *5922.

CACCHEN (19) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(CT V, 740) But atte laste she . . . *Hath* swich a pitee *caught* of his

penaunce That pryvely she fil of his accord To take hym for hir
 housbonde and hir lord, | (CT IV, 2134) er that dayes eighte Were
 passed of the month of Juyn, bifil That Januarie *hath caught* so greet a
 wil ... hym for to pleye In his gardyn, | (CT I, 2067) I saugh how that
 his houndes *have* hym *caught* And freeten hym, for that they knewe
 hym naught. | (RR 1658) Whanne I was with this rage hent, That
caught hath many a man and shent, Toward the roser gan I go;

Also in: CT II, 186; 628; III, 306; 2003; IV, 993; 1110; VI, 313; TC I,
 557; II, 583; 942; 1272; IV, 106; HF 282; BalCh 1; 31 ||RR *3310; *3533:
 *4870.

CALLEN (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *7585) Go herber yow elleswhere than heer, That *han* a lyer *called*
 me!

CARRYEN (2)

(CT VII, 2050) The gates of the toun he hath up plyght ['plucked'], And
 on his bak *ycaryed* hem *hath* hee Hye on an hill whereas men myghte
 hem see. | (CT I, 1020) Out of the taas the pilours han hem torn, And
han hem *caried* softe unto the tente Of Theseus;

CASTEN (7) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VII, 1257) but ye *han cast* alle hire wordes in an hochepot, and
 enclyned youre herte to the moore part and to the gretter nombre, | (Bo
 I, m,4, 19) that man that so dooth *hath cast* away his scheeld, and is
 remoeved from his place, | (TC V, 1696) Thorough which I se that clene
 out of youre mynde Ye *han* me *cast*

Also in: Bo II, p.1, 48; IV, p.3, 99; V, p.2, 35; Pity 26 | CompA *12.

CAUSEN (1)

(CT X, 474) God woot, desir to have commendacioun eek of the peple
hath caused deeth to many a bisy man.

CHASEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(Bo III, m.1, 10) and aftir that Lucifer, the day-sterre, *hath chased*

away the dirke nyght, the day the fairere ledeth the rosene hors (of the sonne).

Also in: MercB *14; *19; *24; RR *4051.

CHAUNGEN (4) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 1586) Now artow hent, that lovest my lady so . . . , And hast byjaped heere duc Theseus, And falsly *chaunged hast* thy name thus! | (CT VIII, 667) I am so used in the fyr to blowe That it *hath chaunged* my colour, | (Bo I, m.1, 27) But now, for Fortune cloudy *hath chaunged* hir deceyvable chere to meward, myn unpietous lif draweth along unagreable duellynges in me.

Also in CT VIII, 252.

CHEESEN (6) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VII, 1235) and telle me how liketh yow, or what semeth yow, byoure conseillours that we *han chosen* in oure present nede. | (Bo II, p.1, 97) For yif thow wilt writen a lawe of wendynge and of duellynge to Fortune, whiche that thow *hast chosen* frely to ben thi lady, artow nat wrongful in that, and makest Fortune wroth and aspre by thyn inpacience? | (PF 528) and foules of ravyne *Han chosen* fyrst, by pleyne eleccioun, The tercelet of the faucoun to diffyne Al here sentence,

Also in: Mars 16; 18; WNob 8.

CHEVEREN ('shiver') (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *1732) Sithen that day I *have chevered* ofte.

CLEPEN (3)

(CT III, 147) In swich estaat as God *hath cleped* us I wol persevere; | (CT VII, 1243) But certes, ye *han* sodeynly *cleped* to youre conseil a greet multitude of peple, | (CT VII, 1245) ye *han ycleped* straunge folk,

CLOTHEN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 378) But nathelees, this mayde bright of hewe Fro foot to heed they *clothed han* al newe. | (Bo IV, m.1, 3) Whanne the swift thocht *hath clothid* itself in tho fetheris, it despiseth the hateful erthes,

COMANDEN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VIII, 445) Wostow nat how oure myghty princes free *Han* thus *comanded* and maad ordinaunce . . .? | (Bo I, m.1, 15) and sorwe *hath comandid* his age to ben in me.

COMFORTEN (2) (☞ §2.2.2)

(CT V, 832) So longe *han* they *comforted* hire til she Receyved hath, by hope and by resoun, The emprentyng of hire consolacioun, Thurgh which hir grete sorwe gan aswage; | (Bo II, p.4, 67) As who seith, I *have* somewhat *comforted* the, so that [‘provided that] thou tempeste [‘distress’] the nat thus with al thy fortune, syn thow hast yit thy beste thynges.

COMPASSEN (not Chaucer’s instance)

(MercB *21) Allas, that Nature *hath* in you *compassed* So greet beautee, that no man may atteyne To mercy though he sterve for the peyne.

COMPLEYNEN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(Bo I, p.5, 58) Thow *hast* eek blamed gretly and *compleyned* of the wrong[ful] dede of the senat, | (LGW 1748) Tarquinius, this proude kynges sone, Conceyved hath hire beaute and hyre cheere, . . . , Hire hew, hire wordes, that she *hath compleyned*

COMPREHENDEN (3) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT X, 1004) and that he *have comprehended* in hys mynde the nombre and the greetnesse of his synnes, | (Bo III, p.11, 227) and for as mochel as we *han* gadrid and *comprehendid* that good is thilke thing that is desired of alle, thanne mote we nedys confessen that good is the fyn of alle thinges. | (Bo V, p.4, 177) but intelligence, that lookith as aboven, whanne it *hath comprehended* the forme, it knowith and demyth alle the thinges that ben undir that foorme;

CONCEYVEN (6)

(CT V, 336) Enformed whan the kyng was of that knyght, And *hath*

conceyved in his wit aright The manere and the forme of al this thyng, Ful glad and blithe, this noble doughty kyng Repeireth to his revel as biforn. | (CT X, 577) if a woman *have conceyved*, and hurt herself and sleeth the child, yet is it homycide. | (TC V, 1598) Youre lettres ful, the papir al ypleynted, *Conceyved hath* myn hertes pietee. | (LGW 1746) Tarquinius, this proude kynges sone, *Conceyved hath* hire beaute and hyre cheere, Hire yelwe her, hire shap, and hire manere,

Also in: CT X, 577; Bo I, p.4, 196.

CONCLUDEN (7) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(Bo III, p.10, 125) But I *have wel concluded* that blisfulnesse and God ben the sovereyn good; | (Bo III, p.11, 11) that schal I undo [‘explain’] the be verray resoun, yif that tho thinges that I *have concluded* a litel herebyforn duellen only in hir first grauntynge. | (Bo IV, p.4, 142) these thinges ... folwen that that we *han concluded* a lytel herebyforn.

Also in: Bo III, p.12, 121; IV, p.1, 47; p.4, 54; p.7, 62.

CONFESSEN (2)

(Bo IV, p.7, 62) War now and loke wel ... lest that we, in folwyng the opynioun of the peple, *have confessid* and concluded thing that is unable to be wened to the peple. | (Bo V, p.4, 39) But thanne, yif that prescience ne putteth no necessite to thingis to comen, as thou thiself *hast confessed* it and byknowen a litel herebyforn,

CONFOUNDEN (‘destroy’) (1)

(CT X, 529) and therefore the lovyng of oure enemy *hath confounded* the venym of the devel.

CONJOYNEN (2)

(Bo III, p.10, 87) feyne who so feyne mai who was he that *hath conjoynd* these divers thynges togidre. | (Bo III, p.12, 38) and the same diversite of here natures ... most departen and unjoynen the thinges that ben conjoynid, yif ther ne were oon that contenyde that he *hath conjoynid* and ybounden.

CONSERVEN (1)

(CT VIII, 387) Youre cours is doon, youre feith *han ye conserved*.

CONSEYLLLEN (1)

(CT VII, 1251) and therefore *han* they rather *conseilled* yow to youre talent than to youre profit.

CONSIDEREN (3)

(CT I, 1763) He *hath considered* shortly, in a clause, The trespas of hem bothe, and eek the cause, | (CT I, 2538) The lord *hath* of his heigh discrecioun *Considered* that it were destruccioun To gentil blood to fighten in the gyse Of mortal bataille now in this emprise. | (CT IV, 1394) For which this Januarie, of whom I tolde, *Considered hath*, inwith his dayes olde, The lusty lyf, the vertuous quyete,

CONSPIREN (1)

(CT VII, 565) Fro thennes forth the Jues *han conspired* This innocent out of this world to chace.

CONSTREYNEN (1)

(Bo I, m.6, 20) ne he [God] ne suffreth nat the stowndes whiche that hymself *hath* devyded and *constreyned* to ben imedled togidre.

CONSUMEN (1)

(CT VIII, 1100) for fumes diverse Of metals . . . *Consumed* and wasted *han* my reednesse.

CONTINUEN (1)

(CT X, 963) and how longe thou *hast continued* in synne.

CONVERTEN (2)

(CT II, 538) And Custance hath so longe sojourned there . . . , Til Jhesu *hath converted* thurgh his grace Dame Hermengyld, | (TC I, 999) I thenke, sith that Love, of his goodnesse, *Hath* the *converted* out of

wikkednesse, That thow shalt ben the beste post ... Of al his lay,

CONVICTEN ('overcome') (1)

(ABC 86) Lat not oure alder foo make his bobaunce ['boast'] That he *hath* in his lystes of mischaunce *Convict* that ye bothe have bought so deere.

COROWNEN ('crown') (1)

(ABC 144) and therefore in witesse He *hath* thee *corowned* in so rial wise.

COSTEN (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *5895) She hath tan ['taken'] many a forteresse, That *cost hath* many a pound, er this,

COVEREN (1)

(Bo I, p.4, 61) How ofte *have* I *covered* and defended by the auctorite of me put ayens perils (that is to seyn, put myn auctorite in peril for) the wrecche pore folk,

CREATEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT X, 218) And al be it so that God *hath creat* alle thynges in right ordre, . . . yet, natheles, they that been dampned been nothyng in ordre,

CREAUNCEN (1)

(CT VII, 366) This marchant, which that was ful war and wys, *Creanced hath*, and payd eek in Parys To certeyn Lumbardes, redy in hir hond, The somme of gold, and gat of hem his bond;

CROWEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 3687) Whan that the firste cok *hath crowe*, anon Up rist this joly love Absolon,

CRYEN (2)

(CT I, 2344) But oonly for the feere thus *hath* she *cried*, And weep that it was pitee for to heere. | (TC IV, 587) For whan men *han* wel *cryd*, than wol they rowne;

CUREN (1)

(CT VII, 1282) and thanne *have* I *cured* oon contrarie by another.

DAMPNEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 1745) Youre owene mouth, by youre confessioun, *Hath dampned* yow,

DECEYVEN (1) (☞ §2.2.2)

(CT IV, 2065) Why *hastow* Januarie thus *deceyved*, That haddest hym for thy fulle freend receyved?

DECLAREN (5)

(CT II, 206) He *hath* to hem *declared* his entente, | (CT IV, 1687) The Wyf of Bathe . . . Of mariage . . . *Declared hath* ful wel in litel space. | (CT VIII, 119) Now *have* I yow *declared* what she highte.
Also in: CT X, 95; 956||RR *2935; *7168.

DEELEN (1)

(CT X, 907) or elles with hem with whiche hir fadres or hir kynrede *han deled* in the synne of lecherie.

DEEMEN (2)

(CT VII, 1138) Whan ye han taken conseil in youreself and *han deemed* by good deliberacion swich thyng as you semeth best, thanne rede I yow that ye kepe it secree. | (Bo V, p.5, 90) ryght so as we *han demyd* that it byhovith that ymaginacioun and wit ben bynethe resoun,

DEFENDEN (2)

(CT VII, 1423) and [thou] *hast* nat *defended* thyselff suffisantly agayns hire assautes and hire temptaciouns, | (Bo I, p.4, 62) How ofte *have* I covered and *defended* by the auctorite of me put ayens perils (that is to

seyn, put myn auctorite in peril for) the wrecche pore folk,

DEFINEN (1)

(Bo III, p.2, 70) but I *have diffyned* that blisfulnesse is the sovereyn good;

DEFOULEN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT X, 980) For understand wel that after tyme that a man *hath defouled* his baptesme by synne, if he wole come to salvacioun, ther is noon other wey but by penitence and shrifte and satisfaccioun, | (CT X, 984) for he *hath* agilt his God and *defouled* his soule.

DELIVEREN (1)

(CT X, 132) [he] with his precious blood *hath delivered* us fro the bondes of synne,

DEPARTEN ('differentiate') (1)

(Bo II, p.8, 37) Forwhy this ilke Fortune *hath departed* and uncovered to the bothe the certein visages and eek the doutous visages of thi felawes.

DEPRYVEN (1)

(Pity 69) [Crueltee] *hath depryved* yow now of your place That hyghte "Beaute apertenant to Grace."

DEREN ('harm') (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *2100) With which anon he touchide me Undir the side full softly, That he myn herte sodeynly Without any hadde spered, That yit right nought it *hath* me *dered*.

DESCLAUNDREN (2)

(CT II, 674) Thou *hast desclaundred*, giltelees, The doghter of hooly chirche in heigh presence; | (CT X, 623) unnethes may a man pleynty been accorded with hym that *hath* hym openly revyled and reprevd and *disclaundred*.

DESERVEN (23) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 1726) This is thy mortal foo, this is Arcite, That fro thy lond is banysshed on his heed, For which he *hath deserved* to be deed. | (Bo I, p.4, 131) *Hath* my studie and my kunnyng *disserved* thus? | (HF 1662) We ben everychon Folk that *han* ful trewely *Deserved* fame ryghtfully,

Also in: CT I, 1716; 1741; III, 2280; VII, 1436; 1496; 1813; 1819; VIII, 390; X, 228; Bo I, p.4, 301; II, p.5, 53; IV, p.4, 81; p.6, 289; 315; V, p.3, 160; TC V, 1387; 1722; LGW F 502 (= G 490); HF 1613; 1621||RR *7662.

DESIREN (5)

(CT X, 296) And also a man sholde sorwe namely for al that evere he *hath desired* agayn the lawe of God with parfit consentynge of his resoun, | (Bo II, p.7, 3) Thow woost wel thiselve that the covetise of mortel thynges ne hadde nevere lordschipe of me, but I *have* wel *desired* matere of thynges to done (as who seith, I desirede to have matiere of governaunce over comunalites), | (HF 1899) For wel y wiste ever yit . . . That somme folk *han desired* fame Diversly, and loos, and name.

Also in: Bo I, p.4, 153; LGW 2117 (past?).

DESPENDEN (3) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 1403) I *have* my body folily *despended*; | (CT X, 253) He shal yeven acountes . . . of alle the goodes that han be yeven hym in this present lyf, and how he *hath* hem *despended*, | (CT X, 812) and eek that he shal forgon al that he hath, save oonly that he *hath despended* in goode werkes.

DESTROUBLN ('disturb') (1)

(BD 524) I am ryght sory yif I *have* ought *Destroubled* yow out of your thought.

DESTROYEN (4) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 1330) [Juno] *hath destroyed* wel ny al the blood Of Thebes with his waste walles wyde; | (CT IV, 630) For to myne eres comth the voys

so smerte That it wel ny *destroyed hath* myn herte. | (CT V, 1251) The bittre frostes, with the sleet and reyn, *Destroyed hath* the grene in every yerd. | (CT VII, 1248) the whiche thre thinges ye *han* nat anientissed or *destroyed* hem, neither in youreself, ne in youre conseillours,

DEVIDEN (1)

(Bo I, m.6, 20) God ... ne suffreth nat the stowndes whiche that hymself *hath devyded* and constreyned to ben imedled togidre.

DEVOUREN (1)

(Anel 14) That elde ... *Hath nygh devoured* out of oure memorie.

DEVYSEN (1)

(RR 476) Alle these thingis, well avised, As I *have* you er this *devysed*, With gold and asure over all Depeynted were upon the wall.

DEYNEN (1)

(TC III, 1811) ye thus fer *han deyned* me to gyde

DIEN ☞ DYEN

DIFFINISSEN (3)

(Bo III, p.10, 8) And in this thing I trowe that we schulde first enquere for to witen, yf that any swich maner good as thilke good that thow *hast dyffinysshed* a litel herebyforn ... may be founde in the nature of thinges, | (Bo IV, p.2, 223) I *have diffinysched* a litil herbyforn that no thing is so myghti as sovereyn good. | (Bo V, p.1, 55) but yif this ne mai nat ben don, thanne is it nat possible that hap be any swich thing as I *have diffynysschid* a litil herebyforn.

DIGHTEN (3)

(CT I, 1630) Arcite is riden anon unto the toun, And on the morwe, er it were dayes light, Ful prively two harneys *hath* he *dight*, | (CT VII, 2529) and whan he it espied, Out of his dores anon he *hath* hym *dight*

Allone, | (CT IX, 312) Ne telleth nevere no man in youre lyf How that another man *hath dight* his wyf;

DISCLAUNDREN (1)

(CT X, 623) with hym that *hath* hym openly revyled and reprevd and *disclaundred*.

DISCOVEREN (1) (☞ §2.2.2)

(Bo II, p.8, 35) Wenestow thanne that thow augghtest to leeten this a litel thyng, that this aspre and horrible Fortune *hath discovered* to the the thoughtes of thi trewe freendes?

DISPONEN (‘regulate’) (1)

(Bo IV, p.6, 93) but he amynistreth in many maneris and in diverse tymes by destyne thilke same thinges that he *hath disponyd*.

DISPOSEN (1)

(CT IV, 1067) that oother feithfully Shal be myn heir, as I *have ay disposed*;

DON (128) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 1025) And whan this worthy duc *hath* thus *ydon*, He took his hoost, and hoom he rit anon With laurer crowned as a conquerour; | (CT IV, 68) Thus in delit he lyveth, and *hath doon* yoore, Biloved and drad, thurgh favour of Fortune, Bothe of his lordes and of his commune. | (CT IV, 486) But I desire, as I *have doon* bifore, To lyve my lyf with hem in reste and pees. | (CT IV, 1304) And if thou be syk. . . . , Thy verray freendes, or a trewe knave, Wol kepe thee bet than she that waiteth ay After thy good and *hath doon* many a day. | (CT VII, 94) [This goode wyf] hym saleweth, as she *hath doon* ofte. | (CT VII, 1688) I love youre honour and youre profit as I do myn owene, and evere *have doon*; | (CT VIII, 1256) And do therwith as ye *han doon* er this With that oother, | (CT X, 240) in the werkyng of the deedly synne, ther is no trust to no good werk that we *han doon* biforn; | (TC II, 10) O lady myn, that called art Cleo, Thow be my speed fro this forth, and my Muse, To ryme wel

this book til I *have do*; | (TC II, 361) [I require you] only that ye make hym bettre chiere Than ye *han doon* er this, and moore feste, | (TC III, 244) God woot . . . That I . . . *Have* evere sithen *don* my bisynesse To brynge the to joye out of dist- resse, | (TC III, 1075) For now is wikke torned into worse, And al that labour he *hath don* byforn, He wende it lost; | (LGW F 337) For thogh thou reneyed hast my lay, As other wrecches *han doon* many a day . . . , If that thou lyve, thou shalt repenten this So cruelly that it shal wel be sene! | (LGW 957) But, as I seyde, of hym and of Dido Shal be my tale, til that I *have do*. | (LGW 2710) And at a wyndow lep he fro the lofte, Whan she *hath* warned hym, and *don* hym bote.

Also in: CT I, 1083; 1326; 1874; 1905; 1913; 2676; 3050; 3079; 3567; 3728; 3739; II, 38; 171; 174; 433; 620; 676; 884; 957; III, 806; 2041; 2206; IV, 107; 149; 253; 1039; 1073; 1098; 1816; V, 601; 1333; VI, 379; VII, 1280; 1281; 1357; 1358; 1413; 1420; 1461; 1462; 1811; 1813; 1882; 3420; VIII, 24; 386; 745; 850; 866; X, 84; 87; 185; 292; 393; 398; 693; 845; 945; 964; 975 (2x); 976; 1011; 1019; 1021; Bo I, p.4, 244; II, p.2, 6; 28; p.7, 88; IV, p.2, 37; p.4, 123; 236; 265; p.6, 325; TC II, 44; III, 386; 414; 1182; 1618; IV, 261; 486; V, 1066; 1358; 1727; LGW F 369 (= G 349); F 463 (= G 453); G 266; 879; 889; 1261; 1822; 1823; 1938; 2169; 2324; 2331; 2541; BD 650; 737; 1141; HF 354; 358; 1630; 1694; 1698; 1732; 1737; 1775; PF 492; ABC 54; CompL 60; 79; RR 1063||*1941; *3569; *3596; *3989; *4075; *6471; *7057; *7532.

Note. “Have done” may be used in the imperative (cf. Davis et al., s.v. doon 10; OED, s.v. Do 17). Fischer (1992: 249) says “The perfect imperative is rare in Middle English, being restricted to the expression *have done*”. In our corpus this locution occurs exclusively in dialogue:

(CT I, 3728) “Have do,” quod she, | (PF 492) “Have don, and lat us wende!” | (RR *1941) Com at oones, and have ydoo,
In Chaucer’s English, as in Shakespeare’s, the perfect imperative is always in the affirmative (cf. Ukaji 1978: 69).

(CT I, 944) He ... *Hath* alle the bodyes on an heep *ydrawe*, And wol nat suffren hem, by noon assent, Neither to been yburyed nor ybrent, But maketh houndes ete hem in despit. | (Bo III, m.12, 67) For whoso that evere be so overcomen that he ficche his eien into the put of helle ... , al that evere he *hath drawn* of the noble good celestial he lesith it,

DRESSEN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 381) and with hir fynGRES smale A corone on hire heed they *han ydressed*, And sette hire ful of nowches grete and smale. | (CT IV, 1820) And whan the bed was with the preest yblessed, Out of the chambre *hath* every wight hym *dressed*,

DRINKEN (7) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VI, 456) Now *have* I *dronke* a draughte of corny ale, | (CT VI, 568) whan a man *hath dronken* draughtes thre, and weneth that he be at hoom in Chepe, He is in Spaigne, | (LGW 817) Whan that this lyonesse *hath dronke* hire fille, Aboute the welle gan she for to wynde,

Also in: CT VI, 862; VII, 1411; IX, 44; 61.

DRIVEN (4)

(CT III, 769) And somme *han dryve* nayles in hir brayn, Whil that they slepte, and thus they had hem slayn. | (LGW 1924) And this th'effect, that Mynos *hath so driven* Hem of Athenes that they mote hym yiven From yer to yer hire owene children dere For to be slayne right as ye shal here. | (PF 682, 692) Now welcome, somer, with thy sonne softe, That *hast* thes wintres wedres overshake, And *driven* away the longe nyghtes blake!

DULLEN (2)

(Bo I, p.4, 186) In whiche thyng sorwe *hath* noght so *dullid* my wyt that I pleyne oonly that schrewed folk apparailen felonyes ayens vertu; | (Bo I, p.6, 41) I have herd tolde it somtyme ... , but drerynesse *hath dulated* my memorie.

DWELLEN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VIII, 720) With this Chanoun I *dwelt have* seven yeer, And of his science am I never the neer. | (Bo II, p.3, 89) yet natheles the laste day of a mannes lif is a maner deth to Fortune, and also to thilke that *hath dwelt*.

DYEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VI, 37) And Phebus *dyed hath* hire tresses grete Lyk to the stremes of his burned heete.

Also in RR *6237.

ECHEN ('increase') (2)

(TC III, 1329) And if that ich, at Loves reverence, *Have* any word in *eched* for the beste, Doth therwithal right as youreselven leste. | (Bo III, p.6, 14) And yif that folk han geten hem thonk or preysynge by here dissertes, what thyng *hath* thilke pris *echid* or encresed to the conscience of wise folk, that mesuren hir good, nat by the rumour of the peple, but by the sothfastnesse of conscience?

EDIFYEN (1)

(Bo IV, p.6, 257) he seyde in Grec that 'vertues *han edified* the body of the holi man.'

EMPOYSONEN (1)

(CT III, 751) Lyvia hir housbonde, on an even late, *Empoysoned hath*, for that she was his fo;

EMPRENTEN (1)

(CT IV, 2117) This fresshe May . . . In warm wex *hath emprented* the clyket That Januarie bar of the smale wyket,

ENCLOSEN (2)

(CT X, 1039) of whiche orisouns, certes, in the orison of the Pater noster *hath Jhesu Crist enclosed* moost thynges. | (Bo III, m.11, 7) and let hym techyn his corage that he *hath enclosid* and hid in his tresors al that he compasseth or secheth fro withoute.

ENCLYNEN (2)

(CT VII, 1257) but ye *han* cast alle hire wordes in an hochepot, and *enclyned* youre herte to the moore part and to the gretter nombre, | (Bo IV, p.4, 198) And yif thow *have enclyned* thi studies to the wikkide thinges, ne seek no foreyne wrekere out of thiself;

ENCRESEN (1)

(Bo III, p.6, 14) And yif that folk han geten hem thonk or preysynge by here dissertes, what thyng *hath* thilke pris echid or *encrested* to the conscience of wise folk, that mesuren hir good, nat by the rumour of the peple, but by the sothfastnesse of conscience?

ENDUREN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VII, 1185) It may nat be . . . that where greet fyr *hath* longe tyme *endured*, that ther ne dwelleth som vapour of warmnesse.

ENGYNEN ('torture') (1)

(CT VII, 3060) And right anon, ministres of that toun *Han* hent the carter and so soore hym pyned, And eek the hostiler so soore *engyned*, That they biknewe hire wikkednesse anon,

ENQUEREN (1)

(LGW 1152) And of the dedes *hath* she more *enquered* Of Eneas, and al the story lered Of Troye, and al the longe day they tweye Entendeden to speken and to pleye;

ENSELEN (1)

(TC IV, 559) For syn my fader, in so heigh a place As parlement *hath* hire eschaunge *enseled*, He nyl for me his lettre be repeled.

ENTRIKEN ('entangle') (1)

(RR 1642) That mirrour *hath* me now *entrikened*, But hadde I first knowen in my wit The vertu and the strengthe of it, I nolde not have mused there.

ENVYROUNEN ('encircle') (1)

(Bo III, p.5, 36) And holdestow thanne hym a myghti man, that *hath envyrowned* his sydes with men of armes or sergeantz, and dredeth more hem that he maketh agast thanne thei dreden hym ...?

ERREN (11)

(CT VII, 1240) in which conseil ye *han erred* in many a sondry wise. | (CT VII, 1261) I graunte wel that I *have erred*; | (CT VII, 1353) ye *han* greetly *erred* to han cleped swich manere folk to youre conseil,

Also in: CT VII, 1241; 1244; 1246; 1249; 1252; 1254; 1255; Astr I, 21, 7.

ESEN (not Chaucer's instance; ☞ §2.2.2)

(RR *3390) Mi freend hath seid to me so wel That he me *esid hath* somdell,

ESPYEN (3) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT II, 324) The mooder of the Sowdan, welle of vices, *Espied hath* hir sones pleyn entente, How he wol lete his olde sacrifices; And right anon she for hir conseil sente, | (CT VII, 970) Thre of his olde foes *han* it *espyed*, and setten laddres to the walles of his hous, | (CT VII, 1250) They *han espied* by youre wordes to what thyng ye been enclyned;

ESTABLISSHEN (2) (cf. STABLISSEN)

(Bo III, p.10, 59) And we *han establissched* that the sovereyne good is verray blisfulnesse. | (Bo V, m.3, 4) Whiche God *hath establisschid* so gret bataile bytwixen these two sothfast or verreie thinges (that is to seyn, bytwyxn the purveaunce of God and fre wil) that thei ben singuler and dyvided ...?

ETEN (4) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 4351) For of thy percely yet they fare the wors, That they *han eten* with thy stubbel goos, | (CT III, 1774) Heere *have* I *eten* many a myrie meel. | (CT VI, 355) If that this boon be wasse in any welle, If

cow, or calf, or sheep, or oxe swelle That any worm *hath ete*, or worm ystonge, Taak water of that welle and wassh his tonge, And it is hool anon; | (CT VI, 862) In al this world ther is no creature That *eten* or dronken *hath* of this confiture Noght but the montance of a corn of whete, That he ne shal his lif anon forlete;

EXAMINEN (3) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VII, 1211) And whan ye *han examyned* youre conseil . . . , thanne shaltou considere if thou mayst parfourne it and maken of it a good ende. | (CT VII, 1222) whan ye *han examyned* youre conseil . . . , conferme it thanne sadly til it be at an ende. | (CT VII, 1254) for ye ne *han nat examyned* youre conseil in the forseide manere,

FALSEN (2)

(CT V, 627) [he] *hath* his trouthe *falsed* in this wyse. | (TC V, 1056) For I *have falsed* oon the gentileste That evere was, and oon the worthieste!

FAREN (4) (☞ §2.1.2.2)

(CT III, 1782) How *han ye fare* sith that March bigan? | (TC IV, 1094) *Hastow* nat lyved many a yer byforn Withouten hire, and *ferd* ful wel at ese? | (TC V, 466) O lufsom lady bryght, How *have ye faren* syn that ye were here? | (TC V, 1358) Yow write ich myn unresty sorwes soore, Fro day to day desiryng evere moore To knowen fully, if youre wille it weere, How ye *han ferd* and don whil ye be there;

FAYLEN (1)

(Bo I, p.5, 10) But certes, al be thow fer fro thy cuntre, thou n'art nat put out of it, but thow *hast fayled* of thi weye and gon amys.

Also in RR *5975.

FEELEN (5) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(Bo V, p.3, 19) ne certes ther ne may be noon othir dede, ne no wil, but thilke whiche that the devyne purveaunce, that ne mai nat ben disseyved, *hath felid* byforn. | (TC I, 25, 27) But ye loveres, that bathen in gladnesse, If any drope of pyte in yow be, Remembreth yow on passed

hevynesse That ye *han felt*, and on the adversite Of othere folk, and thynketh how that ye *Han felt* that Love dorste yow displese, Or ye han wonne hym with to gret an ese. | (TC IV, 984) For other thought, nor other dede also, Myghte nevere ben, but swich as purveyaunce, Which may nat ben deceyved nevere mo, *Hath feled* byforn, withouten ignoraunce. | (LGW 849) Wypfel, allas! There is no more But thou shalt feele as wel the blod of me As thou *hast felt* the bledyng of Thisbe!
Also in RR *4140.

FEREN (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *5278) If bothe the hertis Love *hath fered*, Joy and woo they shall depart,

FETTEREN (1)

(TC IV, 106) Ye *have* now kaught and *fetered* in prisoun Troians ynowe,

FEYNEN (3) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VI, 62) And of hir owene vertu, unconstreyned, She *hath* ful ofte tyme syk hire *feyned*, | (TC I, 920) And som *han feyned* ofte tyme, and told How that they waken, whan thei slepen softe; | (TC II, 997) For, pardee, God woot I have evere yit Ben redy the to serve, and to this nyght *Have* I naught *feyned*, but emforth my wit Don al thi lust, and shal with al my myght.

FICCHEN ('fix firmly') (2)

(Bo III, p.11, 218) I have greet gladnesse of the, for thou *hast fycched* in thyn herte the marke of the myddel sothfastnesse, | (Bo IV, p.2, 60) It ne recordeth me noght . . . for I *have* it gretly alwey *ficched* in my memorie.

FILLEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(PF 610) Ye, *have* the glotoun *feld* inow his paunche ['if the glotton have filled enough his belly'], Thanne are we wel!

FINDEN (24) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1; §2.4.1.2)

(CT I, 4059) He looketh up and doun til he *hath founde* The clerkes hors, ther as it stood ybounde Bihynde the mille, under a levesel; | (CT II, 1152) And whan that she hir fader *hath yfounde*, Doun on hir knees falleth she to grounde; | (CT VII, 1077) For though that he ne foond no good womman, certes, many another man hath founden many a womman ful good and trewe. | (CT VII, 2978) [many a man] *han wel founden* by experience That dremes been significaciouns . . . That folk endure in this lif present. | (CT VII, 3182) He chukketh whan he *hath a corn yfounde*, | (TC II, 240) Youre frendshipe *have I founden* evere yit. | (TC II, 1511) For I right now *have founden* o manere Of sleyghte, for to coveren al thi cheere. | (TC III, 995) And youre goodnesse *have I founde* alwey yit, Of which, my deere herte and al my knyght, I thonke it yow, | (TC IV, 1370) And I right now *have founden* al the gise, Withouten net, wherwith I shal hym hente. | (LGW 862) And at the laste hire love thanne *hath she founde*, Betynge with his heles on the grounde, Al blody, and therwithal a-bak she sterte, | (LGW 2377) [Progne] feynede hire to gon on pilgrymage To Bacus temple; and in a litel stounde Hire dombe sister sittyng *hath she founde*, Wepyng in the castel, here alone.

Also in: CT I, 3514; III, 1812; IV, 2280; V, 1270; VII, 1097; 1416; Bo I, p.6, 71; II, p.8, 47; TC II, 289; III, 1218; IV, 115; 1665; LGW 8||RR *3837; *4035; *5247; *5250.

FISSHEN (1)

(TC II, 328) If that ye don us bothe dyen Thus gilteles, than *have ye fished* fayre!

FIXEN (1)

(ABC 9) Bountee so *fix hath* in thin herte his tente That wel I wot thou wolt my socour bee;

FLEMEN ('exile') (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *3052) To Resoun thanne praieth Chastite, Whom Venus *hath flemed* over the see, That she hir doughter wolde hir lene, To kepe the roser fresh and grene.

FOLOWEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VII, 1198) Blisful is that man that *hath* nat *folwed* the conseilyng of shrewes.

FORBIDDEN (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *6616) Justinian eke, that made lawes, *Hath* thus *forboden*, by olde dawes:

FORDON (2)

(CT I, 1560) Thus *hath* youre ire oure lynage al *fordo*, Save oonly me and wrecched Palamoun, | (CT IX, 290) Allas, a thousand folk *hath* rakel ire Fully *fordoon*, and broght hem in the mire.

FORGETEN (9) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 469) Ye *have* nat that *forgeten*, | (CT VII, 1412) thou art dronken and *hast forgeten* Jhesu Crist thy creatour. | (Bo I, p.2, 22) He *hath* a litil *foryeten* hymselfe,

Also in: Bo I, p.5, 26; p.6, 79; II, p.3, 26; V, m.3, 45; 49; 55.

FORGON (3) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(TC III, 1442) For now, for thow so hiest out of Troie, *Have* I *forgon* thus hastili my joie! | (CT VII, 993) and whan thou *hast forgoon* thy freend, do diligence to gete another freend; |(CT X, 945) Thise been tho that han been wyves and *han forgoon* hire housbondes,

FORLESEN (5) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT V, 1557) Aurelius, that his cost *hath* al *forlorn*, Curseth the tyme that evere he was born: | (TC V, 23) This Troilus . . . , As man that *hath* his joies ek *forlore*, Was waytyng on his lady evere more | (LGW 2663) This Ipermystre *hath* nygh hire wit *forlorn*;

Also in: Bo II, p.2, 34; IV, p.3, 95.

FORLEFTEN ('abandon') (1)

(CT VI, 83) A thief of venysoun, that *hath forlaft* His likerousnesse and

al his olde craft, Kan kepe a forest best of any man.

FORLETEN (3) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(Bo I, p.6, 86) But I thanke the auctour and the makere of hele, that nature *hath* nat al *forleten* the. | (Bo IV, m.1, 42) But yif the liketh thanne to looken on the derknesse of the erthe that thou *hast forleten*, thanne shaltow seen that these felonus tirantz . . . schullen ben exiled fro thilke faire contre. | (Bo IV, p.4, 276) And eek the schrewes hemself, yif it were levelful to hem to seen at any clifte the vertu that thei *han forleten* . . . , they ne aughten nat . . . demen ne holden that thilke peynes weren tormentz to hem;

FORMEN (4)

(CT VI, 10) For Nature *hath* with sovereyn diligence *Yformed* hire in so greet excellence, | (TC IV, 315) In vayn fro this forth *have* ich eyen tweye *Ifourmed*, syn youre vertu is aweye. | (PF 396) The tersel egle . . . , Which I *have formed* . . . In every part as it best liketh me | (Ven 14) Therto so wel *hath formed* him Nature That I am his for ever,

FORSAKEN (6) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VI, 80) Or elles ye han falle in freletee . . . , And *han forsaken* fully swich meschaunce For everemo; | (Bo II, p.1, 72, 73) forsothe sche *hath forsaken* the, ne ther nys no man siker that sche ne *hath* nat *forsake*. | (LGW 799) For alle hire frendes—for to save hire trouthe—She *hath forsake*;

Also in: Bo I, p.4, 292; II, p.1, 68||RR *7277.

FORSWEREN (1)

(LGW 2522) And of the goddes that ye *han forswore*, Yif hire vengeaunce falle on yow therefore, Ye be nat suffisaunt to bere the peyne.

FORTHEREN (2)

(Bo II, p.4, 64) I *have* somewhat avaunced and *forthred* the . . . , yif that thow anoye nat, or forthynke nat of al thy fortune. | (LGW F 413 (= G

399)) The man *hath* served yow of his kunnyng, And *furthred* wel youre lawe in his makynge.

FOSTREN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VI, 219) O deere doghter . . . Which I *have fostred* up with swich plesaunce | (Fort 42) How many have I refused to sustene Sin I thee *fostred have* in thy plesaunce.

FRETEN ('devour') (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 2067) I saugh how that his houndes *have* hym caught And *freten* hym, for that they knewe hym naught. | (Anel 13) That elde, which that al can frete and bite, As hit *hath frenen* mony a noble storie, Hath nygh devoured out of oure memorie.

FULFILLEN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 596) The sergeant gooth, and *hath fulfild* this thyng; | (LGW 1340) I *have fulfild* of fortune al the cours.

GADEREN ('deduce') (3) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(Bo III, p.11, 227) and for as mochel as we *han gadrid* and comprehendid that good is thilke thing that is desired of alle, thanne mote we nedys confessen that good is the fyn of alle thinges. | (Bo IV, p.2, 48) Remembreth the . . . that I *have gaderid* and ischewid by forseide resouns that al the entencioun of the wil of mankynde . . . hasteth to comen to blisfulnesse. | (Bo IV, p.2, 215) For so as I *have gadrid* and proevid a litil herebyforn that evel is nawght,

GETEN (14) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 3564) But whan thou *hast*, for hire and thee and me, *Ygeten* us thise knedyng tubbes thre, Thanne shaltow hange hem in the roof ful hye, | (Bo II, p.5, 186) O precyous and ryght cleer is the blisfulnesse of mortel rychesses, that, whan thow *hast geten* it, thanne hastow lorn thi sekernesse! | (LGW 2150) [Theseus] by the gayler *geten hath* a barge, And of his wyves tresor gan it charge, And tok his wif, and ek hire sister fre, And ek the gayler,

Also in: CT VII, 1553; 1598; 1602; 1605; Bo II, m.2, 15; III, p.2, 10; 32; p.3, 17; p.6, 12; m.8, 27; p.10, 146||RR *4837; *5702; *5842; *6740.

GIDEN (1)

(TC I, 569) What cas, . . . or what aventure *Hath gided* the to sen me langwissinge, That am refus of every creature?

GIVEN ⇨ YIVEN

GRAUNTEN (11) (⇨ §2.4.1.1)

(Bo III, p.9, 51) Considere thanne . . . , as we *han grauntide* hirbyfore that he that ne hath nede of no thyng . . . , if hym nedeth ony cleernesse of renoun, | (Bo III, p.12, 11) Yif thow loke . . . first the thynges that thou *hast graunted*, it ne schal nat ben ryght fer that thow ne schalt remembren thilke thing that thou seidest that thou nystist nat. | (Bo IV, p.4, 61) but I knowe wel that it accordeth moche to the thinges that I *have grauntid* herebiforn.

Also in: CT II, 1093; IV, 1992; Bo III, p.10, 104; 236; p.12, 108; IV, p.2, 124; p.4, 96; 125||RR *3451.

GREVEN (2) (⇨ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VII, 1490) for he that oones *hath greved* thee, may another tyme releve thee and helpe. | (CT VII, 1745) for we consideren and knowelichen that we *han offended and greved* my lord Melibee out of mesure,

Also in RR *4634.

HATEN (3)

(CT X, 125) “I *have* loved thy lawe and *hated* wikkednesse and hate”; | (Bo IV, p.6, 336) [they] retornen to the fruyt of vertu, whan thei studien to ben unlyke to hem that thei *han hated*. | (HF 200) Ther saugh I thee, cruel Juno, That art daun Jupiteres wif, That *hast yhated* al thy lyf Al the Troianysse blood,

HAVEN (34) (⇨ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 2784) I *have* heer with my cosyn Palamon *Had* strif and rancour many a day agon For love of yow, and for my jalousye. | (CT I, 4184) And we *han had* an il fit al this day; | (CT IV, 1545) For, God it woot, I have wept many a teere Ful pryvely, syn I *have had* a wyf. | (CT VII, 410) and eek for beele cheere That he *hath had* ful ofte tymes heere. | (CT VII, 1184) Ne trust nat to hem to whiche thou *hast had* som tyme werre or enemytee, ne telle hem nat thy conseil. | (CT IX, 17) *Hastow had* fleen al nyght, or artow dronke? | (TC V, 756) No fors of wikked tonges janglerie, For evere on love *han* wrecches *had* envye. | (TC V, 1328) Liketh yow to witen ... how longe tyme agon That ye me lefte in aspre peynes smerte, Whan that ye wente, of which yet boote non *Have* I non *had*, | (HF 100) pray I Jesus God ... That every harm that any man *Hath had* syth the world began Befalle hym therof or he sterve, | (Mars 293) Compleyneth her that evere *hath had* yow dere;

Also in: CT I, 3087; II, 648; III, 6; 17; 473; 1632; 2176; 2186; IV, 650; V, 1589; VII, 1505; Bo I, p.4, 274; II, p.2, 24; III, p.6, 7; IV, p.2, 38; m.3, 18; TC III, 101; 1559; IV, 395; 491; V, 130; 733; LGW 1083; HF 667||RR *2669; *3090; *3561; *3789.

HELPEŃ (8) (☞ §2.4.1.2)

(CT I, 18) That hem *hath holpen* whan that they were seeke. | (TC II, 1319) Parde, God *hath holpen* us! | (LGW 2222) The goddes *han* hire *holpen* for pite,

Also in: CT IV, 2370; V, 1305; VII, 1445; TC III, 1270; LGW F 461 (holpe) (= G 451 (holpen)).

HENTEN (4) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV 676) This ugly sergeant ... *Hath hent* hire sone, that ful was of beautee. | (CT VI, 868) This cursed man *hath* in his hond *yhent* This poysoun in a box, and sith [‘afterwards’] he ran Into the nexte strete unto a man, And borwed of hym large botelles thre, | (CT VII, 3059) And right anon, ministres of that toun *Han hent* the carter and so soore hym pyned, And eek the hostiler so sore engned, That they biknewe hire wikkednesse anon, And were anhanged by the nekke-bon. | (CT VIII, 536) The Cristen folk ... With sheetes *han* the blood ful faire *yhent*.

HERBEREN ('shelter') (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *7580) *Have* I therefore *herbered* yow, To seye me shame, and eke reprove?

HEREN (75) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT III, 1675) For, pardee, ye *han* ofte tyme *herd* telle How that a frere ravysshed was to helle In spirit ones by a visioun; | (CT III, 2199) And he anon hym tolde, As ye *han herd* biforn | (CT IV, 624) Wyf, . . . , ye *han herd* er this My peple sikly berth oure mariage; | (CT IV, 1637) I *have* . . . *herd* seyde, ful yore ago, Ther may no man *han* parfite blisses two—This is to seye, in erthe and eek in hevne. | (CT V, 1142) For ofte at feestes *have* I wel *herd* seye That tregetours . . . Have maad come in a water and a barge, And in the halle rowen up and down. | (CT V, 1465) [Dorigen] toold hym al as ye *han herd* bifore; | (CT V, 1593) [Aurelius] tolde hym al, as ye *han herd* bifoore; | (CT VI, 230) [Virginus] tolde hire al the cas, as ye bifore *Han herd*; | (CT VI, 393) And whan the lewed peple is doun yset, I preche so as ye *han herd* bifoore | (CT VII, 956) though that I telle somewhat moore Of proverbes than ye *han herd* bifoore Comprehended in this litel tretys heere, | (CT VII, 1296) that seyden alle by oon accord, as ye *han herd* bifore, | (CT VII, 1964) Ful ofte in game a sooth I *have herd* seye! | (TC II, 966) As ye *han herd* byfore, al he hym tolde. | (TC II, 1452) For I *have herd* hym, o tyme and ek oother, Speke of Criseyde swich honour | (TC IV, 80) Ye *han* er this wel *herd* me yow devyse; | (TC V, 97) I *have herd* seyde ek tymes twyes twelve, 'He is a fool that wol foryete hym- selve.' | (TC V, 164) For I *have herd* er this of many a wight, Hath loved thyng he nevere saigh his lyve. | (TC V, 568) And yonder *have* I *herd* ful lustyly My dere herte laugh; | (LGW F 1 (= G 1)) A thousand tymes *have* I *herd* men telle That ther ys joy in hevne and peyne in helle, | (Anel 346) But as the swan, I *have herd* seyde ful yore, Ayeins his deth shal singen his penaunce,

Also in: CT I, 849; 3534; 3538; 4129; II, 613; 881; III, 1670; IV, 1467; 1570; V, 235; 242; 1498; 1547; VI, 836; VII, 531; 661; 960; 1674; 2420; 2633; 3038; VIII, 372; 963; 1099; X, 18; Bo I, p.6, 40; II, p.6, 67; III, p.12, 132; TC I, 197; 754; 976; II, 101; 1547; III, 111; 498; 553; IV, 377; 382;

807; 876; 1451; V, 629; 980; 1611; LGW 8; G 106; G 325; 1167; 1177; 2139; 2459; PF 618; HF 1059; 1909; Pity 51||RR *2952; *2969; *4031; *5179.

HERKNEN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT V, 403) The knotte why that every tale is toold, If it be taried til that lust be coold Of hem that *han* it after *herkned* yoore, The savour passeth ever lenger the moore, For fulsomnesse of his prolixitee [‘tediousness’]; | (CT X, 1002) And for as mucche as he ne *hath* nat in his lyf *herkned* Jhesu Crist whanne he hath spoken, he shal crie to Jhesu Crist at his laste day, and scarsly wol he herkne hym.

HETEN (‘heat’) (not Chaucer’s instance)

(RR *3709) Of brennyng fyr a blasyng brond, Wherof the flawme and hote fir *Hath* many a lady in desir Of love brought, and sore *het*,

HIDDEN (5) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(CT III, 2143) Bynethe my buttoke there shaltow fynde A thyng that I *have hyd* in pryvetee. | (CT IV, 1944) This purs *hath* she inwith hir bosom *hyd* And wente hire wey; | (LGW 2504) But tymes foure the mone *hath hid* hire face, Syn thilke day ye wente from this place, And foure tymes lyghte the world ageyn.

Also in: Bo III, m.11, 8; TC I, 618.

HIREN (1)

(CT VII, 567) An homycide therto *han* they *hyred*, That in an aleye hadde a privee place;

HOLDEN (7) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 1690) Duc Theseus the streighte wey *hath holde*. | (CT IV, 273) This roial markys ... Unto the village of the which I tolde In this array the righte wey *han holde*, | (CT IV, 1932) This fresshe May *hath* streight hir wey *yholde* With alle hir wommen unto Damyan. | (CT V, 1306) And to the temple his wey forth *hath* he *holde*, Where as he knew he sholde his lady see.

(CT IV, 828) That ye so longe of youre benignitee *Han holden* me in honour and nobleye ... That thonke I God and yow, | (CT V, 1587) *Have* I nat *holden* covenant unto thee? | (TC IV, 100) For by that cause I say no tyme er now Hire to deliver, ich *holden have* my pees;

Note. When HOLDEN is used with *wey*, the participial form is in rime position and without *-n*, (*y*)*holde*; when the verb means ‘to keep, maintain’, the participial form is with *-n*, *holden*. This tendency is not observed in the case of the past perfect.

HONOUREN (1)

(TC IV, 267) *Have* I the nought *honoured* al my lyve, As thow wel woost, above the goddes alle?

HOPEN (1)

(Bo I, p.4, 190) but I wondre gretly how that thei may performe thynges that thei *han hoped* for to doon.

HOTEN (‘promise’) (5) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 2472) I shal doon diligence That Palamon ... Shal have his lady, as thou *hast* him *hight*. | (CT V, 1323) wel ye woot what ye *han hight* | (TC II, 492) But may I truste wel to yow ... That of this thyng that ye *han hight* me here, Ye wole it holden trewely unto me?

Also in: TC IV, 445; 1627||RR *2803.

HUNTEN (1)

(LGW 981) Saw ye ... Any of my sustren walke yow besyde With any wilde bor or other best, That they *han hunted* to ... ?

HURTEN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 1777) Almost he swelte and swowned ther he stood, So soore *hath* Venus *hurt* hym with hire brond, As that she bar it daunsynge in hire hond; | (CT X, 577) or elles if a woman *have* conceyved, and *hurt* hirsself and sleeth the child, yet is it homycide.

ICCHEN (1)

(CT I, 3682) My mouth *hath icched* al this longe day;

INSPIREN (1)

(CT I, 6) Whan Zephirus eek with his sweete breeth *Inspired hath* in every holt and heeth The tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne Hath in the Ram his half cours yronne,

JAPEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 1729) Thus *hath* he *japed* thee ful many a yer,

JOYNEN (3)

(Bo III, m.2, 43) Ne noon ordenaunce is bytaken to thynges, but that that *hath joyned* the endynge to the bygynnyng, and hath makid the cours of itself stable (that it chaunge nat from his propre kynde). | (Bo IV, p.4, 196) for thow *hast joyned* thiself to the most excellent thing. | (Bo V, p.2, 42) thei helpen and encrecen the servage whiche thei *han joyned* to hemself;

JUGGEN (2)

(CT VI, 228) Thus *hath* he falsly *jugged* the to-day | (Bo III, p.10, 172) *Have* I not *jugged* . . . that blisfulnesse is good?

KEMBEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 379) Hir heris *han* they *kembd*, that lay untressed Ful rudely,

KEPEN (6) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT II, 924) And thus *hath* Crist unwemmed *kept* Custance. | (Bo II, p.1, 53) Sche *hath* rather *kept*, as to the-ward, hir propre stablenesse in the chaungynge of hirsself. | (LGW 2159) [Theseus] in his armes hath this Adryane, That of the beste *hath kept* hym from his bane;

Also in: CT III, 1056; IV, 1069; VI, 77.

KISSEN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 3852) And Absolon *hath kist* hir nether ye, | (LGW 1337) Which

cloth, whan sely Dido gan awake, She *hath* it *kyst* ful ofte for his sake,

KNITTEN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(PF 381) Nature, the vicaire of the almyghty Lord, That hot, cold, hevvy, lyght, moyst, and dreye *Hath knyt* by evene noumbres of acord, In esy voys began to speke and seye, | (PF 628) Thanne wol I don hire this favour, that she Shal han right hym on whom hire herte is set, And he hire that his herte *hath* on hire *knet*:

Also in RR *5127.

KNOWEN (19) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 2300) Goddesse of maydens, that myn herte *hast knowe* Ful many a yeer, | (CT V, 256) But, for they *han yknowen* it so fern, Therefore cesseth hir janglyng and hir wonder. | (Bo I, p.2, 24) but certes he schal lightly remembren hymself yif so be that he *hath knowen* me or now;

Also in: CT II, 955; VII, 1222; 1256; 1309; Bo I, p.3, 53; II, p.1, 8; 58; m.6, 1; m.7, 22; III, p.9, 10; 180; p.11, 50; IV, p.1, 62; V, p.3, 95; p.4, 133; p.6, 184.

KNELEN (1)

(LGW 1232) For there *hath* Eneas *ykneled* so, And told hire al his herte and al his wo, And swore so depe to hire to be trewe For wel or wo and change hire for no newe;

KYTHEN ('show') (1)

(CT VIII, 1054) Syn ye so goodlich *han* been unto me, And *kithed* ['shown', Benson's note to this word; cf. also Skeat, s.v. Kythe] to me so greet gentillesse, Somwhat to quyte with youre kyndnesse I wol yow shewe,

Note. The *kithed* above is labeled "past" by Davis et al (s.v. kythe).

LABOUREN (2)

(CT III, 1784) God woot, . . . , *laboured* I *have* ful soore, | (CT VII, 108) I trowe, certes, that oure goode man *Hath* yow *laboured* sith the nyght bigan

LEDEN (6) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 4232) This joly lyf *han* thise two clerkes *lad* Til that the thridde cok bigan to synge. | (CT IV, 2415) And on hire wombe he stroketh hire ful softe, And to his palays hoom he *hath* hire *lad*. | (LGW F 74 (= G 62)) For wel I wot that ye *han* her-biforn Of makyng ropen, and *lad* away the corn, And I come after, glenyng here and there,

Also in: CT II, 1010; VII, 2362; TC V, 394.

LENDEN (2)

(CT VIII, 1406) [this lusty game wol] maken folk for to purchacen curses Of hem that *han* hir good therto *ylent*. | (Fort 30) Graunt mercy of thyn haboundaunce That thou *hast lent* or this.

LEREN (2)

(TC III, 406) Departe it so, for wyde-wher [‘far and wide’] is wist How that ther is diversite requered Bytwixen thynges like, as I *have lered*. | (LGW 1153) And of the dedes *hath* she more enquired Of Eneas, and al the story *lered* Of Troye, and al the longe day they tweye Entendeden to speken and to pleye;

LERNEN (5) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 4122) Myn hous is streit, but ye *han lerned* art; | (Bo II, p.7, 24) Certeyn thyng es, as thou *hast leerned* by the demonstracioun of astronomye, that al the envyrounyng of the erthe aboute ne halt but the resoun of a prykke at regard of the gretnesse of hevене; | (Bo IV, p.3, 80) For thou *hast lerned* a litil herebyforn that alle thing that is and hath beyng is oon, and thilke same oon is good:

Also in: Bo II, p.7, 34; p.12, 205.

LESEN (10) (cf. LOSEN; ☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 4075) Allas, our wardeyn *has* his palfrey *lorn*. | (CT IV, 1071) for

now maystow nat seye That thou *hast lorn* noon of thy children tweye.
| (CT VII, 993) and this is moore wysdom than for to wepe for thy
freend which that thou *hast lorn*,

Also in: CT X, 224; 231; Bo II, p.5, 187; LGW 659; BD 685; 748; 1135||
RR *4327; *4502.

Note. A variant form *lore* occurs only in rime position: BD 748;
1135. This form does not occur with the past perfect.

LETEN ('allow, let') (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 4346) For many a pastee *hastow laten* blood,

LETTEN ('hinder') (1)

(TC II, 94) But I am sory that I *have* yow *let* To herken of youre book ye
preysen thus.

Also in RR *4487.

LEVEN (12) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT V, 263) Phebus *hath laft* the angle meridional, And yet ascendyng
was the beest roial, | (CT VIII, 1321) And in the pannes botme he *hath*
it *laft*; And in the water rombled to and fro, And wonder pryvely took up
also The coper teyne, | (RR 71) The briddes that *haven* [Robinson: han]
left her song,

Also in: CT V, 186; VII, 969; X, 231; Bo I, p.6, 70; II, p.1, 20; LGW F 77
(= G 65); 1260; 1330; BD 1142||RR *2546; *7283.

LEYEN (4) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 3568) And whan thou thus hast doon as I have seyde, And *hast*
oure vitaille faire in hem *yleyd*, | (LGW 2516) But here and ther in rym
I *have* it *layd*, There as me thoughte that she wel hath sayde. | (PF 554)
The water-foules *han* here hedes *leid* Togedere,

Also in TC II, 963.

LIGHTEN (1)

(LGW 2506) But tymes foure the mone *hath* hid hire face, Syn thilke

day ye wente from this place, And foure tymes *lyghte* [Skeat/Fisher: light; cf. Davis et al, s.v. lighten] the world ageyn.

Note. The *lyghte* (past form of LIGHTEN) above should be *lyght* (pp. form) since “foure tymes lygtht(e)” is coordinatede with “tymes foure . . . hid”. In Skeat’s edition the passage at issue reads:

But tymes foure the mone hath hid her face
Sin thilke day ye wente fro this place, And foure tymes *light* the world again.

LIVEN (2)

(CT X, 252) Wel may he be sory thanne, that oweth al his lif to God as longe as he *hath lyved*, | (TC IV, 1093) *Hastow* nat *lyved* many a yer byforn Withouten hire, and ferd ful wel at ese?

Also in: RR *4068; *6729.

LOOKEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 3515) I have yfounde in myn astrologye, As I *have looked* in the moone bright, That now a Monday next, at quarter nyght, Shal falle a reyn,

LOSEN (30) (cf. LESEN; ☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VIII, 743) And whan he . . . *Hath lost* his owene good thurgh jupartye, Thanne he exciteth oother folk therto, To lesen hir good as he hymself hath do. | (CT VIII, 913) Thus *han* we *lost* by tymes many a pound | (Bo II, p.1, 24) And yif thou remembrest wel the kende, the maneris, and the desserte of thilke Fortune, thou shalt wel knowe that, as in hir, thow nevere ne haddest ne *hast ylost* any fair thyng. | (LGW 1779) Doun was the sonne and day *hath lost* his lyght;

Also in: CT I, 2257; 4314; II, 31; III, 1997; IV, 2080; VII, 2910; VIII, 722; X, 232; 672; 740; 822; Bo II, p.4, 117; IV, m.3, 27; p.4, 281; V, p.6, 24; TC III, 1455; V, 420; 638; 1403; LGW 1159; BD 27; 703; 744; 1138; 1306; PF 160||RR *3843; *4919; *5116; *5130; *5341; *6988.

LOVEN (8) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT X, 562) discord, thurgh which a man forsaketh his olde freend that he *hath loved* ful longe; | (TC I, 594) I *have*, and shal, for trewe or fals report, In wrong and right *iloved* the al my lyve: | (LGW 2115) I *have yloved* yow ful many a day, Thogh ye ne wiste it nat, in my cuntre, And aldermost desired yow to se Of any erthly livynge creature.

Also in: CT VII, 153; X, 125; TC V, 165; 332; BD 478||RR *2830.

LYEN (4) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT X, 1004) and that he have comprehended in hys mynde . . . how longe that he *hath leyn* in synne; | (CT X, 1071) The firste wanhope comth of that he demeth that he *hath synned* so greetly and so ofte, and so longe *leyn* in synne, that he shal nat be saved. | (CT X, 1073) And though he never so longe *have leyn* in synne, the mercy of Crist is alwey redy to receiven hym to mercy. | (LGW 2410) With hym com many a ship and many a barge Ful of his folk, of whiche ful many oon Is wounded sore, and sek, and wo begon, As they *han* at th'asege longe *yleyn*.

MAKEN (53) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT V, 995) I seye, whan ye *han maad* the coost so clene Of rokkes that ther nys no stoon ysene, Thanne wol I love yow best of any man; | (Bo IV, p.6, 329, 330) For whiche thing thilke sovereyne purveaunce *hath makid* ofte tyme fair myracle, so that schrewes *han makid* schrewes to ben gode men. | (TC I, 251) And ofte it *hath* the cruel herte apesed, And worthi folk *maad* worthier of name, And causeth moost to dreden vice and shame. | (TC I, 911) How often *hastow maad* this nyce japes, And seyde that Loves servantz everichone Of nycete ben verray Goddes apes; | (TC III, 303) O tonge, allas, so often here-byforn *Hath mad* ful many a lady bright of hewe Seyde 'Weilaway, the day that I was born!' | (LGW F 550 (= G 540)) But now I charge the upon thy lyf That in thy legende thou make of thys wyf Whan thou *hast* other smale *ymaad* before; | (RR 1065) These losengers thorough flaterye *Have made* [Robinson: And make] folk ful straunge be,

Also in: CT I, 1605; 1730; 1907; 2104; II, 693; IV, 2388; V, 1144; 1535; VI, 20; 143 (past?); 382; VII, 386; 1255; 2699; VIII, 445; 479; 484; 732;

868; 875; 971; Bo II, m.1, 14; p.5, 73; III, m.2, 44; IV, p.6, 360; TC I, 553; III, 258; 839; IV, 477; 878; LGW F 415 (= G 403); F 426 (= G 416); F 430 (= G 420); F 458 (= G 448); F 550 (= G 540); G 264; 669; 1146; 1248; 2302; BD 577; HF 653; 2016; ABC 140; Venus 59; LSt 19||RR *1780; *3873; *4278; *4279 (past?); *5993.

MARKEN (1)

(CT IV, 556) But sith I thee *have marked* with the croys Of thilke Fader ... Thy soule, litel child, I hym bitake,

MARYEN (1)

(CT VII, 2271) But atte laste hir freendes *han hire married* To Odenake, a prynce of that contree,

MESUREN (1)

(CT X, 776) they shul receyven by the same mesure that they *han measured* to povre folk the mercy of Jhesu Crist, but if it be amended.

METEN ('dream') (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VII, 2926) Certes this dreem, which ye *han met* to-nyght, Cometh of the greete superfluytee of youre rede colera,

METEN ('meet') (2)

(CT I, 2624) Ful ofte a day *han* thise Thebanes two Togydre *y met*, and wroght his felawe wo; | (BD 596) For whoso seeth me first on morwe May seyn he *hath met* with sorwe, For y am sorwe, and sorwe ys y.

MISBEDEN ('threaten') (1)

(CT I, 909) Or who *hath yow mysboden* or offended?

MISBEREN (1)

(CT VII, 1877) Al be it so that of youre pride and heigh presumpcioun and folie ... , ye *have mysborn* yow and trespassed unto me,

MISDON (1)

(CT X, 85) Penitence is the waymentynge of man that . . . pyneth hymself for he *hath mysdoon*.

MISGON ☞ §2.1.2.3

MISHAPPEN ☞ §2.1.2.3

MISSAYN (2)

(CT IV, 2391) if I *have myssayd*, God helpe me so, as I am yvele apayd.
| (CT IX, 353) But he that *hath mysseyd*, I dar wel sayn, He may by no wey clepe his word agayn.

MISTAKEN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VII, 1818) For we *han* so greetly *mystaken* us, and han offended and agilt in swich a wise agayn youre heigh lordshipe that trewely we han disserved the death. | (BD 525) Forgive me, yif I *have mystake*.

MISWENDEN ☞ §2.1.2.3

MOEVEN (2)

(Bo IV, p.2, 6) but I preie the oonly this, that thow ne tarie nat to telle me thilke thinges that thou *hast moevid*. | (LGW F 344 (= G 320)) God, ryght of youre curtesye, Ye moten herken yf he can repleye Agayns al this that ye *have* to him *meved*.

MORDREN (2)

(CT III, 801) And for my land thus *hastow mordred* me? | (CT IV, 725) of a crueel herte he wikkedly, For he a povre womman wedded hadde, *Hath mordred* bothe his children prively.

NEMPEN ('name') (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *6224) What folk *hast* thou us *nempned* heere?

NIMEN (8) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(TC III, 606) now whan that she was come, With alle joie and alle

frendes fare Hire em anon in armes *hath* hire *nome*, | (TC V, 190) Hire fader *hath* hire in his armes *nome*, And twenty tyme he kiste his doughter sweete, And seyde, “O deere doughter myn, welcome!” | (LGW 2343) This Tereus is to his wif ycome, And in his armes *hath* his wif *ynome*, And pitously he wep and shok his hed, And swor hir that he fond hir sister ded;

Also in: TC V, 514; LGW 822; 1018; 1777; PF 38||RR *5404.

NOMBREN (1)

(Bo III, p.12, 54) *Have* I nat *nombrid* and seid ... that suffisaunce is in blisfulnesse ...?

NORISSHEN (4) (☞ §2.2.2)

(CT VII, 1445) I ... take heede how Fortune *hath norissed* me fro my childhede | (CT VII, 1453) And where as ye seyn that Fortune *hath norissed* yow fro youre childhede, | (Bo III, p.1, 8) O thow that art sovereyne confort of angwyssous corages, so thow *hast* remounted and *noryssched* me with the weyghte of thi sentences and with delyt of thy syngynge: | (Bo III, m.10, 22) Al that liketh yow here, and exciteth and moeveth your thoughtes, the erthe *hath norysschid* it in his lowe caves.

OFFENDEN (3) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 909) Or who *hath* yow mysboden or *offended*? | (CT VII, 1745) for we consideren and knowelichen that we *han offended* and greved my lord Melibee out of mesure, | (CT VII, 1818) For we han so greetly mystaken us, and *han offended* and agilt in swich a wise agayn youre heigh lordshipe that trewely we han disserved the deeth.

OPEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 2152) This Damyan thanne *hath opened* the wyket,

OPPRESSEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(Bo I, p.2, 15) but it semeth me that astonynge *hath oppreside* the.

ORDEYNEN (4) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT II, 415) The tyme cam, this olde Sowdanesse *Ordeyned hath* this feeste of which I tolde, | (CT X, 778) there as God *hath ordeyned* that a regne or a contree is suffisaunt to hymself, | (Bo I, p.4, 264) Ne it was noght convenient ne no nede to taken help of the fouleste spiritz—I, that thow *hast ordeyned* and set in swiche excellence, that thou makedest me lyk to God. | (Bo IV, p.6, 106) and the moevable bond and the temporel ordenaunce of thinges whiche that the devyne symplicite of purveaunce *hath ordeyned* to doone, that is destyne.

Also in RR *4285.

OVERCOMEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(LGW 2019) And whan that he this beste *hath overcome*, Thanne may he flen away out of this drede,

OVERSHAKEN (3)

(PF 681, 691)) Now welcome, somer, with thy sonne softe, That *hast* thes wintres wedres *overshake*, And driven away the longe nyghtes blake!

Also in PF 686.

OVERSPREDDEN (1)

(CT I, 2871) And after this, Theseus *hath ysent* After a beere, and it al *overspradde* [Robinson: over spradde] With clooth of gold, the richeste that he hadde.

OVERTHROWEN (1)

(TC V, 1460) If thow a soth of this desirest knowe, Thow most a fewe of olde stories heere, To purpos how that Fortune *overthrowe Hath* lordes olde,

PARFORMEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 1795) *Parfourned hath* the sonne his ark diurne;

PASSEN (1) (☞ §2.1.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(Anel 82) And for to speken of her stidfastnesse, She *passed hath*

Penelope and Lucesse;

Also in RR *3979.

PAYEN (7) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 1802) Thus *hath* hir lord, the god of love, *ypayed* Hir wages and hir fees for hir servyse! | (CT I, 4315) Thus is the proude millere wel ybete, And *hath* ylost the gryndynge of the whete, And *payed* for the soper everideel Of Aleyn and of John, that bette hym weel. | (LGW 1391) For evere as tendre a capoun et the fox, Thow he be fals and hath the foul betrayed, As shal the good-man that therfore *hath payed*.

Also in: CT V, 1618; VII, 366; 398; 399.

PAYNTEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VI, 34) right with swich peynture She *peynted hath* this noble creature, Er she were born, upon hir lymes fre,

PERCEN (1)

(CT I, 2) Whan that Aprill with his shoures soote The droghte of March *hath perced* to the roote, And bathed every veyne in swich licour Of which vertu engendred is the flour;

PERVERTEN (1)

(Bo II, p.1, 13) Sche (that ilke Fortune) oonly, that is chaunged, as thow feynest, to the-ward, *hath perverted* the cleernesse and the estat of thi corage.

PIKEN (1)

(CT III, 44a) Of whiche I *have pyked* out the beste,

PILEN ('rob') (1)

(LGW 1262) Where sen ye oon that he ne *hath* laft his leef, Or ben unkynde, or don hire som myscheef, Or *piled* hire, or bosted of his dede?

PLAYEN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(TC II, 1240) But ye [Criseyde] *han played* tirant neigh to longe, And

hard was it youre herte for to grave [‘engrave’]. | (BD 618) For fals Fortune *hath pleyd* a game Atte ches with me, allas the while!

Also in RR *7528.

PLESEN (2) (☞ §2.2.2)

(CT I, 2446) That he ful soone *hath plesed* every part.

PLEYNEN (‘complain’) (not Chaucer’s instance; ☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CompA *76) And, though that I *have pleynd* unto you here, Foryiveth it me, myn owne lady dere.

PLYGHTEN (‘pluck’) (2)

(CT III, 790) Al sodeynly thre leves *have I plyght* Out of his book, | (CT VII, 2049) The gates of the toun he *hath* up *plyght*,

PLYGHTEN (‘pledge’) (4)

(CT VI, 702) Togidres *han* thise thre hir trouthes *plight* To lyve and dyen ech of hem for oother, | (TC IV, 1610) Now for the love of Cinthia the sheene, Mistrust me nought thus causeles, for routhe, Syn to be trewe I *have* yow *plight* my trouthe. | (LGW 2466) For unto Phillis *hath* he sworn thus, To wedden hire, and hire his trouthe *plyghte*, | (Anel 227) And he ayein his trouthe *hath* me *plyght* For evermore, his lady me to kythe.

PRAYEN (4) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 2108) For every wight that lovede chivalrye ... *Hath preyed* that he myghte been of that game; | (CT VII, 58) [this marchant] *preyed hath* daun John That he sholde come to Seint-Denys to pleye With hym and with his wyf a day or tweye, | (CT VIII, 166) And if that a verray angel bee, Thanne wol I doon as thou *hast prayed* me; | (LGW 2533) To God ... preye I, and ofte *have prayed*, That it mot be the grettest prys of alle

PRECHEN (not Chaucer’s instance; ☞ §2.4.1.1)

(RR *5135) Thus taught and *preched hath* Resoun,

Also in RR *6377.

PRESENTEN (2)

(CT VII, 1738) but we oghte requeren it with greet contricioun and humylitee, ye of youre grete goodnesse *have presented* unto us. | (LGW 1297) And ek Mercurye his message *hath presented*, That nedes to the conquest of Ytaylor My destine is sone for to sayle;

PREVEN (8) (☞ §2.2.2)

(CT VII, 1114) and eek for I *have* assayed and *proved* thy grete sapience and thy grete trouthe, I wol governe me by thy conseil in alle thyng. | (Bo IV, p.2, 216) For so as I *have* gadrid and *proevid* a litil herebyform that evel is nawght, | (HF 839) Yif hyt awaye be therfroo—As I *have* before *proved* the—Hyt seweth [‘follows’], every soun, parde, Moveth kyndely to pace Al up into his kyndely place.

Also in: Bo III, p.12, 122; TC I, 239; HF 814; 854; 874.

PREYSEN (1)

(LGW 1524) This Ercules *hath* so this Jason *preysed* That to the sonne he hath hym up areysed, That half so trewe a man there nas of love Under the cope of heven that is above;

PRIKEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VIII, 584) Faste *have* I *priked* ... for youre sake,

PROFREN (‘offer’) (1)

(CT IV, 152) But ther as ye *han profred* me to-day To chese me a wyf, I yow relese That choys and prey yow of that profre [‘petition’] cesse.

PROVERBEN (‘speak in a proverb’) (1)

(TC III, 293) For which thise wise clerkes that ben dede *Han* evere yet [Robinson: thus] *proverbed* to us yonge, That ‘firste vertu is to kepe tonge.’

PUBLISSHEN (1)

(CT IV, 749) thus seyde the bulle, The which they *han publiced* atte fulle.

PURCHACEN (1)

(Bo I, p.4, 103) Is it nat thanne inoghe isene that I *have purchaced* grete discordes ayens myself?

Also in MercB *17.

PURGEN (1)

(CT VIII, 181) And whan that he *hath purged* yow fro synne, Thanne shul ye se that angel, er ye twynne.

PURPOSEN ('intend, state') (4)

(CT IV, 706) Right so this markys fulliche *hath purposed* To tempte his wyf as he was first disposed. | (Bo III, p.12, 53) But let us loken the thinges that we *han purposed* herebyforn. | (Astr II, 44, 22) and that is thy mene mote, for the laste meridian of the December, for the same yer which that thou *hast purposed*. | (Astr II, 44, 44) and the residue that levethe is thy mene mote for the laste meridie of December, the whiche thou *hast purposid*:

PUTTEN (14) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 471) I seye, Grisilde, this present dignitee, In which that I *have put* yow, | (TC II, 613) Se, Troilus *Hath* right now *put* to flighte the Grekes route! | (Bo I, m.4, 2) Whoso it be that is cleer of vertue, sad and wel ordynat of lyvyng, that *hath put* under fote the proude wierdes, and loketh upryght upon either fortune, he may holden his chere undesconfited.

Also in: CT IV, 1884; 1939; Bo I, p.4, 168; p.5, 13; II, p.1, 94; p.7, 88; IV, m.7, 38; LGW F 461 (= G 451); 1613; Pity 54; Bo I, p.4, 57 (put of)|| RR *3221; WUnc *2.

PYNEN ('torture') (1)

(CT VII, 3059) And right anon, ministres of that toun *Han* hent the carter and so soore hym *pyned*, And eek the hostiler so soore engnyed,

That they biknewe hire wikkednesse anon,

QUAKEN (1)

(CT VII, 2641) For al this world for drede of hym *hath quaked*.

QUYTEN (4)

(CT I, 4324) Thus *have* I *quyt* the Millere in my tale. | (CT V, 673) In feith, Squier, thow *hast* thee wel *yquit* And gentilly. | (TC II, 242) I am to no man holden, trewely, So muche as yow, and *have* so litel *quyt*; | (LGW F 523 (= G 511)) Wel *hath she quyt* me myn afeccion That I have to hire flour, the dayesye.

RAKEN ('cover by raking') (1)

(CT VII, 2133) And whan he saugh noon oother remedye, In hoote coles he *hath* hymselfen *raked*,

RECEYVEN (12) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT V, 833) So longe han they confortid hire til she *Receyved hath*, by hope and by resoun, The emprentyng of hire consolacioun, Thurgh which hir grete sorwe gan aswage; | (CT X, 99) Another defaute is this: that men doon deedly synne after that they *han receyved* baptesme. | (ABC 35) Evere hath myn hope of refut been in thee, For heer-biforn ful ofte in many a wyse *Hast* thou to misericorde *receyved* me.

Also in: CT III, 2180; VII, 1394; X, 466; Bo II, p.2, 11; III, p.10, 77; IV, p.4, 258; TC II, 1382; LGW 2211; HF 339||RR *6311.

RECOVEREN (1)

(PF 688) Wel han they cause for to gladen ofte, Sith ech of hem *recovered hath* hys make, Ful blissful mowe they synge when they wake:

REDEN (3) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT III, 765) Of latter date, of wyves *hath* he *red* That somme han slayn hir housbondes in hir bed, | (CT VII, 3312) I *have* wel *rad* in 'Daun Burnel the Asse,' . . . how that ther was a cok, | (TC III, 192) For-why

this folk wol comen up anon, That *han* the lettre *red*;

Also in RR *7692.

REFUSEN (1)

(Fort 41) How many *have* I *refused* to sustene Sin I thee fostred have in thy plesaunce.

RELESEN (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *3440) But all his wratthe yit at laste He *hath relese*d ['let go'],

RELEVEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(LGW F 128) Now *hath* th'atempre sonne all that *releved*, That naked was, and clad him new agayn.

Note. In Version G the passage at issue is in the past perfect:

(LGW G 118) Now *hadde* th'atempre sonne all that *releved*,
And clothed hym in grene al newe ageyn.

REMEMBREN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(Bo I, p.5, 51) And of the honestete or of the falsnesse of thynges that ben opposed ayens the, thow *hast remembred* thynges that ben knowen to alle folk.

REMOUNTEN ('comfort') (1)

(Bo III, p.1, 8) O thow that art sovereyne confort of angwysous corages, so thow *hast remounted* and norysshed me with the weyghte of thi sentences and with delyt of thy syngynge:

RENEYEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(LGW F 336 (= G 314)) For thogh thou *reneyed hast* my lay, As other wrecches han doon many a day, By Seynt Venus that my moder ys, If that thou lyve, thou shalt repenten this So cruelly that it shal wel be sene!

RENNEN (2) (☞ §2.1.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 8) Whan Zephirus eek with his sweete breeth Inspired hath in every holt and heeth The tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne *Hath* in the Ram his half cours *yronne*, | (CT II, 2) Oure Hooste saugh wel that the brighte sonne The ark of his artificial day *hath ronne* The ferthe part, and half an houre and moore,

REPEN (1)

(LGW F 74 (= G 62)) For wel I wot that ye *han* her-biforn Of makyng *ropen*, and lad away the corn,

REPRESSEN (1)

(LGW 2591) *Repressed hath* Venus his crewel craft, That, what with Venus and other oppressioun Of houses, Mars his venim is adoun,

REPREEN (1)

(CT X, 623) unnethes may a man pleynly been accorded with hym that *hath* hym openly revyled and *repreved* and disclaundred.

REQUIREN (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *5277) for that he May not fulfille his volunte Fully, as he *hath requered*.

RESISTEN (1)

(Bo I, p.4, 54) How ofte *have* I *resisted* and withstonden thilke man that highte Conigaste,

RESTEN (1)

(CT IV, 1926) *Have* I no thyng but *rested* me a lite;

Note. *Rested* in the following instance is adjectival since it is coordinated with an adjective *idel*:

(Bo III, m.2, 15) yif that hir horrible mouthes ben bybled . . . , hir corage of tyme passed, that hath ben idel and *rested* [i.e., 'dormant'], rephereth ayen, and thei roren grevously,

REVEN (5) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT V, 1017) But sodeynly bigonne revel newe Til that the brighte sonne
 loste his hewe; For th'orisonte *hath reft* the sonne his lyght | (Bo I, m.5,
 24) so that Zephirus, the debonere wynd, bryngeth ayen in the first
 somer sesoun the leeves that the wynd that hyghte Boreas *hath reft*
 away in autumpne . . . ; | (TC V, 1260) O trust, O feyth, O depe
 assurance! Who *hath* me *reft* Criseyde, al my plesauce?

Also in: TC V, 1258; LGW 2325.

REVYLEN (1)

(CT X, 623) unnethes may a man pleynty been accorded with hym that
hath hym openly *revyled* and reprevd and disclaundred.

ROWEN (1)

(TC I, 969) And sith that God of Love hath the bistowed In place digne
 unto thi worthinesse, Stond faste, for to good port *hastow rowed*;

SALEWEN ('salute') (1)

(CT V, 1310) And whan he saugh his tyme, anon-right hee, With dredful
 herte and with ful humble cheere, *Saledwed hath* his sovereyn lady deere:

SAVEN (2)

(CT III, 1092) I am she which that *saved hath* youre lyf, | (CT IV, 1089)
 Grauntmercy, lord, God thanke it yow . . . That ye *han saved* me my
 children deere!

SAYN (85) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 313) and specially therefore Tel me that poynt that I *have seyde*
 bifore, | (CT IV, 645) I *have . . . seyde* thus, and evere shal: | (CT IV, 791)
 He on a day in open audience Ful boistously ['rudely'] *hath seyde* hire
 this sentence: | (CT V, 540) In swich a gyse as I *have seyde* above, | (CT
 VII, 1169) But looke alwey that thy conseilours have thilke thre
 condicions that I *have seyde* bifore | (CT VII, 1222; 1313; 1353) as I
have seyde biforn/bifore, | (CT VII, 1470) tho two auctoritees that ye *han*
seyde above been oonly understonden in the juges, | (CT VII, 1495; 1716)

as I *have seyde* yow heer-biforn/heer biforn | (CT X, 820) Manye . . . goon, of whiche I *have ofte seyde* to yow, | (Bo III, p.4, 89) And, as I *have seyde* a litel herebyforn, that thilke thyng that hath no propre beute of hymself resceyveth somtyme prys and schynynge, and somtyme leeseth it, by the opinyoun of usaunces. | (TC III, 1326) though I kan nat tellen al Yet *have I seyde* . . . and shal In every thyng, al holly his sentence; | (TC IV, 29) as I *have seyde* er this, | (TC V, 1276) *Have I nat seyde* er this, That dremes many a maner man bigile?

Also in: CT I, 3567; II, 49; 51; 52; III, 1273; 1786; 1789; 2245; IV, 1072; 1522; 1566; V, 601; 1464; VII, 91; 551; 705; 1096; 1211; 1268; 1573; 2768; 2787; VIII, 920; IX, 351; 357; X, 410; 770; 795; 918; 1082; Bo I, p.5, 47; 48; III, p.2, 20; p.10, 67; 103; p.12, 54; IV, p.1, 10; p.7, 2; V, p.5, 14; TC I, 611; 912; 942; II, 44; 382; 870; III, 331; 689; 1814; V, 1769; LGW F 79 (= G 67); F271; F332; G269; 2072; 2140; 2517; 2662; BD 1035; 1145; HF 109; 883; 2008; 2052; Anel 246; 318; CompL 60; Scog 15; Astr I, 16, 14; II, 3, 2||CompA *69; RR *2344; *2388; *2724; *3389; *7597; *7646.

See also the note to WARNEN in this section.

SCORNEN (1)

(CT VII, 1035) the mooste partie of that compaignye *han scorned* this olde wise man, and bigonnen to make noyse,

SEEN (24) (☞ §2.4.1.1; §2.4.1.2)

(CT I, 1665) [The destinee] executeth in the world over al The purveiaunce that God *hath seyn* biforn, | (CT II, 645) *Have ye nat seyn* somtyme a pale face, Among a prees, of hym that hath be lad Toward his deeth, | (CT II, 1078) And swich a blisse is ther bitwix hem two That . . . Ther is noon lyk that any creature *Hath seyn* or shal, | (CT IV, 2404) Right so a man that longe hath blynd ybe, Ne may nat sodeynly so wel yse, First whan his sighte is newe come ageyn, As he that *hath* a day or two *yseyn*. | (Bo I, p.4, 205) But al hadde it ben levelful that felonous folk . . . han wilned to gon destroyen me, whom they *han seyn* alwey bataylen and defenden gode men and eek al the senat, yit hadde I nought disservyd of the faderes . . . that they schulden wilne my

destruccion. | (Bo V, p.3, 12) thanne moot it nedes ben that alle thinges betyden the whiche that the purveaunce of God *hath seyn* byforn to comen. | (Bo V, p.3, 32) For certes thei seyn that thing nis nat to comen for that the purveaunce of God *hath seyn* byforn that it is to comen, but rathir the contrarie; | (TC IV, 998) They seyn right thus, that thyng is nat to come For that the prescience *hath seyn* byfore That it shal come; | (RR 612) But they ben ful of sorowe and woo, As thou *hast seen* a while agoo.

Also in: CT II, 172; 624; VII, 1163; Bo II, p.1, 49; III, p.10, 1; IV, p.1, 59; TC I, 628; III, 1060; IV, 962; 977; V, 1599; LGW 11; 1271; Astr Prol. 21; RR 870||*2921; *3805; *4461; *5571.

SEKEN (8) (☞ §2.4.1.1) (cf. THURGH-SEKEN)

(Bo V, p.4, 6) and thou thiself *hast ysought* it mochel and outrely and longe. | (HF 626) [thou] never-the-lesse hast set thy wit . . . To make bookys, songes, dytees, In ryme or elles in cadence, As thou best canst, in reverence Of Love and of hys servantes eke, That *have* hys servyse *soght*, and seke; | (Pity 1) Pite, that I *have sought* so yore agoo With herte soore and ful of besy peyne, That in this world was never wight so woo Withoute deth

Also in: CT VII, 590; Bo II, p.4, 178; Pity 33; 93; Anel 290||RR *2114; *3662; *4094.

SELEN (1)

(TC IV, 293) Syn ye Criseyde and me *han* fully brought Into youre grace, and bothe oure hertes *seled*, How may ye suffre, allas, it be repeled [‘repealed’]?

SELLEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 4347) And many a Jakke of Dove *hastow soold* That hath been twies hoot and twies coold.

SEMEN (1)

(CT V, 1146) Somtyme *hath semed* come a grym leoun;

SENDEN (19) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 395) God *hath* swich favour *sent* hire of his grace That it ne semed nat by liklynesse That she was born and fed in rudenesse, | (CT II, 1108) I am youre doghter Custance . . . That whilom ye *han sent* unto Surrre. | (CT IX, 204) And so bifel, whan Phebus was absent, His wyf anon hath for hir lemman sent. | (TC V, 280) And Phebus with his rosy carte soone Gan after that to dresse hym up to fare Whan Troilus *hath sent* after Pandare.

Also in: CT I, 2870; 3666; II, 960; 1041; III, 150; IV, 1352; 2220; V, 144; 838; VII, 57; 2122; 3159; LGW 1124; 1896; HF 612||RR *3608.

SERVEN (8)

(CT I, 3086) Syn he *hath served* yow so many a yeer, And had for yow so greet adversitee, | (TC V, 1721) But trewely, Criseyde, swete may, Whom I *have* ay with al my myght *yerved*, That ye thus doon, I have it nat deserved. | (PF 476) A man may serven bet and more to pay In half a yer, although it were no moore, Than som man doth that *hath served* ful yoore.

Also in: CT VIII, 389; TC V, 1389; LGW F 412 (= G 398); PF 453; HF 616.

SETTEN (16) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(HF 620) [thou] never-the-lesse *hast set* thy wit . . . To make bookys, songes, dytees, In ryme or elles in cadence, | (Astr II, 3, 9) And whan thou *hast set* the degre of thy sonne upon as many almykanteras of height as was the altitude of the sonne taken by thy rule, ley over thi label upon the degre of the sonne;

Also in: CT I, 744; 3143; II, 440; V, 138; 487; VIII, 1309; IX, 162; X, 153; Bo I, p.4, 264; TC III, 36; Anel 52; CompL 15; RR 1620; 1699||*2077; *2615; *3246; *3710; *4204; *4463; *6007; *7212.

SHAPEN (7) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT II, 142) Now fil it that the maistres of that sort *Han shapen* hem to Rome for to wende; | (CT II, 951) Forth gooth hir ship thurghout the narwe mouth Of Jubaltare and Septe . . . Til Cristes mooder . . . *Hath*

shapen . . . To make an ende of al hir hevynesse. | (Anel 243) My destinee *hath shapen* hit so ful yore;

Also in: CT I, 4179; II, 249; VIII, 1080; LGW 2581.

SHEDEN (1)

(Bo III, m.7, 4) aftir that the be *hath sched* hise agreable honyes, he fleeth away, and styngeth the hertes of hem that ben ysmyte, with bytynge overlonge holdynges.

SHENDEN ('ruin') (1)

(RR 1658) Whanne I was with this rage hent, That caught *hath* many a man and *shent*, Toward the roser gan I go;

Also in RR *4545.

SHETTEN (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *2767) And so for lovers, in her wenyng, Whiche Love *hath shit* ['shut up'] in his prisoun, Good hope is her salvacioun.

SHEWEN (33) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1; §2.4.1.2)

(CT IV, 102) Yet for as mucche as ye . . . *Han* alwey *shewed* me favour and grace I dar the bettre aske of yow a space Of audience to shewen oure requeste, | (CT VII, 1479) in manye thynges that I *have shewed* yow er this | (Bo III, p.10, 31; V, p.6, 1) as I *have schewid* a litel herebyforn / *schewed* a litel herebyforne | (Bo IV, p.1, 61) And for thou hast seyn the forme of the verray blisfulnesse by me that *have* whilom *yschewid* it the, | (Bo IV, p.2, 246) And yit to proeve this conclusioun ther helpeth me this, that I *have schewed* herebyforn, that alle power is to be noumbred among thinges that men oughten requere;

Also in: CT IV, 1506; VII, 1200; 1249; 1648; 1673; 1735; Bo II, p.1, 61; III, p.5, 43; p.9, 1; 128; 168; p.10, 53; 134; 245; p.11, 16; 201; p.12, 67; 186; IV, p.2, 48; 249; p.3, 12; p.4, 168; 210; p.6, 174; TC V, 1251; PF 44; Astr I, 17, 19||RR *3625.

SHRICHEN (1)

(TC V, 320) The owle ek, which that hette Escaphilo, *Hath* after me

shright al thise nyghtes two.

SHRYVEN ('confess') (1) (☞ §2.2.2)

(TC II, 579) Now *have* I plat ['flatly'] to yow myn herte *shryven*.

Also in RR *6377.

SIKEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(RR 1641) But I may say, in sory houre Stode I to loken or to poure, For sithen *have* I sore *siked*.

SINNEN (7)

(CT X, 96) The firste is that if a man be baptized after that he *hath synned*. | (CT X, 969) The fifthe circumstaunce is how manye tymes that he *hath synned*, . . . , and how ofte that he hath falle. | (CT X, 1071) The firste wanhope comth of that he demeth that he *hath synned* so greetly and so ofte . . . that he shal nat be saved.

Also in: CT X, 104; 962; 976; 1017.

SITTEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 1452) In derknesse and horrible and strong prisoun These seven yeer *hath seten* Palamoun Forpyned, what for wo and for distresse.

SLAYN (30) (☞ §2.4.1.1; §2.4.1.2)

(CT I, 1002) Whan that this worthy duc, this Theseus, *Hath* Creon *slayn* and wonne Thebes thus, Stille in that feeld he took al nyght his reste, And dide with al the contree as hym leste. | (CT V, 1365) *Hath* ther nat many a noble wyf er this, And many a mayde, *yslayn* hirsself, allas, Rather than with hir body doon trespas? | (CT VI, 686) for he *hath slayn* this yeer . . . Bothe man and womman, child, and hyne, and page; | (CT VII, 2396) And for no thyng but for thy chivalrie They in thy bed *han slayn* thee by the morwe.

Also in: CT II, 165; 301; III, 766; 800; 2023; 2032; IV, 38; V, 878; 1197; 1405; 1410; 1420; VI, 679; 881; VII, 2518; 2683; 3373; IX, 265; TC III, 1459; IV, 1193; 1198; LGW 836; 837; 2149; BD 26; Anel 312.

SNIBBEN ('chide') (1)

(CT V, 688) I *have my sone snybbed*, and yet shal.

SOJOURNEN (3)

(CT II, 148) *Sojourned han* thise merchantz in that toun A certein tyme,
as fil to hire plesance. | (CT II, 536) And Custance *hath* so longe
sojourned there, | (Mars 78) *Sojourned hath* this Mars of which I rede
In chambre amynd the paleys prively A certein tyme,

SOROWEN (2)

(Bo I, p.5, 59) and thow *hast sorwyd* for my blame, | (TC IV, 883) For
which we *han* so *sorwed*, he and I, That into litel bothe it hadde us
slawe;

SOTILEN ('subtly arrange') (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *4871) Thus *hath sotilled* dame Nature;

SOWEN (4)

(CT VI, 375) He that his hand wol putte in this mitayn, He shal have
multipliynge of his grayn, Whan he *hath sown*, be it whete or otes, |
(CT VIII, 194) The fruyt of thilke seed of chastitee That thou *hast sowe*
in Cecile, taak to thee! | (HF 1488) And next hym on a piler was, Of
coper, Venus clerk Ovide, That *hath ysowen* wonder wide The grete god
of Loves name. | (RR 1617) For Venus sone, daun Cupido, *Hath sown*
there of love the seed, The help ne lith there noon, ne red, So cerclith it
the welle aboute.

SOWLEN ('endow with a soul') (1)

(CT VIII, 329) The Goost ... *Hath sowled* hem,

SPAREN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT X, 315) For soothly oure sweete Lord Jhesu Crist *hath spared* us so
debonairly in oure folies

SPEDEN (2) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 4205) He auntred ['ventured'] hym, and *has* his nedes *sped* ['accomplished his purpose'], | (CT VII, 638) And after that, the abbot with his covent *Han sped* hem for to burien hym ful faste;

SPEKEN (10) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VI, 589) And now that I *have spoken* of glotonye, Now wol I yow deffenden ['forbid'] hasardrye. | (TC IV, 1108) I *have* with hire *yspoke* and longe ybe, So as acorded was bitwixe us tweye; | (Scog 23) Thow drowe in skorn Cupide eke to record Of thilke rebel word that thow *hast spoken*, For which he wol no lenger be thy lord.

Also in: CT II, 58; IV, 485; VII, 1266; X, 873; 1002; LGW 919; RR 1629.

SPENDEN (3) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT III, 1950) As help me Crist, as I in fewe yeres, *Have spent* upon diverse manere freres Ful many a pound; | (Bo V, p.4, 22) The whiche resoun and cause of difficulte I schal assaye at the laste to schewe and to speden, whan I *have* first *ispendid* and answerd to the resouns by whiche thou art ymoeved. | (LGW 1125) And al is payed, what that he *hath spent*.

Also in: RR *5117; *5130.

SPOUSEN (1)

(CT IV, 386) This markys *hath* hire *spoused* with a ryng Broght for the same cause,

STABLISSEN (1) (cf. ESTABLISSHEN)

(CT I, 2995) That same Prince and Moevere ... *Hath stablissed* in this wrecched world adoun Certeyne dayes and duracioun To al that is engendred in this place,

STANDEN ☞ STONDEN

STELLEN (1)

(TC III, 1451) O cruel day, accusour of the joie That nyght and love *han*

stole and *faste iwryen* [‘hidden’],

STIKEN (1)

(CT I, 1565) Love *hath* his firy dart so brennyngly *Ystiked* thurgh my trewe, careful herte That shapen was my deeth erst than my sherte.

STIREN (‘bring forward’) (1) (☞ §2.2.2)

(Bo III, p.12, 200) yif I *have styred* resouns . . . that ben bystowyd withinne that compas, ther nys nat why that thou schuldest merveillen,

STONDEN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 1494) I have now been a court-man al my lyf, And God it woot, though I unworthy be, I *have stonden* in ful greet degree Abouten lordes of ful heigh estaat; | (TC V, 1612) For I have herd wel moore than I wende, Touchyng us two, how thynges *han ystonde*, Which I shal with dissymelyng amende.

STRIKEN (not Chaucer’s instance)

(MercB *34) Love *hath* my name *ystrike* out of his sclat [‘slate’], And he is strike out of my bokes clene For evermo;

STRIVEN (1)

(Bo I, p.3, 24) *Have* I noght *stryven* with ful greet strif in old tyme, byfor the age of my Plato, ayens the foolhardynesse of folye?

SUBTILEN ☞ SOTILEN

SUFFREN (20) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 2772) Allas, the peynes stronge, That I for yow *have suffred*, and so longe! | (CT VII, 146) Thanne wolde I telle a legende of my lyf, What I *have suffred* sith I was a wyf With myn housbonde, | (BD 37) but trewly, as I gesse, I holde hit be a sicknesse That I *have suffred* this eight yeer;

Also in: CT VII, 1409; 1419; 1422; 1425; 1495; 1502; 1505; 1716; X, 975; Bo I, p.1, 48; p.3, 16; p.4, 305; IV, p.4, 237; 245; 257; TC V, 415;

LGW 1510||RR *2742; *3990; *6130.

SUPPOSEN (2)

(CT IV, 1065) This is thy doghter, which thou *hast supposed* To be my wyf; | (CT VII, 595) She gooth . . . To every place where she *hath supposed* By liklihede hir litel child to fynde;

SUPPRISEN ('seize') (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *3235) If foly *have surprised* thee, Do so that it recovered be,

SUSPRISEN ('surprise') (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *2067) Sith ye wot, in sothfastnesse, That ye *have me suspried* so, And hol myn herte taken me fro,

SWEREN (14) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT V, 1038) My lady *hath* my deeth *ysworn* Withoute gilt, | (TC II, 299) By alle the othes that I *have yow sworn*, . . . Ne shal I nevere sen yow eft with yë. | (HF 322) O that your love, ne your bond That ye *have sworn* with your ryght hond, Ne my crewel deth . . . May holde yow stille here with me!

Also in: CT V, 1464; VI, 708; VII, 1066; TC IV, 1481; LGW 1285; 1304; 1320; 1862; 2465; 2476; 2662||RR *5820; *5972; *6021; *7450.

SWINKEN (1) ('toil') (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IX, 18) Or *hastow* with som quene al nyght *yswonke*, So that thow mayst nat holden up thyn heed?

SWOWNEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(LGW 1342) And thus, allas, withouten his socours, Twenty tyme *yswouned hath* she thanne.

SWYVEN (1)

(CT I, 4266) As I *have* thries in this shorte nyght *Swyved* the milleres doghter bolt upright, Whil thow hast, as a coward, been agast.

TAKEN (33) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 1439) And thus withinne a while his name is spronge, Bothe of his dedes and his goode tonge, That Theseus *hath taken* hym so neer That of his chambre he made hym a squier, | (CT I, 3353) The moone . . . ful brighte shoon, And Absolon his gyterne *hath ytake*; For paramours he thoghte for to wake. | (CT I, 4093) And whan the millere saugh that they were gon, He half a busshel of hir flour *hath take*, | (CT IV, 1115) Thise ladyes, whan that they hir tyme say, *Han taken* hire and into chambre gon, And strepen hire out of hire rude array, | (CT IV, 1952) And whan she of this bille [‘letter’] *hath taken* heede, She rente it al to cloutes atte laste, | (CT VII, 2683) Thou thurgh thy knyghthod *hast hem take* and slawe, | (LGW 2137) And shortly of this mater for to make, This Theseus of hire *hath leve take*, And every poynt was performed in dede As ye han in this covenaut herd me rede.

Also in: CT I, 3007; II, 348; 438; 556; IV, 702; 1620; 1690; 1821; 1978; V, 475; 792; VII, 1138; 1414; 1954; VIII, 605; X, 880; Bo II, p.2, 77; III, p.10, 71; V, p.6, 23; 275; TC V, 871; LGW 617; 1764; 1892; ABC 20; Mars 32||RR *2044; *2068; *2500; *3508; *5731; *5894 (tan); *6378; *7278; *7345.

TARIEN (1)

(TC V, 1349) ye thise monthes tweyne *Han taried*, ther ye seyden . . . But dayes ten ye nolde in oost sojourne

TASTEN (1)

(Bo III, m.1, 6) Hony is the more swete, if mouthes *han* first *tasted* savours that ben wykke.

TECHEN (14) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(CT III, 2281) He *hath* to-day *taught* us so muche good . . . That . . . He hadde the firste smel of fartes thre; | (CT V, 187) And therefore in the place they han it laft Til that the knyght *hath taught* hem the manere To voyden hym, | (LGW 1646) And on the morwe upward he hym spedde, For she *hath taught* hym how he shal nat fayle The fles [‘fleece’] to wynne and stynten his batayle; | (Astr II, 9, 2) Know the quantite of thy

crepuscles, as I *have taught* in the 3 chapitre bifore,

Also in: CT III, 1795; VII, 509; 1233; 1266; VIII, 267; Bo III, p.12, 89; Astr II, 44, 48; Fort 12; 33; CompL 38||RR *3891; *5135; *5177.

TELLEN (53) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 715) Now *have I toold* yow soothly, in a clause, Th'estaat, th'array, the nombre, and eek the cause Why that assembled was this compaignye | (CT I, 1148) I loved hire first, and tolde thee my wo As to my conseil and my brother sworn To forthre me, as I *have toold* biforn. | (CT I, 1584) Now artow hent, that lovest my lady so, For whom that I have al this peyne and wo, And art my blood, and to my conseil sworn, As I ful ofte *have told* thee heerbiforn, | (CT I, 1683) Cleer was the day, as I *have toold* er this, And Theseus with alle joye and blis, With his Ypolita . . . And Emelye . . . On huntynge be they riden roially. | (CT I, 3302) And thus they been accorded and ysworn To wayte a tyme, as I *have told* biforn. | (CT V, 168) And whan this knyght *hath* thus his tale *toold*, He rideth out of halle and doun he lighte. | (CT VII, 1262) but there as thou *hast toold* me heerbiforn that he nys nat to blame . . . | (Bo IV, p.4, 154) But I *have* travailed and *told* yit hiderto for thou sholdest knowe the mowynge of schrewes . . . nis no mowynge; | (TC II, 1285) "Wel," quod Pandare, "as I *have told* yow thrie ['thrice']", Lat be youre nyce shame and youre folie, | (TC III, 911) Now *have* I *told* what peril he is inne, | (TC III, 1750) Love, that knetteth lawe of compaignie, And couples doth in vertu for to dwelle, Bynd this acord, that I *have told* and telle. | (TC IV, 1497) And if ye gon, as I *have told* yow yore, So thenk I n'am but ded, withoute more. | (TC V, 324) Pandare answerde and seyde, "Troilus, My deere frend, as I *have told* the yore, That it is folye for to sorwen thus, | (TC V, 1443) This drem, of which I *told have* ek byforn, May nevere ouden of his remembraunce. | (LGW 1161) Now to th'effect, now to the fruyt of al, Whi I *have told* this story, and telle shal. | (BD 189) [the messenger] tolde hym what he shulde doon (As I *have told* yow here-to-fore; | (BD 1127) Ye *han* wel *told* me herebefore; Hyt ys no nede to reherse it more, How ye sawe hir first, and where. | (BD 1181) Now *have* I *told* thee, soth to say, My firste song.

Also in: CT I, 2126; 3913; II, 53; 184; III, 172; 744; 2096; IV, 517;

1399; V, 58; VI, 142; 530; VII, 1172; 2807; 3118; VIII, 860; X, 25; 1028;
 TC I, 920; II, 296; 675; 695; III, 508; 1197; IV, 114; V, 1100; 1834; LGW
 1233; 1592; BD 219; 271; HF 529; 823; Astr I, 16, 18; RR 1276||*2717;
 *2937; *5305; *5844; *6598; *6984.

TEREN (1)

(CT I, 1020) Out of the taas ['heap'] the pilours *han* hem *torn*, And han
 hem caried softe unto the tente Of Theseus;

THENKEN (2)

(TC IV, 542) Parde, leve brother deere, Al this *have* I myself yet *thought*
 ful ofte, And more thyng than thow devycest here. | (TC IV, 554) I *have*
 ek *thought*, so it were hire assent, To axe hire at my fader, of his grace;
 Also in RR *7536.

THIRLEN ('pierce') (1)

(Anel 350) as the swan ... Ayeins his deth shal singen his penaunce, So
 singe I here my destinee or chaunce, How that Arcite Anelida so sore
Hath thirled with the poynt of remembraunce.

THOLEN ('suffer') (1)

(CT III, 1546) So mucche wo as I *have* with yow *tholed*!

THRISTEN (1)

(Bo IV, p.4, 200) for thow thiself *hast thrist* thiself into ['plunged into']
 wikke thinges,

THURGH-SEKEN (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *4948) But now that Eelde *hath* hem *thourgh-sought*, They repente
 hem of her folye,

TORENDEN (2) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VI, 102) Under a shepherde softe and necligent The wolf *hath* many
 a sheep and lamb *torent*. | (Bo V, m.3, 1) What discordable cause *hath*
torent and unjoyned the byndynge or the alliaunce of thingis (that is to

seyn, the conjuncions of God and of man)?

TORMENTEN (1)

(LGW 1296) Certes . . . this nyght my faderes gost *Hath* in my slep so sore me *tormented*,

Also in RR *3247.

TOUCHEN (1)

(CT III, 1271) Ye *han* heer *touched* . . . In scole-matere greet difficultee.

TRANSLATEN (3)

(LGW F 329 (= G 255)) Thou maist yt nat denye, For in pleyn text, withouten nede of glose, Thou *hast translated* the Romaunce of the Rose, That is an heresy ayeins my lawe, And makest wise folk fro me with- drawe; | (LGW F 425 (= G 413)) And, for to speke of other holynesse, He *hath* in prose *translated* Boece, And maad the lyf also of Seynt Cecile. | (Astr Prol. 63) I n'am but a lewd compiler of the labour of olde astrologiens, and *have it translatid* in myn Englissh oonly for thy doctrine.

TRASSHEN ('betray') (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *3231) She *hath* thee *trashed*, withoute wen.

TRAVAYLEN (2)

(CT X, 823) whan that a man . . . peraventure ne knoweth nat the strengthe of the drynke, or hath feblesse in his heed, or *hath travailed*, thurgh which he drynketh the moore, al be he sodeynly caught with drynke, it is no deedly synne, but venyal. | (Bo IV, p.4, 154) But I *have travailed* and told yit hiderto for thou scholdest knowe the mowynge of schrewes . . . nis no mowynge;

TRESPASSEN (6)

(CT VI, 416) so that he shal nat asterte To been defamed falsly, if that he *Hath trespassed* to my bretheren or to me. | (CT VII, 1419) and also he hath suffred that thou hast been punysshed in the manere that thou

hast ytrespassed. | (CT X, 992) A man that *hath trespassed* to a lord, and comth for to axe mercy and maken his accord . . . , men wolde holden hym out- raneous [‘excessive’],

Also in: CT VII, 1877; 1884; 1885||RR *3412; *3514.

TRUSTEN (not Chaucer’s instance)

(RR *3929) I *have* to longe *tristed* thee,

TURNEN (6) (☞ §2.1.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(CT VII, 2661) Thy sys Fortune *hath turned* into aas, And for thee ne weep she never a teere. | (CT X, 772) And therefore in somme contrees, ther they byen thralles, whan they *han turned* hem to the feith, they maken hire thralles free out of thraldom. | (Bo II, m.1, 2) Whan Fortune with a proud ryght hand *hath turned* hir chaungynge stowndes, sche fareth lyke the maneres of the boylunge Eurippe.

Also in: CT I, 1238; VII, 1418; Bo III, p.1, 48.

TWINKLEN (1)

(Bo II, p.3, 71) Sche *hath* now *twynkled* first upon the with a wikkid eye.

UNBINDEN (1)

(Bo IV, m.3, 20) But al be it so that the godhede of Mercurie . . . hath had merci of the duc Ulixes, bysegid with diverse yveles, and *hath unbownden* hym fro the pestilence of his oostesse,

UNCOVEREN (1)

(Bo II, p.8, 37) Forwhy this ilke Fortune *hath* departed and *uncovered* to the bothe the certein visages and eek the doutous visages of thi felawes.

UNDERSTONDEN (10) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT III, 379) Lordynges, right thus, as ye *have understonde*, Baar I stifly myne olde housbondes on honde That thus they seyden in hir dronke- nesse; | (Bo II, p.1, 8) If I . . . *have undirstonden* and knowen

outruly the causes and the habyt of thy maladye, thow languyssest and art desfeted [‘wasted away’] for desir and talent of thi rather fortune. | (TC IV, 1296) Now herkneþ this: ye *han wel understonde* My goyng graunted is by parlement So ferforth that it may nat be withstonde For al this world,

Also in: CT IV, 1685; V, 437; VII, 2880; X, 475; Bo III, p.9, 153; TC V, 1186; 1614||RR *7204.

UNDERTAKEN (1)

(LGW G71) For trusteth wel, I ne *have* nat *undertake* As of the lef agayn the flour to make, Ne of the flour to make ageyn the lef, No more than of the corn agen the shef [‘sheaf’];

UNDON (1)

(RR 1633) But they shull never so verily Descripcioun of the welle heere, Ne eke the sothe of this matere, As ye shull, whanne I *have undo* The craft that hir bilongith too.

Also in RR *2173.

UNHORSEN (1)

(CT I, 2625) *Unhorsed hath* ech oother of hem tweye.

UNJOYNEN (1)

(Bo V, m.3, 1) What discordable cause *hath* torent and *unjoyned* the byndynge or the alliaunce of thingis (that is to seyn, the conjunccions of God and of man)?

USEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(Bo II, p.2, 25) Thow hast had grace as he that *hath used* of foreyne goodes;

VENGEN (1)

(CT VII, 1281) For right as they *han venged* hem on me and doon me wrong, right so shal I venge me upon hem and doon hem wrong;

VENQUISSHEN (2)

(CT II, 291) I trowe at Troye, whan Pirrus brak the wal Or Ilion brende,
at Thebes the citee, N'at Rome, for the harm thurgh Hanybal That
Romayns *hath venquysshed* tymes thre, Nas herd swich tendre wepyng
for pitee As in the chambre was for hire departyng; | (ABC 8)
Venquysshed me *hath* my cruel adversaire.

VERNISSEN (1)

(CT I, 4149) Wel *hath* this millere *vernysshed* his heed;

WARNEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(LGW 2710) And at a wyndow lep he fro the lofte, Whan she *hath
warned* hym, and don hym bote ['help'].

Note. *Warnede* and *seyde* below are past forms (notice the suffix
-e; cf. Skeat, s.v. Warne):

(PF 45) Thanne telleth it that, from a sterry place, How
Affrycan hath hym Cartage shewed, And *warnede* hym befor
of al his grace, And *seyde* hym what man . . . shulde into a
blysfyl place wende There as joye is that last withouten ende.

WASTEN (1) (☞ §2.1.2.1)

(CT VIII, 1100) for fumes diverse Of metals, whiche ye han herd me
reherce, Consumed and *wasted* han my reednesse.

Also in RR *5010.

WEDDEN (7) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1; §2.4.1.2)

(CT III, 629) What sholde I seye but . . . This joly clerk, Jankyn, . . . ,
Hath wedded me with greet solempnytee, | (CT IV, 1886) The moone,
that at noon was thilke day That Januarie *hath wedded* fresshe May In
two of Tawr, was into Cancre glyden; | (LGW 2609) And thus Lyno *hath*
of his faders brother The doughter *wedded*, and ech of hem hath other.

Also in: CT I, 3098; II, 712; III, 44; IV, 1738.

WENEN ('imagine') (1) (☞ Chapter 7)

(TC V, 444) Nor in this world ther is non instrument Delicious, thorough wynd or touche of corde, As fer as any wight *hath* evere *ywent*, that tonge telle or herte may recorde, That at feste it nas wel herd acorde;

WEPEN (4) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 1544) For, God it woot, I *have wept* many a teere Ful pryvely, syn I have had a wyf. | (CT VII, 977) He is a fool that destourbeth the mooder to wepen in the deeth of hire child til she *have wept* hir fille as for a certein tyme, | (Bo I, p.5, 60) and thow *hast wepen* for the damage of thi renoun that is apayred; | (TC I, 941) And sithen thow *hast wopen* many a drope, And seyde swych thyng wherwith thi god is plesed, Now wolde nevere god but thow were esed!

WERKEN (19) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT X, 239) whan we doon deedly synne, it is for nought thanne to rehercen or drawen into memorie the goode werkes that we *han wrought* biforn. | (TC I, 578) Ther is another thing I take of hede Wel more than aught the Grekes *han yet wrought*, Which cause is of my deth, for sorowe and thought; | (LGW 2228) Thow yevere of the formes, that *hast wrought* This fayre world and bar it in thy thought Eternaly er thow thy werk began, | (LGW 2363) And al the thyng that Tereus *hath wrought*, She waf ['wove'] it wel, and wrot the storrye above, How she was served for hire systers love.

Also in: CT I, 2624; 3099; II, 619; III, 1972; V, 872; VIII, 326; 1332; X, 237; TC II, 577; III, 1290; 1503; IV, 1096; LGW 2642; PF 636; RR 1164|| *3985; CompA *54.

WERREYEN ('make war') (1)

(TC V, 584) O blisful lord Cupide, Whan I the proces have in my memorie How thow me *hast wereyed* on every syde, Men myght a book make of it, lik a storie.

WEVEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(Bo III, p.12, 155) Scornestow me . . . that *hast so woven* me with thi resouns the hous of Didalus, so entrelaced that it is unable to ben

unlaced ...?

WILNEN (1)

(Bo I, p.4, 204) But al hadde it ben leueful that felonous folk . . . *han wilned* to gon destroyen me, whom they han seyn alwey bataylen and defenden gode men and eek al the senat, yit hadde I nought disservyd of the faderes . . . that they schulden wilne my destruccioun.

WINNEN (12) (☞ §2.1.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 1002) Whan that this worthy duc, this Theseus, *Hath* Creon slayn and *wonne* Thebes thus, Stille in that feeld he took al nyght his reste, And dide with al the contree as hym leste. | (CT VI, 389) By this gaude *have* I *wonne*, yeer by yeer, An hundred mark sith I was pardoner. | (LGW 2564) In Grece whilom weren brethren two, Of whiche that oon was called Danao, That many a sone *hath* of his body *wonne*, As swiche false lovers ofte conne.

Also in: CT I, 2659; III, 2293; TC I, 28; II, 962; IV, 1315; V, 990; PF 105; CompL 107; Mars 31||RR *2316.

WITEN (3) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VIII, 282) The world *hath wist* what it is worth, certeyn, Devocioun of chastitee to love. | (Bo V, p.3, 144) than is the betydinge certein of thilke thingis whiche he *hath wist* byforn fermely to comen. | (TC IV, 979) Wherefore I sey, that from eterne if he *Hath wist* byforn oure thought ek as oure dede, We han no fre chois, as thise clerkes rede.

WITHHOLDEN (1)

(Bo V, m.3, 56) so that he mowe adden the parties that he hath foryeten to thilke that he *hath withholden*.

WITHSTONDEN (1)

(Bo I, p.4, 54) How ofte *have* I resisted and *withstonden* thilke man that highte Connigaste,

WOLLEN (5)

(CT VII, 1000) right as oure Lord *hath wold*, right so it is doon; | (CT VII, 1425) And in the same manere oure Lord Crist *hath woold* and suffred that thy three enemys been entred into thyn house by the wyndowes | (Bo I, p.4, 147) Certes I *have wolde* it (that is to seyn, the savacioun of the senat), ne I schal nevere letten to wilne it.

Also in: LGW 1209; Venus 11.

WONDREN (1)

(CT V, 236) And oother folk *han wondred* on the swerd That wolde percen thurghout every thyng,

WONEN ('dwell') (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(TC I, 276) O mercy, God, . . . , wher *hastow woned*, That art so feyr and goodly to devise?

WOUNDEN (5)

(CT IV, 2145) Out of doute Thou *hast* me *wounded* in myn herte, O wyf!
| (CT VII, 1013) wherfore it happeth many tyme and ofte that whan twey men *han* everich *wounded* oother, oon same surgien heeleth hem bothe; | (TC II, 533) For certes, lord, so soore *hath* she me *wounded*, That stood in blak, with lokyng of hire eyen, That to myn hertes botme it is ysounded ['plummeted'], Thorugh which I woot that I moot nedes deyen.

Also in: CT VII, 1423; 1426.

WRAPPEN (1)

(CT V, 1356) on thee, Fortune, I pleyne, That unwar *wrapped hast* me in thy cheyne, Fro which t'escape woot I no socour, Save oonly deeth or elles dishonour;

WRATHEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.2)

(CT X, 132) and yet moore sharp and poynaunt for he *hath wrathed* and agilt hym that boghte hym,

WREKEN (1)

(TC V, 589) Wel *hastow*, lord, *ywroke* on me thyn ire, Thow myghty god,
and dredefull for to greve!

WRITEN (5) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT IV, 761) But shortly if this storie I tellen shal, This markys *writen*
hath in special A lettre, in which he sheweth his entente, | (TC V, 1303)
Thow *hast* nat *writen* hire syn that she wente, Nor she to the; | (LGW G
348) For he *hath write* many a bok er this. | (Anel 352) When that
Anelida, this woful quene, *Hath* of her hand *ywriten* in this wise, With
face ded, betwixe pale and grene, She fel a-swowe;

Also in CT IV, 1811.

WRYEN ('cover') (1)

(TC III, 1451) O cruel day, accusour of the joie That nyght and love *han*
stole and faste *iwryen*,

YIVEN (28) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(CT II, 444) A certein tresor that she thider ladde, And, sooth to seyn,
vitaille greet plentee They *han* hire *yeven*, and clothes eek she hadde,
And forth she sailleth in the salte see. | (Bo I, m.6, 15) for Bachus, the
god of wyn, *hath* rather *yyven* his yiftes to autumpne . . . | (BD 765)
Dredeles, I *have* ever yit Be tributarye and *yive* rente To Love, hooly
with good entente, And through plesaunce become his thral With good
wille, body, hert, and al.

Also in: CT I, 915; 1086; 1089; III, 401; 771; 1553; VI, 779; VII, 1000;
1502; 1849; VIII, 470; 480; X, 153; 487; Bo II, p.5, 23; III, p.11, 179; IV,
p.6, 2; 278; m.6, 59; TC III, 1611; IV, 545; LGW F 501 (= G 489); 1281;
2431; Astr prol. 8||RR *2387; *2760; *6378; *6392; *6686.

2.2.2 Passive voice

AFFORCEN (1)

(CT X, 974) The sixte circumstaunce is why that a man synneth, as by
which temptacioun, and if hymself procure thilke temptacioun, . . . , or if
the womman, maugree hir hed, *hath been afforced*, or noon.

BETEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(TC II, 940) This Pandarus com lepyng in atones, And seyde thus: “Who *hath ben wel ibete* To-day with swerdes and with slynge-stones, But Troilus, that hath caught hym an hete [‘a heat’]?”

BIGYLEN (not Chaucer’s instance; ☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.2)

(RR *4462) For many tymes I have it seen, That many *have bigyled been* For trust that they have set in Hope,

BINIMEN (‘take away’) (1)

(Bo III, p.3, 66) For whennes comen elles alle thise forense compleyntes or quereles of pledynges but for that men axen ayen hir moneye that *hath ben bynomen* hem by force or by gyle, and alwey maugre hem?

BRENNEN (‘burn’) (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1)

(CT VIII, 1407) They that *han been brent*, Allas, kan they nat flee the fires heete?

CACCHEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(CT I, 1817) syn I knowe of loves peyne And woot hou soore it kan a man distreyne [‘torment’], As he that *hath ben caught* ofte in his laas, I yow foryeve al hoolly this trespaas,

COMFORTEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(TC I, 249) And they that han ben aldermost in wo, With love *han ben comforted* moost and esed;

DECEYVEN (not Chaucer’s instnace; ☞ §2.2.1)

(RR *2045) I have . . . taken fele homages Of oon and other, where I *have ben Disceyved* ofte, withouten wen.

DESPISEN (1)

(Bo I, p.4, 53) for this liberte hath the fredom of conscience, that the wraththe of more myghty folk *hath alwey ben despised* of me for

savacioun of right.

DETERMINEN (1)

(Bo V, p.4, 8) But yit ne *hath* it nat *ben determined* ne isped fermely and diligently of any of yow.

DISCOVEREN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo III, p.11, 221) But in this thing *hath ben discoveryd* to the that thow seydest that thow wistest not a litel herbyfor.

DON (4) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(CT VII, 1023) the nede for which we been assembled in this place is a ful hevye thyng and an heigh matiere, by cause of the wrong and of the wikkednesse that *hath be doon*, | (CT VII, 1493) I seye that ther be ful manye thynges that shul . . . make yow . . . for to han pacience in the wronges that *han been doon* to yow. | (Bo IV, p.1, 16) al be it so that I hadde whilom foryeten hem for the sorwe of the wrong that *hath ben don* to me, yet natheles thei ne weren not al outrely unknowen to me. | (TC II, 793) How ofte tyme hath it yknowen be The tresoun that to wommen *hath ben do!*

ESEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(TC I, 249) And they that han ben aldermost in wo, With love *han ben* comforted moost and *esed*;

FINDEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1; §2.4.1.2)

(Bo III, p.7, 20) but it hath ben seyde that it is overmochel ayens kynde that children *han ben fownden* tormentours to here fadris, | (Astr Prol. 16) truste wel that alle the conclusions [‘propositions’] that *han ben founde*, or ellys possibly might be founde in so noble an instrument as is an Astrelabie ben unknowe parfitly to eny mortal man in this regioun,

HIDDEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(TC IV, 496) O, where *hastow ben hid* so longe in muwe, That kanst so wel and formely arguwe?

KNOWEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(TC II, 792) How ofte tyme *hath* it *yknownen be* The tresoun that to
wommen hath ben do!

LEDEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(CT II, 646) Have ye nat seyn somtyme a pale face, Among a prees, of
hym that *hath be lad* Toward his deeth,

LERNEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(Astr prol. 38) And God woot that in alle these langages and in many
moo *han* these conclusions *ben* suffisantly *lerved* and taught, and yit by
diverse reules;

NIMEN ('take') (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(TC I, 242) For this trowe I ye knowen alle or some, Men reden nat that
folk han gretter wit Than they that *han be* most with love *ynome*;

NORISSHEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo I, p.1, 67) But ye withdrawen me this man, that *hath ben noryssed*
in the studies or scoles of Eleaticis and Achademycis in Grece.

PLESEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(TC I, 247) And trowelich it sit ['suits'] wel to be so, For alderwisest *han*
therwith *ben plesed*;

PREVEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo II, p.4, 168) And for as moche as thow thiself art he to whom it *hath*
be sewed ['planted'] and *proved* by ful many demonstracyons . . . that
the soules of men ne mowen nat deyen in no wyse;

PUNISSHEN (1)

(CT VII, 1419) and also he hath suffred that thou *hast been punysshed*
in the manere that thow hast ytrespassed.

SAYN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(Bo III, p.7, 18) but it *hath ben seyde* that it is overmochel ayens kynde that children han ben fownden tormentours to here fadris,

SEWEN ('plant') (1)

(Bo II, p.4, 168) And for as moche as thow thiself art he to whom it *hath be sewed* [Robinson: schewed] and proved by ful many demonstracyons . . . that the soules of men ne mowen nat deyen in no wyse;

SHAMEN (1)

(CT X, 1061) agayns that shame sholde a man thynke that . . . he that *hath nat been shamed* to doon foule thinges, certes hym oghte nat been ashamed to do faire thynges,

SHEWEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1; §2.4.1.2)

(Bo III, p.10, 198) "Certes," quod I, "it *hath wel ben schewyd* herebyform that alle these thinges ben al o thyng." | (Bo IV, p.2, 53) It remembreth me wel . . . that it *hath ben schewed*.

SHRYVEN ('confess') (3) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT III, 2095) I *have be shryven* this day at my curat. | (CT X, 1008) thy synnes, of whiche thow *hast be shryven* of thy curaat, | (CT X, 1026) And though thou shryve thee ofter than ones of synne of which thou *hast be shryven*, it is the moore merite.

SPEDEN ('dispatch') (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(Bo V, p.4, 8) But yit ne *hath* it nat *ben* determined ne *isped* fermely and diligently of any of yow.

SPILLEN (1) (☞ §2.4.1.1; §2.4.1.2)

(CT IX, 326) for to mucche speche *Hath* many a man *been spilt*,

STIREN (1) (☞ §.2.1)

(CT VII, 1781) by the conseil, assent, and help of youre freendes ye *han*

been stired to venge yow and maken werre,

TECHEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(Astr Prol. 38) And God woot that in alle these langages and in many moo *han* these conclusions *ben* suffisantly lerned and *taught*, and yit by diverse reules;

TELLEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(Bo IV, p.4, 95) “And what manere schal that be,” quod I, “other than *hath ben told* herbyforn?”

WEDDEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1; §2.4.1.2)

(CT IV, 1233) I *have ywedded bee* These monthes two, and moore nat, pardee;

YIVEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(CT X, 253) He shal *yeven* acountes . . . of alle the goodes that *han be yeven* hym in this present lyf, and how he hath hem despended,

2.3 Syntactic characterization of the present perfect

2.3.0 By scrutinizing the instances of the present perfect cited in the preceding sections, I shall now endeavor to capture the characteristics of the perfect aspect in Chaucer’s English. The present perfect may cooccur with adverbials indicating (a) ‘duration’, (b) ‘frequency’, (c) ‘nowness’, (d) ‘previousness’ and (e) ‘indefinite past’.

Before describing adverbials used with the perfect, it is worthwhile to give the results of Bauer’s (1970) research obtained through his survey on the collocation of adverbials with the perfect and/or past. See Table 5.

Table 5 Results of Bauer's research (1970: 113)

Adverb	Chaucer		Gower	
	Prät.	Perf.	Prät.	Perf.
whilom	52	4	66	0
yore1 ['formerly']	2 (4)	6 (2)	0	0
yore2 ['for a long time']	1	7	0	0
sometime	3	4	4	0
thanne, tho	9	0	18	0
erst	1 (4)	(1)	3 (2)	0
ferst	49	0	21	0
ferst = erst	0 (3)	0	2 (1)	0
before	7 (20)	8 (43)	6 (15)	3 (18)
er	0	0	(12)	(1)
er this, er now	4 (3)	13 (7)	5 (1)	18 (3)
whiler	1	0	0	0
above	(1)	(2)	(14)	(5)
never	87	0	35	0
never yit etc.	47 } 134	0	56 } 91	0
ever ,jemals'	48	4	13	2
ever yit ,jemals'	7 } 55	0	1 } 14	0
ever ,immer'	5	8	9	16
ever yit ,immer'	1 } 11	3 } 19	0	8 } 24
always, ay	5	8	0	0
today	2	9	0	0
right now	6	5	1	0
late	0	1	2	0
of latter date	0	1	0	0

Note 1. The figures in parentheses indicate the frequency of the "Rückverweise" (back reference) type, (by which Bauer seems to mean the narrator's comment); e.g., *as I have seyde er this* (TC IV, 29).

Note 2. The texts used by Bauer are those edited by F. N. Robinson (1967) and G. C. Macaulay (1957).

Bauer's findings include that (1) *whilom* is much more frequently used with the past than with the perfect; (2) *thanne* and *tho* are exclusively used with the past; and that (3) *never* does not occur with the perfect (which, as Bauer notes, is already pointed out by Gräf 1888: 25). Since Bauer confines his research to the adverbials set out in Table 5, I shall investigate on a broader scale which adverbials cooccur with the present perfect. (In the following subsections instances of the BEN-perfect, modals in the past and verbs in the past subjunctive are not counted. Non-Chaucerian instances are also not counted.)

2.3.1 Adverbials indicating 'duration'

2.3.1.1 *alwey; ay; evere*

The verbs occurring in the perfect with *alwey/ay/evere* construction are as follows:

adverbial	verb
alwey	ben despised, ficchen, finden, seen, shewen,
ay	disposen, don, haven, serven,
evere	ben, don, finden, halwen, haven, proverben, rennen, seen, seken.

alwey

perfect (6): (Bo I, p.4, 53) the wraththe of more myghty folk hath *alwey* ben despised of me for savacioun of right. | (CT III, 1812) this have I founde *alwey*. | (CT IV, 102) Yet for as muche as ye ... Han *alwey* shewed me favour and grace I dar the bettre aske of yow a space Of audience | (Bo IV, p.2, 60) It ne recordeth me noght ... for I have it gretly *alwey* ficched in my memorie. | (TC IV, 962) foresight of divine purveyaunce Hath seyn *alwey* me to forgon Criseyde, | (TC III, 995)

And youre goodnesse have I founde *alwey* yit, Of which, my deere herte
and al my knyght, I thonke it yow,

past (45): (CT III, 602) But yet I hadde *alwey* a coltes tooth. | (CT III, 1266) He made *alwey* a maner louryng [‘frowning’] chiere Upon the Somonour, | (CT VI, 48) Discreet she was in answeyng *alway*; | (CT V, 417) And evere in oon she cryde *alwey* and shrighthe, | (TC II, 1352) But to Pandare *alwey* was his recours [‘resort’], | (TC III, 1720) He ... held aboute hym *alwey* ... A world of folk, | (TC IV, 700) Withouten word, on hym *alwey* she thoughte. | (TC V, 745) Prudence, allas, oon of thyne eyen thre Me lakked *alwey*,

Also in: CT I, 353 (stood); 2236 (holden werre); 4105 (ran); III, 1345 (knew); 1743 (wroot); IV, 2046 (baar); V, 26 (kept); 422 (shrighthe); VII, 657 (loved); X, 11 (gan ascende); Bo I, p.4, 65 (tormentyde); TC V, 1757 (soughte); LGW 1097 (ledde); 1430 (was kept); Anel 137 (thoghte); HF 961 (gan to sore); PF 232 (daunsedyn); RR 788 (kiste); 1346 (folwed); *1815 (somonede); *6244 (wered); *6570 (yave); *7433 (thoughte): (was/were) CT I, 341; III, 2164; Bo III, p.3, 31; BD 890; 1287; TC IV, 956; PF 236; 321; 674; RR 1274; 1290; *7246; (hadde) CT III, 1339; TC II, 419; V, 52; PF 519; RR 1160; (made) CT V, 920; Bo I, p.4, 56.

Note. In the following instances *alwey* modifies the adjective and the infinitive, respectively:

(CT IV, 2037) The beautee of the gardyn and the welle That stood under a laurer *alwey* grene [‘a laurel tree which is always green’]. | (Bo I, p.4, 205) whom they han seyn *alwey* bataylen and defenden gode men and eek al the senat,

ay (‘always’)

perfect (4): (CT IV, 149) But nathelees I se youre trewe entente, And truste upon youre wit, and have doon *ay*; | (CT IV, 1067) as I have *ay* disposed; | (TC V, 1721) But trewely, Criseyde, swete may [‘maiden’], Whom I have *ay* with al my myght yserved, That ye thus doon, I have it nat deserved. | (TC IV, 491) If thou hast had in love *ay* yet [‘always’] myschaunce And kanst it not out of thyn herte dryve, ... , How sholde I that foryete, and that so blyve?

past (61): (CT I, 233) His typet was *ay* farsed [‘stuffed’] ful of knyves
 And pynnes, | (CT I, 3472) This Nicholas sat *ay* as stille as stoon, | (CT
 I, 3929) *Ay* by his belt he baar a long panade, | (CT III, 1754) A sturdy
 harlot wente *ay* hem bihynde, | (CT III, 2044) Irous Cambises was eek
 dronkelewe, And *ay* delited hym to been a shrewe. | (CT IV, 1249) [he]
 folwed *ay* his bodily delyt On wommen, | (CT VII, 2387) Noght Charles
 Olyver, that took *ay* heede Of trouthe and honour,

Also in: CT I, 4304 (drow); II, 843 (damned); V, 535 (took); VI, 554
 (seydest); VII, 521 (herkned); 2556 (kiste); IX, 240 (heeng); X, 56
 (putte); TC I, 440 (brende); II, 901 (gan love); 1081 (acused); 1349
 (held); 1353 (gan to pleyne); 1546 (held); III, 464 (took); 487 (shof); 534
 (waited); IV, 1221 (flikered); V, 716 (wente); 819 (strof); 1016 (taughte);
 1570 (dradde); 1571 (gan repaire); 1572 (soughte); 1745 (gan to holde);
 1756 (aboughte); HF 962 (gladded); RR 863 (laugheden); 1138 (desired);
 *1735 (failed and feynted); *1898 (wente); *3683 (hadde): (cried) CT VII,
 2531; TC II, 643; (encresede) PF 143; RR *1785; (folwed) CT III, 583;
 615; (kepte) CT II, 496; IV, 229; (thoughte) CT I, 3453; TC I, 361; V,
 1445; (was/were) CT I, 572; III, 1705; IV, 711; V, 1112; VII, 72; 2187; Bo
 III, p.12, 43; TC I, 448; 454; 499; 510; 1076; III, 1665; V, 682.

evere (*yit/sithen*) (‘always’)

perfect (15): (CT VII, 1688) I love youre honour and youre profit as I
 do myn owene, and *evere* have doon; | (TC V, 756) No fors of wikked
 tonges janglerie, For *evere* on love han wrecches had envye. | (Pity 33)
 For I have sought hir *ever* ful besely Sith first I hadde wit or mannes
 mynde, | (CT I, 3893) And *ever* sithe hath so the tappe yronne | (TC III,
 244) God woot . . . That I . . . Have *evere* sithen don my bisynesse To
 brynge the to joye out of distresse, | (TC II, 240) Youre frendshipe have
 I founden *evere* yit. | (TC II, 995) God woot I have *evere* yit Ben redy
 the to serve,

Also in: CT II, 624 (seyn); TC III, 293 (proverbed); LGW 1871
 (yhalwed); ABC 33 (been); BD 764 (be); Mars 293 (had): (doon) CT I,
 3079; IV, 107 | CompA *78 (been).

past (40): (CT I, 50) [the Knyght] *evere* honoured for his worthynesse;
 | (CT I, 622) And *evere* he rood the hyndreste of oure route. | (CT I,

3473) This Nicholas ... *evere* caped upward into the eir. | (CT III, 545)
 For *evere* yet I loved to be gay, | (CT IV, 906) For *evere* he demed ...
 That ... Hym wolde thynke it were a disparage To his estaat so lowe for
 t'alighte, | (CT IV, 2014) And eek to Januarie he gooth as lowe As *evere*
 dide a dogge for the bowe. | (CT V, 417) And *evere in oon* ['continually']
 she cryde alwey and shrighete,

Also in: CT III, 141 (lyved); 623 (folwede); VII, 27 (was drawyng);
 514 (stant); 597 (cride); 2698 (hadde); VIII, 687 (hadde); IX, 141 (dide);
 TC I, 541 (called); II, 66 (lay); III, 116 (poked); 1376 (was yyeven); V,
 451 (soughte); LGW 1577 (kepte); BD 876 (seyde); HF 1897 (wiste):
 (was) CT I, 335; IV, 407; 677; 905; 926; VI, 333; VII, 162; 2179; VIII,
 1275; TC I, 236; III, 485; V, 436; 453; BD 1288; Mars 292; (dide) TC III,
 512; 811.

Note. While *evere yit* may occur with the perfect or the past
 (e.g., TC III, 293; BD 764 vs. TC III, 1376; HF 1897), *evere in
 oon* occurs exclusively with the past (CT IV, 677; V, 417; VII, 27;
 TC V, 451).

The examples above clearly show that the adverbials meaning 'always'
 occur far more frequently with the past than with the perfect. This is
 probably because not only these adverbials but also the perfect means
 continuation and, therefore, the combination of them both is too emphatic
 in ordinary contexts.

On the other hand, it should be noticed, *evere sithe(n)* occurs with the
 perfect (CT I, 3863; TC III, 244), but not with the past, because this
 adverbial, meaning 'continuation up to now', is compatible with the
 perfect, but not with the past.

2.3.1.2 *longe; longe tyme/while; yore*

These adverbials cooccur with the following verbs in the present perfect:

adverbial	verb
longe	ben hid; abiden, ben, conforten, continuen, gon, heren, hidden, holden, liven, loven, lyen, playen, riden, seken, serven, sojournen, suffren,
longe tyme/while	abiden, ben, beren, enduren,
yore	ben, don, herknen, seken, serven.

longe

perfect (21): (TC IV, 496) O, where hastow ben hid so *longe* in muwe, That kanst so wel and formely arguwe? | (CT I, 2772) Allas, the wo! Allas, the peynes stronge, That I for yow have suffred, and so *longe*! | (CT II, 536) And Custance hath so *longe* sojourned there, | (CT IV, 1888) So *longe* hath Mayus in hir chambre abyden, | (CT V, 832) So *longe* han they confortid hire til she Receyved hath ... The emprenting of hire conso- lacioun, | (CT VII, 800) Til he so *longe* hath riden and goon | (CT X, 252) Wel may he be sory thanne, that oweth al his lif to God as *longe* as he hath lyved, | (CT X, 562) discord, thurgh which a man forsaketh his olde freend that he hath loved ful *longe*; | (CT X, 963) and how *longe* thou hast continued in synne. | (CT X, 1004) and that he have comprehended in hys mynde ... how *longe* that he hath leyn in synne; | (PF 453) Or at the leste I love hire as wel as ye, And *lenger* have served hire in my degre;

Also in: CT IV, 827 (holden); Bo V, p.4, 7 (ysought); TC I, 617 (hid); II, 1240 (played); HF 615 (served); RR *3920 (left); *3929 (tristed); *4068 (lyved); *6471 (do); *7692 (red): (leyn/ylyen) CT X, 1071; LGW 2410; (be/ ben/ybe) CT IV, 2401; TC IV, 1108; Ven 51; RR *3593; *3841: (BEN-perfect) (is goon) CT II, 720; IV, 2324; LGW 1943 (is yronne).

past (17): (CT II, 378) Repentyng hire she hethen was so *longe*, | (CT III, 895) the queene and other ladyes mo So *longe* preyeden the kyng of grace | (CT III, 1765) So *longe* he wente, hous by hous, | (CT III, 1893) He fasted *longe* and was in contemplaunce. | (RR 534) Ful *long* I shof [‘pushed’], and knokkide eke,

Also in: LGW 2261 (say ['saw']): (was/were) CT I, 2084; II, 1065; VIII, 922; LGW 824; BD 775: (abood) TC V, 1202; RR *3649; *3694; (lay) TC I, 723; III, 1584; LGW 1696; (saylede) LGW 958; 1462.

longe tyme/while

perfect (4): (CT VI, 735) Mooder, with yow wolde I chaunge my cheste
That in my chambre *longe tyme* hath be, | (CT VII, 1185) It may nat
be . . . that where greet fyr hath *longe tyme* endured, that ther ne
dwelleth som vapour of warmnesse. | (Bo III, p.9, 188) "Certes," quod I,
"that desire I gretly and have abyden *longe tyme* to herkne it." | (HF
1484) [Virgile] bore hath up *a longe while* The fame of Pius Eneas.

Also in LGW F 427 (BEN-perfect: goon ys a gret while).

past (4): (CT I, 1573) he fil down in a traunce *A longe tyme*, | (CT II,
979) And *longe tyme* dwelled she in that place, | (LGW 772) And *longe
tyme* they wroughte in this manere, | (CT V, 444) *A longe whil* to
wayten hire she stood

Also in: RR *3189 (stod); (lay) *1736; *1805.

yore ('for a long time')

perfect (7): (CT II, 272) Housbondes been alle goode, and han ben
yoore; | (CT V, 403) Of hem that han it after herkned *yoore*, | (PF 476)
A man may serven bet and more to pay In half a yer . . . Than som man
doth that hath served ful *yoore*. | (Pity 93) Have mercy on me, thow
Herenus quene, That yow have sought so tendirly and *yore*; | (CompL
79) For bothe I love and eek drede yow so sore, And algates moot, and
have doon yow, ful *yore*, That bettre loved is noon ne never shal;

Also in: CT VI, 69 (been); LGW 2353 (be woned); RR *7597 (seid).

past (1): (CT I, 4230) So myrie a fit ne hadde she nat ful *yoore*;

Note. As an instance of "past+yore" Bauer (1970: 117) cites
LGW G 12f.:

Men shal nat wenen every thyng a lye, For that he say it nat
of yore ago

In this instance, however, *yore* is part of "of yore ago" (☞
§2.3.5.2).

Longe and (*a*) *longe tyme/while* are more often used with the perfect than with the past because these phrases indicate ‘duration’ and because one of the basic meanings of the perfect is ‘duration’.

Notice that *yore* in the sense ‘for a long time’ occurs seven times with the perfect, but only once with the past. The collocation “past+yore” seems to be avoided for a semantic reason: when used with the past, the polysemic word *yore* is apt to be interpreted as ‘formerly’, and not as ‘for a long time’, because the primary meaning of the past is ‘distance from “now”’. On the other hand, when *yore* is used with the perfect, this adverb means either ‘formerly’ or ‘for a long time’ because the perfect can mean ‘experience’ or ‘duration’.

2.3.1.3 *many a yeer; many a day*

The verbs used with these adverbial phrases are as listed below:

adverbial	verb
many a yeer	japen, liven, knowen, serven,
many a day	ben, don, loven.

many a yeer

perfect (4): (CT I, 1729) Thus hath he japed thee ful *many a yer*, | (CT I, 2301) Goddesse of maydens, that myn herte hast knowe Ful *many a yeer*, | (CT I, 3086) Syn he hath served yow so *many a yeer*, And had for yow so greet adversitee, | (RR *3976) *For many a yeer* withouten blame We han ben, and many a day;

Also in TC IV, 1093 (lyved; with *byfor*n ↗ §2.3.4.2).

past (1): (BD 1296) And thus we lyved ful *many a yere*

many a day

perfect (5): (CT III, 1592) I have been syk, and that ful *many a day*. | (CT IV, 1304) Thy verray freendes . . . Wol kepe thee bet than she that waiteth ay After thy good and hath doon *many a day*. | (TC V, 142) For though ye Troians with us Grekes wrothe Han *many a day* ben, alwey

yet, parde, O god of Love in soth we serven bothe. | (LGW F 337) For
thogh thou reneyed hast my lay, As other wrecches han doon *many a*
day, | (LGW 2115) I have yloved yow ful *many a day* ... in my cuntre,

Also in RR *3977 (☞ *many a yeer*).

past (4): (CT I, 3925) A millere was ther dwellynge *many a day*. | (CT
IV, 1773) [Damyas] carf biforn the knyght ful *many a day*. | (CT IX,
131) a crowe Which in a cage he fostred *many a day*, | (BD 1252) And
thus I lyved ful *many a day*,

With *many a yeer/day*, though the perfect occurs more frequently than the
past, the verb may be in either form. The choice seems to be determined
by whether or not *many a yeer/day* extends to the time of utterance (cf.
§2.3.4.1).

2.3.1.4 *al my/thy lyf; al (this) day/nyght*

The table below shows the verbs used with these adverbials:

adverbial	verb
<i>al my lyf</i>	ben, haten, honouren, loven,
<i>al this day</i>	haven, icchen, shrichen, swinken.

al my/thy lyf

perfect (6): (CT IV, 1235) And yet, I trowe, he that *al his lyve* Wyfleeas
hath been, | (CT IV, 1492) I have now been a court-man *al my lyf*, | (TC
I, 594) I have, and shal, for trewe or fals report, In wrong and right
iloved the *al my lyve*: | (TC IV, 267) Have I the nought honoured *al my*
lyve, As thow wel woost, above the goddes alle? | (HF 200) Ther saugh I
thee, cruel Juno, . . . , That hast yhated *al thy lyf* Al the Troianysshe
blood, | (HF 1733) We han don neither that ne this, But ydel *al oure lyf*
ybe.

past (7): (CT I, 71) He nevere yet no vileynye ne sayde *In al his lyf*
unto no maner wight. | (CT III, 1620) Ne was I nevere er now, wydwe ne
wyf, Somoned unto youre court *in al my lyf*; | (CT IV, 2146) No spot
[‘defect’] of thee ne knew I *al my lyf*. | (CT V, 1540) the beste wyf That

evere yet I knew *in al my lyf*. | (CT VI, 6) No children hadde he mo *in al his lyf*. | (TC II, 1538) So glad ne was he nevere *in al his lyve*, | (LGW F 485 (= G 475)) That weren trewe in lovyng *al hire lyves*;

al (this) day/nyght

perfect (5): (CT I, 3682) My mouth hath icched *al this longe day*; | (CT I, 4184) And we han had an il fit [i.e., ‘hard time’] *al this day*; | (CT IX, 17) Hastow had fleen *al nyght*, or artow dronke? | (CT IX, 18) Or hastow with som quene *al nyght* yswonke, So that thow mayst nat holden up thyn heed? | (TC V, 320) The owle ek . . . Hath after me shrigh *al thise nyghtes two*.

past (12): (CT I, 641) he herde it *al the day*; | (TC V, 709) as she that *al the day* Stood, | (CT I, 1003) Stille in that feeld he took *al nyght* his reste, | (CT I, 3684) *Al nyght* me mette eek I was at a feeste. | (CT VII, 787) Me dremed *al this nyght*, | (TC V, 289) Troilus *al nyght* for sorwe wook;

Also in: CT I, 1178 (foughte); III, 577 (mette); 1081 (hidde); VI, 874 (shoop); TC III, 1557 (reyned); V, 284 (was)||RR *1913 (chaunged).

These adverbials occur a little more frequently with the past than with the perfect. The difference between “perfect + *al my lyf/al day*” and “past + *al my lyf/al day*” seems to be the same as the difference discussed in the preceding section (§2.3.1.3). An interesting tendency is that the past usually occurs with *in al my/thy lyf* and the perfect with *al my/thy lyf* (no preposition). This suggests that the perfect expresses a situation continuing throughout one’s life, while the past expresses a situation continuing for sometime in one’s life. *Knew* (CT IV, 2146) and *were* (LGW F 485), on the other hand, do not require *in* because these stative verbs suggest continuation.

2.3.1.5 *a certein tyme* (3)

This adverbial phrase is used with SOJOURNEN.

(CT II, 149) Sojourned han thise merchantz in that toun *A certein tyme*,

as fil to hire plesance. | (Mars 80) Sojourned hath this Mars of which I rede In chambre amynd the paleys prively *A certeyn tyme*,

A variant expression occurs with WEEPEN:

(CT VII, 977) He is a fool that destourbeth the mooder to wepen in the deeth of hire child til she have wept hir fille as *for a certein tyme*,

This phrase does not occur with the past.

2.3.1.6 *seven yeer/winter; thise seven yeer/months*

The verbs used with these adverbials are given in the following table:

adverbial	verb
seven yeer, etc.	ben, beren, dwellen,
thise seven yeer, etc	ben languysshyng; ben ywedded; ben, shrieken, sitten, suffren, tarien.

seven yeer/winter

perfect (3): (CT VIII, 720) With this Chanoun I dwelt have *seven yeer*, And of his science am I never the neer. | (CT III, 1860) That han been trewe freres *fifty yeer*; | (CT V, 43) And so bifel that whan this Cambyuskan Hath *twenty wynter* born his diademe,

past (5): (CT I, 1446) And *thre yeer* in this wise his lif he ladde, | (CT V, 813) [Arveragus] dwelled there *two yeer*; | (CT V, 1102) In langour and in torment furyus *Two yeer and moore* lay wrecche Aurelyus, | (CT VII, 2655) *Twelf yeer* he regned,

Also in CT VII, 2059 (hadde).

this(e) seven/eight yeer, etc.

perfect (6): (CT I, 1451) In derknesse and horrible and strong prisoun *Thise seven yeer* hath seten Palamoun Forpyned, what for wo and for distresse. | (LGW 2120) Upon my trouthe I swere and yow assure, *This sevene yer* I have youre servaunt be. | (BD 37) but trewly, as I gesse, I

holde hit be a sicknesse That I have suffred *this eight yeer*; | (PF 473)
 as he that hath ben languysshynge *This twenty wynter*, | (CT IV, 1234) I
 have ywedded bee *Thise monthes two*, and moore nat, pardee; | (TC V,
 1348) ye *thise monthes tweyne* Han taried,
 past: no instances.

Note 1. Also in More's English *seven* is often used "to denote a large number or quantity" (Visser 1952: 707n.).

Note 2. There are no instances of "for the last X years/ months" in Chaucer's English.

There are some restrictions on the use of "numeral+month/yere, etc." First, *month*, *nyght* and *wynter* occur only with the perfect, and not with the past. Secondly, the numeral *seven* does not cooccur with the past. Most importantly, only the perfect allows the collocation of *this(e)* and "numeral+year". The last restriction is semantically motivated: since the past indicates severance from "now" and the perfect indicates extension from past to "now", only the latter is compatible with *this(e)*, which, referring to "a period immediately past", expresses extension from the past to "now" (cf. OED, s.v. These II, 1 e).

2.3.1.7 *syn*-clause; *syn*-phrase; *fro my childhede*

The verbs used with these adverbials are as illustrated below:

adverbial	verb
<i>syn</i> -clause	ben, don, faren, haven, labouren, seeken, speken, suffren, weepen, winnen, writen,
<i>syn</i> -phrase <i>fro my childhede</i>	hidden, maken, norissen.

syn-clause

perfect (15): (CT III, 4) *sith* I twelve yeer was of age ... Housbondes at
 chirche dore I have had fyve | (CT IV, 1545) For, God it woot, I have

wept many a teere Ful pryvely, *syn* I have had a wyf. | (CT VI, 390) By this gaude have I wonne, yeer by yeer, An hundred mark *sith* I was pardoner. | (CT VII, 108) I trowe, certes, that oure goode man Hath yow laboured *sith* the nyght bigan | (CT VII, 146) Thanne wolde I telle a legende of my lyf, What I have suffred *sith* I was a wyf With myn housbonde, | (CT X, 1011) telle hym eek alle the synnes that thow hast doon *syn* thou were last yshryven; | (TC V, 466) How have ye faren *syn* that ye were here? | (TC V, 1303) Thow hast nat writen hire *syn* that she wente, Nor she to the;

Also in: CT I, 3079 (doon); III, 1782 (fare); IV, 484 (spoken); BD 759 (Be); HF 100 (had); 1340 (ybeen); Pity 34 (sought): (BEN-perfect) CT I, 3890 (is passed).

past (21): (CT I, 601) [the Revel] by his covenant yaf the rekenynge, *Syn* that his lord was twenty yeer of age. | (TC II, 568) nevere *sith* that I was born Was I so besy no man for to preche,

Also in: CT I, 3674 (saugh); III, 140 (was shapen); IV, 906 (demed); VII, 2825 (ladde); 2873 (bar); VIII, 494 (seydest); TC V, 1167 (felte); LGW F 445 (= G 435) (fond); HF 59 (mette): (hadde) TC II, 1269; RR *7304; (koude) CT V, 552; TC V, 780; 873; (was) CT III, 1244; V, 306; 930; VII, 162; 2111; IX, 120.

syn-phrase

perfect (2): (CT V, 1536) That ye han maad to me as heerbiforn, *Sith* thilke tyme which that ye were born. | (LGW 2505) But tymes foure the mone hath hid hire face, *Syn* thilke day ye wente from this place,

past (7): (CT I, 3665) I saugh hym heere nat wirche *Syn* Saterdag; | (TC IV, 1656) Now God ... Me glade, as wys I nevere unto Criseyde, *Syn* thilke day I saugh hire first with yë, Was fals, | (LGW 1870) Ne never was ther kyng in Rome toun *Syn* thilke day;

Also in: TC II, 143 (desired); 1412 (nas); III, 602 (was bishet); LGW 2629 (com).

fro my/youre childhede

perfect (2): (CT VII, 1445) I bithenke me now and take heede how Fortune hath norissed me *fro my childhede* and hath holpen me to

passee many a stroong paas [i.e., difficult situation]. | (CT VII, 1453)
 And where as ye seyn that Fortune hath norissed yow *fro youre
 childhede*,

past: no instances.

In Chaucer's English, strangely enough, a *syn*-clause and a *syn*-phrase occur more often with the past than with the perfect. A possible reason for this is that this clause/phrase indicates a point of beginning, but not a point of ending. Palmer (1974: 50), incidentally, says, "The adverbials beginning with *since* are collocated only with perfect forms". Since this does not apply to ME constructions, the restriction seems to have come into existence in the ModE period.

Note. Also in PrE a *since*-clause/phrase does not always express continuation up to "now". Sentence ii below is not continuative:

- i. I haven't been well since the summer. (continuative)
- ii. Tom has been to the movies twice since April.
 (existential)

The semantic difference between i and ii is reflected in the following syntactic differences:

- i'. It is since the summer that I haven't been well.
- i''. Since when haven't you been well, since the summer or since the spring?
- ii'. *It is since April that Tom has been to the movies twice.
- ii''. *Since when has Tom been to the movies twice, since April or since March?

(The difference between continuative and existential *since*-phrases was pointed out by Harumi Sawada at the 12th Conference of the Modern English Association of Japan held at Gakushuin University in 1995.)

2.3.1.8 *hiderto; unto/into this tyme*

These adverbials are used with the following verbs:

adverbial	verb
hiderto unto this tyme	sayn, shewen, tellen, travailen, ben, feynen, techen.

hiderto

perfect (3): (Bo III, p.9, 1) It suffiseth that I have schewyd *hiderto* the forme of fals welefulnesse, | (Bo IV, p.1, 10) the thinges that thou hast seid me *hidirto* ben to me so cleer and so schewynge by the devyne lookynge of hem, | (Bo IV, p.4, 154) But I have travailed and told yit *hiderto* for thou sholdest knowe that the mowynge of schrewes ... nis no mowynge;

Also in RR *3412 (trespassed).

past: no instances.

unto/into/to this tyme

perfect (3): (CT VIII, 263) In dremes ... han we be *Unto this tyme*, | (CT VII, 1233) as yet *into this tyme* ye han wel and covenably [‘suitably’] taught me as in general how I shal governe me in the chesyng and in the withholdynge of my conseilours. | (TC II, 996) and *to this nyght* Have I naught feyned,

past: no occurrences.

These adverbials do not occur with the past. The reason must be that these adverbials, indicating continuation up to “now”, are incompatible with the past, which indicates separation from “now”.

2.3.2 Adverbials indicating ‘frequency’

2.3.2.1 *ofte*; *ofte tyme(s)*

The verbs used in the pattern “pres. perf. + *ofte (tymes)*” are as follows:

adverbial	verb
<i>ofte</i>	ben caught; anoyen, apesen, assayen, casten, coveren, defenden, don, fallen, faren, haven, heren, kissen, maken, meeten, prayen, putten, receyven, resisten, sayn, synnen, tellen, thenken, withstonden,
<i>ofte tyme(s)</i>	ben knowen; feynen, haven, heren, maken.

ofte

perfect (24): (CT I, 1817) As he that hath ben caught *ofte* in his laas, I yow foryeve al hoolly this trespaas, At requeste of the queene, | (CT I, 2624) *Ful ofte* a day han this Thebanes two Togydre ymet, and wroght his felawe wo; | (CT III, 1772) *Ful ofte* Have I upon this bench faren ful weel; | (CT V, 1142) For *ofte* at feestes have I wel herd seye That tregetours . . . Have maad come in a water and a barge, | (CT VII, 94) [This goode wyf] hym saleweth, as she hath doon *ofte*. | (CT VII, 1089) for ye han *ful ofte* assayed my grete silence and my grete pacience,

Also in: CT I, 1584 (told; with *heerbiforn* ⇨ §2.3.4.2); VII, 1964 (herd); X, 820 (seyd); 969 (falle); 1071 (synned); Bo I, p.4, 54 (resisted and withstonden); 57 (put of or cast out); 61 (covered and defended); II, p.5, 172 (anoyed); TC I, 250 (apesed); 646 (assayed); 911 (maad); III, 303 (mad; with *here-byforn* ⇨ §2.3.4.2); IV, 542 (thought); V, 733 (had); LGW 1337 (kyst); 2533 (prayed); ABC 34 (receyved)||RR *2046 (ben disceyved); *4031 (herd); *7528 (played).

past: (CT I, 1356) *Ful ofte* a day he swelte [‘grew faint’] and seyde “Allas!” | (CT I, 3218) *Ful often* blessed was his myrie throte. | (CT I, 3758) *Ful ofte* paramours he gan deffie, | (CT II, 606) For which *ful ofte* he weep and wroong his hond, | (CT III, 491) he sat *ful ofte* and song, | (CT III, 539) And so I dide *ful often*, | (CT III, 540) That made his

face *often* reed and hoot For verray shame, | (CT III, 861) The elf-queene . . . Daunced ful *ofte* in many a grene mede. | (CT IV, 426) for he saugh that under low degree Was *ofte* vertu hid,

Also in: CT IV, 722 (spradde); 2119 (wente); V, 665 (was); VI, 251 (preyed); VIII, 821 (herde); IX, 261 (saugh); X, 663 (repreved); TC I, 333 (tit); 506 (gan to pleyne); 919 (seydest); II, 60 (made); 1321 (gan glade); III, 1117 (kiste); IV, 137 (preyde); 245 (swapte); 738 (wrong); 1438 (preyde); V, 689 (seyde); 715 (sighte); 1102 (was); 1568 (bad); 1583 (wroot), etc.

ofte tyme(s)/sythe(s)

perfect (6): (CT III, 1675) ye han *ofte tyme* herd telle How that a frere ravysshed [‘carried away’] was to helle In spirit ones by a visoun; | (CT VI, 62) And of hir owene vertu, unconstreyned, She hath ful *ofte tyme* syk hire feyned, | (CT VII, 410) and eek for beele cheere That he hath had ful *ofte tymes* heere. | (Bo IV, p.6, 329) For whiche thing thilke sovereyne purveaunce hath makid *ofte tyme* fair myracle, | (TC I, 920) And som han feyned *ofte tyme*, and told How that they waken, whan thei slegen softe; | (TC II, 792) How *ofte tyme* hath it yknowen be The tresoun that to wommen hath ben do!

past (14): (CT I, 356) Ful *ofte tyme* he was knyght of the shire. | (CT I, 485) And swich he was ypreved *ofte sithes*. | (CT I, 4390) For *often tyme* he foond his box ful bare. | (CT VII, 529) This preyde he hym to construe and declare Ful *often tyme* upon his knowes [‘knees’] bare. | (CT X, 955) Ful *ofte tyme* I rede that no man truste in his owene perfeccioun,

Also in: CT I, 1877 (thonked); IV, 233 (sette); VIII, 1031 (thanked); TC IV, 1161 (kiste); V, 1583 (wroot); BD 1158 (song); RR 812 (gan loken): (was) TC V, 809; 1576.

Note. *Ofte tyme(s)* may occur either with the perfect or with the past; by contrast, *ofte sythe(s)* is used exclusively with the past (CT I, 485; 1877; IV, 233; VIII, 1031; RR 812). Considering the fact that the construction “pres. perf. + a thousand sythe(s)” (§2.3.2.2) is also rare (only in LGW G 1), it seems that Chaucer

avored “perfect + time(s)” over “perfect + sythe(s)”.

Though these adverbials occur more frequently with the past than with the perfect, the difference in the frequencies does not seem significant; there are abundant instances of “pres. perf. + ofte (tyme)” as well as “past + ofte (tymes)”. It is possible to assume that, when it cooccurs with the perfect, *ofte (tyme)* means ‘many times up to now’; when it occurs with the past, the adverbial means ‘many times in the past’.

2.3.2.2 *twies/thries; thre/four tymes*

The following is a list of the verbs used with these adverbials:

adverbial	verb
twies/thries thre tymes, etc.	been, swyven, tellen, betrayen, heren, hidden, lighten, swounen, synnen, venquysshēn.

twies/thries, etc.

perfect (4): (CT I, 4348) And many a Jakke of Dovere hastow soold That hath been *twies* hoot and *twies* coold. | (Astr I, 16, 18) Now have I told the *twyes*. | (CT I, 4265) As I have *thries* in this shorte nyght Swyved the milleres doghter bolt upright, Whil thow hast, as a coward, been agast. | (TC II, 1285) “Wel,” quod Pandare, “as I have told yow *thrie*, Lat be youre nyce shame and youre folie,

past (6): (CT VII, 1033) and in the ground he wroot *twies*. | (CT VII, 3012) Thus *twies* in his slepyng dremed hee; | (CT I, 2952) Ne how the Grekes . . . *Thries* riden [pa. pl.] al the fyr aboute | (CT I, 2955) And *thries* how the ladyes gonne crye;

Also in: LGW 2686 (fyl); HF 573 (sayde).

thre/four/twenty tymes/sythe(s), etc.

perfect (8): (CT II, 291) for the harm thurgh Hanybal That Romayns hath venquysshed *tymes thre*, | (CT VIII, 1092) He hath bitrayed folkes *many tyme*; | (CT X, 969) The fifthe circumstaunce is *how manye tymes*

that he hath synned, . . . , and how ofte that he hath falle. | (LGW F 1) *A thousand tymes* [G 1: A thousand sythes] have I herd men telle That ther ys joy in hevене and peyne in helle, | (LGW 1342) And thus, allas, withouten his socours, *Twenty tyme* yswouned hath she thanne. | (LGW 2504, 2506) But *tymes foure* the mone hath hid hire face, . . . , And *foure tymes* lyghte the world ageyn. [see the note to LIGHTEN in §2.2.1.] | (TC V, 97) I have herd seyde ek *tymes twyes twelve*, ‘He is a fool that wol foryete hymselfe.’

Also in: RR *2048 (biguyled); *4461 (seen): (BEN-perfect) RR 380 (Thre tymes ben passed by).

past (15): (TC II, 1089) Therwith *a thousand tymes* er he lette He kiste tho the lettre that he shette, | (TC III, 473) *twenty thousand tymes* . . . She thonked God that evere she with hym mette. | (TC III, 1360) And wel *a thousand tymes* gan he syke

Also in: CT III, 1254 (gan kisse); V, 370 (changed); VII, 3177 (fethered); TC I, 441 (loste); 457 (seyde); III, 1523 (took); IV, 753 (cryed); 826 (gan pleyne); HF 2126 (saugh); Anel 222 (loved): (kiste) TC III, 1252; V, 191.

As in the case of other adverbials of ‘frequency’, these adverbials occur slightly more often with the past than with the perfect. Here again it is possible to postulate the same difference as discussed in §2.3.2.1; that is, ‘X times up to now’ vs. ‘X times in the past’. It should also be kept in mind, though, that the choice between the past and perfect forms is sometimes determined by the exigencies of meter and rime. It will be sufficient here to say that in Chaucer’s English both the perfect and the past can express frequency without marked difference.

2.3.3 Adverbials indicating ‘nowness’: *now*; *ryght now*

The verbs cooccurring with *now* and *ryght now* are as follows:

adverbial	verb
now	apayen, ateynen, bireften, cacchen, declaren, depriven, drinken, entriken, fetteren, forgon, knowen, maken, releven, shryven, tellen, twynklen,
right now	ben, finden, heren, putten.

now

perfect (20): (CT IV, 2067) And *now* thou hast biraft hym bothe his yen, | (CT VI, 456) *Now* have I dronke a draughte of corny ale, | (Bo II, p.1, 58) Thou hast *now* knowen and ateynt [‘experienced’] the doutous or double visage of thilke blynde goddesse Fortune. | (Bo II, p.3, 71) Sche hath *now* twynkled first upon the with a wikkid eye. | (TC I, 553) Han *now* thus soone Grekes maad yow leene? | (TC II, 579) *Now* have I plat to yow myn herte shryven, | (TC III, 1442) For *now*, for thow so hiest out of Troie, Have I forgon thus hastili my joie! | (TC IV, 106) Ye have *now* kaught and fetered in prisoun Troians ynowe, | (TC V, 1249) She [Criseyde] elliswhere hath *now* here herte apayed [‘pleased’]. | (LGW F 128) *Now* hath th’atempre sonne all that releved, That naked was, and clad him new agayn. | (Pity 69) [Crueltee] hath depryved yow *now* of your place That hyghte “Beaute apertenant to Grace.” | (RR 1642) That mirrour hath me *now* entriked,

Also in: RR *4068 (lyved); *5972 (sworn): (BEN-perfect) (comen) CT IV, 1856; VII, 3411; (gon) CT VIII, 902; TC V, 235; Astr II, 12, 29; (torned) TC III, 1074; V, 732; TC I, 555 (fallen); CT II, 1151 (scaped).

“Now have I told/declared” is a formulaic expression to summarize what the narrator has said:

(CT I, 715) *Now have I toold yow* soothly, in a clause, Th’estaat, th’array, the nombre, and eek the cause Why that assembled was this compaignye | (TC III, 911) *Now have I told* what peril he is inne, | (BD 1181) *Now have I told thee*, soth to say, My firste song. | (CT VIII, 119)

Now have I yow declared what she highte.

Also in: CT X, 1028; HF 823; Astr I, 16, 18||RR *2717; *2935; *7168.

Now does not cooccur with the past except when it is used to change a topic. *Now* in this sense has initial position:

(CT I, 3312) *Now* was ther of that chirche a parissch clerk, | (CT II, 176) *Now* fil it that thise marchantz stode in grace Of hym that was the Sowdan of Surrye; | (CT V, 847) *Now* stood hire castel faste by the see,

Note. *Now* in the following instance means ‘at once, straight-way’:

(RR *2585) *Now* yede [‘went’] this mery thought away!

right now

perfect (5): (CT V, 242) Of which *right now* ye han youreselven herd. | (TC II, 613) Se, Troilus Hath *right now* put to flighte the Grekes route! | (TC II, 1480) For I have ben *right now* at Deiphebus, At Ector, and myn oother lordes moo, | (TC II, 1511) For I *right now* have founden o manere Of sleyghte, for to coveren al thi cheere. | (TC IV, 1370) And I *right now* have founden al the gise, Withouten net, wherwith I shal hym hente.

Also in TC II, 1111 (BEN-perfect: is right now come).

past (6): (CT I, 1096) But I was hurt *right now* thurghout myn ye In-to myn herte, | (CT VI, 753) Thou spak *right now* of thilke traytour Deeth. | (CT VII, 2784) and als of a tragedie *Right now* ye herde, | (CT VIII, 334) Ne seydestow *right now* in this manere,

Also in: CT VII, 2895 (was); TC II, 1314 (was sent).

The frequency of “perfect+right now” and that of “past+right now” are almost the same. When this phrase is used with the perfect, it occurs mostly in TC. Conversely, most of the instances of “past+right now” are found in CT. This may possibly suggest that *right now* in Chaucer’s later days tended to mean ‘a very little before, very recently’, just like PreE *just now* (cf. Ukaji 1978: 24n.).

2.3.4 Adverbials indicating ‘previousness’

2.3.4.1 *bifore; herebiforn; er now/this (time)*

Below is a table showing the verbs used with these adverbials:

adverbial	verb
bifore	don, feelen, heren, liven, maken, sayn, seen, preven, techen, tellen, werken, witen,
herebyforn	ben biknowen, ben schewed, ben told; concluden, confessen, difinisshen, gadren, graunten, lernen, maken, proeven, purposen, receyven, repen, sayn, shewen, tellen,
er now/this	assayen, betiden, bigilen, devisen, don, heren, knowen, lenden, sayn, shewen, slayn, tellen, writen.

Note. *Herebiforn* is used mostly in *Boece*. *Bifore* and *er this* often occur in rime position.

bifore

perfect (32): (CT I, 1148) I loved hire first, and tolde thee my wo As to my conseil and my brother sworn To forthre me, as I have toold *biforn*. | (CT I, 1665) [The destinee] executeth in the world over al The purveiaunce that God hath seyn *biforn*, | (CT III, 2199) As ye han herd *biforn* | (CT IV, 313) and specially therfore Tel me that poynt that I have seyde *bifore*, | (CT IV, 486) But I desire, as I have doon *bifore*, To lyve my lyf with hem in reste and pees. | (CT X, 239) the goode werkes that we han wrought *biforn*.

Also in: TC IV, 1093 (lyved); LGW F 550 (= G 540) (ymaad); HF 839 (preved): (seyn) Bo V, p.3, 12; 32; TC IV, 977; (herd) CT V, 1465; 1593; VI, 229; 393; VII, 956; 1296; TC II, 966; (seyde) CT VII, 1169; 1222; 1313; 1353; (wist) Bo V, p.3, 144; TC IV, 979; (told) CT I, 3302; TC V, 1100; 1443; (doon) CT X, 240; TC III, 1075; (feled) Bo V, p.3, 19; TC IV, 984.

past (15): (CT IV, 404; X, 350) of which I spak *bifore/biforn*, | (CT VIII, 1166) but it was maad *bifore*; | (CT IX, 89) He drank ynough *biforn*. | (PF 45) [Affrycan] warnede hym *beforn* of al his grace, | (Bo III, p.11, 69) the body forletith to ben that it was *beforn*. | (Bo V, p.4, 35) thilke thinges that the prescience woot *byforn* ne mowen nat unbetyde | (TC III, 1220) That bitternesse assaied was *biforn*;

Also in: CT I, 1162 (lovedest); Astr II, 44, 36 (taught): (dide) Astr II, 46, 30; 39; (was) CT VII, 1065; 1854; Bo II, p.2, 60||RR *3565 (was annoyed).

herebiforn

perfect (29): (Bo III, p.10, 199) “Certes,” quod I, “it hath wel ben schewyd *herebyforn* that alle these thinges ben al o thyng.” | (Bo IV, p.4, 95) “And what manere schal that be,” quod I, “other than hath ben told *herbyforn*?” | (Bo III, p.12, 53) But let us loken the thinges that we han purposed *herebyforn*. | (Bo III, p.11, 11) that schal I undo the be verray resoun, yif that tho thinges that I have concluded a litel *herebyforn* duellen only in hir first grauntynge. | (Bo IV, p.3, 80) For thou hast lerned a litil *herebyforn* that alle thing that is and hath beyng is oon, and thilke same oon is good: | (TC III, 302) so often *here-byforn* Hath mad ful many a lady bright of hewe Seyd ‘Weilaway, the day that I was born!’ | (LGW F 73 (= G 61)) For wel I wot that ye han *her-biforn* Of making ropen, and lad away the corn, | (ABC 34) For *heer-biforn* ful ofte in many a wyse Hast thou to misericorde receyved me.

Also in: CT V, 1535 (maad); Bo IV, p.2, 216 (gadrid and proevid); V, p.4, 40 (confessed and byknowen); TC II, 1271 (ben): (concluded) Bo IV, p.1, 47; p.4, 142; (dyffinysshed) Bo III, p.10, 9; IV, p.2, 223; V, p.1, 55; (grauntide) Bo III, p.9, 51; IV, p.4, 61; (schewed) Bo III, p.10, 31; IV, p.2, 246; V, p.6, 2; (seyd) CT VII, 1495; 1716; Bo III, p.4, 89; (told) CT I, 1584; VII, 1262; TC II, 296; BD 1127.

past (18): (Bo I, p.6, 18) for the same thyng songe thow a litil *herebyforn*, | (Bo III, p.1, 15) tho remedies whiche that thou seydest *herbyforn* / (Bo III, p.9, 146) and that schewedestow me ful wel a litel *herbyforn*, | (Bo III, p.12, 77) And I aperceyvede a litil *herebyforn* that thow woldest seyn thus, | (Bo IV, p.7, 17) the destyne that thou

taughtest me a litel *herebyforn*, | (Bo V, p.6, 221) tho thinges that I purposide the a litil *herbyforn* | (Bo V, p.6, 278) thilke thing that thou putttest a litel *herebyforn*; | (TC IV, 1248) Naught was it lik tho nyghtes *here-byforn*. | (TC V, 157) I loved never womman *here-biforn* As paramours [i.e., by way of passionate love'],

Also in: Bo III, p.11, 222 (wistest); p.12, 23 (wendest); IV, p.3, 44 (yaf); V, p.3, 212 (songe); BD 1136 (herde); 1302 (tolde): (seyd/seydest) Bo III, p.1, 15; p.6, 21; IV, p.7, 21.

er this (tyme)

perfect (18): (CT I, 1683) as I have toold *er this*, | (CT IV, 624) ye han herd *er this* My peple sikly berth ['dislikes'] oure mariage; | (CT V, 1364) Hath ther nat many a noble wyf *er this*, And many a mayde, yslayn hirsself, allas, Rather than with hir body doon trespas? | (CT VII, 1479) ye shul fynde in manye thynges that I have shewed yow *er this* that hire condicion is bettre than youres. | (CT VIII, 985) Ful many a man hath he bigiled *er this*, And wole, | (CT VIII, 1256) And do therwith as ye han doon *er this* With that oother, | (Bo III, p.7, 23) it nedeth nat to tellen it the that hast *er this tyme* assayed it, | (TC III, 288) And thynk what wo ther hath bitid *er this*, For makyng of avantes, as men rede; | (TC V, 1276) Have I nat seyde *er this*, That dremes many a maner man bigile? | (LGW G 348) For he hath write many a bok *er this*. | (Fort 30) Graunt mercy of thyn haboundaunce That thou hast lent *or this*.

Also in: TC II, 361 (doon); IV, 29 (seyd); RR 476 (devysed): (herd) TC II, 1547; III, 498, IV, 80; V, 164||RR *5895 (cost); *7528 (played).

past (6): (CT VIII, 1106) which ye saugh nevere *er this*. | (CT VIII, 1180) as I tolde yow *er this*, | (CT VIII, 1362) And nere the freendshipe that ye dide *er this* To me, ye sholde paye moore, ywis.

Also in: TC III, 1514 (seyde); 1655 (dide); V, 737 (redde).

er now

perfect (1): (Bo I, p.2, 24) but certes he schal lightly remembren hymself yif so be that he hath knowen me *or now*;

past (8): (CT III, 1619) Ne was I nevere *er now*, wydwe ne wyf, | (CT

III, 2220) Nevere erst *er now* herde I of swich mateere. | (CT III, 2229)
 Who evere herde of swich a thyng *er now*? | (CT V, 460) For west nor est
 Ne saugh I nevere *er now* no bryd ne beest That ferde with hymself so
 pitously.

Also in: CT I, 4170 (herdest); TC III, 707 (hadde); V, 155 (seyde); HF
 1902 (nyste).

These adverbials (except for *er now*) occur more frequently with the
 perfect than with the past.

Note 1. “Past+er now” is used with a negative (*nevere/evere*).
 The construction “past+er this” occurs only in the *Canon’s
 Yeoman’s Tale* and TC. *Er* may be used adverbially with a verb in
 the past. The following example is not counted by Bauer (1970):

(CT I, 3789) right as he dide er.

Also in RR *5684.

Note 2. Some expressions containing *bifore/ herebiforn/ er this*
 are formulaic.

“As ye han herd bifore” and “(as) I have sayd/told bifore” occur
 mostly in the narrative: CT III, 2199; V, 1465; 1593; VI, 393; VII,
 956; 1296; TC II, 966; (as ye bifore Han herd) CT VI, 230; CT IV,
 313; VII, 1222; 1313; 1353; CT I, 1148; 3302; TC V, 1100; 1443.

“(as) I have seid (a litel) herebiforn” and its variant
 expressions appear mostly in prose:

as I have schewid a litel herebyforn (Bo III, p.10, 30; V, p.6, 1)
 | as I have seyde (yow) a litel herebyforn (Bo III, p.4, 89; CT
 VII, 1495; 1716) | as I have gadrid and proevid a litil
 herebyforn (Bo IV, p.2, 215) | as we han grauntide hirbyfore
 (Bo III, p.9, 51) | as thou thiself hast confessed it and
 byknowen a litel herebyforn (Bo V, p.4, 39).

Also in: CT I, 1584; VII, 1262; TC II, 296.

“As I have sayd/told er this” and its variant expressions are
 less frequent than the formulas with *bifore/herebyforn*:

as I have toold *er this* (CT I, 1683) | as I have seyde *er this* (TC

IV, 29) | As I have you *er this* devysed (RR 476) | ye han herd *er this* (CT IV, 624).

The expression “have seen/wist before” is used with reference to God’s foresight: Bo V, p.3, 12; 32; TC IV, 977; 998; Bo V, p.3, 144; TC IV, 979.

Note 3. *Bifore/herebiforn* may be used with a phrase indicating ‘duration’ or ‘frequency’:

(TC IV, 1093) Hastow nat lyved *many a yer* byforn Withouten hire, and ferd ful wel at ese? | (CT I, 1584) As I *ful ofte* have told thee heerbiforn, | (ABC 35) For heer-biforn *ful ofte* in many a wyse Hast thou to misericorde receyved me.

2.3.4.2 *by the morwe*

The following, as far as I can tell, is the sole Chaucerian instance of the present perfect used with “by NP”. It seems that *by the morwe* below is chosen in order to rime with *sorwe*:

(CT VII, 2396) And for no thyng but for thy chivalrie They in thy bed han slayn thee *by the morwe*. Thus kan Fortune hir wheel governe and gye, And out of joye brynge men to sorwe.

Instances of the past tense plus *by the morwe* (3):

(CT III, 755) She yaf hym swich a manere love-drynke That he was deed er it were *by the morwe*; | (TC V, 652) I saugh thyn hornes olde ek *by the morwe* | (RR 94) it was *by the morowe* erly,

See also CT I, 334.

2.3.5 Adverbials indicating ‘indefinite past’

2.3.5.1 *today/tonyght; this day/nyght/yeer*

The following table shows verbs that cooccur with these adverbials:

adverbial	verb
today	ben beten; ben, juggen, profren, shewen, techen,
tonyght	meten ('dream'),
this day	ben shryven; haven,
this nyght	tormenten,
this year	slayn.

today

perfect (6): (CT III, 1788) I have *to day* been at youre chirche at messe, | (CT III, 2281) He hath *to-day* taught us so muche good ... That ... He hadde the firste smel of fartes thre; | (CT IV, 152) But ther as ye han profred me *to-day* To chese me a wyf, I yow relese That choys and prey yow of that profre cesse. | (CT IV, 1506) Ye han youreselven shewed heer *to-day* So heigh sentence, so holily and weel, | (CT VI, 228) Thus hath he falsly jugged the *to-day* | (TC II, 940) Who hath ben wel ibete *To-day* with swerdes and with slynge-stones, But Troilus, that hath caught hym an hete ['fever']?

Also in RR *4050 (assaylen).

past (3): (CT I, 3429) I saugh *today* a cors yborn to chirche | (CT III, 2239) how shrewedly Unto my confessour *to-day* he spak! | (CT VI, 783) Who wende *To-day* that we sholde han so fair a grace?

tonyght

perfect (1): (CT VII, 2926) Certes this dreem, which ye han met *to-nyght*, Cometh of the greete superfluytee Of youre rede colera,

past (1): (CT VI, 673) And sodeynly he was yslayn *to-nyght*,

this day

perfect (2): (CT III, 2095) I have be shryven *this day* at my curat. | (CT III, 2176) I have ... had a despit *this day*,

Also in CT III, 2191 (BEN-perfect: bityd is).

past (2): (CT III, 1808) Yet saugh I nat *this day* so fair a wyf In al the chirche, | (CT IV, 4) *This day* ne herde I of youre tonge a word.

this nyght

perfect (1): (LGW 1296) Certes ... *this nyght* my faderes gost Hath in my slep so sore me tormented,
 past: no instances.

this yeer

perfect (1): (CT VI, 686) for he hath slayn *this yeer* ... Bothe man and womman, child, and hyne, and page;
 past (1): (CT I, 764) I saugh nat *this yeer* so myrie a compaignye Atones in this herberwe as is now.

As the examples cited show, these adverbials (except for *this nyght*) may occur either with the perfect or with the past. It seems that, as in PrE, when the speaker uses one of these adverbials with the perfect, he regards the time span expressed by the adverbial as extending to “now”; when he uses one of these adverbials with the past, he regards the time span expressed by the adverbial as separated from “now”. This difference is most evidently seen in the use of *tonight*: this word means ‘this very night’ (when used with the perfect) and ‘the night just past’ (when used with the past) (cf. OED, s.v. Tonight).

Note 1. The collocation “past + this nyght” is unacceptable because *this nyght* normally means ‘the night following this day’. Observe the following examples:

(CT I, 1615) And mete [‘food’] and drynke *this nyght* wol I brynge Ynough for thee, | (CT IV, 560) For *this nyght* shaltow dyen for my sake. | (CT VII, 3005) for in an oxes stalle *This nyght* I shal be mordred ther I lye!

Al this nyght, on the other hand, may occur with the past because *al* indicates continuation:

(CT VII, 787) Me dremed *al this nyght*,

Note 2. Though *this day* does not cooccur with the perfect in More’s English (Visser 1952: 702), there are two instances found in the *Summoner’s Tale*. See the exmaples from CT III, 2095

and 2176 under *this day*.

2.3.5.2 *ones/somtyme; on a day*

Verbs used with these adverbials are not numerous:

adverbial	verb
ones/somtyme on a day	ben, greven, haven, heren, seen, sayn.

ones/somtyme

perfect (5): (CT VII, 1490) for he that *oones* hath greved thee, may another tyme releve thee and helpe. | (TC IV, 1467) I woot, syn Calkas on the Grekis syde Hath *ones* ben and lost so foule his name, He dar nomore come here ayeyn for shame; | (CT II, 645) Have ye nat seyn *somtyme* a pale face, | (CT VII, 1184) Ne trust nat to hem to whiche thou hast had *som tyme* werre or enemytee, ne telle hem nat thy conseil. | (Bo I, p.6, 40) I have herd tolde it *somtyme*,

past (33):

ones (19): (CT I, 1034) Till it fil *ones*, | (CT III, 543) And so bifel that *ones* in a Lente ... That Jankyn clerk, and my gossyb dame Alys, And I myself, into the feeldes wente. | (CT III, 634) he smoot me *ones* on the lyst ['ear'], | (CT VII, 1107) And ther seyde *oones* a clerk in two vers, | (Anel 245) I wil ben ay ther I was *ones* bounde.

Also in: CT III, 1375 (rood); 1677 (ravysshed was); VIII, 748 (was lerned); TC I, 472 (made); III, 1587 (seyde); V, 571 (gan seye); 1039 (wan); BD 1217 (durste); HF 940 (was ybrent); LGW 2503 (wente); BD 1259 (thoughte): (saugh) TC V, 570; BD 979.

somtyme (15): (CT III, 673) And eek ther was *somtyme* a clerk at Rome, | (HF 536) That smot *somtyme* a tour to powder | (HF 2088) And *somtyme* saugh I thoo at ones A lesyng and a sad soth sawe,

Also in: CT I, 2846 (deyde); 3332 (song); 4402 (lad); III, 527 (was); VII, 2845 (was served); Bo I, p.1, 13 (constreyned); 15 (smede); V, m.4, 4 (broughte); TC I, 314 (caste); III, 451 (say); LSt 1 (was); RR 1525 (beer)

||*7388 (was); *2207 (was hated).

on a day

perfect (1): (CT IV, 790) He *on a day* in open audience Ful boistously
[‘rudely’] hath seyde hire this sentence:

past: (CT I, 19) Bifel that in that seson *on a day*, | (CT I, 1189) It
happed *on a day*, | (CT I, 1414) And to the court he wente *upon a day*, |
(CT I, 3272) so bifel the cas That *on a day* this hende Nicholas Fil with
this yonge wyf to rage and pleye, | (CT II, 989) Kyng Alla ... *Upon a day*
fil in swich repentance | (CT VII, 53) But so bifel, this marchant *on a*
day Shoop hym to make redy his array Toward the toun of Brugges for
to fare,

Also in: CT III, 884 (cam); 901 (spak); 2047 (seyde); IV, 618 (caughte);
1397 (sente); V, 584 (took); 1123 (say); VI, 118 (wente); VII, 525 (gan
preye); 2080 (made); 2480 (slow); 2704 (wente); 3113 (say): (bifel) CT
VII, 748; 968; 2423, etc.

These adverbials, which indicate ‘indefinite past’, prefer the past to the perfect; *on a day* occurs with the perfect only once, while it very often occurs with the past.

2.3.5.3 *whilom; yore; in olde tyme*

The verbs used with these adverbials are as follows:

adverbial	verb
whilom	bifallen, senden, shewen,
yore	don, heren, shapen, tellen,
in olde tyme	ben, striven.

whilom

perfect (3): (CT II, 1108) I am youre doghter Custance . . . That
whilom ye han sent unto Surrye. | (Bo IV, p.1, 61) And for thou hast
seyne the forme of the verray blisfulnesse by me that have *whilom*

yschewid it the,

Also in: CT I, 795 (han bifalle); (BEN-perfect) TC IV, 1069 (ben byfalle and overcome).

past: (CT I, 867) That *whilom* was ycleped Scithia, | (CT I, 2403) tilke fyr that *whilom* brente thee, | (CT I, 4055) As *whilom* to the wolf thus spak the mare. | (CT IV, 64) A markys *whilom* lord was of that lond, | (CT VII, 1) A marchant *whilom* dwelled at Seint-Denys, | (CT VII, 2822) A povre wydwe . . . Was *whilom* dwellyng in a narwe cotage, | (CT VII, 2985) *whilom* two felawes wente On pilgrimage, | (CT IX, 294) Thou songe *whilom* lyk a nyghtyngale; | (CT X, 202) the lovyng children, that *whilom* loveden so fleshly everich oother,

Also in: (dwelled) CT I, 4365; II, 134; (was dwellynge) CT I, 3187; III, 1301; IV, 1245; (was/weren) CT I, 859; 932; 956; III, 2017; IV, 846; VI, 463; VII, 2367; X, 874; 1078 (2x), etc.

(of) yore

perfect (7): (CT II, 174) [Thise marchantz] doon hir nedes as they han doon *yoore*, | (TC IV, 1497) as I have told yow *yore*, | (Anel 243) My destinee hath shapen hit so ful *yore*; | (Anel 346) But as the swan, I have herd seyde ful *yore*, Ayeins his deth shal singen his penaunce,

Also in: CT IV, 68 (doon); 1140 (☞ *in olde tyme*); TC V, 324 (told); RR *7597 (seid): (BEN-perfect) CT I, 3897 (passed is).

past (6): (CT IV, 2116) This fresshe May, that I spak of *so yoore*, In warm wex hath emprented the clyket | (TC V, 55) as I seyde *yore*, | (TC V, 1734) And that thow me bisoughtest don *of yoore*, | (ABC 150) For which the eerthe acursed was ful *yore*,

Also in: CT II, 984 (spak); 1167 (was).

in olde tyme(s)

perfect (2): (CT IV, 1140) This world is nat so strong, it is no nay, As it hath been *in olde tymes* yoore, | (Bo I, p.3, 24) Have I noght stryven with ful greet strif *in old tyme*, byfor the age of my Plato, ayens the foolhardynesse of folye?

past: no instances.

As pointed out by Bauer (§2.3.0), *whilom* is much more frequently used with the past than with the perfect. This is probably because this adverb does not indicate continuation up to “now”. *Yore* rarely occurs with the past (cf. §2.3.1.2). *In olde tyme* is not used with the past.

Note 1. The following instances seem to be variant expressions of “as I have told before” (cf. note 2 in §2.3.4.1; notice the *yore*-type takes a dative to add a syllable):

(TC IV, 1497) And if ye gon, as I have told yow yore, So thenk I n’am but ded, withoute more. | (TC V, 324) Pandare answerde and seyde, “Troilus, My deere frend, as I have told the yore, That it is folye for to sorwen thus,

Note 2. A PrE adverbial similar to *in olde tyme* is *in the past*. This phrase can be used with the present perfect, as in:

Japan and most of the coastal areas of California have suffered many major quakes *in the past*.

2.3.5.4 *ago(n)*

In ME the present perfect cooccurs not infrequently with *ago(n)*. Verbs used with this adverb are HAVEN, HEREN, SEEKEN and SEEN.

perfect (4): (CT I, 2784) I have heer with my cosyn Palamon Had strif and rancour many a day *agon* For love of yow, and for my jalousye. | (CT IV, 1637) I have . . . herd seyde, ful yoore *ago*, | (Pity 1) Pite, that I have sought so yore *agoo* With herte soore and ful of besy peyne, That in this world was never wight so woo Withoute deth | (RR 612) But they ben ful of sorowe and woo, As thou hast seen a while *agoo*.

past (4): (CT VII, 709) For oother tale certes kan I noon, But of a rym I lerned longe *agoon*. | (Bo III, p.3, 24) First and forward thow thiself, that haddest haboundances of rychesses nat longe *agoon*, I aske the | (LGW G 13) Men shal nat wenen every thyng a lye For that he say [‘saw’] it nat of yore *ago*. | (PF 18) Nat yoore *Agon* it happede me for to beholde Upon a bok,

Also in RR *7517 (Thou spake a jape not longe *ago*).

Note. In the following instance “it is” can be supplied between *agon* and *That*:

(TC V, 1325) Liketh yow to witen, swete herte, As ye wel knowe, how longe tyme *agon* Δ That ye me lefte in aspre peynes smerte, Whan that ye wente, (How long a time it is—ah, well yow know!—Since you departed, [Coghill trans.]

Oddly enough, *ago* cooccurs with the perfect as often as the past. When used with the past, the phrase containing *ago* is usually negated. (For a more detailed discussion on the use of “perfect/past + *ago*”, see the following subsection.)

2.3.6 Summary

We have seen above that the ME present perfect can cooccur with adverbials indicating ‘duration’, ‘frequency’, ‘nowness’, ‘previousness’ and ‘indefinite past’. Let us recapitulate which verb collocates with which kind of adverbial:

Table 6 Relationships between adverbials and verbs

adverbial	verb
duration	ben languyssyng; ben despised, ben hid; abiden, ben, beren, conforten, continuen, disposen, don, enduren, dwellen, faren, feynen, ficchen, finden, gon, halwen, haten, haven, herknen, hidden, honouren, icchen, japen, knowen, labouren, liven, loven, lyen, maken, norissen, playen, proverben, riden, sayn, seen, seken, serven, shewen, shrichen, sitten, sojournen, speken, suffren, swinken, tarien, techen, tellen, travailen, wedden, weepen, winnen, writen.
frequency	ben caught, ben knowen; anoyen, apesen, assayen, ben, bitrayen, cacchen, cast, coveren, defenden, don, fallen, faren, feynen, haven, heren, hidden, kissen, lighten, maken, meeten, prayen, putten, receyven, resisten, sayn, swounen, swyven, synnen, tellen, thenken, venquysshē, withstonden.
nowness	apayen, ateynen, ben, bireften, cacchen, declaren, depriven, drinken, entriken, fetteren, finden, forgon, heren, knowen, maken, putten, releven, shryven, speken, stonden, twynklen.
previousness	ben bikonwen, ben schewed, ben told; assayen, bigylen, bitiden, concluden, confessen, desiren, devisen, don, dyfinisshen, feelen, gadren, graunten, heren, knowen, lenden, lernē, maken, preven, purposen, repen, sayn, seeken, seen, shewen, slayn, tellen, wenden, werken, writen, wyten.
indef. past	ben beten, ben shryven; ben, bifallen, don, greven, haven, heren, herknen, juggen, meten, profren, sayn, seeken, seen, senden, shapen, shewen, slayn, striven, techen, tellen, tormenten.

Though it is difficult to make an overall generalization from the table above, this much can be said: (1) verbs used with adverbials of ‘duration’ are those with ‘durative’ aspect, such as verbs of ‘rest’ (e.g., ABIDEN, DWELLEN), verbs of ‘feeling’ (e.g., HATEN, LOVEN) and other verbs that presuppose duration (e.g., CONTINUEN, KNOWEN); (2) verbs with

‘resultative’ aspect (e.g., ATEYNEN, BEREFTEN, CACCHEN, DEPRIVEN) can be collocated with adverbials of ‘nowness’; (3) verbs of ‘mental activity’ (e.g., CONCLUDEN, DEFYNISSHEN, TELLEN) are, most obviously in *Boece*, collocated with adverbials of ‘previousness’ in order to summarize a previous argument and to proceed to a new topic.

A more important observation is that some adverbials are used exclusively with the perfect, among which are *this(e) seven years*, *hiderto*, *unto/into/to this tyme*, and *now*; namely, adverbials suggesting continuation up to “now”. The perfect, in other words, treats a situation as extending from past to the time of speaking. This view conforms with Visser’s (1952: 707) observation (cf. also Söderlind 1951: 60):

[both in earlier English and in later English] *have*-constructions are not only used when there is connection in continuity of the action, in time, or in result, but that *have*-constructions are also employed when there is present contact with the past action through vivid remembering, and as it were renewed experiencing of a past occurrence.

In this connection, a comment should be made about “current relevance” (Twadell 1960: 6, Gleason 1961: 236; cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 190ff.). If by this term is meant ‘some kind of trace observable at the time of utterance’, this “basic meaning” of the perfect meets with counterexamples in ME; the ME perfect may be used of a situation which lacks relevance to the present:

(CT I, 18) The hooly blisful martir for to seke, That hem *hath holpen* whan that they were seeke. | (CT II, 291)¹⁶ I trowe at Troye . . . , N’at Rome, for the harm thurgh Hanybal That Romayns *hath venquysshed* tymes thre, Nas herd swich tendre wepyng for pitee As in the chambre was for hire departyng; [Hannibal died around 183 BC.] | (CT II, 1108) I am youre doghter Custance . . . That whilom ye *han sent* unto Surrye [Constance is now in Rome, not in Syria]. | (CT IV, 1140) This world is nat so strong, it is no nay, As it *hath been* in olde tymes yoore

¹⁶ Compare this example with “*Einstein has visited Boston many times.”

[Lumiansky's modernization: as it was in olden times],

These examples suggest that the present perfect in ME is more mentally or subjectively related to “now” than in PrE and the PrE counterpart is more physically or objectively related to “now” than in ME. The following use of the perfect can be interpreted as implying that, despite the fact that Demophon's betrayal of Phylis became apparent more than three months ago (cf. LGW 2506), it is still a current event to the queen of Thrace:

(LGW 2547) For he [Theseus] begiled Adriane, ywis, With swich an art and with swich subtilte As thow [Demophon] thyselven *hast begyled* me [Phylis].

A notable difference between the ME and PrE present perfects is that the ME present perfect may be collocated with adverbials indicating ‘pastness’ (e.g., *ful yore/many a day ago*, cf. §2.3.5). This ‘violation’ of the rule might be explained away by saying that the same kind of violation is also observed in PrE:

Have you ever seen *Macbeth* on the stage? ~ Yes, I've seen it *ages ago*, when I was a child. (Quirk et al. 1985: 1959) [Declerck] | The motor has relegated the cabriolet to the coach-house long *ago*. (Erades 1975: 138) [Declerck]

These examples, however, are only marginally possible (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1959) and, therefore, their existence does not guarantee the well-formedness of the “perfect + ago” construction.

A possible factor for the collocation of “perfect + ago” is poetic license: all the occurrences of *ago(n)* are in rime position. However, this reasoning offers no grammatical explanation. A second possibility is that the extent of recentness was broader in ME than in PrE. Undergoing the opposite process from that in French and Spanish, where the degree of recentness was gradually relaxed (cf. Comrie 1976: 61), the English present perfect may have gradually restricted the extent of recentness.

More research is necessary, however, to establish the validity of this speculation. A third explanation, which I think most plausible, is that the meaning and use of ME *ago(n)* are different from those in PrE. Originally a past participle of the verb AGON, this word used to modify the noun before it. Thus, *many a day ago* in ME means ‘many days that are gone’ or ‘many days earlier than now’. Similarly, *yore ago* means ‘much earlier than now’. This interpretation is supported by the cooccurrence of “present + ago”:

(CT I, 1813) I *woot* [pr. 1 sg.; ‘know, have known’] it by myself ful yore *agon* [‘a long time’], | (TC II, 722) And ek I *knowe* of longe tyme *agon* His thewes [‘morals’] goode, and that he is nat nyce [‘foolish’];

On the other hand, *ago(n)* may cooccur with the past (1) when the verb in collocation with *ago(n)* implies continuation (i.e., what the narrator learned *longe agoon* (CT VII, 709) still remains in his memory) and (2) when “yore/longe ago” is negated (i.e., “NOT [yore agon]” indicates an indefinite past because it is paraphrasable, though not very idiomatically, as “at a certain time not very long before now”; adverbials indicating “indefinite past” can be used either with the perfect or with the past.) If this surmise is correct, there is no problem for *ago* to cooccur with the present perfect because it refers to a time span stretching backward into the past from “now”.

Note. The PrE use “past + ago” may have originated from attributive use of *agon*:

(TC III, 1402) when that hem fel [‘they happened’] to speke Of any wo of swich a tyme *agoon*,

2.3.7 Non-sequence of tenses (I)

2.3.7.1 Contexts and examples

One of the most notable features of the ME present perfect is that it can be used side by side with verbs in the past tense. Here are some contexts

in which the present perfect is coupled with the simple past (M=main clause, THAT=*that*-clause, WHEN=*when*-clause, Rel=relative clause; Pres= present tense, Perf=present perfect):

a) M(Past)+THAT(Perf):

(CT II, 141) Now *fil* it that the maistres of that sort *Han shapen* hem to Rome for to wende; | (CT IV, 2133) er that dayes eighte Were passed of the month of Juyn, *bifil* That Januarie *hath caught* so greet a wil, | (CT IX, 203) And so *bifel*, whan Phebus was absent, His wyf anon *hath* for hir lemman *sent*. | (CT I, 2067) I *saugh* how that his houndes *have* hym *caught* And freeten [pa, pl.; cf. Davis et al, s.v. frete(n) hym, for that they knewe hym naught. | (CT II, 1) Oure Hooste *saugh* wel that the brighte sonne The ark of his artificial day *hath ronne* The ferthe part, and half an houre and moore,

a') M(Past)+THAT(Past):

(CT I, 1009) And so *bifel* that in the taas ['heap'] they *founde* . . . Two yonge knyghtes liggynge by and by, | (CT I, 1074) And so *bifel*, by aventure or cas, That thurgh a wyndow . . . He *cast* his eye upon Emelya, And therwithal he bleynte ['turned pale'] and cride, "A!" | (CT I, 3307) Thanne *fil* it thus, that to the paryssh chirche, Cristes owene werkes for to wirche, This goode wyf *went* on an haliday. | (HF 221) Ther *saugh* I how the tempest *stente*, And how with alle pyne he *wente*, And prively *tok* arryvage [i.e., 'landed'] In the contree of Cartage; | (TC V, 1202) For whan he *saugh* that she *abood* so longe, He nyste what he juggen of it myghte, Syn she *hath* broken that she hym bihighte.

b) M(Past)+M(Perf):

(CT I, 4205) He *auntred* hym ['took a risk'], and *has* his nedes *sped* [i.e., accomplished his purpose'], | (CT V, 1082) His brother, which that knew of his penaunce, Up *caughte* hym and to bedde he *hath* hym *brought*. | (LGW 1778) Doun *was* the sonne and day *hath lost* his lyght; | (CT VI, 868) This cursed man *hath* in his hond *yhent* This poysoun in a box, and sith ['afterwards'] he *ran* Into the nexte strete unto a man, And *borwed* of hym large botelles thre, | (CT VIII, 1321) And in the pannes botme

he *hath* it *laft*; And in the water rombled to and fro, And wonder pryvely *took* up also The coper teyne,

b') M(Past)+M(Past):

(CT I, 866) He *conquered* al the regne of Femenye, That whilom was ycleped Scithia, And *weddede* the queene Ypolita, And *broghte* hire hoom with hym in his contree With muchel glorie and greet solempnytee, And eek hir yonge suster Emelye. | (CT I, 1408) And right anon he *chaunged* his array, And *cladde* hym as a povre laborer, | (CT I, 1742) This worthy duc *answerde* anon agayn, And *seyde*, “This is a short conclusioun.

c) M(Perf) (other than *befell/fell/saugh*) + THAT(Past):

(CT I, 1437) And thus withinne a while his name is spronge, Bothe of his dedes and his goode tonge, That Theseus *hath taken* hym so neer That of his chambre he *made* hym a squier, | (CT IV, 395) God *hath* swich favour *sent* hire of his grace That it ne *semed* nat by liklynnesse That she was born and fed in rudenesse, | (CT V, 740) [she] *Hath* swich a pitee *caught* of his penaunce [‘suffering’] That pryvely she *fil* of his accord To take hym for hir housbonde and hir lord, | (CT VII, 3058) And right anon, ministres of that toun *Han hent* the carter and so soore hym pyned, And eek the hostiler so soore engyned, That they *biknewe* hire wikkednesse anon, And *were* anhangd by the nekke-bon.

c') M(Past)+ THAT(Past):

(CT I, 1198) So wel they *lovede*, as olde bookes sayn, That whan that oon was deed, soothly to telle, His felawe *wente* and *soughte* hym down in helle— | (CT I, 1299) Therwith the fyr of jalousie up *sterte* Withinne his brest, and *hente* him by the herte So woodyly that he lyk *was* to biholde The boxtree or the asschen dede and colde. | (CT I, 3213) And al above ther lay a gay sautrie, On which he *made* a-nyghtes melodie So swetely that all the chambre *rong*;

d) M(Past)+ WHEN(Perf):

(CT I, 1001) Whan that this worthy duc, this Theseus, *Hath* Creon

slayn and *wonne* Thebes thus, Stille in that feeld he *took* al nyght his reste, And *dide* with al the contree as hym leste. | (CT I, 1025) And whan this worthy duc *hath* thus *ydon*, He *took* his hoost, and hoom he rit [‘rides’] anon With laurer crowned as a conquerour; | (CT IV, 1952) And whan she of this bille *hath taken* heede, She *rente* it al to cloutes atte laste, | (CT V, 42) And so bifel that whan this Cambyuskan *Hath* twenty wynter *born* his diademe, . . . , He *leet* the feeste of his nativitee Doon cryen thurghout Sarray his citee, The laste Idus of March, after the yeer. | (TC V, 280) And Phebus with his rosy carte soone *Gan* after that to dresse hym up to fare Whan Troilus *hath sent* after Pandare.

d) M(Past) + WHEN(Past):

(CT I, 952) This gentil duc down from his courser *sterte* With herte pitous, whan he *herde* hem speke. Hym *thoughte* that his herte wolde breke, Whan he *saugh* hem so pitous and so maat, That whilom weren of so greet estaat; | (CT I, 1123) This Palamon, whan he tho wordes *herde*, Dispitously he *looked* and *answerde*, “Wheither seistow this in earnest or in pley?” | (CT I, 2535) And whan he *saugh* the peple of noyse al stille, Tho *shewed* he the myghty dukes wille:

e) M(Past) + Rel(Perf):

(CT II, 291) I trowe at Troye . . . , N’at Rome, for the harm thurgh Hanybal That Romayns *hath venquysshed* tymes thre, *Nas* herd swich tendre wepyng for pitee As in the chambre was for hire departynge; | (Bo IV, p.1, 16) al be it so that I hadde whilom foryeten hem for the sorwe of the wrong that *hath ben don* to me, yet nathales thei ne *weren* not al outrely unknowen to me. | (RR 1658) Whanne I *was* with this rage hent, That *caught hath* many a man and *shent*, Toward the roser *gan* I go;

e’) M(Past) + Rel(Past):

(CT I, 3227) He *knew* nat Catoun, for his wit was rude, That *bad* man sholde wedde his simylytude. | (CT I, 1574) This Palamoun, that *thoughte* that thurgh his herte He felte a coold swerd sodeynliche glyde, For ire he *quook*; | (CT I, 2803) Oonly the intellect, withouten moore,

That *dwelled* in his herte syk and soore, *Gan* failen whan the herte felte deeth.

Our task now is to consider why the present perfect can be used side by side with the simple past, or vice versa.

2.3.7.2 Present perfect vs. simple past

Arguing about Chaucer's historical present, Benson (1961) says, in essence, that the present tense describes a continuing action and the preterite tense describes a completed one; a preterite verb, coupled with a present verb, brings the motion of the verb in the present tense to an end. To cite an example:

(CT VII, 299) The morwe cam, and forth this marchant *rideth* To Flaundres-ward; his prentys wel hym *gydeth* Til he *came* into Brugges murily.

A problem with this argument is that Benson does not include the present perfect in the scope of his study and leaves the sequences of the present perfect and the simple past unresolved.

Visser (1964), on the other hand, argues that the present tense, in which he includes the present perfect, is employed to cope with the exigencies of rime and meter. However, as pointed out by Kerkhof (1982: 10f.), his argument meets with counterexamples. Both of the following instances are from *Melibee*, a prose work:

(CT VII, 968) Upon a day *bifel* [past] that he for his desport *is went* [pres. perf.] into the feeldes hym to pleye. His wyf and eek his doghter *hath* he *left* [pres. perf.] inwith his hous, of which the dores *weren* [past] faste yshette. Thre of his olde foes *han* it *espyed* [pres. perf], and [Δ] *setten* [pres. perf.] laddres to the walles of his hous, and by wyndowes *been entred*, and *betten* [past] his wyf, | (CT VII, 1035) Up *stirten* [past] thanne the yonge folk atones, and the mooste partie of that compaignye *han scorned* [pres. perf.] this olde wise man, and

bigonnen [past] to make noyse,

Benson's and Visser's explanations on the non-sequence of tenses seem to be based on the implicit assumption that "the basic function of tense in ordinary language is to establish the temporal location of situations predicated in a sentence or discourse" (Fleischman 1990: 2). In a narrative, however, as Leech (1987: 15) points out, the simple past may be used of a future event:

In the year A.D. 2201, the interplanetary transit vehicle Zeno VII *made* a routine journey to the moon with thirty people on board.

"Any narrative," Leech (1987: 15) comments, "normally presupposes, in the imagination, such a retrospective view."¹⁷ Though Leech's observation is on contemporary English fiction, the case is virtually the same in ME literature; in the following examples the present perfect is used of future events (cf. Visser 1952: 709):

(CT I, 3563) But whan thou *hast*, for hire and thee and me, *Ygeten* us
thise knedyng tubbes thre, Thanne shaltow hange hem in the roof ful
hye, That no man of oure purveiaunce espye. | (LGW 957) But, as I
seyde, of hym and of Dido Shal be my tale, til that I *have do*.

Burrow and Turville-Petre (1992: 45) give examples from non-Chaucerian texts:

[In Middle English,] As in Old English, the present tense is frequently used to refer to the future: *Pay ta me bylyve*, 'they will seize me at once', [Patience 78]. Nearly always the context makes it quite clear that the action is in the future, for example with an expression of time: *we foure rayse it noz t right to-yere*, 'the four of us will not raise it upright this year', [The York Play of the Crusification 164]. Compare 'I go to London tomorrow' in Modern English.

¹⁷ A similar view is offered by Joos (1968: 125).

On the other hand, in the following example from CT the same activity is expressed by the present perfect and the simple past:

(CT I, 2344) But oonly for the feere thus *hath* she *cried*, And *weep* [past; the pp. form of WEPEN is *wopen*, *wepen*, or *wept* (Davis et al., sv. wepe(n)] that it was pitee for to heere.

Boece provides an example in which the present perfect is paraphrased by the simple past:

(Bo II, p.7, 3) but I *have* wel *desired* matere of thynges to done (as who seith, I *desirede* to have matiere of governaunce over comunalites), for vertue stille sholde nat elden

These examples confirm the fact that the tense is independent of time.

Once the tense is dissociated from time, it is easy to explain the non-sequence of tenses: the present perfect is compatible with the simple past because they both denote retrospectiveness. That the present perfect is retrospective is most clearly seen in the pattern “have done and do” and its variant forms:

Type: *haven told and tell*

(TC III, 1750) Love, that knetteth lawe of compaignie, And couples doth in vertu for to dwelle, Bynd this acord, that I *have told* and *telle*. | (HF 626) As thou best canst, in reverence Of Love and of hys servantes eke, That *have* hys servyse *soght*, and *seke*; | (CT VII, 1095) I shal shewe yow by manye ensamples that many a womman *hath ben* ful good, and yet *been*,

Cf. also: CT II, 272; VI, 69; VII, 1688.

Type: *haven preved and doth* (DON as a pro-verb)

(TC I, 239) That this be soth, *hath preved* and *doth* yit.

Cf. CT IV, 68.

Type: *haven said and shal*

(CT IV, 645) I *have* . . . *seyd* thus, and evere *shal*: | (CT V, 688) I *have* my sone *snybbed*, and yet *shal*, | (TC I, 594) I *have*, and *shal*, . . . *iloved* the al my lyve:

Also in: CT II, 1078; V, 598; TC III, 1326; V, 152; 1317; LGW 1161.

Type: *haven bigyled and wole*

(CT VIII, 985) Ful many a man *hath* he *bigiled* er this, And *wole*, if that he lyve may a while;

For more instances of these types, see Visser (1952: 646ff.).

Note 1. The instances of the first two types show that the simple present can be prospective.

Note 2. The simple past may be used to express retrospectiveness:

(CT I, 1933) all the circumstaunces Of love, which that I *rekned* and *rekne shal*, | (HF 82) And he that mover ys of al, That *is* and *was* and ever *shal*, So yive hem joye that hyt here Of alle that they dreme to-yere,

We have seen above that the past can replace the perfect in some contexts because they share retrospectiveness. What, then, is the difference between the two verb forms? As we have already seen, the perfect takes adverbials indicating extension to “now” and the past takes adverbials indicating separation from “now” (§2.3.6). This means the perfect indicates that a past situation is still valid at the time of narration; in other words, by employing the perfect the narrator draws a past situation to the present, or, put differently, zooms it in. Consider the following examples (see also the examples in §2.3.6, p. 193):

(CT I, 18) And specially from every shires ende Of Engelond to Caunterbury they wende, The hooly blisful martir for to seke, That hem *hath holpen* whan that they were seeke. | (CT IV, 761) This markys

writen hath in special A lettre, in which he sheweth his entente, And secreely he to Boloigne it sente. | (LGW 822) Whan this was don, no lengere she ne stente, But to the wode hire weye thanne *hath* she *nome*.

Note. The decline of the “historic perfect” seems largely due to education: the present perfect was treated as a kind of the past. The following is Bullokar’s (1586) classification:

Present	.....	I love.		
Preter	{	Preter	.....	I loved.
		Preter perfect.	.....	I have loved.
		Preter pluperfect	.....	I had loved.
Future.	.....	I shall (will)		

love.

Almost the same division is proposed by Graves (1594), Hume (1620), Butler (1633), Dilworth (1740), Priestley (1762), Buchanan (1762), Ward (1767) and Coote (1788) (cf. Harada 1977).

Conversely, by employing the past the narrator casts a situation in the past, or zooms it out. The difference between the two forms, thus, reflects the difference of the narrator’s (or speaker’s) attitude to previous situations. The difference may roughly be diagrammed as follows:

Figure 2 Present perfect

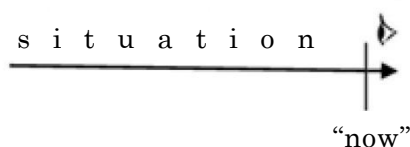
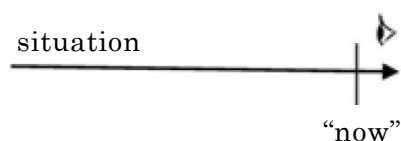


Figure 3 Simple past



Another difference between these verb forms is that the perfect can be used with adverbials indicating “indefinite past” (e.g., *ful yore ago/many a day ago*) but not “definite past” (e.g., *two months ago/on Christmas*); no such adverbials are found in our corpus (§2.3.4.1-§2.3.5.3). This suggests

that the ME perfect is used of “indefinite past” (which may extend to the present), while the simple past can be used of either definite or indefinite past. That the simple past can be used of indefinite past is evident when it is used with such adverbials as *whilom/ones/sometime; evere/nevere/ay*:

(CT VII, 1) A marchant *whilom* dwelled at Seint-Denys, | (CT III, 634) he smoot me *ones* on the lyst, | (CT III, 673) And eek ther was *somtyme* a clerk at Rome, | (CT III, 631) This joly clerk, Jankyn, that was so hende, Hath wedded me with greet solempnytee, And to hym yaf I al the lond and fee That *evere* was me yeven therbifoore. | (Bo II, p.1, 24) And yif thou remembrest wel the kende, the maneris, and the desserte of thilke Fortune, thou shalt wel knowe that, as in hir, thow *nevere* ne haddest ne hast ylost any fair thyng. | (TC III, 534) And Troilus, that al this purveiaunce Knew at the fulle, and waited on it *ay*, Hadde hereupon ek mad gret ordinaunce,

These examples will be sufficient to confirm that in Chaucer’s English either the present perfect or the simple past can be used of a past event when the time of occurrence is unspecified.

Note. In PrE an adverbial of definite time may cooccur with the present perfect:

I have gone back to visit two months ago, last weekend, and just yesterday (so far).

We have already discussed this affair at some length last night.

In such examples as above adverbials of definite time are subsumed in an overall period (i.e., *so far/already*) which extends up to the moment of coding (cf. McCoard 1978: 80, 129).

2.3.7.3 Present perfect vs. simple present

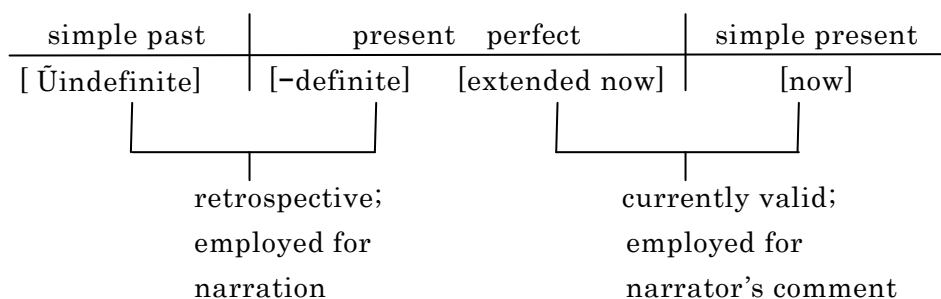
Historic present is outside the subject-matter of this study, but one important point must be made about it. Historic present is usually defined as the present tense used in a narrative in order to make

description vivid. However, as pointed out by Hosoe (1932: 34), this is an explanation from a rhetorical standpoint, and not from a grammatical one. Because the primary function of the present tense is to report an activity (see §2.4.4), historic present can also be interpreted as the narrator's commentary on the activities that are going on. The distinction between present and past tenses, therefore, is not a matter of time but a matter of involvement on the part of the narrator in the scene: when the narrator puts himself at the scene he is narrating, he uses the present tense; when he narrates an event as completed or remote, he uses the past tense.

On the difference between the present perfect and the simple present, suffice it to quote Ota's (1963: 41) observation on present-day American English, which applies to the ME categories as well: "present perfect deals with the timespan stretching backward into the past from now, while present simple deals with now (the length of which is irrelevant) or the future."

The argument in preceding subsections may roughly be diagrammed in the following way:

Figure 4 Relationships between simple past, present perfect and simple present



2.4 Past perfect

In this section I shall first present all the Chaucerian instances of the past perfect and then describe characteristic contexts in which the past perfect is used.

2.4.1 Description

2.4.1.1 Active voice

ABATEN (1)

(Bo II, p.7, 35) And yif thow *haddest* withdrawen and *abated* in thy thought fro thilke ferthe partie as moche space as the see and the mareys contene and overgoon . . . , wel unnethe sholde ther duellen a ryght streyte place to the habitacioun of men.

ABIDEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 2982) Whan they were set, and hust was al the place, And Theseus *abiden hadde* a space Er any word cam fram his wise brest, His eyen sette he ther as was his lest.

AFFRAYEN ('arouse') (1)

(BD 296) for I was waked With smale foules a gret hep That *had affrayed* me out of my slep Thorgh noyse and swetnesse of her song.

AGILTEN ('do wrong') (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT X, 280) Thanne was he scourged ['whipped'], that no thyng *hadde agilt*; | (TC V, 1684) Ne, but I *hadde agilt* and don amys, So cruel wende I nought youre herte, ywis, To sle me thus!

ANOYNTEN ☞ ENOYNTEN

APPEREN (1)

(LGW 934) And Ector *hadde*, after his deth, *apeered*;

ARASEN (1)

(Bo I, p.3, 42) and with tho cloutes that thei *hadden arased* out of my clothes thei wenten away wenyng that I hadde gon with hem every del.

ARRAYEN ('equip') (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT V, 910) And craft of mannes hand so curiously *Arrayed hadde* this gardyn, trewely, That nevere was ther gardyn of swich prys But if it

were the verray paradys.

ASSAYEN ('try') (3) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT IV, 456) He *hadde assayed* hire ynogh bifore, And foond hire evere good; | (Bo III, p.5, 24) A tyraunt, that was kyng of Sysile, that *hadde assayed* the peril of his estat, schewede by simylytude the dredes of remes by gastnesse of a swerd that heng over the heved of his familyer.

| (TC III, 1447) for piëtous distresse The blody teris from his herte melte, As he that nevere yet swich hevynesse *Assayed hadde*, out of so gret gladnesse,

ASSAYLEN ('attack') (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo II, p.7, 124) Whilom ther was a man that *hadde assailede* [Robinson: *assaied* 'tried'] with stryvynge wordes another man, the whiche, nat for usage of verray vertu but for proud veyn glorie, had taken upon hym falsly the name of a philosophre.

ATAKEN ('overtake') (1)

(Mars 55) til hyt fil on a tyde That by her bothe assent was set a stevene That Mars shal entre . . . Into hir nexte paleys, and ther abyde, Walkynge hys cours, til she *had* him *atake*,

AVISEN ('consider') (1)

(CT VIII, 572) For which, whan I *hadde* longe *avysed* me, I demed hym som chanoun for to be.

BEHOLDEN (1)

(HF 1285) Whan I *had* al this folk *beholde*, And fond me lous ['free'] and nought yholde, And eft imused longe while Upon these walles of berile . . . , I gan forth romen til I fond The castel-yate on my ryght hond,

BEN (67) (☞ §2.2.1)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (47):

(a) in the protasis:

(i) in an *if/as/but/and* ('if')-clause: (CT I, 3346) I dar wel seyn, if she

hadde been a mous, And he a cat, he wolde hire hente anon. | (CT I, 3807) This Nicholas anon leet fle a fart As greet as it *had been* a thonder- dent, | (Bo II, p.2, 34) I dar wel affermen hardely that, yif tho thynges of whiche thow pleyneest that thou hast forlorn hem *hadden ben* thyne, thow ne haddest nat lorn hem. | (TC I, 125) And she hym thonked with ful humble chere, And ofter wolde, and ['if'] it *hadde ben* his wille, | (BD 308) Was never herd so swete a steven But hyt *had be* a thyng of heven | (BD 530) Loo, how goodly spak thys knyght, As hit *had be* another wyght;

Also in: (if) CT VII, 1074; 1242; 3069; X, 413; BD 972; HF 411; RR 503; *7600; (as) CT VII, 446; HF 229.

(ii) subj-aux inversion: (LGW F 278 (≈ G 181)) For *nadde comfort ben* of hire presence, I *hadde ben* ded, withouten any defence, For drede of Loves wordes and his chere,

Also in: LGW 1676; BD 677; 680||RR *1764; *7089.

(b) in the apodosis: (LGW F 279 (≈ G 182)) For *nadde comfort ben* of hire presence, I *hadde ben* ded, withouten any defence, For drede of Loves wordes and his chere,

Also in: CT I, 1271; VII, 2054; TC V, 933; BD 1000; PF 455||RR *1903; *7325.

(c) in an *although/though/al*-clause: (CT III, 462) thogh I *hadde been* his wyf, He sholde nat han daunted me fro drynke! | (Bo IV, p.4, 91) but I undirstonde yit in another manere that schrewes ben more unsely whan thei ne ben nat punyssched, al be it so that ther ne *be hadde* no resoun or lawe of correccioun, ne noon ensample of lokynge. | (Bo V, p.4, 61) By this manere thanne, althoughe the prescience ne *hadde* nevere *iben*, yit algate ... it is certein thing that the endes and bytydinges of thingis to comen scholden ben necessarie. | (RR 1249) But faire he was and of good highte, All *hadde* he *be* ... The lordis sone of Wyndesore.

Also in: (although) CT VII, 2798; (al) Bo I, p.4, 201; LGW 1841.

(d) in a *til*-clause: | (RR 1348) But nowhere wold I reste me, Till I *hadde* in all the gardyn *be*. | (RR 1447) I went on right hond and on left About the place; it was nat left, Tyl I *had* in al the garden *ben*, In the estres ['inner parts'] that men myghte sen.

(e) after TROWEN/WENEN/*wolde*: (CT III, 2122) He wolde that the frere

had been on-fire With his false dissymulacioun. | (CT IV, 562) I trowe that to a norice in this cas It *had been* hard this reuthe for to se; | (CT IV, 751) The rude peple ... Wenden ful wel that it *hadde be* right so;

Also in: (wenen) CT III, 2029; Bo V, m.4, 12; ABC 94; HF 262; LGW F 289 (= G 192)||RR *3082.

(f) after *or elles*: (CT III 428) I broghte it so aboute by my wit That they moste yeve it up, as for the beste, Or elles *hadde* we nevere *been* in reste; | (TC III, 1614) For thorough thyn help I lyve, Or elles ded *hadde* I ben many a day.

(g) other subjunctive contexts: (TC II, 191) For yesterday, whoso *had* with hym *ben*, He myghte han wondred upon Troilus; | (RR 1646) Me *hadde* bet *ben* elliswhere, | (CT I, 1230) For elles *hadde* I dwelled with Theseus, Yfetered in his prisoun everemo. Thanne *hadde* I *been* in blisse and nat in wo.

(B) in indicative contexts (20):

(CT I, 56) In Gernade at the seege eek *hadde* he *be* Of Algezir, and riden in Belmarye. | (CT I, 61) At mortal batailles *hadde* he *been* fiftene, And foughten for oure feith at Tramyssene In lystes thries, and ay slayn his foo. | (LGW 840) Allas, I ne *hadde be* Here in this place a furlong wey or ye!

Also in: CT I, 60; 64; 85; 310; 359; 463; 465; 4196; VII, 1253; Bo III, p.5, 51; TC II, 1403; LGW 1024; 2443; BD 672; HF 1138; RR 322; 362; *1857.

BEREN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 87) And he *hadde* been somtyme in chyvachie In Flaundres, in Artoys, and Pycardie, And *born* hym weel, as of so litel space, In hope to stonden in his lady grace. | (Bo I, p.1, 40) and everich man of hem *hadde boren* away swiche peces as he myghte geten.

BERKEN ('bark') (1)

(Bo I, p.5, 2) Whan I *hadde* with a contynuel sorwe sobbyd or *borken* out thise thynges, sche, with hir cheere pesible and nothyng amoeved with my compleyntes, seide thus:

BETEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2)

(CT III, 511) thogh he *hadde* me *bete* on every bon, He koude wyne
 agayn my love anon. | (CT V, 414) *Ybeten hadde* she hirsself so pitously
 With bothe hir wynges

BETRAYEN/BETRASSHEN (2)

(LGW F 137 (= G 125)) In his dispit hem thoghte yt did hem good To
 syng of hym, and in hir song despise The foule cherl that, for his
 covetise, *Had* hem *betrayed* with his sophistrye. | (RR 1520) His owne
 shadowe *had* hym *bytrashed*, For well wende he the forme see Of a
 child of gret beaute.

BIDDEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(BD 194) Anoon this god of slep abrayd [‘woke’] Out of hys slep, and gan
 to goon, And dyde as he *had bede* hym doon:

Also in RR *2721.

BIGETEN (1)

(CT VII, 1948) Haddestow as greet a leeve as thou hast myght To
 parfourne al thy lust in engendrure, Thou *haddest bigeten* ful many a
 creature.

BIGINNEN (2) (☞ §2.1.2.2; §2.2.1)

(CT I, 52) Ful ofte tyme he *hadde* the bord *bigonne* Aboven alle nacions
 in Pruce; | (Bo I, p.4, 60) How ofte eek have I put of or cast out hym
 Trygwille, provoste of the kyngis hous, bothe of the wronges that he
hadde bygunne to doon, and ek fully performed!

BIHETEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(TC V, 1103) But often was his herte hoot and cold, And namely that
 ilke nynthe nyght, Which on the morwe she *hadde* hym *bihight* To com
 ayen.

BINDEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.2)

(TC I, 663) For love *hadde* hym so *bounden* in a snare, Al for the

doughter of the kyng Amete, That al his craft ne koude his sorwes bete.
 | (LGW 600) But love *hadde* brought this man in swich a rage And hym
 so narwe *bounden* [cf. Davis et al, s.v. bindel] in his las, Al for the love of
 Cleopataras, That al the world he sette at no value.

BINIMEN ('take away') (1)

(RR 1509) [Narcisus] was for thurst in gret distresse Of heet and of his
 werynesse That *hadde* his breth almost *bynomen*.

BIREVEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(TC IV, 277) Allas, Fortune, if that my lif in joie Displeed *hadde* unto
 thi foule envye, Why ne *haddestow* my fader, kyng of Troye, *Byraft* the
 lif, or don my bretheren dye, Or slayn myself, that thus compleyne and
 crye—

BIREYNEN ('rain upon') (1)

(TC IV, 1172) So after that he longe *hadde* hire compleyned, His hondes
 wrong, and seyde that was to seye, And with his teeris salt hire brest
byreyned, He gan tho teeris wypen of ful dreye,

Note. Davis et al (s.v. bireyned) treat the *byreyned* above as a
 past form, while Skeat (s.v. Bireine) takes it as a pp. form.

BISEGEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT VII, 1099) Judith by hire good conseil delivered the citee of
 Bethulie . . . out of the handes of Olofernus, that *hadde* it *biseged* and
 wolde have al destroyed it.

BISETTEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 3299) A clerk *hadde* litherly *biset* his whyle, But if he koude a
 carpenter bigyle.

BLAMEN (not Chaucer's instance; ☞ §2.2.1)

(RR *3396) To Daunger came I all ashamed, The which aforne me *hadde*
blamed, Desiryng for to pese my woo,

BLEYNEN ('turn away') (1)

(CT I, 3753) *allas, I ne hadde ybleynt!*

BREKEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(TC I, 89) Gret rumour gan, . . . , and generaly was spoken, That Calkas traitour fled was and allied With hem of Grece, and casten to be wroken On hym that falsly *hadde* his feith so *broken*, | (BD 730) And phyllis also for Demophoun Heng himself—so weylaway!—For he *had broke* his terme- day To come to hir.

BRENNEN (1) (☞ §2.2.2)

(CT VII, 3365) And that the Romayns *hadde brend* Cartage.

BRESTEN ('break') (1)

(CT I, 3829) For with the fal he *brosten hadde* his arm.

BRINGEN (5) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.2)

(CT I, 1490) [Arcite] litel wiste how ny that was his care, Til that Fortune *had broght* him in the snare. | (CT I, 2191) Whan he *had broght* hem into his citee, And inned hem, everich at his degree, | (TC IV, 96) *allas, I ne hadde ibrought* hire in hire sherte! | (TC V, 11) The gold-tressed Phebus heighe on-lofte Thries *hadde* alle with his bemes cleene The snowes molte, and Zepherus as ofte *Ibrought* ayeyn the tendre leves grene, Syn that the sone of Ecuba the queene Bigan to love hire first for whom his sorwe Was al, that she departe sholde a-morwe. | (LGW 599) But love *hadde broght* this man in swich a rage And hym so narwe bounden in his las, Al for the love of Cleopataras, That al the world he sette at no value.

BYEN (4) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 3836) He *hadde yboght* hym knedyng tubbes thre, And hadde hem hanged in the roof above; | (CT VI, 501) O original of oure dampnacioun, Til Crist *hadde boght* us with his blood agayn! | (CT VII, 344) And he hym tolde agayn, ful specially, How he *hadde wel yboght*

and graciously, | (TC III, 1319) Why *nad* I swich oon with my soule
ybought, Ye, or the leeste joie that was theree?

CACCHEN (3) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2)

(CT I, 2389) Although thee ones on a tyme mysfille, Whan Vulcanus
hadde caught thee in his las And foond thee liggyng by his wyf, allas!
| (CT IV, 2357) And whan that he *hadde caught* his sighte agayn, Ne
was ther nevere man of thyng so fayn, | (RR 1470) Narcisus was a
bacheler That Love *had caught* in his danger, And in his net gan hym so
strayne, And dyd him so to wepe and playne, That nede him must his
lyf forgo.

CASTEN (3) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT VI, 880) For right as they *hadde cast* his deeth bifoore, Right so
they han hym slayn, and that anon. | (Bo I, p.2, 9) Certes I yaf the
swiche armures that, yif thou thiselve ne *haddest* first *cast* hem away,
they schulden han defended the in sekernesse that mai nat ben
overcomyn. | (Bo II, p.6, 72) Regulus *hadde* taken in bataile manye men
of Affryke and *cast* hem into feteres,

CHASEN (not Chaucer's instance; ☞ §2.2.1)

(RR *3619) And by the hond . . . He ladde me, with right good cher, Al
envyron the verger [i.e., 'all around the orchard'], That Daunger *hadde*
me *chased* fro.

CHAUNGEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo IV, m.3, 8) And aftir that hir hand, myghti over the erbes ['herbs'],
hadde chaunged hir gestes into diverse maneres, that oon of hem is
coverid his face with forme of a boor; | (Bo IV, m.3, 25) Thei that weren
woxen swyn *hadden* by this *ichaunged* hir mete of breed for to eten
akkornes of ookes.

CHEESEN (3) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo I, p.4, 15) Is this the librarye which that thou *haddest chosen* for a
ryght certein sege to the in myn hous . . . ? | (BD 1004) Therof she had so

moche hyr del . . . That Trouthe hymself over al and al *Had chose* hys maner principal In hir that was his restyng place. | (PF 576) The laughter aros of gentil foules alle, And right anon the sed-foul *chosen hadde* The turtle trewe,

Also in RR *1720.

CLOTHEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT VIII, 133) She . . . Under hir robe of gold . . . *Hadde* next hire flesh *yclad* hire in an haire [‘hair shirt’]. | (RR 409) Wel *had* she *clad* hirsilf and warm, For cold myght elles don hir harm.

COMANDEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT III, 69) For *hadde* God *comanded* maydenhede, Thanne *hadde* he dampned weddyng with the dede.

COMPLEYNEN (4) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT V, 523) And in this wise he served his entente . . . Til he so longe *hadde* wopen and *compleyned*, And many a yeer his service to me feyned, | (TC IV, 825) For if Criseyde *hadde* erst *compleyned* soore, Tho gan she pleyne a thousand tymes more. | (TC IV, 1170) So after that he longe *hadde* hire *compleyned* . . . , He gan tho teeris wyphen of ful dreye, | (LGW 1344) And whanne that she unto hire syster Anne *Compleyned hadde* . . . And bad hire norice and hire sister gon To fechen fyr and other thyng anon . . . , Upon the fir of sacryfice she sterte, And with his swerd she rof hyre to the herte.

COMPREHENDEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo I, m.2, 14) this man, overcomere, *hadde comprehendid* al this by nombre (of acontyng in astronomy).

CONCLUDEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT IV, 1607) For whan that he hymself *concluded hadde*, Hym thoughte ech oother mannes wit so badde That impossible it were to repplye Agayn his choys;

CONNEN (2)

(BD 666) But God wolde I *had* oones or twyes *Ykoud* and knowe the jeupardyes [‘problems’] That kowde the Grek Pictagores! | (BD 998) I sey nat that she ne had knowynge What harm was, or elles she *Had koud* no good, so thinketh me.

CONQUEREN (1)

(Anel 37) Ipolita his wif, the hardy quene Of Cithia, that he *conquered hadde*, With Emelye her yonge suster shene, Faire in a char of gold he with him ladde,

CONVERSEN (1)

(Bo I, p.3, 7) I byholde my noryce, Philosophie, in whoos houses I *hadde conversed* and hauntyd fro my youthe;

CONVEYEN (‘guide’) (not Chaucer’s instance)

(RR *3233) The God of Love hadde the not sen, Ne *hadde* Ydilnesse thee *conveyed* In the verger where Myrthe hym pleyed.

COVEREN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo III, m.11, 11) And thanne thilke thing that the blake cloude of errour whilom *hadde ycovered* schal lighte more clerly than Phebus hymself ne schyneth. | (Bo IV, m.5, 14) And eek yif that he knowe nat ... how the mone derk and confus discovereth the sterres that sche *hadde covered* by hir clere vysage. The [sic] comune errour moeveth folk,

CREATEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT VII, 1103) whan oure Lord *hadde creat* Adam, oure forme fader, he seyde in this wise:

CROWEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 3357) And forth he gooth ... Til he cam to the carpenteres hous A litel after cokkes *hadde ycrowe*,

DAMPNEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT III, 70) For hadde God comanded maydenhede, Thanne *hadde* he *dampned* [‘condemned’] weddyng with the dede.

DEEMEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo I, p.4, 116) Also Opilion and Gaudencius han accused me, al be it so that the justise regal *hadde* whilom *demed* hem bothe to gon into exil for hir trecheries and frawdres withouten nombre,

DEFOULEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo I, p.4, 252) the whiche dignyte, for thei wolden derken it with medlyng of some felonye, they bare me on hande and lieden that I *hadde* pollut and *defouled* my conscience with sacrilegie for covetise of dignyte.

DERKEN (1)

(Bo I, p.1, 26) The beaute of the whiche clothes a derknesse of a forleten and despised elde *hadde* duskid and *dirked*, as it is wont to dirken besmokede ymages.

DESERVEN (3) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 964) al the peple of Grece sholde speke How Creon was of Theseus yserved As he that *hadde* his deeth ful wel *deserved*. | (Bo I, p.4, 207) But al hadde it ben lefevel that felonous folk ... han wilned to gon destroyen me ... , yit *hadde* I nought *disservyd* of the faderes ... that they schulden wilne my destruccioun. | (HF 1545) For of this folk ful wel y wiste They *hadde* good fame ech *deserved*, Although they were dyversly served;

DESPENDEN (‘spend’) (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT VII, 80) And up into his countour-hous gooth he To rekene with hymself, wel may be [‘as near as he could’], Of thilke yeer how that it with hym stood, And how that he *despended hadde* his good,

DESTROYEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(LGW F 133 (= G 121)) The smale foules ... Upon the foweler, that hem

made awhaped In wynter, and *distroyed hadde* hire brood, In his dispit
 ['in scorn of him'] hem thoghte yt did hem good To synge of hym,

DEYEN (1)

(LGW 1677) O, haddest thou in thy conquest ded ybe, Ful mikel
 untrouthe *hadde* ther *deyd* with the!

DISPLESEN (1)

(TC IV, 275) Allas, Fortune, if that my lif in joie *Displeased hadde* unto
 thi foule envye, Why ne haddestow my fader, kyng of Troye, Byraft the
 lif, or don my bretheren dye,

DON (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (6):

(a) in the protasis: (CT III, 535) For *hadde* myn housbonde pissed on
 a wal, Or *doon* a thyng that sholde han cost his lyf, To hire, and to
 another worthy wyf, And to my nece . . . , I wolde han toold his conseil
 every deel.

Also in TC V, 1684.

(b) in the apodosis: (CT VI, 815) if I kan shape it so That it departed
 were among us two, *Hadde* I nat *doon* a freendes torn to thee?

(c) in an *er*-clause: (CT V, 130) He wayted many a constellacion Er he
had doon this operacion,

(d) after *ellis*: (TC V, 56) Ald ellis, certeyn, as I seyde yore, He *hadde*
 it *don* ['would have done it'], withouten wordes more.

(e) after *wolde*: (CT II, 698) She wolde nocht hir sone *had do* so;

(B) in indicative contexts (20):

(CT I, 3303) Whan Nicholas *had doon* thus everideel . . . , He kiste hire
 sweete and taketh his sawtrie, | (Bo I, p.4, 155) And certes yit *hadde*
 thilke same senat *don* by me thurw hir decretz and hir jugementz as
 thoughe it were a synne and a felonye | (LGW F 153) And thoo that
hadde doon unkyndenesse . . . Besoghte mercy of hir trespassynge,

Also in: CT II, 623; III, 639; 2062; IV, 1046; VII, 1732; IX, 259; Bo II,
 p.6, 17; IV, p.4, 242; TC IV, 277; V, 739; BD 1236; HF 395; 1812; RR 579;
 780; 1207; 1414||*2101.

DRAWEN (3) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 396) Ful many a draughte of wyn *had* he *ydrawe* Fro Burdeux-ward, whil that the chapman sleep. | (Bo IV, m.3, 22) algates the rowerys and the maryneres *hadden* by this *idrawen* into hir mouthes and dronken the wikkide drynkes. | (TC IV, 1226) [Criseyde] asked hym, whi he it *hadde* out *drawe*.

DRENCHEN (2)

(Bo I, m.1, 26) the sorwful houre . . . *hadde* almoost *dreynt* myn heved. | (Bo IV, m.7, 21) Ytakus . . . bywepete his felawes ilorne, the whiche felawes the fyerse Poliphemus . . . *had* fretyn and *dreynt* in his empty wombe.

DRESSEN ('treat') (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT IV, 2361) [January] saugh that Damyan his wyf *had dressed* In swich manere it may nat been expressed,

DRINKEN (6) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 135) Hir over-lippe wyped she so clene That in hir coppe ther was no ferthyng sene Of grece, whan she *dronken hadde* hir draughte. | (TC III, 1390) As wolde God tho wrecches that dispise Servise of love *hadde* erys also longe As *hadde* Mida, ful of coveytise, And therto *dronken hadde* as hoot and stronge As Crassus did for his affectis wronge,

Also in: CT I, 637; 3498; III, 459; Bo IV, m.3, 23.

DRYEN (1)

(LGW 775) Aurora with the stremes of hire hete *Hadde dreyed* up the dew of herbes wete

DURREN ('dare') 1)

(RR 809) For if I *hadde durst*, certeyn I wolde have karoled right fayn, As man that was to daunce right blithe.

DUSKEN (1)

(Bo I, p.1, 26) The beaute of the whiche clothes a derknesse of a forleten and despised elde *hadde duskid* and dirked, as it is wont to dirken besmokede yimages.

DWELLEN (3) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 1228) For elles *hadde* I *dwelled* with Theseus, Yfetered in his prisoun everemo. | (CT VIII, 1013) In Londoun was a preest, an annueleer, That therinne *dwelled hadde* many a yeer, | (TC V, 711) [Criseyde] loked on the place Ther she was born, and ther she *dwelt hadde* ay;

DYEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo II, m.5, 25) Ne blood ischad by egre hate ne *hadde* nat *deyed* yit armures.

EMBOSSEN ('take refuge in a wood') (1)

(BD 353) And how the hert ['hart'] *had* upon lengthe So muche *embosed* —y not now what.

ENCHANTEN (1)

(CT III, 575) I bar hym on honde ['made him believe'] he *hadde enchanted* me

ENDEN (2)

(CT X, 1) By that the Maunciple *hadde* his tale al *ended*, The sonne fro the south lyne was descended So lowe | (Bo III, p.1, 1) By this sche *hadde ended* hir song, whan the swetnesse of here dite *hadde* thurw-perced me, that was desyrous of herknyngge, and I astoned *hadde* yit streyghte myn eres

ENDOUTEN ('fear') (1)

(RR 1664) And if I ne *hadde endouted* me To have ben hatid or assailed, My thankis, wolde I not have failed To pulle a rose of all that route ['large number'] To beren in myn hond aboute

ENDUREN (3) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 1381) Whan he *endured hadde* a yeer or two This crueel torment
and this peyne and wo, . . . , Upon a nyght in sleep . . . Hym thoughte
how that the wynged god Mercurie Biforn hym stood and bad hym to be
murie. | (CT I, 1404) And right anon it ran hym in his mynde, That, sith
his face was so disfigured Of maladye the which he *hadde endured*, He
myghte wel . . . Lyve in Atthenes everemoore unknowe, | (CT VII, 999)
Whan he *hadde* lost his children and his temporeel substance, and in
his body *endured* and receyved ful many a grevous tribulacion, yet
seyde he thus:

ENHANCEN (1)

(CT VII, 2583) Fortune hym *hadde enhaunced* so in pride That verrailly
he wende he myghte attayne Unto the sterres upon every syde,

ENOYNTEN (not Chaucer's instance; ☞ §2.4.1.2)

(RR *1888) at the poynt The God of Love it *hadde anynt* With a
precious oynement,

ESPYEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(LGW 809) And whan that Tisbe *hadde espyed* that, She rist hire up . . . ,
And in a cave with dredful fot she sterte, | (BD 836) And Love, that had
wel herd my boone, *Had espyed* me thus soone,

ETEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT IV, 1438) Yet were me levere houndes *had* me *eten* Than that myn
heritage sholde falle In straunge hand, | (CT IV, 1096) Youre woful
mooder wende stedfastly That crueel houndes or som foul vermyne
Hadde eten yow;

EXAMINEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT VII, 1788) [Melibees freendes] *hadden examyned* it by greet
bisynesse and greet diligence,

FEELEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT V, 586) So sorwefully eek that I wende verrailly That he *had felt* as muche harm as I,

FEYNEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT V, 524) noon wiste what he mente, Til he so longe *hadde* wopen and compleyned, And many a yeer his service to me *feyned* [cf. Skeat, s.v. Feynel],

FIGHTEN (1)

(CT I, 62) At mortal batailles *hadde* he been fiftene, And *foughten* foroure feith at Tramysse In lystes thries, and ay slayn his foo.

FILLEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT VI, 877) And whan this riotour, with sory grace, *Hadde filled* with wyn his grete botels thre, To his felawes agayn repaireth he.

FINDEN (6) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2; §2.4.1.2)

(CT VII, 3175) And with a chuk he gan hem for to calle, For he *hadde founde* a corn, lay in the yerd. | (TC III, 518) [Pandarus] *Hadde* out of doute a tyme to it *founde*.

Also in: CT IV, 520; V, 1285; LGW 948; 1060.

Note. The following instances are in the past tense, since they are, unlike the participial form above, not followed by the suffix *-e*. The participial forms of FINDEN cited by Davis et al are *founde(n)* and *yfounde* (cf. also Sandved 1985: [115]):

CT I, 2389) Although thee ones on a tyme mysfille, Whan Vulcanus *hadde* caught thee in his las And *foond* thee liggynge by his wyf, allas! | (CT IV, 457) He *hadde* assayed hire ynogh bifore, And *foond* [cf. Skeat, s.v. Finde] hire evere good;

Also in: TC III, 536; HF 1286.

FIREN (1)

(LGW 1013) [Dido was] Of kynges and of lordes so desyred That al the

world hire beaute *hadde yfyred*, She stod so wel in every wightes grace.

FOLDEN (1)

(TC IV, 1689) And after that they longe ypleyned *hadde*, And ofte ykist, and streite in armes *folde* [cf. Skeat, s.v. Folde], The day gan rise, and Troilus hym cladde, And rewwfullich his lady gan byholde,

FOLOWEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(BD 390) ther cam by mee A whelp, that fauned [‘fawned on’] me as I stood, That *hadde yfolowed* and koude no good.

FORGETEN (6) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 1914) But yet *hadde* I *foryeten* to devyse The noble kervyng and the portreitures, The shap, the contenance, and the figures That weren in thise oratories thre. | (Bo IV, p.1, 4) I . . . that ne *hadde* nat al outrelly *foryeten* the wepyng and the moornyng that was set in myn herte, forbrak the entencioun of hir

Also in: Bo IV, p.1, 14; p.4, 213; LGW F 125 (= G 113); BD 410.

FORGON (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Mars 256) And whan hit was fro his possessioun, Then had he double wo and passioun For he so feir a tresor *had forgo* [‘lost’];

FORLESEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo II, p.2, 27) thow hast no ryght to pleyne the, as though thou *haddest* outrelly *forlorn* alle thy thynges. | (Bo IV, p.4, 213) yif that a man *hadde* al *forlorn* his syghte, and hadde foryeten that he evere sawhe, and wende that no thing ne faylede hym of perfeccioun of mankynde . . . wolde we nat wene that he were blynd?

FORLETEN (‘abandon’) (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo IV, p.2, 141) And what were to demen thanne of schrewes, yif thilk naturel help *hadde forleten* hem . . . ?

FORNCASTEN (‘plan’) (1)

(TC III, 521) For he with gret deliberacioun *Hadde* every thyng that herto myght availle *Forncast* and put in execucioun,

FORSAKEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT X, 994) for after that he [Saint Peter] *hadde forsake* Jhesu Crist, he wente out and weep ful bitterly.

FOSTREN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT VIII, 539) Thre dayes lyved she in this torment, And nevere cessed hem the feith to teche That she *hadde fostred*;

FRETEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo IV, m.7, 21) Ytakus . . . bywepte his felawes ilorne, the whiche felawes the fyerse Poliphemus . . . *had fretyn* and dreynt in his empty wombe.

FULFILLEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT IV, 907) For evere he demed . . . That whan the lord *fulfild hadde* his corage, Hym wolde thynke it were a disparage To his estaat so lowe for t'alighte,

GADEREN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo I, p.4, 7) Tho I, that *hadde gaderyd* strengthe in my corage, answeride and seide: | (Bo II, p.1, 2) and after that sche *hadde ygadrede* by atempre stillenesse myn attencioun, she seyde thus

GETEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 291) For he *hadde geten* hym yet no benefice, Ne was so worldly for to have office. | (CT III, 817) And whan that I *hadde geten* unto me, By maistrie, al the soveraynetee, And that he seyde,

Also in RR *1771.

GRAUNTEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT V, 538) And whan he saugh the thyng so fer ygoon That I *hadde graunted* hym fully my love . . . , Anon this tigre, ful of doublenesse, Fil

on his knees with so devout humblesse,

GREETEN (1)

(BD 517) But at the last . . . He was war of me, how y stood Before hym and did of myn hood, And *had ygret* hym as I best koude, Debonayrly, and nothyng lowde.

GREVEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(LGW G 115) Forgeten hadde the erthe his pore estat Of wynter, that hym naked made and mat, And with his swerd of cold so sore *hadde greved* [F Prologue: so sore greved (simple past)]. | (RR 1343) For if I with his arowe mette, It *hadde* me *greved* sore, iwys.

GREYTHEN ('prepare, plot') (1)

(Bo I, p.4, 237) For althoughe I hadde ben accused that I wolde brenne holi houses and straungle preestis with wykkid sweerd, or that I *hadde greythed* deth to alle gode men, algates the sentence scholde han punysshed me present, confessed or convict.

HANGEN (1)

(CT I, 3836) He hadde ybought hym knedyng tubbes thre, And *hadde* hem *hanged* in the roof above;

HAUNTEN (1)

(Bo I, P.3, 7) I byholde my noryce, Philosophie, in whoos houses I *hadde* conversed and *hauntyd* fro my youthe;

HAVEN (9) (☞ §2.2.1)

(a) in an *if/but*-clause: (Bo I, p.4, 173) Of whiche lettres the fraude hadde ben schewed apertely, yif I *hadde had* liberte for to han used and ben at the confessioun of myn accusours, the whiche thyng in alle nedes hath greet strengthe.

Also in: CT X, 1082; Bo III, p.4, 60; (but) BD 1000.

(b) subj-aux inversion: (CT III, 1646) Lordynges, I koude han toold yow, . . . , *Hadde* I *had* leyser for this Sonomour heere, . . . , Swiche

peynes that youre hertes myghte agryse,

(c) in a *though*-clause: (BD 1056) And thogh they ne hadde, I wolde thoo Have loved best my lady free, Thogh I *had had* al the beaute That ever had Alcipyades, And al the strengthe of Ercules, And therto *had* the worthynesse Of Alysaunder,

(d) after *had levere*: (CT I, 3541) Hym hadde be levere . . . than alle his wetheres [‘sheep’] blake That she *hadde had* a ship hirsself allone.

(e) after WENEN: (TC I, 227) Though he a worthy kynges sone were, And wende nothing *hadde had* swich myght Ayeyns his wille that shuld his herte stere, Yet with a look his herte wax a-ferre, That he that now was moost in pride above, Wax sodeynly moost subgit unto love.

Note. Notice all the Chaucerian instances of “had had” are in the subjunctive.

HENTEN (‘seize’) (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT VII, 3358) swich cry ne lamentacion Was nevere of ladyes maad . . . Whan he [Pirrus] *hadde hent* kyng Priam by the berd, And slayn hym . . . , As maden alle the hennes in the clos,

HEREN (36) (☞ §2.2.1)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (6):

(a) in a *til*-clause: (CT III, 2201) The lady of the hous ay stille sat Til she *had herd* what the frere sayde. | (CT IV, 294) And doun upon hir knes she gan to falle, And with sad contenance kneleth stille, Til she *had herd* what was the lordes wille.

(b) in a relative clause: (TC V, 723) In al this world ther nys so cruel herte That hire *hadde herd* compleynen in hire sorwe That nolde han wepen for hire peynes smerte,

(c) after *wolde*: (BD 311) So mery a soun, so swete entewnes [‘tunes’], That certes, for the toun of Tewnes I nolde but I *had herd* hem synge;

(d) after *were/had lever*: (CT IV, 1212d) Me were levere than a barel ale My wyf at hoom *had herd* this legende ones! | (CT VII, 1894) I hadde levere than a barel ale That Goodelief, my wyf, *hadde herd* this tale!

(B) in indicative contexts (30):

(a) in a *when*-clause: (CT I, 1577) And whan that he *had herd* Arcites tale . . . , He stirte hym up out of the buskes ['bushes'] thikke And seide: | (TC I, 750) But natheles, whan he *hadde herd* hym crye "Awake!" he gan to syken wonder soore, And seyde,

Also in: CT I, 1597; 3899; III, 829; IV, 498; VII, 1050; 1064; 1112; 1232; 1551; 1697; 1769; 1791; 1802; 1870; TC I, 1009; HF 2060; RR 721 ||*4785.

(b) in a relative clause: (TC IV, 667) The whiche tale anon-right as Criseyde *Hadde herd*, she . . . Ful bisily to Jupiter bisoughte Yeve hem meschaunce that this tretis broughte;

Also in: TC IV, 345; V, 723; LGW 1062; BD 129; 304; 835; HF 2135.

(c) in the main clause: (BD 234) For I *had* never *herd* speke or tho ['before then'] Of noo goddes that koude make Men to slepe, ne for to wake,

Also in: CT IV, 278; V, 1602.

Note. "Whan NP had(de) herd NP" is used as a transitional phrase for summarizing the preceding passage and introducing a new phase in the narrative.

HERKNEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(RR 630) Whan Ydelnesse had told al this, And I *hadde herkned* wel, wyys, Thanne seide I to dame Ydelnesse,

HIDDEN (3) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2)

(Bo V, p.1, 79) and yif the hidere of the gold ne *hadde hyd* the gold in thilke place, the gold ne hadde nat ben founde. | (Bo V, p.1, 89) but, as I seide, it bytidde and ran togidre that he dalf thare as that oothir *had hid* the gold. | (LGW F 208 (= G 102)) Whan I was leyd and *had* myn eyen *hed*, I fel on slepe within an houre or twoo.

HOLDEN (3) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT III, 1024) Whan they be comen to the court, this knyght Seyde he *had holde* his day, as he hadde hight, | (CT IX, 51) he *nadde* holde hym by his ladel! | (Bo II, p.7, 140) I hadde wel undirstonden it yif thou

haddest holde thi tonge stille.

HOTEN ('promise') (3) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT III, 1024) Whan they be comen to the court, this knyght Seyde he had holde his day, as he *hadde hight*, | (CT V, 1504) [Dorigen] was bown ['prepared'] to goon the wey forth right Toward the gardyn ther as she *had hight*. | (CT V, 1518) [Arvegagus] bad hire holden al that she *had hight*,

HURTEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT V, 637) But Canacee hom bereth hire in hir lappe, And softly in plastres gan hire wrappe, Ther as she with hire beek *hadde hurt* hirselve.

INNEN ('lodge') (1)

(CT I, 2191) Whan he *had* broght hem into his citee, And *inned* hem, everich at his degree, He festeth hem,

JAPEN ('mock') (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(TC I, 318) And after this, nat fullich al awhaped ['confounded'], Out of the temple al esilich he wente, Repentyng hym that he *hadde* evere *ijaped* Of Loves folk, lest fully the descende Of scorn fille on hymself;

KEMBEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 3691) But first he cheweth greyn and lycorys, To smellen sweete, er he *hadde kembd* his heer.

KEPEN (not Chaucer's instance; ☞ §2.2.1)

(RR *6944) For hadde he wist of oure malice, He *hadde* hym *kept*, but he were nyce.

KERVEN (1)

(Bo I, p.1, 38) Natheles handes of some men *hadden korve* that cloth by violence and by strengthe,

KIKEN ('gaze') (1)

(CT I, 3445) This Nicholas sat evere capyng upright, As he *had kiked* on the newe moone.

KISSEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 3755) For fro that tyme that he *hadde kist* hir ers, Of paramours he sette nat a kers, | (TC IV, 1689) And after that they longe ypleyned *hadde*, And ofte *ykist*, and streite in armes folde, The day gan rise, and Troilus hym cladde, And rewfullich his lady gan byholde,

Also in RR *2040.

KNITTEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT VII, 2034) [Sampson] sette the foxes tayles alle on fire, For he on every tayl *had knyt* a brond;

KNOWEN (9) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (4):

(a) in an *if/as*-clause: (BD 392) Hyt com and crepte to me as lowe Ryght as hyt *hadde* me *yknowe*,

Also in: (if) CT IV, 689; RR *4651; (as) CT V, 1615.

(b) subj-aux inversion: (RR 1643) That mirrour hath me now entriked, But *hadde* I first *knownen* in my wit The vertu and the strengthe of it, I nolde not have mused there.

Also in RR *7449.

(B) in indicative contexts (5):

(CT I, 1203) Duc Perotheus loved wel Arcite, And *hadde* hym *knowe* at Thebes yeer by yere, | (TC IV, 719) And they that *hadde yknownen* hire of yore Seigh hire so wepe and thoughte it kyndenesse, And ech of hem wepte eke for hir destresse.

Also in: CT V, 963; 1180; TC IV, 483.

KONNEN ☞ CONNEN

LAUGHEN (2)

(CT I, 3855) Whan folk *hadde laughen* at this nyce cas Of Absolon and

hende Nicholas, Diverse folk diversely they seyde, | (HF 409) For *had* he *lawghed*, had he loured, He moste have ben al devoured, Yf Adriane ne had ybe.

LEDEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2)

(CT I, 530) With hym ther was a plowman, was his brother, That *hadde ylad* of dong ful many a fother [‘load’]; | (LGW 2718) Why ne *haddest* thow remembred in thy mynde To take hire, and *lad* hire forth with the?

LERNEN (6) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.)

(CT I, 613) In youthe he *hadde lerned* a good myster [‘trade’]; He was a wel good wrighte [‘workman’], a carpenter. | (LGW 2350) This woful lady *lerned hadde* in youthe So that she werken and enbroude couthe,

Also in: CT I, 640; 3191; 3968; Bo I, p.4, 42||RR *4289.

LESEN (4) (☞ §2.2.1)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (3):

(Bo II, p.2, 35) I dar wel affermen hardely that, yif tho thynges of whiche thow pleynest that thou hast forlorn hem hadden ben thyne, thow ne *haddest* nat *lorn* hem. | (TC IV, 1250) For pitously ech other gan byholde, As they that *hadden* al hire blisse *yorn*, Bywaylinge ay the day that they were born;

Also in TC V, 1445.

(B) in indicative contexts (1):

(BD 1303) That was the los that here-before I tolde the that I *hadde lorn*.

LETTEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(RR 700) Hir freend wel ought I for to be, Sith she the dore of that gardyn *Hadde* opened and me *leten* in. (Cf. Skeat, s.v. Lete.)

LEVEN (4) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT III, 528) He som tyme was a clerk of Oxenford, And *hadde left* scole, and wente at hom to bord With my gossib, dwellynge in oure toun; | (CT V, 1128) He hym remembred that, upon a day, At Orliens in studie a

book he say Of magyk natureel, which his felawe ... *Hadde* prively upon his desk *y/laft*;

Also in: TC I, 92; III, 522.

LEYEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 1622) And thus they been departed til amorwe, Whan ech of hem *had leyd* his feith to borwe [‘as a pledge’].

Also in RR *4541.

LIVEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(TC V, 933) For if my fader Tideus ... *Ilyved hadde*, ich hadde ben er this Of Calydoyne and Arge a kyng, | (RR 304) But wel was seyn in hir colour That she *hadde lyved* in langour;

LOOKEN (3) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT III, 1700) This frere, whan he *looked hadde* his fille Upon the tormentz of this sory place, His spirit God restored, of his grace, Unto his body agayn, and he awook. | (Bo IV, p.6, 86) For ryght as a werkman that aperceyveth in his thought the forme of the thing that he wol make ... and ledith that he *hadde lookid* byforn in his thought symplely and presently by temporel ordenaunce; | (BD 1051) I leve yow wel, that trewely Yow thoghte that she was the beste And to beholde the alderfayreste, Whoso *had loked* hir with your eyen.

LOSEN (8) (☞ §2.2.1)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (4):

(CT V, 1600) The sorwe of Dorigen he tolde hym als; How looth hire was to been a wikked wyf, And that she levere *had lost* that day hir lyf, | (BD 723) Thogh ye *had lost* the ferses twelve, And ye for sorwe mordred yourselfe, Ye shold be dampned in this cas By as good ryght as Medea was,

Also in: CT III, 1095, BD 511.

(B) in indicative contexts (4):

(CT V, 1408) for hire thoughte it was a shame To lyven whan that she *hadde lost* hir name | (CT X, 701) Looke forther ... the joye and the

feeste of the goode man that *hadde lost* his sone, whan his sone with repentaunce was returned to his fader.

Also in: CT VII, 999; 3364.

LOUREN ('frown') (1)

(HF 409) For had he lawghed, *had* he *loured*, He moste have ben al devoured, Yf Adriane ne had ybe.

LOVEN (5) (☞ §2.2.1)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (3):

(TC I, 500) for ay his drede Was this, that she som wight *hadde loved* so, That nevere of hym she wolde han taken hede. | (TC II, 416) I wolde han trusted, douteles, That if that I . . . *Hadde loved* outhur hym or Achilles, Ector, or any mannes creature, Ye nolde han had no mercy ne mesure On me, but alwey had me in repreve. | (LGW 1246) And whan the kyng that Yarbass highte it wiste, As he that *hadde* hir *loved* evere his lyf, And wowede hyre, to han hire to his wyf, Swich sorwe as he hath maked, and swich cheere, It is a routhe and pite for to here.

(B) in indicative contexts (2):

(CT V, 939) This lusty squier . . . *Hadde loved* hire best Of any creature Two yeer and moore, | (CT IV, 730) For which, where as his peple therbifore *Hadde loved* hym wel, the sclaudre of his diffame Made hem that they hym hatede therfore.

LYEN (3) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT II, 887) This messenger tormented was til he Moste biknowe and tellen, plat and pleyn, Fro nyght to nyght, in what place he *had leyn*; | (CT IV, 2393, 2395) But, by my fader soule, I wende han seyn How that this Damyan *hadde* by thee *leyn*, And that thy smok *hadde leyn* upon his brest.

MAKEN (27) (☞ §2.2.1)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (4):

(TC V, 1537) And from his bed al sodeynly he sterte, As though al hool hym *hadde ymad* a leche. | (LGW 1021) Whan he was in the large

temple come, I can nat seyn if that it be possible, But Venus *hadde* hym *made* invysible

Also in: CT I, 3630; III, 411.

(B) in indicative contexts (23):

(CT I, 212) He *hadde maad* ful many a mariage Of yonge wommen at his owene cost. | (LGW F 286 (= G 189)) And after hem coome of wymen swich a traas That, syn that God Adam *hadde mad* of erthe, The thridde part, of mankynde, or the ferthe, Ne wende I not by possibilittee Had ever in this wide world ybee;

Also in: CT I, 394; 760; IV, 1325; V, 903; VII, 2417; X, 326; Bo III, p.1, 24; m.12, 6; 7; 8; 11; TC III, 535; BD 404; 412; 415; 487; 872; FormA 59; RR 396; 846; 1192.

MELTEN (1)

(TC V, 10) The gold-tressed Phebus heighe on-lofte Thries *hadde* alle with his bemes cleene The snowes *molte*,

METEN ('dream') (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT VII, 3255) My tale is of a cok ... That tok his conseil of his wyf, with sorwe, To walken in the yerd upon that morwe That he *hadde met* that dreem that I yow tolde.

MISACOUNTEN (1)

(TC V, 1185) But natheles, he gladed hym in this: He thoughte he *misaccounted hadde* his day,

MISGON ☞ §2.1.2.3a

MISGYEN (1)

(CT VII, 2533) Tho wiste he wel, he *hadde* himself *mysgyed*,

MISTAKEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT VII, 1690) And yit if I hadde seyde that ye sholde han purchaced the pees and the reconsiliacioun, I ne *hadde* nat muchel *mystaken* me ne seyde amys.

MUSEN ('gaze') (1)

(HF 1287) Whan I *had* al this folk beholde, And fond me lous ['free'] and nought yholde, And eft *imused* longe while Upon these walles of berile, . . . , I gan forth romen til I fond The castel-yate on my ryght hond,

NIMEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2)

(RR 408) A furred cope on *had* she *nomen*;

OFFENDEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT X, 986) for he *hadde offended* God of hevене;

OPEN (5) (☞ §2.2.1)

(TC III, 469) For which she thought that love . . . Of alle joie *hadde opened* hire the yate. | (RR 585) Whan that this dore *hadde opened* me This mayde semely for to see, I thanked hir as I best myghte,

Also in: RR 643; 700; 1190.

OPRESSEN ('rape') (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT V, 1435) For oon of Macidonye *hadde* hire *oppressed*, She with hire deeth hir maydenhede redressed.

ORDEYNEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT X, 773) but for as mucche as the estaat of hooly chirche ne myghte nat han be, ne the commune profit myghte nat han be kept, ne pees and rest in erthe, but if God *hadde ordeyned* that som men hadde hyer degree and som men lower,

OVERCOMEN (4) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 2800) For from his feet up to his brest was come The coold of deeth, that *hadde* hym *overcome*, | (Bo II, p.6, 75) but sone after he most yve hise handes to ben bownde with the cheynes of hem that he *hadde* whilom *overcomen*.

Also in: Bo III, m.12, 15; Anel 23.

OVERLOKEN (1)

(BD 232) Whan I *had* red thys tale wel And *overloked* hyt everydel, Me thoghte wonder yf hit were so,

OVERSHETEN ('overrun') (1)

(BD 383) The houndes *had overshote* hym alle And were on a defaute yfalle.

PARFORMEN (1)

(Bo I, p.4, 60) How ofte eek have I put of or cast out hym Trygwille, provoste of the kyngis hous, bothe of the wronges that he *hadde* bygonne to doon, and ek fully *performed!*

PASSEN (1) (☞ §2.1.2.2; §2.2.1)

(CT I, 464) She *hadde passed* many a straunge strem;

PAYEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT VII, 389) Ye sholde han warned me, er I had gon, That he yow *hadde* an hundred frankes *payed* By redy token;

PAYNTEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT V, 907) May *hadde peynted* with his softe shoures This gardyn ful of leves and of floures; | (RR 1436) Ful gay was al the ground, and queynt ['adorned'], And poudred, as men *had it peynt*, With many a fressh and sondri flour,

PERCEYVEN (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *5573) The lasse bigiled he shulde have ben, And he *hadde* thanne *perceyved* it;

PISSEN (1)

(CT III, 534) For *hadde* myn housbonde *pissed* on a wal, Or doon a thyng that sholde han cost his lyf, To hire, and to another worthy wyf, And to my nece . . . , I wolde han toold his conseil every deel.

PLAYEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(BD 977) For wher-so men *had pleyd* or waked, Me thoghte the felawsshyppe as naked Withouten hir that sawgh I oones As a corowne withoute stones.

PLEYNEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(TC IV, 1688) And after that they longe *ypleyned hadde*, And ofte ykist, and streite in armes folde, The day gan rise, and Troilus hym cladde, And rewfullich his lady gan byholde,

PLOUNGEN (1)

(Bo III, p.11, 112) What wiltow seyn of this, that thei drawen alle here norysschynges by here rootes, ryght as thei *hadden* here mouthes *yplounged* withynne the erthes, and sheden be hir maryes hir wode and hir bark?

POLLUTEN (1)

(Bo I, p.4, 252) the whiche dignyte, for thei wolden derken it with medlynge of some felonye, they bare me on hande [i.e., ‘accused me falsely’] and lieden that I *hadde pollut* and defouled my conscience with sacrilegie for covetise of dignyte.

POUPEN (‘blow’) (1)

(CT IX, 90) And whan he *hadde pouped* in this horn, To the Manciple he took the gourde agayn;

POUREN (1)

(TC I, 299) And though he erst *hadde poured* up and down, He was tho glad his hornes in to shrinke:

PRAYEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(TC II, 1549) But certayn is, er Troilus hym leyde, Deiphebus *had* hym *preied* over-nyght To ben a frend and helpyng to Criseyde.

PRECHEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT III, 1714) And so bifel that on a day this frere *Hadde preched* at a chirche in his manere,

PRIKEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT VIII, 561) It semed as he *had priked* miles three. | (CT VIII, 576) He hadde ay priked lik as he were wood.

PUTTEN (4) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 4088) Why ne *had* thow *pit* the capul in the lathe ['barn']? | (TC III, 275) And were it wist that I . . . *Hadde* in my nece *yput* this fantasie . . . , al the world upon it wolde crie, | (TC III, 521) For he with gret deliberacioun *Hadde* every thyng that herto myght availle Forncast and *put* in execucioun, | (BD 54) And in this bok were written fables That clerkes *had* in olde tyme, And other poetes, *put* in rime To rede and for to be in minde, While men loved the lawe of kinde.
Also in RR *2102.

RECEYVEN (3) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT IV, 2066) Why hastow Januarie thus deceyved, That *haddest* hym for thy fulle freend *receyved*? | (CT VII, 999) Whan he *hadde* lost his children and his temporeel substance, and in his body endured and *receyved* ful many a grevous tribulacion, yet seyde he thus: | (Bo II, p.7, 134) and whan he *hadde receyved* wordes of outrage, he . . . seide at the laste ryght thus:

REDEN (6) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT VII, 3121) I hadde levere than my sherte That ye *hadde rad* his legende, as have I. | (BD 224) I had be dolven eveydel And ded, ryght thurgh defaute of slep, Yif I ne *had red* and take kep Of this tale next before. | (BD 228) For I ne myghte . . . Slepe or I *had red* thys tale Of this dreynte Seys the kyng And of the goddes of slepyng.

Also in: BD 231; 1326; PF 107.

REKENEN (1)

(RR 1390) There were so many trees yit, That I shulde al encombred
[‘bewildered’] be Er I *had rekened* every tree.

RELEVEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(LGW G 116) Now *hadde* th’atempre sonne al that *releved*, And clothed
hym in grene al newe ageyn.

Note. The corresponding passage in the F Prologue is in the
present perfect (cf. 2.4.2.3):

(LGW F 128) Now *hath* th’atempre sonne all that *releved*,
That naked was, and clad him new agayn.

REMEMBREN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(LGW 2717) Why ne *haddest* thow *remembred* in thy mynde To taken
hire, and lad hire forth with the?

RENEYNEN (‘renounce’) (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT II, 915) A theef, that *hadde reneyed*oure creance, Cam into ship
allone,

RENNEN (1) (☞ §2.1.2.2; §2.2.1)

(TC II, 907) The dayes honour, and the hevenes yë, The nyghtes foo ...
Gan westren faste, and downward for to wrye, As he that *hadde* his
dayes cours *yronne*,

RENTEN (1)

(TC V, 1654) The whiche cote, as telleth Lollius, Deiphebe it *hadde rent*
fro Diomede The same day.

REVEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(LGW 1573) [Hypsipyle] preyede God ... That she that *hadde* his herte
yraft hire fro Moste fynden hym untrew to hir also,

REYSEN (2)

(CT I, 54) In Lettow *hadde* he *reysed* [‘make a military expedition’] and

in Ruce, | (LGW 1163) it fil upon a nyght, Whan that the mone up
reysed hadde his lyght, this noble queene unto hire reste wente.

ROMEN (1) (☞ §2.1.2.1)

(LGW G 90) Whan passed was almost the month of May, And I *hadde romed*, al the someres day, The grene medewe . . . , Upon the freshe dayseie to beholde . . . , Hom to myn hous ful swiftly I me spedde,

SAYLEN (1)

(CT VII, 3099) But er that he *hadde* half his cours *yseyled*, Noot I nat why, ne what myschaunce it eyled, But casuelly the shippes botme rente,

SAYN (12) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (2):

(CT VII, 1690) And yit if I *hadde seyde* that ye sholde han purchaced the pees and the reconsiliacioun, I ne *hadde* nat muchel mystaken me ne *seyde* amys.

(B) in indicative contexts (10):

(CT III, 1733) And whan this frere *had seyde* al his entente, With qui cum patre forth his wey he wente. | (Bo V, p.1, 1) Sche *hadde seyde*, and tordned the cours of hir resoun to some othere thingis to ben treted and to ben ispedd ['dispatched']. | (TC II, 602) [Criseyde] every word gan up and down to wynde That he *had seyde*, as it com hire to mynde, | (TC IV, 1171) So after that he longe *hadde* hire compleyned, His hondes wrong, and *seyde* [past?] that was to seye, And with his teeris salt hire brest byreyned, He gan tho teeris wypen of ful dreye,

Also in: TC IV, 173; Anel 121; BD 191; 270; CompL 60; PF 556.

Note. TC IV, 1171 in Skeat's edition is in the past since his glossary says the pp. form of Seye is *seyde* (without *-e*):

(TC IV, 1171) So after that he longe hadde hir compleyned, His hondes wrong, and *seyde* that was to seye, And with his teres salte hir brest bireyned, He gan tho teris wypen of ful dreye,

See also the note to BIREYNEN in this section.

SEEN (16) (☞ §2.2.1)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (5):

(CT IV, 2272) Al *hadde* man *seyn* a thyng with bothe his yen, Yit shul we wommen visage it hardily, | (CT VII, 3281) For natureelly a beest desireth flee Fro his contrarie, if he may it see, Though he never erst *hadde seyn* it with his ye. | (LGW 2076) But whoso *hadde seyn* his contenance, He wolde have wept for routhe of his penaunce;

Also in: CT I, 4379; RR 334||*4298.

(B) in indicative contexts (11):

(CT I, 2654) And whan that Theseus *hadde seyn* this sighte, Unto the folk that foghten thus echon He cryde, “Hoo! namoore, for it is doon! | (Bo II, m.5, 21) ne thei ne *hadden seyn* yit none newe stroondes to leden marchandise into diverse contrees. | (TC III, 221) [Troilus] gan ful lightly of the lettre pace That Deiphebus *hadde* in the gardyn *seyn*;

Also in: CT I, 2840; II, 757; VII, 673; 3361; BD 809; HF 468; 501; RR 1309||*3232; *3631; *7443.

SEKEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Pity 9) And when that I ... *Had* evere in oon a tyme *sought* to speke, To Pitee ran I al bespreynt with teres To prayen hir on Cruelte me awreke.

SELLEN (not Chaucer's instance; ☞ §2.2.1)

(RR *4320) Love to deere *hadde soold* to me The good that of his love hadde I.

SENDEN (4) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT IX, 238) Whan Phebus wyf *had sent* for hir lemman, Anon they wroghten al hire lust volage. | (TC II, 1698) [Troilus] fond ... at his beddes hed The copie of a tretys and a lettre That Ector *hadde* hym *sent* to axen red [‘advise’] If swych a man was worthi to ben ded, | (TC V, 471) The lettres ek that she of olde tyme *Hadde* hym *ysent*, he wolde allone rede An hondred sithe atwixen noon and prime, | (LGW 1129) Eneas sothly ek ... *Hadde sent* unto his ship by Achatas After his sone,

and after riche thynges,

SETTEN (7) (☞ §2.2.1)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (2):

(CT III, 420) For thogh the pope *hadde seten* hem biside, I wolde nat spare hem at hir owene bord, | (TC IV, 674) As she that *hadde* hire herte and al hire mynde On Troilus *iset* so wonder faste That al this world ne myghte hire love unbynde,

(B) in indicative contexts (5):

(TC III, 1731) The goodlihede or beaute which that kynde In any other lady *hadde yset* Kan nought the montance of [i.e., ‘so much as’] a knotte unbynde Aboute his herte of al Criseydes net. | (RR 62) And the erthe wexith proud withalle, For swote dewes that on it falle, And the pore estat forget In which that wynter *had* it *set*.

Also in: RR 566; 846 (past?); 1463||*1716; *4907.

SHAPEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(TC V, 1551) The fate wolde his soule sholde unbodye [‘leave the body’], And *shapen hadde* a mene it out to dryve, Ayeyns which fate hym helpeth nat to stryve;

SHETEN (‘shoot’) (1)

(RR 1341) Now God, that sittith in mageste, Fro deedly woundes he kepe me, If so be that he *hadde* me *shette!*

SHEWEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2; §2.4.1.2)

(Bo I, p.5, 8) but I wyste nevere how fer thyn exil was yif thy tale ne *hadde schewid* it me. | (TC V, 1447) He thought ay wel he hadde his lady lorn, And that Joves of his purveyaunce Hym *shewed hadde* in slep the signi- fiaunce Of hire untrouthe and his disaventure,

SIKEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(TC V, 738) Allas, I ne hadde trowed on youre loore And went with yow, as ye me redde er this! Than *hadde* I now nat *siked* half so soore.

SINGEN (6)

(CT I, 266) And in his harpyng, whan that he *hadde songe*, His eyen twynkled in his heed aryght As doon the sterres in the frosty nyght. | (Bo IV, p.1, 1) Whanne Philosophie *hadde songen* softly and delitably the forseide thinges . . . , I . . . forbrak the entencioun of hir | (TC V, 645) This song whan he thus *songen hadde*, soone He fil ayeyn into his sikes olde;

Also in: CT I, 1529; 1540; VII, 661.

SITTEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(LGW 1109) And with the quene, whan that he *hadde sete*, And spices parted, and the wyn agon, Unto his chambres was he led anon To take his ese and for to have his reste,

SLAYN (11) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.2)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (4):

(CT IV, 2076) So brente his herte that he wolde fayn That som man bothe hire and hym *had slayn*. | (CT V, 840) Or elles *hadde* this sorwe hir herte *slayn*. | (CT VII, 1373) And though so were that thou *haddest slayn* of hem two or three, yet dwellen ther ynowe to wreken hir deeth and to sle thy persone. | (TC IV, 884) For which we han so sorwed, he and I, That into litel ['nearly'] bothe it *hadde us slawe*;

(B) in indicative contexts (7):

(CT I, 63) At mortal batailles *hadde* he been fiftene, And foughten for oure feith at Tramysse In lystes thries, and ay *slayn* his foo. | (CT III, 770) And somme han dryve nayles in hir brayn, Whil that they slepte, and thus they *had hem slayn*. | (TC IV, 278) Allas, Fortune, if that my lif in joie Displeased *hadde* unto thi foule envye, Why ne *haddestow* my fader, kyng of Troye, Byraft the lif, or don my bretheren dye, Or *slayn* myself, that thus compleyne and crye

Also in: CT II, 988; V, 1369; VI, 856; VII, 3359.

SMELLEN (not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *1706) Whanne I *hadde smelled* the savour swote, No will *hadde* I fro thens yit goo,

SMITEN (1)

(BD 1323) Ryght thus me mette ... That in the castell ther was a belle,
As hyt *hadde smyten* houres twelve.

SOBBEN (1)

(Bo I, p.5, 2) Whan I *hadde ... sobbyd* or borken out thise thynges, sche,
with hir cheere pesible and nothyng amoeved with my compleyntes,
seide thus:

SOUKEN (1)

(CT IV, 450) Ther fil ... Whan that this child *had souked* but a throwe
[i.e., 'for just a short time'], This markys in his herte longeth so To
tempte his wyf, hir sadnesse for to knowe,

SPAREN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT IV, 2301) And if that God ne *hadde ... Yspared* him for his fadres
sake, he sholde Have lost his regne rather than he wolde. | (TC V, 204)
And ther his sorwes that he *spared hadde* He yaf an issue large, and
"Deth!" he cried;

SPEDEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2)

(CT I, 4220) Ey, benedicite! Thanne *hadde I foule ysped!*
Also in RR *3065.

SPEKEN (5) (☞ §2.2.1)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (2):

(CT V, 1095) No thyng list hym to been ymaginatyf, If any wight *hadde*
spoke, whil he was oute, To hire of love; | (TC IV, 1233) Than if I *nadde*
spoken, as grace was, Ye wolde han slayn youreself anon?

(B) in indicative contexts (3):

(CT I, 31) And shortly, whan the sonne was to reste, So *hadde I spoken*
with hem everichon That I was of hir felaweshipe anon, | (CT VI, 707)
And forth they goon towardses that village Of which the taverner *hadde*
spoke biforn. | (CT VII, 1672) After that Dame Prudence *hadde spoken*

in this manere, Melibee answerde and seyde,

SPENDEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 645) But whoso koude in oother thyng hym grope, Thanne *hadde* he *spent* al his philosophie;

SPEREN ('lock') (Not Chaucer's instance)

(RR *2099) With which anoon he touchide me Undir the side full softly, That he myn herte sodeynly Without any *hadde spered*, That yit right nought it hath me dered ['harmed'].

SPILLEN (not Chaucer's instance; ☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.2)

(RR *4786) Whanne I hadde herde all Resoun seyn, Which *hadde spilt* ['exhausted'] hir speche in veyn, "Dame," seide I,

STERTEN ('awake suddenly') (1) (☞ §2.1.2.1)

(CT IV, 1060) She ferde as she *had stert* out of a sleep,

STONDEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(BD 975) For I dar swere wel, yif that she Had among ten thousand be, She wolde have be, at the leste, A chef myrour of al the feste, Thogh they *had stonden* in a rowe, To mennes eyen that koude have knowe; |
(HF 1928) And therout com so gret a noyse That, *had hyt stonden* upon Oyse, Men myghte hyt han herd esely To Rome, y trowe sikerly.

STRECCHEN (1)

(Bo III, p.1, 4) By this sche hadde ended hir song, whan the swetnesse of here dite hadde thurw-perced me, that was desyrus of herknyng, and I astoned *hadde* yit *streyghte* myn eres (that is to seyn, to herkne the bet what sche wolde seye).

STUDIEN (1)

(Bo I, p.4, 29) Certes thou confermedest by the mouth of Plato this sentence, that is to seyn that comune thynges or comunalites weren blisful yif they that *hadden studied* al fully to wysdom governeden

thilke thynges;

SUFFISEN (1)

(CT IX, 336) My sone, of muchel spekyng yvele avysed, Ther lasse spekyng *hadde* ynough *suffised*, Comth muchel harm;

SUFFREN (4) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT IV, 693) He wolde have wend that of som subtiltee [‘treachery’], And of malice, or for crueel corage, That she *hadde suffred* this with sad visage. | (Bo IV, p.4, 241) I ne doute nat ... that I nolde doon suffisaunt satis- facioun to hym that *hadde suffrid* the wrong, by the sorwe of hym that hadde doon the wrong. | (RR 309) For sorowe, thought, and gret distresse, That she *hadde suffred* day and nyght, Made hir ful yelow and nothyng bright, Ful fade, pale, and megre also.

Also in RR 1505.

SURMOUNTEN (1)

(BD 826) For al the world so *hadde* she *Surmounted* hem alle of beaute, Of maner, and of comlynesse, Of stature, and of wel set gladnesse, Of goodlyhede so wel beseye [‘provided’]

SWEREN (8) (☞ §2.2.1)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (*although/though*-clause) (7):

(CT I, 1089) Som wikke aspect or disposicioun Of Saturne, by som constellacioun, Hath yeven us this, although we *hadde* it *sworn*; | (CT I, 1666) So strong it is that, though the world *had sworn* The contrarie of a thyng by ye or nay, Yet somtyme it shal fallen on a day That falleth nat eft withinne a thousand yeer.

Also in: CT III, 640; V, 325; VIII, 681; TC IV, 976; V, 283||RR *6401.

(B) in indicative contexts (1):

(HF 421) And yet he *had yswore* to here On al that ever he myghte swere That, so she saved hym hys lyf, He wolde have take hir to hys wif;

SWINKEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 4235) Aleyn wax wery in the dawenyng, For he *had swonken* al

the longe nyght,

SWOWNEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 913) The eldeste lady of hem alle spak, Whan she *hadde swowned* with a deedly cheere, That it was routhe for to seen and heere;

TAKEN (12) (☞ §2.2.1)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (3):

(CT VI, 371) And nevere shal he moore his wyf mystriste . . . , Al *had* she *taken* prestes two or thre. | (TC V, 1765) And if I *hadde ytaken* for to write The armes of this ilke worthi man, Than wolde ich of his batailles endite; | (BD 224) I had be dolven everydel And ded, ryght thurth defaute of slep, Yif I ne *had* red and *take* kep Of this tale next before.

(B) in indicative contexts (9):

(CT V, 363) For of hir fader *hadde* she *take* leve To goon to reste soone after it was eve. | (Bo II, p.2, 65) And is it out of thy mynde how that Paulus, consul of Rome, whan he *had taken* the kyng of Percyens, weep pitously for the captivyte of the selve kyng? | (LGW 1142) But natheles,oure autour telleth us, That Cupido . . . *Hadde* the liknesse of the child *ytake*, This noble queen enamored to make On Eneas;

Also in: CT VII, 1787; Bo II, p.6, 71; p.7, 127; IV, p.3, 28; TC III, 1144; LGW 963||RR *3858.

TECHEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2)

(RR 1544) Whanne that this lettre of which I telle *Hadde taught* me that it was the welle Of Narcisus in his beaute, I gan anoon withdrawe me,

Also in RR *2952.

TELLEN (7) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (1):

(CT VII, 2053) *Had* thou nat *toold* to wommen thy secree, In al this world ne hadde been thy peere!

Also in RR *6222.

(B) in indicative contexts (6):

(CT IV, 2215) For in a lettre she *hadde toold* hym al Of this matere, how he werchen shal. | (CT VIII, 627) And whan this Yeman *hadde* this tale *ytold* Unto oure Hoost, he seyde, “Benedicitee!

Also in: CT I, 3109; III, 542; LGW 1055; RR 629||*5811.

TERVEN (‘flay, skin’) (1)

(CT VIII, 1171) Til he *had terved* hym, koude he nat blyne [‘cease’].

THAKKEN (‘pat’) (1)

(CT I, 3304) Whan Nicholas *had* doon thus everideel, And *thakked* hire aboute the lendes weel, He kiste hire sweete and taketh his sawtrie,

THIRLEN (‘piercen’) (1)

(TC II, 642) His sheeld todasshed was with swerdes and maces, In which men myghte many an arwe fynde That *thirled hadde* horn and nerf and rynde [‘sinew and skin’];

THROWEN (1)

(HF 1325) and every man Of hem . . . *Had* on him *throwen* a vesture Which that men clepe a cote-armure, Enbrowded wonderliche ryche,

THURW-PERCEN (1)

(Bo III, p.1, 2) By this sche hadde ended hir song, whan the swetnesse of here dite *hadde thruw-perced* me, that was desyrus of herknyng, and I astoned hadde yit streyghte myn eres

TORENDEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(RR 329) And al totorn lay eek hir her [‘hair’] Aboute hir shuldris here and ther, As she that *hadde* it al *torent* For angre and for maltalent.

TOSHYVEREN (‘break into splinters’) (1)

(PF 493) The noyse of foules for to ben delyvered So loude rong, “Have don, and lat us wende!” That wel wende I the wode *hadde* al *to-shyvered*.

TROWEN (1)

(TC V, 736) Allas, I ne *hadde trowed* on youre loore And went with yow,
as ye me redde er this!

Also in RR *4542.

TURNEN (2) (☞ §2.1.2.1; §2.2.1)

(BD 446) so at the laste I was war of a man in blak, That sat and *had yturned* his bak To an ook, | (BD 795) For-why I tok hyt of so yong age That malyce *hadde* my corage Nat that tyme *turned* to nothyng Thorgh to mochel knowlechyng.

UNDERSTONDEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo II, p.7, 139) I *hadde* [‘would have’] wel *undirstonden* it yif thou haddest holde thi tonge stille.

USEN (3) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo III, p.4, 60) yif that a man *hadde used* and had manye maner dignytees of consules, and weere comen peraventure among straunge nacions, scholde thilke honour maken hym worschipful and redouted of straunge folk? | (CT VI, 624) Looke eek that to the kyng Demetrius The kyng of Parthes . . . Sente him a paire of dees of gold in scorn, For he *hadde used* hasard ther-biforn; | (PF 549) Me wolde thynke how that the worthieste Of knyghthod, and lengest *had used* it, Most of estat, of blod the gentilleste, Were sittynge for hire, if that hir leste;

WAKEN (2)

(BD 977) For wher-so men *had* pleyd or *waked*, Me thoghte the felawsshyppe as naked Withouten hir that sawgh I oones As a corowne withoute stones. | (CT I, 4284) For she was falle aslepe a lite wight With John the clerk, that *waked hadde* al nyght,

WARNEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT I, 3535) Hastow nat herd hou saved was Noe, Whan that oure Lord *hadde warned* hym biforn That al the world with water sholde be lorn?

WEDDEN (4) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2; §2.4.1.2)

(CT I, 3221) This carpenter *hadde wedded* newe a wyf, | (CT IV, 724) of a crueel herte he wikkedly, For he a povre womman *wedded hadde*, Hath mordred bothe his children prively. | (CT IV, 765) To the Erl of Panyk, which that *hadde* tho *Wedded* his suster, preyde he specially To bryngen hoom agayn his children two In honorable estaat al openly. | (LGW 2246) And *wedded hadde* he, with a blysfyl cheere, Kyng Pandiones fayre doughter dere,

WENDEN (1)

(TC V, 737) Allas, I ne *hadde* trowed on youre loore and *went* with yow,

WEPEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT V, 523) And in this wise he served his entente That, save the feend, noon wiste what he mente, Til he so longe *hadde wopen* and compleyned, And many a yeer his service to me feyned,

WEREN (3)

(CT I, 4303) She wende the clerk *hadde wered* a volupeer, | (CT VII, 2125) er that he *had wered* it half a day It made his flessch al from his bones falle. | (CT VII, 2473) That ilke clooth that he *hadde wered* o day, After that tyme he nolde it nevere see.

WERKEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(LGW F 372) He ne hath nat doon so grevously amys To translaten that olde clerkes writen, As thogh that he of malice wolde enditen Despit of love, and *had* himself yt *wroght* [G 352: ywrought]. | (HF 1711) For they for contemplacioun And Goddes love *hadde ywrought*, Ne of fame wolde they nought.

WEVEN (3) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo I, p.1, 22) the whiche clothes sche *hadde woven* with hir owene handes, as I knew wel aftir by hirselve declarynge and schewynge to me. | (Bo I, p.3, 40) they . . . korven and torente my clothes that I *hadde*

woven with myn handes; | (LGW 2360) But letters can she weve to and fro, So that, by that the yer was al ago, She *hadde ywoven* in a stamyn large How she was brought from Athenes in a barge, And in a cave how that she was brought;

WINNEN (4) (☞ §2.1.2.1; §2.2.1)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (3):

(HF 456) And with kyng Latyne hys trettee And alle the batayles that hee Was at hymself, and eke hys knyghtis, Or he *had* al *ywonne* his ryghtis; | (HF 505) That never sawe men such a syghte, But yf the heven *had ywonne* Al newe of gold another sonne; | (HF 1751) Hyt shal doon us as moche good, And to oure herte as moche awaylle To countrepese [‘balance’] ese and travaylle, As we *had wonne* hyt with labour;

(B) in indicative contexts (1):

(CT I, 864) Ful many a riche contree *hadde* he *wonne*;

Also in RR *2497.

WITEN (4) (☞ §2.2.1)

(TC II, 543) And I with that gan stille away to goon, And leet therof as nothing *wist had* I, And com ayein anon, and stood hym by, | (Bo I, p.4, 184, 185) Yif I *hadde wist* it, thou *haddest* noght *wist* it. | (Bo V, p.4, 110) and thilke same thinges, althoughe that men *hadden iwyst* hem byforn, yit thei han fre bytydynges.

Also in: RR *4318; *6943.

WITHDRAWEN (2)

(Bo I, p.1, 60) But yif ye muses *hadden withdrawn* fro me with youre flateries any unkunynge and unprofitable man . . . , I wolde wene suffre the lasse grevosly; | (Bo II, p.7, 35) And yif thow *haddest withdrawn* and abated in thy thought fro thilke ferthe partie as moche space as the see and the mareys contene and overgoon . . . , wel unnethe sholde ther duellen a ryght streyte place to the habitacioun of men.

WONEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT VII, 3216) A col-fox . . . , That in the grove *hadde woned* yeres three . . . , The same nyght thurghout the hegges brast Into the yerd ther Chaunte- cleer the faire Was wont, and eek his wyves, to repaire; | (CT X, 345) And Seint Jerome, whan he longe tyme *hadde woned* in desert, . . . , yet seyde he that “the brennyng of lecherie boyled in al his body.”

WOWEN (‘woo’) (1) (Skeat’s edition)

(LGW 1247) And whan the king, that Yarbas hight, hit wiste, As he that *had* her loved ever his lyf, And *wowed* her, to have her to his wyf, Swich sorwe as he hath maked, and swich chere, Hit is a routhe and pitee for to here.

Note. While Skeat (s.v. Wowe) treats the *wowed* above as a pp. form, Benson seems to take the word as a past form:

As he that hadde hir loved evere his lyf, And *wowede* hyre, to han hire to his wyf,

The preceding *hadde* suggests that the verb in question does not require *-e*.

WRITEN (4) (☞ §2.2.1)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (2):

(CT III, 693) if wommen *hadde writen* stories, As clerkes han withinne hire oratories, They wolde han writen of men moore wikkednesse Than al the mark of Adam [i.e., ‘male sex’] may redresse. | (HF 1156) and yet they were As fressh as men *had writen* hem here The selve day ryght, or that houre That I upon hem gan to poure.

(B) in indicative contexts (2):

(CT III, 1759) He planed away the names everichon That he biforn *had writen* in his tables; | (CT IV, 1938) This Damyan . . . In secree wise his purs and eek his bille [‘letter’], In which that he *ywriten hadde* his wille, Hath put into hire hand,

YIVEN (11) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2)

(A) in subjunctive contexts (4):

(CT VII, 407) I wende ... That he *hadde yeve* it me bycause of yow | (CT VII, 1058) if I governed me by thy conseil, it sholde seme that I *hadde yeve* to thee over me the maistrie, | (LGW 1538) As wolde God that I *hadde yive* My blod and flesh, so that I myghte live, With the nones [‘on the condition’] that he hadde owher a wif For hys estat;

Also in CT VII, 1081.

(B) in indicative contexts (7):

(CT I, 1470) For he *hadde yeve* his gayler drynke so Of a clarree maad of a certeyn wyn, With nercotikes and opie of Thebes fyn, | (CT III, 204) They *had* me *yeven* hir lond and hir tresoor; | (CT III, 212) And sith they *hadde* me *yeven* al hir lond, What sholde I taken keep hem for to plese, But it were for my profit and myn ese?

Also in: CT III, 1735; V, 541; 1450; X, 783||RR *7402.

2.4.1.2 Passive voice

ACCUSEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(Bo I, p.4, 235) For althoughe I *hadde ben accused* that I wolde brenne holi houses and straungle preestis with wykkid sweerd ... , algates the sentence scholde han punysshed me present, confessed or convict.

ASCHAMEN (1)

(Bo I, p.4, 135) Certes, al *hadde* nocht Fortune *ben aschamed* that innocence was accused, yit oughte sche han hadde schame of the fylthe of myn accusours.

AWAYTEN (not Chaucer’s instance)

(RR *3066) I hadde wel sped, *hadde* I not *ben Awayted* with [‘waylaid by’] these three and sen.

BIGYLEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2)

(CT VI, 274) And elles, certes, he *had been bigyled*.

BINDEN (2) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(CT VII, 676) And stille he lay as he *had ben ybounde*. | (CT X, 269)

This suffred oure Lord Jhesu Crist for man, after that he *hadde be* bitraysted of his disciple, and distreyned [‘arrested’] and *bounde* so that his blood brast out at every nayl of his handes,

BITRAYSEN (‘betray’) (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT X, 269) This suffred oure Lord Jhesu Crist for man, after that he *hadde be bitraysted* of his disciple, and distreyned [‘arrested’] and *bounde* so that his blood brast out at every nayl of his handes,

BRINGEN (not Chaucer’s instance) (☞ §2.2.1)

(RR *4652) If thou haddist hym wel knowe, Thou *haddist* nought *be brought* so lowe;

DISTREYNEN (‘arrest’) (1)

(CT X, 269) This suffred oure Lord Jhesu Crist for man, after that he *hadde be* bitraysted of his disciple, and *distreyned* and *bounde* so that his blood brast out at every nayl of his handes,

DELVEN (1)

(BD 222) I *had be dolven* [‘dead and buried’] everydel And ded, ryght thurgh defaute of slep, Yif I ne had red and take kep Of this tale next before.

ENBAWMEN (1)

(RR 1663) And whanne I was not fer therfro, The savour of the roses swote Me smot right to the herte-rote, As I *hadde* all *enbawmed be*.

ENOYNTEN (1)

(CT I, 199) His heed was balled, that shoon as any glas, And eek his face, as he *hadde been enoynt*.

FINDEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(Bo V, p.1, 79) and yif the hidere of the gold ne hadde hyd the gold in thilke place, the gold ne *hadde* nat *ben founde*.

HELPEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1)

(CT V, 666) For whom ful ofte in greet peril he was, Ne *hadde* he *ben holpen* [‘if he had not been helped’] by the steede of bras;

SEEN (1) (not Chaucer’s instance)

(RR *3066) I hadde wel sped, *hadde* I not *ben* Awayted with [‘waylaid by’] these three and *sen*.

SHAKEN (1)

(CT I, 406) With many a tempest *hadde* his berd *been shake*.

SHEWEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(Bo I, p.4, 173) Of whiche lettres the fraude *hadde ben schewed* [‘would have been shown’] apertely, yif I hadde had liberte for to han used and ben at the confessioun of myn accusours, the whiche thyng in alle nedes hath greet strengthe.

SLAYN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.4.1.1)

(TC V, 227) I not, allas, whi lete ich hire to go; As wolde God ich *hadde* as tho *ben sleyn*!

SILLEN (1) (☞ §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(CT III, 388) I koude pleyne, and yit was in the gilt, Or elles often tyme *hadde* I *ben spilt*.

YELDEN (1)

(TC III, 1211) Ne *hadde* I er now, my swete herte deere, *Ben yold* [‘given in’], ywis, I were now nought heere!

WEDDEN (1) (☞ §2.2.1; §2.2.2; §2.4.1.1)

(CT V, 803) Who koude telle, but he *hadde wedded be*, The joye, the ese, and the prosperitee That is bitwixe an housbonde and his wyf?

WRATHEN (not Chaucer’s instance; ☞ §2.2.1)

(RR *3612) No straungenesse was in him *sen*, No more than he ne *had*

wrathed ben.

It is noteworthy that many of the examples of the passive past perfect are in the subjunctive. It is not clear, however, whether or not this tendency is observed in ME literature in general.

The exhaustive description above makes us hesitate to accept Fischer's (1992: 252) argument on the use of the past perfect in ME: "The pluperfect occurs exclusively in narrative passages and always refers to a completed action." The extensive data provide us with the following instances, which are expository rather than narrative:

(Bo V, p.4, 61) By this manere thanne, althoughe the prescience ne *hadde* nevere *iben*, yit algate . . . it is certein thing that the endes and bytydynges of thingis to comen scholden ben necessarie. | (Bo IV, m.5, 14) And eek yif that he ne knowe nat . . . how the mone derk and confus discovereth the sterres that sche *hadde covered* by hir clere vysage. The comune errorr moeveth folk [the punctuation should be "... vysage, the comune errorr . . ."], | (Bo V, p.1, 79) and yif the hidere of the gold ne hadde hyd the gold in thilke place, the gold ne *hadde* nat *ben founde*. | (Bo V, p.4, 110) and thilke same thinges, althoughe that men *hadden iwyst* hem byfor, yit thei han fre bytydynges.

2.4.2 Adverbials used with the past perfect

I shall now describe the adverbials with which the past perfect is used. The classification of adverbials is basically the same as the classification employed in 2.3. Adverbials indicating 'nowness' are not used with the past perfect except for a dubious instance.

2.4.2.1 Adverbials indicating 'duration'

2.4.2.1.1 *ay; ever; ever in oon*

The verbs occurring in the construction "past perfect + *ay/ever (in oon)*" are BEN, DWELLEN and SEKEN.

ay (3):

(CT I, 63) At mortal batailles hadde he been fiftene, And foughten for
oure feith at Tramysse In lystes thries, and *ay* slayn his foo. | (TC II,
1403) and to Deiphebus wente he tho, Which hadde his lord and grete
frend ben *ay*; | (TC V, 711) Ful pale ywoxen was hire brighte face . . . ,
whan she . . . loked on the place Ther she was born, and ther she dwelt
hadde *ay*;

evere (in oon) (2):

(LGW 1246) And whan the kyng that Yarbas highte it wiste, As he that
hadde hir loved *evere* his lyf, And wowede hyre, to han hire to his wyf,
Swich sorwe as he hath maked, and swich cheere, It is a routhe and pite
for to here. | (Pity 9) And when that I . . . Had *evere in oon* a tyme
sought to speke, To Pitee ran I al bespreynt with teres To prayen hir on
Cruelte me awreke.

2.4.2.1.2 *longe/longest; longe tyme; of (tyme) yore*

The verbs used with these adverbials are as follows:

adverbial	verb
long(est)	avysen, compleyne, gon, musen, pleynen, usen, wepen,
longe tyme	ben, wonen,
of (tyme) yore	knowen.

long(est) (7):

(CT I, 286) A clerk ther was of Oxenford also, That unto logyk hadde
longe ygo. | (CT V, 523) Til he so *longe* hadde wopen and compleyned,
And many a yeer his service to me feyned, | (CT VIII, 572) For which,
whan I hadde *longe* avysed me, I demed hym som chanoun for to be. |
(TC IV, 1170) So after that he *longe* hadde hire compleyned . . . , He gan
tho teeris wypen of ful dreye, | (TC IV, 1688) And after that they *longe*

pleyned hadde, And ofte ykist, and streite in armes folde, The day gan rise, | (PF 549) Me wolde thynke how that the worthieste Of knyghthod, and *lengest* had used it, Most of estat, of blod the gentilleste, Were sittynge for hire, if that hir leste;

Also in HF 1287 (imused).

longe tyme (2):

(CT X, 345) And Seint Jerome, whan he *longe tyme* hadde woned in desert, where as he hadde no compaignye but of wilde beestes, . . . , yet seyde he that “the brennyng of lecherie boyled in al his body.” | (Bo III, p.5, 51) Antonyus comaundede that knyghtes slown with here swerdes Papynian (his famylier) whiche that had ben *long tyme* ful myghty amonges hem of the court.

Also in RR *3631 (sen).

of (tyme) yore (2):

(CT V, 963) it happed . . . By cause that . . . [she] hadde yknowen hym *of tyme yoore*, They fille in speche; | (TC IV, 719) And they that hadde yknowen hire *of yore* Seigh hire so wepe and thoughte it kyndenesse, And ech of hem wepte ek for hire destresse.

2.4.2.1.3 *many a yeer/day* (3)

These adverbial phrases are used with BEN, DWELLEN and FEYNEN.

(CT V, 524) Til he so longe hadde wopen and compleyned, And *many a yeer* his service to me feyned, | (CT VIII, 1013) In Londoun was a preest, an annueleer, That therinne dwelled hadde *many a yeer*, | (TC III, 1614) For thorough thyn help I lyve, Or elles ded hadde I ben *many a day*.

2.4.2.1.4 *a yeer or two; yeer by yere, etc.*

The verbs collocated with these adverbials are as listed below:

adverbial	verb
a yeer or two, etc. yeer by yere	enduren, loven, wonen, knowen.

a yeer or two, etc. (3):

(CT I, 1381) Whan he endured hadde *a yeer or two* This crueel torment
and this peyne and wo, . . . , Upon a nyght in sleep . . . Hym thoughte how
that the wynged god Mercurie . . . bad hym to be murie. | (CT V, 939)
This lusty squier . . . Hadde loved hire best of any creature *Two yeer and
moore*, | (CT VII, 3216) A col-fox . . . , That in the grove hadde woned
yeres three . . . , The same nyght thurghout the hegges brast Into the
yerd ther Chaunte- cleer the faire Was wont, and eek his wyves, to
repaire;

yeer by yere ('year after year') (1):

(CT I, 1203) Duc Perotheus loved wel Arcite, And hadde hym knowe at
Thebes *yeer by yere*,

Note. Notice all the adverbial phrases here listed occur in the
Canterbury Tales.

2.4.2.1.5 *o day / day and nyght / al (the longe) nyght* (4)

These adverbials cooccur with the following verbs: SUFFREN, SWINKEN,
WAKEN and WEREN.

(CT VII, 2473) That ilke cloth that he hadde wered *o day*, After that
tyme he nolde it nevere see. | (RR 309) For sorowe, thought, and gret
distresse, That she hadde suffred *day and nyght*, Made hir ful yelow
and nothyng bright, Ful fade, pale, and megre also. | (CT I, 4235) Aleyn
wax wery in the dawenyng, For he had swonken *al the longe nyght*, |
(CT I, 4284) For she was falle aslepe a lite wight With John the clerk,
that waked hadde *al nyght*,

Also in RR *2952 (al the day; taught).

2.4.2.1.6 *fro my youthe* (1)

The verbs used with this phrase are only CONVERSEN and HAUNTEN.

(Bo I, p.3, 7) I byholde my noryce, Philosophie, in whoos houses I hadde conversed and hauntyd *fro my youthe*;

2.4.2.1.7 *syn*-clause (2)

The following are the instances of the past perfect cooccurring with a *syn*-clause:

(TC V, 11) The gold-tressed Phebus heighe on-lofte Thries hadde alle with his bemes cleene The snowes molte, and Zepherus as ofte Ibrought ayeyn the tendre leves grene, *Syn* that the sone of Ecuba the queene Bigan to love hire first for whom his sorwe Was al, that she departe sholde a-morwe. | (LGW F 286 (= G 189)) And after hem coome of wymen swich a traas That, *syn* that God Adam hadde mad of erthe, The thridde part, of mankynde, or the ferthe, Ne wende I not by possibilitee Had ever in this wide world ybee;

There are no instances attested of the construction “past perfect + *syn*-phrase”.

2.4.2.2 Adverbials indicating ‘frequency’

2.4.2.2.1 *ofte*; *ofte tyme*

Here is a list of the verbs used with *ofte* and *ofte tyme*:

adverbial	verb
<i>ofte</i>	ben, don, finden, folden, heren, kissen,
<i>ofte tyme</i>	biginnen.

ofte (5):

(CT I, 310) A sergeant of the lawe, war and wys, That *often* hadde been at the Parvys, | (CT IV, 520) A maner sergeant was this privee man, The which that feithful *ofte* he founden hadde In thynges grete, | (CT IV, 1046) And he so *ofte* had doon to hire offence, | (TC IV, 1689) And after that they longe ypleyned hadde, And *ofte* ykist, and streite in armes folde, The day gan rise, | (LGW 1062) The queen . . . hadde herd *ofte* of Eneas er tho,

Cf. also TC V, 10.

ofte tyme (1):

(CT I, 52) Ful *ofte tyme* he hadde the bord bigonne Aboven alle nacions in Pruce;

2.4.2.2.2 *ones/thries/fiftene* (4)

The verbs used in collocation with these adverbials are BEN, CONNEN and MELTEN.

(CT I, 61, 63) At mortal batailles hadde he been *fiftene*, And foughten foroure feith at Tramysse In lystes *thries*, and ay slayn his foo. | (CT I, 463) And *thries* hadde she been at Jerusalem; | (TC V, 9) The gold-tressed Phebus heighe on-lofte *Thries* hadde alle with his bemes cleene The snowes molte, | (BD 665) But God wolde I had *oones or twyes* Ykoud and knowe the jeupardyes That kowde the Grek Pictagores!

2.4.2.3 Adverbials indicating ‘nowness’ (1)

The following is the sole instance of the past perfect used with *now*:

(LGW G 116) *Now* hadde th’atempre sonne al that releved, And clothed hym in grene al newe ageyn.

In the F Prologue of LGW the corresponding passage reads:

(LGW F 128) *Now hath* th’atempre sonne all that releved, That naked

was, and clad him new agayn.

Considering that the present form is used in the F Prologue and that there are no other instances of the past perfect cooccurring with an adverbial indicating ‘nowness’, it is tempting to ascribe the rare instance to scribal error (cf. 2.4.4).

Note. *Right now* is used only with the subjunctive BEN-perfect construction (cf. 2.1.5):

(CT V, 684) I hadde levere than twenty pound worth lond,
 Though it *right now* were fallen in myn hond, | (CT V, 1614)
 Sire, I releesse thee thy thousand pound, As thou *right now*
 were copen out of the ground, Ne nevere er now ne haddest
 knowen me.

2.4.2.4 Adverbials indicating ‘previousness’

The adverbials and verbs to be treated here are set out below:

adverbial	verb
bifore	assayen, casten, don, looken, reden, speken, warnen, witen, writen,
therbifore	loven, usen,
by phrase/clause	ben, chaungen, don (away), drawen, drinken, enden, weven,
er now/tho overnyght	ben yolden; ben, heren, knowen, prayen.

bifore (10):

(CT I, 3535) Hastow nat herd hou saved was Noe, Whan that oure Lord
 hadde warned hym *biforn* That al the world with water sholde be lorn?
 | (CT III, 639) And walke I wolde, as I had doon *biforn*, | (CT III, 1759)
 He planed away the names everichon That he *biforn* had writen in his
 tables; | (CT III, 2062) than he hadde don *bifoore*; | (CT IV, 456) He

hadde assayed hire ynogh *bifore*, And foond hire evere good; | (CT VI, 707) And forth they goon towardses that village Of which the taverner hadde spoke *biforn*. | (CT VI, 880) For right as they hadde cast his deeth *bifoore*, Right so they han hym slayn, and that anon.

Also in: Bo IV, p.6, 86 (lookid); V, p.4, 110 (iwyst); PF 107 (red).

therbifore (2):

(CT VI, 624) Looke eek that to the kyng Demetrius The kyng of Parthes . . . Sente him a paire of dees of gold in scorn, For he hadde used hasard *ther-biforn*; | (CT IV, 729) For which, where as his peple *therbifore* Hadde loved hym wel, the sclaudre of his diffame Made hem that they hym hatede therfore.

byforn that tyme (1):

(Bo II, p.6, 17) And ryght for the same pride yowr eldres *byforn that tyme* hadden doon away out of the cite of Rome the kynges name . . .

by this/that (4):

(Bo III, p.1, 1) *By this* sche hadde ended hir song, whan the swetnesse of here dite hadde thurw-perced me, that was desyrus of herknynge, and I astoned hadde yit streyghte myn eres | (Bo IV, m.3, 22) the rowerys and the maryneres hadden *by this* idrawen into hir mouthes and dronken the wikkide drynkes. | (Bo IV, m.3, 25) Thei that weren woxen swyn hadden *by this* ichaunged hir mete of breed for to eten akkornes of ookes. | (LGW 2360) But letters can she weve to and fro, So that, *by that* the yer was al ago, She hadde ywoven in a stamyn large How she was brought from Athenes in a barge, And in a cave how that she was brought;

Cf. CT X, 1-2.

er now/this/tho (4):

(CT V, 1615) I releesse thee thy thousand pound, As thou right now were copen out of the ground, Ne nevere *er now* ne haddest knowen me. | (TC III, 1211) Ne hadde I *er now* . . . Ben yolde, ywis, I were now nought heere! | (TC V, 933) For if my fader Tideus . . . Ilyved hadde, ich hadde

ben *er this* Of Calydoyne and Arge a kyng, | (LGW 1062) The queen
saugh that they dide hym swych honour, And hadde herd ofte of Eneas
er tho,

Note. Notice that, as in the case of the past (cf. note 1 to §2.3.4.1), *er now* occurs in the negative context.

overnyght ('the night before') (1):

(TC II, 1549) But certayn is, *er Troilus* hym leyde, Deiphebus had hym
preied *over-nyght* To ben a frend and helpyng to Criseyde.

Note 1. *Bifore*, as in the case of the present perfect, often occurs in rime position.

Note 2. *Therbifore*, which is not used with the present perfect, occurs in rime position. A *by*-phrase/clause is not used with the present perfect, either. The past perfect cooccurring with this phrase/clause means 'past-in-the-past' (cf. §2.4.3.2).

Note 3. Chaucer does not use the word *afore(n)* in his works. The following is a non-Chaucerian instance:

(RR *3396) To Daunger came I all ashamed, The which *afor*n
me hadde blamed,

2.4.2.5 Adverbials indicating 'indefinite past'

2.4.5.1 *somtyme; in youthe; of/in olde tyme, etc.*

Instances of these adverbials cooccurring with the past perfect are not numerous:

adverbial	verb
somtyme	ben,
in youthe, etc.	knowen, lernen,
of/in olde tyme	putten, senden.

somtyme (2):

(CT I, 64) This ilke worthy knyght hadde been also *Somtyme* with the lord of Palatye Agayn another hethen in Turkye; | (CT I, 85) And he hadde been *somtyme* in chyvachie In Flaundres, in Artoys, and Pycardie, And born hym weel, as of so litel space [‘time’], In hope to stonden in his lady grace.

in youthe/olde dayes (3):

(CT I, 613) *In youthe* he hadde lerned a good myster [‘trade’]: He was a wel good wrighte [‘workman’], a carpenter. | (LGW 2350) This woful lady lerned hadde *in youthe* So that she werken and enbroude couthe, And weven in hire stol the radevore As it of wemen hath be woned yore. | (CT V, 1180) This Briton clerk hym asked of felawes The whiche that he had knowe *in olde dawes*, And he answerde hym that they dede were,

of/in olde tyme (2):

(TC V, 471) The lettres ek that she *of olde tyme* Hadde hym ysent, he wolde allone rede An hondred sithe atwixen noon and prime, | (BD 53) And in this bok were written fables That clerkes had *in olde tyme*, And other poetes, put in rime To rede and for to be in minde,

2.4.2.5.2 *whilom* (5)

The verbs occurring with this adverb are BEN, COVEREN, DEMEN, FORYETEN and OVERCOMEN.

(Bo I, p.4, 115) Also Opilion and Gaudencius han accused me, al be it so that the justise regal hadde *whilom* demed hem bothe to gon into exil for hir trecheries and frawdres withouten nombre, | (Bo II, p.6, 75) but sone after [Robinson: thereafter] he most yve hise handes to ben bownde with the cheynes of hem that he hadde *whilom* overcomen. | (Bo III, m.11, 11) And thanne thilke thing that the blake cloude of errour *whilom* hadde ycovered schal lighte more clerly than Phebus hymself ne schyneth. | (Bo IV, p.1, 14) And thilke thinges that thou

toldest me, al be it so that I hadde *whilom* foryeten hem for the sorwe of the wrong that hath ben don to me, yet nathales thei ne weren not al outrely unknowen to me. | (RR 362) A foul, forwelked [‘very wrinkled’] thyng was she, That *whylom* round and softe had be.

Cf. Bo I, p.2, 6 (BEN-perfect: were escaped).

Notice *whilom*, when used with the past perfect, occurs only in translations, *Boece* and the *Romaunt of the Rose*. It seems that, since *whilom* does not always have its equivalent in the French (Bo III, m.11, 11: *jadis*; RR 362: *iadis*), Chaucer added this adverb freely in his translations (cf. Aertsen 1992).

2.4.2.6 Summary

Let us now list the verbs used in the past perfect and adverbials with which they cooccur:

Table 7 Relationships between adverbials and verbs

adverbial	verb
duration	avysen, ben, compleynen, conversen, dwellen, enduren, feynen, haunten, knowen, loven, musen, pleynen, seken, suffren, swinken, usen, waken, wepen, weren, wonen.
frequency	ben, biginnen, bringen, connen, don, finden, folden, heren, kissen, melten.
nowness	releven.
previousness	ben yolden; assayen, ben, casten, chaungen, don, don (away), drawen, drinken, enden, heren, knowen, looken, loven, prayen, reden, speken, usen, warnen, weven, witen, writen.
indef. past	ben, coveren, demen, foryeten, knowen, lernen, overcomen, putten, senden.

From the table above, the following generalizations can be deduced:

- (1) as in the case of the present perfect, adverbials of ‘duration’ are used with verbs of durative aspect (e.g., DWELLEN, KNOWEN);
- (2) verbs of terminative aspect (e.g., DON AWAY, ENDEN) can be used with adverbials indicating ‘previousness’.

What is more important about the relationship between adverbials and the perfect is that some adverbials occur exclusively with the present perfect and some exclusively with the past perfect.

Group I (exclusively with the present perfect):

hiderto, ryght now, today, tonyght, herebifore, ago(n).

Group II (exclusively with the past perfect):¹⁸

therbifore, by this/that, er tho.

The collocational difference between Group I and Group II comes from the semantic difference between the two: adverbials in the former group denote continuation up to “now” and those in the latter group denote continuation up to “then”, that is, a point of time before which an activity expressed by the past perfect is finished.

2.4.3 Uses of the past perfect

2.4.3.1 Though ambiguous in several cases, the past perfect is used either in the subjunctive or in the indicative. Subjunctive use is seen mostly in the following contexts (cf. §2.5):

a) conditional sentences:

(CT III, 69, 70) For *hadde* God *comanded* maydenhede, Thanne *hadde* he *dampned* weddyng with the dede. | (Bo V, p.1, 78, 80) yif the hidere of the gold ne *hadde hyd* the gold in thilke place, the gold ne *hadde nat ben founde*. | (TC V, 933) For if my fader Tideus . . . *Ilyved hadde*, ich *hadde ben* er this Of Calydoyne and Arge a kyng, | (LGW 1676, 1677) O,

¹⁸ Here ‘exclusively’ means “not used with the present perfect or simple present”. Adverbials in Group II may cooccur with verbs in the past tense.

haddest thow in thy conquest ded *ybe*, Ful mikel untrouthe *hadde* ther *deyd* with the!

Also in: CT I, 1228-30; 3299-300; VII, 1946-48; 2053-54; Bo I, p.4, 172-73; 184-85; II, p.2, 33-35; p.7, 139-40; TC IV, 274-76; LGW F 278-79 (= G 181-82); BD 222-24; 677; 680; HF 409-411, etc.

b) *as*-clause:

as (though): (CT I, 199) His heed was balled, that shoon as any glas, And eek his face, *as* he *hadde been enoynt*. | (CT I, 3807) This Nicholas anon leet fle a fart As greet *as* it *had been* a thonder-dent, | (Bo II, p.2, 26) thow hast no ryght to pleyne the, *as though* thou *haddest* outrely *forlorn* alle thy thynges.

as he/she/they that-clause ('as one who'): (TC II, 907) [the sonne] Gan westren faste, and downward for to wrye, *As he that hadde* his dayes cours *yronne*, | (TC IV, 1250) For pitously ech other gan byholde, *As they that hadden* al hire blisse *ylorn*, Bywaylinge ay the day that they were born;

Also in: CT I, 964; 3445; IV, 1060; VII, 446; 676; VIII, 561; Bo III, p.11, 112; TC II, 543; III, 1447; IV, 673; V, 1537; LGW 1246; BD 392; 530; HF 229; 1156; 1751; RR 329; 1436; 1663||*6222, etc.

c) *er*-clause:

(CT I, 3630) But *er* that he *hadde maad* al this array, He sente his knave, and eek his wenche also, Upon his nede to London for to go. | (CT V, 130) He wayted many a constellacion *Er* he *had doon* this operacion,

Also in: CT I, 3691; VII, 388; 2125; 3099; BD 228; HF 456; RR 1390, etc.

Note. In Chaucer's English there is no construction "before + subjunctive"; *before* is used either as a preposition or an adverb.

d) *til*-clause:

(CT III, 2201) The lady of the hous ay stille sat *Til* she *had herd* what the frere sayde. | (CT V, 523) And in this wise he served his entente . . .

Til he so longe *hadde wopen* and *compleyned*, And many a yeer his service to me feyned,

Also in: CT I, 1490; 4379; III, 411; IV, 294; VI, 501; VIII, 1171; Bo III, p.1, 24; Mars 55; RR 1348; 1447.

Note. The verb in a *til*-clause may be in the indicative:

(CT IV, 1110) And every wight hire joye and feeste maketh *Til* she *hath* caught agayn hire contenance.

Also in: CT II, 538; IV, 2325; V, 187; VII, 2174, etc.

e) concessive clause:

al/although/though-clause: (LGW 1841) *Al hadde* folkes hertes *ben* of stones, Hyt myght have maked hem upon hir rewe, | (CT I, 1089) Som wikke aspect or disposicioun Of Saturne, by som constellacioun, Hath yeven us this, *although* we *hadde* it *sworn*; | (CT III, 511) *thogh* he *hadde* me *bete* on every bon, He koude wyne agayn my love anon.

Also in: CT III, 420; 462; 640; IV, 2272; VI, 371; VII, 2798; 3281; Bo I, p.4, 134; 201; 234; V, p.4, 61; BD 723; 975; 1056; RR 1249, etc.

indefinite relative clause: (TC II, 191) For yesterday, *whoso had* with hym *ben*, He myghte han wondred upon Troilus; | (LGW 2076) But *whoso hadde seyn* his contenance, He wolde have wept for routhe of his penaunce; | (BD 1051) I leve yow wel, that trewely Yow thoghte that she was the beste And to beholde the alderfayreste, *Whoso had loked* hir with your eyen. | (BD 977) For *wher-so* men *had pleyd* or waked, Me thoghte the felawsshyppe as naked Withouten hir that sawgh I oones As a corowne withoute stones.

Note. Sugden (1936: 129) says, “The subjunctive occurs in indefinite relative clauses. These are concessive.”

f) after (*or*) *elles/than*:

(*or*) *elles*: (BD 998) I sey nat that she ne had knowynge What harm was, *or elles* she *Had koud* no good, so thinketh me. | (CT VI, 274) And *elles*, certes, he *had been bigyled*.

Also in: CT III, 388; 428; V, 840; TC III, 1614; V, 56.

than: (CT I, 4220) I hadde almost goon to the clerkes bed. Ey, benedicite! *Thanne hadde* I foule *ysped*! | (TC V, 738) Allas, I ne hadde trowed on youre loore And went with yow, as ye me redde er this! *Than hadde* I now nat *siked* half so soore.

g) after *had/were lever; wolde fayn; wolde God*:

had/were lever: (CT VII, 3121) I *hadde levere* than my sherte That ye *hadde rad* his legende, as have I. | (CT IV, 1438) Yet *were* me *levere* houndes *had* me *eten* Than that myn heritage sholde falle In straunge hand,

Also in: CT I, 3541; IV, 1212d; V, 1600; VII, 1894.

wolde fayn: (CT IV, 2075) the fyr of jalousie . . . So brente his herte that he *wolde fayn* That som man bothe hire and hym *had slayn*.

wolde (God): (CT III, 2122) He *wolde* that the frere *had been* on-fire With his false dissymulacioun. | (TC III, 1387) As *wolde God* tho wrecches that dispise Servise of love hadde erys also longe As hadde Mida . . . , And therto *dronken hadde* as hoot and stronge As Crassus did for his affectis wronge,

Also in: TC V, 227; LGW 1538; BD 311 (nold); 665.

h) after WENEN; *beren hym on honde*:

WENEN: (TC I, 227) Though he . . . *wende* nothing *hadde had* swich myght Ayeyns his wille that shuld his herte stere, Yet with a look his herte wex a-fere, That he . . . Wax sodeynly moost subgit unto love. | (CT IV, 1094) Youre woful mooder *wende* stedfastly That crueel houndes or som foul vermyne *Hadde eten* yow; | (CT V, 585) So on a day of me he took his leve, So sorwefully eek that I *wende* verraily That he *had felt* as muche harm as I,

Also in: CT I, 4303; III, 2029; IV, 693; 751; 2394; 2395; VII, 407; Bo V, m. 4, 12; LGW F 289 (= G 192); ABC 94; HF 262; PF 493||RR *3082.

bar hym on honde ('made him believe'): (CT III, 575) I *bar hym on honde* he *hadde enchanted* me

i) with *almost/nygh/into litel* ('nearly'):

(CT I, 4218) I hadde *almost* mysgoon; | (BD 511) For he *had wel nygh*

lost hys mynde, | (TC IV, 884) For which we han so sorwed, he and I,
That *into litel* bothe it *hadde us slawe*;

Also in: Bo I, m.1, 25; RR 1509.

2.4.3.2 Indicative use of the past perfect may be divided into two: “perfect- in-the-past” and “past-in-the-past”. The former, back-shifted from the present perfect, denotes a past state which results from an even earlier situation; the latter, back-shifted from the simple past, denotes that the action expressed by the past perfect precedes some other past situation (which may not be expressed). “Bill had arrived at six o’clock”, for example, means either “Bill arrived before six o’clock and he was there at six o’clock” or “Bill’s arrival was at six o’clock” (in such a context as “Bill had arrived at six o’clock and had left again at seven; the inspector did not get there until eight”, Comrie 1976: 56). The difference will become clearer by considering the direct speech of the following example:

(CT III, 1024) Whan they be comen to the court, this knyght Seyde he
had holde his day, as he *hadde hight*, And redy was his answer,

This passage can be paraphrased “I have held my day, as I promised.” The two meanings of the past perfect, however, are not always easy to distinguish. In the following passage from the *Pardoner’s Tale*, for instance,

(CT VI, 856) And eek ther was a polcat in his hawe [‘yard’], That, as he
seyde, his capouns *hadde yslawe*,

the young man’s utterance is ambiguous between “the polecat killed the capons” (past-in-the-past) and “the polecat has killed the capons” (perfect-in-the-past).

Perfect-in-the-past is especially frequent in an *after*-clause:

(CT VII, 1672) After that Dame Prudence *hadde spoken* in this manere,
Melibee answerde and seyde, | (TC IV, 1170, 71, 72) So after that he
longe *hadde hire compleyned*, His hondes *wrong*, and *seyd* that was to

seye, And with his teeris salt hire brest byreyned, He gan tho teeris wypen of ful dreye,

Also in: CT I, 3357; X, 269; 994; Bo II, p.1, 1; IV, m.3, 8; TC IV, 1688; (fro that tyme) CT I, 3755.

Some other examples of perfect-in-the-past:

(CT VII, 3216) A col-fox ... That in the grove *hadde woned* yeres three ... The same nyght thurghout the hegges brast Into the yerd ther Chauntecleer the faire Was wont, and eek his wyves, to repaire; | (CT VII, 3175) And with a chuk he gan hem for to calle, For he *hadde founde* a corn, lay in the yerd. | (CT VIII, 1013) In Londoun was a preest, an annueleer, That therinne *dwelled hadde* many a yeer, Which was so plesaunt and so servysable Unto the wyf, | (Bo III, p.5, 51) Antonyus comaundede that knyghtes slown with here swerdes Papynian (his famylier) whiche that *had ben* long tyme ful myghty amonges hem of the court. | (TC II, 1403) and to Deiphebus wente he tho, Which *hadde* his lord and grete frend *ben* ay; | (RR 304) But wel was seyn in hir colour That she *hadde lyved* in langour;

Also in: CT I, 1203; 1404; 2982; 3829; III, 770; V, 963; Bo I, p.3, 43; p.4, 7; TC IV, 345; 719; V, 711; BD 390; 517; PF 576; LGW 1060; 2360; Mars 256; RR 579, etc.

Some examples of past-in-the-past:

(CT IV, 1938) This Damyan, whan that his tyme he say, In secree wise his purs and eek his bille ['letter'], In which that he *ywriten hadde* his wille, Hath put into hire hand, | (CT VI, 880) For right as they *hadde cast* his deeth bifoore, Right so they han hym slayn, and that anon. | (Bo V, p.1, 89) but, as I seide, it bytidde and ran togidre that he dalf thare as that oothir *had hid* the gold. | (BD 1326) And the book that I *hadde red*, Of Alcione and Seys the kyng, And of the goddes of slepyng, I fond hyt in myn hond ful even.

Also in: CT I, 31; 1470; IV, 724; 730; 2215; V, 363; 539; 910; 1504; 1518; VII, 344; 1099; IX, 259; Bo I, p.1, 22; 38; 40; m.2, 14; p.3, 40; 42; II,

p.7, 124; TC II, 602; V, 1104, etc.

That the past perfect denotes past-in-the-past is sometimes indicated by a time adverbial:

(CT I, 613) *In youthe* he hadde lerned a good myster: He was a wel good wrighte, a carpenter. | (CT VI, 624) Looke eek that to the kyng Demetrius The kyng of Parthes, as the book seith us, Sente him a paire of dees of gold in scorn, For he hadde used hasard *ther-biforn*; | (RR 362) A foul, forwelked thyng was she, That *whylom* round and softe had be.

Also in: (biforn) CT I, 3535; III, 1759; 2062; IV, 456; VI, 707; (therbifore) CT IV, 729; (in youthe) LGW 2350. For examples of the past perfect used with *by this/that*, see §2.4.2.4.

2.4.3.3 Other uses of the past perfect

2.4.3.3.1 Type: *He had espyed me soon*

The past perfect may be used to suggest that an event took place in a short time. Jespersen (1965: 83) says:

Note the use for past time in Stevenson T [Treasure Island] 152 “I had soon told my story” = I told my story, and that did not take long: the speaker anticipates the time when the incident he is relating is already finished.

The following may be an ME instance of the past perfect suggesting immediacy:

(BD 836) And Love, that had wel herd my boone [‘prayer’], *Had espyed* me thus *soone*,

2.4.3.3.2 Type: *I had intended to call*

In PrE the past perfect of verbs of wishing and intending (e.g., wish, hope;

intend) “expresses that the hope, intention, etc. did not materialize” (Zandvoort 1975: 63). Examples:

I had hoped to catch the 8.30, but found it was gone.

She had intended/meant/wanted to call, but was prevented by a headache.

In Chaucer’s English, as far as my investigation goes, no such instances of the past perfect can be found.

2.4.4 Non-sequence of tenses (II)

As the present perfect is sometimes used in contexts which seem “illogical” from the standpoint of PrE, so too the past perfect is sometimes used in “illogical” contexts.¹⁹ I shall first cite contexts where the past perfect is used along with the present (Plup=past perfect; for other abbreviations, see §2.3.7.1).

a) WHEN(Plup) + M(Pres):

(CT I, 2191) This Theseus, this duc, this worthy knyght, Whan he *had broght* hem into his citee, And *inned* hem, everich at his degree, He *festeth* hem, and *dooth* so greet labour To esen hem and doon hem al honour That yet men wenen that no mannes wit Of noon estaat ne koude amenden it. | (CT VI, 877) And whan this riotour, with sory grace, *Hadde filled* with wyn his grete botels thre, To his felawes agayn *repaireth* [‘returns’] he.

b) M(Pres) + Rel(Plup):

(Bo I, p.3, 7) I *byholde* my noryce, Philosophie, in whos houses I *hadde conversed* and *hauntyd* fro my youthe; | (Bo IV, m.5, 14) And eek yif that he ne knowe nat ... how the mone derk and confus *discovereth* the

¹⁹ Examples such as the following are precluded here since they are properly constructed :

(CT I, 530) With hym ther was as plowman, was his brother, That *hadde ylad* of dong ful many a cother; | (CT I, 202) Duc Perotheus love wel Aricite , And *hadde* hym *knowe* at Thebes yeer by yere.

sterres that sche *hadde covered* by hir clere vysage

Also in: CT I, 1621-22||RR *1857-60.

In the examples above, it should be noticed, the category responsible for the non-sequence of tenses is the simple present because the past perfect is in its legitimate use, i.e., to report an activity in the past and to advance the plot (cf. Joos 1968: 133).²⁰ The problem to be considered is what function(s) the simple present fulfills. The simple present, as some grammarians say, can be used to offer “contemporary comment” (Joos 1968: 130ff), “commentary” (Palmer 1974: 60), “explanation” (Besprechung) (Weinrich 1974) or “evaluation” (Fleischman 1990: 143f.). To quote Palmer’s (1974: 60) observation:

[the simple present] is the form normally used in a commentary, especially on the radio where the commentator is reporting something that the listeners cannot see. This use is exactly parallel to report past activity:

. . . and he passes the ball to Smith, and Smith scores!

He bowls, and he just misses the wicket.

He hits him again, right on the jaw.

The sequence of the past perfect and the simple present in the contexts a) and b) above can be explained as follows: the past perfect (and, for that matter, the simple past) is employed to advance the plot, and the simple present is employed to interpolate the narrator’s commentary on the scene.

Non-sequence of tenses can also be observed between a *when*-clause, the verb of which is in the past perfect, and the main clause, the verb of which is in the simple past.

c) WHEN(Plup) + M(Past)

(CT I, 1577) And whan that he *had herd* Arcites tale . . . , He *stirte* [pa.

²⁰ Implicit in this analysis is a division of a narrative into plot and commentary.

sg.] hym up out of the buskes thikke And seide: | (CT VII, 1769) Whan dame Prudence *hadde herd* the answeres of these men, she *bad* hem goon agayn prively; | (Bo I, p.5, 1-5) Whan I *hadde* with a contynuel sorwe *sobbyd* or *borken* out these thynges, sche, with hir cheere pesible and nothyng amoved with my compleyntes, *seide* thus: | (TC V, 645-46) This song whan he thus *songen hadde*, soone He *fil* ayeyn into his sikis olde; | (PF 556-57) Whan everych *hadde* his large golee *seyd*, They *seyden* sothly, al by oon assent,

Also in: CT I, 133-36; 266-68; 637-8; 758-61; 912-14; 1381-86; 1528-30; 1540-41; 1597-99; 2388-90; 2654-56; 3109-13; 3303-07 (+Pres); 3498-500; 3855-58; 3899-900; II, 757; III, 829, 1700-3; 1733-4; IV, 449-54 (+pres.); 498-500; 1607-10; V, 1285-88; VII, 1103-4; BD 191; 231-33; 487-89; 1236-38; TC I, 750-51; 1009-11, etc.

The verb in a *when*-clause followed by M(Past) may be in the past, present perfect (see §2.3.7.1c) or past perfect. Despite the temporal and aspectual differences, the “WHEN+M(Past)” constructions mean that two events occur in succession or at the same time. This means that the cognitive meanings of WHEN(Past), WHEN(Perf) and WHEN(Plup) are virtually the same. Admittedly, which form the verb takes in a *when*-clause is sometimes decided by the exigencies of rime and meter, but it is possible to assume that the difference in the verbal forms suggests a difference in distance, temporal or psychological, between Event A, which is expressed by a *when*-clause, and Event B, which is expressed by the main clause. When Event A is treated as background for Event B, the verb in the *when*-clause is in the past perfect; when both Events are treated as equally important, the *when*-clause takes a past or a present perfect. In case of “WHEN(Plup)+M(Past)”, as shown by the examples above, there is a loose logical connection between Event A and Event B: Event A is a necessary condition for Event B. In the case of “WHEN(Perf)+M(Past)”, by contrast, Event A is not necessarily a prerequisite for Event B:

(TC V, 280) And Phebus with his rosy carte soone *Gan* after that to dresse hym up to fare Whan Troilus *hath sent* after Pandare.

“WHEN(Past)+M(Past)”, on the other hand, seems to emphasize simultaneity:

(CT I, 1123-25) This Palamon, whan he tho wordes *herde*, Dispitously he *looked* and *answerde*, “Wheither seistow this in ernest or in pley?”

Though the relationships between WHEN(Perf)/(Past) and M(Past) need be investigated more extensively, it is not unreasonable to suppose that WHEN(Plup) serves as background for M(Past).

d) M(Past)+M(Plup)+M(Past):

Here the past perfect is mingled in the past:

(CT III, 527-29) He som tyme *was* a clerk of Oxenford, And *hadde left* scole, and *wente* at hom to bord With my gossib, dwellynge in oure toun;

It would be impossible to explain adequately why the past perfect is used in the example above if it is not assumed that the narrator’s point of view is shifted in the course of her narration: when the narrator uses *was* in “he was once a student at Oxford” (let us call this Event 0), her point of view is at the present, but when she uses *hadde left* (Event 1), her point of view is shifted to the time when the clerk went to board with her friend (Event 2); Event 2 is the reference point for Event 1. Thus, by using the past perfect the narrator indicates that she switches her point of view from Event 0 to Event 2.

Also in the following examples Event 1 is described from the viewpoint of Event 2:

(CT II, 621-23) But nathelees, ther *was* greet moornyng Among the peple [Event 2], and seyn [(they) say’; Benson’s note to this line is suspect] they kan nat gesse That she *had doon* so greet a wikkednesse [Event 1], | (CT III, 1713-17) And so *bifel* [Event 0] that on a day this frere *Hadde preched* at a chirche in his manere [Event 1], And specially, aboven every thyng, *Excited* he the peple in his prechyng To trentals

[Event 2], | (CT V, 414-16) *Ybeten hadde* she herself so pitously With
 bothe hir wynges [Event 1] til the rede blood *Ran* endelong the tree
 [Event 2] ther-as she stood. | (LGW 2358-62) But letters can she weve
 to and fro, So that, by that the yer *was* al *ago* [Event 2], She *hadde*
ywoven in a stamyn large [Event 1] How she was brought from Athenes
 in a barge, And in a cave how that she was brought;

In the first instance above the narrator's commentary is interpolated between Events 1 and 2. In Skeat's edition, incidentally, the line in question reads as follows:

That she *hath* doon so greet a wikkednesse.

Note. Manly and Rickert (1940: Vol. V, p. 499; see also Vol. III, p. 207n.) list the following as the manuscripts that contain *hathe* instead of *had*: Ha³ [Harl. 7333], Ln [Lincoln], N1 [Northumber-land], Ra² [Rawl, Poet. 149], Ra³ [Rawl. Pot. 223], Tc¹ [Trin. Camb. R. 3.3], To [Trin. Oxfor].

As the last example above (LGW 2358-62) shows, a *by*-clause causes the shift of viewpoint because this clause expresses a temporal relation between two situations. Other factors that trigger the switching of the point of view are yet to be investigated.

e) abuse (?) of the past perfect:

There remain some instances that are hard to explain by the switching of the point of view:

(CT III, 770) And somme han dryve nayles in hir brayn, Whil that they
 slepte, and thus they *had* hem *slayn*. Somme han hem yeve poysoun in
 hire drynke. | (LGW G 116) Forgeten hadde the erthe his pore estat Of
 wynter, that hym naked made and mat, And with his swerd of cold so
 sore hadde greved. Now *hadde* th'atempre sonne al that *releved*, And
clothed hym in grene al newe ageyn.

The “illogicalness” of these instances can be ascribed to the carelessness of the scribe or editor, for in other editions the lines in question read as follows:

(Hengwrt) and thus they *han* hem slayn.

(Skeat) and thus they *han* hem slayn.

(LGW F 128) Now *hath* th’atempre sonne all that releved,

Note. In CT III, 770 Manly and Rickert (1940) record no manuscripts that contain *had* (cf. Vol. III, p. 265, Vol. p. 78).

It has been shown above that the use of the past perfect in Chaucer’s English is almost the same as that in PrE and that some exceptional instances can be explained by the switching of the point of view and by scribal (or editorial) error.

2.5 Perfect infinitive

This section deals with the perfect infinitive, both with and without *to*. The bare infinitive (i.e., infinitive without *to*) occurs mostly after a modal auxiliary, and the *to*-infinitive after a small number of nouns and verbs. (For the perfect infinitive composed of “BEN + pp.”, see §2.1.4.4.)

2.5.1 Type: *may have done*

I shall first afford an overall view on the relationships between an auxiliary and the perfect infinitive. Here is a list of verbs occurring in the context “aux + HAVEN + pp.” (For mutation verbs used in “aux + HAVEN + pp.”, see §2.1.4.4.)

Table 8 Relationships between auxiliaries and verbs

auxiliary	verb
dorsten	sweren,
koude	bringen, finden, knowen, sayn, tellen, wenen,
moste	knowen, tellen,
myghte	ben, cryen, don, heren, knowen, leten, liven, looken, maken, sayn, shewen, wondren,
oghte	haven, taken,
shal	ben, chaungen, kerven, niman,
sholde	avaylen, clepen, costen, daunten, defenden, deyen, disturben, excusen, finden, kepen, knyppen, leden, lesen, loven, maken, pleyen, punysshen, purchacen, putten, turnen, warnen, witten,
wil	spliten,
wolde	answeren, ben, beten, bringen, buyen, cacchen, callen, destroyen, devouren, don, drawen, failen, haven, hyen, holden, karolen, kepen, kissen, lakken, leten, leven, liken, loven, maken, musen, noten, preven, renouncen, rewen, sayn, seen, slayen, speken, suffisen, suffren, taken, tellen, treden, trowen, trusten, weepen, wenen, werken, wrathen, writen, yiven.

a) *dorste* (2):

(CT IV, 403) Unnethe trowed they—but *dorste han swore*—That to Janicle . . . She doghter were, | (TC I, 906) For by my trouthe, in love I *dorste have sworn* The sholde nevere han tid thus fayr a grace.

b) *koude* (6):

(RR 484) Into that gardyn, wel wrought, Whoso that me *coude have brought*, By laddre or elles by degre, It wolde wel have liked me. | (CT IV, 2131) Ther no wight *koude han founde* out swich a sleighte [‘trick’]. | (BD 976) For I dar swere wel, yif that she Had among ten thousand be, She wolde have be, at the leste, A chef myrour of al the feste, Thogh

they had stonden in a rowe, To mennes eyen that *koude have knowe*; | (CT IV, 1511) By God, ther nys no man in al this toun, Ne in Ytaille, that *koude bet han sayd*! | (CT III, 1645) Lordynges, I *koude han toold* yow, quod this Frere, Hadde I had leyser for this Somnour heere, | (CT V, 510) It was so wrapped under humble cheere ... That no wight *koude han wend* he koude feyne,

c) *moste* (2):

(CT V, 280) He *moste han knowen* love and his servyse And been a feestlych man as fressh as May, That sholde yow devysen swich array. | (BD 1203) For nedes, and mawgree my hed, I *most have told* hir or be ded.

d) *myghte* (18):

(LGW 1282, 1284) She hath hire body and ek hire reame yiven Into his hand, there as she *myghte have been* Of othere land than of Cartage a queen, And lyved in joye ynogh; | (CT IV, 563) Wel *myghte* a mooder thanne *han cryd* "allas!" | (Bo I, p.5, 15) For no wyght but thyselve ne *myghte* nevere *han doon* that to the. | (HF 1929) And therout com so gret a noyse That, had hyt stonden upon Oyse, Men *myghte* hyt *han herd* esely To Rome, y trowe sikerly. | (Bo I, p.3, 56) So yif thou ne hast noght knowen the exilynge of Anaxogore . . . , yit *myghtestow han knowen* the Seneciens and the Canyos and the Soranas, of whiche folk the renoun is neyther over-oold ne unsollempne. | (CT III, 2151) Ther nys no capul, drawynge in a cart, That *myghte have lete* a fart of swich a soun. | (CT I, 1793) Lo heere this Arcite and this Palamoun, That quitly ['freely'] weren out of my prisoun, And *myghte han lyved* in Thebes roially, | (TC III, 1160) He seyde hire, whan she was at swich a feste, She *myght* on hym *han loked* at the leste—

Also in: (be/ben) CT X, 773; LGW 729; (do) BD 680; 1044; (mad/maked) TC III, 114; LGW 1842; (seyd) TC V, 739; (shewed) CT VII, 1242; (wondred) TC II, 192||RR *2972 (geten).

e) *oghte* (2):

(Bo I, p.4, 136) Certes, al hadde noght Fortune ben aschamed that

innocence was accused, yit *oughte* sche *han hadde* schame of the fylthe of myn accusours. | (Anel 307) Your chere floureth, but it wol not sede [‘bear seed’]; Ful longe agoon I *oghte have taken* hede.

f) *shal* (4):

(Bo V, p.1, 27) that schal ben to me in stede of reste . . . , whan every syde of thi disputesoun *schal han ben* stedfast to me by undoutous feyth. | (Bo V, p.6, 244) If it be in my power to chaunge my purpos, than schal I voiden the purveaunce of God, whan paraventure I *schal han chaungid* the thingis that he knoweth byforn, | (LGW 2695) What devel have I with the knyf to do? And *shal* I *have* my throte *korve* a-two? Thanne schal I blede, allas, and me beshende! | (RR 394) The tyme that . . . us alle schal overcomen, Er that deth us *shal have nomen*:

Also in RR *5701 (geten).

g) *sholde* (29):

(FormA 25) What *sholde* it *han avayled* to werreye? | (Bo II, p.5, 106) For al so wel *scholde* they *han ben* fayre by hemselve, though thei were departed fro alle thyne rychesses. | (CT VII, 1242) For ye *sholde* first *have cleped* a fewe folk to youre conseil, | (CT III, 535) For hadde myn housbonde pissed on a wal, Or doon a thyng that *sholde han cost* his lyf, To hire, and to another worthy wyf, And to my nece . . . , I wolde han toold his conseil every deel. | (CT III, 463) [Metellius] with a staf birafte his wyf hir lyf, For she drank wyn, thogh I hadde been his wyf, He *sholde* nat *han daunted* me fro drynke! | (Bo I, p.2, 10) Certes I yaf the swiche armures that, yif thou thiselve ne haddest first cast hem away, they *schulden han defended* the in sekernesse that mai nat ben overcomyn. | (Bo I, p.4, 142, 144) I am accused that I *schulde han disturbed* the accusour to beren lettres, by whiche he *scholde han maked* the senatours gyilty ayens the kynges real majeste. | (CT X, 324) he that first was so myghty that he *sholde* nat *have dyed*, bicam swich oon that he moste nedes dye, | (TC II, 1079) And that she *sholde han* his konnyng *excused*, That litel was, and ek he dredde hire soo; | (BD 916) And yet moreover, thogh alle thoo That ever livede were now alyve, Ne *sholde have founde* to discryve Yn al hir face a wikked [sygne], | (CT

I, 4083) Unthank come on his hand that boond hym so, And he that better *sholde han knyht* the reyne!

Also in: (cleped) CT VII, 1244; (dyed/deyed) CT VII, 651; RR 456; (kept) BD 669; (led) TC I, 872; II, 553; (lost) CT III, 892; IV 2302; (loved) PF 454; (maked) Bo I, p.4, 144; (pleyd) BD 668; (punysshed) Bo I, p.4, 239; (put) CT IX, 159; (purchaced) CT VII, 1690; (turned) CT X, 470; (warned) CT VII, 388; (wist) TC III, 431||(be) RR *2501; *3850.

h) *wil* (1):

(CT II, 857) Why *wil* thyn harde fader *han* thee *spilt*?

i) *wolde/nolde* (75):

(Bo I, p.4, 179) I *wolde* thanne *han answeyrd* by the wordys of a man that hyghte Canyus. | (CT VII, 1945) Thou *woldest han been* a trefefowel aright. | (CT X, 670) A philosophre upon a tyme, that *wolde have beten* his disciple for his grete trespass, for which he was greetly amoeved, and broghte a yerde to scoure with the child; | (TC I, 922) And thus they *wolde han brought* hemself alofte, And natheles were under at the laste. | (Bo II, p.8, 43) Now whanne thow were ryche and weleful, as the semede, with how mochel *woldestow han bought* the fulle knowynge of thys (that is to seyn, the knowynge of thyne verray freendes)? | (CT I, 4227) But faire and wel she creep in to the clerk, And lith ful stille, and *wolde han caught* a sleep. | (BD 395) I *wolde have kaught* hyt, and anoon Hyt fledde and was fro me goon; | (CT VII, 1106) if that wommen were nat goode . . . , oure Lord God of hevене *wolde nevere han wroght* hem, ne called hem help of man, | (CT VII, 1099) Judith by hire good conseil delivered the citee of Bethulie . . . out of the handes of Olofernus, that hadde it biseged and *wolde have al destroyed* it. | (Bo I, p.4, 95) the riches of the whiche Paulyn the howndes of the paleys . . . *wolden han devoured* by hope and covetyse, yit drowe I hym out of the jowes of hem that gapeden. | (BD 676) Myself I *wolde have do* the same, Before God, hadde I ben as she; | (BD 682) For this I say yet more therto: Had I be God and myghte have do My wille whan she my fers kaughte, I *wolde have drawe* the same draughte.

Also in: (be) BD 973; (boght) CT X, 783; (failed) RR 1666; (had) CT VII,

2901; Bo III, p.3, 36; TC II, 418; HF 1848; RR 335; (holden) TC V, 1680; (hyed) TC III, 655; (karoled) RR 810; (kept) CT IX, 144; (kist) CT I, 1759; (lakkid) Bo III, p.3, 35; (lat) CT IV, 1991; (left) RR 1655; (liked) RR 486; (loved) BD 1055; 1074; (maked/maad) CT V, 914; VII, 2900; (mused) RR 1645; (noted) CT X, 413; (overthrowe) TC IV, 385; (preeved) CT VI, 193; (renounced) Bo III, p.5, 53; (rewed) TC IV, 1141; (seyn/sen) CT IV, 280; Mars 124; (seyd) LGW G 268; (slawe) TC IV, 1241; (slayn/slawe/slawen) CT III, 578; IV, 536; 544; VII, 1100; TC IV, 1228; 1234; (spoken) CT X, 413; (suffised) CT I, 1233; (suffride) Bo II, p.7, 131; (take/taken) TC I, 501; BD 482; HF 424; (toold/told) CT I, 876; III, 538; HF 996; (troden) CT VI, 712; (trowed) CT I, 1520; TC IV, 383; V, 1678; (trusted) TC II, 414; (wend) CT IV, 691; TC IV, 384; V, 1682; (wepen/wept) CT V, 421; TC V, 724; LGW 2077; (wraththed) BD 1151; (writen) CT III, 695; LGW G 530; (yeven) TC IV, 506; V, 905||RR *1765 (brought); *2971 (passed); *2977 (stole); *3147 (doon); *3854 (fled); *4319 (had); *4657 (loved); *5569 (yove); *6473 (stynted); *6667 (bidde); *7450 (sworn).

2.5.2 Type: *might have been done*

Examples of this type (i.e., the passive perfect infinitive) are not numerous.

Here follows a list of the verbs used in the context “aux + HAVEN + *been* + pp.”:

adverbial	verb
moste	devouren,
myghte	assemblen, keepen, knowen, wedden,
sholde	don, finden, honouren, slayn, understonden,
wolde	hidden, cessen.

a) *moste* (1):

(HF 410) For had he lawghed, had he loured, He *moste have ben* al devoured, Yf Adriane ne had ybe.

b) *myghte* (4):

(Bo III, p.12, 32) This world . . . ne *myghte* nevere *han ben assembled* in o forme, but yif ther ne were oon that conjoynd so manye diverse thinges; | (CT X, 773) but for as muche as the estaat of hooly chirche ne myghte nat han be, ne the commune profit *myghte* nat *han be kept*, ne pees and rest in erthe, but if God hadde ordeyned that som men hadde hyer degree and som men lower, | (TC I, 638) For how *myghte* evere swetnesse *han ben knowe* To him that nevere tasted bitternesse? | (CT III, 7) sith I twelve yeer was of age . . . Housbondes at chirche dore I have had fyve—If I so ofte *myghte have ywedded* bee—And alle were worthy men in hir degree.

c) *sholde* (7):

(Bo IV, p.6, 325) For schrewes discorden of hemself by hir vices . . . , and doon ofte time thinges the whiche thingis, whan thei han doon hem, they demen that tho thinges ne *scholden* nat *han ben doon*. | (Bo V, p.1, 87) For neither the hidere of the gold ne the delvere of the feeld ne undirstoden nat that the gold *sholde han ben founde*; | (CT X, 278) Thanne was he byscorned, that oonly *sholde han been honoured* in alle thynges and of alle thynges. | (CT X, 889) the womman that was founden in avowtrie, and *sholde han been slayn* with stones, | (CT VII, 1284) the wordes of the phisiciens ne *sholde* nat *han been understonden* in thys wise.

Also in; (slayn) CT IV, 1371; TC V, 54||RR *5572 (bigiled).

d) *wolde* (2):

(Bo II, m.5, 36) What was he that first dalf up the gobbettes or the weyghtes of gold covered undir erthe and the precyous stones that *wolden han be hydd*? | (TC III, 445) Nil I naught swere, although he lay ful softe, That in his thought he nas somewhat disesed, Ne that he torned on his pilwes ofte, And *wold* of that hym missed *han ben sesed*.

The preceding subsections show that Chaucer's English abounds with examples of the periphrastic subjunctive. In addition, it should also be

noticed, the use of it is structurally restricted: it is rare in *if/as (though)*-clauses and, unlike the simple past perfect subjunctive (e.g., til she *had herd* it), it never occurs in *er/til*-clauses²¹ (cf. §2.4.3.1). This seems to be because modals such as *would, should, could* and *might*, when followed by “HAVEN+pp.”, render the clause-content unreal, whereas the intended meaning of these clauses is that an event takes place before/after another event; “*till she would/should have heard it”, for instance, would convey a non-sensical meaning ‘till she, in actuality, did not hear it’. In the main clause, on the other hand, there are no restrictions, if meter and rime allow, for the periphrastic subjunctive to occur.

2.5.3 Perfect infinitive with or without *to*

In contexts other than “aux+HAVEN(+*been*)+pp.” the perfect infinitive is usually preceded by *to*. The contexts in which the perfect infinitive with *to* occurs are as follows.

a) appositive to a noun:

In Chaucer’s English the nouns that take a (*for*) *to*-infinitive as an appositive are *glorie and renoun*, and *liberte*.

(Bo II, p.7, 19, 20) that is to seyn, covetise of glorie and renoun *to han wel adminystred* the comune thynges, or doon gode desertes to profyt of the comune. | (Bo I, p.4, 174) Of whiche lettres the fraude hadde ben schewed apertely, yif I hadde had liberte *for to han used* and ben at the confessioun of myn accusours, the whiche thyng in alle nedes hath greet strengthe.

Also in RR *3356 (in poynt to have meygned me).

Note. For the appositive use of mutation verbs, see §2.1.2.3 (power nocht to han bityd) and §2.1.4.5 (7a) (weie ... to be gon).

b) complement to an adjective/verb:

²¹ In 18th century English “would have pp.” occurs inc clauses introduced by *when/til/before* (Ono 1984: 304ff.).

i) *to*-infinitive:

The adjectives and verbs that take a (*for*) *to*-infinitive as complement are *able*, *bold*; BEN, BEN ACCUSED, COVEYTEN, ERREN, USERPEN and WENEN.

adjective: (BD 786, 787) And thilke tyme I ferde ryght so, I was able *to have lerned* tho, And *to have kend* [‘learned’] as wel or better, Paraunter, other art or letre; | (Astr II, 3, 65; 66) Ne make the nevere bold *to have take* a just ascendent by thin Astrelabie, or elles *to have set* justly a klokke, whan eny celestial body by which that thou wenyst governe thilke thinges be nigh the south lyne.

verb: (Bo II, p.4, 9) For in alle adversites of fortune the moost unzeely kynde of contrarious fortune is *to han ben* weleful. | (Bo I, p.4, 170) For touchynge the lettres falsly maked, by whiche lettres I am accused *to han hoped* the fredom of Rome, what aperteneth me to speken therof? | (Bo II, p.6, 14) Certes the remembreth wel ... that thilke dignyte that men clepyn the imperie of consulers, the whiche that whilom was begynnynge of fredom, yowr eldres coveyteden *to han don* away that dignyte for the pride of the consulers. | (CT VII, 1353) ye han greetly erred *to han cleped* swich manere folk to youre conseil, | (Astr pro. 60) But considre wel that I ne usurpe not *to have founden* this werk of my labour or of myn engyn. | (Bo II, p.6, 61) So that the tormentz that this tyraunt wende *to han maked* matere of cruelte, this wise man maked it matere of vertu.

Also in RR *4352.

Note. For the use of a mutation verb as a complement, see §2.1.4.4 (enforcedde hym ... to han gon).

The BD example “was able to have pp.” denoting an unrealized past possibility is an alternative expression of “could have pp.” The reason for choosing “was able” rather than “could” is obviously that the periphrastic expression satisfies the requirements of meter. All the examples other than BD 786 are from prose works.

The passive examples with *to*, on the other hand, are both from the

Romaunt of the Rose:

(RR 1665) And if I ne hadde endouted me [‘feared’] *To have ben hatid or assailed*, My thankis, wolde I not have failed To pulle a rose of all that route To beren in myn hond aboute | (RR 1135) He wende *to have reproved be* Of theft or moordre if that he Hadde in his stable ony hakeney.

ii) bare infinitive:

After *had levere* and *wende* (past form of WENEN) *to* may be deleted (compare with the examples from Bo II, p.6, 61 (cited in §2.5.2b.i.) and RR 1135 (the preceding citation)). All the examples are from verse.

had lever: (CT IV, 444) Nat longe tyme after that this Grisild Was wedded, she a doghter hath ybore, Al *had* hire *levere have born* a knave child;

Also in RR *3826.

wende: (CT I, 4305) And with the staf she drow ay neer and neer, And *wende han hit* this Aleyn at the fulle, And smoot the millere on the pyled skulle, | (CT IV, 2393) But, by my fader soule, I *wende han seyn* How that this Damyne hadde by thee leyn, And that thy smok hadde leyn upon his brest. | (LGW F 463 (= G 453)) But trewly I *wende*, as in this cas, Naught *have agilt*, ne *doon* to love trespas. | (LGW 1048) For al the companye of Eneas, Which that he *wende han loren* in the se, Aryved is nat fer from that cite; | (Anel 96) For in her sight to her he bar hym lowe, So that she *wende have* al his hert *yknowe*; | (Anel 124) Then *wende* she out of her wyt *have breyd*; | (RR 648) And whan I was inne, iwys, Myn herte was ful glad of this, For wel *wende* I ful sikerly *Have ben* in paradys erthly. | [passive] (CT VII, 2530) and ther he *wende han been allied* He knocked faste,

Also in: RR *1740 (loren); *3862 (trespaced); *4322 (wende a bought).

c) logical subject of the sentence

The infinitive with *to* may be the logical subject of impersonal verbs which may have *it* as formal subject or may be subjectless.

i) personal construction:²²

to-infinitive: (Bo V, p.1, 76) for it hath his propre causes, of whiche causes the cours unforseyne and unwar semeth *to han makid* hap.

ii) *it* construction:

to-infinitive: (Bo III, p.6, 18) And yif *it* seme a fair thyng a man *to han encreced* and *sprad* his name, thanne folweth it that it is demed to ben a foul thyng yif it ne be yspradde and encreced. | (Bo IV, p.6, 357) For oonly *it* owghte suffise *to han lokid* that God hymself . . . ordeineth and dresseth alle thingis to gode; | (LGW 2532) Now certes, yif ye wol have in memorye, *It* oughte be to yow but lyte glorye *To han* a sely mayde thus *betrayed*!

bare infinitive: (PF 572) Now parde, fol, yit were *it* bet for the *Han holde* thy pes than shewed thy nycete. | (Bo I, p.5, 53) And of the felonys and fraudes of thyn accusours, *it* semeth the *have touched* it for sothe ryghtfully and schortly, al myghten tho same thynges betere and more plentevously ben couth in the mouth of the peple that knoweth al this.

iii) impersonal construction:

to-infinitive: (CT VII, 1252) for it semeth that yow suffiseth *to han been conseilled* by thise conseillours oonly, and with litel avys, | (RR 214) So yvel hewed was hir colour, Hir semed *to have lyved* in langour.

Also in RR *1791.

bare infinitive: (CT V, 56) Hem semed *han geten* hem protecciouns Agayn the swerd of wynter, keene and coold. | (Bo II, m.2, 13) yit semeth hem *haven igeten* nothyng, but alwey hir cruel ravyne, devourynge al that they han geten, scheweth othere gapynge

As the examples show, SEMEN sometimes takes *to* and at other times does not, which means that in verse works *to* is added or omitted under the exigencies of meter.

²² By a “personal constuction” is here meant a construction other than an *it*-construction and an impersonal construction.

d) adverbial use (all the examples with *to*):

unrealized purpose: (Pity 44) A compleynt had I, written in myn hond,
For to have put to Pite as a bille [‘I had a written complaint in my hand,
 to have put up to Pity as a petition’, T&M trans.];

Also in RR *5569.

imaginative state: (TC IV, 1238) and she answerde, “Allas, For by
 that ilke Lord that made me, I nolde a forlong wey on lyve have be After
 youre deth, *to han ben* crowned queene [‘even if I could have been
 crowned queen’, Lumiansky trans.] Of al that lond the sonne on
 shyneth sheene.

e) nominative with infinitive:

(TC III, 1627) For of fortunes sharpe adversitee The worste kynde of
 infortune is this, A man *to han ben* in prosperitee, And it remembren
 whan it passed is.

Note. In his description of Dryden’s perfect infinitive Söderlind
 (1958: 147) says, “Examples [of the perfect infinitive] connected
 with a past tense is rare.” In Chaucer’s English, as the
 examples above show, there is no such tendency.

2.5.4 Summary

We have seen above that, as far as the perfect infinitive in Chaucer’s
 English is concerned, the infinitive marker *to* is deleted obligatorily after
 a modal auxiliary (including *ought*) and optionally after WENEN and some
 impersonal verbs and that the optional deletion is observed in verse
 works and a translation *Boece*.

2.6 Ellipsis

The last section of Chapter 2 treats of ellipses, partial and whole, of the
 perfect form. By partial ellipsis is here meant deletion of either BEN/
 HAVEN or a verb phrase (i.e., “pp. + object/complement”); whole ellipsis is
 deletion of the verbal group “HAVEN/BEN pp.”

2.6.1 Partial ellipsis

2.6.1.1 Ellipsis of BEN/HAVEN

The auxiliary BEN/HAVEN is often deleted when two or more perfect forms are connected by *and*, *or* or *ne*. To cite just a few examples:

and: (CT VII, 1846) the olde good loos [‘fame’] or good name of a man *is soone goon and passed*, whan it is nat newed ne renovelled. | (CT VII, 3358, 59) swich cry ne lamentacion Was nevere of ladyes maad ... Whan he [Pirrus] *hadde hent* kyng Priam by the berd, And *slayn* hym ... As maden alle the hennes in the clos, | (CT X, 1071) The firste wanhope comth of that he demeth that he *hath synned* so greetly and so ofte, and so longe *leyn* in synne, that he shal nat be saved. | (Bo I, p.4, 173) Of whiche lettres the fraude hadde ben schewed apertely, yif I hadde had liberte for to *han used* and *ben* at the confessioun of myn accusours, the whiche thyng in alle nedes hath greet strengthe.

or: (CT VII, 1248) the whiche thre thinges ye *han* nat *anientissed* or *destroyed* hem, neither in youreself, ne in youre conseillours, | (LGW 1262) Where sen ye oon that he ne *hath laft* his leef, Or *ben* unkynde, or *don* hire som myscheef, Or *piled* hire, or *bosted* of his dede? | (BD 977) For wher-so men *had pleyd* or *waked*, Me thoghte the felawsshyppe as naked Withouten hir that sawgh I oones As a corowne withoute stones.

ne: (CT VII, 1106) if that wommen were nat goode ... , oure Lord God of hevne wolde nevere *han wroght* hem, ne *called* hem help of man,

Note 1. After other conjunctions than *and/or/ne*, deletion of BEN/HAVE is rare:

(PF 572) Now parde, fol, yit were it bet for the Han holde thy pes than Δ shewed thy nycete. (Now, fool, it were better for thee to have held thy peace than have shown thy folly, perdy! [T&M trans.]

Note 2. In the following instance it is possible to suppose that the first HAVEN is deleted:

(CT VI, 862) In al this world ther is no creature That Δ eten or
dronken hath of this confiture Noght but the montance of a
corn of whete, That he ne shal his lif anon forlete;

The deletion of HAVEN in this context is not obligatory:

(CT I, 3567-8) And whan thou thus *hast doon* as I have seyde, And *hast*
oure vitaille faire in hem *yleyd*, | (CT I, 3836-7) He *hadde ybought* hym
knedyng tubbes thre, And *hadde* hem *hanged* in the roof above; | (CT
VII, 1445) I bithenke me now and take heede how Fortune *hath*
norissed me fro my childhede and *hath holpen* me to passe many a
stroong paas. | (BD 786-7) And thilke tyme I ferde ryght so, I was able
to have lerned tho, And *to have kend* as wel or better, Paraunter, other
art or letre; | (Bo III, m.2, 43-4) Ne noon ordenaunce is bytaken to
thynges, but that that *hath joyned* the endynge to the bygynnyng, and
hath makid the cours of itself stable

In the examples above HAVEN is repeated for two reasons: (1) the second HAVEN serves to satisfy meter; and (2) the repetition makes the grammatical relationship clearer than otherwise (see the example from Bo III, m.2, 43-4, the last in the examples above).

When the subject of the perfect is different from the subject of the preceding clause, HAVEN is rarely deleted:

(CT VI, 355) If cow, or calf, or sheep, or oxe swelle That any worm hath
ete, or worm Δ ystonge, Taak water of that welle and wassh his tonge,
And it is hool anon; | (TC V, 10) The gold-tressed Phebus heighe
on-lofte Thries hadde alle with his bemes cleene The snowes molte, and
Zepherus as ofte Δ Ibrought ayeyn the tendre leves grene, Syn that the
sone of Ecuba the queene Bigan to love hire first for whom his sorwe
Was al, that she departe sholde a-morwe.

In the following example, the passive auxiliary *were* (pl.) serves to
retrieve the deleted element, the perfect auxiliary *was* (sg.) (cf. §2.1.4.1):

(Anel 61) And when the wrecched Thebans, bretheren two, Were slayn,
and kyng Adrastus Δ hom ago, So desolat stod Thebes and so bare That
no wight coude remedie of his fare [‘plight’].

2.6.1.2 Ellipsis of the verb phrase

The past participle and its object/complement may be deleted when recoverable from the context. The HAVEN thus used approaches a pro-verb.

a) preceded by the perfect:

(CT III, 694) if wommen hadde writen stories, As clerkes han Δ
withinne hire oratories, They wolde han writen of men moore
wikkednesse Than al the mark of Adam may redresse. | (CT VII, 3121)
I hadde levere than my sherte That ye hadde rad his legende, as have I
Δ. | (CT VIII, 723) Al that I hadde I have lost therby, And, God woot, so
hath Δ many mo than I. | (Bo I, p.5, 14) And yif thou hast levere for to
wene that thow be put out of thy cuntre, thanne hastow put out
thyselve rather than any other wyght hath Δ. | (PF 161) For thow of
love hast lost thy tast, I gesse, As sek man hath Δ of swete and
bytternesse.

Note. A similar type of ellipsis is observed in passive constructions:

(BD 726) Ye sholde be dampned in this cas By as good ryght as
Medea was Δ, | (Astr I, 16, 10) that is dividid in the same
nombre as every othir cercle is Δ in the highe hevene.

Used by a different speaker:

(CT I, 4268) [“]I have thries in this shorte nyght Swyved the milleres
doghter bolt upright[”] “Ye, false harlot,” quod the millere, “hast Δ ?
A, false traitour! False clerk!” quod he,

In the following example, what is deleted becomes clear after the second

auxiliary. The order “had . . . have” is a chronological reflection of the sequence of events.

(Bo II, p.1, 24) thow nevere ne haddest Δ ne hast ylost any fair thyng.

b) preceded by an infinitive/past form:

Unlike PrE usage, Chaucerian grammar allows deletion of the participial form in the context where an infinitive or a past form precedes the perfect:

(TC II, 245) And with the grace of God, emforth my wit, As in my gylt I shal yow nevere offende; And if I have Δ er this, I wol amende. | (BD 1054) alle that hir seyen [‘saw her’] Seyde and sworn hyt was soo. And though they ne hadde Δ, I wolde thoo Have loved best my lady free,

When the past participle *been* is followed by another *been*, which is either in the infinitive or in the present plural, the participle *been* is often deleted in TC. Strangely enough, deletion of this type is not found in other works.

(TC II, 827) She seyde, “O Love, to whom I have Δ and shal Ben humble subgit, trewe in myn entente, As I best kan, to yow, lord, yeve ich al For everemo myn hertes lust to rente; | (TC II, 888) “Ye, wis,” quod fresshe Antigone the white, “For alle the folk that han Δ or ben on lyve Ne konne wel the blisse of love discryve. | (TC III, 1000) And I, emforth my connyng and my might, Have Δ and ay shal, how sore that me smerte, Ben to yow trewe and hool with al myn herte, | (TC V, 269) Who koude telle a right or ful discryve His wo, his pleynt, his langour, and his pyne [‘suffering’]? Naught alle the men that han Δ or ben on lyve.

2.6.2 Whole ellipsis

In Chaucer’s English whole ellipsis of the BEN-perfect is rare; whole ellipsis of the HAVEN-perfect is still rarer.

BEN-perfect: (TC V, 709) Ful pale ywoxen was hire brighte face, Hire lymes Δ [are woxen] lene, as she that al the day Stood, whan she dorste, and loked on the place Ther she was born, and ther she dwelt hadde ay; | (TC V, 1375, 1376, 1377) Myn eyen two, in veyn with which I se, Of sorwful teris salte arn waxen welles; My song, Δ [is woxen] in pleynte of myn adversitee; My good, Δ in harm; myn ese ek woxen helle is; My joie, Δ in wo;

Note. Notice the expressed forms are *ywoxen was* (sg.) / *arn waxen* (pl.) and the forms to be recovered are *are woxen* (pl.) / *is woxen* (sg.) (cf. §1.7).

HAVEN-perfect: (CT I, 3346-47) I dar wel seyn, if she hadde been a mous, And he Δ a cat, he wolde hire hente anon. | (TC V, 1304) Thow hast nat writen hire syn that she wente, Nor she Δ to the; | (LGW G 315) Although thow reneyed hast my lay ['law'], As othere olde foles Δ many a day, Thow shalt repente it,

It is noteworthy that all the examples cited above are from verse works.

Note 1. An earlier version of the last instance above (LGW G 315) reads:

(LGW F 337) For thogh thou reneyed hast my lay, As other wrecches han doon many a day . . . , thou shalt repenten this
A comparison of the two versions shows that the rhythm of the revised version is smoother than that of the earlier one because Version G avoids the repetition of the weak syllables that existed in Version F:

óthèr wrécchès hàn dóon mány . . . (F)
óthère óldè féllès mány . . . (G)

Note 2. A similar type of ellipsis can be observed in passive constructions:

(CT VII, 1286) And therefore o vengeaunce is nat warissed ['cured'] by another vengeaunce, ne o wroong Δ by another

wroong, | (CT VII, 1290) but certes, wikkednesse shal be
warisshed by goodnesse, discord Δ by accord, werre Δ by pees,
and so forth of othere thynges.

2.6.3 Summary

The observations in this section may be summarized as follows:

- (1) what is deleted can be recovered from a nearby lexical item of the same category, which usually precedes, but sometimes follows, the deletion;
- (2) the form to be recovered is not necessarily the same as the form expressed (e.g., *shal . . . offende* → have [offended]; *ywoxen was* → [are (y)woxen]);
- (3) only in TC is a *been* as a past participle deleted when it precedes a *been* used as an infinitive or a copula;
- (4) whole ellipsis is observed only in verse works.

CHAPTER 3

FUNCTIONS OF

THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE

The present participle can be used (a) progressively, (b) attributively, (c) predicatively and (d) free-adjunctly. Since the progressive use has been discussed in Chapter 1, I shall discuss the remaining three uses in this chapter. (Participial adjectives such as “unknowynge [‘ignorant’] folk” (Bo IV, p.6, 223) are precluded here (cf. Chapter 1).)

3.1 Attributive Use (266)

The present participle may modify a noun either prenominally or post-nominally.

3.1.1 As premodifier (131)

The prenominal participle is adjectival in character since, while the postnominal participle tends to express an incidental or temporal quality, it tends to express a characteristic or permanent quality of the head noun (Poutsma 1926: 529, Ando 1976: 594, Quirk et al. 1985: 1325). Out of 131 instances of prenominal *-ing* forms found in Chaucer’s works, 127 are used of a permanent quality of the noun. (The four exceptions are cited in the last paragraphs of §3.1.1.1 and §3.1.1.2.) The prenominal present participle is usually unaccompanied by any modifier.

3.1.1.1 Derived from the intransitive verb (95)

The following are the instances of the prenominal present participles derived from the intransitive verb:

(CT X, 942) but for to accomplice thilke *brennynge* [‘ardent’] delit, they

rekke nevere how ofte. [Also in: CT X, 382; RR *5366.] | (CT X, 856) and trewely he were a greet fool that wolde kisse the mouth of a *brennynge* [‘very hot’] oven or of a fourneys. [Also in: Bo II, m.6, 25; IV, m.5, 28.] | (CT V, 932) Therwith he was, if men sholde hym discryve, Oon of the beste *farynge* man on lyve; [Cf.: A wel *farynge* persone for the nones. (CT VII, 1942; BD 452)] | (Bo III, m.2, 21) And the *janglynge* [‘noisy’] brid that syngeth on the heghe braunches [Also in PF 345.] | (Bo II, p.5, 155) Forwhi alle othere *lyvyng*e beestes han of kynde to knowe nat hemself; [Also in: Bo II, p.7, 33; LGW 2118.] | (Bo II, p.8, 30) At the laste, amyable Fortune with hir flaterynges draweth *myswandrynge* [‘erring’] men fro the sovereyne good; [Also in III, p.2, 23.] | (Bo II, p.1, 113) Enforcestow the to aresten or withholden the swyftnesse and the sweighe of hir *turnyng*e wheel?

Other instances: *bityng*e [‘distressing’] conscience/bysynesse (CT X, 172; Bo III, m.3, 7); *blasyng* brond (RR *3706); *blaundyssching*e [‘pleasant’] songes (Bo III, m.12, 20); *boylyng*e [‘raging’] tempestes (Bo II, m.3, 15); *boylyng*e [‘gurgling’] Eurippe | (Bo II, m.1, 3); *brennyng* fyr (RR *3706); *chaterynge* [‘violent’] . . . folye (Bo I, p.3, 79); *chaungyng*e stowndes (Bo II, m.1, 2); *crepyng*e wormes (Bo II, p.6, 42); *differyng*e [‘different’] substaunces (Bo V, p.5, 25); *droppyng* [‘leaky’] houses (CT III, 278; X, 631); *enclynyng*e [‘sloping’] lowenesse (Bo V, m.1, 16); *entrechaungyng*e [‘mingling’] flood (Bo V, m.1, 11); *fleetyng*e [‘aimless’] errour (Bo I, p.3, 71); *fleetyng*e streem (Bo I, m.7, 9); *fletyng* [‘pouring’?] reyn (Bo IV, m.6, 33); *fleinge* bataile (Bo V, m.1, 3); *florysshing* studie [‘eager zeal’] (Bo I, m.1, 3); *floteryng*e [‘unstable’] matere (Bo III, m.9, 8); *flowinge* ordre (Bo V, m.1, 17); *flyenge* flyes (Bo III, m.7, 3); *flyttyng*e [‘transitory/variable’] goodes/Fortune (Bo II, m.3, 20; p.1, 82); *frownyng* contenance (CT IV, 356); *galpyng* [‘yawning’] mouth (CT V, 350); *glaryng*e [‘staring’] eyen (CT I, 684); *glowyng*e eyen (CT VII, 2905); *labbyng* [‘blabbing’] shrewe (CT IV, 2428); *lastyng*e bisynesse (CT VIII, 98); *laughing* eyen (RR *2809); *louryng* [‘sullen’] chiere (CT III, 1266); *merveylyng*e [‘wondering’] eien (Bo I, m.3, 17); *moevyng*e flodes (Bo II, m.3, 14); *pleying*e [‘playful’] bysynes/chere (Bo III, m.2, 24; TC I, 280); *quakyng*e [‘heaving’] floodes (Bo IV, m.5, 25); *rennyng*e watres (Bo II, m.5, 17); *resounyng*e [‘sonorous’] strenges (Bo III, m.12, 21); *schynyng*e

['resplendent'] juge/purpre (Bo IV, m.1, 31; m.2, 4); *schynyng*e nyght ['night bright with the moon and stars'] (Bo IV, m.1, 19); *slepyng* hound (TC III, 764); *slidyng*e ['slippery'] science [i.e., alchemy] (CT VIII, 732); *slydyng*e ['inconsistent'] Fortune/hope (Bo I, m.5, 34; IV, m.2, 14); *slydyng*e watir (Bo V, m.1, 18); *smokyng*e fieres (Bo I, m.4, 10); *sownyng*e facounde²³/wyndes (BD 926; Bo I, m.2, 16); *spryngyng*e floures (Bo II, p.5, 67); *stinking* (see Note 1 below); *stiryng* ['moving'] man (HF 478); *stoupyng* ['bent'] age (CT IV, 1738); *stryvyng*e ['contentious'] wordes (Bo II, p.7, 124); *thryvyng*e ['active'] soule (Bo V, m.4, 22); *toumblyng*e ['perishable'] welefulnesse/thynges (Bo II, p.4, 151; III, p.9, 165); *tumbleng*e ['changing'] fortunes (Bo II, m.3, 19); *turnyng*e sercle (Bo II, p.2, 52); *upstondyng* eres (HF 1389); *wakyng*e ['watchful'] dragoun (Bo IV, m.7, 34); *wandryng*e ['not directed by reason'] wrecchis/happes (Bo III, m.8, 2; V, m.1, 15); *wandryng*e ['moving'] thinges (Bo IV, m.6, 46); *wandryng*e ['irregular'] recourses (Bo I, m.2, 12); *weyfaryng*e man (Bo II, p.5, 180); *whirlyng*e wheel (Bo II, p.2, 51); *whistlyng*e wynd (CT I, 170); *wirkyng*e corage ['active spirit'] (Bo V, p.5, 8).

Note 1. The *-ing* form of STINKEN may mean 'smelling bad':

(CT X, 209) Hir nosethirles shullen be ful of *stynkyng*e stynk; It is more often used metaphorically as "a vague epithet connoting intense disgust and contempt" (OED, s.v. stinking 1c):

(CT X, 840) Now lat us speke thanne of thilke *stynkyng*e synne of Lecherie that men clepe avowtrie of wedded folk;

Also in: CT VI, 534; IX, 40; X, 157; 428; 562; 862||RR *7093.

Note 2. In the following instances the participles, which usually occur with a human noun, are collocated with a non-

²³ Davis et al. (1979, s.v. facound), glossing the word as "harmonious", take *facounde* (BD 926) as adjective. The MED (s.v. souning(e) 2.(a)) marks *sownyng*e as gerund, which means the dictionary takes the *facounde* in BD 926 as adjective. Following Skeat's Glossary (s.v. Sowne), I take *sownyng*e as a present participle and *facounde* as a noun. Cf. also "so sweet a sounding eloquence" (Stone trans.) and "such a sweet-sounding fluency" (T&M trans.).

human head-word:

(CT X, 172) and withinne the hertes of folk shal be the *bitynge* [‘distressing’] conscience, and withouteforth shal be the world al brennynge.

(Bo I, p.3, 79) whider as that *chaterynge* or *anoyinge* folye ne may nat atayne,

Also in Bo I, m.3, 17 (*merveylynge* [‘wondering’] eien).

The preposed present participle may be modified by an adverb, thereby forming a compound adjective (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1327; see also the use of *next* discussed in §3.1.2.1a.):

(Bo V, p.6, 85) for that it bereth a maner ymage or liknesse of the *ai duellynge* [‘permanent’] presence of God,

A prenominal participle may sometimes be correlative with a postnominal prepositional phrase. In Chaucer’s English, as in PrE, this type of construction is rare.

(CT X, 637) These scorneres been *partyng* felawes with the devel [‘fellows parting with the devil; | (CT VII, 1800) And whanne these trespassours and *repentyng* folk of hire folies [‘folk repenting of their follies’]—that is to seyn, the adversaries of Melibee—hadden herd what these messagers seyden unto hem, they were right glad and joyeful, | (Bo IV, m.3, 3) Eurys, the wynd, aryved the sayles of Ulixes, duc of the cuntre of Narice, and his *wandryng* shippes by the see [‘his ships wandering by the sea’], into the ile theras Cerces ... duelleth, [“Et vaga pelago rates”; “et ses nefes, foloians par la mer”]

Related to this is the construction in which the complement to an adjective/pp. is split from the adjective/pp. Traugott (1972: 159) gives the following examples:

(PL II.189.21) here ys a marveyllous disposed contree, and manye *evylle wyllid* peple to *Sir Thomas Tuddenham* ‘here is a remarkably

(badly) disposed country and many evilly willed people to Sir T. T. = here is a country remarkably badly disposed and many people of bad will to Sir T. T.' | (Nashe, *Strange News* ... I.262.25) his *decayed* eyes with *iniquitie*. | (Nashe, Pref. to Green's *Menaphon* III.318.2) their *ouerfraught* studies with *trifling compendiaries*.

“The split construction”, says Trougott (1972: 159), “illustrates the tendency ... to organize constructions according to modifier-head rather than according to sentence-groups.” The Chaucerian instances above lend support to Traugott's argument.

3.1.1.2 Derived from the transitive verb (36)

As in the case of the *-ing* forms derived from the intransitive verb, most of the prenominal *-ing* forms derived from the transitive verb are adjectival:

(Bo I, m.5, 39) and *anoyinge* [‘injurious’] folk treden, and that unrightfully, on the nekkes of holi men; | (Bo III, p.11, 162) For certes, thurw *constreynyng*²⁴ causes, wil desireth and embraceth ful ofte tyme the deeth that nature dredeth. (That is to seyn as thus: that a man may be constreyned so, by som cause, that his wille desireth and taketh the deeth whiche that nature hateth and dredeth ful sore.); | (CT VII, 1177) The book seith, “Thou shalt rather drede and flee fro the sweete wordes of *flaterynge* [‘adulatory’] preiseres than fro the egre wordes of thy freend that seith thee thy sothes.” | (CT VIII, 614) I warne yow wel, he is a *passyng* [‘excellent’] man

Other instances: *anoyinge* folye (Bo I, p.3, 79); *chidyng* [‘censorious’] wyf (CT X, 631; III, 279; X, 632); *desceyvynge*²⁵ [‘fallacious’] desyrynges/ hope (Bo I, p.6, 104; IV, m.2, 14); *dispeiryng* hope (RR *4707); *felyng* [‘sensory’] soules (Bo III, p.11, 91); *flaterynge* [‘coaxing’] lymytour/ beste/famylarite (CT III, 1294; BD 637; Bo II, p.1, 17);

²⁴ If *constreynyng* in Bo III, p.11, 162 is to be looked upon as a participial adjective, it antedates the earliest record in the OED dated 1602 (Carew).

²⁵ This example antedates the OED's earliest citation (1500-20, Dunbar).

forknowynge wise (TC I, 79); *glosynge* [‘coaxing’] wordes (Bo II, p.3, 64); *over-throwynge* [‘overwhelming’] depnesse (Bo I, m.2, 2); *overthrowynge* [‘revolving’] wheel (Bo III, m.12, 38); *overthrowynge* [‘headlong’] wey (Bo I, m.6, 22); *overthrowynge* [‘headstrong’] thought (Bo II, m.7, 1); *passyng* [‘extreme’] crueltee (CT IV, 1225); *purgyng* [‘purifying’] meke- nesse (Bo IV, p.4, 152); *ravyshyng* [‘enchanting’] swetnesse (PF 198); *ravysschyng* [‘swift, violent’] sweighe/flodes/blastest/coursis (Bo I, m.5, 4; m.5, 56; II, m.2, 5; IV, m.6, 9); *rendynge* [‘grief-torn’] muses (Bo I, m.1, 4); *schewynge* [‘open to view’] contrees (Bo II, m.7, 4); *skornynge* jay (PF 346); *wenyng* [‘erring’]²⁶ resoun (Bo III, p.10, 84).

The present participle may sometimes have a semantic feature [+causative]:

(TC II, 1382) whan that the stordy ook, On which men hakketh ofte, for the nones, Receyved hath the happy *fallyng* [‘causing to fall’] strook, The greete sweigh doth it come al at ones, As don these rokkes or these milnestones; | (BD 162) Save ther were a fewe welles Came rennyng fro the clyves adoun, That made a dedly *slepyng* soun [i.e., sound that causes people to sleep], | (Bo V, m.5, 6) and oothre beestis by the *wandryng* lyghtnesse of hir wynges [i.e., lightness of the wings which enables them to wander] beten the wyndes, and overswymmen the spaces of the longe eir by moyst fleyng;

The following present participle has instrumental force:

(PF 179) The piler elm, the cofre unto carayne; The boxtre pipere, holm to whippes lashe; The *saylyng* fyr; the cipresse, deth to playne;

Davis et al. (s.v. saylen) gloss the above example as “moving by means of sails”. This instance antedates Spenser’s “The sayling Pine”, which the

²⁶ I do not agree with the OED’s definition of *weening* (ppl). See Chapter 7.

OED (s.v. Sailing ppl.a.1) cites as the earliest example of *sailing*, giving the definition “that travels on water by means of sails”.

In the example below the prenominal present participle may possibly convey a permanent meaning ‘affectionate’, though I prefer to take it as conveying a temporal meaning:²⁷

(CT X, 202) And the *lovyng* children [‘the young people who loved each other’], that whilom loveden so fleshly [‘carnally’] everich oother, wolden everich of hem eten oother if they myghte.

3.1.2 As postmodifier (135)

A postnominal present participle is either accompanied, or unaccompanied, by a modifier.

3.1.2.1 Unaccompanied by any modifier (28)

The postnominal present participle, if expanded into a relative clause, corresponds to one of the following forms:

- a) the intransitive simple form (e.g., no man living = no man that lives);
- b) the intransitive progressive form (e.g., the train approaching = the train that is approaching);
- c) the transitive simple form (cf. things keeping the dignity (Bo IV, p.1, 2) = things that keep the dignity);
- d) the transitive progressive form (cf. a mad man renting his clothes (CT VII, 973) = a mad man who is renting his clothes).

Though types c) and d) are of potential occurrence, actual examples of “N + VT-ing” (unaccompanied by any modifier) are virtually unavailable.

3.1.2.1a Corresponding to the intransitive simple form (18)

In Chaucer’s English, the postposed present participles deriving from the

²⁷ While Nishiwaki’s Japanese translation suggests a permanent reading, Masui’s rendering offers a temporal interpretation.

intransitive simple form are only *coming* and *following*. Expressions such as *time coming* and *chapters following* are almost stereotyped:

(CT IV, 79) I blame hym thus: that he considered noght In tyme *comynge* [‘time that comes’] what myghte hym bityde, [Also in: CT VII, 1023; X, 288; Bo II, p.4, 56; p.7, 94; TC V, 395.] | (TC IV, 987) if ther myghte ben a variaunce To writen out fro Goddis purveyinge, Ther nere no prescience of thyng *comynge*, [Also in: TC IV, 1014; 1075; CT VIII, 1075 (his harm comynge); TC I, 378 (his woo comynge).] | (CT X, 389) as shal be declared in hire chapitres *folwynge*. [Also in: CT X, 532; Bo V, p.1, 26 (thingis folwynge); Astr II, 40, 6 (ensamples folewynge); CT X, 247 (synne folwynge).]

Following may be preceded by *next* (only in *Astrolabe*):

(Astr II, 3, 81) I mene from xi of the clokke before the houre of noon til oon of the clokke *next folewynge*.

Also in Astr II, 35, 5 (the fourthe nyght next folewing).

3.1.2.1b Corresponding to the intransitive progressive form (9)

i) in verse (3):

(CT I, 1962) [Venus had] Above hir heed hir dowves *flikerynge* [‘her doves that were flickering’] [: smellyngel]. | (RR 762) [Thou] made many a fair tournyng Upon the grene gras *springyng* [‘the green grass that was growing’] [: tournyng].

Also in RR 1408 (the fresshe grass spryngyng [: tourneyng]).

ii) in prose (6):

(Bo V, p.6, 222) tho thinges that I purposide the a litil herbyforn—that is to seyn, the sonne *arysynge* [‘the sun that is arising’] and the man *walkynge* [‘the man that happens to be walking’] [Also in: Bo V, p.6, 230; 232.] | (Bo IV, m.6, 31) By thise same causes the floury yer yeldeth swote smelles in the first somer sesoun *warmynge* [‘the first summer season that is becoming warm’]; | (Bo I, p.1, 19) And whan sche hef hir

heved heyere, sche percede the selve hevene so that the sighte of men *lokyng*e [‘men who were looking at Philosophy’] was in ydel.

3.1.2.1c Corresponding to the transitive simple form (0)

The following present participle from RR 5451 can be interpreted as meaning ‘by the words that they speak’ (non-Chaucerian instance):

(RR *5451) So that with her flaterie They maken foolis glorifie Of her wordis *spekyng*, And han therof a rejoysyng, And trowe hem as the Evangile;

Skeat, on the other hand, seems to take the *-ing* form as a gerund since he supplies an adjective before *speking*:

So that, with her flaterye, They maken foolis glorifye Of hir wordis [greet] [sic] *speking*, And han [there]-of [sic] a reioysing, And trowe hem as the Evangyle;

Skeat’s emendation, however, is not very satisfactory because the line in question still lacks a syllable. Here I am inclined to postulate that *spekyng* is placed in the final position in order to rime with *rejoysyng* in line 5452.

Note 1. There is no line corresponding to line 5451 in the French original:

E cil qui tiex paroles oient Si glorifient e le croient Ausi com si fust euangile. (Sutherland) / Et cil qui tiez paroles oient S’en glorefient, et les croient Ausinc cum ce fust Évangile; (Marteau) (And those who hear such speeches glorify themselves and believe them as though they were the Gospel. [Dahlberg trans.])

Note 2. The *-ing* form in *watres rubifyng* (CT VIII, 797) is taken as a participial participle in Davis et al. (s.v. rubifyng).

This is a false reading, however, because *watres rubifyng* ('waters for reddening') is in contrast with *watres albificacioun* ('waters for turning white') (CT VIII, 805). Cf. Skeat, s.v. *rubifyng*.

3.1.2.1d Corresponding to the transitive progressive form (0)

No instance is found of the postnominal present participle which, if expanded into a relative clause, corresponds to the progressive form of the transitive verb.

3.1.2.1e Expressing a permanent quality (1)

There is one instance attested of the postposed present participle expressing a permanent quality of the head noun. Style seems the obvious explanation here; if placed before the noun, the coordinated participles would be too heavy:

(Bo IV, p.6, 150) And thilke same ordre neweth ayein alle thinges *growynge* and *fallynge* adoun ['things that grow and fall down'], by semblable progressions of sedes and of sexes (that is to seyn, male and femele).

Note. Other postnominal *-ing* forms expressing a permanent quality of the head noun are adjectival.

i) in rime position (12):

a) without a modifier (4)

(CT I, 2546) Ne short swerd, for to stoke with poynt *bitynge*,
No man ne drawe, ne bere it by his syde.

Also in: (TC III, 1752) stowndes *concordynge* ['agreeing seasons']; | (RR 1589) the cristall stoon *shynyng* [: disseyv-
yng]; | (CT I, 2164) fyr *sparklynge* [: hangynge] | (RR *5543)
Fortune *myshappyng* [: fallyng]

b) with a modifier (8)

(CT I, 2890) Duc Theseus leet forth thre steedes brynge, That
trapped were in steel al *gliterynge*, | (RR 868) Hir heer was

yelowe and clere shynyng; I wot no lady so *likyng*. | (RR 1416)
 Of whiche the water in rennyng Gan make a noyse ful *lykyng*. |
 (CT I, 1961) A citole in hir right hand hadde she, And on hir
 heed, ful semely for to se, A rose gerland, fressh and wel
smellynge;

Also in: CT IV, 388 (an hors, snow-whit and wel *amblyng*
 [: ryng]); VIII, 279 (floures wel *smellynge* [: bryngel]); RR 715
 (Layes of love, ful wel *sownyng* [: jargonyng]); 1564 (moiste . . .
 wel *likyng* [: spryngyng])||*6496 (myxnes al *stynkyng* [: quak-
 yng]); *6866 (thise maidens wel-*faryng* [: plesyng]); *7418 (A
 rasour sharp and wel *bytynge* [: thringel).

Notice that many of the participial adjectives cited above are
 coordinated with an adjective and that all the modifiers are
 short words.

ii) in non-rime position (5):

(CT I, 2083) A womman *travaillynge* [‘in childbirth’] was hire
 biforn; [*Travailyng* is postposed for the sake of meter; cf. OED
 s.v. Travailing.] | (CT X, 171) and withinne the hertes of folk
 shal be the bityng conscience, and withouteforth shal be the
 world al *brennyng* [*Brennyng* is postposed because it is
 modified by *al*.] | (CT X, 568) “Leon *rorynge* and bere hongry
 been like to the cruel lordshipes” in withholdyng or
 abreggyng of the shepe [‘payment’] (or the hyre), [The
 coordination of *leon roryng* and *bere hungry* shows that the
 lion is in contrast with, say, a sleeping lion.] | (Anel 326) in
 this world nis creature [: aventure] *Wakyng* [‘awake’] | (RR
 *5527) For pride and ire lese it [love] he may, And for reprove
 by nycete, And discovering of privite, With tonge *woundyng*,
 as feloun, Thurgh venemous detraccioun. [The *-ing* form is
 postposed presumably because it is closely related with an
as-phrase. Cf. *shynyng* as gold so fyn (CT III, 304).]

Also in: Bo I, p.6, 36 (the palys *chynyng* [‘open’] and open);
 RR *4496 (A rympled vekke . . . *Frownyng* [‘gloomy’] and
 yelowe in hir visage).

These examples are due to the principle of end-weight; notice the juxtaposition with a real adjective.

3.1.2.2 Accompanied by a modifier (107)

When the present participle is accompanied by a modifier (or an object), it is usually postposed (but cf. §3.1.1.1 and §3.1.2.1a). The head-word and the present participle may be marked off by a comma. In the literature of Modern English, where the “rules” of punctuation are almost fixed, the intervening comma indicates that the participial clause is derived from a non-restrictive relative clause, while the participial clause without a comma indicates that it is derived from a restrictive relative clause (Ando 1976: 603). In the literature of the Middle Ages, however, no such distinction can be made; pointing may be decided by the editor’s fancy. Thus, Benson points:

- (1) a. (LGW 1204) Upon a courser stertlynge as the fyr—
- b. (CT I, 1502) He on a courser₁ startlynge as the fir,

The same passages are treated differently by Robinson and Benson:

- (2) a. (CT VII, 973) he, lyk a mad man₁ rentynge his clothes, gan to wepe and crie. (Robinson)
- b. (CT VII, 973) he, lyk a mad man rentynge his clothes, gan to wepe and crie. (Benson)
- (3) a. (LGW 1326) For on a nyght, spelynge₁ he let hire lye, (Robinson)
- b. (LGW 1326) For on a nyght, spelynge he let hire lye, (Benson)

Thus, it is not of much significance to classify Chaucer’s participles by the presence or absence of a comma. The same classification as that in the previous sections (intransitive vs. transitive; simple vs. progressive) will be employed below.

3.1.2.2a Corresponding to the intransitive simple form (51)

The present participles listed below include many stative verbs and some verbs of motion:

(Astr II, 46, 9) and set thou there the degree of the mone *according* with the egge of the label. | (Astr Prol. 13) upon which, by mediacioun of this litel tretys, I purpose to teche the a certain nombre of conclusions *aperteynyng* to the same instrument. | (Bo IV, p.6, 176) ne the ordre *comynge* fro the poynt of sovereyn good [‘the order that comes from the centre of the highest good’] ne declyneth nat fro his bygynnyng. | (Bo V, p.1, 83) These ben thanne the causes of the abregginge of fortuit hap, the whiche abreggyng of fortuit hap cometh of causes *encontryng* and *flowyng* togidere to hemself [‘causes that meet one another and join together’], | (Astr II, 12, 32) Than shewith the verrey degre of the sonne the houre of Mercurie *entring* under my west orisonte at eve [‘Mercury that enters under my west horizon ...’];

Other instances: *blowyng* aboute (Bo I, p.3, 65); *clyvyng* to ... (Bo IV, p.6, 65); *delityng* evere ... (CT IV, 997); *dwelllyng* in ... (CT I, 702; II, 545; III, 529; Bo IV, p.6, 161); *enhabityng* aboute/in (Bo II, p.7, 66; III, m.10, 3); *fallyng* adoun (Bo IV, p.6, 151); *fletyng* al of ... (Bo III, m.3, 2); *goinge* on ... (LGW 1669); *growyng* faste by (CT VI, 566); *hongyng* on ... (Astr II, 23, 39); *lastyng* everemo (CT I, 3072); *ligginge* in ... (Bo IV, m.7, 20); *longyng* for ... (CT I, 3209; V, 39; LGW G 137; *lurkyng* in ... (CT VII, 3226; TC IV, 305; FormA 29); *lyvyng* in ... (CT I, 901²⁸; II, 652; TC II, 235; LGW 2702; RR *7031); *metyng* with ... (Bo I, m.5, 6); *passyng* to and fro ... (CT I, 2848); *procedinge* by ... (Bo V, p.1, 93); *repeiryng* to ... (CT V, 608); *servyng* to ... (Bo III, p.11, 92; IV, p.6, 96); *sorwyng* evere in ... (TC I, 9); *stondyng* in ... (CT II, 68; VII, 2823); *stryvyng* with ... (Bo IV, m.6, 24); *suffisyng* for ... (CT I, 3629); *trailyng* in ... (CT X, 419); *usyng* for to ... (CT III, 776); *walkyng* as a swan (CT III, 1930); *wonyng* fer ... (CT I, 388).

²⁸ Kerkhof (1982: 32) interprets CT 901 (“in this world nys creature lyvyng”) as a case of the progressive.

Adverbs indicating ‘perpetuity’ may precede the participle (cf. §3.1.1.1 and §3.1.2.1e):

(TC III, 1754) That elementz that ben so discordable Holden a bond perpetuely *durynge*, | (Bo III, m.7, 7) he fleeth away, and styngeth the hertes of hem that ben ysmyte, with bytynge overlonge *holdyng*. | (CT III, 1376) And so bifel that ones on a day This somnour, evere *waityng* on his pray, Rood for to somne an old wydwe, a ribibe, Feynyng a cause, for he wolde brybe. | (Bo V, p.6, 273) but he ay *duellyng* [‘permanent’] cometh byforn, and enbraseth at o strook alle thi mutaciouns.

Note. The present participle in the last example (Bo V, p.6, 273) seems to modify the pronoun *he* [God].) Cf.:

mais il parmanant vient au devant et embrace

For “next following”, see §3.1.2.1a.

3.1.2.2b Corresponding to the intransitive progressive form (31)

The postnominal present participles below fall into either (a) verbs of motion, (b) verbs of rest, or (c) verbs of ‘durative aspect’ (other than verbs of rest):

i) verbs of motion (4):

Modifiers of these verbs indicate ‘direction’ or ‘path’.

(Bo I, p.5, 76) For wyche we wol usen somdel lyghtere medicynes, so that thilke passiouns that ben waxen hard in swellyng by perturbacions *flowyng* into thy thought, | (RR 1403) There myght men does and roes se, And of squyrels ful great plente From bowe to bowe alway *lepyng*. | (CT I, 2508) and faste the armurers also With fyle and hamer *prikyng* to and fro; | (HF 903) Now shippes *seyllyng* in the see.

ii) verbs of ‘rest’ (18):

Most of the modifiers are ‘locative’.

(CT III, 954) Ovyde . . . Seyde Myda hadde, under his longe heres, *Growynge* upon his heed two asses eres, [Also in CT VII, 2966.] | (CT I, 1496) And with his stremes dryeth in the greves The silver dropes *hangynge* on the leves. [Also in: CT I, 392; 2030; 2163; 2937; 3626; V, 84; Astr II, 23, 39.] | (CT I, 3258) But of hir song, it was as loude and yerne As any swalwe *sittynge* on a berne. [Also in: CT I, 1930; 2028; VI, 397; TC IV, 715; LGW F 554; Astr I, 21, 11; II, 14, 7.]

iii) verbs of ‘durative aspect’ (10):

These verbs may cooccur with a modifier indicating ‘duration’.

(CT X, 841) Seint John seith that avowtiers shullen been in helle, in a stank *brennyng*e of fyr and of brymston— [Also in CT I, 2000; VIII, 802; X, 445.] | (CT III, 1888) With empty wombe, *fastynge* many a day, Receyved he the lawe that was writen With Goddes fynger; | (CT I, 2507) The fomy steedes on the golden brydel *Gnawynge*, | (CT I, 2011) Yet saugh I Woodnesse, *laughynge* in his rage, Armed Compleint, Outhees [‘Outcries’], and fiers Outrage; | (CT I, 3379) He sente hire pyment, meeth, and spiced ale, And wafres, *pipynge* hoot out of the gleede;

Also in RR *4741 (weping ay).

An adverb may precede the *-ing* form:

(Bo II, m.7, 20) The thynne fame yit *lastynge* of here idel names is maked with a fewe lettres.

Note 1. The *-ing* form in CT I, 2011 (*laughynge* in his rage) should be interpreted as attributive (or derived from a non-restrictive relative clause) rather than predicative because the other instances of *saw* take an object unaccompanied by a predicative complement; put differently, since *Armed Compleint*, *Outhees* and *fiers Outrage* are “junctions”, *Woodnesse*, *laughynge in his rage* should also be interpreted as such. In Skeat’s edition, incidentally, there is no comma inserted between

“Woodnesse” and “laughynge in his rage”.

Note 2. The *-ing* form accompanied by an *as*-phrase forming a simile is a participial adjective (cf. §1.1):

(CT III, 304) his crispe heer, *shynynge* as gold so fyn,

Also in: CT I, 1502; 2164; IV, 996; LGW 1204||RR *3136
(Robinson’s edition); *7260.

Note 3. The *-ing* form coordinated with an adjective is also a participial adjective:

(Bo I, m.5, 41) and vertu, cleer and *schynynge* naturely, is hidde in derke derknesses;

Note 4. The following is said to be a translation of *causa causans* (MED, s.v. cause 1b(b)):

(TC IV, 829) Pandare first of joies mo than two Was cause *causyng* [‘original cause’] unto me, Criseyde, That now transmewed ben in cruel wo.

3.1.2.2c Corresponding to the transitive simple form (21)

Most of the examples are from prose works:

(CT I, 2367) The nexte houre of Mars *folwynge* this [‘that follows this’], Arcite unto the temple walked is Of fierse Mars to doon his sacrificise, With alle the rytes of his payen wyse. | (Bo V, p.6, 150) Ryght so thanne the devyne lookynge, *byholdynge* alle thinges undir hym [‘li divins regars qui voit toutez choosez soy il’], ne trowbleth nat the qualite of thinges that ben certainly present to hym-ward | (LGW 932) Whan Troye brought was to destruccioun By Grekes sleyghte, and namely by Synoun, *Feynynge* the hors offered unto Mynerve, Thourgh which that many a Troyan moste sterve;

Other instances: the see, *commoevynge* or *chasyng* upward hete fro the botme, (Bo I, m.4, 6); *contenyng* a latitude of 12 degrees/60 mynutes (Astr I, 21, 36/49); hir cruel ravyne, *devourynge* al that they han geten

(Bo II, m.2, 14); the propre maner of every thing, *dressynge* hem to gode (Bo IV, p.6, 170); the same nyght *folowyng* the houre of the nyght (Astr II, 3, 39); thinges, *kepynge* the dignyte (Bo IV, p.1, 2); the popes bulles, *makynge* mencion (CT IV, 744); the mene soule of treble kynde *moevynge* alle thingis (Bo III, m.9, 26); the purveaunce *ordeynynge* the thinges (Bo IV, p.6, 366); hir vertu, *passynge* any wight Of so yong age (CT IV, 240); somthing *possessyng* in itself parfyt good (Bo III, p.10, 50); the wynd *troublynge* the see (Bo II, m.4, 15); the folie of men *wenynge* tho Epycuryens and Stoyciens my familiers (Bo I, p.3, 46).

Object deletion (3):

When semantically restricted, the object of the primary transitive verb may be deleted:

(CT III, 2150) Ther nys no capul, *drawynge* [load] in a cart, That myghte have lete a fart of swich a soun. | (LGW F 264 (= G 218)) Phillis, *hangyng* [herself] for thy Demophoun, | (Bo II, m.4, 5) What maner man stable and war, that ... ne wol nocht ben cast down with the lowde blastes of the wynd Eurus, and wole despise the see *manasyng* [peope] with flodes;

3.1.2.2d Corresponding to the transitive progressive form (4)

The present participles belonging to this category are not numerous:

(CT I, 3260) Therto she koude skippe and make game, As any kyde or calf *folwynge* his dame [‘that are following its dam’]. | (CT I, 2502) Knyghtes of retenue, and eek squieres *Nailynge* the speres, and helmes bokelynge; | (CT II, 73) The crueltee of the, Queene Medea, Thy litel children *hangynge* by the hals, For thy Jason, that was of love so fals! | (CT VII, 973) Whan Melibeus retourned was into his hous, and saugh al this meschief, he, lyk a mad man *rentynge* his clothes, gan to wepe and crie.

In the third example above (CT II, 73), the object is placed before the

present participle for the sake of meter.

3.1.3 Attributive present participles in major works

I will now recapitulate in tabular form the frequency and distribution of the present participles in Chaucer's major works, CT, TC, LGW and Bo:

Table 9 Prenominal present participles

	CT	TC	LGW	Bo	
intransitive	29	2	1	59	91
transitive	8	2	0	21	31
Total	37	4	1	80	122

Table 10: Postnominal present participles

		without modifier				with modifier				
		CT	TC	LGW	Bo	CT	TC	LGW	Bo	
intr.	simple	7	5	0	3	21	4	3	18	61
	prog.	1	0	0	7	22	1	1	2	34
tr.	simple	0	0	0	0	4	9	2	2	18
	prog.	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	4
Total		8	5	0	10	51	5	6	32	117

Tables 9 and 10 reveal the following facts:

- 1) the intransitive verb is more easily transformed into the attributive present participle than the transitive verb (186 (=91+95) vs. 53 (=31+22));
- 2) the postnominal present participle is more often accompanied by a modifier (or an object) than unaccompanied (94 vs. 23);
- 3) a stylistic feature of *Boece* is the frequent use of the prenominal present participle (80 as compared with 37 in CT).

3.2 Predicative Use (110)

When the present participle is used predicatively, it is used either as subject predicative or as object predicative.

3.2.1 Subject predicative (49)

The present participle used as subject predicative occurs with (a) verbs of ‘rest’ and (b) verbs of ‘motion’.²⁹

3.2.1.1 Verbs of ‘rest’ (18)

LYEN (11)

(CT VII, 3042) My felawe mordred is this same nyght, And in this carte he *lith gapyng* upright. | (TC V, 1241) And by this bor, faste in his armes folde, *Lay, kyssyng* ay, his lady bryght, Criseyde. | (CT IX, 110) He slow Phitoun, the serpent, as he *lay Slepynge* agayn the sonne upon a day; [Also in CT VII, 2572; LGW 1326 (see Note 2).] | (CT III, 1086) His olde wyf *lay smylynge* everemo, And seyde, ‘O deere housbonde, benedicitee! | (CT VII, 625) His mooder *swownynge* by his beere *lay*; | (CT VII, 678) The covent eek *lay* on the pavement *Wepynge*, and *heryng* Cristes mooder deere, And after that they ryse, and forth been went, And taken away this martir from his beere; | (CT II, 834) Hir litel child *lay wepyng* in hir arm, [Also in TC V, 712.]

Also in RR *2645 (enduryng ... ly)

Note 1. Skeat’s and Fisher’s editions do not contain a comma in TC V, 1241 (the second example above):

... *Lay kissing* ay his lady bright Criseyde

Note 2. I take LGW 1326 as an instance of the subject predicative since *hire* in this line is the logical subject of *lay*:

²⁹ The *-ing* forms following THENKEN and SEMEN are participial adjectives: (TC II, 307) And were it thyng that me *thoughte unsittyng*, To yow wolde no swiche tales brynge. | (Mars 228) he made a lover love a thing And maketh hit *seme stedfast* and *during*,

(LGW 1326) But al this thing avayleth hire ryght nought, For on a nyght, *slepyng* he let hire lye, And stal away unto his companye,

Robinson takes *sleepyng* in this passage as a free adjunct:

(Robinson: LGW 1326) But al this thing avayleth hire ryght nought, For on a nyght, *slepyng* [‘while she was sleeing’], he let hire lye, And stal away unto his companye,

A similar situation may be expressed in the following way:

(LGW 2171) *Whan Adryane his wif aslepe was*, For that hire syster fayrer was than she, He taketh hire in his hond and forth goth he To shipe, | (CT VII, 3077) That oon of hem, *in slepyng as he lay*, Hym mette a wonder dreem agayn the day.

SITTEN (3)

(CT I, 3444) This Nicholas *sat* evere *capyng* upright, As he had kiked on the newe moone. | (CT III, 2167) This frere cam as he were in a rage, Where as this lord *sat etyng* at his bord; | (LGW 1834) Hyre frendes axen what hire eylen myghte, And who was ded; and she *sit ay wepyng*;

STONDEN (3)

(RR 921) This bachelor *stod biholdyng* The daunce, and in his hond holdyng Turke bowes two had he. [Also in RR *3963.] | (RR 535) Ful long I shof, and knockide eke, And *stood* ful long and oft *herknyng*, If that I herde ony wight comyng, Til that the dore of thilke entre A mayden curteys openyde me. | (CT IV, 317) abayst and al *quakyng* He *stood*;

Jespersen (1940: 406) says “In cases like *he sat smoking* it approaches the ‘expanded’ use” (for the same view, see Nakashima 1981: 286 and Yonekura 1985: 198). As far as Chaucer’s examples are concerned, he verbs of ‘rest’ keep their original meanings (cf. Visser 1973: 1913). Notice that *slepyng* is used only with LYEN, and *etyng* only with SITTEN, and that verbs of perception tend to occur with STONDEN.

DWELLEN ('remain') (1)

The construction "DWELLEN+ -ing" is used once, probably for the sake of rime (dwelle: telle):

(CT I, 1661) And in this wise I lete hem *fightyng dwelle*, And forth I wole of Theseus yow telle.

Note. Visser (1973: 1898) cites the following:

(CT I, 1366) And dwelling al the nyght making his moone.

In all the editions by Benson, Skeat, Robinson, Fisher and Blake, the line in question reads:

And waillynge al the nyght, makynge his mone.

No variant forms are recorded in Manly and Rickert (1940).

3.2.1.2 Verbs of motion (31)

COMEN (21)

(TC II, 939) This Pandarus *com lepyng* in atones, And seyde thus, [Also in: CT I, 4079; III, 2157; HF 1823; (com lepande) RR *1928.] | (CT III, 884) And so bifel that this kyng Arthour Hadde in his hous a lusty bachelor, That on a day *cam ridynge* fro ryver, [Also in: CT I, 2159; TC II, 620; 1249; III, 1782] | (LGW F 212) And from afer *com walkyng* in the mede The god of Love, [Also in CT VII, 92.]

Also in: Astr I, 4, 2 (descending); HF 1527 (entryng); BD 178 (fleyng); BD 161 (rennyng); CT VII, 837 (prikyng); TC II, 555 (romyng); CT I, 1641 (russhyng); LGW 2405 (seylyng); LGW 1741 (stertyng); CT I, 3616 (walwyng)||RR *3138 (criand).

GON/*wente* (10)

(Bo IV, p.2, 108) yif that a wight be myghti to moeve, and goth upon hise feet, and another, to whom thilke naturel office of feet lakketh, enforceth hym to *gone crepyng* upon his handes, which of these two oughte to ben holden the more myghty by right? | (CT I, 1071) This sorweful prisoner, this Palamoun, *Goth* in the chambre *romyng* to and fro And to hymself compleynynge of his wo. | (RR 1267) And by hir

wente a knyght *dauncyng* That worthy was and wel spekyng, And ful wel koude he don honour. | (TC I, 267) Withinne the temple he *wente* hym forth *pleyinge*, This Troilus, of every wight aboute, On this lady, and now on that, lokyng, Wher so she were of town or of withoute;

Also in RR *6744 (go ... begging).

As Kerkhof (1982: 124) points out, GON in the construction “GON+ -ing” may sometimes lose its lexical meaning:

(CT VII, 222) Ne be ye nat ashamed that daun John Shal *fasting* al this day alenge *goon?* | (TC V, 1574) And in his herte he *wente* hire *excusyng*, That Calkas caused al hire tariyng.

Also with: arguyng (TC V, 772); purtrayng, recordyng (TC V, 716, 718); ymaginyng (CT IV, 598).

Note. GON may lose its lexical meaning in other contexts as well:

(CT I, 286) A clerk ther was of Oxenford also, That unto logyk hadde longe *ygo*.

The present participles following COMEN have semantic features [+move] and [+manner]. “Come leaping”, for example, may be paraphrased as “come by leaping”. In Chaucer’s English the verbs of motion that precede a “manner verb” are only COMEN and GON, that is, semantically most neutral verbs of motion. Other verbs of motion such as “ride+ crying” (Malory 588. 30) or “run+ mourning” (Marlowe 2T 3863) are not found in Chaucer’s writings.

3.2.1.3 Nominative with participle

As a link between subject predicative and object predicative, a passive instance of a perception verb is here cited.

SEEN (not Chaucer’s instance)

(RR *6549) Crist, ne his apostlis dere, While that they walkide in erthe

heere, Were never *seen* her bred *beggyng*,

Note. The following citation is not a case of “nominative with participle” since the *-ing* form does not follow *was fyled* but *was*:

(RR *3813) His tunge was fyled sharp and squar, Poignaunt,
and right *kervyng*, And wonder bitter in spekyng.

Cf.: he . . . had a tongue that was exceedingly sharp, piercing,
and bitter. [Dahlberb trans.]

3.2.2 Object predicative (61)

The present participle can be used after a transitive verb as predicative to the object. The transitive verbs Chaucer uses in this construction are (a) verbs of ‘perception’, (b) verbs of ‘causing’, and (c) verbs of ‘keeping’.

3.2.2.1 Verbs of perception (50)

FINDEN (19)

(CT III, 923) But he ne koude arrayven in no coost Wher as he myghte *fynde* in this mateere Two creatures *accordynge* in-feere. [Also in Astr II, 14, 6.] | (Astr II, 3, 34) Tho loked I doun upon myn est orizonte, and *fond* there the 20 degre of Germinis *ascendyng*, which that I tok for myn ascendent. [Also in Astr II, 3, 57.] | (LGW 863) And at the laste hire love thanne hath she *founde*, *Betynge* with his heles on the grounde, Al blody, | (Astr II, 12, 12) Than *fond* I the 2 degre of Libra, nadir of my sonne, *discending* on my west orisonte, upon which west orisonte every day generally, atte sonne arist, entrith the houre of eny planete, | (CT I, 1009) And so bifel that in the taas they *founde* . . . Two yonge knyghtes *liggyng* by and by, [Also in: CT I, 2390; BD 1325; RR *4002.] | (CT VIII, 186) He *fond* this hooly olde Urban anon Among the seintes buryeles *lotyng* [‘lying concealed’]. | (CT VI, 608) And whan he cam, hym happede, par chaunce, That alle the gretteste that were of that lond, *Pleyynge* atte hasard he hem *fond*. | (CT I, 4116) The millere *sittyng* by the fyr he *fond*, [Also in: TC II, 1014; HF 1415; PF 242; LGW 2377; Astr II, 3, 44; 12, 10; 14, 7; (*adj.* well doand, RR *2708).]

HEREN (4)

(RR 536) [I] stood ful long and oft herknyng, If that I *herde* any wight *comyng*, | (BD 348) And I *herde goynge* bothe up and doun Men, hors, houndes, and other thyng; | (RR 721) And whan that I hadde *herde*, I trowe, These briddis *syngyng* on a rowe, Than myght I not withholde me That I ne wente inne for to see Sir Myrthe, | (TC III, 1236) [the nyghtyngale] stynteth first whan she bygynneth to synge, Whan that she *hereth* any herde tale, Or in the hegges any wyght *stiryng*,

The object may be deleted:

(RR *3822) He [Wicked Tongue] spak therof so folily That he awakide Jelousy, Which, all afrayed in his risyng, Whanne that he *herde janglyng* [‘when he herd Wicked Tongue prating’], He ran anoon, as he were wood, To Bialacoil,

Note. In Skeat’s Glossary the *-ing* form above is cited under the verb *Iangleth*. The object is often deleted in the construction “hear (someone) say/tell/devise”. See Chapter 4.

KNOWEN (1)

(CT IV, 912) For he by noyse of folk *knew* hire *comynge*,

Note. The following example shows that the *hire* in the above instance is not genitive:

(Milton, *Samson* 1549) My Countrymen, whom here I knew remaining. [Visser 1973: 2357]

METEN (4)

On the construction “MEET+Obj+*-ing*”, Visser (1973: 2343) remarks that it appears only “in Old and Modern English”. The examples below will be sufficient to prove that MEET could be followed by “Obj+*-ing*” in the ME period as well. (The last example may derive from the non-restrictive relative clause (§3.1.2.1b).)

(HF 1308) Ther *mette* I *cryyng*e many oon, ‘A larges, larges, hold up wel! | (CT II, 969) [this senator] *mette* the ship *dryvyng*e, as seith the storie, In which Custance sit ful pitously. | (CT V, 1173) A yong clerk *romyng*e by hymself they *mette*, | (HF 227) [Eneas and Achate] *Mette* with Venus that day, *Goyng*e in a queynt array As she had ben an hunteresse,

SEEN (22)

(CT I, 2128) Ther maistow *seen*, *comyng*e with Palamoun, Lygurge hymself, the grete kyng of Trace. [Also in LGW F 283 (= G 186).] | (LGW 2551) My body mote ye *se* withinne a while, Ryght in the haven of Athenes *fletyng*e, [Also in HF 133.] | (LGW 2196) And hye upon a rokke she wente sone, And *saw* his barge *saylyng*e in the se. [Also in CT V, 851.] | (CT III, 998) No creature saugh he that bar lyf, Save on the grene he *saugh sittyng*e a wyfe— [Also in: CT I, 2028; III, 1047; IV, 1852; PF 238; HF 1394.]

Other instances: [Moises] *saugh* the bush . . . *Brennyng*e (ABC 89); *saugh* he knyghtes *justyng* (CT V, 1198); to *sen* me *langwisshing*e (TC I, 569); he hir *say Lookyng*e out (CT III, 646); they han *seyn* hire . . . *lovyng*e Hermengyld (CT II, 625); I *see* beggers *quakyng* (RR *6495); I *saugh rennyng*e every wight (HF 2145); I *saugh* hym nat *stiryng*e (CT I, 3673); I *saw*, *stondyng*e . . . , a womman (Bo I, p.1, 3); [they] *saw* folk in the way *passyng* (RR *7424); He *saugh* a mayde *walkyng*e (CT III, 886).

Followed by “Obj+infinitive and -ing”:

(Bo I, p.1, 44) And whan she *saughe* these poetical muses *aprochen* aboute my bed and *endityng*e wordes to my wepynges,

Coordinated with an adjective:

(Bo IV, m.7, 27) for which Ulixes hadde joye whan he *say* Poliphemus *wepyng*e and *blynd*. [Also in: Bo I, p.5, 5; II, p.8, 24.]

Accompanying an *of*-phrase (see also: Bo I, p.4, 182; IV, p.2, 124):

(Bo II, p.8, 25) The amyable Fortune maystow *seen* alwey wyndy and flowynge, and evere *mysknowynge of* hirself;

If *mysknowyng* is regarded as deriving from a transitive verb, the above example may be the earliest instance of the construction “present participle+of”. However, the coordination of *mysknowynge* and *wyndy* suggests that the *-ing* form is a participial adjective. In fact, the OED, citing the example above, takes *mysknowyng* as participial adjective (also in Davis et al.). The MED (s.v. *misknowen*), on the other hand, treats the word as an intransitive verb. The passage in question is a translation of the Latin “*suique semper ignaram*” and the French “*et mescognoissant de soy meismes*”.

ASPIEN may be added here, though the following is not Chaucer’s translation:

(RR *2665) If they withynne a-slepe be—I mene all save the lady free,
Whom *wakyng* if thou maist *aspie*, Go putte thisilf in jupartie To aske
grace,

For the passive instance of the perceptive verb SEEN, see §3.2.1.3.

3.2.2.2 Verbs of ‘causing’ (6)

LETEN (4)

It is strange that, despite the following examples of “LETEN + Obj + -ing”, not a single instance of this construction is cited in Visser (1973: 2346f., 2350ff.):

(CT V, 345) But thus I *lete* in lust and jolitee This Cambyuskan his lordes *festeiyng* Til wel ny the day bigan to sprynge. | (CT V, 651) Thus *lete* I Canacee hir hauk *kepyng*; | (Anel 46) With his tryumphe and laurer-coroune thus, In al the flour of Fortunes yevynge, *Let* I this noble prince Theseus Toward Athenes in his wey *rydinge*,

Followed by “Obj + infinitive” and “Obj + -ing”:

(CT IV, 2217-18) And thus I *lete* hym sitte upon the pyrie, And Januarie and May *romynge* myrie.

As the examples above show, “LETEN + Obj + -ing” always cooccurs with *thus* and *I* (the narrator). This formulaic expression is employed at the transition from one topic to the next.

MAKEN (not Chaucer’s instance)

Flowryng (‘flowering, flourishing’) below seems to be an adjective (recall the coordination of *wyndy*, *flowrynge* and *mysknowyng* in Bo II, p.8, 25).

(RR *6256) The goode thought and the worching, That *makith* the religioun *flowryng*,

SETTEN (2)

Although Visser (1973: 2347) says the causative use of *set* is “in Modern English”, it is clear that SETTEN in the following instances has a causative meaning:

(RR 1462) And *springyng* in a marble ston Had Nature *set*, the sothe to telle, Under that pyn-tree a welle [‘Nature had set a well . . . springing . . .’]. | (RR 1700) And it [knoppe] hath leves wel foure paire, That Kynde [‘nature’] hath *sett*, thorough his knowyng, Aboute the rede roses *spryngyng*.

The two examples share the context: “Nature/Kind hath/had set NP springing PP”.

3.2.2.3 Verbs of ‘keeping’ (5)

CONSERVEN (1)

(CT VII, 994) A man that is joyous and glad in herte, it hym *conserveth* [‘keeps’] *florisshynge* in his age;

LEVEN (4)

(Pity 51) Then *leve* I al these vertues, sauf Pite, *Kepyng* [‘watching over’] the corps | (TC IV, 93) Save of a doughter that I *lefte*, *allas*, *Slepyng* at hom, whan out of Troie I sterte. [Also in HF 416.] | (LGW 1332) A cloth he *lafte*, and ek his swerd *stondynge* . . . Ryght at hire beddes hed,

Note. Visser (1973: 2352) cites the following:

(CT I, 2599) The heraudes *lefte* hir [‘their’] *prikyng* up and doun;

Prikyng, however, is a gerund. The line in question means “the heralds stopped spurring up and down”; “The heralds left their spurring about” [T&M trans.].

3.2.3 Predicative present participles in major works

The table below shows the types and their frequencies in CT, TC, LGW, Bo and Chaucer’s other works:

Table 11
Frequency and distribution of the predicative present participles

	CT	TC	LGW	Bo	Other Works	
Subject predicative	24	11	5	1	8	49
Object predicative	24	4	6	2	25	61
	48	15	11	3	33	110

This table reveals that in *Boece* the predicative use of the present participle is extremely rare (all the instances are after SEEN). (Compare this with the abundant use of the attributive present participle in *Boece* (§3.1.3)). A fact that explains the difference in the frequencies of the two uses is that, unlike other works, *Boece* is not a narrative but a

philosophical work.

3.3 Free Adjunct (328)

When the present participle is used as a free adjunct, three types can be distinguished:

- 1) related adjunct;
- 2) unrelated adjunct;
- 3) absolute adjunct.

3.3.1 Related Adjunct (242)

By related adjunct is meant a participial clause whose logical subject is the same as that of the main clause. Since the majority of participial clauses denote attendant circumstances or simultaneity, they are equivalent to clauses beginning with *while*. “Occasionally, however,” as Visser (1946: 408) says, “ideas of time, reason, condition etc. are so clearly implied that classification into separate groups is justifiable.” The meanings expressed by the participial clause are, according to Visser (1966: 1133ff.), (a) attendant circumstances, (b) cause, reason, (c) time, (d) condition (no instances in Chaucer), (e) concession, (f) hypothetical similarity (no instances in Chaucer), (g) means, manner, and (h) purpose. In addition, (i) it may be equivalent to a coordinate clause. As Visser (1966: 1133) himself admits, “the notional relationships between the *-ing* adjunct and the main syntactical unit are extremely multifarious and are often difficult to define exactly, especially since there is a good deal of overlapping”. Though the following interpretations are reached through frequent reference to modernizations and translations, some interpretations are still tentative.

3.3.1a Attendant Circumstances (142)

The present participle may express an activity (or state) that accompanies the activity (or state) expressed by the verb in the main clause. The participial clause may a) precede the main clause (front- position), b) intervene between the subject and the predicate (mid- position), or c)

follow the main clause (end-position). The last case is the most common.

a) front-position (22):

(CT II, 825) and *knelynge* on the stronde, She seyde, “Lord, ay welcome by thy sonde! | (Bo I, p.1, 76) and, *schewynge* by rednesse hir schame, thei passeden sorwfully the thresschefold. | (CT II 1154) *Wepynge* for tendrenesse in herte blithe, She heryeth God an hundred thousand sithe.

Also in: CT I, 1501; 2281 (see the note below); II, 835; IV, 223; 358 (2x); 783; V, 936 (see the note in §3.3.3d); TC IV, 575; V, 1735; LGW F 179; 854; BD 1212; 1213³⁰; 1216; HF 543; Anel 207; ABC 41 (quoted in §3.3.1a, c); BalCo *15 (quoted in §3.3.1a, c); RR 922.

The present participle may follow the object of the main clause:

(CT IV, 223) A few sheep, *spynnynge*, on feeld she kepte; | (HF 543) And with hys grymme pawes stronge, Withyn his sharpe nayles longe, Me, *fleynge*, in a swap he hente,

Note. Davis et al. (s.v. smoking) take the following *-ing* form as a participial adjective:

(CT I, 2281) *Smokyng* the temple, ful of clothes faire, This Emelye, with herte debonaire, Hir body wessh with water of a welle.

The order of words shows that *smoking* is a present participle. Skeat (s.v. Smoking) treats the example as present participle.

b) mid-position (20):

(LGW G 234) I, *lenynge* faste by under a bente [‘grassy slope’], Abod to knowe what this peple mente, As stille as any ston, | (Bo I, m.4, 17) But whoso that, *qwakyng*, dredeth or desireth thyng that nys nocht stable

³⁰ Kerkhof (1982: 126) interprets BD 1212 and 1213 as instances of “result”.

of his ryght, . . . hath cast away his scheeld, | (Bo II, p.7, 156) And yif the soule, whiche that hath in itself science of gode werkes, . . . , weendeth frely to the hevене, despiseth it nat thanne al erthly ocupacioun; and *usynge* hevене rejoyseth that it is exempt fro alle erthly thynges?

Also in: CT II, 383; IV, 187; 1082; 1083; VI 529; Bo I, m.1, 1; p.1, 86; p.2, 3; m.6, 10; II, m.2, 22; p.3, 56; III, m.9, 12; IV, p.6, 9; TC I, 111; III, 1368; LGW F 308; HF 214; Mars 143.

Note. In Robinson's edition Bo II, p.7, 156 reads as follows (cf. the last example above):

and *beynge* in hevене rejoyseth that it is exempt fro alle erthly thynges?

The participial clause in Robinson's edition means "cause, reason" rather than "attendant circumstances".

The frequent occurrence of the present participle in mid-position is a stylistic feature of *Boece* (cf. §3.3.4).

c) end-position (100):

(Mars 149) Mars dwelleth forth in his adversyte, *Compleynyng* ever on her departyng, | (Bo I, p.3, 38) they as in partye of hir preye todrowen me, *cryng* and *debatyng* ther-ayens, and korven and torente my clothes that I hadde woven with myn handes; | (TC V, 1812) And ther he saugh with ful avysement The erratik sterres, *herkenyng* armonye With sownes ful of hevennyssh melodie. | (CT I, 800) And which of yow that bereth hym best of alle—That is to seyn, that telleth in this caas Tales of best sentence and moost solaas—Shal have a soper at oure aller cost Heere in this place, *sittyng* by this post, Whan that we come agayn fro Caunterbury.

Also in: CT I, 1366 (*makyng*)³¹; 2679³²; 3341; 3377³³; 3595; 3642; II,

³¹ Instanced by Kerkhof (1982: 125).

³² Instanced by Kerkhof (1982: 126).

721; 768; 947; 968; III, 869; 1378; 1868³⁴; IV, 3; 239³⁵; 757; 897; 914; 977; 1258; 1766; 1778; V, 78; 206; 354; 1458; VI, 531; 581; VII, 580; 622; 1152; 1428; 1446; 1707; 1771 (2x); 1804; 3223; VIII, 140; 658 (“we dwell” omitted); X, 673; 689; 820; Bo I, p.3, 43; II, p.2, 2; p.4, 71; m.4, 18; III, m.2, 30; 31; IV, p.1, 2; V, m.4, 48; 49; p.6, 296; 297; TC I, 112; 186; 269; 318; 915; 1062; III, 51; 157; IV, 85 (following Robinson’s punctuation); 243; 742; 840; 855; 1084; 1157; 1251; V, 67; 250; 473; 685; 1023; 1356; 1670; 1810; LGW G 50; F117; F 149 (= G135); G 200; F 363; 1760; PF 672; HF 545; 2077; Mars 55; 135; WNob 20; 31; RR 134; 526; 656; 853 (see the note below); 1329; *1906; *1958; *1977; *3816; *3864; *4042; *4571 (expectant); *5011; *5302; *6352.

Note. In Skeat’s and Fisher’s editions the *-ing* form in RR 853 is preceded by the preposition *in*:

(Benson) Sir Mirthe hir by the fynger hadde Daunsyng,
 (Skeat) Sir Mirthe hir by the finger hadde [In] daunsyng [“A la karole”],

When the verb in the main clause indicates motion, the “V+*-ing*” construction verges on the type “go leaping” (§3.1.2). See also Visser (1966: 1133).

(CT II, 947) Forth *gooth* hir ship thurghout the narwe mouth Of Jubaltare and Septe, *dryvynge* ay Somtyme west, and somtyme north and south, And somtyme est, ful many a wery day, | (LGW G 200) And after that they *wenten* in compas, *Daunsynge* aboute this flour an esy pas,

Also in: CT II, 968 (repaireth [‘go home’] ... *saillynge*); RR 526 (go ... *Envyronyng*); 1329 (gon ... *Pleyyng*); *6352 (go ... *Sekyng*).

³³ Mustanoja (1960: 556) cites CT I, 3377 as an instance of “modal”, while Kerkhof (1982: 126) cites it as an example of “attendant circumstances or time”.

³⁴ Kerkhof (1982: 126) takes CT III, 1868 as an adjunct denoting “purpose”.

³⁵ Instanced by Kerkhof (1982: 126).

The verb in the main clause may be the same as that in the participial clause (see also PF 426):

(ABC 41) *Fleeing*, I *flee* for socour to thi tente Me for to hide from tempeste ful of dreede, | (BalC *15) *Beseching* yow in my most humble wyse T'accepte in worth this litel pore dyte . . . ; I yow *beseche*, myn hertes lady, here, Sith I yow serve, and so wil yeer by yere. | (RR *4042) Thanne, all abawid in shewing, Anoon spak Drede, right thus *seyng*, And *seide*,

When the participial clause expresses attendant circumstances, the present participle is often collocated with an adverb indicating 'perpetuity':³⁶

(LGW F 117) this fresshe flour I grette, *Knelyng alwey*, til it unclosed was, Upon the smale, softe, swote gras, [Also in: CT VII, 622; LGW 1760; TC IV, 840; V, 685; PF 672.] | (CT VI, 581) Looke, Attila, the grete conquerour, Deyde in his sleep, with shame and dishonour, *Bledynge ay* at his nose in dronkenesse. [Also in: CT VIII, 140; TC I, 186; IV, 243; 1251; V, 250; 1023; RR *4741.] | (CT V, 1458) Thus pleynd Dorigen a day or tweye, *Purposynge evere* that she wolde deye. [Also in: CT IV, 757; TC V, 1356; Mars 149.] | (CT VII, 580) O martir, sowded to virginitee, Now maystow syngen, *folwynge evere in oon* The white Lamb celestial

These adverbs of perpetuity occur when the participial clause is in end-position.

Verbs frequently used to denote attendant circumstances are as follows:

- 1) WEPEN (16 instances), SOBBEN (1 instance);
- 2) COMPLAYNEN (4), MAKEN MOAN/WOE (3), BEWAYLEN (1), MOURN (1);

³⁶ But not always, e.g., "reason": (TC V, 1441) He ne eet, ne dronk, ne slep, ne word seyde, *Ymagynyng ay* that she was unkynde, / "contrast": (Anel 178) she ne hath foot on which she may sustene, But forth *languisshing evere* in this estat,

- 3) THENKEN (3), GUESSEN (1), WENEN (1), HOPEN (2), DESIREN (2);
 4) ABIDEN (4), AWAYTEN (1), WAYTEN (1); KNEELEN (6), LENEN (2), SITTEN (4);
 5) HERKNEN (2), BEHOLDEN (2), LOOKEN (2);
 6) DAUNCEN (3), PLAYEN (2);
 7) QUAKEN (4).

It is worth mentioning that some verbs occur most frequently in certain positions: *abiding* and *awaiting*, for example, occur only in end-position;³⁷ *quaking*, in contrast, never appears in end-position;³⁸ *kneeling* occurs more often in front- or mid- position than in end-position.³⁹

3.3.1b Cause, reason (17)

The participial clause may indicate a causal relation to the main clause.

a) front-position (2):

(CT VIII, 1285) Whan that this preest thus was bigiled ageyn, *Supposynge* noght but treuthe [‘because he supposed nothing but truth’], sooth to seyn, He was so glad that I kan nat expresse In no manere his myrthe and his gladnesse;

Also in RR *3697.

b) mid-position (3):

(Bo I, p.4, 39) And therfore I, *folwynge* thilke auctorite, desired to putten forth in execucion and in acte of comune administracioun thilke thynges that I hadde lernyd of the among my secre restyng-whiles. |
 (Bo I, m.5, 6) so that the moone somtyme, *schynyng*e with hir fulle hornes *metynge* with alle the beemes of the sonne hir brothir [‘because she shines brightly at full moon as (or when) she meets with the beams of the sun her brother’], hideth the sterres that ben lasse;

³⁷ References: CT I, 3595; II, 721; IV, 757; WNob 20; CT I, 3642.

³⁸ See CT IV, 358; BD 1212; Bo I, m.4, 17; II, m.2, 22.

³⁹ See CT II, 383; 825; 835; IV 187; LGW F 308 vs. LGW F 117. Cf. RR *1980.

c) end-position (13):

(CT VII, 3033) This man gan fallen in suspecioun, *Remembrynge* on his dremes that he mette, | (TC IV, 88)⁴⁰ Thus al my good I leftte and to yow wente, *Wenyng* [‘because I intended’] in this yow lordes for to plese. | (LGW 1410) Of which this Pelleus hadde gret envye, *Imagynyng*e that Jason myghte be Enhaused so and put in swich degre With love of lordes of his regioun, That from his regne he may ben put adoun.

Also in: CT VII, 2590; XIII, 989; IX, 157; X, 328; TC I, 384; II, 72; 653; IV, 712; V, 1441; HF 262; RR *3397; *5436.

Out of the seventeen instances of the present participle expressing “cause or reason”, fourteen are verbs of ‘mental activity’:⁴¹ SUPPOSEN (1), IMAGINEN (2), KNOWEN (2), REMEMBREN (5) and WENEN (5).

3.3.1c Time (11)

It is sometimes possible to expand the participial clause into a clause opening with *while* or *when*:

a) front-position (2):

(LGW 1470) Isiphile was gon in hire pleyng, And, *romyng*e [‘while she was roaming’] on the clyves by the se, Under a banke anon aspied she Where that the ship of Jason gan aryve. | (CT VII, 458) by the mouth of children thy bountee Parfourned is, for on the brest *soukyng*e [‘while they are sucking’] Somtyme shewen they thy heriyng

b) mid-position (4):

⁴⁰ Instanced by Kerkhof (1982: 126).

⁴¹ Also in Marlowe’s English, “when mental activity verbs are used in participial clauses, the chief connotation is usually that of reason” (Ando 1976: 612).

(CT VI, 363) If that the good-man that the beestes oweth Wol every wyke, er that the cok hym croweth, *Fastynge* [i.e., before breakfast], drynken of this welle a draughte, As thilke hooly Jew oure eldres taughte, His beestes and his stoor shal multiplie. | (RR 1102) And yit the stoon hadde such a grace That he was siker in every place, All thilke day, not blynd to ben, That *fastyng* myghte that stoon seen. | (Mars 144) hyt happed for to be That, while that Venus weping made her mone, Cilenius, *rydinge* in his chevache, Fro Venus valaunse myghte his paleys se, | (Bo III, m.2, 27) yit natheles yif thilke bryd *skippyng* out of hir streyte cage seith the agreables schadwes of the wodes, sche defouleth with hir feet hir metes ischad,

Note. Benson's punctuation of Bo III, m.2, 27 (the last example above) is misleading. My reading is as follows (cf. Higuchi 1991):

if the bird₁ skipping₂ out of hir strait cage sees the agreeable shadows of the woods,

c) end-position (5):

(Bo II, m.6, 15) And natheles yit governed this Nero by septre alle the peples that Phebus, the sonne, may seen, *comynge* fro his uttreste arysynge ['when he comes from his first arising'] til he hide his bemes undir the wawes. | (LGW 1898) of the which [Androgeus] hyt happed thus, That he was slayn, *lernynge* filosofhie, Ryght in that citee, nat but for envye. | (CT VI, 516) O, wiste a man how manye maladyes Folwen of excesse and of glotonyes, He wolde been the moore mesurable Of his diete, *sittyng* ['when he sits'] at his table. | (Astr II, 25, 4) Understond wel that the latitude of eny place in a regioun is verrelly the space bytwixe the cenyth of hem that dwellen there and the equinoxiall cercle north or south, *takyng* ['when/if you take'] the mesure in the meridional lyne, as shewith in the almykanteras of thin Astrelabye. | (CT VII, 2026) Sampson, this noble almyghty champion, Withouten wepen save his handes tweye, He slow and al torente the leoun, Toward his weddyng *walkynge* by the weye ['while he was walking by the way toward his wedding'].

The participial clauses used in this sense are, except for *fasting* (CT VI, 363; RR 1102), accompanied by a modifier (or the object of the participle).

3.3.1d Concession, contrast (8)

In the following examples a concessive or contrastive connotation is prominent.

a) front-position (1):

(Bo III, m.1, 12) And ryght so thow, *byhooldyng* ferst the false goodes [‘though you saw the false goods first’], bygyn to withdrawe thy nekke fro the yok (of erthely affeccions);

(*Thow* in the example above is a vocative.)

b) mid-position (2):

(Bo III, m.11, 28) For certes the body, *bryngyng* the weighte of foryetyng [‘though it carries the weight of forgetfulness’], ne hath nat chased out of your thought al the cleernesse of your knowyng; | (Bo I, m.5, 31) O thou governour, *governynge* alle thynges [‘though you govern all things’] by certein ende, whi refusestow oonly to governe the werkes of men by duwe manere?

The *-ing* forms in the two instances cited above might be non-restrictive attributive. “In earlier English,” as Visser (1966: 1133) says, “the free adjunct cannot always be distinguished from the attributive adjunct”. An illustrious example is the one cited in §3.1.2.2: (CT VII, 973) “lyk a mad man[,] rentyng his clothes”.

c) end-position (5):

A contrastive connotation is often induced by a negative word that precedes the present participle:

(CT IV, 178) *ther seyde no wight nay—Bisekyng* hym [‘but besought him’] of grace, | (CT IV, 546) *But nathelees she neither weep ne syked, Conformynge* hire [‘but she consented’] to that the markys lyked. | (CT II, 24) *As dooth the stream that turneth nevere agayn, Descendynge* [‘but it descends’] fro the montaigne into playn.

In the following example a negative adverb *ne* is correlative with *but*:

(Anel 178) *And thus endureth til that she was so mat* [‘exhausted’] *That she ne hath foot on which she may sustene, But forth languisshing* evere in this estat, *Of which Arcite hath nouter routhe ne tene.*

The notion of contrast may be conveyed by the use of antonyms (cf. also CT VII, 1551, quoted in §3.3.2d):

(CT VII, 1018-20) *His neighebores . . . , his feyned freendes . . . , and his flatereres maden semblant of wepyng, and empeireden and agreggeden muchel of this matiere in preisyng greetly Melibee of myght, of power, of richesse, and of freendes, despisyng* [‘while they despised’] the power of his adversaries, and seiden outrely that he anon sholde wrenken hym on his foes and bigynne werre.

3.3.1e Means, manner (12)

The participial clause may indicate how the action of the main verb is performed.

a) front-position (1):

(Bo III, m.9, 34) *ablyng* hem heye [‘by raising the souls high’] by lyghte waynes or cartes, *thow sowest hem into hevене and into erthe.*

b) mid-position (3):

(HF 799) *And thus fro roundel to compas, Ech aboute other goynge*

Causeth of othres sterynge [‘each circle, by circumscribing the other, causes the motion of other circles’] | (Bo I, m.7, 3) Yif the truble wynd that hyghte Auster, *turnynge* and *walwynge* the see [‘by turning and disturbing the sea’], medleth the heete . . . , the wawes . . . withstande anon the syghtes of men by the filthe and ordure that is resolved.

c) end-position (8):

(Bo II, p.8, 14) For alwey, whan Fortune semeth debonayre, thanne sche lieth, falsly *byhetynge* [‘by falsely promising’] the hope of welefulnesse; | (HF 1478)⁴² Oon seyde that Omer made lyes, *Feynynge* in hys poetries, And was to Grekes favorable; | (LGW 2018) by a clewe of twyn, as he hath gon, The same weye he may returne anon, *Folwynge* alwey the thred as he hath come. | (CT IV, 2130) Thogh they were kept ful longe streite overal, They been accorded, *rownynge* [‘by whispering’] thurgh a wal, Ther no wight koude han founde out swich a sleighte.

Also in: CT VII, 1507; Bo III, m.11, 5; LGW 1486; Astr I, 21, 69.

3.3.1f Purpose (2)

Giving abundant examples with *for*, Visser (1966: 1139) says “free adjuncts in *-ing* with a connotation of purpose are preceded by *for*”. From this argument and from the fact that not a single instance without *for* is given in the relevant section, the reader may be led to suppose that a free adjunct connoting purpose always requires *for*. In actual practice, as the following examples show, free adjuncts without *for* can convey the meaning of purpose. Notice in both cases the main clause contains a verb of motion. (No instances of front- or mid-position.)

c) end-position (2):

(ABC 43)⁴³ Fleeinge, I flee for socour to thi tente Me for to hide from

⁴² Mustanoja (1960: 556) interprets HF 1478 as an instance of “modal”; Kerkhof (1982: 126) takes it as a case of “reason”.

⁴³ Instanced by Kerkhof (1982: 126).

tempeste ful of dreede, *Biseeching* yow that ye you not absente Thouh I be wikke. | (RR 106) Alone I wente in my plaiyng, The smale foules song *harknyng*.

Note. Compare the latter example with:

(RR 101) For out of toun me list to gon The song of briddes
forto here

3.3.1g Equivalent of a coordinate clause (50)

Very frequently the relation between the main clause and the participial clause is merely “additive”:

a) front-position (3):

(RR 104) And in the swete seson that leef is, With a thred *bastyng* my slevis, Alone I wente in my plaiyng [‘I basted my sleeves with a thread, and I went ...’],

When the main verb is in the imperative, the present participle too has imperative force:

(WNob 18) *Considryng* eke how I hange in balaunce In your service, ..., And with your pite me som wise avaunce In ful rebatyng of myn hevynesse [‘Consider also how I hang in the balance in your service ..., and through your pity promote me somewhat and fully abate my heaviness’]; | (PF 426)⁴⁴ *Havyng*e reward only to my trouthe, My deere herte, have on my wo som routhe [‘regard my faith, ... and have pity on my woe’].

Note. Notice *and* in the main clause in the WNob example is superfluous.

b) mid-position (4):

The Chaucerian examples in which an additive present participle is

⁴⁴ Mustanoja (1960: 556) interprets PF 427 as “conditional”.

placed between the subject and the verb are mostly from *Boece*.

(Bo I, p.3, 72) and yif they somtyme, *makyng*e an oost ayens us, assayle us as strengere, our ledere draweth togidre his riches into his tour, | (Bo II, m.7, 11) For although that renoun ysprad, *passyng*e to ferne peples, goth by diverse tonges; | (Bo IV, m.6, 37) and thilke same attempraunce, *ravysschyng*e, hideth and bynymeth, and drencheth undir the laste deth, alle thinges iborn. | (Bo III, m.2, 6) It liketh me to schewe by subtil soong, . . . how sche [Nature], *byndyng*e, restreyneth alle thynges by a boond that may nat be unbownde.

Also in RR *7334.

c) end-position (43):

(TC V, 1657) And whan this Troilus It saugh, he gan to taken of it hede, *Avysyng* [‘and considered’] of the lengthe and of the brede, And al the werk; | (Bo I, m.6, 18) God tokneth and assigneth the tymes, *ablyng*e [‘and makes fit’] hem to hir propre offices, | (CT V, 1521)⁴⁵ And in his herte he caughte of this greet routhe, *Consideryng*e the beste on every syde, That fro his lust yet were hym levere abyde Than doon so heigh a cherlyssh wrecchednesse Agayns franchise and alle gentillesse; | (Venus 28) Now certis, Love, hit is right covenable That men ful dere bye thy nobil thing, As wake abedde and fasten at the table, *Weping*e to laughe and singe in compleynyng,

Also in: CT I, 532; 3010; 3037; 3102; II, 342; 378⁴⁶; 379; 1015⁴⁷; III, 2065; IV, 592; 739; 994; 1935; VI, 124; VII, 229; 1609; 1727; 1774; 1822; 2382; 3332; VIII, 126; 1024⁴⁸; X, 1089; Bo I, m.2, 3; TC I, 372 (following Robinson’s punctuation); III, 162; 1552; 1553; 1700⁴⁹; V, 1334; 1585;

⁴⁵ Instanced by Mustanoja (1960: 556).

⁴⁶ Kerkhof (1982: 126) takes CT II, 378 as an instance of “cause or reason”.

⁴⁷ Kerkhof (1982: 126) takes CT II, 379 and 1015 as instances of “attendant circumstances or time”.

⁴⁸ Kerkhof (1982: 126) interprets CT VIII, 1024 as denoting “purpose”.

⁴⁹ Kerkhof (1982: 126) interprets TC III, 1700 as conveying “attendant circumstances or time”.

1760; 1772; LGW F 75 (= G 63); 1594; PF 421; Mars 34; RR 535; *1980;
*1981; *3804; *5209; *5800.

With *and*:

In one instance the participial clause is preceded by *and*:

(RR 535) Ful long I shof, and knokkide eke, And stood ful long and oft
herknyng [“Et par maintes fois escoutai”], If that I herde ony wight
comyng, Til that the dore of thilk entre A mayden curteys openyde me.

A stylistic effect of using the “additive” participial clause (i.e., a participial clause equivalent to a coordinate clause) is that the participial form enables the writer to avoid repetition of *and*’s (see also Bo III m.2, 1-7; IV, m.6, 36-9; both quoted in §3.3.1g, b):

(TC III, 1700) So wo was hem that chaungen gan hire hewe, And day
they gonnen to despise al newe, *Callyng* it traitour, envyous, and worse,
And bitterly the dayes light thei corse. | (Mars 34) And she hath take
him in subjeccioun, And as a maistresse taught him his lessoun,
Commaundyng him that nevere, in her servise, He nere so bold no
lover to dispise. | (CT VII, 3332) This Chauntecleer stood hye upon his
toos, *Strecchyng* his nekke, and heeld his eyen cloos, And gan to crowe
loude for the nones.

Note. Compare the last example (CT VII, 3332) with the following:

(CT VII, 3308) And for to make his voys the moore strong, He
wolde so peyne hym that with bothe his yen He moste wynke,
so loude he wolde cryen, And stonden on his tipton ther-
withal, And *strecche* forth his nekke long and smal.

Chaucer’s employment of the *-ing* form for this effect, however, is not very frequent.

3.3.2 Unrelated adjunct (39)

An unrelated adjunct is a participial clause whose logical subject is not identical with the subject of the main clause. The logical subject is implied a) in the object of the main clause, b) in a possessive pronoun (or “of NP”) (often collocated with *herte/goost/soule/wyl*), or c) the logical subject exists somewhere else in the discourse. Though Kerkhof (1982: 127) says that “[in Chaucer’s English] the use of unrelated adjunct is rare”, as many as thirty-nine instances are found in Chaucer’s whole works.⁵⁰ The logical subject is underlined.

3.3.2a Attendant Circumstances (13)

a) The logical subject is implied in the object of the main clause (10):

(CT VII, 546) And thanne he song it [*Alma redemptoris*] wel and boldely, Fro word to word, *acordynge* [‘agreeing’; cf. Skeat, s.v. Acorde] with the note. | (HF 170) [Eneas] took his fader Anchises, And bar hym on hys bak away, *Cryngre*, “Allas, and welaway!” | (CT I, 2819) And Theseus his suster took anon *Swownynge*, and baar hire fro the corps away.

After “FINDEN Obj -ing/-ant”:

(TC II, 1015)⁵¹ And thow shalt fynde us, if I may, sittyngre At som wyndow, into the strete *lokyngre*. | (LGW 2378) and in a litel stounde Hire dombe suster sittyngre hath she founde, *Wepynge* in the castel, here alone. | (CT VII, 1771) [Prudence] tolde hym how she foond his adversaries ful repentant, *knowelechyngre* ful lowely hir synnes and trespas,

After “SEEN Obj infinitive”:

(Bo IV, m.2, 4-6) Whoso that the coverturis of hir veyn appaiailes

⁵⁰ By the term “unrelated adjunct” Kerkhof seems to mean a participial clause whose logical subject is generic.

⁵¹ Instanced by Kerkhof (1982: 126).

myghte strepen of this proude kynges, that thow seest sitten an hye in here chayeres, *gliterynge* in schynynge purpre, envyrowned with sorwful armures, *manasyng* with cruel mowth, *blowyng* by woodnesse of herte, he schulde seen thanne that thilke lordis berin ['bear'] withynne hir corages ful streyte cheynes. | (HF 1252) There saugh I sitte in other seës ['seats'], *Pleyinge* upon sondry gleës, Whiche that I kan not nevene, Moo than sterres ben in hevене,

- b) The logical subject is implied in a possessive pronoun: no occurrences.
- c) The logical subject exists somewhere else in the discourse (3):

(CT I, 2514, 2515) The paleys ful of peple up and doun, Heere thre, ther ten, *holdynge* hir questioun, *Dyvynynge* of this Thebane knyghtes two. | (TC II, 1702, 1704) Deiphebus gan this lettre for t'onfolde In earnest greet; so did Eleyne the queene; And *romyng* outward, faste it gonne byholde, Downward a steire, into an herber greene. This ilke thing they [i.e., Deipebus and Eneyne] redder hem bitwene,

3.3.2b Cause, reason (4)

As in the case of the related participle expressing cause (§3.3.1b), the verbs most often used in this sense are verbs of 'mental activity'.

- a) The logical subject is implied in the object of the main verb (0).
- b) The logical subject is implied in a possessive pronoun (2):

(CT VIII, 871) He hath ymaad us spenden muchel good, For sorwe of which almost we wexen wood, But that good hope crepeth in oure herte, *Supposynge* evere ['because we always expect'], though we sore smerte, To be releved by hym afterward. | (TC III, 1539)⁵² he may wel ligge and wynke, But slep ne may ther in his herte synke, *Thynkyng* ['because he thinks'] how she for whom desir hym brende A thousand fold was worth more than he wende.

⁵² Instanced by Mustanoja (1960: 556).

c) The logical subject exists somewhere else in the discourse (2):

(CT V, 479) pitee renneth soone in gentil herte, *Feelynge* [‘because the one with a gentle heart feels’] his similitude in peynes smerte, | (CT X, 693)⁵³ Now comth wanhope, that is despeir of the mercy of God, that comth somtyme of to mucche outrageous sorwe, and somtyme of to mucche drede, *ymaginynge* [‘because he imagines’] that he hath doon so mucche synne that it wol nat availen hym,

3.3.2c Time (11)

a) The logical subject is implied in the object of the main clause (3):

(TC IV, 1404) in certayn I shal fonde Distorben hym [Calkas] and plukke hym by the sleve, *Makynge* his sort [‘while he is making his divination’], | (CT II, 490)⁵⁴ Wel may men knowe it was no wight but he That kepte peple Ebrayk from hir drenchynge, With drye feet thurghout the see *passynge* [‘when they passed with dry feet through the sea’]. | (CT I, 2466) I slow Sampsoun, *shakynge* the piler:

b) The logical subject is implied in a possessive pronoun (4)

(CT II, 805)⁵⁵ O my Custance, wel may thy goost have feere, And, *slepynge*, in thy dreem been in penance, Whan Donegild cast al this ordinance.

Also in: TC III, 58; 346; IV, 363 (quoted in §3.3.2c, c below).

c) The logical subject exists somewhere else in the discourse (4):

⁵³ Kerkhof (1982: 126) fails to cite CT X, 693 as an instance of what he calls an unrelated adjunct.

⁵⁴ Kerkhof (1982: 126) takes CT II, 490 as a case of “cause or reason”.

⁵⁵ Instanced by Mustanoja (1960: 556).

(TC I, 547)⁵⁶ [Troilus] *Bywayling* in his chambre thus allone [‘while Troilus was bewailing ...’], A frend of his that called was Pandare Com oones in unwar, | (CT III, 722) Tho redde he me how Sampson loste his heres: *Slepyng*e, his lemman kitte it with hir sheres; | (LGW 685) Now, love, to whom my sorweful herte obeyde So ferforthly that from that blisful houre That I yow swor to ben al frely youre—I mene yow, Antonius, my knyght—That nevere *wakyng*e [‘as long as I am awake’], in the day or nyght, Ye nere out of myn hertes remembraunce, | (CT VII, 2066)⁵⁷ And falsly to his foomen she hym solde. And *slepyng*e in hir barm [‘lap’] upon a day, She made to clippe or shere his heres away,

When the present participle is a perceptive verb, the participial clause is temporal-causal (the logical subject is implied in a possessive pronoun or “of NP”):

(TC IV, 363)⁵⁸ so ofte gan his herte colden, *Seyng* [‘when/because he saw’] his frend in wo, whos hevynesse His herte slough, as thoughte hym, for destresse. | (TC III, 58) And, Lord, so that his herte gan to quappe [‘throb’], *Heryng* hire come, and shorte for to sike! | (TC III, 346) Who myghte tellen half the joie or feste Which that the soule of Troilus tho felte, *Heryng* th’effect of Pandarus byheste?

3.3.2d Concession, contrast (2)

a) The logical subject is implied in the object of the main clause (1):

The following instance shows a lexical contrast (cf. 3.3.1d):

(CT VII, 1551) Whan Prudence hadde herd hir housbonde *avanten* hym of his riches and of his moneye, *dispreisyng*e [‘while he disparaged’] the power of his adversaries, she spak and seyde in this wise:

⁵⁶ Instanced by Visser (1966: 1142).

⁵⁷ Visser (1966: 1152) misinterprets CT VII, 2066 as an instance of an “absolute participle” denoting “attendant circumstances”.

⁵⁸ Instanced by Kerkhof (1982: 126).

b) The logical subject is implied in a possessive pronoun (1):

The meaning of contrast is reinforced by *yet*:

(TC V, 1208) The thridde, ferthe, fifte, sexte day After tho dayes ten of which I tolde, Bitwixen hope and drede his herte lay, *Yet* somewhat *trustyng* on hire hestes olde.

c) The logical subject exists somewhere else in the discourse: no occurrences.

3.3.2e Equivalent of a coordinate clause (9)

a) The logical subject is implied in the object of the main clause (2):

(CT I, 275)⁵⁹ His resons he spak ful solempnely, *Sownynge* [‘and they tended’] alwey th’encrees of his wynnyng. | (CT VII, 1796) And therefore I conseille that ye sende youre messages, swiche as been discrete and wise, unto youre adversaries, *tellynge* hem on youre bihalve that

b) The logical subject is implied in a possessive pronoun (or “of NP”) (7):

(BD 588)⁶⁰ This ys my peyne wythoute red, *Alwaydeynge* [‘and I am always dying’] and be not ded, | (CT I, 1956) The statue of Venus, glorious for to se, Was naked, *fletynge* [‘and she was fleeting’] in the large see, | (CT V, 571) This is to seyn, my wyl obeyed his wyl In alle thyng, as fer as reson fil, *Kepyng*e the boundes of my worshipe evere. | (TC V, 454) On hire was evere al that his herte thoughte, Now this, now that, so faste *ymagenynge* That glade, iwis, kan hym no festeyinge.

Also in: CT VII, 1871; RR *3885 (of Bialacoil).

Preceded by *and*:

(RR 156) Frounced foule was hir visage, *And grennyng* [‘she was

⁵⁹ For the subject of SOWEN, see CT I, 307 and VI, 54.

⁶⁰ Visser (1973: 1982) cites BD 588 as an instance of the progressive.

grinning'] for dispitous rage,

c) The logical subject exists somewhere else in the discourse (1):

(Astr II, 12, 20) And evere as the sonne clymbith upper and upper, so goth his nadir downer and downer, *teching* ['and the sun's climbing up and the nadir's sinking down teach'] by suche strikes the houres of planetes by ordir as they sitten in the hevene.

3.3.3 Absolute adjunct (24)

An absolute adjunct is a participial clause which has its own subject.

3.3.3a Attendant circumstances (6)

a) front-position (1):

(Bo I, p.4, 90) and, the kyng *knowynge* of it, Y overcom it, so that the coempcioun ne was nat axid ne took effect.

b) mid-position (1):

(CT VII, 3192)⁶¹ Bifel that Chauntecleer in al his pryde, His sevene wyves *walkynge* by his syde, Caste up his eyen to the brighte sonne,

c) end-position (4):

(Bo I, p.1, 6)⁶² I saw, stondynge aboven the heghte of myn heved, a womman of ful greet reverence by semblaunt, hir eien *brennynge* and *cleer-seynge* over the comune myghte of men; | (CT IV, 777) For at day set he on his wey is goon Toward Saluce, and lordes many oon In riche array, this mayden for to gyde, Hir yonge brother *ridynge* hire bisyde. | (Bo I, p.4, 78) Boece withstood that ordenaunce and overcom it,

⁶¹ Instanced by Visser (1966: 1152).

⁶² Instanced by Kerkhof (1982: 127).

knowynge al this the kyng hymselfe.

Cf. also RR *6120 (quoted in §3.3.3f).

Attendant circumstances may be more explicitly expressed by the pattern “with NP -ing” (5):

(CT I, 2008) The colde deeth, with mouth *gapynge* upright. | (CT III, 1864) And up I roos, and al oure covent eke, With many a teere *trillyng* on my cheke, Withouten noyse or claterynge of belles; | (CT VI, 211) And with a face deed as asschen colde Upon hir humble face he gan biholde, With fadres pitee *stikyng* thurgh his herte, Al wolde he from his purpos nat converte.

Also in: CT VII, 2364; HF 230.

3.3.3b Cause, reason (0)

Kerkhof (1982: 127) cites TC I, 309 as a case of an absolute adjunct expressing cause/reason:⁶³

(TC I, 309) She, this in blak, *likynge* to Troilus Over alle thing, he stood for to biholde;

Likynge, however, is a participial adjective (notice the preposition *to*). See also the following example:

(RR 1564) Abouten it is gras spryngyng, For moiste so thikke and wel *likyng* That it ne may in wynter dye No more than may the see be drye.

3.3.3c Time (7)

All the instances of this meaning occur in front-position.

a) front-position (7):

⁶³ Also cited by Ross more than a century ago (1893: 253).

(TC IV, 29) *Liggyng* in oost, as I have seyde er this, The Grekes stronge aboute Troie town [‘while the strong Greeks were lying ...’], Byfel that, whan that Phebus shynyng is Upon the brest of Hercules lyoun, That Ector, with ful many a bold baroun, Caste on a day with Grekis for to fighte, As he was wont, to greve hem what he myghte. | (Bo I, p.3, 26)⁶⁴ And eek, the same Plato *lyvyng*e, his mayster Socrates deserved victorie of unryghtful deth in my presence. | (PF 99) The wery hunttere, *slepyng*e in his bed, To wode ayeyn his mynde goth anon; | (TC III, 505)⁶⁵ than sey I thus, That *stondyng* in concord and in quiete, This ilke two, Criseyde and Troilus [‘while these two ... were in concord and in quiet’], ... it bifel right as I shal yow telle: That Pandarus ... Hadde out of doute a tyme to it founde.

Also in: CT IV, 2229; TC IV, 127 (quoted in §3.3.3f).

In the following instance, primarily to satisfy the meter, the subject of the participial clause is repeated in the main clause with a pronoun.

(CT VII, 516) This litel child, his litel book *lernyng*e [‘while this little child was learning his little book’], As he sat in the scole at his prymer, He [this litel child] *Alma redemptoris* herde synge,

3.3.3d Concession, contrast (2)

It may seem possible to expand the following participial clauses into “while this priest was unaware of his cunning skill” and “while this priest was unaware” (cf. Miyake 1973: 83f.).

(CT VIII, 1320, 1324) He slyly took it out, this cursed heyne, *Unwityng* this preest of his false craft, And in the pannes botme he hath it laft; And in the water rombled to and fro, And wonder pryvely took up also The coper teyne, noht *knowyng*e this preest, And hidde it, and hym hente by the breest,

⁶⁴ Instanced by Visser (1966: 1155).

⁶⁵ Miyake (1973: 84) takes TC III 505-18 as a kind of anacoluthon.

However, the narrator's comment below reveals that his logic is 'adversative':

(CT VIII 1201) And whan that this chanounes bechen cole Was brent, al the lemaille out of the hole Into the crosselet fil anon adoun; And so it moste nedes, by resoun, Syn it so evene above couched was. *But* therof wiste the preest nothyng, alas! He demed alle the coles yliche good,

Note. As Davis et al. (s.v. *unwot*) mistakenly cite, the following instance may seem to be an instance of an absolute adjunct:

(CT V, 936) *Unwityng* of this Dorigen at al, This lusty squier ... Hadde loved hire best of any creature Two yeer and moore,

However, the *this* in the example above is not the object of *of* but a modifier of *Dorigen*. The *-ing* clause means 'unknown to this Dorigen' or 'without the slightest knowldege of this Dorigen' (cf. Miyake 1973: 84).

3.3.3e Equivalent of a coordinate clause (9)

a) front-position: no example found.

b) mid-position (1):

(CT III, 1028) Ful many a noble wyf, and many a mayde, And many a wydwe, for that they been wise, The queene hirsself *sittyng*e as a justise, Assembled been, his answeere for to heere;

c) end-position (8):

(HF 797)⁶⁶ And ryght anoon thow shalt see wel That whel wol cause another whel, And that the thridde, and so forth, brother, Every sercle *causyng*e other Wydder than hymselfe was;

⁶⁶ Cf. Miyake (1973: 83). See also HF 799.

An absolute adjunct may be preceded by *and*. This practice was “very common in ME” (Ross 1893: 262):

(HF 2077) Thus north and south Wente every tydyng fro mouth to mouth, *And* that *encreasing* ever moo, As fyr ys wont to quyke and goo From a sparke spronge amys, Til al a citee brent up ys. | (CT V, 84) Upon his thombe he hadde of gold a ryng, *And* by his syde a naked swerd *hangyng*; | (CT VI, 54) but after hir degree She spak, *and* alle hire wordes, moore and lesse, *Sownyng*e in vertu and in gentillesse. Also in: Astr II, 26, 14; 18.

Nominative with participle:

(CT IV, 700)⁶⁷ What koude a sturdy housbonde moore devyse To preeve hir wyfhod and hir stedfastnesse, *And he continuyng*e evere in sturdinesse? | (CT IV, 1048) And whan this Walter saugh hire pacience, Hir glade chiere, and no malice at al, *And he so ofte had doon to hire offence, And she ay sad and constant as a wal, Continuyng*e evere hire innocence overal, This sturdy markys gan his herte dresse To rewen upon hire wyfly stedfastnesse.

Notice the similarity of the construction: “*And he continuyng evere/And she ... Continuyng evere*”. Both instances are from the *Clerks Tale*. On the construction “nominative pronoun + -ing” Visser (1966: 1147) says “As a rule Middle English has the construction with the personal pronoun before the -ing adjunct in the subject form”. An oblique case, however, is also possible:

(Langland, PPl B xiii) *Hym willyng*e þat alle men wende he were þat he is nouȝ te, [Visser]

3.3.3f Postposing of the subject

Word order of the absolute participial clause is sometimes “-ing + Subj”

⁶⁷ Instanced by Visser (1966: 1163).

(see also: Bo I, p.4, 78 (quoted in §3.3.3a); TC IV, 29 (§3.3.3c); TC III, 505 (§3.3.3c); CT VIII, 1325 (§3.3.3d); RR *6120 (quoted below):

(TC IV, 127) *Tellyng* his tale alwey, *this olde greye*, Humble in his speche and in his lokyng eke, The salte teris from his eyen tweye Ful faste ronnen down by either cheke.

Subject-postposing is brought about by at least three factors. A first reason involves riming: the last syllable of the postposed subject is rimed with a word in another line: *thus : Troilus, preest : breest, greye : tweye, places : is*. A second factor is an after-correction: the subject is added in order to make clear the ‘actor’ of the present participle. The postposed subject of an absolute adjunct may be compared with the following examples:

(TC I, 268) Withinne the temple *he* wente hym forth pleyng, *This Troilus*, of every wight aboute, | (TC IV, 883) For which *we* han so sorwed, *he and I*, That into litel bothe it hadde us slawe;

See also: CT I, 4090-91; TC III, 505 (quoted in §3.3.3c).

The last reason is idiomaticity. With *hearing* the subject-postposing is almost established (cf. MED, s.v. heren 2b):

(RR *6120) I wole and charge thee To telle anon thy wonyng places, *Heryng* [‘within the hearing of’] ech wight that in this place is; | (GGK 450) As thou has hette in this halle, *herande* these knightes.

3.3.4 Stylistic Aspects of Free Adjuncts

In preceding sections free adjuncts have been discussed from grammatical and semantic standpoints. Let us now examine them from a stylistic angle.

3.3.4a Free adjuncts in Chaucer’s works

The following tables show where and with what meaning the participial

clauses occur. (Instances from non-Chaucerian texts are not counted.)

Table 12 Related adjuncts

	CT			Bo			TC			LGW			Other Works			
	f	m	e	f	m	e	f	m	e	f	m	e	f	m	e	
attendant c.	11	4	44	1	10	12	2	2	25	2	2	6	6	2	13	142
cause	1		5	3					6			1			1	17
time	1	1	2	1	1					1	1		2	1		11
concession			4	1	2										1	8
means			2	1	2	2						2		1	2	12
purpose															2	2
coordinate			25		4	2			10			2	3		4	50
Total	13	5	82	3	22	17	2	2	41	3	2	12	9	5	24	242

Table 13 Unrelated adjuncts

	CT	Bo	TC	LGW	Other Works	
attendant c.	5	3	2	1	2	13
cause	3		1			4
time	5		5	1		11
concession	1		1			2
means						0
purpose						0
coordinate	5		1		3	9
Total	19	3	10	2	5	39

Table 14 Absolute adjuncts

	CT			Bo			TC			LGW			Other Works			
	f	m	e	f	m	e	f	m	e	f	m	e	f	m	e	
attendant c.		1	1	1		3										6
cause																0
time	2			1			3						1			7
concession			2													2
means																0
purpose																0
coordinate		1	4												4	9
Total	2	2	7	2	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	24

These tables reveal the following observations:

- 1) The meaning most frequently expressed by the participial clause is attendant circumstances;
- 2) The position most frequently occupied by the participial clause is end-position;
- 3) However, when the absolute participle means time, it occupies front-position;
- 4) The meanings of unrelated or absolute participles are less varied than those of related participles;
- 5) The related and absolute participial clauses in TC are semantically limited;
- 6) *Boece* differs from Chaucer's other works in that the frequency of mid-position is extremely high.

We shall now investigate why the participial clause takes mid-position so frequently in *Boece*.

3.3.4b Free adjuncts in *Boece* and other prose works

It might be assumed that mid-position is favored in *Boece* because it is

written in prose. However, the distribution of the participial clause in other prose works is not substantially different from the general tendency as observed from Tables 12-14. See the following table.

Table 15 Free adjuncts in Chaucer's prose

	front	mid	end	
Melibee			13	13
Parson's Tale			4	4
Astrolabe			4	4
Total	0	0	21	21

Table 15 shows that in Chaucer's prose works (except *Boece*), free adjuncts occur exclusively in end-position.

It may be supposed that the position a free adjunct occupies in *Boece* is determined by the French text (or the Latin original). As far as the free adjuncts occurring in mid-position are concerned, this is not quite true because the instances written in imitation of Jean de Meun's French version number only nine out of the twenty-two.⁶⁸ Latin influence is not enormous, either.⁶⁹ It seems that Chaucer placed the participial clause in mid-position, especially when it means attendant circumstances, to make the style exotic.

In this connection, another stylistic feature of *Boece* deserves mention; in seven cases out of the twenty-two the subject of the main clause is a pronoun. In PrE, when the subject of the main clause is a pronoun, the participial clause does not intervene between the pronoun and the finite verb (Visser 1966: 1133):

⁶⁸ References: Bo I, p.2, 3; p.3, 72; p. 4, 39; m.5, 6; 31; m.7, 3; II, p.7, 156; m.7, 11; III, m.11, 28.

⁶⁹ *-ans/-ens* occurs in the corresponding passages of: Bo I, p.1, 86; p.3, 72; m.5, 31; m.6, 10; m.7, 3; II, m.7, 11; III, m.2, 6; 27; m.9, 12; m.11, 28; IV, p.6, 9; m.6, 37.

- (3) a. Seeing it, he ran away.
b. ?He, seeing it, ran away.

Though in Middle English, as Visser (1966: 1133) says, “there does not seem to have been such a ‘rule’”, there still remains the fact that in *Boece* the participial clause is preceded by a pronoun subject much more frequently (seven times) than in other works (twice).⁷⁰

⁷⁰ References: Bo I, m.1, 1; p.1, 86; p.2, 3; p.4, 39; II, p.3, 57; III, m.2, 6; (m.9, 12); IV, p.6, 9. vs. LGW G 234; F 308.

CHAPTER 4

FUNCTIONS OF

THE PAST PARTICIPLE

This chapter is devoted to a discussion on functions of the past participle, specifically, infinitival use of the past participle and roles of the prefix *y-*.

4.1 The past participle for the infinitive

4.1.1 Type: *I have heard said*

4.1.1.0 In Middle English the past participle sometimes occurs where the infinitive is expected:

- (1) a. (CT VI, 836) as ye han herd me seye.
 b. (CT V, 1547) as ye han herd me *sayd*;

Although constructions like (1b) are recorded in Gräf (1888: 93), Kenyon (1909: 108), Visser (1969: 1354f.), Miyake (1973: 68) and Kerkhof (1982: 89), no substantial discussion has been made on why the past participle is used instead of the infinitive, or what is the difference between (1a) and (1b). In this section, by contrasting the two ways of saying, I shall discuss (1) in what context “HEREN said” occurs, (2) how “HEREN say” and “HEREN said” differ in their meanings and (3) why ‘said’ occurs instead of ‘say’.

To deal fully with these matters, preliminary notes on ‘said’ are necessary. First, ‘said’ in the construction “HEREN said” is not a past form, but a participial form. This is known from the following examples:

- (2) (Gower, CA V, p.257) she *had herd spoken* [Macaulay: *spoke*, cf. (17)] *of his name And of his grete worth’nesse*. [Visser 1973: 2432]
 (3) (Bp. Fisher, Wks 140) What *yf ye had herde* this my cruel enemy ...

spoken these wordes hymselfe? [Visser 1973: 2444]

Secondly, ‘said’ in “HEREN said” is used in an active, not passive, sense. In example (2), for instance, *spoken of* is in an active relation to the deleted NP (i.e., *someone*; cf. §4.1.4); notice that, if *spoken* conveys a passive meaning, the construction should be without *of*: “she had herd his name and his great worthiness spoken”. (See also (16a).) That ‘said’ has active force becomes clearer by the following proportional expression:

- (4) I yow herde seie (CA V, 99): thus herde I seye (CT V, 603) ::
 I have ofte herd you seid (CA I, 3153): I have herd sayd (LGW 1167)

4.1.1.1 Distribution of “HEREN say” and “HEREN said”

Let us first distinguish the following four types:

Type 1: hear say (non-perfect + infinitive)

e.g., (CT V, 603) thus herde I seye.

Type 2: hear said (non-perfect + participle)

e.g., Of þys tydynges harde sche spokyn (= 9a)

Type 3: have heard say (perfect + infinitive)

e.g., (LGW G 106) as ye han herd devyse.

Type 4: have heard said (perfect + participle)

e.g., (TC I, 197) I have herd told, pardieux, of youre lyvynges, Ye loveres, and youre lewed observaunces,

Other instances of Type 4 from Chaucer:

(CT I, 4129) I have herd *seyd*, ‘Man sal taa of twa thynges: | (CT IV, 1637) I have . . . herd *seyd*, ful yoore ago, Ther may no man han parfite blisses two | (CT IV, 278) For wel she hadde herd *seyd* that thilke day The markys sholde wedde, | (Bo I, p.6, 40) I have herd *tolde* it somtyme . . . but drerynesse hath dilled my memorie. | (Bo II, p.6, 67) I have herd *told* of Busyrides, | (TC V, 97) I have herd *seyd* ek tymes twyes twelve, ‘He is a fool that wol foryete hymselfe.’ | (LGW 8) But as he hath herd

seyd or founde it writen; | (LGW 1167) as I have herd *seyd*. | (Anel 346)
I have herd *seyd* ful yore,

Table 16 shows the frequencies of these four types in the works of Chaucer, Gower and the Gawain group (hereafter G-group).

Table 16 “HEREN ‘say’/‘said’” in ME works¹

Type	Chaucer	Gower	G-group
1	14	32	2
2	0	0	0
3	13	15	3
4	10	2	0

This table reveals that ‘said’ occurs only in Type 4, that is, when HEREN is in the perfect.

Let us now consider the constructions parallel to Types 1-4, i.e.,

¹ References:

Type 1:

Chaucer: CT III, 24: V, 603*; VII, 518*; TC, I, 876*; III, 1659*; IV, 769*; 1423; V, 459*; PF 198; HF 2053*; BD 1031; LGW 884*; RR 2843-4; 4807.

Gower: CA I 1008*; 1520*; 2642*; 2761*; 2901*; 2911*; II, (445-6); 1266*; 1445; 1831*; 2093*; 2097; III, 330; 1011*; 1843*; 2042; V, 168*; 304*; 2193*; 5246*; 6255*; 7502; VI, 1596*; 1820*; VII, 3967*; 5163; VIII, 660*; 678*; 1410*; 1827*; 1955, 2862*.

G-group: GGK, 690; Pat, 301-2.

Type 3:

Chaucer: CT II, 613*; III, 1675*; V, 1142*; 1602; VII, 531*; 1964; 3154*; TC IV, 807*; V, 980; BD 234; LGW G 106*; 2459*; RR 2952*.

Gower: CA Pro, 86*(B); 822*; I, 2178*; II, 981*; III, 2622*; IV, 1693; 1900*; 3689*; V, 446*; 1299*; 4231*; 4358*; VI, 676*; 1415*; VII, 965*.

G-group: GGK 26; 263; 1144.

Type 4:

Chaucer: CT I, 4129; IV, 278; 1637; Bo I, p.6, 40; II, p.6, 67; TC I, 197; V, 97; LGW 8; 1167*; Anel,346.

Gower: CA V, 3376; 4485.

(A superior asterisk indicates that ‘say’ or ‘said’ appears in rime position.)

structures with an NP. These constructions can be classified into the following types:

Type 1': hear NP say

e.g., (BD 1136) I herde yow telle herebefore.

Type 2': hear NP said ('said' has active force)²

No example found.

Type 3': have heard NP say

e.g., (CT VI, 836) as ye han herd me seye.

Type 4': have heard NP said ('said' has active force)³

e.g., (CT V, 1547) as ye han herd me sayd;

Table 17 shows the results of my survey of these types in the ME works mentioned above:

² For the construction "hear/heard NP said" (where 'said' has passive force), see Chaucer: CT X, 598*; TC I, 876; HF 1395-7*; LGW G 327*; RR 4065; Gower: CA VIII, 2607*.

³ For the construction "HAVEN heard NP said" (where 'said' has passive force), see Chaucer: CT VIII, 963; TC I, 976; III, 498.

Table 17 "HEREN NP 'say'/'said'" in ME works⁴

Type	Chaucer	Gower	G-group
1'	49	23	2
2'	0	0	0
3'	23	7	1
4'	2	3	0

Table 17, as well as Table 16, reveals that 'said' (with active force) does

⁴ References:

Type 1':

Chaucer: CT I, 953*; (1641); 2210*; 3364*; 3817; II, 1067*; III, 832*; 1624; V, 398*; 587; 953*; VI, 473*; 664*; VII, 773*; 2877*; 2888*; 3301*; 3375-6; VIII, 821*; 1318; IX, 347-48; TC I, 549*; II, 83; 646*; III, (58); 78*; 1068*; 1235*; V, 576-8; PF 190*; HF (1038); 1062*; 1201-3; 1243; 1245; 1313; (1521); BD (345*); 710; 1136; LGW 37*; Mars 13*; 93*; RR 87-8; 111; 509*; 1485; (3305*); 7053*.

Gower: CA I, 354*; 523; II, 3529*; III, 991*; 2257*; IV, 928*; 1298*; 1578*; 1639*; V, 99*; 1879*; 3028*; 3238*; 3538*; VI, 849*; 2410; VII, 988*; 2661*; 4690; 4753*; VIII, 1246*; 1348*; 2842.

G-group: Cln 1586; Prl 879.

Type 3':

Chaucer: CT III, 1670*; VI, 836*; VII, 1551; 1697; 3038*; VIII, 1099*; TC I, 750; II, 1452-3; 1547*; III, 111*; IV, 80*; 1451*; V, 568-9*; 723; HF 1059*; BD 311*; LGW 1*; G 325*; 1177; 2139*; Pity 51*; RR 2969*; 5179*.

Gower: CA III, 460*; IV, 2630*; V, 2447; 7185; VI, 444*; 454*; VII, 4836*.

G-group: GGK, 704.

Type 4':

Chaucer: CT V, 1547*; TC I, 1009*.

Gower: CA I, 3153*; V, 1623; 7609.

(Line numbers in parentheses indicate that the line contains a verb which is not a verb of 'saying'.)

not cooccur with *hear/heard* (non-perfect). From these observations the following generalization can be deduced:

- (5) The context in which ‘said’ (with active force) occurs is where *HEREN* is in the perfect.

We shall now examine the validity of this generalization. The MED (s.v. *heren* (v) 5c) cites (6)-(7) as instances of “hear spoken”:

- (6) (Paston 2.12) John Grys, hese sone, and hys man there ... mordered in the most horrible wyse that ever was herd spoken of in that cuntre.
- (7) (Ponthus 3l/25) I haue so grete ioy of the worschipp that I her spoken of you that it puttes myn herte in full grete gladnes.

The MED, however, fails to notice that in both examples *spoken* is used in a passive sense. (This section is not concerned with the past participle with passive force; but cf. footnotes 2 and 3 to this chapter.) Examples (6) and (7) are not counterexamples to (5).

Visser (1969: 1354) gives the following:

- (8) a. ‘Muche grace of the lady I *herde tolde*’. (Lydgate (?), Calendar [sic] (Minor Poems ed. McCracken [sic] 255))

The cited form, however, is incorrect. According to *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* (EETS, ES 107 (ed.) MacCracken), the line in question is as follows:

- (8) b. (Kalendar 255) Muche grace of the lady haue I herde tolde.

Visser (1969: 1354) also records the following:

- (9) a. ‘hys wyfe was In chamber stokyn [‘confined’], Of þys tydynges *harde sche spokyn*’ (Life St. Alexius (Cotton MS; ed. Furnivall) 72, 371)

It must be admitted that (9a) is a counterexample to the generalization above, though this exception can be explained as a blending of (9b) and (9c):

- (9) b. She heard speak of these tidings.
- c. She heard these tidings spoken.

It should also be noted that the *spoken* in (9a) is in rime position (*stokyn : spokyn*), where deviation from the norm is licensed.

On the basis of the combination *heard*+*spoken* in (9a) it might possibly be argued that the absence of Types 2 and 2' in the works surveyed is accidental. However, (9a) is not valid as a counterexample to (5) because it is highly probable that (9a) is an instance of poetic license and because, to the best of my knowledge, no other instances of Type 2 or Type 2' have been attested; whereas Types 1, 3 and 4 and Types 1', 3' and 4' exist side by side, no parallel construction to (9a) is recorded. This fact strongly suggests that Types 2 and 2' are systematically gapped in English grammar. In view of the exceptional combination of *harde* and *spokyn* in (9a), I shall revise the generalization in the following way:

- (10) The unmarked form of HEREN in the construction “HEREN (NP) said” (where ‘said’ has active force) is “HAVEN heard”.

4.1.1.2 Stylistic difference between Chaucer and Gower

Tables 16 and 17 show a stylistic difference between Chaucer and Gower: Chaucer employs the constructions with an NP (Types 1' and 3') more frequently than Gower; Gower, conversely, prefers the patterns without an NP to the patterns with an NP. This difference comes from the meter they choose: while most of Chaucer's works are decasyllabic, Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (CA) is octosyllabic. In other words, Chaucer needs longer expressions, namely, constructions with an NP and Gower needs shorter expressions. On the other hand, the fact that Chaucer employs Type 4 five times as often as Gower shows that Chaucer's English can be

less formal than Gower's (cf. §4.1.3).

4.1.1.3 Stylistic difference between "HEREN say" and "HEREN said"

Let us now consider what is the difference, if any, between Type 3 ("have heard say") and Type 4 ("have heard said"). As far as their cognitive meanings are concerned, these two expressions do not differ much because they both denote that the subject of the sentence has heard someone's "saying" before:

- (11) a. (CA V, 446) I have herd ofte time telle Of Jelousie,
 b. (TC I, 197) I have herd told ... of youre lvyngge,
 (12) a. (RR *2952) as ye have herd say,
 b. (LGW 1167) as I have herd seyde.

Moreover, no substantial difference can be detected in the adverbials with which these constructions occur:

- (13) a. (CT III, 1675) ye han *ofte* tyme herd telle
 b. (TC V, 97) I have herd seyde ek *tymes twyes twelve*,
 (14) a. (CT II, 613) As *heer-biforn* that ye han herd devyse.
 b. (Anel 346) I have herd seyde *ful yore*,

These similarities between the two types may endorse the paraphrase given by the MED:

- [HEREN] seide (spoken) = [HEREN] seien;
 [HEREN] told (seide, spoken) of = [HEREN] tellen of;
 [HEREN] seide that = [HEREN] seien that.

A remarkable difference, however, is observed in the distribution of 'say' and 'said'. As represented in Table 18, more than eighty percent of the instances of 'say' in Type 3 occur in rime position (23 out of 28); by contrast, less than ten percent of the instances of 'said' in Type 4 occur in rime position (1 out of 12). (The same tendency is observed in the

examples recorded by Visser 1969: 1355.⁵)

Table 18: ‘say’ and ‘said’ in rime position

Type	Occurrences	Rime words
have heard say	28	23 (82.1%)
have heard said	12	1 (8.3%)

From the distributional difference it can be inferred that Type 3 (have heard say) is poetic and Type 4 (have heard said) is non-poetic. This inference is borne out by the fact that Type 3 never occurs in prose works, while Type 4 occurs twice in *Boece*:

- (15) a. (Chaucer, Bo I, p.6, 40) “I have herd tolde [“told” in Skeat’s and Robinson’s editions] it somtyme,”
- (16) a. (Chaucer, Bo II, p.6, 67) I have herd told of Busyrides, that was wont to sleen his gestes that herberweden [‘lodged’] in his hous, and he was slayn hymself of Ercules that was his gest.

It is worthy of remarks that *told* has no equivalent in the original:

- (15) b. (Boethius, CP I, p.6, 26) “Audieram,”
- c. (Jean de Meun, CP I, p.6, 23) “Je l’avoie jadis oi”,
- (16) b. (Boethius, CP II, p.6, 34-35) Busiridem accipimus necare hospites solitum ab Hercule hospite fuisse mactatum.
- c. (Jean de Meun, CP II, p.6, 35-36) Nous avons oi que Bissyris souloit tuer ses hostes; Herculez, ses hostez, le tua.

Another difference between Type 3 and Type 4 is observed in the occurrences of DEVYSEN. This verb is used eight times in Type 3, but never in Type 4. The reason for this must be that DEVYSEN, which is characteristically a rime word, is congruous with a formal construction

⁵ In later ages, however, ‘say’ does not necessarily occur in rime position.

(Type 3), but incongruous with an informal construction (Type 4). The verbs occurring in Type 4 are all daily words: *said*, *told* and *spoken*.

From what has been observed, it can safely be concluded that in Late Middle English “have heard said” was less formal than “have heard say”.

This conclusion may possibly raise the question: why has the more colloquial construction (Type 4) gone out of use while the more formal one (Type 3) is still in use? A possible reason is that the construction was looked on as an anacoluthon. Visser (1973: 2443) asserts, “It is of course possible that the construction [e.g., what have you heard her told?] was formerly common in the spoken language, but it is almost equally certain that its flagrant illogicality withheld the writers of repute from using.” Another reason for the obsolescence of Type 4 is that there were no similar constructions: the stylistic contrast between “have heard (NP) say” and “have heard (NP) said” is not paralleled by the contrast between, e.g., “have made (NP) believe” and “*have made (NP) believed”, (where *believed* has active force) or “have made (NP) do” and “*have made (NP) done” (where *done* has active force).

4.1.1.4 Derivation of “have heard said”

This subsection discusses the problem on how “have heard said” is derived. First, we may reasonably posit *someone* as the agent of ‘said’ because the agent is generic (or latent in the context):

(17) (CA V, 3376) Sche hadde herd [people in general] spoke of his name
And of his grete worthinesse;

Cf. (TC I, 876) And whan that Pandare herde [Troilus] hire name
nevene,

The postulation of *someone* can be supported by the similar use of DON, LETEN, MAKEN and SEEN (cf. OED, s.v. Do 23, and Make 53e):⁶

(18) (CT IV, 253) But nathelees this markys *hath doon make* Of gemmes,

⁶ For other verbs used in the construction “S V (NP) infinitive”, see Urata (1992).

- set in gold and in asure, Brooches and rynges, for Grisildis sake;
- (19) (CT I, 2976) For which this noble Theseus anon *Leet senden* after gentil Palamon,
- (20) (CT III, 1202) Povertē ful ofte, whan a man is lowe, *Maketh* his God and eek hymself *to knowe*.
- (21) (Will. Palerne 5071) Whan bordes were born adoun & burnes hade waschen, Men miȝt *haue seie* to menstrales moche god ȝ *if*. [OED, s.v. See 1f]

These examples show that it is legitimate to derive “have heard said” from “have heard someone said”.

Our task now is to consider why ‘said’ occurs instead of ‘say’. On the origin of “hear NP said”, Kerkhof (1982: 136) says, “[‘ye han herd me sayd’] is evidently a contamination of ‘herd me say’ and ‘herd it sayd’.” This explanation, however, is not based on the observation that ‘said’ appears (except for (9a)) only when HEREN is in the perfect: the contamination theory fails to predict the nonexistence of “hear/heard (NP) said” (Type 2 and Type 2’). Visser (1973: 2432) says, on the other hand, “It is possible that the transformation of *heard* [in “he heard tell of . . .”] to *have/had heard* automatically entailed—by attraction—the transformation of the following infinitive to a past participle.” I concur with Visser in that *tell* is transformed into *told* “by attraction”, but I do not agree with him in that *tell* is “automatically” transformed to *told*: if this is the case, there would be no constructions with the infinitive, that is, “have heard say” (Type 3) and “have heard NP say” (Type 3’). Another drawback of Kerkhof and Visser is that they cannot explain the informality of the construction in question.

In my opinion, “have heard said” was brought into being by two factors, individual and general. The individual factor is, as Visser says, that ‘say’ was attracted by HAVEN and transformed to ‘said’. To put this another way, “hear say” was so closely connected (cf. “by hyere-zygginge” [‘by hear-saying’], Visser 1978: 1354) that in popular speech not only HEREN but also ‘say’ was made to agree with HAVEN: “have heard say” (Type 3) was occasionally “corrected” to “have heard said” (Type 4), and, by analogy, “have heard NP say” (Type 3’) was sometimes transformed to “have heard

NP said” (Type 4’).⁷ This explanation not only remedies the inadequacies of Kerkhof’s and Visser’s arguments but also accounts for the stylistic feature of Type 4: this type was informal because it was a reflection of a popular (or vulgar) grammatical agreement (cf. Jespersen 1969: 150f., Baugh 1963: xxxvi).

As an alternative to the attraction theory proposed above, it might be assumed that “HAVEN heard (NP) said” derives from “HAVEN heard (NP) have said” and *have* is deleted. This assumption, however, faces the following difficulties: (a) there are, except for a dubious example,⁸ no instances in which *have* is retained (*HAVEN heard (NP) have/having said); (b) the assumption fails to predict the nonoccurrence of “*hear/heard (NP) said” (Type 2 and Type 2’); and, most significantly, (c) if ‘said’ is derived from “have said”, the act of ‘saying’ should precede the act of ‘hearing’, but, in actuality, ‘saying’ is simultaneous with ‘hearing’.

The other factor, the general one, is that the past participle in ME and, for that matter, in Early ModE, sometimes has an infinitival value. Observe the following examples:

- (22) (RMannyng, Langtoft 51) he assigned Harald to Ingland, to *had* it in fee. [Mustanoja]
- (23) (CT IV, 1991) Which wolde han lat hym *storven* in the place Wel rather than han graunted hym hire grace; (Globe Edition)
- (24) (Sh., Hen. V 3.2.127) marry, I wad [‘would’] full faine *heard* some question tween you tway. (First Folio) [Ando 1969: 192]

Note 1. For more instances of “(for) to+pp.”, see Visser (1973: 2030f.). Incidentally, Visser (1973: 2038) cites the following as an instance of “Aux+pp.”:

(Bo V, p.2, 1658 [25 in Benson’s edition]) in the sovereynes

⁷ The first citations of Type 4 and Type 4’ in Visser (1973: 2432, 2444) are dated 1220 and 1374, respectively.

⁸ According to a note to the Wycliffite Bible, *Deeds* (VI: 11) reads: “Thanne thee priuely senten men, that schulden seye, hem haue herd him to *han seid* [“eum dicentem”] wordis of blasphemye into Moyses and God”. In the revised version the line in question is “... thei herden hym *seyynge* wordis”

[devynes] substaunces ... jugement is more cleer, and *wil* nat *icorrupted*.

The *wil* in the citation above is a noun: “in the sovereign (i.e., divine) substances judgment is clear, will (is) not corrupted, and might (is) ready to accomplish things that are desired.”

Note 2. The manuscripts that record *storuen* instead of *sterven* in MchT 1991 are Ellesmere and Harl. 7335 (Manly and Rickert 1940, Vol. VI, p. 460; cf. also Vol. III, p. 401).

Note 3 Bullokar, a sixteenth century English grammarian, records the following paradigm showing infinitival uses of the past participle:

Infinitiu'-mood	
Present, & dout-ful future ten.	[=] too lou'.
Preter-tenc'	[=] <i>too lou'd</i> .
Preter-perf.	[=] too hau' lou'ed
Preter-pluperfect-tenc'	[=] <i>too had lou'ed</i> .
Futur-perfect.	[=] too lou' he'r-after.
	(Cf. Visser 1973: 2036)

The origin of the infinitival use of the past participle is sometimes attributed to the weakening of *have* (have > a > ə > zero) and at other times to foreign influences, Scandinavian languages, MDu and MHG.⁹ Whatever the cause may be, what is important here is the fact that English in the LME and EModE periods sometimes allowed the infinitival use of the past participle.

It will be clear by now that the derivation of “have heard (NP) said” needs the two factors discussed above. The general factor opens the possibility for the past participle to be used infinitivally; the individual factor hypercorrects ‘say’ to ‘said’, thus producing the popular construction “have heard (NP) said”.

⁹ See Jespersen (1965: 149f.), Mustanoja (1960: 554), Visser (1973: 2390) and Ando (1969: 196f.).

4.1.2 Type: *I was go walked*

A “curious”¹⁰ idiom occurs in *The Book of the Duchess* and *The Canterbury Tales*:

(26) (BD 387) *I was go walked* fro my tree,

(27) (CT III, 1778) His felawe *was go walked* into toun Forth with his knave,

(26) and (27) seem to be the only extant examples in the English language of the construction “go + walked” (their equivalents included) since no other instances are recorded in the OED, MED or Visser. A discussion on how and why this rare construction was formed will contribute to (1) reading Chaucer’s texts correctly, and (2) offering a generalized explanation of ME constructions hitherto unrelated.

4.1.2.1 Previous studies

4.1.2.1.1 On the construction “go walked”, as Chaucer puts it, “diverse men [have] said diverse things” (cf. CT II, 211). Here is a list of explanations I have collected:¹¹

Gräf (1888: 94)

Das Part. Perf. scheint nur durch Analogie veranlasst zu sein in folgender Stelle, wo es zudem pleonastisch steht. Duchesse 387 *I was go walked* fro my tree.

[The first half of this explanation is unsubstantiated because Gräf does not mention with what form *walked* is on analogy. Cf. footnote 15 to this chapter.]

Skeat (1894: 272f.)

The simple explanation [of *goon a-blakeberied*] is that, by a grammatical

¹⁰ Skeat, Vol. I, p. 474.

¹¹ Some of the explanations quoted in §4.1.2.1.1 are given by Nakao (1972: 329).

construction which was probably due (as will be shewn) to an error, the verb *go* could be combined with what was *apparently* a past participle, in such a manner as to give the participle the force of a verbal substantive. In other words, instead of saying 'he goes a-hunting,' our forefathers sometimes said 'he goes a-hunted.' . . . The explanation of this construction I take to be this; the *-ed* was not really a sign of the past participle, but a corruption of the ending *-eth* (A.S. *-aþ*) which is sometimes found at the end of a verbal substantive. . . . In D. 1778, we even find *go walked*, without *a*.

Kenyon (1909: 4fn.)

I suggest that the use of this expression [*was go walked*] may also have been assisted by the analogy of the expression *go walk*, felt as a single word. To our present feeling, at least, such expressions as *go get* are essentially equivalent to single words with two phases of meaning. *Go get* is synonymous with *fetch*, which often has the double sense. It would then be easy, perhaps with the assistance of the verbal in *-ep*, *-ed*, to feel *go walked* as past participle of *go-walk* (cf. *walked is*, A 2368), just as *goth walketh*, G 1207, could be regarded as the imperative of it.

Robinson (1957)

Walked is probably for *a-walked*, like *a-blakeberyed*, *Pard Prol*, VI, 406 (p.707).

The construction of *walked* appears to correspond to that of the past participle in German ("kam gelaufen," etc.). But there may be involved a confusion with nouns in *-ed*, earlier *-eth*, *-ath* (p.775).¹²

Mustanoja (1960: 582)

was go walked would seem to exemplify a semantic weakening of *go* . . . and to be roughly equivalent to *was walked*. . . . Connection with German *er kam gelaufen*, current since MHG, is less likely.

¹² This note is taken over by Benson (1988: 969).

Baugh (1963: xxxvi)¹³

What is possibly an analogical extension of this construction [e.g., *Hath doon yow kept*] is [“*I was go walked fro my tree*”] *BD* 387.

Visser (1966: 1248)

If this conjecture [-*ed* has developed from OE -*a* and -*eb*] should be correct one might further suppose that *a* has disappeared in ‘*go walked*’,

Peters (1980: 101)

Some Chaucerian constructions contained redundant words, as ... ME *go* in *I was go walked* ‘I had walked.’

Kerkhof (1982: 138)

In the first group [*go walked*] the usual meaning of *goon* has become so weakened that it only serves to denote the beginning of the action;¹⁴

4.1.2.1.2 The explanations quoted above may be grouped into four basic views:

- a) an “expletive view”, which takes *go* as a syntactic expletive (Gräf, Mustanoja, Peters, Kerkhof);
- b) a “single word view”, which takes *go walked* as a past participle of *go-walk* (Kenyon);
- c) a “remnant-of-OE view”, which regards *go walked* as derived from *go a-walked* and takes the -*ed* as a corrupt form of OE -*a* (Skeat, Robinson, Visser; cf. OED, s.v. *Begged*, -*eth*);
- d) an “attraction view”, which takes *walked* as attracted to the preceding perfect “was go (‘gone’)” (Baugh).¹⁵

¹³ Cf. also Baugh’s note to CT F, 1580 (1963: 484fn.).

¹⁴ By “the beginning of the action” Kerkhof seems to mean the inchoative aspect (cf. Kerkhof 1982: 88).

¹⁵ ‘Attraction’ is “generally a purely mechanical process, being the result of simple contiguity, by which a word is made to agree with another word with which it would otherwise not be connected grammatically,

Among these views the expletive view is not supported by syntactic observations since it says nothing about how or why *go* was followed by *walked*.¹⁶ Though the remnant-of-OE view is most widely accepted,¹⁷ the explanations given by Kenyon and Baugh sound equally valid. In this section, I shall first examine Kenyon's explanation, secondly, arguing against the remnant-of-OE view, compare "go walked" with seemingly similar constructions, and lastly, supplement what Baugh left undocumented with instances relevant to "go walked".

4.1.2.2 Past participial form of GON

Judging from the expressions "felt as a single word" and "past participle of go-walk", Kenyon seems to consider "go walk" a compound word (cf. Visser, 1966: 1248). This view, however, is not evidenced by similar constructions; there are no such compound forms as "*he go-walketh/*go-runneþ/*go-creepeth/*come-walketh" or "*he go-walked/*he has go-walked/*he was go-walking/*he saw her go-walking". Another problem with Kenyon's explanation is that he does not discuss whether *go* is the stem, or the past participle, of GON; if by "a single word" he means a compound, *go* should be a stem or imperative since the first verbal element of a compound is usually a stem or imperative, as in *whetstone*,

as in *the opinion of several eminent lawyers were in his favour*, where *were*, although grammatically connected with the singular noun *opinion*, is put in the plural as if it were governed by *lawyers*" (Sweet 1960: 44). 'Attraction' should not be confused with 'analogy', which is a "process or result of grammatical and lexical forms changing under the influence of some other regular pattern in the language. Thus *hisn* for *his* may be used on the pattern of *my: mine, knowed* for *knew* by analogy with *mow: mowed, brang* for *brought* by analogy with *sing: sang*" (Hartmann et al. 1972: 13).

¹⁶ It might possibly be argued that *go* was expletively inserted merely to satisfy meter. However, meter is not the main cause for the anacoluthon because, whether "was go walked" is pronounced [wàz gó: wàlkt] (three syllables) or [... wálkèd] (four syllables), the same effect can be produced by "correct" expressions as well: "wàs gó(ne) wàlk"; "wàs gó(ne) wálking"; "wént(è) wálking".

¹⁷ Cf. Nakao (1972: 329).

runway; forget-me-not, or pastime; if he does not mean that, *go* must be a participle since it follows *was*, an auxiliary for forming the perfect. Now it is our task to clarify the form of *go* in (26-27). In Chaucer's English the past participle of GON can be *gon(e)*, *y-go(n)* or *go(o)*,¹⁸ the last of which occurs not only in rime position,

- (28) (CT II, 1006) This senatour is to kyng Alla go [: two] To feste,
Also in: CT VIII, 907; LGW 1656; 2656; RR 2423; etc.

but in mid-position as well:

- (29) (HF 434) Thoo sawgh I grave how to Itayle Daun Eneas is goo to
sayle;

Examples (28-29) show that when GON is used with BEN, the past participial form can be *go*.

Also in other ME works *go* is used as a past participle of GON (notice *go* in (30-31) occurs with *is*):

- (30) (CA I, 64) For it *is* siththe *go* noght longe,
Also in: CA V, 6420; 7793; VI, 1821; 2102, etc.
(31) (Orfeo 194) De King into his chaumber *is go* And oft swoned upon þe
ston
(32) (King Horn 1176) Ihc *habbe go* mani mile,

The examples above suggest a high probability that, counter to Kenyon's suggestion, the *go* in "was go walked" is a past participle.¹⁹

4.1.2.3 The "go a-begged" type

Saying "the examples of this use [i.e., go a-hunted] are at least seven", Skeat (1894: 273) cites the following (the citations below are supple-

¹⁸ The usual past participial form of GON after BEN is *gon(e)* or *y-go(n)*.

¹⁹ See also Sandved (1985: 75) and Skeat's *Glossary* (s.v. Gon).

mented from texts recorded in the bibliography):²⁰

- (33) (PPI C. ix. [sic] 138) folk that *gon a-begged*,
Also in CT V, 1580.

Note. In Pearsall's edition PPI C. VIII, 138 (the above citation) reads:

folk þat goth a-beggeth

- (34) (CT VI, 406) Though that hir soules *goon a-blakeberyed!*
(35) (PPI C. VIII, 246) In somer for his sleuthe he shal haue defaute And
go a-bribeth and *a-beggeth* and no man beten his hunger.
(36) (CT III, 354) But forth she wole . . . To shewe hir skyn and *goon a-caterwawed*.
(37) (CA V, 145) This Prest was drunke and *goth astraied*,
(38) (CA I, 2030) Wher inne he wolde *ride amaied*
(39) (Robert of Gloucester) As he *rod an honteth*, and par-auntre his hors spurnde.

Other examples recorded in the OED, MED and Visser (1973: 2027, see also 1973: 1910) are:

- (40) (John 21: 3) Ic wylle *gan on fixa* [AV: "go a fishing"]. [OED, s.v. On 19]
(41) (St. John, Southern Legendary 20) þare he saigh tweie breþren þo . . . *afischeth gon*. [MED, Visser]
(42) (Miller, The Soft Talkers (Penguin) 69) that didn't *go unnoticed*
Also in Sillitoe, Key to the Door (Pen Bks) 23. [Visser]

Out of this list "go unnoticed" in (42) cited by Visser should be excluded because it is of the "GON yressed" type (see §4.1.2.4) and because it

²⁰ Visser (1966: 1248) says "the *a* in *amaied* and *astraiied* ... is a regular prefix (O.F. *amaien*, C.F. *es-*; *estrai-é*), so that these words are of a different type from *a begged*, *a blakeberyed*, *a caterwawed*".

cannot be paraphrased as “*go (by/for) unnoticed”.

A glance at examples (33-41) reveals that all the words in *-ed* or *-eth begin with a(n)*. “Was go walked” is different from these instances in that *walked* is not preceded by the prefix. In other words, the remnant-of-OE view is not supported by parallel constructions such as “*go begged/crept/danced”.²¹ Another difference between “was go walked” (26-27) and “go a-begged” (33-41) is that, while the former are in the perfect aspect, the latter are all in the simple tense (cf. §4.1.2.5). More importantly, a decisive difference between them is that, though “was go walked” denotes ‘manner’ (i.e., go by walking), “go a-begged” denotes ‘action’ and can be paraphrased with *-ing* or *to/into* (cf. OED, s.v. A prep.1 13; Visser, 1973: 1910).²² Thus, despite the wide acceptance of the remnant-of-OE view, “was go walked” is not parallel to “go a-begged”.

4.1.2.4 The “go ytressed” type

A construction which may seem parallel to “go walked” is “GON/COMEN + predicative adjunct” such as “go ytressed (‘tressed’)” (the “go walked” type and “go ytressed” type are mentioned without distinction in Hinckley 1964: 165f. and Visser 1966: 1247ff.):

(43) (TC V, 810) To *gon ytressed* with hire heres clere Doun by hire coler
at hire bak byhynde,

Also in: CA I, 2218 (gon despuiled); II, 2489 (bejaped wente); III,
830 (gon unteid); IV, 3333 (cam disguised).

Instead of GON this type may take COMEN:

(44) (CA IV, 3333) Mercurie, which was al affiled [‘prepared’] This Cow
to stele, he cam disguised,

²¹ Cf. go begging (RR 6744); gone crepinge (Bo IV, p.2, 108); wente dauncyng (RR 1267).

²² Notice the difference in Japanese translations:

i. monogoi ni iku (‘to go a-begging’).

ii. aruite iku/?aruki ni iku (‘to go (by) walking’/‘to go for a walk’).

Between the “go walked” type and “go ytressed” type, however, there are at least three differences: (1) “walked” in the former type derives from an intransitive verb, while the *-ed* form in the latter type derives from a transitive verb; (2) “walked” in the former type denotes a “manner” of going, while the *-ed* form in the latter type denotes a “state” of the subject when he or she goes; and (3) the subject in the former type is the agent of “walked”, while the subject in the latter type is the patient to the *-ed* form. “Go walked” is also not parallel to “go ytressed”.

4.1.2.5 The formation of “was go walked”

How, then, was the idiom “was go walked” formed? To my mind, two factors contributed to its formation: (a) “GON verb” combination and (b) attraction to the preceding BEN.

4.1.2.5.1 It should first be noted that in ME GON is, like *hear say, let go, make believe, go see, or come dine*, often followed directly by another verb:

(45) (CT I, 1838) He moot *go pipen* in an yvy leef;

Also in: CT I, 3547 (*go gete*); 3685 (*go slepe*); 4094 (*go knede*); III, 108 (*go selle*), etc. Cf. TC III, 560 (*come soupen*); IV, 654 (*Come speken*).

The second verb may be a verb of motion; that is, GON can be followed not only by a present participle, as in (46), but also by a bare infinitive, as in (47):

(46) (CA II, 758) Wher thei *go walkende* on the Stronde,

Also in: CA III, 364; cf. V, 4957; VIII, 1162.

(47) (CT X, 721) Thise been the newe shepherdes that leten hir sheep wityngly *go renne* to the wolf that is in the breres,

Also in: CT I, 2760 (*go ber*); 4250 (*go crepen*).

Cf. CA I, 350 (*cam ride*); Octavian 196 (*com fly*) [Visser 1969: 1393].

When a mutative verb in ME forms a perfect, it usually requires BEN as the auxiliary (see §2.1):

(48) (CT I, 1413) To Atthenes *is* he *goon* the nexte way.

(49) (CT I, 2368) Arcite unto the temple *walked is*

We can argue from the examples (45-49) that GON, when followed by a bare infinitive *walk*, derives “go walk”, which in turn derives “BEN gone walk”, if used in the perfect. This means that the “correct” form of “was go(ne) walked” is “was go(ne) walk”. (The lack of a recorded instance of “was go(ne) walk” seems to be accidental since the possibility of this construction can be deduced from the examples (45, 47) and (28-31, 48).)

Our task now is to consider why *walked is* is used instead of *walk*.

4.1.2.5.2 The above-mentioned combination of “GON verb” was so close that the second verb was inflected in the same way as the preceding verb (cf. Kenyon 1909: 4, Visser 1969: 1398). Compare the following examples:²³

(50) (CT VI, 201) *Go bryng* hire forth, and put hire in oure warde

(51) (CT 10: 2186) *Gooth bryngeth* forth the vessels, (Blake’s text edited from the Hengwrt Manuscript)

More relevant to “was go walked” is the attraction observed in the type “I have herd (NP) said” (§4.1.1). To recapitulate the main point: while the infinitive form *say* appears irrespective of the tense and aspect of HEREN, the past participle *said* appears only when HEREN is in the perfect (except for (9a) in §4.1.1). The nonexistence of “hear (NP) said” (where *hear* is non-perfect) suggests that the occurrence of *said* in “have heard (NP) said” is due to attraction to the preceding “have herd”.

The same kind of attraction can also be observed in the context with a

²³ The following may possibly be another instance of “attracted inflection”, though modern editions interpret *walketh* as an imperative and put a comma between *gooth* and *walketh*:

(CT VIII, 1207) Gooth, walketh forth, and bryngeth a chalk stoon;

causative verb:²⁴

- (52) (CT II, 171) Thise marchantz *han doon fraught* hir shippes newe,
 (53) (CT I, 1913) And northward ... An oratorie ... *Hath* Theseus *doon wroght* [‘Theseus has caused his men to make an oratory’] in noble wyse.²⁵
 Cf. (CT I, 1905) He estward *hath ... Doon make* [‘has caused his men to make’] an auter and an oratorie;
 (54) (TC III, 304) O [‘one’] tonge ... *Hath mad* ful many a lady bright of hewe *Seyd* ‘Weilaway, the day that I was born!’
 (55) (= 23) Which wolde *han lat* hym *storven* in the place (Globe edition; cf. note 2 in §4.1.1.4)

Examples from Chaucer’s contemporary:

- (56) (CA II, 1799) Riht so behinde his brother bak With false wordes whiche he spak He *hath do slain*,
 Cf. also CA IV, 249 (hadde wold His time kept)

Returning to the construction “was go walked” with this in mind, we can easily explain why *was go* is followed by *walked*: *walked* is attracted to the preceding auxiliary *was*. The construction “I was go walked” can thus be explained, without resorting to an OE remnant, as a legitimate grammatical phenomenon common in ME. The parallelism between “was go walked” and “have heard (NP) said”/“have made NP said”/“have done slain” has not been explicitly pointed heretofore (except for Baugh’s short note) because sufficient attention has not been paid to the tense and aspect of the main verb.

²⁴ Cf. Jespersen (1961: 150), Baugh (1963: xxxvi) and Curme (1967: 23, 477, 479).

²⁵ For deletion of the object of DON, see CT IV, 253. See also MED (s.v. don 4d).

4.1.2.6 Why no “*go begged”?

A problem hitherto left undiscussed is the reason why “*BEN go(ne) begged/crept/danced” did not come into use. This is probably because, “go begging/creeping/dancing” being the “correct” construction, “BEN go(ne) begged” was felt ungrammatical. Why, then, was it possible, though sporadically, to say “I was go walked”? A speculation is that the combination “go walk” was felt stronger than the combinations “go beg/creep/dance” because GON in ME was synonymous with WALKEN. In the combination “go walk”, as suggested by the expletive view (§4.1.2.1), the meaning of GON was submerged in WALKEN, while in other “GON+verb” combinations GON kept its meaning “proceed, move, pass”.

4.1.2.7 Conclusion

We can now safely conclude that *walked* in the “curious” idiom took the participial form by attraction to the preceding auxiliary, possibly assisted by the superficial resemblance to the “go a-begged” type and “go ytressed” type, and by the synonymy of GON and WALKEN.

4.2 Roles of the preverbal *y-*

Since I have described all forms of the perfect in Chaucer’s English, I shall now turn to a perfect-related problem, the preverbal *y-*.

4.2.1 Previous studies

Although much has been written about the OE preverbal *ge-*,²⁶ very little has been written on its descendant *y-* in ME. What is generally accepted about the ME prefix *y-* is that it is not used in the northern part of England (see the quotation from Mustanoja in §4.2.2) and that it is an optional element:

Nakao (1972: 410)

The past participle with *y-* is a free variant of the past participle

²⁶ See, for example, Niwa (1973, 1974, 1975). Niwa (1973) refers to studies on the OE prefix *ge-* up to 1970.

without *y-*. [my translation]

Peters (1980: 85)

The past participles of verbs sometimes had the prefix [I], written *y-*, *i-*, as in ME *ytaught*, *yloved*, *ybeen*, *iben*, but sometimes not, as in ME *taught*, *loved*, *been*, *ben*.

Benson (1988: xxxiii)

The past participle of both strong and weak verbs may optionally take the prefix *i-/y-*.

These remarks are virtually the same as van Draat's (1902: 365) observation of more than a century ago:

After being graphically weakened to *i-* it [the prefix *ge-*] drags on its useless existence a few centuries longer, and is then lost altogether, leaving an inglorious monument in *yclept*, and *yklad*, words now all but obsolete, except in poetic diction.

All the above remarks seem to share the view that the ME prefix *y-* is a "meaningless appendage" (cf. Draat 1902: 360) and the sole role it plays is to fill a lacking syllable. The prefix *y-* can certainly be a filler in verse (e.g., *yheere* (CT I, 3176), *yknowe* (CT III, 1370), *ysee* (CT IV, 2402), all occurring in rime position and in the present tense), but this does not mean that the past participle with *y-* (hereafter *y-pp.*) and the past participle without *y-* (hereafter *y-less pp.*) are indiscriminately used in prose. By examining all the instances of past participles²⁷ in Chaucer's prose works, I shall endeavor to determine the function of the ME prefix *y-* and argue that, contrary to the widespread view, the prefix fulfills stylistic and grammatical functions.

²⁷ The past participle should be distinguished from the participial adjective (e.g., *ashamed*, *apaid*, *cursed*, *croked*, *feyned*). Cf. Chapter 1.

4.2.2 *y*-pps. in Chaucer's prose

On the use of the *y*-pps. in the ME period, Mustanoja (1960: 447) observes the following:

The disappearance of the prefix in the northern areas seems to be due to ON influence. By the end of the 14th century *i*- becomes archaic in London English. It occurs in Chaucer's poetry, but not in his prose, and is missing in the London records.

In Chaucer's prose, however, the *y*-pp. occurs not infrequently, as shown in Table 19.

Table 19 Frequency and distribution of *y*-pps. in Chaucer's prose

	Melibee	ParsT	Astrolabe	Boece
passive	9/148	6/302	1/144	90/773
perfect	8/204	0/128	0/36	22/492
prenominal	0/1	0/16	0/0	0/15
postnominal	0/5	2/17	0/19	39/91
predicative	0/2	1/2	2/4	8/27
free adjunct	0/3	0/2	0/0	10/34

Note 1. A figure before a slash indicates the number of the tokens of *y*-pps. and that after a slash indicates the number of the tokens of past participles with and without *y*-.

Note 2. By "predicative" is meant a construction in which the past participle is either the subject complement or the object complement:

(Bo I, m.3, 8) the firmament stant *dirked* with wete plowngy cloudes | (CT X, 598) the cursede feend in helle sholde tremblen to heeren it *ynempned*.

Note 3. By “free adjunct” is meant a nonfinite clause whose predicate is a past participle (see Chapter 3); e.g., *First, that thow shryve thee by thy free wil, noght constreyned*, (CT X, 1012)

Table 20 sets out *y*-pps. occurring in Chaucer’s prose.

Table 20 List of *y*-pps. in Chaucer’s Prose

Works	<i>y</i> -pps.	(Total)
Melibee	yblamed; ybounde; ybrought; yburied; ycleped; ydronke; ygeten (2x); ygraunted; yknowe; ynorissed; yshette; ysuffred; ytaken; ytaught; ytrespassed; ywounded.	(17)
ParsT	ycovered; yfounde; ymade; ynempned; yquyked; yshryven; ytaught; ywedded (2x).	(9)
Astrolabe	ytaken; ywrite (2x).	(3)
Boece	iben (2x); iblamed; iborn; ibought; ibowed; ibrought (2x); icawqht/ykaught (2x); ichaunged; icontynued; icorrumped; icovered (2x); udo(o)b (13x); idouted; idrawn; ifalle; ifelashed; ifounde (2x); ifycchid; ifyt; igerdoned; igoverned; igrauntid; ihardid; ihevved; ihid/ yhidde (9x); ijoynd (3x); iknowe (8x); ilad/ iled (4x); ilefte; ilorn (2x); imaked (5x); imedled (3x); imoevid (2x); ipassed (2x); iplauntid; ipreysed; iprovid; ipurveyed (6x); iresceyved; ischad (4x); ischaken; ischet; ischewid (2x); isene/yseene (8x); isent; iset (3x); isped(d) (2x); ispendid; istrengthid; itaken (3x); ithewed; ithrungen; iwist (5x); iwitnessed; iwrapped; iyeven; ybounde(n) (2x); ycleped (4x); ydradd; ydymmed; ygadred; ygeten (2x); ygraunted; yknyt; ylet; yleten; ylost; ymade (2x); ymaried; ymoeved; ymultiplied; ypaintid; yplited; yplounded (4x); yput; ysmyte; ysought; ysprad (2x); ysusteyned; ytaught; ytormented; ytorned (2x); ytretd (2x); ywoven (2x); ywrought.	(169)

4.2.3 Problems and explications

4.2.3.1 Tables 19 and 20 raise the following question: why, in the first place, is the *y*-pp. used alongside the *y*-less pp. in prose, which does not meet metrical exigencies? A plausible explanation for this is a stylistic effect, that is, “elegant variation”. Consider the following examples:

- (57) (Bo IV, m.3, 7, 11, 14/25) And aftir that hir hand, myghti over the erbes, hadde *chaunged* hir gestes into diverse maneres, that oon of hem is coverid his face with forme of a boor; the tother is *chaungid* into a lyoun of the contre of Marmoryke, . . .; that oother of hem is newliche *chaunged* into a wolf, . . . Thei that weren woxen swyn hadden by this *ichaunged* hir mete of breed for to eten akkornes of ookes.
- (58) (Bo V, p.3, 129/130) so that he wite egaly . . . that thingis mowen ben *doon* or elles nat *idoon*,
- (59) (CT VII, 1602/1605) ‘Use,’ he seith, ‘thy richesces that thou hast *geten* in swich a manere that men have no matiere ne cause to calle thee neither wrecche ne chynche [‘miser’], for it is a greet shame to a man to have a povere herte and a riche purs.’ He seith also, ‘The goodes that thou hast *ygeten*, use hem by mesure;’
- (60) (Bo IV, m.1, 19/22) and thilke soule renneth by the cercle of the sterres in alle the places there as the schynynge nyght is *ypainted* (that is to sey, the nyght that is cloudeles; for on nyghtes that ben cloudeles it semeth as the hevene were *peynted* with diverse ymages of sterres).
- (61) (Bo V, p.3, 75(2x)/78, 79) For althoughe that for that thingis ben to comen therfore ben thei *purveied*, and nat certes for thei be *purveied* therfore ne bytide thei nat; yit natheles byhoveth it by necessite that eyther the thinges to comen ben *ipurveied* of God, or elles that the thinges that ben *ipurveyed* of God betyden.
- (62) (CT VII, 1423/1426) they han *wounded* thy soule in fyve places; . . . and han *ywounded* thy doghter in the forseide manere.
- (63) a. (Bo II, p.4, 123) Thanne is it wele *seene* how wrecchid is the

- blisfulnesse of mortel thynges,
- b. (Bo III, p.8, 23) Now is it thanne wel *ysey*n how litil and how brotel possessioun thei coveyten that putten the goodes of the body aboven hir owene resoun.
- (64) a. (Bo III, p.3, 16) certes thanne wol I graunte that they ben *made*d blisful by thilke thynges that thei han geten.
- b. (Bo IV, p.3, 47) thanne is it cler and certein that alle gode folk ben *imake*d blisful for thei ben gode;

The above examples clearly show that the *y*-pp. is employed to avoid monotony: by sporadically mingling *y*-pps. among more ordinary *y*-less pps. Chaucer achieves variety in the choice of words.

4.2.3.2 Another problem that Table 19 poses is this: why is the *y*-pp. particularly frequent in *Boece*? This problem can best be dealt with by comparing *Boece* with *Astrolabe*, which contains almost no *y*-pps.²⁸ The difference between the two works comes from the target audience: while *Boece* is written for mature, intellectual adults, *Astrolabe* is written for Chaucer's ten-year-old son Lewis. In translating Boethius's magnum opus from the Latin (or from the French translation), Chaucer did not hesitate to exploit the archaic tone of the prefix, which descended from Gothic *ga-*, to make the style of this philosophical work elevated and exotic.²⁹ In preparing an astrological treatise for his son, on the other hand, Chaucer avoided complex syntax and outdated words, the *y*-pp. among them. To put this from a stylistic point of view, the *y*-pp. is frequently employed in *Boece* to produce an exotic style, and infrequently in *Astrolabe* to produce an "easy, often conversational prose style" (Elliot 1974: 139).

4.2.3.3 Here, as an introduction to the latter half of this section a

²⁸ Two of the *y*-pps. listed in Table 20 occur in a passage of doubtful authenticity (Astr II, 45, 33; 36: *y*write).

²⁹ On the style of *Boece*, Jefferson (1965: 46) says, "I believe that the English translation is more rhetorical, and the style somewhat more pretentious."

grammatical aspect of the *y*-pp. in *Boece* is worthy of note: the word list of *Boece* (Table 20) contains verbs adopted from Latin or French, e.g., *ifelaschiped*, *ymultiplied*, *ipurveyed*, *ysusteyned* and *itormented*. Most significant among these is *ifelaschiped*:

- (65) (Bo II, p.6, 84) For contrarious thynges ne ben nat wont to ben
ifelaschiped togydre.

Cited as the first instance in the OED (s.v. Fellowship, v.), this verb reveals that, contrary to the common belief that *y*- was unproductive,³⁰ the prefix was still a living affix in Chaucer's days. This means that *y*- is prefixed to *felaschiped* in order to indicate that *felaschip*, which is primarily a noun, is being used as a verb for the occasion (cf. also *yfyred* in LGW 1013). It is safe to say that the ME prefix, far from being a meaningless appendage, plays a grammatical role in converting a noun to a verb.

4.2.3.4 A glance at Table 19 also reveals that the *y*-pp. never occurs in prenominal position (e.g., “wedde folk”, but not “*ywedded folk”).³¹ How should this be accounted for? It might possibly be imagined that the verbs occurring in prenominal position happen to be those which have no variant forms with *y*-. But this is not necessarily the case: as the following examples show, the past participle is without *y*- in prenominal position but with or without *y*- in postnominal position:

- (66) (Bo IV, p.6, 2) But so as thou hast yeven or byhyght me to
unwrappen the *hidde* causes of thinges,

- (67) (Bo IV, m.5, 30) But ther the causes *yhidd* (that is to seyn, in
hevene) trowblen the brestes of men.

See also: Bo III, m.8, 11; m.11, 22; IV, p.3, 110; V, m.4,59.

³⁰ See, for example, Fisiak (1968: 114) and Burnley (1992: 446).

³¹ Pilch (1956: 289) says “Chaucer, Ld. Urk. [*A Book of London English*] und Trev. [Trevisa] kennen bei attributivem Gebrauch die Vorsilbe [*y*-] nicht mehr”. It is not clear, however, whether “attributivem” includes or excludes postnominal use.

(68) (CT II, 777) Ther is no conseil *hyd*, withouten doute.

The following list shows what kind of past participle occurs in prenominal position in Chaucer's prose (Table 21).

Table 21 Prenominal pps. in Chaucer's prose works

Works	Prenominal past participles	(Total)
Melibee	troubled (ū).	(1)
ParsT	blissed/blessed (3) (The <i>y</i> -prefixed form <i>y-blessed</i> occurs in CT III, 44, 323, IV, 1819, etc.); dampned (LGW 2030); departed (ū); kuttet* (ū); ordred* (ū); pownsoned and dagged (ū); roosted* (ū); sode(n)* (2) (ū); swollen* (2) (ū); troubled (ū); wedded (CT II, 712, III, 7, IV, 771, etc.).	(16)
Astrolabe	No occurrences.	
Boece	besmoked (ū); brokene (PF 282, HF 2, 257, 262); closed (TC II, 968); derked/dyrkyd* (ū); emptid (ū); entrechaunged (ū); forleten and despised (ū); forlyned (ū); hidde (CT III, 317, Bo III, m.8, 11, 21, etc.); honyed* (ū); loste (CT I, 4314, VII, 17, Bo II, p.1, 24, etc.); purposede (ū); used (ū).	(15)

Note 1. ū in parentheses indicates that no variant form with *y*- is found in Chaucer's works.

Note 2. An asterisk after a past participle indicates that a *y*-prefixed variant form, though not found in Chaucer's English, is recorded in the MED (published up to T.5).

The above list shows that many of the prenominal past participles have a variant form with *y*-. The *y*- form, however, never occurs in prenominal position. This strongly suggests that the *y*-pp. and the *y*-less pp. are not interchangeable, and that the opposition between “*y*-less pp. + Noun” (e.g., *hidd causes*) and “Noun + (*y*-)pp.” (e.g., *causes (y)hidd*) is systematic. A

factor which seems responsible for this opposition is the semantic distinction between the premodifier and the postmodifier. To cite an illustrative pair from PrE, *broken* in *a broken window* conveys what the window looks like and is “more like an ordinary adjective”, while *broken* in *the window broken last night* conveys the action of breaking and is “more like a verb” (Swan 1980, §16). Once this distinction is recognized, it is easy to understand why the *y*-pp. does not occur in prenominal position: the past participle marker *y*- has verbal force strong enough to prevent the *y*-pp. from behaving like an adjective.

The above explanation, incidentally, can also account for the reason why participial adjectives are not preceded by *y*-: there are no such forms as **ycroked*, **ycursed*, or **ytwo-footed* because the past participle marker *y*-, which indicates that the *y*-pp. is a verb, prevents the participle from functioning as an adjective.

Note. Notice the difference in the modern pronunciation: [kL:sid, krúkid, blésid] (participial adjective) vs. [kə:st, krukt, blest]. For more examples, see Quirk et al. (1985: 416). The difference between PrE [blésid] and [blest] is already seen in the ME expressions “Cristès blésid bódý” (CT VI, 709) and “(ÿ)bléssed bè Gód” (CT III, 44; IV, 1404).

4.2.3.5 Our last task is to find out in what context the *y*-pp. is preferred to the *y*-less pp.³² Surveying the occurrence of the OE synonyms *niman* and *geniman* in Lindisfarne Gospels, Niwa (1973: 191ff.) says, in essence, that (1) the verb chosen after monosyllabic words *to*, *ne* and *ic* is *niman*; (2) in case of the present tense, the verb occurring in the “intensive” clause (i.e., the final clause in the coordinate construction and the

³² Pilch (1956: 289) says, essentially, that the *y*-less pp. often occurs after a stressed word, and that, while the ratio of the *y*-less pp. and the *y*-pp. after an unstressed word in *Boece* is 667:84, their ratio after a stressed word is 21:83. However, the numbers given by him cannot be verified because, though his calculations of *y*-pps. (167) are approximately the same as mine (169), his calculations of the *y*-less pps. (688) are inconceivably smaller than mine (1432). Cf. Table 19.

principal clause in the subordinate construction) is *geniman*; and (3) when the verb form is in the past or the past participle, *geniman* is chosen much more frequently than *niman*. As far as I can tell, however, no such tendencies can be observed in Chaucer's prose.

From what I have examined, the *y*-pp. is favored over the *y*-less pp. in the "split passive", that is, a structure in which BEN and the past participle are separated by an insertion. Let us formulate this context as the following (X stands for a word):

"ben XXX(X) pp."

When a past participle is more than two words remote from BEN, the ratio of the frequency of the *y*-pp. and that of the *y*-less pp. is about 28:1. The *y*-pps. used in this context count seven out of 106 instances of the passive construction:³³

- (69) (Bo II, p.4, 87) and som man is wel and zelily *y*married,
 (70) (Bo II, p.7, 47) But yowr glorye that is so narwe and so streyt
ithrungen into so litel bowndes,
 (71) (Bo III, m.12, 37) Tho was nat the heved of Yxion *y*tormented by the
 overthrowngye wheel.
 (72) (Bo IV, p.5, 11) For in this wise more clerly and more witnessfully is
 the office of wise men *y*treted,
 (73) (Bo IV, p.5, 13) whanne the blisfulnesse and the pouste of gouver-
 nours is, as it ware, *ischadde* among peples that ben neyghbors and
 subgitz;
 (74) (Bo IV, p.6, 160) And thus ben the thinges ful wel *igoverned* yif that
 the symplicite duellyngye in the devyne thoght scheweth forth the
 ordre of causes unable to ben ibowed.
 (75) (Bo V, m.4, 54) than is the strengthe of the thought *imoevyd* and
 excited,

The *y*-less pps. used in this context count only three out of more than 1,200 instances of the passive construction (notice all the instances are

³³ I do not include constructions in which past participles occur in succession; e.g., "that nis nat *enclosed* nor *ischet* withinne none boundes" (Bo V, p.5, 106).

from *Boece*):

- (76) (Bo II, p.5, 128) So is thanne the condicion of thynges *turned* ["bestournee"] up-so-doun,
 (77) (Bo II, p.7, 65) and yit was thilke tyme Rome wel waxen, and greetly *redouted* ["redoubtee"] of the Parthes and eek of the othere folk enhabitynge aboute,
 (78) (Bo III, m.2, 14) yif that hir horrible mouthes ben bybled (that is to seyn, of beestes *devoured* ["devourees"]), hir corage of tyme passed . . . repeireth ayen,

The predominance of the *y*-pp. over the *y*-less pp. in this context can be explained as follows: when the passive construction is separated by words placed between BEN and the past participle, the *y*-pp., by virtue of the past participle marker *y*-, indicates more clearly than the *y*-less pp. that this *y*-prefixed word is the past participle demanded by the remote auxiliary BEN.

Providing this observation indirect support is the employment of (*for*) *to*. Mustanoja (1960: 522) states:

As for the ME usage, the general principle is that when the relation between the finite verb and the infinitive is felt to be intimate, as in the case of auxiliaries like *can*, *may*, *must*, *shall*, and *will*, the plain infinitive is used. When this relation is less intimate and particularly when the two verbs are separated by a word or a group of words, the infinitive is preceded by *to*: . . . *and he hath levere talken with a page Than to comune with any gentil wight* (Ch. CT F Sq. 692-3);.

More to the point, a greater degree of separation of the infinitive from the verb which governs it correlates with a higher incidence of (*for*) *to* over *zero* in ME (cf. Warner 1982: 127, Svartvik & Quirk 1970).

Note. Also in PrE, when the subject is "all you have to do", the occurrence of *to* is largely determined by the distance from the subject:

- i. All you have to do is Δ follow the broken-off twigs. (R. F. McCarthy 1987: 60)
- ii. All you have to do, next time you're carrying a load to town, is *to* pretend to get dizzy and fall in. (R. F. McCarthy 1988: 104)

In the perfect construction, the *y*-pp. is not necessarily preferred. I found only three examples of “have/been XXX(X) pp.”, all of which contain the *y*-less pp. (notice the instances are all from *Boece*):

- (79) (Bo I, p.5, 2) Whan I hadde with a contynuel sorwe *sobbyd* or *borken* out these thynges, sche ... seide thus:
- (80) (Bo II, p.7, 64) and yit was thilke tyme Rome wel *waxen*, and greetly redouted of the Parthes and eek of the othere folk enhabitynge aboute.

Because the *y*-pp. is preferred to the *y*-less pp. in the “split passive” but not necessarily in the “split perfect”, it might be imagined that the prefix *y*- intensifies passive meanings. This, however, is too rash a conclusion because the *y*-pp. can occur in a context where passiveness is not involved:

- (81) (Bo V, p.4, 61) althoughe the prescience ne hadde nevere *iben*, yit algate ... it is certein thing that the endes and bytydinges of thingis to comen scholden ben necessarie.

As far as my investigation goes, there is no evidence to show that the ME prefix *y*- has any lexical meaning such as passiveness or perfectness. What I can say with certainty is that the prefix has a grammatical meaning: it is of verbal character and functions as past participle marker.

4.2.4 Confirmation

Up to now we have limited our observation to Chaucer's prose. Here it is worthwhile to investigate how the *y*-pp. and the *y*-less pp. are used in

other works.

Table 22 shows the frequency and distribution of the past participles in Trevisa's *Dialogus*³⁴ and, for the sake of comparison, Chaucer's own verse (the *Knight's Tale*, abbreviated as KnT) and the *Book of the Duchess*, abbreviated as BD):

Table 22 Frequency and distribution of the past participles
in *Dialogus*, *KnT* and *BD*

	Dialogus	KnT	BD
passive	45/143	26/204	7/59
perfect	10/23	13/147	10/121
prenominal	0/1	1/8	0/5
postnominal	4/6	7/34	2/10
predicative	0/1	2/5	0/1
free adjunct	0/0	7/24	3/6

Table 22 reveals that the *y*-pp. occurs once in prenominal position in the *Knight's Tale*:

- (82) (CT I, 2549) Ne no man shal unto his felawe ryde But o cours with a sharpe *ygrounde* spere [: were];

³⁴ The text used is *Dialogus*, ed. by A. J. Perry (EETS, OS, 167). I chose this work because, to the best of my knowledge, it is the only text which furnishes fairly sufficient statistics. (Trevisa's *Polychronicon* was not available.) Many of the contemporaries of Chaucer do not use the *y*-pp.; as far as I have seen, there are no instances found in the Wyclifite Bible, Wyclif's prose or Mandeville's *Travels*. I tried to calculate past participles in *FitzRalph's Sermon* by Trevisa, but I soon found that the text is inappropriate to compile statistics from because it contains too many instances of *y-schryue* and *y-holde*. I also counted past participles in *Methodius*, which has traditionally been attributed to Trevisa. However, this text contains no instances of the *y*-pp., a fact which gives another piece of evidence to Perry's (1971: cxii) conclusion that "Trevisa did not translate this work [*Methodius*]".

The example above may, at first sight, seem to require a modification to our argument that the *y*-pp. is of verbal character. It should be noticed, however, that the head noun in the instance cited above is placed after the *y*-pp. under the requirements of meter and rime (cf. “with speres sharpe igrounde” (TC III, 43)), and, more importantly, that a paraphrase of the instance is not “... with a spear that is sharp and ground” but “... with a sharply ground spear” (Lumiansky trans.). This shows definitely that the *y*-preceded participle *ygrounde* is verbal rather than adjectival.

In *Dialogus* the verbal force of the prefix *y*- is most clearly seen in passive constructions. When there is no adverb between BEN and the past participle, the participle may occur with or without the prefix:

- (83) a. (17/11) Hit is *knownen* þat werkmen & her men beþ nouz t lordes
of þinges.
b. (16/13) so hit is *yknowe*,
- (84) a. (33/4) Hit is *graunted* by clere resoun,
b. (35/9) Princes & kynges may bynyme 3 ow grace þat is to 3 ou
y-graunted.

When an adverb of manner is inserted between the two words, by contrast, the past participle is invariably preceded by *y*:-

- (85) c. (14/2) Also þere þe mysdoing & synne is openliche *y-knowe* as hit
is in takinge of robbere & of þeeffe,
Also in 14/7.
- (86) c. (24/8) as for þinge þat is graciouslich *y-graunted*;
Also in: 22/11 (be bisiliche ysaued and *y-spend*); 30/8 (beþ
trulich *y-spend*); 30/9 (beþ verreilich *y-spend*).

It need hardly be said that, when two participial forms are available, the passive construction which is separated by an adverb (or a phrase; see instance (84b)) demands the past participle with stronger verbal force, that is, the *y*-pp.

4.2.5 Conclusion

It has been seen above that the *y*-pp. plays a stylistic role: employed alongside with *y*-less pps., *y*-pps. afford stylistic variation, and add to expression of dignity and exotic flavor. It has also been seen, and confirmed, that the preverbal *y*- fulfills a grammatical role as well: the verbal force of *y*- enables a noun to be converted to a verb (e.g., *yfelashiped*), prevents the *y*-pp. from being converted to a participial adjective (e.g., **y-hidd causes*), and serves to form passive constructions with grammatical clarity (i.e., in the context “been XXX(X) pp.”).

From these observations we conclude:

- 1) though the *y*-pp. and the *y*-less pp. have the same cognitive meanings, they are definitely different in their stylistic meanings³⁵ and verbal force;
- 2) the addition of *y*- is, therefore, not necessarily optional;
- 3) Chaucer as a prose writer exploited both the archaic tone and the verbal force of the *y*-pp. to produce a style which he thought suitable for a philosophical work and to make grammatical relations of his sentences easy to understand.

³⁵ Stylistic meaning is the meaning “which a piece of language conveys about the social circumstances of its use” (Leech 1974: 16). In the second edition of *Semantics* it is termed “social meaning”.

PART II

LEXICAL AND TEXTLINGUISTIC

STUDIES

CHAPTER 5

TEXTLINGUISTIC STUDIES OF
THE CANTERBURY TALES

5.1 Theoretical framework

5.1.0 Roman Jakobson claimed as long ago as 1921 that “the subject of literary scholarship is not literature but literariness (*literaturnost*), that is, that which makes of a given work a work of literature” (Holenstein 1976: 101). Although this claim is often quoted, no substantive research has been made, to the best of my knowledge, on the literariness of individual works.¹ This may be attributed, linguistic barriers aside, to the fact that the notion of literariness was not well defined. In this chapter, taking in some key concepts of Russian Formalism and Halliday and Hasan’s theory of textlinguistics, I shall propose a model for describing literariness, and observe how literariness is created in Chaucer’s narrative works.

5.1.1 Formalists’ heritage

I shall start with definitions of key terms. First, following Wellek’s (1982: 32) explanation, I define literature as “imaginative literature in which the aesthetic function dominates” (cf. also Wellek 1982: 30). Secondly, as defined by Russian Formalism in its maturer stage, a literary work is “a complex, multi-dimensional structure, integrated by the unity of esthetic purpose” (Erlich 1980: 199), or, in Tynjanov’s words, “a complex whole, characterized by interrelatedness and dynamic tension between individual components and held together by the underlying unity of the esthetic function” (Erlich 1980: 199). Note that these definitions make

¹ Although Jordan (1987) refers to literariness in Chaucer’s poetry, his approach is rhetorical rather than Formalistic.

two assertions: (1) the approach to literary studies should be from an aesthetic standpoint, not from, say, a practical, didactic, or historical one; (2) a literary work is a complex integration, not a mere sequence, of its components.

Unlike the concepts defined above, the concept of “literariness” is rather vague. Todorov (1968) defines it as “the capacity of the sign to point to itself and not to something else” (Wellek 1982: 30). But this definition applies more appropriately to “poetic function” (§5.1.3) rather than to “literariness”. In his “Retrospect” (1981: 766), on the other hand, Jakobson defines literariness as “the transformation of a verbal act into a poetic work and the system of devices that bring about such a transformation”. This definition, however, is also imperfect because literariness is not the same as devices (cf. §5.1.2).

As far as I know, the most illuminating explanation of literariness is that by Erlich (1980: 198), who interprets it as “a strategic property informing and permeating the entire work, the principle of dynamic integration, or, to use a key term of modern psychology, a *Gestaltqualität*”. Lying behind this view, Erlich further explains, is an assumption that not all components in a literary work coexist on an equal basis with each other, but one of them is preeminent. The notion of literariness, then, consists of two fundamental ideas: (1) a component or a group of components is preeminent; (2) the preeminent component (in Formalist terminology, “dominant”) serves to integrate the whole text into a literary work.²

Following these guidelines, we may safely conclude that the subject of literary scholarship is to make clear (a) what is the dominant component that pervades a given literary work, and (b) how the dominant, and the dominated, components are integrated.

² “Literariness” should be distinguished from “greatness” of literature; the latter may be judged by extra-aesthetic criteria, such as moral and religion, while the former is to be judged by aesthetic criteria (cf. Wellek & Warren 1963: 241, Wellek 1982: 54).

5.1.2 Inadequacies of Russian Formalism

To overcome inadequacies of Russian Formalism, I shall now point out (a) early Formalists' confusion of literariness with devices, (b) their exclusive interest in phonology, and (c) inadequacies of Jakobson's approach to poetics.³

That early Formalists identified literariness with devices can be seen from Jakobson's 1921 article, in which he says "if literary history wants to become a science, it must recognize the artistic *device* as its only concern" [italics mine] (Erlich 1980: 76f.), or from Šklovskij (1920), who declares "a work of literature is the sum total of all stylistic *devices* employed in it" [italics mine] (Erlich 1980: 90). However, a literary work is not the sum total of devices: it is a system, in which each device has a certain function to perform. Early Formalists, in short, failed to conceive of a literary work as a dynamic integration (cf. Erlich 1980: 90).

Generally speaking, Russian Formalists were more interested in phonology than in lexicology and semantics (cf. Erlich 1980: 73). In this field, however, integration is hardly possible. Phonemes such as /p/, /t/ and /k/ may be generalized as plosives and explained as suggesting ⟨force⟩. Beyond this, however, significant generalization is hardly possible because phonological components, which are by definition meaningless, cannot be related to a larger meaningful unit. No wonder Trockij (1924) denounced the *Opojaz* studies as "the counting of recurrent vowels and consonants, of syllables and epithets" (Erlich 1980: 101). (To be fair to Russian Formalists, it should be noted that they contributed to the studies of versification and metrics.)

Jakobson's approach to poetics may be worth discussing in some detail since he was the most productive and influential Formalist in its widest sense. His analyses of various poems are made in the belief that "on every level of language the essence of poetic artifice consists in recurrent returns [i.e., parallelism]" (1981: 98, cf. also p.xv). There is nothing wrong in his belief, but the problem is that he virtually confined the

³ For inadequacies of Russian Formalism which are not discussed here, see Culler (1975: 55ff.), Matejka (1978: 284), Erlich (1980: 282f.) and Wellek (1982: 133f.)

“recurrent returns” to “phonemic features and sequences, both morphologic and lexical, syntactic and phraseological units” (1981: 98); he did not take semantic aspects fully into consideration. Even when he says something thematic (e.g., “spatial and temporal dynamics” in Musimarö’s *Farewell poem* (1981: 159) and “the lust and the luster” in Shakespeare’s *Sonnet 129* (1981: 298)), he makes no attempt to interrelate phonological and grammatical features with semantic components.⁴

Jakobson himself admits, though indirectly, that his research has not been concerned with literariness as such; he states: “[as of 1981] during the last decades my research in the realm of poetics has been mainly concentrated on a scrutiny of what . . . Gerard Manley Hopkins has defined as ‘figures of grammar’” (1981: 768). What, then, are “figures of grammar”? To quote Hopkins’s (1959: 289) own words: “speech which wholly or partially repeats the same *figure of speech* . . . may be framed to be heard for its own sake and interest over and above its interest of meaning” [*italics mine*]. This explanation reveals that the figure of speech is mainly concerned with sounds and not with meanings. To put this another way, what Hopkins calls “figure of speech” corresponds, roughly, to poetic function, rather than literariness, in a literary work; this implies that Jakobson’s scrutiny is a scrutiny of sounds and not of literary qualities in individual poems.

It might be asked why Jakobson and other Formalists did not pay due attention to semantic interrelation within a poem. For one reason, their indifference to semantic aspects is in accordance with “the original exclusion of the thematic level from poetry by the futurists” (Holenstein 1976: 83). For another, they conceived of communication in poetry as, at best, worthy of secondary consideration. Jakobson (1981: 746) states that “[in poetry] communication is not of prime importance”. Echoing this, Mukařovský (1977: 72) says, “In poetry the practical functions of language—the presentational, the expressive, and the appellative—are

⁴ The same is true of the analyses by Mukařovský (1964: 133ff., 1977: 116ff.). Although he interrelates some phrases with each other on the ground that their intonation pattern is the same (i.e., falling), he does not mention how the falling intonation pattern and other patterns are integrated in the literary work in question.

subordinated to the aesthetic function which renders the sign itself the center of attention” (cf. also Mukařovský 1964: 19f.). These views hold good for Futurists’ “trans-sense” poems, but not for narrative poems, where communication is as important as the mode of narration (cf. Scholes 1982: 58). Moreover, even if the view shared by Jakobson and Mukařovský is partially correct, it is not legitimate to ignore semantic aspects in a poem.⁵

5.1.3 Literariness and other key conceptions

As may be gathered from Todorov’s confusion of “literariness” and “poetic function” (see §5.1.1), these two notions somewhat overlap. Literariness is concerned with how the message is *integrated*; hence, it involves totality. On the other hand, the poetic function is, in Jakobson’s phrase (1960: 356), “the set (*Einstellung*) toward the message as such, focus on the message for its own sake”. The poetic function, in other words, is concerned with how the message is *focused*.

The poetic function is especially prominent in short pieces of writing because in short works the reader’s attention can be concentrated on how it is written, i.e., how the poetic function is made use of. In longer works, by contrast, the reader’s attention is apt to be directed to what is written, such as content, argument and theme, i.e., matters which strongly involve the referential function, that is, “a set (*Einstellung*) toward the referent, and orientation toward the content” (Jakobson 1960: 353). The difference in the functions involved in short and long works may be summarized as follows: “the laws that govern the organization of long poems differ on many points from those that rule the structure of short poems” (Jakobson

⁵ On the problem of meaning, Pomorska (1978: 278) defends Formalists by saying that they approached meaning in a new way: “Having shown that every work of art creates a system, the ‘Formalists’ proved by that very fact that every sign in the system is a meaningful one. . . ., in a new approach by the *Opojaz*, the sign acquired meaning only within the system in which it played a part.” Pomorska’s argument, however, misses the point because what she means by “meaning” is not a semantic aspect of expression units (§5.1.4) but a role or function in a system.

& Pomorska 1983: 113).⁶

5.1.4 Integration and association

Let us now consider how literariness or integration of a literary work is achieved. First, I shall postulate an “integrator” as the core of an integrated work. Though this term roughly corresponds to what Russian Formalists called the “dominant”, the new term is preferable for two reasons: (1) “dominant” is used loosely in Formalist literature; (2) it is often used with reference to phonological features. An integrator may be conceived of as the pivot upon which the whole expression of a literary work turns, or, to put it textlinguistically, the lexical item (or some other expression unit) which links major chains of lexical cohesion. (An expression unit is any linguistic piece, e.g., phoneme, morpheme, lexeme, phrase or clause.)

Next, as the source of integration I propose “associative relations” (cf. Saussure 1973: 170ff.). More specifically, it is assumed that the integrator associates itself with other expression units, which, in their turn, associate themselves with others and form chains of lexical cohesion; thus, theoretically, the integrator is interrelated, directly or indirectly, with all the other expression units in a literary work. Association will be discussed in detail in §§5.1.6.1-7.

The assumption that an integrator associates itself with other words and even forms a whole work is supported by several writers. C. Day Lewis (1964: 70) says, “When the *donnée* of a poem comes, ... the poet will

⁶ Here the following argument by Leech and Short (1981: 2) is worth quoting:

if one wanted to find a definition of poetry that went deeper than the run-of-the-mill dictionary definition, it might be that whereas in poetry, aesthetic effect cannot be separated from the creative manipulation of the linguistic code, in prose, it tends to reside more in other factors (such as character, theme, argument) which are expressed through, rather than inherent in, language. Yet the great novelists of the English language have been, arguably without exception, also great artists in the use of words, and the challenge remains of trying to explain the nature of that artistry, and how it integrates with the larger artistic achievement of the writer.

interrogate this image trying to discover what it means and whither it would lead him. . . . During this process of interrogation, other images begin to associate themselves with the key one.” Tanizaki (1962: 106) says that, when he wrote a short story entitled *Kirin* (‘kylin’), he had only the Chinese characters *kirin* in mind; they associated themselves with other words and formed the whole story. E. A. Poe (1962) states of his own *The Raven* to the effect that, as far as wording is concerned, first he decided to repeat *nevermore* as the pivot upon which the whole structure might turn, and then, trying to invent a sufficiently plausible reason for its continuous repetition, he thought of a lover lamenting his deceased love on the one hand and a raven on the other, which in turn suggested a bust of Pallas. On the role of association in creating a literary work, J. L. Lowes says, “one office of the imagination is to curb and rudder the clustering associations which throng up from the nether depths of consciousness, until out of the thick of the huddle springs beauty” (1927: 68) and “it is also that very flux of interweaving phantasms of association which, when the creative energy imposes its will upon it, becomes the plastic stuff both of life and of art” (1927: 85).

Whether these writers’ comments on their works are true or not, it is undeniable that these writers take the above words (or a certain image) as the integrator of their works.

5.1.5 Sample analyses

In order to compare a Jakobsonian approach and mine, let us analyze a haiku⁷ by Bashô:

- (1) Shiogoshi-ya tsuru-hagi nurete umi suzushi
 (Cranes hop around / On the watery beach of Shiogoshi / Dabbling
 their long legs / In the cool tide of the sea [Yuasa trans.])

Glossarial notes. *Shiogoshi* place name, which literally means ‘place where the tide crosses’; *tsuru* ‘crane’, a wading bird; *hagi*

⁷ Haiku is a form of Japanese verse, consisting of five-seven-five yllables (or morae).

'leg'; *nurete* 'becoming wet'; *umi* 'sea'.

First, a Jakobsonian analysis. This haiku is composed of three colons: the first five syllables (I), the middle seven syllables (II), and the last five syllables (III).

(2) *Shiogoshi-ya* (I) | *tsuru-hagi nurete* (II) | *umi suzushi* (III)

The three colons consist, respectively, of “noun + particle”, “noun + verb”, and “noun + adjective”, each colon beginning with a noun. I and II are similar in that they contain compound nouns (*Shiogoshi* and *tsuru-hagi*). II and III are similar in that they omit the particle indicating the subject (i.e., *ga*). In II, both hemistichs have the vowel /u/ in the first syllable. In III, only high vowels /i, u/ occur. In I and III, the phonemic combination /shi/ occurs symmetrically at the beginning and at the end. I is distinguished from II and III by the presence of /o/ and by the absence of a predicate.

Now for the analysis by an integrator and association. The integrator of this short poem is *umi* ('sea') because it is in an associative relation with other words: *shio* is semantically similar to *umi* because sea water is salty; *tsuru* is contiguous to *umi* since the bird wades in the sea (in other words, among many features of the crane, the focus is on an aspect of its behavior, rather than, say, the length of the neck); *nurete* is semantically contiguous to *umi* (i.e., wet in the sea); *suzushi* is also contiguous to *umi* because it is cool at the sea. Phonologically, *umi* is contrasted with all the other words because in this haiku it is the only word beginning with a vowel. That this work is integrated by the sea-image becomes clearer by comparing it with its earlier version:

(3) *Koshidake-ya tsuru-hagi nurete umi suzushi*

Since both *Shiogoshi* and *Koshidake* refer to the same place, the two versions are referentially identical; yet the final version achieves greater literariness than the earlier one because *Shiogoshi*, containing the morpheme *shio* ('tide'), strengthens the lexical integration of this literary

piece.

It will be clear from these sample analyses that the analysis by an integrator and association can better explain how a literary piece is integrated.

5.1.6 More on association

It has been shown above that the expression of a literary text can be reduced to its integrator by conjoining dominant image clusters. What, then, are image clusters? From a textlinguistic standpoint, they can be rephrased as chains of lexical cohesion. On lexical cohesion (specifically, collocational cohesion), Halliday and Hasan (1976: 285f.) have this to say:⁸

There is always the possibility of cohesion between any pair of lexical items which are in some way *associated* [italics mine] with each other in the language. So we will find a very marked cohesive effect deriving from the occurrence in proximity with each other of pairs such as the following, whose meaning relation is not easy to classify in systematic semantic terms; *laugh . . . joke, blade . . . sharp, garden . . . dig, ill . . . doctor, try . . . succeed, bee . . . honey, door . . . window, king . . . crown, boat . . . row, sunshine . . . cloud*. The cohesive effect of such pairs depends not so much on any systematic relationship as on their *tendency* [italics mine] to share the same lexical environment, to occur in COLLOCATION with one another. In general, any two lexical items having similar patterns of collocation—that is, tending to appear in similar contexts—will generate a cohesive force if they occur in adjacent sentences.

Treating collocational cohesion as a “tendency”, Halliday and Hasan do not explore how lexical items are associated. It is not easy, as they say, to classify the above examples in systematic semantic terms, but by postulating two types of association and six linguistic levels it is possible to explain how two or more lexical items are associated. Association

⁸ See also Halliday (1994: 333).

springs either from similarity (including identity) or from contiguity (which includes any associative relation other than those based on similarity). Since association in literary texts is brought up by linguistic stimuli, the cause of it should be explained at linguistic levels, which may safely be divided into orthographic, phonological, morpho-lexical, syntactic, semantic and contextual levels. Before discussing associative relations at each linguistic level and association ties, it may be helpful to tabulate them. (An association tie means an element which enables two or more expression units to be associated.)

Table 23 Levels and ties of association

LEVELS	TIES
orthographic	similarity of orthographic shapes
phonological	similarity of phonological distinctive features
morpho-lexical	similarity of word forms
syntactic	similarity of syntactic distinctive features
	contiguity of syntactic distinctive features
semantic	similarity of semantic distinctive features
	contiguity of semantic distinctive features
contextual	similarity of non-distinctive features
	contiguity of non-distinctive features

Association at the orthographic level is based on similarity of orthographic shapes. Associated by this type of similarity are such letters as *a—d*, *i—j*, *p—q*, *u—n*, and *l—I*. It would be possible to explain objectively the similarity of these letters if orthographic features were established, e.g., strokes, dots, crosses, or curves. This level should also deal with punctuation, eye-rimes and other visual aspects of expression units.

Association at the phonological level is based on similarity of phonological features. To be treated here are alliteration, assonance, consonance, rime, and other auditory aspects.

Association at the morpho-lexical level is based on (partial) similarity

of word forms. Thus, partially identical words are associated at this level; e.g., *undertake—undergo, spectacle—inspect, shamefaced—face*.

Note. Contiguity may contribute to bringing up association at orthographic, phonological and morpho-lexical levels. Some English examples: the orthographic sequence *q—u* (in English the letter *q* is always followed by *u*); phonotactic sequences such as /pl-/ , /bl-/ , /kl-/ and /gl-/ (as opposed to */zl-/ , */vl-/ and */[l-]/); morpho-lexical sequences such as *ding-dong, tick-tack* and *zig-zag* (as opposed to *ding-*dang, tick-*teck* or *zig-*zug*). Contiguity of this kind is not included in the table above because the poet has no choice but to follow the rules of his language unless he coins non-English (or new) words.

Association at the syntactic level is based on similarity of syntactic features or contiguity of them. Words in paradigmatic and syntactic relations (e.g., *door—window; dig—garden*) are to be treated at this level. (The latter example should also be explained at the semantic level because *dig* presupposes [+ground].)

Association at the semantic level is based on similarity of semantic features, or contiguity of collocable lexemes. Hyponyms, synonyms and antonyms are associated by semantic similarity and words with the same selection restriction (e.g., *gallop—horse, blade—sharp*) are related by lexical contiguity. Some of the rhetorical terms for unusual collocations are personification, oxymoron and paradox.

Association at the contextual level is based on similarity of non-distinctive features or contiguity of them. To find an association tie between a given pair of contextually associated expression units, consideration should be given not only to distinctive features but also to non-distinctive features of one or both of the units. I shall indicate a non-distinctive feature by placing it in angle brackets and a distinctive feature in square brackets.

To name a few points of similarity:⁹

⁹ Most of the examples cited here are taken from Shakespeare's *Sonnets*.

- a) referent: e.g., beauteous niggard—profitless usurer (when both refer to the same person)
- b) color: e.g., rose—blood ⟨+red⟩
- c) shape: e.g., band—snake ⟨+spindling⟩
- d) appearance: e.g., star—eye ⟨+sparkling⟩
- e) taste: e.g., sugar—honey ⟨+sweet⟩
- f) smell: e.g., rose—incense ⟨+fragrant⟩
- g) superlativeness: e.g., lady—rose ⟨+best of all⟩
- h) atmosphere: e.g., laugh—joke ⟨+merry⟩
- i) ingredient: e.g., earth—tears ⟨+containing salt⟩
- j) purpose: e.g., horse—ship ⟨+for travelling on⟩
- k) nature: e.g., sunshine—cloud
- l) rivalry: e.g., Miller—Reeve (in the *Canterbury Tales*)
- .
- .
- .

To list some contiguous elements:

- a) time: e.g., windy night—rainy morn; try—succeed
- b) space: e.g., meadow—stream
- c) cause-effect: e.g., defects—frown, ill—doctor
- d) concept: e.g., (in Japanese) “cleanliness”—“beauty” (cf. Ikegami 1975: 308, 1978: 46, Araki 1976: 17f.)
- e) part-whole (“meronymy” in Halliday’s (1994: 332) terminology): e.g., eye—face
- f) material: e.g., gild—gold
- g) agent-patient: e.g., bee—honey
- h) status-symbol: e.g., king—crown
- .
- .
- .

It should be noted that association ties at the contextual level make an open class since poets will continue to find new relations between apparently unrelated things.

Some kinds of association are on two or more levels. Puns, for instance, should be treated either at the semantic and morpho-lexical

levels or at the semantic and orthographic levels; the former is a case of polysemy or homonymy, and the latter homophone.

“Ambiguous structures” stretch over the semantic and syntactic levels since their ambiguity is caused by more than one semantic interpretation assigned to the same structure.

What Halliday (1977: 186) calls “by-passing” should be treated at semantic and phonological levels. For example, “Tennyson’s *And murmuring of innumerable bees* would lose much of its meanings . . . if *murmuring* or *innumerable* were replaced with word forms that did not manifest the same pattern of sound” (Lyons 1977: 54).¹⁰

5.1.7 Assimilation and contrast

When expression units are associated at the contextual level, they are either assimilated or dissimilated (or contrasted). (Hereafter “contrast” instead of “dissimilate” will be adopted since “contrast” is used much more frequently in literary criticism.)

Assimilation can be defined as focusing on one or more (non-) distinctive feature(s) which is/are common to two or more expression units. Most of the examples given above are cases of assimilation. *Laugh* and *joke*, for example, are assimilated in that they share the common non-distinctive feature, ⟨+merry⟩ or ⟨+funny/comic⟩. To cite an example from Chaucer’s works: the color of a rose may, of course, be white or red (cf. (HF 135) *Hir rose garlond whit and red*), but when *rose* cooccurs with *lily*, as in RR 1015 (*As whyt as lylle or rose in rys* [‘twig’]), the rose is interpreted as a white rose under the influence of (i.e., assimilated by) the ⟨+white⟩ lily.

Contrast may be defined as focusing on differences between two or more expression units which are otherwise similar. Notice that contrast is based on similarity; unrelated words (e.g., *child*—*stream*) are rarely contrasted. Interesting examples of contrast from Shakespeare’s *Sonnets* are *tomb* and *womb* in *Sonnet 86*, and *heavy*, *laughed* and *leaped* in *Sonnet 98*. The former pair is contrasted with respect to ⟨±life⟩; in the latter triad, *heavy* forms a contrast with *laughed* with respect to

¹⁰ For *murmur*, see also Ullmann (1967: 95f.).

⟨±merry⟩, while it is in contrast with *leaped* with respect to ⟨±light⟩.¹¹

I shall now apply the theory proposed in the preceding subsections to three of the tales told by the Canterbury Pilgrims. To be analyzed first is the *Miller's Tale*.

5.2 Analysis of the *Miller's Tale*

5.2.1 Association

5.2.1.1 Interesting association at the phonological level is the rime of *flood* : *wood* ('mad'). *Flood* as a rime word occurs three times in the *Miller's Tale* but not in any other works in the *Canterbury Tales* (Masui 1964: 311); more importantly, every time it appears as a rime word, the rime mate is *wood*:

- (4) Shal falle a reyn, and that so wilde and wood (3517-8)
 That half so greet was nevere Noes flood.
- (5) And herde oon crien "water!" as he were wood, (3817-8)
 And thoughte, "Allas, now comth Nowelis flood!"
- (6) They tolden every man that he was wood; (3833-4)
 He was agast so of Nowelis flood

The recurrent rime *flood* : *wood* reinforces the plot of the tale: Nicholas, who predicts a *flood*, cries "water" as if he were *wood*, and the carpenter, who believes Nicholas's *flood* story, is *holde wood* (considered mad).

5.2.1.2 Association worth noting at the semantic and morpho-lexical levels is the pun on *pryvetee* ('privy'). In the Prologue to this tale this word means 'divine secret' and 'private parts':

- (7) An housbonde shal nat been inquisityf (3163-4)
 Of Goddes *pryvetee*, nor of his wyf.

This topic will be treated in greater detail later on (§5.2.3.2).

¹¹ *Heavy* and *laughed* are similar in that both have something to do with "feelings", and *heavy* and *leaped* with "movement".

5.2.1.3 Association at the semantic and contextual levels is exploited for the characterization of Alison and Absolon.

Alison, who is “wylde and yong” (3225) is compared to *kyde*, *calf*, and *colt*:

- (8) Therto she koude skippe and make game, (3259-60)
 As any *kyde* or *calf* folwynghe his dame.
- (9) Wynsynge she was, as is a joly *colt*, (3263)
- (10) And she sproong as a *colt* dooth in the trave, (3282)

These words can semantically be analyzed as follows:

kid	calf	colt
[+caprine] [+young]	[+bovine] [+young]	[+equine] [+young]

As the componential analyses show, Alison’s youthfulness is assimilated with these animals, which have the common feature [+young]. Consider also the following quotation:

- (11) For she [Alison] was wylde and *yong*, and he was old (3225-6)
 And demed hymself been lik a cokewold.

Since the concept of “youthfulness” is contiguous to “freshness”, expression units associated with “freshness” are exploited to reinforce Alison’s youthfulness: *morne milk* (3236), *the newe pere-jonette tree* (3248) and *the noble yforged newe* (3256).

In relation to quotations (9) and (10) it should be noted that *colt* as a verb means ‘frisk or run wild’ (cf. OED, s.v. *Colt*, v.; though the first citation in the OED is dated 1596 (Spenser), it is obvious that colts frisked and ran wild in Chaucer’s days as they do today.) *Colt*, more importantly, means (a) ‘a lively or spirited person’ and (b) ‘a lascivious fellow, a wanton’ (cf. OED, s.v. *Colt*, n. 2; cf. also “coltes teeth” [‘inclination to wantonness’]). The similes in (9) and (10) are effective not

only in describing Alison's appearance but also suggesting her inclination.

Another animal that is used in the similes of Alison is *wezele* ('weasel'):

- (12) Fair was this yonge wyf, and therwithal (3233-4)
 As any *wezele* hir body gent and smal.

Weasel has a distinctive feature [+musteline] and non-distinctive features ⟨+slender⟩ and ⟨+wild⟩. (Cf. It [weasel] is remarkable for its slender body, and for its ferocity and bloodthirstiness (OED).) Though ⟨+slender⟩ is focused in this context, ⟨+wild⟩ will also be recalled by line 3225 quoted in (11). Furthermore, assimilated by *young* used of Alison (3225, 3233, 3273), [+young] in the animals and the concept of "freshness", this weasel bears another feature ⟨+young⟩.

On the other hand, expressions about Absolon are associated with femininity. His name itself suggests Absalom in *II Kings*, whose beauty is more feminine rather than masculine (Beichner 1960: 121). *Lovely*, which is used of Absolon (3342), is applied to "hundreds of things, especially things feminine, in popular poetry" (Donaldson 1970: 21). In the *Miller's Tale* Absolon's effeminacy is assimilated with *lamb*, *turtle* and *maid*:

- (13) I moorne as dooth a *lamb* after the tete. (3704-7)
 Ywis, lemman, I have swich love-longynge
 That lik a *turtel* trewe is my moornyng.
 I may nat ete na moore than a *mayde*.

Although [+ovine] and [+young] are componentially sufficient to distinguish *lamb* from other lexemes, it has non-distinctive features: ⟨+meek⟩ and ⟨+easily cheated⟩. These features are obvious in the transferred meanings of this word: a "lamb" is 'a person who is meek' or 'a person who is easily cheated' (MED, s.v. lomb). A *turtle* ('turtledove') is a bird traditionally associated with the fidelity of women (Richardson 1970: 166, Donaldson 1970: 26). Needless to say, a *maid* is feminine.

Absolon is also related with *goose* in the following line:

(14) His rode [‘complexion’] was reed, his eyen greye as *goos*. (3317)

One of the reasons for choosing *goos* is surely phonological (i.e., rime and alliteration), but semantic and contextual reasons also play an important role because *goose*, when semantically marked, refers to a female goose and because it has a non-distinctive feature (+foolish) since it means ‘a fool’ when applied to a person (cf. MED, s.v. *goos*). This interpretation gives coherence between line 3317 (quoted above) and line 3389: “she [Alison] maketh Absolon hire *ape*”. *Goose*, moreover, is related to one of the main *matières* of the tale because it was believed to be the bird most sensitive to the smell of man (Richardson 1970: 165) (cf. §5.2.2.2).

5.2.2 Contrast

5.2.2.1 Several points of contrast are observed between usual nights and the eventful night. When Absolon serenades, the moon shines *ful brighte* (3352). Further, the image of “brightness” is reinforced by the following lines:

- (15) Ful *brighter* was the *shynyng* of hir [Alison’s] hewe (3255)
 (16) Hir [Alison’s] forheed *shoon* as *bright* as any day, (3310)
 (17) Crul was his [Absolon’s] heer, and as the gold it *shoon*, (3314)
 (18) As I have looked in the moone *bright*, (3515)

On the eventful night, by contrast, the stage suddenly becomes dark:

- (19) And on the Monday, whan it drow to nyght, (3633-4)
 He shette his dore *withoute candel-lyght*,
 (20) *Derk* was the nyght as pich, or as the cole, (3731)

Thus, the night when Absolon kisses Alison’s unmentionable part becomes all the darker due to the contrast with the preceding images of brightness.

5.2.2.2 The images of “melody” are broken off by the mundane sound of

Nicholas's body gas, which is "As greet as it had been a thonder-dent" (3807). His gas also breaks off the image of "fragrance". It is true that only the auditory side of the gas is described here, but up to this line auditory and olfactory images have been related by a synesthetic metaphor, *sweet(ly)*:¹²

- (21) On which he made a-nyghtes melodie (3214-5)
 So *swetely* that all the chambre rong;
 (22) And he hymself as *sweete* as is the roote (3206-7)
 Of lycorys or any cetewale.
 (23) But first he cheweth greyn and lycorys, (3690-1)
 To smellen *sweete*, er he hadde kembd his heer.

The olfactory side of the gas is explicitly expressed in the *Summoner's Tale*:

- (24) He hadde the firste smel of fartes thre; (CT III, 2284)

It is safe to say that, having non-distinctive features (<+noise) and (<+smell), the *fart* contrasts both with "melody" (sweet music) and "fragrance" (sweet smell). Another way of saying this is that *fart*, a *matière* necessary for the tale to be a farce, is introduced after due preparation has been made to emphasize the contrast between melody and unmelodiousness on the one hand, and between fragrance and malodor on the other.

5.2.2.3 There are also contrasts between the descriptions of the carpenter's usual action and those of his falling:

- (25) This carpenter out of his slomber sterte, (3816-21)
 And herde oon crien "water!" as he were wood,
 And thoughte, "Allas, now comth Nowelis flood!"
 He sit hym up withouten wordes mo,

¹² Notice also the recurrence of sweet food and drink (cf. Birney 1985: 80): pyment ['spiced, sweetened wine'], meeth ['mead'], wafres (3378-9), and hony deere (3617).

And with his ax he smoot the corde atwo,
And doun gooth al;

First, *slumber*, an only example throughout Chaucer's works, makes a contrast with the usual word *sleep* (3643, 3685, etc.). Secondly, compared with the scene of Absolon's serenade,

(26) This carpenter awook, and herde him synge, (3364-5)
And spak unto his wyf, and seyde anon,

it becomes clear that *sterte* (3816) is contrasted with *awook* (3364) with respect to [\pm sudden]; the former may be semantically analyzed as [+ingressive], [-sleep], [+sudden], but the latter only as [+ingressive], [-sleep]. Thirdly, *withouten wordes mo* (3819) is contrastive with the carpenter's talking to his wife. Lastly, there is a difference in the speed of narration. In the serenade scene the narration is slow; notice the caesuras and the repetition of the synonymous words: *spak* and *seyde*. (The rime word *anon* does not necessarily mean 'instantly', cf. OED, s.v. Anon 5.) In the scene of his fall, by contrast, reflecting the carpenter's haste, the narration is speedy; notice the dramatic present in (25), *sit* (= sitteth) and *gooth*.

5.2.3 Integration

5.2.3.1 In order to identify the integrator of the *Miller's Tale*, I list here dominant chains of lexical cohesion:

a) words associated with "water":

flood ... reyn ... shour(es) ... water ... drenche

b) words associated with "body part":

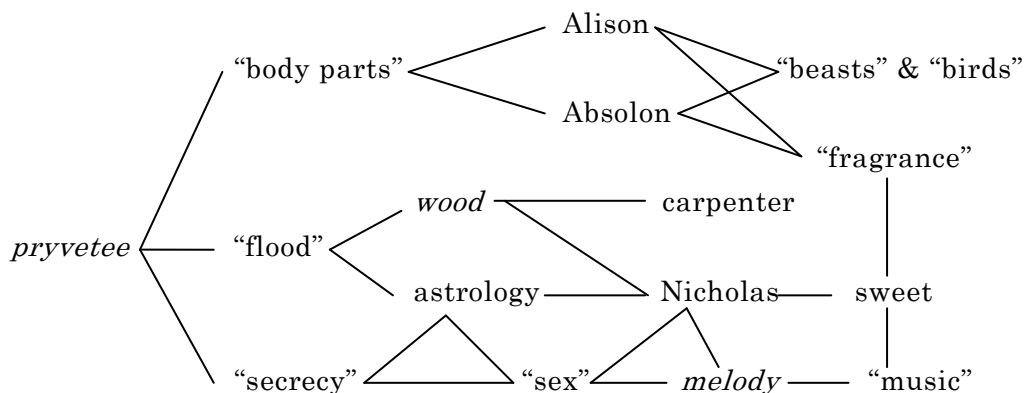
arm(s) ... berds ... body ... brest ... browes ... ers ... forheed ...
hande(s) ... haunche-bone(s) ... heed ... heer ... hole ... knees ...
lendes ... lippe(s) ... lokkes ... mouth ... queynte ... sholders ...
toute ... ye(n)

c) words associated with "secrecy":

- deerne ... privee ... pryvely ... pryvetee ... queynte
- d) words associated with “beast”:
calf ... cat ... colt ... kyde ... mous ... wezele
- e) words associated with “bird”:
bryd ... cok(kes) ... doke ... drake ... goos ... nyghtyngale ... swalwe
- f) words associated with “music”:
chaunteth ... gyterne ... gyternynge ... rubible ... sautrie ... song
(n) ... singen (v) ... melodie
- g) words associated with “fragrance”:
cetewale ... cynamome ... greyn ... lycoris ... sencer ... apples ...
smell sweet
- h) words associated with “sex”:
cokewolde ... likerous ... queynte ... swyved ... revel and melody ...
slepen in his arm al nyght

5.2.3.2 Possible candidates for the integrator of the *Miller's Tale* might be *fall*, *water* and *pryvetee*. *Fall* is repeated six times in the tale (3231, 3451, 3460, 3471, 3517, 3524; dubious cases excluded) and foreshadows the carpenter's fall (cf. Whittock 1968: 82). *Water* refers to the flood and serves as the trigger to his fall. However, when it is recalled that the main motifs of this tale are the false flood and the misdirected kiss (Craik 1964: 5, Eliason 1972: 142n.), they have to be discarded, since neither of them is related to the misdirected kiss. *Pryvetee*, on the other hand, is related to both of them. As has been mentioned in §5.2.1.2, this word is polysemous: ‘divine secret’ and ‘private parts’. *Pryvetee* in the former sense is related to the false flood by coreference; *pryvetee* in the latter sense is related to the misdirected kiss since “at the comic climax of the tale Absolon, whether fortunately or not, makes physical contact with this secret” (Winny 1971: 15f.).

Before a discussion in greater depth about chains of lexical cohesion (which I shall place in double quotes) and words associated with *pryvetee*, it will be helpful to schematize them.

Figure 5 Association in the *Miller's Tale*

(Some lines are omitted for the sake of clarity.)

First, *pryvetee* in the anatomical sense is in a paradigmatic relation with other words expressing body parts; it is even synonymous with loosely used words: *hole* (3732), *ers* (3734) and *nether ye* (3852). Some of the words expressing body parts are secondarily related to “beasts” and “birds” in similes of Alison and Absolon (see §6.2.1.3).

Secondly, this word is related to *flood*, which in turn is associated with astrology because the flood is predicted by this pseudo-science; astrology is then related to Nicholas, because he is an authority on the subject (3208ff.). *Flood* is also associated with *wood*, which further associates itself with the carpenter and Nicholas (see §5.2.2.2), the latter of whom, together with Alison and Absolon, is associated with “fragrance”.

Thirdly, when it means ‘secrecy’ (3493), *pryvetee* is semantically associated with its near-synonyms, among which is *deerne* (‘secret’). On the one hand, *deerne (love)* is collocated with Nicholas and other words referring to him (3200, 3278, 3297); on the other, it is associated with “sex” because in the consummation of Nicholas and Alison “wifely ‘privetee’ of another kind will play an indispensable role” (Winny 1971: 15).

“Sex”, on the other hand, is related to *melodie* (3306, 3652) and hence to “music”, which is also associated with Alison (3257f.), Absolon (3331f., 3353ff.) and Nicholas (3213f., 3305f.).

It has been shown that the polysemous word *pryvetee* directly associates itself with three of the image clusters, which are secondarily associated with the remaining chains of lexical cohesion. Furthermore, since Nicholas and other words referring to him are used in collocation with *privee* (3201, 3295), *pryvely* (3276, 3802) and *deerne* (3200, 3278, 3297), it is quite safe to read the following lines as suggesting “secret” (pryvee) activities:

- (27) this hende Nicholas [secretly] (3272-3)
 Fil with this yonge wyf to rage and pleye,
 (28) And thus they been [secretly] accorded and ysworn (3301-2)
 To wayte a tyme,
 (29) And hende Nicholas and Alisoun [secretly] (3401-2)
 Acorded been to this conclusioun,

Thus, *pryvetee* not only associates itself with the dominant chains of lexical cohesion, but also pervades the whole tale. From all this it can be concluded that the expression of the *Miller’s Tale* is reduced to its integrator *pryvetee*.

5.3 Analysis of the *Reeve’s Tale*

I shall now apply the integration theory to the *Reeve’s Tale*, the tale told by the Reeve in retaliation to the Miller, and see if the theory works as successfully as it does in the *Miller’s Tale*.

5.3.1 Assimilation

Seen in the light of assimilation, some lexical items are contextually given non-distinctive features. The most comic of them are *fnorteth* (‘snort’) (4163) and *rowt(yng)* (‘snore’) (4166, 4167, 4214). The miller family’s snoring, which is loud enough to keep the clerks awake, is jocularly compared to *burdon* (‘refrain’) (4165), *melodye* (4168) and *sang* (‘song’) (4170):

- (30) This millere hath so wisely bibbed ale (4162-70)

That as an hors he *fnorteth* in his sleep,
 Ne of his tayl bihynde he took no keep.
 His wyf bar hym a *burdon*, a ful strong;
 Men myghte hir *rowtyng* heere two furlong;
 The wenche *rowteth* eek, par compaignye.
 Aleyn the clerk, that herde this *melodye*,
 He poked John, and seyde, “Slepestow?
 Herdestow evere slyk a *sanger* now?”

Since these musical terms express rhythmic recurrence of sounds, the *fnorteth* and *rowt(yng)* should be taken not only as being ⟨+noisy⟩ but also as being ⟨+rhythmic⟩.

Assimilated by *gropen*, *graspeth* (‘gropes’), *with hir/her hand* and *derk*, the instances of FINDEN below mean ‘to discover through groping in the dark’:

(31) [the wife] *groped* heer and ther, but she *foond* noon. (4217-25)

.

And forth she gooth til she the cradel *fond*.
 She *gropeth* alwey forther with hir hond,
 And *foond* the bed, and thoughte nocht but good,
 By cause that the cradel by it stood,
 And nyste wher she was, for it was *derk*;

(32) Aleyn up rist, and thoughte, “Er that it dawe, (4249-52)

I wol go crepen in by my felawe,”
 And *fond* the cradel with his hand anon.
 “By God,” thoughte he, “al wrang I have mysgon.

(33) This John stirte up as faste as ever he myghte, (4292-6)

And *graspeth* by the walles to and fro,
 To *fynde* a staf; and she stirte up also,
 And knew the estres bet than dide this John,
 And by the wal a staf she *foond* anon,

FINDEN, in other words, is used to indicate ⟨+ tactile⟩ perception and not

visual perception, that is, ⟨-visual⟩.¹³ This explains why SEEN and ESPYEN, instead of FINDEN, are chosen when the moonlight comes in through a hole:

- (34) And [the wife] *saugh* a litel shymeryng of a light, (4297-303)
 For at an hole in shoon the moone bright,
 And by that light she *saugh* hem bothe two,
 But sikerly she nyste who was who,
 But as she *saugh* a whit thyng in hir ye.
 And whan she gan this white thyng *espye*,
 She wende the clerk hadde wered a volupeer,

5.3.2 Contrast

Two synonymous words, THENKEN and WENEN (‘ween, imagine, think’), are contrastively used in this tale. When using THENKEN (4047 (see (37)), 4223, 4249, 4252 (see (32))), the narrator’s viewpoint is neutral in the sense that he does not indicate whether what a character thinks is true or false. By contrast, WENEN, which occurs six times in the *Reeve’s Tale*,¹⁴ is always used of misunderstanding:

- (35) For jalous folk ben perilous everemo— (3961-2)
 Algate they wolde hire wyves *wenden* so.
 (36) Sik lay the maunciple on a maladye; (3993-4)
 Men *wenden* wisly that he sholde dye.
 (37) This millere smyled of hir nycetee, (4046-9)
 And thoghte, “Al this nys doon but for a wyle.
 They *wene* that no man may hem bigyle,
 But by my thrift, yet shal I blere hir ye,
 (38) He *wende* have copen by his felawe John, (4259-60)
 And by the millere in he creep anon,

¹³ When FINDEN indicates visual perception, it appears in rime position (4059, 4116, 4244).

¹⁴ *Wene* in line 4320 is not counted since it means ‘to expect’. Cf. Davis et al. (s.v. wene). For further discussion on *wenen* and *wene well*, see Chapter 6 and Higuchi (1984).

- (39) And whan she gan this white thyng espye, (4302-6)
 She *wende* the clerk hadde wered a volupeer,
 And with the staf she drow ay neer and neer,
 And *wende* han hit this Aleyn at the fulle,
 And smoot the millere on the pyled skulle,

Notice that everything expressed by WENEN is fallacious: the miller is soundly beaten by the clerks in the end, and proves to be not “perilous”; the manciple is unlikely to die since his “maladye” is caused by “wanges” (‘back teeth’); despite the clerks’ “wyle” (‘strategem’), the miller succeeds in stealing their grain; Aleyn creeps, in actuality, into the miller’s bed; neither clerk wears a white “volupeer” (‘night-cap’); what the wife smites in good faith is her husband’s bald head. Thus, WENEN is used in the sense ‘to think mistakenly’. In other words, when the narrator uses WENEN, he gives an indication of his scepticism. (For further discussion on WENEN, see Chapter 6.)

The miller’s last words, “I dye”, which he utters when he is smitten by his wife, may safely be construed as conveying his admittance of his defeat to the clerks. Here, linguistic preparations for introducing these words should not go unnoticed. The word uttered in agony, *dye*, coheres with its near-synonyms, *slay* and *deed* (‘dead’):¹⁵

- (40) But if he wolde be *slayn* of Symkyn (3959-60)
 With panade, or with knyf, or boidekyn.
 (41) “Ye, false harlot,” quod the millere, “hast? (4268-70)
 A, false traitour! False clerk!” quod he,
 Thow shalt be *deed*, by Goddes dignitee!
 (42) [the wife] smoot the millere on the pyled skulle, (4306-7)
 That doun he gooth, and cride, “Harrow! I *dye*!”

In the first two cases, the miller is the agent (implied in the second example), that is, he causes the death; in the last case, by contrast, he is

¹⁵ *Dye* in line 3994 and *deed*’s in lines 4029 and 4289 are excluded since these words, used of the manciple and the wife, have nothing to do with the miller.

the patient, namely, he suffers the death. It may be stated from this that the miller's being knocked down is underlined all the more by the reversal of the role-relation, and furthermore, that the change from the cause of the death to the sufferer of it parallels a motif of the tale, that is, "cheater-cheated" (Eliason 1972: 142n.) or "guiler-beguiled" (Olson 1974: 226).

5.3.3 Integration

Before going into the discussion of the integrator of the *Reeve's Tale*, some possible misunderstanding should first be dispelled. Some may imagine that the integrator of this tale is the most frequently used word; others may surmise that it is *cradle*. But it is not the case. Observe the most frequently used thirty-one words listed below:

Table 24: Word frequency in the *Reeve's Tale*

and	200	was	48	miller	27
the	139	this	45	they	26
a	105	to	45	hym	22
he	91	by	43	al	22
that	70	as	42	ther	21
I	67	it	33	my	19
of	63	with	32	nat	19
is	56	she	32	be	18
his	55	but	31	Aleyn	18
in	54	hir	31		
for	53	John	29		

None of the function words in the table are likely to bring up any association relevant to the *Reeve's Tale*. If we recall that the two motifs of this tale are "the cheater-cheated motif plus the cradle trick", we must also discard the most frequently used content word, *millar*, since it is not explicitly related to the second motif (but note the association of "milling"

and “sex” to be discussed below). By the same token, *cradle* must be discarded too; it is not related to the first motif.

In order to reduce the expression of the *Reeve's Tale* to its integrator, I give a list of the dominant chains of lexical cohesion:

- a) words associated with “milling”:
 melle ... millere ... corn ... mele ... whete ... malt ... grynde ...
 hopur ... trough ... cake ... bake
- b) words associated with “stealing”:
 theef ... stele ... reve ... take ... lost ... lose
- c) words associated with “sex”:
 hoppen [‘dance’] ... tayle ... coltes teeth; swyve ... aton ... leith ...
 fit ... priketh ... swynken (v.) ... swynk (n.)
- d) words associated with “animals”:
 peckok ... pye ... ape ... hors ... wolf ... mare ... raa ... capul
 [‘horse’] ... beest ... haukes ... goos ... jay ... swynes ... pigges
- e) words associated with “beguiling”:
 bigyled ... wyle ... bigyle ... sleighte ... blere ... crekes [‘wiles’] ...
 make berd [‘deceive’] ... art ... fals ... yvel ... gylour

Since the words in the same chain of collocational cohesion are, by definition, associated with each other, the discussion below will be confined to the associations between different chains.

Of these chains of collocational cohesion “milling” is conventionally associated with “stealing”. As implied in the proverb, “an honest miller hath a golden thumb”,¹⁶ a miller bears a non-distinctive feature (<-honest); he was believed to steal flour. It is worth noting here that this association is phonologically reinforced by the recurrent rime *mele:stele* (3939-40, 4245-46), and that *mele* as a rime word occurs exclusively in this tale (cf. Masui 1964: 335).

Other putative non-distinctive features of a miller are (<+muscular)

¹⁶ Although the first citation of the proverb is dated 1678 in the OED, it can be assumed that “[a] miller has a vivid history in folk-lore and popular anecdote, even if he is ignored in formal estates satire” (Mann 1973: 160).

and ⟨+proud⟩ (cf. “[the miller could] wel wrastle and sheete [‘shoot’] (3928); “As any pecok he [Miller] was proud” (3926); cf. also Spearing 1979: 46).

“Milling” is also in associative relation with “sex”, since there is a three-part sexual innuendo involved—“the woman as mill, the man as miller, and sexual intercourse as the seed-grinding” (Lancashire 1972: 163).

For the association of “sex” and “stealing”, Gardner’s (1977: 261) intuitive remark is worthy of attention: “as the miller steals the clerks’ grain through his trickery, the clerks steal from the miller’s household sexually”. Gardner, however, does not offer any linguistic evidence to prove his argument. I shall now lend countenance to his assertion from a semantic standpoint. What the miller does is STELEN and what the clerks do is SWYVEN. These verbs may componentially be analyzed as follows:

STELLEN	SWYVEN
[+have] [+other’s possession] [+stealthily] [–legally]	[+have] [+other’s wife/daughter] [+stealthily] [+carnally]

What is important about the analyses above is that SWYVEN is applied to an extramarital relation; to put this in general terms, this word is used when a man has a relation with a woman other than his own wife or love, that is, other’s wife or daughter.¹⁷ “Sex” and “stealing” can thus be associated by the semantic similarities of STELEN and SWYVEN.

One of the associations recalled by “animals” is “sex”: animals in this tale serve to reinforce the characters’ animal nature, which includes sexual passion (cf. Richardson 1970: 90f.). Especially, “the horse has been used as a symbol of the passionate side of human nature, the side man shares with the animals” (Spearing 1979: 44; cf. also Cooper 1989: 116)).

“Beguiling” in this tale includes “milling”, “stealing”, *mysgoyng* and

¹⁷ Eliason’s (1972: 110) explanation that “it [SWYVEN] is applied only to naughty women” is semantically insufficient.

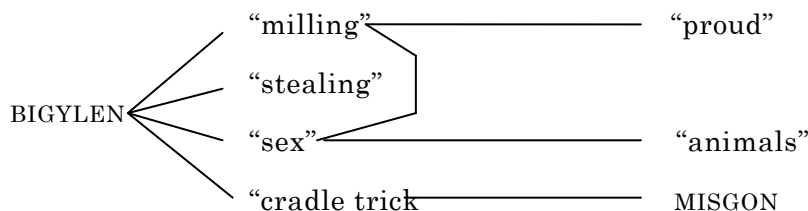
swyvyng:

- (43) This millere smyled of hir nycetee, (4046-50)
 And thoghte, “Al this nys doon but for a wyle.
 They wene that no man may hem *bigyle*,
 But by my thrift, yet shal I blere hir ye,
 For al the sleighte in hir philosophye.
- (44) A gylour shal hymself *bigyled* be. (4321)

In line 4048, *bigyle* is a superordinate of STELEN; in line 4321, *gylour* (‘deceiver’) alludes to the miller, who is a thief, and *bigyled* indicates what has happened to the miller, that is, the clerks’ recovery of their flour (or cake), the wife’s *mysgoyng* into John’s bed by his trick, and the clerks’ *swyvyng* of the miller’s wife and daughter. By the semantic hyponymy, therefore, “milling”, “stealing”, “mysgoyng”, and “sex” are associated with *bigyle*.

The associative relations traced above can be diagrammed as follows:

Figure 6 Association in the *Reeve’s Tale*



From the discussion so far, it can be deduced that BIGYLEN is the integrator of the *Reeve’s Tale* because most of the chains of collocational cohesion converge on this word. This view is supported by the use of its synonym, *blere* (‘deceive’); in the *Reeve’s Prologue*, this word is used by the Reeve himself:

- (45) “So theek,” quod he, “ful wel koude I thee quite (3864-6)
 With *bleryng* of a proud milleres ye,
 If that me liste speke of ribaudye.

Since the purpose of telling a story is usually spoken in the links (cf. Grose 1967: 138), it may safely be inferred that the narrator has in his mind “blering of a proud milleres ye” as the core of his tale. The idea of “deception” seems to have associated itself with other ideas such as “milling”, “stealing” and “trick”, and developed into the whole tale. In fact, both of the two motifs of the tale above mentioned, or the two incidents in the tale, the miller’s stealing in the first half and the clerks’ retribution in the second half, are subcategories of “deception” or *bigyling*. This tale is made of *bigyling* plus *bigyling*. From all this, I conclude that the whole text of the *Reeve’s Tale* is integrated by BIGYLEN.

5.4 Analysis of the *Pardoner’s Tale*

It is perhaps worth trying to apply the integration theory to a tale full of digressions to see how it works. The tale to be analyzed below is the *Pardoner’s Tale*.

5.4.1 Lexical cohesion

Let us begin by finding chains of lexical cohesion (especially, collocational cohesion) in the *Pardoner’s Tale*. First, most abundant are words associated with “sin”. They may be reasonably classified into the following subgroups:

a) words associated with “glottony”:

superfluytee . . . glotonye . . . excesse . . . glotoun . . . likerous
 [‘greedy’] . . . appetit; abstinence . . . fasted . . . mesurable [‘modest’];
 dronkenesse . . . drinken . . . dronkelewe . . . fordronke . . . wyn . . .
 white . . . rede . . . wyn-veyng . . . sauce . . . delices; throte . . . mouth . . .
 golet [‘gullet’]

b) words associated with “lust”:

lecherye . . . luxurie . . . lecherous . . . baudes . . . stywes [‘brothels’] . . .
 tombesteres . . . riot [‘debauchery’] . . . riotoures [‘debauchees’]

c) words associated with “gambling”:

hasard . . . hasardrye . . . hasardour(s) . . . dees [‘dice’] . . . bicched bones

- [‘cursed dice’]
- d) words associated with “covetousness”:
 cupiditas ... avarice ... coveityse
- e) words associated with “swearing”:
 othes ... swere ... sweryng ... forswerynges ... Goddes armes, and
 many other othes tearing Christ’s body
- f) words associated with “homicide”:¹⁸
 sleen ... deyde ... homycide ... manslaughtre
- g) words associated with other sins:
 synne ... vice(s) ... vicious ... vileynye ... blaspheme ... deceite ...
 lesynges ... lye, etc.

Secondly, mostly in the tale proper, the following lexical group is conspicuous:

- h) words associated with “death”:
 Deeth ... pestilence ... spere ... cors ... grave; slay ... ryve [‘stab’] ...
 daggere; poyson ... empoisonyng ... empoysonere ... sterve ...
 pothecarie, etc.

There is a third group appearing mainly in the Prologue to the tale and digressions from the tale proper, namely, a group of words in an associative relation with a “pardoner”. The group may be divided into the following subgroups:

- i) words associated with “absolving”:
 assoile ... pardoun ... pardoner ... absolucion, etc.
- j) words associated with “preaching”:
 preche ... predicacioun [‘sermon’] ... prechyng ... tech
- k) words associated with “ecclesiasticism”:

¹⁸ The words under the heading of “homicide” are those appearing in the sermon. They should be distinguished from the word group under the heading of “death” because they are mentioned by the Pardoner only as part of sins, and because, unlike *deeth*, they do not contribute to uniting the text.

Hooly Writ ... Olde Testament ... Bible ... Mathew ... Jeremye ... Paul(us); Crist ... God ... omnipotent; preest ... clerk ... pope ... cardynales ... patriarks ... bishopes ... chirche(s), etc.

l) words associated with “fraudulence”:

gaude [‘trick’] ... false japes [‘tricks’] ... ypocrisye ... yvel entencioun ... hewe [‘pretense’]; cloutes [‘clothes’] ... hooly Jewes sheep, etc.

5.4.2 Interrelations

Among these chains of lexical cohesion *glotonye* may at first glance seem most important because it is rimed with *lecherye*, *vileyne* and *hasardrye*, and because it is also related to “death”:

- (46) Whiche been the verray develes officeres (480-2)
 To kyndle and blowe the fyr of lecherye,
 That is annexed unto *glotonye*.
- (47) Lo, how deere, shortly for to sayn, (502-4)
 Aboght was thilke cursed vileynye!
 Corrupt was al this world for *glotonye*.
- (48) And now that I have spoken of *glotonye*, (589-90)
 Now wol I yow deffenden *hasardrye*.
- (49) he that haunteth swiche delices (547-8)
 Is deed, whil that he lyveth in tho vices.

Is it the case, then, that *glotonye* calls forth all the other key words in the *Pardoner’s Tale*? There is, however, a difficulty in assuming *glotonye* as the integrator of this tale since it is not related to all the meanings of *deeth* (see below), and, more importantly, it contributes little to hanging the tale together.

If the plot of the *Pardoner’s Tale* is taken into consideration, it will be noticed that the polysemy of *deeth* plays a vital role. In the tale proper, the reader will notice four contextual meanings of *deeth*:

a) ‘Death personified’ (see example (50));

- b) 'Black Death' (notice *pestilence* in line 679 in (50));¹⁹
- c) 'Death misunderstood for a person' (for example, (51). Notice that the revellers take *Deeth* literally when the taverner speaks figuratively);²⁰
- d) 'physical death' (as shown in (52));

- (50) Ther cam a privee thief men clepeth *Deeth*, (675-9)
 That in this contree al the peple sleeth,
 And with his spere he smoot his herte atwo,
 And wente his wey withouten wordes mo.
 He hath a thousand slayn this pestilence.
- (51) And we wol sleen this false traytour *Deeth*. (699-701)
 He shal be slayn, he that so manye sleeth,
 By Goddes dignitee, er it be nyght!
- (52) What nedeth it to sermone of it moore? (879-81)
 For right as they hadde cast his *deeth* bifoore,
 Right so they han hym slayn, and that anon.

In the Introduction to the *Pardoner's Tale*, *deeth* further means

- e) 'the cause of death' (MED, s.v. deth 5a):

- (53) Hire beautee was hire *deth*, I dar wel sayn. (297)

Lastly, in the digressions from the tale proper, that is, in the sermon part, *deeth* is used with reference to

- f) 'spiritual death', or, in the MED's definition (s.v. deth 7b), 'perdition of sinful souls, damnation to eternal suffering in hell':

- (54) The apostel wepyng seith ful pitously, (529-33)
 "Ther walken manye of whiche yow toold have I—
 I seye it now wepyng, with pitous voys—

¹⁹ Ignoring the revellers' misunderstanding of the meaning of *Deeth*, the MED cites (51) as an example of 'Death personified'.

²⁰ See Howard (1976: 360) and Bishop (1974: 215).

- They been enemys of Cristes croys,
 Of whiche the ende is *deeth*; wombe is hir god!"
 (55) (=49) he that haunteth swiche delices (547-8)
 Is *deed*, whil that he lyveth in tho vices.

5.4.3 Associative network

Let us now examine how *deeth* is associated with other materials in the *Pardoner's Tale*. That "sin" is related to, or rather, identified with, "death" is evidenced by the following quotations from the Bible:

- (56) the soul that *sinneth*, it shall *die*. (Ezek. 18: 4)
 (57) the wages of *sin* is *death*; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord. (Rom. 6: 23)
 (58) if ye live after the flesh, ye shall *die*: but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live. (Rom. 8: 13)
 (59) you hath he quickened, who were *dead* in trespasses and *sins*. (Eph. 2: 1)
 Cf. also: Num. 27: 3, 2 Sam. 12: 13, Ezek. 3: 20, 18: 20, Rom. 5: 12, 6: 16, 7: 13, James 1: 15, etc.

The quotations (50-59) clearly show that *deeth* is semantically associated with "pestilence", "slaying", "stabbing", and "empoisoning", on the one hand, and scripturally with "sins", on the other.

How is "death" related to the Pardoner? In the *General Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales* the Pardoner is depicted as follows:

- (60) A voys he hadde as smal as hath a goot. (CT I, 688-91)
 No berd hadde he, ne nevere sholde have;
 As smothe it was as it were late shave.
 I trowe he were a geldyng or a mare.

These features indicate, as most critics agree, that the Pardoner is a eunuch, a sterile man. Though not all critics accept this interpretation, it does not matter whether the Pardoner is a "eunuchus ex nativitate" or a

“testicular pseudo-hermaphrodite of the feminine type” (Rowland 1980: 143). The central point is that “something that should belong to the Pardoner, his physical masculinity, is missing” (Faulkner 1973: 8). It can easily be understood that “death” is associated with sterility since the former means non-existence of life, and the latter nonexistence of offspring. Furthermore, the Pardoner is in great sin, which, as noted above, leads people to “spiritual death”:

- (61) Thus kan I preche agayn that same vice (427-31)
 Which that I use, and that is avarice.
 But though myself be gilty in that synne,
 Yet kan I maken oother folk to twynne
 From avarice and soore to repente.
- (62) For though myself be a ful vicious man, (459-61)
 A moral tale yet I yow telle kan,
 Which I am wont to preche for to wynne.

Thus, as a heroine’s “physical beauty often becomes a reflexion of moral beauty” (Brewer 1982: 36), so the Pardoner’s physical sterility reflects his spiritual sterility;²¹ in other words, the Pardoner associates himself with “death” both through his lack of productivity and through his sins. This may lead to a new interpretation of the relation between the narrator and his tale: the Pardoner was chosen for the tale which centers on death because he himself suggests death.

The Pardoner can be related to “death” from another viewpoint as well. In the fourteenth century there were many false pardoners, who were nothing but vagabonds, or beggars, or secular clerks, and who hawked false pardons and relics.²² The Pardoner in the *Canterbury Tales* is particularly suggestive of forgery because he is “of Rouncivale” (CT I, 670) and “in 1387 there was a particularly open scandal concerning the unauthorized sale of pardons by representatives of this [Rouncivale]

²¹ See David (1976: 71), Hussey (1977: 183) and Spearing (1979: 15).

²² See Bowden (1967: 278), Spearing (1979: 10), Faulkner (1973: 2) and Rickert (1962: 379).

Convent” (Bowden 1967: 286). Indeed, what he claims to be “Oure Lady veyl” is actually a pillowcase (CT I, 694-5). It is certain what he calls part of the sail of St. Peter’s boat (CT I, 696-7) is a fake. It is highly probable that he will pass off the cross of “latoun” [‘latten, brass’] and the “pigges bones” in his bag as saints’ relics. It is also probable that what he shows as “oure lige lordes seel” (337) and “Bulles of popes and of cardynales, Of patriarkes and bishopes” (342-3) are spurious. In addition, it can be inferred that the eunuch cannot have “a joly wenche in every toun” (453) or “coillons” to be enshrined (952-3). To rephrase these cases in linguistic terms, there exist no referents to be referred to by the nouns in question. It may, therefore, be possible to say that these fakes contribute to underlining the unity of the tale about death, since fakes and death are similar in that the former mean nonexistence of referents and the latter means nonexistence of life.

The important role of *deeth* is also seen on the phonological level. *Deeth* appears as a rime word three times in the *Pardoner’s Tale* and it is always rimed with *sleeth*; *sleeth* as a rime word, on the other hand, occurs only in this tale throughout Chaucer’s whole works (see also the examples (50-51)):

(63) Thou spak right now of thilke traytour *Deeth*. (753-4)
 That in this contree alle oure freendes *sleeth*.

It is true that some words appear in rime position more often than *Deeth*, but they do not recur with the same rime mates. Some recurrent rime words and their rime mates in the *Pardoner’s Tale* are set out in Table 29:

Table 25: Recurrent rime words in the *Pardoner's Tale*

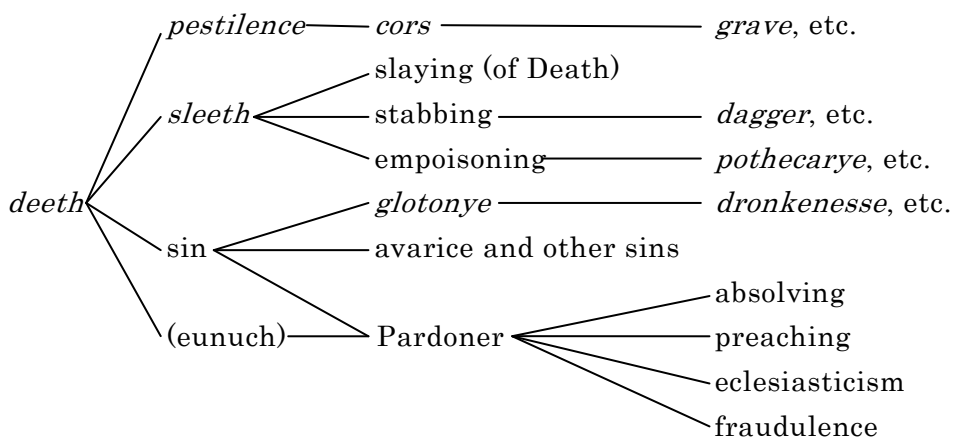
rime word	rime mate	frequency
Deeth	sleeth	3
anon	agon	1
	everychon	1
	gon	2
	oon	2
	John	1
	Ronyon	1
pley(e)	away	1
	seye	2
	treye	1
	tweye	1
	weye	1
grace	face	2
	place	3
dronkenesse	cursednesse	1
	sobrenesse	1
	witnesse	1
	wrecchednesse	1
glotonye(s)	hasardrye	1
	lecherye	1
	vileyne	1
	maladyes	1

As the table shows, the rime *Deeth* : *sleeth* is most frequently repeated, and, moreover, uses two words most closely associated with each other because *Deeth* and *sleeth* are similar not only phonologically but also semantically.

5.4.4 Process of association and process of composition

It has been shown above, first, that *deeth* recurs in the *Pardoner's Tale* with various meanings; secondly, that words related with "sin" are scripturally associated with "death"; thirdly, that the Pardoner is suggestive of "death"; and, lastly, that the recurrent rime *Deeth : sleeth* reinforces the meanings of *deeth*. Since the whole text is held together by the polysemy of *deeth*, it can be concluded that it is the word *deeth* that is the integrating factor in the *Pardoner's Tale*. The process of association in this tale may roughly be diagrammed as follows:

Figure 7: Association in the *Pardoner's Tale*



To explain main connections in the diagram briefly: *deeth* and "pestilence" are interrelated by the figurative meanings of *deeth*, that is, 'Black Death' and 'Death personified'; the nexus between *deeth* and *sleeth* and its near-synonyms is "physical death"; *deeth* is related to "sin" because a sinner is "spiritually dead"; the link between *deeth*, "eunuch", and the Pardoner is "physical sterility"; lastly, the Pardoner and "sin" are interrelated through his "spiritual sterility".

The conclusion drawn by a textlinguistic analysis will be reinforced if a similar conclusion is reached from a different standpoint. There is an interesting coincidence between our conclusion on the process of

Chaucer's association and Bronson's (1960: 86f.) argument on the process of Chaucer's composition. According to Bronson, Chaucer wrote the "tale" first (which ended with the benediction), next, the "headlink" (that is, Introduction) and the "conclusion" (that is, the quarrel between the Pardoner and the Host), and then, "feeling perhaps that the tale came in awkwardly or too abruptly after the headlink with its indicated pause for refreshment, or sensing that the Pardoner's character was deserving of much fuller treatment", he added the Pardoner's "confession" (that is, Prologue). (Notice that what Bronson calls the "tale" includes both the tale proper and the sermon.)

Let us now reinterpret Bronson's argument from the standpoint of association. The relationship between Bronson's argument and my discussion above can be shown as follows:

**Table 26 Relationships between
compositional parts and meanings of *deeth***

compositional parts	meanings of <i>deeth</i>
tale (revellers' quest of Death and their deaths)	allegorical Death and physical death
headlink (Virginia's death)	cause of death
conclusion (Pardoner as eunuch)	physical sterility
confession (Pardoner as sinner)	spiritual sterility

First, when Chaucer wrote the "tale", he had *deeth* (in the allegorical and physical meanings) as the core of his composition. Next, when he added the "headlink" (the Host's reaction to the *Physician's Tale*, which is about Virginia's death) and the "conclusion" (the Host's insult to the Pardoner, more specifically, to his lack of masculinity), the concept of *deeth* developed to 'the cause of death', on the one hand, and the Pardoner's physical sterility, on the other. (Up to this point Chaucer's association developed linearly from *deeth*.) Lastly, in the composition of the Pardoner's "confession" of his sins, on account of the time lag in the creation and the probable change of interest on the author's part, the

association proceeded from the ‘physical sterility’ to the ‘spiritual sterility’.

5.4.5 Relevance to the whole

I have concluded above that the *Pardoner’s Tale* is integrated by the polysemous word “death”. Applying this conclusion, I shall now discuss how materials in this tale bear relevance to the whole text.

First comes the problem of why the *Pardoner’s Tale* is placed after the *Physician’s Tale*. On the relation between the two tales, Ruggiers (1965: 123) says that the *Physician’s Tale* is about “the gifts of nature and of fortune”, which lead to “death received in humility and resignation”, while the *Pardoner’s Tale* is about “the abuse of the gifts of grace”, causing “death in importunate pride”. Modifying this interpretation, Haines (1976) says “the *Physician’s Tale* deals with the power of gifts of Grace” (p.233), which “can lead to eternal life” (p.226; see also Cooper 1983: 154ff. and Mandel 1992, ch. 2). Whether the gifts are of nature and fortune, or of Grace, they both agree that the “gifts” are the cause of Virginia’s death. Also in the *Pardoner’s Tale* “gifts” (that is, treasures given by Fortune, 779) are the cause of the revellers’ deaths. Materials shared and contrasted in these two tales may be tabulated as below:

**Table 27 Treatment of materials
in the *Physician’s Tale* and the *Pardoner’s Tale***

	<i>Physician’s Tale</i>	<i>Pardoner’s Tale</i>
subject	death	death
cause	gifts	gifts (from Fortune)
character	virtuous Virginia	sinful revellers
result	eternal life	eternal death
tone	“pitous”	sinister

Suffice it to say here that Chaucer juxtaposes a “pitous” (‘pitiable’) tale on virtuous Virginia’s death with a sinister tale on the three sinful revellers’

deaths.

Secondly, why does the Pardoner describe his way of preaching through the metaphor of a snake?

(64) For whan I dar noon oother weyes debate, (412-22)
 Thanne wol I styngge hym with my tonge smerte
 In prechyng, so that he shal nat asterte
 To been defamed falsly, if that he
 Hath trespassed to my bretheren or to me.

 Thus spitte I out my venym under hewe
 Of hoolynesse, to semen hooly and trewe.

On similarity between the Pardoner and a snake, Spearing (1979: 23) maintains: “The snake . . . is supposed to hypnotize its victims by staring at them. Similarly, the Pardoner, at least when dealing with the pilgrims, . . . fixes them with his ‘glaringe eyen’ and draws them into his own evil.” Though Spearing also refers to “Scriptural tradition” (Psalm cxl.3), he fails to point out a similarity more relevant to the entire work: the Pardoner and the serpent are both suggestive of sin and death. The Pardoner is, as discussed above, a sinful eunuch; the serpent, the cause of mankind’s first disobedience to God, is scripturally associated with the devil (see (65)), which seduces people into sin and death (see (66-67)):

- (65) the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: (Rev. 12: 9)
 (66) He that committeth sin is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning.²³ (I John 3: 8)
 (67) him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; (Heb. 2: 14)

The ophidian metaphor in (64) is appropriate, not because both a snake and the Pardoner glare at their victims, but because the metaphor contributes to permeating the tale with the imagery of sin and death.

²³ See also the *Parson’s Tale* 830.

Thirdly, why is Death under an oak tree? When demanded to tell where Death is, the old man says to the revellers:

(68) Se ye that ook? Right there ye shal hym [Deeth] fynde. (765)

Citing Frazer's *Golden Bough*, Candelaria (1956: 321) says "in this ritual [Burying of Death] an effigy of Death is buried under an oak 'in order that he may depart from the people'. Such an established association of Death with this particular tree may well have led Chaucer to choose the oak for his version of the tale".²⁴ The association between an oak and death is, as suggested by Miller (1960), also established in Scriptures because, to refer to the passages not cited by Miller, the leaves of an oak fade (cf. Isa. 1: 30), the bones of Saul and his sons were buried under the oak in Jabesh (cf. I Chr. 10: 12), and the slain men shall be under every thick oak (cf. Ezek. 6: 13). Since the name of the tree under which Death lurks is not specified in any analogues recorded in Bryan and Dempster (1958), Brown (1974), or Dias-Ferreira (1977), it is safe to say that Chaucer introduced the oak as a tree of death.

Fourthly, why is gold found under the oak tree? The scene in which the revellers, who are in search of Death, find gold is depicted in the following way:

(69) And everich of these riotoures ran (768-71)
 Til he cam to that tree, and ther they founde
 Of floryns fyne of gold ycoyned rounde
 Wel ny an eighte busshels, as hem thoughte.

A possible explanation is that Chaucer followed the source of the *Pardoner's Tale* in which a hermit calls gold "death". Why, then, did Chaucer follow the source without modification? This seems to be because gold may give the audience a surprise: owing to its 'non-liability to rust' (OED, s.v. Gold 1), gold can be symbolic of 'incorruptibility' and

²⁴ Following Kuhl (1921), Candelaria (1956: 321) also suggests that Chaucer singled out an oak because on Sept. 6, 1390 "the poet was robbed at least once at the 'fowle ok' in Kent". Cf. also Skeat (1963: xli).

‘immortality’ (de Vries 1976: 219). The undecaying metal is introduced ironically as the cause of the revellers’ deaths (see below).

Lastly, what function does the old man fulfill? Unlike the problem of the identity of the old man, which has been much discussed and not agreed upon, this problem, as far as I know, has never been posed. Let us start with the following conversation between one of the revellers and the old man:

- (70) a. Telle where he [Deeth] is or thou shalt it abyde, (756-7)
 By God and by the hooly sacrement!
- b. “Now, sires,” quod he, “if that yow be so leef (760-3)
 To fynde Deeth, turne up this croked wey,
 For in that grove I lafte hym, by my fey,
 Under a tree, and there he wole abyde;

Here, it should be noticed, *Deeth* is charged with various meanings. By *Deeth* the reveller means ‘a fellow named Death’. However, what is found under the tree is, contrary to the reader’s expectation of ‘Death with a scythe’, a heap of gold, which eventually brings about the ‘physical death’ of the revellers and proves to be the ‘cause of death’. Thus, the old man’s answer unexpectedly turns allegorical Death into real death. From the viewpoint of the composition of the tale, the old man’s role is to hang the text together by his equivocal answer. It is by this exploitation of the meanings of *deeth* that Chaucer successfully amalgamates an old story of a hermit and three (or two) robbers with the motive he invented, the quest of Death.

CHAPTER 6

USE AND MEANINGS OF *WENEN*

It was asserted in the previous chapter (§5.3.2) that, as far as the *Reeve's Tale* is concerned, "WENEN is used in the sense 'to think mistakenly'." In this chapter I shall investigate if this assertion holds good to other ME works as well.

The word WENEN seems to have drawn little attention of lexicologists: the OED, Stratmann's *Middle English Dictionary*, and glossaries such as Skeat (1894) and Davis et al. (1979) have left the usage of WENEN undiscussed. Davis et al., for example, not noting how this word is used, cites the following modern equivalents:

- (1) think, imagine; (2) expect; (3) intend.

In Schmidt's *Shakespeare-Lexicon*, on the other hand, *ween* is defined as 'to fancy, to hope (*erroneously*)' [italics mine]. To the best of my knowledge, Schmidt is the only lexicologist who has hitherto assigned "erroneously" to the verb in question. A problem with his definition is that it cannot be accepted as general because *ween* occurs only twice in the whole works of Shakespeare (cf. Table 33). It still remains to be studied whether or not the word means 'to hope (*erroneously*)' in other works, and, more importantly, when it means 'to hope' and when 'to hope *erroneously*'.

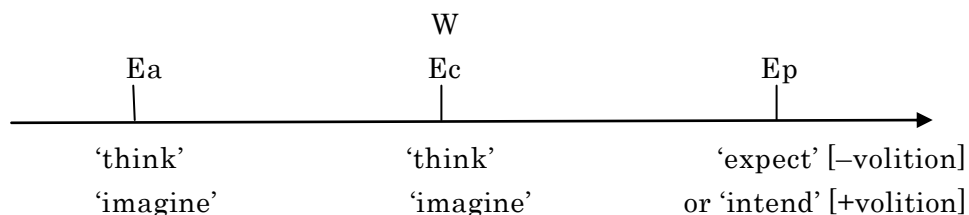
As reasons why WENEN has not been properly analyzed so far, the following three may be adduced: first, since the word is out of daily use, the native speaker's intuition does not work. (It is interesting that Schmidt, a German, noticed the counterfactual force of *ween*.) Secondly, though in restricted contexts (cf. §6.6), WENEN may sometimes carry factual ideas. Thirdly, as text grammar has been underdeveloped, little consideration has been given to relations beyond the boundary of a single sentence, especially, to adversative relations between sentences (see §6.2,

the fourth piece of evidence).

6.1 Complementary distribution

An examination of the relationships between the three meanings of WENEN cited above shows that they constitute a complementary distribution on the basis of time and intentionality: schematically, when the complement sentence of the verb refers to an event anterior to, or contemporaneous with, the point of “weening”, WENEN means ‘think, imagine’; when used of a contingent or posterior event, the verb means either ‘expect’ or ‘intend’ (cf. OED, s.v. Ween 1, 2); if the posterior event is to be caused by a volitional activity of the subject of WENEN, the verb means ‘intend’; if not, it means ‘expect’. These relations may be diagrammed as follows:

Figure 10: Relationships between time and meanings of WENEN



(where Ea, Ec, Ep and W stand for an anterior event, contemporaneous event, posterior event, and the point of ‘weening’, respectively.)

Since the polysemy of WENEN is thus complementary, this chapter will explore the use of the ideative verb without drawing semantic distinctions (but cf. §6.6).

6.2 Evidence

In order to prove that WENEN is used of counterfactual events, I shall enumerate eight pieces of evidence which show the “counterfactual force” of the verb.

First, there is syntactic evidence that the mood and tense of the verb

in the complement sentence of WENEN may be not only in the indicative and subjunctive present but also in the subjunctive past:

- (1) (Bo V, p.1, 72-3) thanne *wenen* folk that it *is* byfalle by fortunous bytydynghe.
- (2) (Bo II, p.5, 84-6) *Wenestow* eek that it *be* a fair thyng to schyne with diverse clothynge?
- (3) (Bo III, p.12, 26-7) ne I nyl nevere *wene* that it *were* to doute

It is syntactically evident that the complement sentence of (3) is treated as contrary-to-fact.

Secondly, there is syntactic and semantic evidence: unlike other verbs of thinking, WENEN is used in a *than*-clause:

- (4) (BD 744, 1138, 1306) I have lost *more than thou wenest*.
- (5) (TC IV, 705) Of *other* passioun *than that they wende*,

As illustrated by examples (4-5), WENEN in a *than*-clause indicates that the subject of it has a false impression.

Thirdly, as regards collocation, the counterfactual force of WENEN is clearly shown when the verb cooccurs with such words as *errour*, *false* and *wrong*, i.e., words that designate the falsity of the idea introduced by WENEN. (Such words will hereafter be referred to as ERROR.)

- (6) (Bo II, p.5, 157-61) But how broode scheweth the *errour* and the *folie* of yow men, that *wenen* that anythyng mai ben apparailed with straunge apparailementz!
- (7) (Bo III, p.4, 72-4) the *false* opynyoun of folk (that is to seyn, that *wenen* that dignytees maken folk digne of honour),
- (8) (Bo II, p.1, 50-2) Thou *wenest* that Fortune be chaunged ayens the; but thou *wenest wrong* (yif thou that wene):

Some other instances of ERROR are *contrarie* (Bo IV, p.6, 229; V, p.4, 136), *tendre wittes* (i.e., ‘simple minds’, cf. Lumiansky 1952: 36) (TC II, 271), *wrongful* (Bo V, p.6, 58), *bigile* (TC V, 1266) and *illusioun* (CT V, 1264).

Fourthly, in discourse, Proposition F which is introduced by WENEN is

often denied and treated as false by Proposition T which is in an adversative relation with Proposition F. Examples:

- (9) (Bo V, p.1, 72-5) thanne wenen folk that it is byfalle by fortunous bytydynghe. But forsothe it nis nat of naught, for it hath his propre causes,
- (10) (Bo IV, p.2, 229-33) “Is ther any wyght thanne,” quod sche, “that weneth that men mowen don alle thinges?” “No man,” quod I, “but yif he be out of his wyt.”
- (11) (Bo III, p.6, 24-7) it byfalleth that he that thow wenest be glorious and renommed semeth in the nexte partie of the erthes to ben withouten glorie and withouten renoun.
- (12) (CT III, 1447-57) “Brother,” quod he [this yeman], “wiltow that I thee telle? I am a feend; my dwellyng is in helle. . . .” “A!” quod this somonour, “benedicite! What seye ye? I wende ye were a yeman trewely. . . .”

Propositions F and T in (9-12) may be tabulated as in Table 28.

Table 28 Adversative relations in (9-12)

Proposition F	Proposition T
(9') “it has happened by chance”	“it has its proper causes”
(10') “men can do all things”	“no man (‘weens’ so)
(11') “he is glorious and renommed”	“he seems . . . to be without glory and without renown”
(12') “you are a yeoman”	“I am a fiend”

Fifthly, there is pragmatic evidence: WENEN can be used in rhetorical questions, thereby suggesting the falsity of the idea (see also (2) and (27-29)):

- (13) (Bo II, p.8, 32-6) *Wenestow* thanne that thow augghtest to leeten this a litel thyng, that this aspre and horrible Fortune hath

discovered to the the thoughtes of thi trewe freendes?

Rhetorical questions such as (2), (13) and (27-29) entail not only “no one ‘weens’ so” but also “the idea is wrong”.

Sixthly, there are cases where, from extra-textual knowledge, ideas introduced by WENEN are judged to be false:

(14) (CT I, 1655-6) Thou myghtest *wene* that this Palamon In his
fightyng were a wood leon,

(15) (TC II, 1169) she [Criseyde] for laughter *wende* for to dye.

Also in: CT I, 3813; TC V, 1648; LGW 1913.

It is extra-textually evident that Palamon is not a mad lion and that Criseyde is not dead. In connection with (15), it deserves comment that no other verbs of thinking occur with “for to dye”, probably because they may imply an actual death and lead the reader to misinterpretation. In contrast, “WENEN+for to dye” causes no misinterpretation owing to the counterfactual force of the verb.

Seventhly, in *Boece*, there is a conspicuous difference in the frequencies of “Boethius + WENEN” and “Philosophie + WENEN”. As is shown in Table 29, WENEN is used 29 times of Boethius’s ideas, but only 3 times of Philosophie’s. Her ideas are most often introduced by TROWEN, which may mean ‘to believe confidently, to feel sure; to accept as *true* or trustworthy’ (cf. OED, s.v. Trow 3, 4) [*italics mine*].

Table 29 Verbs of thinking in *Boece*

	Boethius	Philosophie
WENEN	29	3
TROWEN	11	21
CONJECTEN	1	2
CONSIDEREN	7	0
DEMEN	11	5
HOLDEN	3	1
SUPPOSEN	1	1
THENKEN	2	0

Thus, we can justly argue that the frequent cooccurrences of “Boethius + WENEN” and “Philosophie + TROWEN” reflect the fact that Boethius often thinks mistakenly while Philosophie thinks correctly. (“Philosophie + WENEN” appears once in a subjunctive clause spoken by herself (Bo I, p.1, 63) and twice in Boethius’s question to her (see §6.9).)

Eighthly, there is negative evidence that, though it can be used in a negative imperative (as in (16)), WENEN is never used in an affirmative imperative:

- (16) (LGW F 188-91) But natheles, ne wene nat that I make In preysing
of the flour agayn the leef, No more than of the corn agayn the
sheef; For, as to me, nys lever noon ne lother.

The nonuse of *”wene that . . .” is explainable by a pragmatic consideration: a speaker is unlikely to command his hearer to have an opinion which he considers to be false.¹ DEMEN and TROWEN, on the other hand, can be used in both negative and affirmative imperatives because they do not necessarily ascribe “counterfactuality” to their complement sentences

¹ Also in Japanese, while “. . . da nado to omowa nai de kudasai” (‘please do not think . . .’; negative imperative) is acceptable, “. . . da nado to omoe/omoinasai/omotte kudasai” (affirmative imperative) is unacceptable. Cf. footnote 4 to this chapter.

(cf. §6.3). (References: (DEMEN) CT I, 1353; 3172; (TROWEN) TC IV, 1547; RR 1072; *5077.)

In addition to the eight pieces of evidence given above, there is support from cognate words: German *Wahn* and WÄHNEN, which mean ‘delusion, illusion’ and ‘to suppose wrongly’ (‘fälschlich annehmen’), respectively. The meaning of a word in one language, of course, is not always the same as that of its cognate in another language. But, now that we have already observed without recourse to the German cognates that WENEN is used of counterfactual events, we can safely regard WENEN as corresponding semantically as well as phonologically to WÄHNEN. Our assumption that WENEN has a feature [+counterfactual] is now espoused by its cognate verb.

6.3 Comparison with other verbs of thinking

In order to examine whether the counterfactual use discussed above is unique to WENEN or common to ME verbs of thinking, I shall now compare in tabular form the use of ME ideative verbs in the first six contexts enumerated in 6.2.²

² Verbs of thinking should be distinguished from verbs of appearance (e.g., APPEREN, SEMEN, THINKEN); the latter, which are a priori non-factive, do not take the third type of negation (see the following footnote).

Table 30 Use of ME verbs of thinking

	subj. past	than- clause	ERROR	adver- sative	rhet. qstn	for to dye
WENEN	+	+	+	+	+	+
CONJECTEN	-	-	-	+	-	-
CONSIDEREN	-	-	-	+	-	-
DEMEN	+	-	+	+	+	-
HOLDEN	-	-	+	+	+	-
SUPPOSEN	-	-	+	+	-	-
THENKEN	-	-	-	+	-	-
TROWEN	+	-	+	+	+	-

It becomes clear from this table that ideative verbs other than WENEN are used in both factual and counterfactual contexts. This means that the counterfactual force of these verbs are accidental while that of WENEN is inherent. To put this in linguistic terms, verbs of thinking other than WENEN are “non-factive predicates” which ascribe “non-factuality” to their complement sentences; WENEN, by contrast, is a “counterfactive predicate”, assigning “counterfactuality” to its complement sentence.

6.4 Point of view

It is clear from the discussion in §6.2 that the one who has a false conception the subject of WENEN. Who, then, judges that he has a misconception? Whose point of view, in other words, is the idea introduced by WENEN seen from? First, consider the following examples:

(17) (PF 493) wel *wende* I the wode hadde al toshyvered.

(18)(=14) Thow myghtest *wene* that this Palamon In his fightyng were a wood leon,

(19) (CT I, 4259) He *wende* have copen by his felawe John, And by the millere in he creep anon,

These examples, which are not preceded by a reporting verb, show that it

is the speaker who judges the content-clause of WENEN to be false.

Next, observe the following examples:

- (20) (CT IV, 2396) “Ye, sire,” quod she [Mai], “ye may wene as yow lest. ...”
- (21) (CT I, 4046-8) This millere ... thoghte, “Al this nys doon but for a wyle. They wene that no man may hem bigyle, ...”

Here, the ideas conceived by the subjects of WENEN, *ye* and *they*, are regarded as false from the viewpoints of the subjects of the sentence, *she* and *this millere*, respectively. To put this more elaborately, when a reporting verb grammatically or logically precedes the sentence whose main verb is WENEN, it is the subject of the reporting verb that treats the idea introduced by WENEN as false. This can be more clearly observed from the following passage:

- (22) (Bo V, p.5, 43-6) But how schal it thanne be, yif that wit and ymaginacioun stryven [‘contend’] ayein resonyng and seyn that, of thilke universel thingis that resoun *weneth* to seen, that it nis ryght naught?
 (What, then, if sense and imagination gainsay reasoning, saying that that universal which reason thinks she perceives, is nothing at all. [Tester trans.])

To take out the relevant points:

- a) reporting verb = *seyn*
- b) subject of the reporting verb = *wit and ymaginacioun*
- c) what *wit and ymaginacioun* claim = “the universal things do not exist” (therefore, reason does not see them)
- d) subject of *weneth* = *resoun*
- e) what reason ‘weens’ = “reason sees the universal things”
- f) speaker’s [Philosohie] opinion on reason = “reason sees the universal things” (cf. Bo V, p.4, 191-2; p.5, 55-75)
- g) hearer’s [Boethius] opinion on reason = nothing in particular

Since neither the speaker nor the hearer considers the idea that “reason sees the universal things” to be false, the one who mistakenly regards the idea as false is *wit and ymaginacioun*, i.e., the subject of the reporting verb *seyn*.

It has been shown that the “judges” are the speaker in the case of (17-19) and the reporter in the case of (20-22). This is to say that the one who judges the idea introduced by WENEN to be false is, in either case, the speaker of the sentence whose main verb is WENEN. For the sake of brevity, I shall hereafter refer to him as the “primary user of WENEN” (hereafter PUOW).

We may conclude this section by saying that, even if it is true, the proposition which is the complement of WENEN is represented as untrue by the PUOW.

6.5 Counterexamples? — negation

This section will deal with contexts in which WENEN is used in the negative. I shall begin with an example that accords with the previous argument, and then proceed to contexts which may at first sight seem to be counterexamples to the argument above.

The speaker of the following negative sentence regards the complement sentence as a wrong idea since he adheres to Justinian’s creed which “forbids any man who is capable of body to ask for his bread in any way as long as he can find place to earn it”:

- (23) (RR *6629-30) Ne I ne wene not, sikerly, That they may have it
[pryvelege] rightfully.

In the following example, however, the content of each complement sentence is factual since for (24a) “God’s intelligence beholds everything” (Bo V, p.4, 191) and for (25a) the hawk is to feign (cf. CT V, 621ff.)

- (24) a. (Bo V, p.5, 76-9) Semblable thing is it, that the resoun of
mankynde ne weneth nat that the devyne intelligence byholdeth
or knoweth thingis to comen,

- (25) a. (CT V, 507-10) It [treson and falsnesse] was so wrapped under
humble cheere . . . That no wight koude han wend he [tercelet]
koude feyne,

How should these (seeming) counterexamples be explained?

Related to this is, in the London school's term, "transferred negation". In PrE it is usual with *think*, *believe*, *suppose*, *imagine*, *expect* and some other verbs of thinking for a negative in the main sentence to apply to the complement sentence. For instance, (26a) is ambiguous: in one meaning it is virtually synonymous with (26b) (cf. Quirk et al. 1972:789f.):³

- (26) a. I didn't think he was happy.
b. I thought he wasn't happy.

Returning to (24-25, a) with transferred negation in mind, we can interpret them as (24-25, b):

- (24) b. "... the reason of mankind 'weens' that the divine intelligence
does *not* behold or know the things to come"
(25) b. "... every person could have 'weened' he could *not* feign"

Notice that the complement sentences of (24-25) are no longer factual because, in (24), human reason has a misconception that "divine intelligence does not behold or know the things to come" and, as regards (25), everyone thought mistakenly that the hawk could not feign. (Similar examples: Bo II, p.8, 2; IV, p.3, 103; LGW F 288; RR *5430; *6262; TC I, 216 (with *lite*l); 489 (with *lest*).)

³ Negation of verbs of thinking can be classified into the following three types:

Type 1: I thought he wasn't happy (with the negative in the complement sentence (e.g., Bo III, p.12, 142; IV, p. 4, 174, etc.);

Type 2: I didn't think he was happy (with the negative applying to the main sentence (e.g., (3), (16), (23));

Type 3: I didn't think he was happy (with the negative applying to the complement sentence (e.g., (24-25)).

The same explanation applies to rhetorical questions, which are virtually synonymous with negative sentences. (27a), for instance, can be rewritten as (27b):

- (27) a. (Bo III, m.4, 11-3) Who wolde thanne resonably wenen that blisfulnesse were in swiche honours as ben yyven by vycious schrewes?
 b. “No one would reasonably ‘ween’ that blissfulness is in such honors as are given by vicious men”

Since the complement sentences of (27, a-b) are both counterfactive, it is the main sentences that are, logically or grammatically, negated.

In the following examples, however, WENEN introduces factual ideas; in (28), forcing them to part from each other, Fortune deprives Troilus and Criseyde of their joy, and at the point of utterance of (29a) the three rioters have already found “a grace”, namely, “well nigh eight bushes of florins”:

- (28) a. (TC IV, 384-5) Who wolde have wend that in so litel a throwe Fortuneoure joie wold han overthrowe?
 b. “No one would have ‘weened’ that in so short a time Fortune would have overthrown our joy”
 (29) a. (CT VI, 782-3) Who wende To-day that we sholde han so fair a grace?
 b. “No one would ‘ween’ that we should have so fair a grace today”

These “counterexamples” can again be explained from the angle of transferred negation. Examples (28-29, a) may be taken as virtually synonymous with (28-29, c):

- (28) c. “Everyone would have ‘weened’ that in so short a time Fortune would not have overthrown our joy”
 (29) c. “Everyone would ‘ween’ that we should not have so fair a grace today”

It has been shown in this section that a seemingly factual complement sentence introduced by “negative+WENEN” is, logically, negated by the negative in the main sentence, and conveys counterfactual content.

6.6 Backgrounding of the counterfactual force

Although WENEN is used mostly of counterfactual states of affairs, there are three cases in which its counterfactual force is backgrounded. First, *wh*-words (*what*, *which* and *whether*) neutralize the counterfactual force because they presuppose neither factuality nor counterfactuality:

- (30) (Malory, Wks VII, 5, 41) *What wenyst* thou? That I have joy of the for all this dede?
- (31) (Spenser, FQ V, iii, 19, 1-7) As when two sunnes appeare in the azure skye, . . . All that behold so strange prodigious sight, Not knowing natures worke, nor *what* to *weene*, Are rapt with wonder, and with rare affright.
- (32) (Spenser, FQ, IV, iii, 7, 5) hard it was to *weene which* harder were.

Note. Notice that the speaker of (30) adds her judgement that the boy has a wrong idea.

Examples of “whether+WENEN”:

- (33) (KA, Boethius XXXVIII, §VI) Ðæ cwæþ he. *Hwæþer þu wene þ[at] þa sien earme & ungesælige þe wites wyrþe biþ.*
(Then said he: Dost thou think that they are miserable and unhappy, who are deserving of punishment?)
Also in: XXXIV, §VI (2x); XXXVI, §IV; XL, §II.
- (34) (Bo I, p.6, 7-10) “*Whethir wenestow*,” quod sche, “that this world be governed by foolysse happes and fortunows, or elles *wenestow* that ther be inne it ony government of resoun?”

It should be noticed that these examples are alternative questions. (Example (33) can be construed as derived from “whether thou wene

that ... *or not?*" (cf. OED, s.v. *whether* II, 1b)). In this type of question, there is a strategic motivation to use WENEN because, if the questioner asks one half of his question with counterfactive WENEN and the other half with non-factive TROWEN or DEMEN, he virtually reveals his judgement. The same strategy applies to the alternative question from which *whether* is omitted:

(35) (KA, Boethius XXXIII, §I) *Wenst þu nu þ[at] se answald & þ[at] geniht seo to forseonne. oððe eft swiþor to weorþianne ðonne oþre god.*

(Thinkest thou now that power and abundance is to be despised? or, again, more to be esteemed than other goods?)

Another context in which the counterfactivity is not conspicuous is when the complement sentence refers to an event posterior to the point of utterance, that is, a future event:

(36) (CT VII, 1148) But nathelees, if thou *wene* sikerly that the biwreiyng of thy conseil to a persone *wol* make thy condicion to stonden in the bettere plyt, thanne shaltou tellen hym thy conseil in this wise.

A more obvious example of WENEN used of a future event:

(37) (O&N 1037-42) Hit was iseid in olde laþe—An 3 et ilast þilke soþsa3 e— Ðat man shal erien an sowe Ðar he *wenþ after* sum god mowe, For he is wod þat soweþ his sed Ðar neuer gras ne sprinþ ne bled.

(It was stated in the law of old time—and the wise saying still remains—that ‘a man must plough and also sow where he expects to reap a harvest’: for he is mad who sows his seed where no grass or blossom doth evere appear. [Atkins trans.])

The backgrounding of the counterfactual force in this context will be explained as follows: while the PUOW knows the results of unfulfilled

past events and falsehood of other person's present thoughts, he has no means to know what will happen in the future (cf. TC V, 746ff.). To put this the other way round, if the PUOW, like Philosophie or the narrator of a tale, can foresee the future, he can use WENEN counterfactually of a future event:

- (38) (Bo II, m.7, 26-9) And yif ye *wene* to lyve the lengere for wynd of yowr mortel name whan o cruel day schal ravyssche yow, than is the seconde deth duellynge unto yow. [said by Philosophie]
 (39) (TC I, 215-6) This Troilus is clomben on the staire, And litel *weneth* that he moot descenden; [told by the narrator]

Lastly, in the following example the preposed complement sentence is factual because Criseyde is to be exchanged for Antenor:

- (40) (TC IV, 792-3) Thus, herte myn, for Antenor, allas, I [Criseyde] soone shal be chaunged, as I *wene*. [: sustene : tene]
 See also: TC III, 499; 869; V, 1088.

Though (40) can be explained by the exigencies of rime, (41) cannot be so explained:

- (41) (TC V, 1345-7) If any servant dorste or oughte of right Upon his lady pitously compleyne, Thanne *wene* I [Troilus] that ich oughte be that wight,

Since it is unlikely that Troilus writes what he does not believe, the complement sentence of (41) should be taken as factual.⁴

⁴ According to Noriko A. McCawley (1977: 390), *imagine* loses its counterfactual force in (i, a):

- i. a. I imagine that there are dragons.
- b. Mary imagines that there are dragons.
- c. When I was a little girl, I imagined that there were dragons.
- d. When my sister Mary was a little girl, she imagined that there

It should be admitted, therefore, that the counterfactual force of WENEN is backgrounded under the following conditions:

- 1) the subject of WENEN is in the first person singular (as opposed to (1-2), etc.);

Note. When the PUOW treats his own idea as identical with that of a group of which he is a member, “we + wene” conveys a factual idea:

(SG 205-7) We howpe thou come never of Cryston stryn, Bot art sum fendys son, *we weyn*, That werkus hus [‘us’] this woo. (This example is treated as a case of “I + wene”.)

When the PUOW does not identify himself with the group, “we + wene” is used counterfactually:

(Malory, Wks XX, 7, 35-7) for oftyntymys we do many thynges that *we wene* for the beste be, and yet peradventure hit turnyth to the warste.

- 2) the reference is to the PUOW’s present idea (indicated by *wene*) (as opposed to (12) and (17));

Note 1. “I + wene” includes “I myght/would wene” (TC IV, 1068;

were dragons.

Also in the Japanese translations of (i, a-d), though she does not mention this, the same tendency can be observed:

- ii. a. *Watashi wa ryû ga iru to omotte iru.* (non-factive)
 - a'. **Watashi wa ryû ga iru nado to omotte iru.* (counterfactive)
 - b. *Mary wa ryû ga iru to omotte iru.*
 - b'. *Mary wa ryû ga iru nado to omotte iru.*
 - c. *Watashi wa, kodomo no koro, ryû ga iru to omotte ita.*
 - c'. *Watashi wa, kodomo no koro, ryû ga iru nado to omotte ita.*
 - d. *Imôto no Mary wa, kodomo no koro, ryû ga iru to omotte ita.*
 - d'. *Imôto no Mary wa, kodomo no koro, ryû ga iru nado to omotte ita.*

Example (ii, a') is acceptable when the speaker says it to himself. In this case, *watashi* ('I') is objectified, and not identical with the PUOW.

CA VI, 2416).

Note 2. When *wene* is back-shifted into *wende*, it still introduces a factual idea (cf. King Alfred's translation of *Boece*, Tituli Capitulum XI, Caput XI, §1).

3) the polarity is affirmative (as opposed to (23)).

The reason why the counterfactual force of WENEN is backgrounded under these conditions is that, when he expresses his own idea, the PUOW usually does not consider it to be false.

6.7 Use of WENEN in various works

In order to prove that the counterfactual force of WENEN is not idiosyncratic to Chaucer, I shall now investigate how the verb is used in the English language from OE to ModE periods. First, in 14th century literature,⁵ the word is used as in Table 31. (The counterfactual use is classified into the first six contexts listed in §6.2 and the non-counterfactual use into the three contexts of backgrounding (§6.6) and poetic license which, though not discussed above, must be considered in dealing with poetic language.)

⁵ For the abbreviations and the texts used, see **note 1** two pages later and the bibliography.

Table 31 Use of WENEN in 14th century literature

	Bo	TC	CT	CA	HL	PPI	GGK	PH	SM	Em	Oc	SI	SG	SA	SL	TOTAL
COUNTERFACTUAL																
subjunctive past	2		2													
than-clause	1	4														
ERROR	19	10	5	17												
adversative	56	23	39	65		3	2	1	2	2				1		
rhetorical q.	6	1	1						1							
extra-textual	8	4	7	3		2					2					
Subtotal	92	42	54	85	0	5	2	1	3	0	4	0	0	1	0	289
NON-COUNTERFACTUAL																
wh-word	1															
future			4													
I wene	1	6		5	3	1	1	2	1				4			
poetic license		2	2	1				1								
others	3															
Subtotal	5	8	6	6	3	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	38
SUM TOTAL	97	50	60	91	3	6	3	4	4	0	4	0	4	1	0	327

Note 1. Abbreviations: HL = The Harley Lyrics; PPI = The Vision of Piers Plowman; GGK = Sir Gawain and the Green Knight; Prl = Pearl; SM = The Sege of Melayne; Em = Emaré; Oc = Octavian; SI = Sir Isumbras; SG = Sir Gowther; SA = Sir Amadace; SL = Sir Launfal. For further information, see the bibliography.

Note 2. When an instance of WENEN presents more than one piece of evidence, it is included under the more (or most) obvious heading.

Note 3. In case WENEN is preceded by *what*, and then followed by what the questioner expects, the supplemented expectation is treated as the idea introduced by WENEN. In (30), for example, the supplemented *that*-clause is treated as the complement sentence of WENEN (cf. Caxton's corresponding passage).

Note 4. "Adversative" relations include "contradictory" propositions; e.g., (CT VII, 1124) he *weneth* alwey that he may do thyng that he may nat do.

Note 5. Table 31 does not include instances of the collocation "wenen well" since this idiom is traditionally interpreted as 'to know' (GGK 270; 1226; FQ I, vii, 40, 2; IV, viii, 14, 4, etc.). However, Higuchi (1984) asserts that this verb group is, like WENEN, used mostly of a counterfactual state of affairs.

Table 31 shows (1) that in 14th century English WENEN was used mostly of counterfactual events and (2) that WENEN appears much more frequently in Chaucer's works than in provincial poetry. (As far as my researches show, the average frequency of WENEN in Chaucer's works is 1:165.4 (i.e., WENEN occurs in every 165.4 lines), while that in provincial poetry is 1:537.4; in Gower's CA, the ratio is 1:402.7.) It may further be added that the instances in which it is not used counterfactually in

provincial literature are (with the single exception of HL 24) under the exigencies of verse: all the instances of “I+wene” in GGK, Prl, SM, SG and HL are in rime position; the instance of “I+wene” in PPl is alliterative.

Although the frequency of Chaucer’s use of WENEN is on the decrease, this does not mean that the word came to be devalued as *hende*, *fetys* or *semely* did (cf. E. T. Donaldson 1970: 18, Ando 1970). Rather, the relatively low frequency is due to the “unspeculative” nature of his later works because ideative verbs as a whole have fewer occasions to appear in TC and CT. See Table 32.

Table 32 Frequency and distribution of verbs of thinking in Chaucer’s major works

	Bo	TC	CT
WENEN	97	50	60
CONSIDEREN	25	7	43
DEMEN	64	16	49
SUPPOSEN	2	4	20
THENKEN	17	10	90
TROWEN	45	42	61
Total	250	229	323
Lines	6667	8239	19335
Average frequency	1:26.7	1:36.0	1:59.9

In CT the *fabliaux* present more instances of WENEN than romances or other genres. (The average frequencies of WENEN in the *fabliaux* and romances are 1:227.8 and 1:418.6, respectively; that is, WENEN occurs once in every 227.8 or 418.6 lines.) This must be because the counterfactive predicate is exploited in this genre to suggest characters’ misjudgement (see, e.g., CT I, 4259; 4302-7) and their gullibility (e.g., CT I, 3474; VII, 406).⁶

⁶ Another genre which exploits the counterfactual force of WENEN is

A survey of the use of WENEN in the works before and after the 14th century gives the following results (Table 33):

Table 33 Use of WENEN in various works

	KA	Beo	O&N	Wal	Wks	Mar	FQ	Sh	AV	TOTAL
COUNTERFACTUAL										
subjunctive past										
than-clause	1			1	15		1			
ERROR	23		1	8	3		5			
adversative	61	9	5	13	65		71	1		
rhetorical q.	6		4				3	1		
extra-textual	4	2	2	1	14	1	8			
Subtotal	95	11	12	23	97	1	88	2	0	329
NON-COUNTERFCTL										
wh-word	15						7			
future	3		3							
I wene	22	8	3		3		24			
poetic license							1			
others					1		2			
Subtotal	40	8	6	0	4	0	34	0	0	92
SUM TOTAL	135	19	18	23	101	1	122	2	0	421

Note. Abbreviations: KA = King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Boethius; Beo = Beowulf; O&N = The Owl and the Nightingale; Wal = Boethius: De Consolatione Philosophiae (tr. by Walton); Wks = The Works of Sir Thomas Malory; Mar = The Complete

debate; in O&N, for instance, each character employs the counterfactive predicate as a verbal weapon to disclose and attack the other party's misapprehension (see O&N 259, 303, 315, 371, 854, 1241; 961). Cf. Higuchi (1987).

Plays of Christopher Marlowe; FQ = Faerie Queene (in Smith & Selincourt (eds.)); Sh = The Works of Shakespeare; AV = Authorized Version.

An examination of Tables 31 and 33 reveals, first of all, that WENEN came to be used rarely in the Early ModE period. In this connection, the OED's note (s.v. Ween) is worth quoting: "the word [ween] seems to have gone out of general use in the 17th c." (Spenser's frequent use of WENEN reflects his archaism.) Secondly, these tables decisively confirm the counterfactual force of WENEN. Thirdly, it is shown that out of 748 instances of WENEN in total there are 6 cases which are unexplainable from the previous discussion. (They are under the heading of "others".) Our task now is to investigate into the causes of the deviation. Here are two out of the three exceptions in *Boece*:

- (42) (Bo III, p.10, 224-7) and therefore is it that men oughte to *wene* ["credatur"; "croire"] by ryghte that bounte be the sovereyn fyn and the cause of alle the thinges that ben to requiren.
- (43) (Bo IV, p.3, 36-40) And at the laste, so as alle medes ben requerid for men *wenen* ["creditur"; "croit"] that thei ben gode, who is he that nolde deme ["iudicet"; "jugeroit"] that he that is ryght myghti of good were partlees of the mede?

Notice that the factually used instances of WENEN in (42-43) correspond to the inflected forms of CREDO/CREIRE (= croire). Because WENEN is used properly at other places in *Boece*, and because no other Latin/French equivalents of WENEN are used factually (except for *putent* in (44)), it is reasonable to suppose that these instances of WENEN were somewhat loosely chosen as an English equivalent of CREDO/CREIRE.

Note. WENEN in *Boece* corresponds to PUTO (I, p.1, 63; p.6, 7; II, p.1, 50; p.3, 78, etc.), CREDO (I, p.3, 43; p.4, 301; II, m.2, 22, etc.), EXISTIMO (I, p.5, 12; II, p.5, 159, etc.), AESTIMO (I, p.6, 81; II, p.3, 75, etc.) and ARBITROR (V, p.1, 9).

Besides the influence of the original, the following contextual reasons may also be added: for (42), it should not go unnoticed that *wene* is immediately followed by *by ryghte* ('justly'): the counterfactual force of WENEN is semantically neutralized by the phrase indicative of factivity. For (43), the use of WENEN seems to be partly influenced by the occurrence of another ideative verb: by choosing *wenen* at one place and *deme* at another, Chaucer successfully avoids repeating the same ideative verb.

The remaining exception in *Boece* runs as follows:

- (44) (Bo III, p.2, 95-8) And foleyen ["labuntur"; "folaient"] swiche folk, thanne, that *wenen* ["putent"; "cudent"] that thilk thyng that is ryght good, that it be eek ryght worthy of honour and of reverence? Certes, nay.

Here, *wenen* seems to be triggered by *foleyen*, the meaning of which is 'to believe mistakenly' (Davis et al., s.v. folyen). Because the question is about whether or not the folk have a misconception (i.e., foleyen), it is natural for the questioner to introduce the same folk's idea by WENEN since it also suggests "misconception"; in other words, the topic "misconception" in the main sentence affects the choice of the verb of thinking in the relative sentence.

The exceptional instances of WENEN in FQ are both neutralized by *sure* (cf. (36) and (42)):

- (45) (FQ VI, ii, 24, 6) *sure* he [Calidore] weend him [Tristram] borne of noble blood,
Also in FQ IV, iv, 7, 9.

The remaining exception occurs in Vinaver's edition of Malory's *Works* (46a). Citing Caxton's corresponding passage (46b), Vinaver notes "either reading is possible" (p.1440). But, since Gawain is actually struck by *ye* [Gareth], the right reading is Caxton's:

- (46) a. (Wks VII, 31, 8) And whan sir Gareth aspyed that he was

discoverde, than he dowbled his strokys and smote downe there sir Sagramoure and his brother sir Gawayne. ‘A, brother,’ seyde sir Gawayne, ‘I wente ye wolde have smyttyn me.’

- b. (p.155) O brother, said Sir Gawaine, I wend ye would not have strickne me.

6.8 Conclusion

From all the discussion above we conclude:

- 1) the typical context in which WENEN is used is that the PUOW regards the subject of WENEN as holding a false idea;
- 2) the counterfactual force of WENEN may be backgrounded
 - (a) when it occurs in the combination “I+wene”;
 - (b) when the complement sentence refers to a future event;
 - (c) when it is used with a *wh*-word.

6.9 Application to Chaucer’s works

Applying these observations to Chaucer’s works, I shall now analyze the state of mind of the user of the counterfactive predicate.

First, Boethius asks Philosophie about hap (‘chances’) as follows:

- (47) (Bo V, p.1, 9-11) But I axe yif that thou wenest [“arbitrere”; “cuidez”] that hap be anything in any weys; and yif thou wenest [ū; “cuidez”] that hap be anything, what is it?

That Boethius asks about the existence of “hap” means that, not knowing whether or not chances exist, he wants Philosophie to tell him about it. By choosing WENEN, however, he reveals his judgement that chances do not exist. His question, therefore, includes a contradiction that he does not know, and yet has a judgement, about the (non)existence of chances. This contradiction is accountable if we consider that, because he is not sure of his own judgement, he is trying to lead her to a discussion about chances and related matters. This interpretation can be supported by the fact that he himself begins the discussion on hap when Philosophie is going to say another matter (Bo V, p.1, 1-4) and that he also asks

questions related with “hap”, such as “free will” and “necessity” (V, p.2 and p.3).

Secondly, witnessing the “struggle” between Mai and Damian, January says:

- (48) (CT IV, 2393-5) I [January] wende han seyn [‘seen’] How that this
 Damyan hadde by thee [Mai] leyn, And that thy smok hadde leyn
 upon his brest.

These words should not be interpreted as a rehash of January’s counterargument to Mai’s answer because, when he says (48), he is already duped into believing her excuse and regards, or treats, what his eyes have seen as a mistake. Linguistic evidence that favors this interpretation is (a) his use of the counterfactive predicate *wende*, (b) his retraction of his previous counterargument by saying “lat al [what January has said] passe out of mynde” (2390) and “if I have myssayd, God helpe me so, as I am yvele apayd” (2391-2), and (c) the change of tone from “I saugh it with myne yen” (2378) to “me thoughte he dide thee so” (2386); the weakening tone reveals that he is losing his confidence in what (he thinks) his eyes have seen (cf. Lumiansky 1955: 170f.).

Lastly, at the scene of the “parting visit” in TC, synonymous expressions appear in succession:

- (49) (TC IV, 682-3) to Criseyde of wommen com a route, For pitous joie,
 and *wenden hire delite*;
 (50) (TC IV, 701-2) Thise wommen, that thus *wenden hire* [Criseyde] *to
 plese*, Aboute naught gonne alle hire tales spende.
 (51) (TC IV, 724) [thise wommen] with hire tales *wenden hire* [Criseyde]
disporten,

In these lines, through the repetition of the counterfactive predicate, the narrator not only implies that “these women could not please Criseyde” but also contrasts, on the one hand, the foolishness of these women, who cannot see the vainness of their talks and, on the other, the sadness of Criseyde, who is far from being pleased by their companionship. (Notice

the critical terms used of the women, such as *fooles* (715), *naught* (702), *vanyte* and *nyce vanyte* (703, 729), and the words expressing Criseyde's sadness, e.g., *sorweful piete* (731), *sorwfully* (714) and *siked sore* (716).) The discrepancy between what Criseyde feels and what the women 'ween' is sharply brought out in the following lines:

(52) (TC IV, 712-8) Remembryng hir [Criseyde], fro heven into which helle She fallen was, syn she forgoth the syghte Of Troilus, and sorwfully she sighte. And thilke fooles sittynge hire aboute *Wenden* that she wepte and siked sore Bycause that she sholde out of that route Departe, and nevere pleye with hem more.

In connection with this scene, it is worth pointing out that, though Dempster (1959: 15) asserts "he [Chaucer] contributed nothing to it [the liveliness and humor of the scene]" and "Chaucer follows the Italian very closely", Chaucer flavors the original by choosing WENEN. His flavoring is evidenced by the fact that WENEN does not correspond one-to-one to any particular Italian word: the equivalents of WENEN in (49-52) and (5) are, respectively, *ū* (IV, st. 80), *credeano* (st. 83, 1), *ū* (st.85), *credevan* (st. 84, 6) and *vedeano* (st. 83, 5). Thus, though he follows Boccaccio's line, Chaucer adds to the original his own empathy by describing the women as more foolish and showing the narrator's attitudes, attached to Criseyde and detached from the women, more clearly than in the original.

CHAPTER 7

A SEARCH FOR CHAUCER'S COMEDY

Toward the end of *Troilus and Criseyde* Chaucer prays to God to grant him the power to make something in the manner of “comedy”:

- (1) Go, litel bok, go, litel myn tragedye, (TC V, 1786-8)
 Ther God thi makere yet, er that he dye,
 So sende myght to make in som comede!

Some critics say that *comedy* in the above invocation refers to the *Canterbury Tales*.¹ This argument, however, is not specific enough since not all the tales in CT are comedies.² The fact that soon after the completion of the story on a “faithless” woman (i.e., TC) Chaucer began composing stories on “faithful” women (i.e., LGW; cf. TC V, 1777-8) seems to suggest that, when he made the invocation above, he did not have a specific comedy in mind.³ What, then, was the comedy Chaucer wrote? In this chapter I shall investigate medieval ideas of “tragedy” and “comedy” and discuss which one of Chaucer’s works can justifiably be called a “comedy”.

7.1 Definitions of tragedy and comedy

I shall begin by searching for Chaucer’s own definitions of tragedy and comedy. Tragedy is defined as follows in the *Monk’s Tale*:

¹ See, for example, D. R. Howard (1976: 31), D. R. Howard and J. Dean (eds.) (1976: 278), M. Masui (1976: 134) and N. Coghill (1979: 61).

² It is unlikely that mediaeval people thought of CT as a “human comedy” because Dante’s *Divina Commedia*, from which the designation “comédie humaine” derives, was not so called in the Middle Ages. Cf. R. K. Root (ed.) (1926: 558).

³ Cf. Root (ed.) (1926: 558); J. H. Fisher (ed.) (1977: 538).

- (2) *Tragedie* is to seyn a certeyn storie, (CT VII, 1973-7)
 As olde bookes maken us memorie,
 Of hym that stood in greet prosperitee,
 And is *yfallen* out of heigh degree
 Into myserie, and endeth wrecchedly.

More to the point:

- (3) *Tragedye* is to seyn a dite of a prosperite for a tyme, that endeth in wrecchidnesse. (Bo II, p.2, 70-2)

Though no explicit definition of comedy can be found in Chaucer's works, there is a clue to what Chaucer thought of comedy; when the Knight interrupts the Monk and says as follows, he seems to explain tragedy in the first half and comedy in the second half:

- (4) I seye for me, it is a greet disece, (CT VII, 2771-7)
 Whereas men han been in greet welthe and ese,
 To heeren of hire sodeyn *fal*, allas!
 And the contrarie is joye and greet solas,
 As whan a man hath been in povre estaat,
 And *clymbeth up* and wexeth fortunat,
 And there abideth in prosperitee.

The interpretation of (4) as explanations of tragedy and comedy is borne out by the following words of Lydgate, a devoted Chaucerian:

- (5) But *tragidie*, who so list to knowe, (Troy Book II, 852-4)
 It begynneth in prosperite,
 And endeth euer in aduersite;
- (6) A *comedie* hath in his gynnyng, (Troy Book II, 847-9)
 At prime face, a maner compleynyng,
 And afterward endeth in gladnes;

Judging from the quotations above, it seems easy to define the two genres: a tragedy is a story with a sad ending; a comedy is a story with a happy ending.

7.2 Ascent and descent

Before concluding that the above is the essential distinction between the two genres, we should go one step further and give consideration to the italicized words indicating upward and downward movements: *yfallen*, *fal*; *clymbeth up* (see the quotations (2) and (4)). Let us cite similar examples. First, soon after the beginning of TC, the initial pride of Troilus and the sorrow he must experience later are expressed as follows:

- (7) This Troilus is *clomben* on the staire, (TC I, 215-6)
And litel weneth that he moot *descenden*;

Secondly, Dante's *Commedia* is, as a whole, an "ascent" to the Paradise:

- (8) Or questi, che da l'infima lacuna (Paradiso 33: 22-7)
de l'universo infin qui ha vedute
le vite spiritali ad una ad una,
supplica a te, per grazia, di virtute
tanto, che possa con li occhi *levarsi*
più alto verso l'ultima salute.

(This man, who witnessed from the deepest pit / Of all the universe,
up to this height, / The souls' lives one by one, doth now entreat /
That thou, by grace, may grant to him such might / That higher yet
in vision he may *rise* / Towards the final source of bliss and light.
[Sayers and Reynolds trans.]

Thirdly, contrary to *Commedia*, the tragedies told by the Monk in CT are abundant with words indicating "descent":

- (9) From heigh degree ... *fel* he for his synne (CT VII, 2002-3)
Doun into helle, where he yet is inne.

See also: CT VII, 2006, 2189, 2349, 2526, 2610.

Here, it is perhaps worth reinterpreting the traditional distinctions between tragedy and comedy (J. E. Spingarn 1908: 66f.) from the viewpoint of “descent” and “ascent”:

Traditional distinctions	Reinterpretation
i) Tragedy begins happily and ends terribly; comedy begins rather turbulently and ends joyfully. (Cf. quotations (2), (3), (5) and (6).)	The distinction i) is no more than the result of “descent” and “ascent”. ⁴
ii) The characters in tragedy are kings, princes, or great leaders; those in comedy, humble persons and private citizens. (This is implied in the Knight’s words (4).)	This is because the persons who have already climbed up the social ladder cannot rise any more, whereas humble persons have a possibility to rise to a higher position.
iii) The subjects of tragedy are generally historical; those of comedy are always invented by the poet.	The distinctions iii)-v) are secondarily derived from the previous ones: the cause of high-born men’s “descent” is likely to be historically known and tends to be a terrible incident, such as exile and bloodshed; on the other hand, since humble persons’ life records are usually unknown, the poet can freely devise activities familiar to them, like love and seduction, as the cause of their “ascent”.
iv) Tragedy deals with great and terrible actions; comedy with familiar and domestic actions.	
v) Comedy deals largely with love and seduction; tragedy with exile and bloodshed.	

⁴ The scene of the ascent of Troilus’s soul to the eighth sphere is not present in *Il Philostrato* nor in the earliest version of TC (Root (ed.), 1926: lxxii); Chaucer’s original intention must have been to end TC with Troilus’s death. This is why Chaucer treats TC as a tragedy in the quotations (1) and (6).

vi) The style and diction of tragedy are elevated and sublime; while those of comedy are humble and colloquial.

The last distinction is due to the fact that it is suitable to narrate high-ranking men's "descent" in high style, and low-born persons' domestic activities in low style.

Thus, the features of tragedy and comedy hitherto treated separately can be given a unified explanation from the single standpoint of "descent" and "ascent".

7.3 Fortune

Where, then, does the up-and-down movement in tragedy and comedy come from? Astrology is surely related to it:

- (10) The children of Mercurie and of Venus (CT III, 697-707)
 Been in hir wirkyng ful contrarius;
 Mercurie loveth wysdam and science,
 And Venus loveth ryot and dispence.
 And, for hire diverse disposicioun,
 Ech *falleth* in otheres *exaltacioun*.
 And thus, God woot, Mercurie is desolat
 In Pisces, wher Venus is *exaltat*,
 And Venus *falleth* ther Mercurie is *reysed*.
 Therefore no womman of no clerk is preysed.

What is written in the stars, however, was believed to be executed by Fortune:

- (11) But O Fortune, executrice of wierdes, (TC III, 617)

Note. The Goddess Fortune was originally a Roman Goddess of agriculture. Sometime in the Roman period Fortuna came to be worshipped as Guardian of statesmen and soldiers, hence, Goddess of chance (Kurose 1970: 32). The first citation of

Fourtune meaning ‘the goddess of fortune’ is dated in the MED a1375 (*WPal* [*William of Palerne*]).

More crucially, Fortune was popularly believed to bring man up and down by turning her wheel:

- (12) I [Fortune] torne the whirlynge *wheel* with the turnynge sercle; I
am glad to chaungen the loweste to the heyeste, and the heyeste to
the loweste. (Bo II, p.2, 51-4)
- (13) Thus kan Fortune hir *wheel* governe and gye, (CT VII, 2397-8)
And out of joye brynge men to sorwe.
- See also: TC IV, 11, 323, Fortune 11.

Once the idea of Fortune’s wheel was established, any vicissitudes of life could be attributed to her. Here are some relevant passages from Chaucer:

- (14) She, cruel Fortune, *casteth adoun* kynges that whilom weren
ydradd; and sche, desceyvable, *enhaunceth up* the humble chere of
hym that is discourfited. (Bo II, m.1, 7-10)
- (15) She [Fortune] ys fals, and ever laughyng (BD 633-5)
With oon eye, and that other wepyng.
That ys broght *up* she set al *doun*.
- (16) From heigh estaat Fortune *away* hym *carf*.
(CT VII, 2457)
- See also: CT I, 1242; VII, 2723; TC IV, 1ff.

Similar descriptions of Fortune’s deeds are found in the *Romaunt of the Rose*,⁵ Fragment B, and Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*:

- (17) She can *areise* that doth morne, (RR *4361-3)

⁵ Since Jean de Meung, translator of *Boece*, is also a co-author of *The Roman de la Rose*, it is not surprising that the two works show some similarity on the fickleness of Fortune and vanity of her gifts. Cf. Galpin (1909).

And *whirle adown*, and *overturue*

Who sittith hiest, but as hir lust.

See also: RR *5427f.; *5467ff.

(18) Bot fortune is of such a slechte, (CA VI, 1509-11)

That whan a man is most on heyhte,

Sche makth him rathest for to *falle*:

See also: CA Prol. 138f.; I, 2624f.; III, 788; I, 2490ff.

Under such a conception of Fortune medieval tragedy was taken as a story in which Fortune lets someone down:

(19) What other thyng bywaylen the cryinges of *tragedyes* but oonly
the dedes of *Fortune*, that with an unwar strook overturneth the
realmes of greet nobleye? (Bo II, p.2, 67-70)

Similar passages: CT VII, 1991ff.; 2457f.; 2761ff.

To put this another way, medieval tragedy is characterized by the feature “from high to low”; by contrast, as quotations (4) and (8) show, medieval comedy is characterized by the opposite feature “from low to high”. Although the feature in tragedy has already been pointed out,⁶ the feature in comedy has, to the best of my knowledge, passed unnoticed.⁷ Thus, Garbáty (1977) and Brewer (1984) treat the *fabliaux* in CT as representative of Chaucer’s comedies. *Fabliaux*, however, should not be included in comedy, since they do not necessarily end happily (e.g., *Friar’s Tale*).

The medieval ideas of tragedy and comedy seem to have sunk into oblivion before the end of the sixteenth century, because in Italy Dante’s *Commedia* was conjoined with *Divina* in 1555, and in England the symbolism of Fortune’s wheel suffered a rapid change during the short period of time from 1560 to 1600 (Kurose 1970: 47).

⁶ H. R. Patch (1967: 68); T. Kurose (1970: 147); Cooper (1989: 64). “Falling” as a feature of tragedy was also pointed out by D. S. Brewer at his Kyoto lecture on 11 April 1987.

⁷ Though Patch (1967: 69) notes “the opposite theme of ‘low to high’ is, of course, not uncommon”, he does not relate it to comedy.

7.4 Chaucer's "comedy"

Let us now return to the main theme: which one of Chaucer's works can properly be called a comedy? The *fabliaux* in CT, such as the *Miller's Tale* and the *Reeve's Tale*, are surely "comic tales", but, from the viewpoint of "ascent" granted by Fortune, they cannot be counted among medieval comedies because they lack an upward movement. For the same reason, though it ends happily, the *Franklin's Tale* is not a comedy in the medieval sense (cf. Brewer 1984: 81); nor is the tale told by the Knight who likes a story with a happy ending (see the fourth quotation). It may possibly be argued that Chaucer's "comedy" includes the *Clerk's Tale* (abbreviated as *CIT*) because the low-born Griselda rises to a high position. But *CIT* is not a comedy either, because Griselda's "ascent" is not due to Fortune's favor but to her own patience.

In my opinion, the most accomplished comedy Chaucer produced is the *Nun's Priest's Tale* (abbreviated as *NPT*).⁸ This view can be supported by several facts. Firstly, with the escape of Chauntecleer from the fox's mouth, *NPT* ends happily, thereby satisfying one condition of comedy (see the sixth quotation). A second piece of evidence is the ordering of the tales; the juxtaposition of *MkT* and *NPT* suggests that they are so ordered to contrast the Monk's tragedies with a comedy. Thirdly, this work embodies the theme of medieval comedy, that is, the movement "from low to high". It is because Chauntecleer flew *down* from the beam that he met with misfortune:⁹

(20) And with that word he *fley down fro the beam*, (CT VII, 3172)

After this line his flying down is repeated as follows to be impressed on

⁸ After publishing the first version of this chapter in the *Rising Generation* (1986, 7: 329-31), I found Johnson's 1985 article somewhat similar to my idea. Both studies were, of course, prepared independently. On the other hand, works that regard *NPT* as tragedy include Cooper (1989) and Mandel (1992).

⁹ In the strict sense of the word, *NPT* is a "tragicomedy" because Chauntecleer flies down before flying up.

the audience:

(21) O Chauntecleer, acursed be that morwe (CT VII, 3230-1)

That thou into that yerd *flaugh fro the bemes!*

(22) Allas, that Chauntecleer *fleigh fro the bemes!* (CT VII, 3339)

By contrast, Chauntecleer escapes the misfortune by flying *up* to a tree and he remains there until the end of the story:

(23) And as he spak that word, al sodeynly (CT VII, 3415-7)

This cok brak from his mouth delyverly,

And *heighe upon* a tree he *fleigh* anon.

(Skeat's edition: "up-on")

Fourthly, to assure that *NPT* is a medieval comedy, Chauntecleer's "ascent" is attributed to Fortune's will (notice that in *NPT* the role allotted to Fortune is not the primary one of causing man's ups and downs but a burlesque one of saving a rooster by raising him up to a tree):

(24) Lo, how *Fortune* turneth sodeynly (CT VII, 3403-4)

The hope and pryde eek of hir enemy!

Lastly, a linguistic insurance is provided by the last line of *NPT* to reinforce the upward movement; since of all the instances of *blisse(s)* used by Chaucer (95 instances) the collocation "heighe blisse" appears only at the end of *NPT*, this expression can be judged to be a device to bring *heighe* into relief (the unmarked collocation is "blisse of hevене"):

(25) Now, goode God, if that it be thy wille, (CT VII, 3444-6)

As seith my lord, so make us alle goode men,

And brynge us to his *heighe blisse!* Amen.

Note. Jordan (1987: 147n.) points out another kind of "upward" movement in *NPT*:

(1) in the exemplum of the "two felawes" the surviving fellow

tells the tale of his friend's death to the rulers of the city: "Harrow! allas! heere lith my felawe slayn!" (l. 3045); (2) the fellow becomes himself a tale, told by Chauntecleer; (3) Chauntecleer the teller becomes a tale told by the Nun's Priest; (4) the tale-telling Nun's Priest becomes a tale told by the pilgrim-reporter known to us as "I" and usually designated in criticism "Chaucer the pilgrim"; (5) "Chaucer the pilgrim" becomes a fiction made by Chaucer.

Similar arguments are offered by Cooper (1984: 5f., 1989: 347f.).

Thus, viewed from any perspective, *NPT* possesses the features of comedy in the medieval sense.

7.5 How did Chaucer evaluate *NPT*?

It seems that Chaucer rated *NPT* among the best of his works. This inference can be justified by two facts. One is that the judge Harry Baily calls *NPT* a "murie tale" (3449; cf. also 2817); though the tavern keeper asks several pilgrims to tell a merry tale, it is *NPT* alone that he praises for being "merry". The other is that Chaucer does not retract *NPT* in his *Retraction*; on the contrary, the similarity of wording in *NPT* and the *Retraction* suggests a possibility that Chaucer wrote the *Retraction* with the close of *NPT* in mind (or added the last lines of *NPT* in imitation of the *Retraction*) so as to leave *NPT* unretracted:

(26) Taketh the *moralite*, goode men. (CT VII, 3440-2)

For Seint Paul seith that *al that writen is*,

To oure doctrine it is ywrite, ywis;

(27) For oure book seith, "*Al that is writen is writen for oure doctrine*," and that is myn entente. . . . But of the translacion of Boece de Consolacione, and othere bookes of legendes of seintes, and omelies, and *moralitee*, and devocioun, that thanke I oure Lord Jhesu Crist and his blisful Mooder, and alle the seintes of hevene, . . .

(CT X, 1083; 1088-9)

Of all the Chaucerian writings *NPT* is the only work in which the narrator suggests that there is something of “moralitee” in what he has told. This means that *NPT* is qualified to be included in the “bookes of moralitee” for which Chaucer thanks Christ, Mary and all the saints of heaven; *NPT* was left behind for its moral aspect, or, probably more than that, for its happy aspect.

7.6 Conclusion

From all the considerations above we can conclude that Chaucer’s intention to compose a work in the manner of comedy resulted in *NPT*, and that he was proud of its finished form.

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| additive | that-clause ; ~-phrase |
| adverb: derived ~ | ascent |
| adverbial object | assimilation |
| adverbials indicating: anteriority; | association: ~ tie |
| definite time; duration; | <i>Astrolabe</i> |
| frequency; indefinite past; | attendant circumstances |
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- HAVEN: haven-perfect
 herebifore
 HEREN: ~ say/said
 hiderto
 historic present
 hypercorrection
 if-clause
 ifelaschiped
 imperative: ~ force
 impersonal construction
 in: ~ olde dayes; ~ olde
 tyme(s); ~ youthe
 infinitive: ~ progressive; perfect
 ~
 instrumental force
 integration
 integrator: integrating factor
 into: ~ litel; ~ this tyme
 Jakobson
 JOYNEN
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 KNOWEN/knowyng
 koude
 languysshying
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 LETEN: +infinitive progressive;
 +Obj+ -ing
 lexical cohesion
 literariness
 literary work
 literature
 LIVEN
 longe: ~ tyme; ~ while
 longyng
 lovyng
- Lydgate
 lyf: al my/thy ~
 MAKEN
 many a yeer/day
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 METEN: +Obj+ -ing
 metrical romances
 MISGON
 MISHAPPEN
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 modal
 month: thise ~s two
 Mossé
 moste
 Mukařovský
 Mustanoja
 mutation verb
 myghte
 Nakao
 negation: transferred ~
 never
 nominative with infinitive
 nominative with participle
 non-factivity/factuality
 non-stative verbs
 non-sequence of tenses
 now: right ~
 nygh
 nyght: al (the longe) ~; al this
 ~; al thise ~es; this ~
 object predicative
 of olde tyme
 ofte: ~ tyme(s)/sythe(s)
 oghte

- ones
 or elles
 overnyght
Owl and the Nightingale
 partial ellipsis
 participial adjective
 PASSEN
 passive: → pseudo-passive
 past-in-the-past
 past participle
 perfect: ~ imperative; ~
 infinitive; past ~ + now; ~
 progressive; present ~; + ago;
 ~ vs. simple; past ~ vs.
 simple present
 perfect-in-the-past
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 poetic function
 poetic license
 point of view; switching of ~
 postmodifier
 postnominal
 predicative: object ~; subject ~;
 ~ present participle
 premodifier
 prenominal
 present participle: attributive use;
 predicative use
 progressive infinitive ~; perfect
 ~; + that-clause; the meaning
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 provincial literature
 pseudo-passive
 punctuation
 PUOW (= primary user of wenen)
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 subject-postposing
 subjunctive
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 syn: ~-clause; ~-phrase
 sythe(s): thre/four/twenty ~
 temporal-causal
 [-terminate]
 terminate aspect
 than ('then')
 than-clause
 that-clause
 therbifore
 there-insertion
 this: by ~; er ~; ~ day/nyght/
 yeer; unto/into/to ~ tyme
 this(e): ~ seven/eight yeer
 tho: er ~
 though-clause
 thonderynge
 thre (etc.) tymes/sythes
 thries: → time
 THRISTEN
 til-clause
 time: a certein ~; bifore that ~;
 in olde ~(s); of olde ~; thre/
 four/twenty ~s; unto/into/to
 this ~
 time adverbial
 to this tyme
 today
 tonyght
 tragedy
 transferred negation
 Trevisa
Troilus and Criseyde
 TROWEN
 TURNEN
 twies: → thries, time
 un-words
 unrealized
 unrelated adjunct
 unspecified duration
 unto this tyme
 verbs of: activity; causing;
 changing; durative aspect;
 emotional expression; feeling;
 happening; intellect; keeping;
 living; mental activity; motion;
 perception; relation; rest;
 resultative aspect; statal
 change; terminative aspect;
 thinking
 Visser
 Wahn
 wännen
 waxen
 waytyng
 WENEN
 were lever
 were-subjunctive
 whilom
 whole ellipsis
 wh-word
 wil
 winter: seven ~
 wolde: ~ God; ~ fayn
 WONEN

wynsyngē

y-less pp.

y-pp.

yeer: ~ by yere; a ~ or two;

many a ~; this ~; (thise)

seven ~

yore

youthe: fro my ~; in ~

POSTSCRIPT

When I began writing the drafts of the papers included in this file, I worked on a word processor; the computer was not popular yet. I saved the files, converted them into text format and handed the floppy disk to the publisher.

The book was published in 1996 under the title of *Studies in Chaucer's English*, and was, fortunately, welcomed by many scholars and university libraries. As far as I know, two reviews were published on this book; one appeared in the *Rising Generation* (*Eigo seinen*), and the other in The Bryn Mawr Classical Review. It seems that the reviewer in the former journal did not read, or could not understand, the whole of the book.

I am proud of the fact that Chapter 6 (Use and meanings of WENEN) antedates the MED's note on the verb: "often with counterfactual force".

Though many years have passed since I comprehensively described the perfect forms in Chaucer's works, no study seems to have surpassed my observations. Since my book is almost out of stock, it would be worth preserving the original in digital form. I hope this file will be of some help to gain a deeper understanding of Middle English language and literature.