A JOINT STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE OF *THE PASTON LETTERS*

Preliminary Survey
——Its Scope and Select Material——

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INTRODUCTORY

The present paper by members of THE ENGLISH RESEARCH GROUP AT HIROSHIMA UNIVERSITY is an interim report of a preliminary survey which, though inevitably limited in scope and material, attempts at presenting, with statistics if necessary, characteristic materials for a further description and interpretation of the language of the *Paston Letters*. The members' study on the language of the *Paston Letters* has for the past three years been steadily pursued under the direction of the present writer with the aid of a Scientific Research Grant by the Ministry of Education.

The group research has been initiated with an aim of studying the language of the *Paston Letters* as a stepping stone to a more comprehensive and thorough investigation of the English language of the fifteenth century—the so-called transitional period in the history of the English language.

Since recent publication of articles on the language of the *Paston Letters* or on fifteenth century English by Professor Norman Davis, Professor Karl Brunner and others,[1] the significance of the study of the language of the transitional period has been remarkably increased. Though in the *Paston Letters* there may be little or nothing entirely new in point of phonology and morphology as illustrations of the essential features of fifteenth century English, yet from the viewpoint of the continuity of English prose or from that of the rise of the Modern Standard Language

1) See Select Bibliography.

there may be expected anew something fresh which has hitherto remained unproved, especially with regard to the colloquial syntax and the formal or informal sentence-structure of the language of Norfolk in which these letters were written. Our tentative conclusion after the close and careful reading of the *Paston Letters* edited by Norman Davis (Oxford, 1958) may suggest that the real character of the language, though seemingly uncouth and quaint from the impression of its spellings and inflections, does resemble that of Modern English in many ways—its logicality or straightforwardness, its colloquial tone or its plain or complex pattern of sentence-structure. As Professor Norman Davis aptly states in the Introduction to his Edition, "It (this kind of writing) certainly does not derive from the kind of prose that Chaucer wrote, or yet from the cadenced prose of the celebrated devotional treatises of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It comes so easily to so many people that it must have been common far longer than surviving documents allow us to observe." (*Ibid.*, Introduction xiv-v). Such being the case, the chief concern of the ENGLISH RESEARCH GROUP here has been directed toward the syntax — or more particularly the colloquial prose syntax of the English of the *Paston Letters*, though the morphological, lexical and stylistic or psychological aspects of the language has never been ignored as they reveal not only the linguistic state and condition, but also the events and manners of a family life which may be reflected in the *Paston Letters*.

The individual members of the ENGLISH RESEARCH GROUP who have taken part in this research and their allotted fields of survey are as follows:

1. Morphology (Spellings and Inflections) ..... Tamotsu Kurose
2. Syntax ..... Michio Masui, Hisashi Takahashi, Akira Wada, Masahiko Kanno, Masayoshi Matsuura
3. Vocabulary and Idioms ..... Norihisa Matsumoto
4. Style ..... Michio Masui, Haruo Harada, Kiichiro Nakatani
5. Notes on the language of the Paston Letters in relation with London

English, and other dialects ..... Shun'ichi Noguchi
Select Bibliography

It is needless to say in this connection that, though the work of collecting materials has been carried out by each member of the group in his respective field, discussion has been continued by all the members as to the difficult passages or the materials to be selected in order to avoid unnecessary repetitions and overlappings.

The text used is PASTON LETTERS, Selected and Edited with an Introduction, Notes and Glossary by Norman Davis (Oxford, 1958, abbreviated PL). Since Professor Norman Davis's complete Edition of *The Paston Letters* which will be included as one of the series of E. E. T. S. has not yet come out our Research Group has made a tentative survey by using the selected letters of the Pastons mentioned above. Apart from its exhaustiveness, Professor Davis's Text of the selected letters (94 letters and 1 memorandum in all) covers the period of about sixty years from 1427 to 1484, nearly the three-fourths of the whole period of the Paston Letters, and is based on 'a new transcript' due to British Museum Additional Manuscripts, so that we may hope for the text to be employed as a reliable one for linguistic researches of this kind. The point of departure for our study is among other articles Professor Norman Davis's excellent article: The Language of the Pastons (Oxford, 1954, abbreviated LP).

Though the results obtained are not yet complete, a comparison of them with, especially, R. W. Chambers's *Book of London English 1384–1425* may be interesting in that they may provide evidence for an intimate mutual relation between London English and the language of Norfolk on the one hand, whereas on the other they may suggest an important part that London English may have played in the shaping of a regional language. The point of such comparison, important as it is, will not be made in the present paper, except for suggesting in the last chapter some features of morphological relation between the language of the Paston Letters and London English.

In the following pages, however, limited space did not allow us to

present all the items or examples we have collected, which will be left to our future publication.

I. MORPHOLOGY (SPELLINGS AND INFLECTIONS)

As Professor Norman Davis suggests in an article contributed to Mélanges de Linguistique et de Philologie (Mossé In Memoriam) 1959, though spellings and forms 'tended to greater uniformity and stability' as the fifteenth century progressed, still 'the persistence of distinctly regional usages' can be seen in the latter part of the century. Our attempt here will be first to give a list of such spellings as may show a great variety of form from the viewpoint of Modern English pronunciations to their corresponding variety of spellings in PL; second, to give a description of the forms of nouns and pronouns with reference to the earlier forms and inflections which may represent the transitional state of the language.

A. Spellings

1. Spellings of long vowels and diphthongs.

(1) Long vowels: [a:], [i:], [ɔ:], [u:].

MnE [a:]-sound is spelt as follows:—

-ar	*car*geyt (charged) 4.8.[1] /*char*l 7.22./*large*7.31./ *mar*ks 11.1./ *par*son 3.11.
	*har*tyest (heartiest) 18.8.
-er.	*fer* (far) 14.42, *fere* 68.26./ *fer*dyng (farthing) 7.59./*fer*mor 46.31. *fer*mour 46.23. (farmer)/ *yer*d (yard) 11.55./ *mer*veyl (marvel) 11.51.
	*her*te (heart) 1.4, 2.16.
-yr.	st*yr*t (start) 7.65.
-or.	mo*r*kyn (marked) 89.8.
-a, *-al*, *-an*, *-au*, *-aum*, *-auns*, *-awnt*, &c.	*fa*dre 6.7, *fa*dyr 4.5 (father)/ *Pal*me Sunday 1. 36./ *ans*weryd 27.14. *auns*wer 19.21. *awns*were 43. 45./ ex*aum*ple (example) 33.43./ *fau*dere (father) 70. 23./ gr*aun*te (grant) 2.17, gr*awnt* (grant) 10.42.

1) Number refers to *letter* 4, *line* 8. The same is the case with other numbers.

MnE [i:]-sound is spelt as follows:—

-ea.	*ea*se 7.48./ m*ea*ne (mean) 67.39, 82.15./ p*ea*s (peace)/ pl*ea*se 19.20, pl*ea*ce 54.45./ s*ea*l 2.15, s*ea*ll 40.40./ s*ea*son 34.23.
-e.	be 3.1./ me 1.4./ we 7.35.
	besekeyng (beseeking) 22.4./ betwen (between) 7.9, betwene 21.12, betwhen 3.7./ in dede (indeed) 1.12./ grene (green) 4.11./ grete (greet), gretit (greets, 3rd Person Sing. Pres.) 5.36./ kepyng (keeping) 4.32, kepyn 5.33./ kne (knee) 8.16./ nede (need) 3.10./ proceded (proceeded) 1.12./ Qwen (queen) 26.14/ sclepe (sleep) 4.37./ se (see) 1.36./ seke (seek) 18.25./ semyt (seemed) 11.55./ shep (sheep) 33.80./ spede (speed) 8.27./ strete (street) 7.8./ thre (three) 12.29. wekys (weeks) 4.22./
	bevyr (beaver) 20.16./ chepe (cheap) 8.22./ klene (clean) 27.50./ dele (deal) 50. 34./ dysese (disease) 5.5./ es (ease) 5.7, esse (ease) 5.15, esy (easy) 82. 22./ ete (eat) 11.46./ fest (feast) 50.12./lede (lead) 43.26, ledythe (leads) 69.39./ lenyd (leaned) 17.12./ leve (leave) 18.13, levyng 82.18./ levys (leaves) 81. 25./ mete (meat) 5.38, 62.23./ PLESE (please) 9. 3./ resonabyl (reasonable) 10.19./ se (sea) 21.37./ sellys (seals) 11.35./ sesun (season) 18.24, sesyn 5.13./ speke (speak) 5.29, 14.17./ stele (steal) 11. 10./ trete (treaty) 3.10./ whete (wheat) 94.11.
	beleve (believe) 7.65./ cheffe(chief) 14.48./ feld(field) 26.7./ frese (frieze) 8.22./ gereve(grieve) 55.47, grevеth 93.18./ prestes(priests) 2.24./ sege(siege) 59.21./ thef (thief) 7.21.
	pepyle (people) 29.16.
-ee.	feele (feel) 69.4, feell 73.12.
	eese (ease) 39.12./ eete (eat) 53.35./ meen (mean) 38.3, meene (mean) 69.24./ pees (peace) 9.12./ reede (read) 14.3./ seeys syde (seaside) 56.18.
-ie.	chief 1.10.
-y	grytte (greet) 45.3./ hyde (heed) 45.13./ slype (sleep) 46.15./ sykyng (seeking) 9.20./ spyde (speed) 35.74./ wyke (week) 1.37. chyff (chief) 43.23./ fryse (frieze) 8.25./ rescyve (receive) 22.23.
-ey	conseyt (conceit) 13.14./ conseyve (conceive) 2.3.
	weyke (weak) 38.20, weykid (weaked) 23.10./ weykenesse (weakness) 73.8.
-ay.	beseyn (beseen) 50.26./ seyne (seen) 5.20.
	consaythe (conceit) 24.40.

-ye	betw*ye*n (between) 69.7, 72.8./ Qw*ye*n (queen)61.27./ s*ye* (see) 50.20. Cf. th*ye*s (these) 89.8.
Miscellaneous	cr*ya*ture (creature) 43.5. iche (each) 95.21, 59.9.

MnE [ɔ:]-sound is spelt as follows:—

-al(l).	*all*e (all) 1.25, *al* 1.29./ *fall*e (falle) 2.11./ *fal*s (false) 11.46.
-au, *-aw.*	*au*dience 1.31./ *cau*se 12.13. *law* (law) 1.13./ dr*aw*yt (pret. of 'draw') 23.9.
	l*au*fully (lawfully) 36.36./ *au*ght (ought) 19.19. *aw*te (ought) 12.39./ becaw*s*e (because) 39.49./ ca*w*lyd (called) 88.10./ *caw*s (cause) 11.20, *caw*se 6.19./ fa*w*ghthe (fought) 21.27.
-ar	aw*ar*de (award) 18.4./ w*ar*nyng (warning) 11.21.
-or.	*or*dere (order) 2.6./ ac*or*dyng (according) 3.6./ h*or*s (horse) 5.25./ sw*or*d 7.42.
	b*or*d(board) 20.24./ c*or*te(court) 27.12./ c*or*se (course) 87.13.
-ow(r).	f*owr*tennythe (fortnight) 11.19./ d*ow*ghther (daughter) 21.16, d*ow*tyr 39.34.
-er, -are, -ere.	*are* (or) 24.25, *ere*……*ere* (or……or) 57.27f., *er* 57.40.
Absence of *gh.*	dowtyr (daughter) 39.34, dowter 12.9./ awte(ought) 12.39.
-oo(r).	br*oo*de (broad) 6.8./ m*oo*nyd (mourned) 61.23. c*oo*rt (court) 49.4, 64.47.
Miscellaneous	sw*e*rd (sword) 7.25. ch*u*rtly (shortly) 17.26.

MnE [u:]-sound is spelt as follows:—

-oo. *-o.*	n*oo*n 7.3./ sh*oo*t 56.19. d*o* 3.15./ gentylw*o*mman (gentlewoman) 3.5./ h*o* (whom) 10.28./ h*o*soever (whosoever) 6.5./ therto (thereto) 3.12.
	n*o*n (noon) 7.33./ s*o*ne (soon) 4.10./ s*o*the (sooth) 21.38./ sp*o*nys (spoons) 20.19./ st*o*d (stood) 7.6.

-ou. *-ow.*	trou*th* (truth) 4.26. trow*the* (truth) 5.6, trow*ght* (truth) 43.39. / yow (you) 1.4, 2.3.
-ew.	blew (blue) 3.13. / rewle (rule) 12.38, rewyll (rule) 20.9. / trew(true) 49.16.
-w.	trwli (truly) 6.14. / yw (you) 8.27, 10.12.
-e.	cheser (chooser) 47.15. / lese (lose) 17.21. / mevyng (moving) 15.4. / prefe (proof) 6.24. / remeve (remove) 42.23. / schete (shoot) 8.5.
Miscellaneous	
Redundant *gh.* *-oy.* *-ey.* *-a.* *how* for *who.*	trow*gh*t (truth) 43.39. tro*y* (true) 20.19. le*y*s (lose) 56.45. wham (whom) 2.28. howsomever (whosoever) 36.34. Cf. The position of *w* is changed.

(2) Diphthongs: [ai], [au], [ei], [ou].

MnE [ai]-sound is spelt as follows:—

PL variant *y* for MnE spelling *i* is common.

-y: fyve 8.17, gyde (guide) 9.27, fynde 1.8, gyse (guise) 18.14, kynde 22.12, lyke 2.11, lyvys endyn (life's ending) 27.63, myle 2.7, etc.

-i: guided 33.17, licty (likely) 40.48, pris (price) 11.55, side 7.8, title 1.18, whil (while) 7.36, etc.

MnE Standard *i* before silent *gh.*	RIGHT 1.3. r*ygh*te 2.2. / br*ygh*te 3.14. / m*ygh*t 43.28. / n*ygh*t 3.6. / s*ygh*t 14.30, &c.
PL Variant *-yghth.* *-yghht.*	Alm*yghth*y (almighty) 21.6. / f*yghth*e (fight) 21.39. r*yghht* (right) 6.23.
-ytgh. *-ygth.* *-ythg.*	r*ytgh* (right) 10.1, 10.11. / m*ytgh* (might) 10.56. r*ygth* (right) 5.1. m*ygth* (might) 26.18. r*ythg* (right) 27.1. h*ythg*nes (highness) 27.27.
Absence of *gh.*	r*yth*(right) 4.1.4.33 l*yth*e(light) 24.33. m*yth*e(might) 5.20, m*yth* 5.21. / n*yth* (night) 4.37. / fowrtenn*yth*e (fortnight) 11.19. r*yt* (right) 8.2, 10.3. r*yte* (right) 23.3. m*yt* (might) 10.54. / n*yt* (night) 29.5.

Redundant *gh*.	wri*gh*te (write) 12.46, wry*th*gtyng (writing) 27.8.

MnE Standard	*PL* Variant
	-ey. b*ey* (buy) 4.8./ dese*y*reyd (desired) 4.29./ d*ey*e (die) 49.16./ h*ey* (high) 8.16, 23.9./ k*ey*nd (kind) 65.49./ w*ey*se (wise) 8.13.
	-ye. l*ye*k (like) 49.24, 50.42/ b*ye* (buy) 64.11./ wr*ye*t (write) 53.5, 53.21.
	iee (eye) 68.26./ *ie* (eye) 75.21.
guided 33.17.	*-y*. b*y*in (inf. of 'buy') 3.11, b*y*en (inf. of 'buy') 3.15, b*y* (buy) 4.9./ g*y*de (guide) / g*y*se (guise) 18.14.
by (prep.) 1.17.	*-e*. b*e* (by) 1.23, 4.23/ fr*e*rys (friers) 5.11./ l*e*ke (like) 7.66, 24.38./ m*e*nd (mind) 65.20./ n(*e*)ther (neither) 8.24./ str*e*de (stride) 7.13./ wr*e*te (write) 55.84.
	-o, -ou -ow, -aw. n*o*ther (neither) 10.56./ n*ou*ther (neither) 54.43./ n*ow*thyr (neither) 30.43, 54.6./ *ow*there (either) 60.18, 63.18./ *aw*there (either) 82.14.

MnE [au]-sound is spelt as follows:—

-ou.	ab*ou*te (about) 21.28./ c*ou*nseyle (counsel) 6.4./ f*ou*le (foul) 1.28./ gr*ou*nd 1.19./ h*ou*s (house) 2.8./ m*ou*the (mouth) 7.44./ *ou*te (out) 4.8.
	d*ou*n (down) 7.39, 16.5./ g*ou*ne (gown) 4.5./ h*ou*(how) 51.8./ t*ou*ne (town) 7.5.
-ow.	b*ow*e (bow) 8.5./ h*ow* 55.32, h*ow*e 27.55, qu*ow*e (how) 5.19./ g*ow*n 11.53. / n*ow* 4.19, n*ow*e 6.9./ p*ow*re (power) 2.5.
	ab*ow*te (about) 14.46, 21.13./ b*ow*nde (bound)29.17./ c*ow*nsayle (counsel) 18.11, k*ow*nsell 11.20./ d*ow*the (doubt) 24.36./ *ow*re (hour) 11.16, *ow*yr 46.17./ h*ow*s (house) 42.50, h*ow*se 9.21./ h*ow*sold (household) 11.28./ m*ow*se (mouse) 40.79./ m*ow*the (mouth) 7.32./ h*ow*re (our) 32.34./ pr*ow*dly (proudly) 17.16./ *ow*t (out) 7.13, 8.5, *ow*the (out) 24.9./ wyth*ow*t (without) 2.10.

-w.	*gw*nys (gowns) 8.22./ h*w* (how) 7.63, 10.37./ h*w*se (house) 8.12, h*w*sis 8.4./ h*w*sold (household) 11.27./ t*w*n (town) 8.25.
-o.	b*o*nd (bound) 39.44./ c*o*ncell (counsel) 14.42, 58.17, c*o*nsallyd (counselled) 18.13./ f*o*nde (found) 14.26./ h*o* (how) 65.7, 65.49, wh*o* (how) 20.3, 20.12./ m*o*the (mouth) 34.31.
-oo.	w*oo*nd (wound) 64.44.
-u.	ab*u*t. (about) 57.23./ f*u*nd (found) 24.5.
-oy.	f*oy*ll (foul) 43.10.
Absence of *gh.* Redundant *gh.*	plowe (plough) 35.9. abow*gh*t (about) 34.21./ dou*gh*t (doubt) 27.7, 40. 14. dow*gh*t (doubt) 31.16./ how*gh*e (how) 30.25. hou*gh* (how) 33.40./ withou*gh*t (without) 19.12, wythou*gh*t 42.6.

MnE [ei]-sound is spelt as follows:—

-a.	*a*cre 17.25./ un*a*ble 1.22./ ch*a*mbre (chamber) 7.39./ gr*a*de 2.17./ K*a*te 4.23./ kn*a*ve 7.14./ l*a*bore 20. 10./ l*a*dy 1.11./ m*a*de 3.8/ n*a*me 24.7./ pl*a*ce, pl*a*se 2.7, 6.23./ s*a*me 1.16/ sp*a*kke (spake, pret. of 'speak') 14.15./ sp*a*ce 7. 13./ str*a*nge 27.52.
	c*a*s (case) 7.23/ g*a*t (gate) 62.21./ h*a*st(haste) 3.18./ k*a*m (came) 11.16./m*a*k (make) 4.16./t*a*k (take)4.17./ wechs*a*f (vouchsafe) 4.9.
-au. *-aw.*	C*au*mbrege (Cambridge) 20.7./ ch*au*nge (change) 17. 13./ l*aw*boryd (laboured) 27.18.
-ay	m*ay* 1.24./ pr*ay* 5.11.
	av*ay*ll 24.36./ br*ay*ne (brain) 77.21./ cl*ay*med 1.19./ f*ay*led (failed) 45.37./ f*ay*n (fain) 10.49./ m*ay*led (mailed) 14.36./ pl*ay*nly (plainly) 55.8./ t*ay*le (tail) 12.15. purv*ay*d (purveyed) 11.27, purw*ay* (purvey) 11.54.
-ey	ag*ey*n (against) 1.20./ alw*ey*s (always) 48.30./ cl*ey*myd (claimed) 38.26./ f*ei*th (faith) 2.28./ f*ey*thful (faithful) 23.25./ h*ey* (hay) 62.23./ l*ey*e (lain) 4.22./ l*ey*de (laid) 14.36./ m*ey*ir (mayor) 29.9./ p*ey*n (pain) 31.6./ pl*ey*nesse (plainness) 38.42./ pr*ey* (pray) 1.24./ s*ey*e (say) 6.24./ S*ey*nt (saint) 4.33./ tw*ey*n (twain) 67.22./ w*ey* (way) 46.5, w*ey*e 6.9.
-ai *-ei*	d*ai*e (day) 6.4, 6.27. th*ei* (they) 9.19.

-e.	bre*e*ke (break) 78.6./ bre*e*ve (brave) 25.17./ compl*e*nt (complaint) 18.12./ f*e*th (faith) 45.35./ gr*e*t (great) 1.4, 4.33, gr*e*te 9.7, 3.10./ m*e*te (mate) 23.27./ n*e*ghboure (neighbour) 70. 26./ pr*e* (pray) 4.9, 4.17./ S*e*nt (Saint) 5.12./ th*e* (they) 29.20, 40.81.
-ee.	gr*ee*t (great) 19.12, gr*ee*te 93.14.
Absence of *gh.*	weytte (weight) 5.9.
Redundant *gh.*	hey*gh*(hay) 33.78./ wy*gh*t (weight) 20.19.
Miscellaneous	Mut (may) e.g. Mut it plese yowre faderhod to remembre……31.5.

MnE [ou]-sound is spelt as follows:—

-o	m*o*ste(most) 21.3./ p*o*le 14.38./ st*o*n (stone) 7.18./ str*o*k (stroke) 7.42./ c*o*ld 81.36./ f*o*lkys (folks) 13.11./ h*o*lde (hold) 14. 21./ h*o*l (whole) 5.16./ h*o*m 4.7.
-oo.	b*oo*te (boat) 14.14./ l*oo*th (loath) 9.21./ *oo*tys (oats) 62.23./ *oo*the (oath) 89.15. th*oo*ght (thought) 43.55. cl*oo*se (close) 6.11./ g*oo* (go) 9.22./ h*oo*pe (hope) 6. 21./ l*oo*des (loads) 93.14./ m*oo*st (most) 51.1./ n*oo* (no) 14.21./ r*oo*d (rode) 48.16, 77.25./ s*oo* (so) 9. 22./ h*oo*l (whole) 22.25, h*oo*ll (whole) 73.6./ h*oo*ly (wholely) 37.38./ h*oo*m 3.5.
-ou.	l*ou*ly (lowly) 22.3./ *ou*pinly (openly) 36.45. Cf. opynly 24.33.
-ow.	s*ow*le (soul) 19.6./ v*ow*chesave (vouchsafe) 8.19, 11. 49./ *ow*lder (older) 70.15.
-au	*au*ght (ought) 75.15.
-aw.	*aw*ne (own) 24.9./ f*aw*t (fault) 90.18./ fel*aw* (fellow) 9.7./ sl*aw*e (slow) 57.34, sl*aw*ly (slowly) 32.35./ *aw*ght (ought) 31.10.
-u,	bor*u*yd (borrowed) 27.52./ sh*u*lder (shoulder) 30.44.
-w	bar*w*e (barrow) 4.24./ fol*w*yd (followe) 7.18, fol*w*ed (followed) 26.16.
-a, -e,	fel*a*chep (fellowship) 33.36.
-o	fel*a*schep (fellowship) 8.10. w*e*chesaf (vouchsafe) 4.9, 4.18. fel*e*sshep (fellowship) 56.3. w*o*chesaffe (vouchsafe) 5.31.
-oy,	th*oy*s (those) 27.24.
-oi.	th*oi*s (those) 57.15.
-ew.	sch*ew*e (show) 6.24, Sch*ew* (show) 23.2 .

MnE Standard *gh*.	thow*gh*t (thought) 14.30, 30.8.
Spelt as *-tgh*. *-thg*. *-ge*.	ow*tgh* (ought) 10.38. ow*thg* (ought) 27.32. thow*ge* (though) 30.18.
Absence of *gh*.	bouth (bought) 36.31./ browt (brought) 23.9./ nowth (nought) 5.15./ owth (ought) 10.51./ tho (though) 20.12, thoou (though) 4.24, thow 5.23, thowe 6.24./ thowt (thought) 10.27, thowth (thought) 24.10./ bowt (bought) 4.9.

2. Spellings of Consonants: [w], -gh-, [θ] & [ð], [ʃ], [tʃ] & [dʒ].

MnE [hw]-sound is spelt as follows:—

wh-	*wh*ethir (whether) 12.10./ *wh*eche (which) 12.12./ *wh*om 12.14, *wh*am 45.8./ *wh*y 6.16.
w-	*w*at (what) 16.18, *w*athe (what) 18.11./ *w*anne (when) 4.7, 4.24./ *w*erby (whereby) 46.4./ *w*ich (which) 6.16, *w*yche (which) 30.4./ *w*ythe (white) 64.15.
h-	*h*oo (who) 55.27./ *h*ol (whole) 5.16, *h*ool (whole) 22.25, *h*olly(wholely) 24.28, *h*ooly(wholely) 37.38./ *h*o (whom) 10.28./ *h*osoever (whosoever) 6.5, *h*oso (whoso) 6.8, *h*owsomever (whosoever) 36.34, *h*os (whose) 39.34.
qh-	*qh*at (what) 10.39, 10.55, 11.42./ *Qh*om (whom) 44.17./ *qh*an (when) 10.6, 11.43./ *qh*yche (which) 10.29, 11.6 (*qh*iche), 11.7./ *qh*il (while) 11.40.
qw-	*qw*at(what) 24.30./ *qw*en(when) 28.28./ *qw*ech(which) 12.4, *qw*eche 12.16, *qw*yche 28.5./ *qw*eresoever (wheresoever) 24.9. Cf. *qw-* for MnE St. *qu-* : *Qw*en (queen) 26.14./ *qw*arellys (quarrels) 53.51.
qwh-	*Qwh*an (when) 7.56./ *qwh*ych (which) 90.1.
Cf.Redundant *h*	wh*a*s (was) 42.2./ wh*e*re (were) 55.2./ betwh*e*n (between).

Spelling variants of *gh(t)*:

MnE Standard *gh* : bry*gh*te (bright) 3.14./ nou*gh*t 1.27./ ny*gh*t 3.6./ RIGHT 1.3, ry*gh*te 2.2./ sy*gh*t 14.30./ wy*gh*t (weight) 20.19.

PL Variant *ghgh*	nou*ghgh*t (nought) 44.14.
-ghth	Almy*ghth*y (almighty) 21.6./ dow*ghth*er (daughter) 21.16./ faw*ghth*e (fought) 21.27.
-gth	Allmy*gth*y (almighty) 27.61./ kny*gth* (knight) 39.42./ my*gth* (might) 26.18./ no*gth* 27.36, now*gth* (nought) 27.37./ ry*gth* (right) 5.1.
-ghht	hy*ghht* (hight) 6.12./ ry*ghht* 6.23.
-tgh	my*tgh*(might) 10.56./ ow*tgh* (ought) 10.38./ ry*tgh* 10.1.
-thg	hy*thg*nes (highness) 27.27./ ow*thg* (ought) 27.32./ ry*thg* 27.1.
-ge	thow*ge* (though) 30.18.
PL Variant *ff*	tho*ff* (though) 70.33.
Absence of *gh*	Allmyth (almighty) 5.33./ bouth (bought) 36.31, bowt 4.9./ browt (brought) 23.9./ dowtyr (daughter) 88. 34./ lythe (light) 24.33./ dowter (daughter) 12.9, dowtyr 39.34./ hey (high) 8.16./ knytys (knights) 50.21./ myt (might) 10.54, myth 5.21, mythe 5.20./ neyborys (neighbours) 57.25./ nyth (night) 4.37, nythe 60.42./ nowth (nought) 5.15./ awte (ought) 12.39, owth (ought) 10.51./ ovyrsythe (oversight) 32.24./ plowe (plough) 35.9./ RYT (right) 8.2, RYTE 23.3, ryth 4.1./ tho (though) 20.12, thoou (though) 4.24, thowe 6.24./ thowt(thought) 10.27, thowth (thought), thowthe 55.45./ weytte (weight) 5.9. Cf ynow (enough) 28.21, enow (enough) 48.37.
Redundant *gh*.	devow*gh*test (devoutest) 66.22./ hey*gh* (hay) 33.78./ hou*gh*(how) 33.40, how*gh*e 30.25./ perfy*gh*t (perfect) 66.23, perffy*gh*tly 73.26./ profy*gh*tys (profits) 37.40, profy*gh*t (profit) 71.26./ nou*gh* (now) 54.5./ ow*gh*t (out) 62.20./ trow*gh*t (truth) 43.39./ withou*gh*t (without) 19.12, wythou*gh*t 42.6./ wri*gh*te (write) 12. 46, 51.6, wry*thg*tyng (writing) 27.8.
	dou*gh*t (doubt) 37.7, 40.14./ dow*gh*t (doubt) 31.16. assau*gh*t (assault) 56.17.

MnE [θ] and [ð]-sounds are spelt as follows:—

-th	bro*th*ir 12.32./ for*th*er (further) 7.12./ n(e)*th*er (neither) 8.24./ *th*ene (than) 54.25./ *th*at 1.12/ *th*is 1.12./ *th*ough 1.12./ whe*th*er 1.30./ wi*th* 1.4. wor*th*y 1.3.
-t (*θ*)	au*t*orite (anthority) 2.19, au*t*oryte 42.6./ Elyzabe*t* (Elizabeth) 20.21./ Sex*t* (Sixth) 20.2./ *T*rusday (Thursday) 18.7./ wi*t* (with) 18.25.

-tt (*θ*)	do*tt* (doth) 5.19.
-d (ð)	ano*d*yr 5.9./ fa*d*yr 4.5, fa*d*ris (father's) 6.4, fa*d*ure 79.11, fau*d*ere 70.23./ ga*d*er (gather) 60.33, ga*d*eryng (gathering) 24.8./ he*d*yr (hither) 4.23./ mo*d*yr 4.5, mo*d*er 5.6, MOODRE 57.2./ nowder (neither) 55.12./ o*d*yr (other) 4.29, o*d*er 24.39./ *d*an (than) 5.22./ the*d*yr (thither) 46.30./ *d*ys (this) 5.20./ toge*d*ers (together) 19.9./ wor*d*y (worthy) 88.24.
-dd(ð)	he*dd*er (hither) 11.17, hy*dd*yre 38.25, hy*dd*re 71.12, hi*dd*erward 10.11, hi*dd*erwardys 11.23.
Cf.	at (that) 86.19.

MnE[ʃ]-sound is spelt as follows:—

-sh	lords*h*epe 2.23./ *sh*al 3.10./ wors*h*epefull 1.3, wor*sh*ipfull 19.1.
-ssh	bys*sh*op 1.15, bys*sh*opriche 1.16./ Englis*sh*e 14.46.
-sch	cons*ch*ens 55.45./ dis*ch*ys (dishes) 28.15./ felas*ch*ep 8.10./ mastres*ch*ip 54.56./ *sch*ewe (show) 6.24, *Sch*ew 23.26./ *sch*al 12.19, *sch*all 21.13, *sch*ulle 6.21./ *sch*uld 6.5, *sch*ulde 6.5, *sch*ulld 24.27, *sch*old 29.6, *sch*wlde 32.13,/ *sch*ame (shame) 55.35./ *sch*yrte (shirt) 65.41./ *sch*e (she) 4.23, 5.10, 55.21./ *sch*ote (shoot) 52.10./ *sch*ort (short) 8.8, 12.22./ *sch*ete 8.5./ *sch*reve (sheriff) 40.9./ *sch*rew (shrew) 10.23./ *sch*erewd (shrewd) 18.22./ wors*ch*eful (worshipful) 4.1, wyrs*ch*ypful 31.1.
-ssch	belas*sch* 20.6.
-ch	dy*ch*e (dish) 28.15./ *ch*e (she) 20.21./ *ch*ort (short) 20.13. *ch*urtly 17.26./ *ch*all (shall) 41.26, 17.21, *ch*alle 34.31, *ch*ull 17.19, *ch*uld (should) 17.23, *ch*oulde 41.5./ fy*ch* (fish) 86.9./ measter*ch*ep 86.7./ wur*ch*yp 18.19, wor*ch*epful 5.1, wur*ch*ipful 8.2, wur*ch*yply 24.27.
-ss	Gres*s*am (Gresham) 13.4.
-c	fa*c*yond (fashional) 20.20.
-x	*x*al(shall) 5.15, 5.29, *x*ul 5.25, 10.7, *x*old (should) 85.11, *x*uld 4.23, *x*ulld 17.18, *x*wld 28.22.
-xh	*xh*all (shall) 25.20.

MnE [tʃ]-sound is spelt as follows:—

ch	*ch*ier (cheer) 1.10./ cher*ch*e (church) 1.31./ *ch*arite 2.18, &c.
(*c*)*ch*	fe*cch*e (fetch) 75.32./ we*cch*e (watch) 52.12, wa*cch*id (watched) 51.27.// fe*ch* (fetch) 11.11.
c	*c*argeyt (charged) 4.8.
sh	*sh*arge (charge) 30.12./ Fren*sh*e (French) 14.48.
sch	ba*sch*ylere (bachelor) 90.19./ *sch*anselere (chancellor) 55.28, *sch*awnselere 55.48./ *sch*argyd (charged) 55.10./ *sch*astysyd (chastised) 32.31./ *sch*ere (chier) 85.25./ *sch*ese (choose) 55.23./ *sch*oryle (churl) 64.32./ my*sch* (much) 90.13./ tow*sch*eyng (touching) 55.5.

Mnl [dʒ]-sound is spelt as follows:—

-dg	lo*dg*yng 69.8./ ple*dg*ed 68.7.
-g	Camber*g* (Cambridge) 70.20./ ju*g*ed (judged) 86.17./ lo*g*ed (lodged) 86.2.
-j	ima*j*ynasyon (imagination) 65.23.
-ch.	knowle*ch*e 10.12. knowly*ch* 43.63, knowli*ch* 14.13, knowla*ch*e 65.53.

B. Inflections of Nouns and Pronouns.

1. Nouns

(1) Forms of plural ending may be summarized with frequency of occurrence in the following paradigm.

Type		Example	Frequency
Type 1.	*-ys.*	dor*ys* 8.13. thyng*ys* 52.37.	47.9%
Type 2.	*-yss.*	hand gunn*yss* 8.15.	0.2%
Type 3.	*-is.*	shippi*s* 14.11. letteri*s* 89.9.	5.3%
Type 4.	*-es.*	daye*s* 95.9. carte*s* 93.15.	26.4%
Type 5.	*-ese.*	towne*se* 63.36.	0.2%
Type 6.	*-s.*	letter*s* 14.8. tydyng*s* 10.46.	12.9%
Type 7.	*-ez.*	inconvenient*ez* 2.11.	0.2%

Type 8. *-x*.	peril*x* 7.45.	0.2%
Type 9. Mutation pl.	fete, etc.	0.2%
Type 10. Plural form in *-n*, etc.	child*ern* 12.10. chylde*r* 36.15. childe*r* 8.23. brethe*ren* 44.10.	2.7%
Type 11. Unchanged Plural	mark(e), marc, myle, hors(e), ton, yere. Cf. yeris.	3.8%

N. B.

It is noteworthy that in the *Paston Letters* '*-ys*' ending is by far the most frequent.

Here are treated some of the specific cases of plural:

1. French Plural Form:

In address:

A mez tre*s* honnure*s* meistre*s* William Worstede,·····1. 1.

Law term:

by certein*s* notable*s* and resonable*s* cause*s*,·····2. 12f.

2. As for *folk*, its plural form generally means 'family people or people in near relation', while the singular form means 'people in general':

all your *folkys* and my well-wyllers. 50.71.

all *folk* that cam wyth my Lady of Burgoyn owt of Inglond 50. 47.

Cf.

Folkys ben rytgh sore aferd that they wol don moche harm this somer, 13.20.

Sche haith othere wateris to make *folkis* to browke. 70.48.

3. The word *thing* in singular form is often used in plural senses in Chaucer:

in all thyng 24.5, all thyng were wele 42.40, any othyr thyn(g) 67.42, ony othere thyng 70.37, all erthely thing 79.23.

Cf. all thyng standyth in good wey. 46.4.

Plural form is also used:

all odyr t(h)ynggys 32.33, other thynges 33.4, such thynges 33.7.

The frequency of the singular form and that of the plural are as follows: *thing* 26%, *things* 74%.

4. Latin and Old French plural form *letters* is used at times instead of the singular form:

by yowre worthy *lettres* 2.18, of the whyche *lettrys* I thanc yow 29. 6. the seid *letteres* 56.39 (legal expression), thank you hertyly of youre *letteris* 70.2.

The use of the plural form including the case where the word *letters* is preceded by numerals is 18 times, while that of the singular form counts 67.

5. The use of *other* in plural sense is as follows:

among other 2.5./ to dyvers othyr 29.20./ to you and to odyr 32. 17./ I and odyre 32.33./ wyth othere of my Lord of Suffolkys men 37.3./ amonge all other 54.52.

Plural form *others* is not in evidence in my survey.

(2) Forms of Genitive Case will be manifested in the following paradigm.

Type 1. *-ys.*	Godd*ys* blyssyng 5.36. in hert*ys* es 5.7.	53.6%
Type 2. *-is.*	Godd*is* blessyng 6.25. to your gracious hert*is* desyre. 21.7.	10.2%
Type 3. *-es.*	Godd*es* ryghtwysenes 9.10. to……your hert*es* desire. 9.28.	16.3%
Type 4. *-s.*	Wymondam*s* gate 7.6. brodyr*s* maters 76.13.	8.4%
Type 5. Separated gen.	God *ys* blessyng and myn 45.3. for hard *ys* hese 55.91. (for heart's ease) Seynt Barnaby *is* Day 84.33.	2.9%
Type 6. Proper N.+*his*	John Norwode *his* man 7.7. Thomas Hawys *his* othirman 7.8.	1.0%

Type 7. genitive.	*s*-less	*myn Lord Chauncelere* full inthenthe 24.33./ *my Lord of Clarauncе* man 56.12./ *Ser John Fastolff* goodys 67.13./ *Thomas Hollere* son 70.9.	7.5%

N.B.

1. The genitive of lifeless things:

at the *wekys* end 25.18./ wythin iii or v *dayes* jorney of Brugys 50. 52./ by the *seeys* syde 56.18./ yowre *lyvys* endyn 27.63./ in *hertys* es 5.7./ *whales* bon 47.14.

2. Before *sake* the *s*-form is frequent while the *s*-less form is rare:

for *Goddes* sake 63.46. See moreover 55.17; 63.41; 63.46; 65.48; 68. 28; 76.14.

for Godsake 70.40. (maybe coalesced?)

3. Group genitive:

a. The *s* is appended to a group of words as in Present-Day English: *the Duke of Suffolkys* auncestors 34.10, *my Lorde of Suffolkys* men 37. 4.

b. ME idiom (e.g. Chaucer's *'the kyng Priamus* sone *of Troye'*) is preserved:

the Kyngys sustyr *of Scotlon.* 66.21 *William Smythes* carte *of Brabdon* 93.10.

c. The genitive of the two words connected by 'and' takes the following forms:

A's…and B's:

his avyse *and Doctour Aleynes* 42.43.
myn Goddis blessyng *and myn* 6.26.
yowre wele-willerys *and myn* 11. 6.

A and B's……:

the Seynt Symon and Jude *ys* Evyn 43.68.

As for the *s*-less form in group genitive see the above paradigm Type 7.

4. The use of the double genitive:

The *Paston Letters* show two forms in the use of the double genitive.

One is the type of 'of+Absolute Possessive Pronoun' and the other is the type of 'of+Possessive Case.' Of course the former is used more frequently than the latter.

Type of 'of+Possessive Pronoun':

a yonger doghtur *of myn* 82.20.
a good lover *of myn* 85.26.
some other frend *of yours* 40.44.
sum othere good kuntery man *of owyrs* 65.43.

Type of 'of+Possessive Case'

frendys *of your* 95.32.

Cf. the schere howse *of yow* 18.12.

5. The use of adverbial genitive:

-times: betymes 40.31; bytimes 40.55./ oftentymys 27.13. Cf. oftyn tyme 12.40. (Adverbial Accusative) / othyre tymys 27.23./ eftsones 33.40./ now a dayes 12.23.

-wards: hidderwardys 11.23./ latewardes 84.9. Cf. hereaftyrward 32.27. (Adverbial Accusative)

Miscellaneous: onis 6.4./ onys 12.27./ twyes 12.28./ onethes (scarcely) 14.4./ togedyrs 92.12. Cf. togedyr 21.26./ needys 89.38./

Olde genitive: althere (of all) best 52.41.

2. Pronouns.

Case \ Person	1st Person Sing.	2nd Person Sing.	3rd Person Sing.
Nominative	I che	ye thow	he she it sche itt yt yit hit
Possessive	my myn myne	your youre yowr yowre yowyr yor	his here hise hir hys hyr hes hyre hese
Objective	me	you the yow yowe yw	him here it hym herre yt hyme hir yte hire yth hyr hit hyre

N.B.

1. Some scribes use *my* before consonants and *myn(e)* before vowels, but others use both forms indiscriminately. *Myne*, however, seems to be the usual form before vowels in the latter case.

   Letter 1 (William Paston I's autograph) observes the grammar:
   my seyd adversarie 1.17.// *Myn* adversarie 1.15.

   Letter 19 (hand of John Bokkyng) does not observe the grammar:
   myn advyse 19.5. // *myn* weelbeloved cosyn 19.12, *myn* trust 19.5, *myn* Lady of York 19.4.

   In Letter 5, *myn* is used before *h*: *Myn* hert 5.15.

2. The results of my survey show the non-use of 2nd Person Singular Nominative *you*. *Ye* is the usual polite form for the person to whom letters are written in *Paston Letters*. The use of *thow* and *the* is scarce and *thy* does not appear according to my survey.

Case \ Person	1st Person Plural	2nd Person Plural	3rd Person Pl.
Nominative	we wee		they thei thay
Possessive	our oure owr owre owyr ouwyr howre		theyre ther there her here
Objective	us uus ous		them themm thaym theym hem

N.B.

1. The second persen plural *ye, your,* and *you* seem not to be used so far as the present textbook is concerned.
2. The uses of *hem* and *them:*

   In the accusative:

   bryng *hem* to the next preson 46.48. / put *hem* in grett destresse

13. 17./ trost *hem* not 11. 46. / to show yow *hem* 12. 14.

Ye schall fynde *them* gentylmanly 52. 24./ thys he lettes *thaym* knowe 86. 36./ let hym comand *theym* to pay 92. 31.

In the Dative:

and hathe gen *hem* day tyll Candyllmas to pay 46. 21./ I had schargyd *hem* alle 55. 68./ informe *hem* as I ha wrete to yo[w] with 36. 44.

to purvey *them* some. 52. 21./ Ther dar no pore man dy(s)plese *theym* 46. 38.

After Prepositions:

he shall not have it *from hem* esily. 9. 25./ *nere hem* 10. 31./ the sellys *of hem* 11. 35./ all the felawshep *of hem* 46. 25./ I seyd *to hem* 10. 52.

schete owt *at them* 8. 17./ to purvey *for them* 52. 23./ Ther be ii systers *of them* 88. 20.

Thus the difference of use between *them* and *hem* can not be found in the *Paston Letters.*

The frequency of *hem* and *them* in the first and last 15 letters (total: 30 letters) is as follows: *them* 52.6%, *hem* 47.4%. Nevertheless, in the first 15 letters *hem* is more frequent and in the latter *them* counts a larger number. As for the chronological distribution of *hem, them/ her, ther,* see Norman Davis, *LP,* p. 117.

II. SYNTAX

The following points of syntax are selected with typical examples in the present survey:

A. Elements and Structure of the Sentence

1. Comparison
2. Infinitive with (*for*) *to*
3. Gerund
4. Participle
5. *Shall* and *Will* with Statistics
6. Negation

7. Word-Order
8. Emphasis
9. Colloquial Elements
10. Remnants of Earlier English

B. Structure of Clauses

1. Coordination
2. Subordination
3. Correlation

A. Elements and Structure of the Sentence

1. Comparison

Despite some irregularities in word form (e.g. *sewrlyer* vs. *most suer*) and in pattern (e.g. *on the lyghtest*), the general patterns of comparison are closely followed by Modern English.

(1) Positive. The pattern 'as...as...' is particularly frequent.

a. 'As...', 'as...as one can', etc.: Hawys...kest a ston *as meche as* a fortyng lof (7),[1] the wyll...was *as veryly* Syr Fastolfys wyll *as* it was trew that he shold onys deye (49), (he) is *as besy as* he can (22), he schowlde do therine *as largely as* he owt to do (41).

b. 'Not so...as...': the schanselere was *not so gylty as* I weend he had ben (55), sche was never in *so gret* sorow *as* sche is now a dayes (12).

c. 'As good', etc., with a relative clause wanting: It is *as good* that ye rede... (72), it shall cost a m[1] escutys, and *as moche* afftre (57).

(2) Comparative. Such a pattern as 'x tymes werse...than...' is already found. The earliest quotation of the similar pattern in OED is dated 1551.

a. General pattern: ther was never no man that played Herrod in Corpus Crysty play *better* and *more agreable* to hys pageaunt *then* he dud (86), to hundred yere *elder than*... (11), x tymes *werse* tydyngys ...*than* any letter ye wrot to me (57), on word of a woman shuld do *more than* the wordys of xx men (94), it shal be *lesse cost* to yow to

1) Number in the parentheses refers to Letter Number as in PL.

be at Norwyche...*then* to mete at Langely wher everythyng is dere (81), I *had lever* ye lost the lyffelode *than* there lyfes (56), in *lesse than* an howre (77), *offter than* onys (83).

b. With 'the', also in correlation 'the...the...': ye hare nevere *the nerer* a wysse man for hym (25), *the soner the better* in eschewyng of worse(84).

N.B. 'had lever~than' is idiomatic, a construction prevalent in the fifteenth century. See Baldwin, *ISMD.*

(3) Superlative. One rare instance of the earlier form 'on(=one) the lyghtest' is found, though 'one of (superlative)' is the commoner one.

He is *on the lyghtest, delyverst, best spokyn, fayirest archer, devowghtest, most perfyght,* and *trewest* to hys lady of all the knyghtys (66), *oon of the lewdeste* of the shippe (14), *the uttermest* pryse (52).

Also in such phrases as *at the ferthest* (57), *at the leste* (89).

2. Infinitive with (*for*) *to*

(1) Both *for to* and *to* are joined with the infinitive, not necessarily with notion of purpose, but the former is less frequent. Occasionally the two forms occur in succession.

the seyd Master Brakley owt *for to* be in gret consyens (49) [cf. ye dede as ye ought *to do* of very right (54)], it comyth to yow in mynd *for to* meve me wyth thys mater (49), on Wensday last passyd Dabeney, Naunton, Wykys, and John Love werre at Drayton *for to* speke wyth youre tenauntys there, *to* put hem in confort and *for to* aske money of hem also (35).

(2) Passive infinitive

It bids fair to be on the increase in the Letters.

Every pore man that hath browt up his chylder to the age of xii yer waytyth than *to be holp* and *profitid* be his childer (36), thei be thret to be slayn or presoned (42), iff I had nede *to be quykynyd* wyth a letter...(57).

(3) Perfect infinitive occurs fairly frequently, signifying that something ought to have been done but was not.

it was yowre fadris laste wille *to have do* ryghht wel to that plase (6),

twenty comb Hew Awstyns man had don cartyd, redy *for to have led* it to Yermowth (46), Sche was browthe ageyn to my place *fore to a be* reseyved (55).

(4) The pattern 'it...(for...) to...'

I told hym *it* was no curtese *to medyll* hym in a mater (17), me thynke *it* were best *to porvaye* one atte Camberag (70), if *it* lay in here powrys *to do* owth for me...(10), *it* were best *fore hym to tak* hiis leve (28), *it* is worshep *for yow to confort* yowr tenantes (36).

The last two examples may be construed as accusative with infinitive. Compare also 'dativel phrase' (to me) preceding the infinitive, and also retroactive 'which wey...to take'.

Yt is a deth *to me* to thynk upon yt (65), it is *to me* a deethe to her that...(54), *whych wey* were harde for me *to take* (57).

(5) The pattern 'too...to...'

I will not be *to* hasty *to take* it uppon me (45), wythe mor whyche wer *to* longe *to wryet* to you (53).

(6) Adjectives with infinitive

This use is a continuation of the use of infinitives in the 14th century. he sholde have been *able to have redyn* a myle (77), I am *aferde to write* to you (54), I am now *bond to thank* yow for it (95), I xall be *fayn to lend* it him (28), he is *glad to schewe* yow hem (12), I am *hevy* and *sory to remembre* ther disposicion (54), thei be *like to lese* bothe there lyfes and the place (56), she were *loth to suffre* that (9), I was *redy to ryden* (11), I ham *wery to wer* yt (4), he was not *wyllyng to meve* the Kyng therein (27), as he was *wont to custome* to do (7), my lady was *worthye to have* a lordys soon in hyre belye (69).

(7) The absolute construction: 'nominative with infinitive'

the gat be shet, and *he to be chasyd* aftyr watyr wythin your plase (62), ye may se be his evydences that his childern and hire may enheryten, and *sche to have* resonable joynture (12), he is lord there, and well be, and shall be, and *ye not to have* it (9).

(8) Miscellaneous uses of infinitives which may show a wide range of their application in sentence-structure.

The cause...ys *to have* an awnswere in haste from you (35), yef ye *purposed to falle* hastely in my Lady Anne P. lappe...(47), I consayll *yow not to contenu* long as ye do (18), I wot not *what to do* wyth hym (30), *how to do* (65), *wher to fynd* yow (76), I have no wyt nor remembrans *to wryte* to yow halfe the worchep that is her (50), prey yow to gete som crosse bowis, and wyndacys *to bynd them wyth* (8), they han made wyketys on every quarter of the hwse *to schete owte atte* (8), on Monday next comyng, *that is to sey*, the fyrst Monday of Clene Lente (88), And *as fore to labore* thois letteris and the rescu togedre (57), But *as to sey* that they schall be rescuyd (57).

N.B. It is interesting to note that the new infinitival construction with preposition at end crops up in the PL as in 'to bynd them *wyth*'. Chaucer's construction is the order with the preposition immediately after the verb as in 'to shorte *with* owre weye' (Prol 791). See Robinson, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd ed, p.668.

3. Gerund

(1) What is called 'gerund' was a noun originally. But in PL the development of the gerund as verbal noun is far advanced; particularly its flexible gerundial uses are noteworthy.

a. As object of verb:

I xall late you *have wetyng* qhan ye com hom (11), He seyth he hath not usyd to *geve rekenyng* nothyre of bred nor alle tyll at the wekys end (25).

b. With prepositions and possessive pronouns (or/genitives)

I took it upon my sowle *at my dying* that that wyll that...(49), *after your departyng* (40), *in Daubeneys kepyng* (30), *of Howardys gydyng* (28), knowyng *of ther comyng* (37), knowlich *of the Dukes comyng* (14), *syn your departyng* (30), *to your departyng* (30).

In the above examples the gerund after prepositions has characteristics of a verb.

c. With adverbs:

I pray you that the caws of *my komyng away* may ben kownsell tyl I speke wyth yow (11), *takyng awey* (93), *yowr being here* (76), the comyng and *the brynggyn hoom* of the gentyl womman (3).

d. With adverbial phrases (place):

It is worth noticing that this use appears especially after verbs of motion (come, go, etc.).

Whyche I trust to tell yow *at your comyng to Norwych* (81), *befor the Kyngys comyng into the said cite* (26), *as for my comynge from Eton* (88), *for commynge on ther lordes ground* (86), *after myn departyng fromme yow* (41), *at my departyng frome your meastershep* (86), *syn yowre departyng owt of thys contre* (31), *of my going to Caleys* (68), *as be his seying to us* (29).

e. With an object:

as a drane amonges bees wheeh labour *for gaderyng hony* in the feldes (33), I nevir coud fele ner undirstand hym poletyk ner diligent in *helpyng* hym self (33).

f. The pattern 'an adjective+*of*+gerund':

and bydde hym that he be not to *hasty of takyng of* orderes that schuld bynd hym (70), to be woll *ware off hys delyng* (61), *wery of bidyng* (33).

4. Participle

The development of present and past participles in PL is conspicuous in parallel with that of the gerund. The following are a list of the typical uses of participles:

(1) Additional modifying participle

and ther arn ii other persones provided to the same bysshopriche yet *lyvyng* (1), a lytyll hert *brenny[n]g* to you (11), monkes *clad* and *unprofessyd* (2), his *trustid* men (14).

The present participle is used after the construction 'have+noun', almost forming a pattern like 'have+n.+~ing':

and hath his men ayen *waytyng* upon hym (13), hath speciall evidens *longyng* (40), *had a plowe goyng* (35), have non herneyse *comyn* (52).

(2) Participial construction

we, *knowyng* of ther comyng, had purveyd so for hem that we were stronge inough (37), I, *rememberyng* hym of the same mater (27), And prowdly *goyn* forthe wyth me in the cherche, he seyd (49), *accordyng to* (25), *konsyderyng* (27), *savyng* (27).

(3) The absolute construction

and *that doone* she woll delyver them, and ellys nott (89), And *thys done*, I warant your lyvelod that my lord delys not wyth shall be gadyrd pesybylly (46), But, *all thyngys rekynyd*, it shal be lesse cost to yow to be at Norwyche (81).

(4) 'With'-construction

And with hym mette a shippe callyd Nicolas of the Towre, *with othere shippis waytyng on hym* (14), for fayne she wold be redde of it, *wyth hyr onowre savyd* (94), *wyth as many personys defensabylly arayid* as they myte (32).

(5) The periphrastic form

Though the periphrastic forms are used in PL some of them may have the character of an adjective rather than of a verb.

She *is* not *abydynge* ther sche ys now, hyr dwellyng is in London (88), Myn uncle *was comyng* to have offered (91) [cf. I understonde *ther is comyn an* heyre determyner to enquere of all ryottys (37)], they be not in noon place wher that sykenesse *is regnyng* (63), Ser Jamys *is evyr choppyng* at me when my modyr is present (68).

N.B. The use of the pres. part. in the last example seems emotional.

5. SHALL and WILL

Our chief concern here is to count all the occurrences of the four auxiliaries — *shall, will, shold* and *wold.*

In the principal clauses *'shall'* is more often used than *'will'*, except in the third person, whereas *'wold'* is more often used than *'shold'* except in the second person.

These auxiliaries are more in evidence in the subordinate clauses. This

is especially the case with *'shold'*. *'Shold'* occurs 29 times in the principal clauses, as against 195 times in the subordinate clauses.

The following tables show the results obtained on the frequency of occurrence of the above auxiliaries in their respective clauses.

Frequency of Occurrence

Table No. 1

	Person	Principal Clause	Subordinate Clause			Total
			Noun Clause (1)		Adervial & Adjectival Clause	
			A	B		
SHALL	I	42	9	6	4	61
	II	21	2	11	9	43
	III	42	4	56	27	129
	I+III	0	1	0	0	1
	TOTAL	105	16	73	40	234
			89			
WILL	I	35	0	1	1	37
	II	6	0	28	11	45
	III	47	14	32	20	113
	TOTAL	88	14	61	32	195
			75			
SHOLD	I	8	5	13	9	35
	II	4	2	23	10	39
	III	17	12	85	35	149
	II+III	0	0	1	0	1
	TOTAL	29	19	122	54	224
			141			
WOLD	I	22	3	6	7	38
	II	2	1	13	7	23
	III	29	26	18	22	95
	I+III	0	0	1	0	1
	TOTAL	53	30	38	36	157
			68			

(1) Noun Clauses are divided into A and B:

Noun Clause A

Noun Clauses A are subdivided into 1 and 2.

1. The subject of the principal and noun clauses are identical with each other. E.g. *I* seyd pleynly that *I* woold nowder bryng here nore sende here (55), *your yonger sone* seith *he* wold have do it (40).
2. The subject of the principal clause is identical with one of the composing members of the plural or double subject of the noun clause. E.g. *I* hope that *I and odyre* schal do howre part (32), *I* fer me that *we* shall have…(74).

Noun Clause B

The subjects of the principal and noun clauses are not identical with each other. E.g. *he* seyth *my lady* shal come on pylgremage (94).

N.B. In the material collected the auxiliaries do not occur in the interrogative sentence except a single instance of *'shall'* in the following: 'Covere thy heed!' And Gloys seid ageyn, 'So I shall for the.' And whanne Gloys was forther passed by the space of iii or iiii strede, Wymondham drew owt his dagger and seid, *'Shalt thow so,* knave?' (7)

Illustrations of 'shall' and 'will' with frequency are given in the following:

(1) In the Principal Clause

a. 1st Person

Shall: I shall be yours while I lyve (51), *Will*: I am your man and evere *Will* be (2), *Schold*: I *schold* wryght much more to yow but for lak of leysere (38), *Wolde*: Followed *'be glad* or *sory'* (11 examples) Iff it be weel, I *wolde be glad* (83).

With *'in feythe, by my trowthe, by god'*, etc.

Shall, Shold (No example), *Will* (4 examples), *Wold* (4 examples).

anb iff any off them be claymyd hereafftre, *in feythe* I *wyll* restoore it (73).

b. 2nd Person

Shall: Ye *schall* have knowlyche aftyrward howe he hathe demenyd hym here wyth me (27), But ye *schall* understond that it was after none

(86); *Will*: ye *woll* remembir I have sent yow all many lettirs (33).

c. 3rd Person

Shall: Pecocke *challe* telle you be mothe of more thyngys than I may write to you at this tyme (34); *Will*: he hathe obeyed hym to yow and *wolle* do at all tymis (34).

The Subject referring to other than persons.

Frequency: *Shall* 22, *Will* 7, *Shold* 9, *Wold* 3.

Stablysshe yowre selfe uppon a good grownde, and *grace shall* folowe (83), and *that* shalle cause your fader to be better fader to you (30), *myn empty hed wyll* not let me remember it (92).

Followed by 'needys': Frequency: *Will* 1, *Wold* 1.

she *woll needys* take advise off Londonerys (89).

'*Wold fayn*' (4 examples).

Your grandam *wold fayne* her sum tydyngys from yow (30).

d. Negation in the Principal Clause

Frequency of occurrence.

Table No. 2

PERSON	I	II	III
SHALL	1	4	10
WILL	7	1	14
SHOLD	1	0	6
WOLD	4	1	5

Examples: I fynde noon other cause, and as I trust to Jesu *never shall* (22), and more *will* I *not* tell in thes mater if I be desyred or compellid (39), And thys I promyse yow, ye *shall not* be so longe ayen wythought a byll fro me (66), ye *will not* leffe me therfor (79), he *schalle never* do yow profyte *nere* worchyp (27), the mane that ye lefte wyth me *woll not* take upon hym to breve dayly as ye commandyt (25).

(2) In the Subordinate Clause

a. Noun Clause

The total number of Noun Clause B is far more frequent than that of Noun Clause A in each auxiliary, as the Table No. 1 shows. In case we compare the examples of B whose subjects of principal and noun clauses are the third person, we get the following result as shown in the Table No. 3.

Table No. 3

NOUN CLAUSE	A	B
PERSON	III	III (In Principal and Subordinate Clauses)
SHALL	4 (22%)	14 (78%)
WILL	14 (74%)	5 (26%)
SHOLD	12 (23%)	41 (77%)
WOLD	26 (81%)	9 (19%)

With *will* and *wold* class A is more frequent. This fact is typically represented by the noun clauses governed by the verb '*say*'. Its frequency is shown below.

Table No. 4

NOUN CLAUSE	A	B
Governing Verb	Say	Say
SHALL	2	7
WILL	11	0
SHOLD	2	13
WOLD	18	2

A. *she sayth she wyl* be there thys somer and repayre housyng ther (35).

B. and thanne *Wymondham* called Gloys thef and *seid he* [=Gloys] *shuld* dye (7).

6. Negation

(1) Periphrastic *do* is not found yet.

Spare *not* this to be don in hast (56), Your fader knowythe *not* wher it is (30).

Cf. The interrogative pattern: Alas, what meane they? (54).

(2) Double (sometimes triple) negative is quite common.

He is *not* takyn as *non* of that howse, fore the cokys be *not* charged to serve hym, *nore* the sewere to gyve hym *no* dyche; fore the sewere wyll *not* tak *no* men *no* dischys till they be comawndyd by the cownterrollere (28).

(3) Negatives used are such pronouns as *non, nobody, nothing* (a), such adjectives as *no, non* (b), such adverbs as *litell, never, no, none, not, nothyng, nought, seld* (c), and conjunctions such as *nother...ner, ne...ne, ner...ner* (d).

a. sche knewe it furst of me and *non* other (54).

b. tyll that tyme kan I take *non* dyreccion (57).

c. full *litell* remembre they what they doo (54), I herde *nevyre* syn that tyme any worde owt off Norffolk (63), I sente to yowe *none* erste no wrythgtyng (27), he mythe *not*, nore woold, *no* lengare belay yt (55), I was *nothyng* purposyd to abyde here (35), if he hathe *nought* do well, nor wyll *nought* amend... (20), if ye loke hem lightly and see hem *seld* thei shall sone be forgete (40).

d. sche may not speke with no man, hosoever come, *ne* not may se *ne* speke with my man, *ne* with servauntes of hir moderys (12).

(4) Irregularities in word-order

a. Negative object is sometimes transposed before the verb: S—v—O—V. Especially frequent in case of *non*.

I can *non* send yow (50), I kowd *no* rest have in myn hert (11).

b. Adjective *non* is separated and placed after the noun it qualifies in the following.

Othere tydyngys know I *non* att this tym (13), Othyr tydyngys have we *non* her (50).

7. Word-Order

Roughly speaking, the word-order is normal. Such an inverted order as follows is usual in Modern English too.

(1) When a sentence or a clause opens with an object, sometimes the inversion occurs: O—V—S, O—v—S—V.

many a gret chalaunge make thay to Mester John (86), and so woll he do to othere (43).

Occasionally the emphatic front-position of an object is found without inversion, the object usually referring to what immediately precedes in the context.

thys ye kannot do wythowt som comfort of hyre in no wyse (48), and if *any* thei cowde fynde...(42), *Whethere he wol com ferthere hyddyrward ore not* I wot not yet (38).

'No more I wrighte to yow...(12)' is a stereotyped phrase, which occurs often in an elliptic pattern: 'No moore to yowe at thys tyme (69).'

(2) When an adverb or an adverbial phrase opens a sentence or a clause, inversion takes place: adv.—V—S, adv.—v—S—V.

and then come they and aborded the schippe (21), Yet hath he left you a pyke or ii (86), in his stede is kom anothere (10), syns Saterdaye slepyd he nott iiii howrys (77).

A sentence beginning with unstressed *there* shows the same word-order. This pattern is particularly frequent, often with a passive verb.

ther is comyn an heyre determyner to enquere of all ryottys (37), Ther dar no pore man dy[s]plese theym (46), there xuld be fownd othere thynggys ageyns hym (55).

(3) Irregularities

a. Pronouns show some irregularities: *all them* (85), the *other hyr* susters (82), lend *it him* (28) [cf. give it me (POD)], ye comaund me *so* for to do (94) [cf. a comandement of the Duck to do *so* (43)].

b. Adverbs and adverbial phrases also show some irregularities in word-order: yow and hym *bothe* (7) [cf. *both* wyth yowre hert and mynde (48)], I pray God *long* to contynew to hys plesore (88), I hope *hastely* to see yow (61), pray yow *as hastely as ye may* send me ayen v mark (28) [cf. I pray yow send me it as hastely as ye may (28)], I wolde ye toke *of men of the contre* but few (52), I had lever *thene all the goode in the worlde* I myght be wyth you (54).

Irregularities in word-order of some negatives are already dealt with above. See Negation (4).

8. Emphasis

(1) With intensive force these adverbs are used: *all, clene, full, never so* (in conditional clauses), *passyng, right, so, sore, to, verry, wele,* of which *right* is most frequent. It is about the middle of the fifteenth century that *very* comes to be used as an adverb, as in *verry mery* (71). he schall be *all* holl wythin *ryght* schort tyme (61), *clene* hole of all my hurttys (62), *full* sorowefull (54), Thow thei speke *never so* fayr to you...(11), *passyng* sekke (65), MY *right* especiall good mayster (47), ye suffre them to be *so* longe in *so* gret joparte (56), *sore* aferyd (8), be natt *to* hevy ner *to* mery (57), *verry* kunnyng (53), *wele* worth (11).

Also in phrases such as *goodely and wele* (57), *ryth well and pleynly* (29).

(2) See Colloquial Elements (2) for emphatic tag-clauses (e.g. *dought ye nat*), and (11) for asseveration (e.g. *God knowith*). For the periphrastic construction 'it is...that...' see B. Subordination (3) d.

9. Colloquial Elements

The *Letters* are, as might be supposed, full of elements of colloquial

nature. Here is a good example:

> And as for the mater, so they overcome yow not with fors ne bosting I shall have the maner sewrlyer to me and myn than the Dewk shall have Cossey, dowt ye not. And in cas I come not hom within thre wekis, I pray yow come to me; and Wykes hath promisid to kepe the plase in yowr absens. Nevertheles, whan ye come set it in sech rewle as ye seme best and most suer, bothe for Castre and Heylisdon, if the werre hold. In cas ye have pees send me word (39).

The following might be the typical of colloquial elements.

(1) Frequent use of verbs or verbal phrases of feeling, reporting, etc., such as *I am glad, I hope.*

> Mastres, *I am aferde* to write to you, for *I undrestond* ye have schewyd my letters (54), *I am ryght glad* (49), *I am hevy and sory* (54), *I hope* (75), *I wold* ye shuld send me word howghe ye doo (30), *I here sey* thei xul abyd here (10).

(2) Tag-clauses such as *dought ye nat* (40), *I ensure yow* (45), *I promyse yow* (53), *I wote wele* (51), etc. either at front-position or at end-position.

> *I promyse yow* it shall do yow ease (53), I will not be to hasty to take it uppon me, *I ensure you* (45).

(3) Insertion of *me thynkythe, as nede is, I thought, that ys to say,* etc.

> they wol *as nede is* kepe wecche and warde (52), my brodyr is beryed in the Whyght Fryers at London, whych *I thought* shold not have ben (92).

Also note such insertion as follows.

> Mastress Broom send me hedyr iii longe gownys...owt of my cofyr —*Ser Jamys hathe the key*—as I sent hyr word befor thys (62), my brodyr Thomas Jermyn...tellyth me that the causey, *or ye can come to Bokenham fery,* is so over flowyn that ther is no man that may anethe passe it (81).

(4) Besides such elliptic phrases as *if ye may* (39), *or els not* (35), *I trow not* (88), *never shall* (22), note also the ellipsis in the following. The brackets show the place where ellipsis occurs.

He was at Wyndham..., and ther restyd hym an howre, and [ ] to horse ageyne and was heere in lesse than an howre and on halffe (77), he seyth my lady shal come on pylgremage into this towne, but he knowyth not wheder [ ] afore Cristmes or aftyr (94), I wolde be as gladde that one gaffe yow a maner off xx *li.* by yeere as [ ] iff he gave it to my selffe (83), No more [ ] to yowe at this tyme (79).

(5) Apposition outside the sentence or clause proper, either at front-position or at end-position. This may be the so-called 'extra-position'.

such as ye can not spede at this tyme, let hem be sped as sone as ye may (33), many *pagentys* wer pleyid in hyr wey in Bryggys to hyr welcomyng, *the best that ever I sye* (50).

(6) Redundancy, usually after an insertion

on of them...whyche is as goode a man as gothe on the erthe, savyng *a lytyl* he woll, as I understand, be *a lytel* copschotyn (52), *he wyst wyll that* and the wall were pud doun, thou he were an hondryd myle fro Paston *he wyste well that* I wolde sey he ded yt (16).

(7) Change of construction or semantic change

I pray you hertely send me word how ye do and how ye spyde in youre maters in haste, and that I may have knowlych how your sonnys doth (43), I were ryght lothe to bestowe so mech uppon on doghtur that the other hyr susters schuld fare the wars (82), yt was the next day after that I was maad bachylere ore than the letter cam (90).

(8) The pattern 'grette maters and weyghty (53)' is extended. Sometimes additional emphasis may be felt as in the following:

I woold ye xuld send your brothere woord, *and sum othere that ye truste,* to see to your owyn lyvelod (60), I shall be yours while I lyve, *and at your comaundement* (51), The Duke hath be more fervently set therupon, *and more cruell* (56).

(9) The use of the impersonal *it* as in 'it is long since...' might be colloquial.

yt xale be long here yt be recumpensyd ageyn (60), remembre yow

it hathe be a long season syn he had owt of you to helpe hym wyth (34).

The first citation in OED of the similar expression is dated as late as 1749.

(10) Vocatives such as *cosyn, madam, Modyr, Mastres, ser, Volentyne.*

Modyr, I beseche yow...(81), Item, *ser*, on Saturday last past I spacke wyth my cosyn Gornay (94), good, trewe, and lovyng *Volentyne*, that ye take no such labure uppon yowe as to com more for that mater (80).

N.B. As for 'Volentyne' see IV. STYLE.

(11) Asseveration

for Goddes sake (63), *Fore Goddys love* (65), *by God* (83), *blissed be God* (93), fore serten Daubeney is dede, *God asoyle hys sowle* (60), *So God help me* (53), I have nought trespassed ageyn noon of these iii, *God knowith* (1), *In feythe* (68), *so mot I they* (=thrive) (45).

10. Remnants of Earlier English

One may be impressed by the fact that the language of the *Paston Letters* and Modern English have much in common, but naturally not without earlier elements, some of which follow.

(1) The use of compound adverbs such as *therfro, therfor, heroff, theroff, therto, herwyth, therwith* and *therwhyle.*

John Clement, berer *heroff* (=of this letter), can tell yow...(92), I tolde her also that but iffe she pleasyd yow that she wer never lyke to have peny *theroff*, for she canne nott dystreyne *therfor*, and as for yow, ye never receyvyd peny *theroff* (89), the prioure sent for Wymondham, and *therwhyle* we yede hom ageyn (7).

(2) 'An abundance of impersonal verbs is a mark of an early stage in a language (E. A. Abbott, *A Shakespearian Grammar*).'

a. Withous *it*: Jon Hobbys tellith me that ye be seekly, whech *me lekith* not to her (39), *hym lyst* (61), *plesyth yow* to weet...(49), *haped me* (21), *me semyth* (10), *me thynkithe* (28), *Me thynkys* (68), *me*

thynk (76), *me thowt* (10).

b. With *it* : *It liketh me* evill to here...(33), *it lusteth hym* to do soo (22), *Plese it your good maistershep* to knowe...(9), *it fylle* in hys brayne to come to Norwyche (77), So *it fortuned* that...(88).

(3) Occasionally *that* is added to relatives, conjunctions and to an adverb *how*, with a conjunctional force.

the letture *whech that* ye sende me (80), *were that* I may be goten I schal dye (37), *after that* I herd these tydyngys...(11), *because that* he had not the keyes (30), *lesse that* he hathe ben ondoone (89), ye know *how that* I have putte myn trust in yow (19).

Pleonastic *as* once occurs after a relative *where.*

Wryten at Castere..., *where as* I wold not be at thys tyme but for youre sake (45).

(4) Periphrastic construction: 'it is soo that', etc.

it is soo that my brothere is onpurveyed off monye (61), iff *it be soo that* ye be mysse-servyd there, I beseche yowe...(75), as for hyr bewte, juge yow that when ye see hyr, yf *so be that* ye take the laubore (88).

As in the last example provisional *it* may be omitted.

(5) The earlier forms of Superlative (*on the lyghtest*) and Infinitive (*for to* do ; supposyng *to have dyeyd*) are already dealt with above.

B. Structure of Clauses

A simple sentence seldom occurs in the *Letters.* Sentences are made up of two or more clauses either in coordination, subordination or in correlation. Many of them are mixed or complex-compound sentences. Two passages are selected for analysis to show the ramified relation of the clauses. For this, compare further IV. STYLE.

Principal Cl.	Substantive Cl.	Adverbial & Attributive Cl.
Also, modyr, I beseche	yow	and (=if) my horse that was at leche-craft at the Holt be not takyn up for the Kyngys hawkys,
	that he may be had hom and kept in your plase, and not to go owght to watyr nor no whedyr ellys,	
but	that the gat be shet, and he to be chasyd aftyr watyr wythin your plase,	
and	that he have as mych met	as he may ete (62).

Principal Cl.			Attributive & Adverbial Cl.
And the grettest deffaut erthly is mony, and som frendys and neyborys to helpe; wherffore I beseche yow	to sende me	comfort, what money	ye coude fynde the menys to get ore chevysche uppon suerte sufficient, ere uppon lyfflod to be in morgage ere yit solde,
	and	what peple	by lyklyod, yowre frendys and myn, kowde make uppon a schort warnyng,
and	to sende me the hast	worde in all	as it is nedffull (57).

In the second example *what money* and *what peple* are in apposition to *comfort*, and the second infinitive object *to sende* is separated from its verb *beseche* by long subordinate clauses in between.

1. Coordination

(1) Clauses of a sentence are connected by conjunctions, *and*, *but*, *for*, *or*, *either...or*, *neither...nor*, and occasionally by such abverbs as *nevertheless*, (*and*) *so*. Sometimes the same connective occurs in succession.

your brothere and his felesshep stond in grete joparte at Cayster, *and* lakke vetayll; *and* Dawbeney and Berney be dedde, *and* diverse othere gretly hurt, *and* thei fayll gonnepowder and arrowes, *and* the

place sore brokyn wyth gonnes of the toder parte (56), I conceyve veryly he hath made promys to do hese part that they shul be a-quytte; *but* I suppose he hath made non other promys ayens yow for the lyvelode, *but* he lokyth aftyre a gret brybe. *But* it is not for to trust hym veryly...(15), *outher* ye gader shrewdly *or* ellis ye spend lewdly (33), I prayed hyre to se them, *and soo* at the laste she grauntyd me to see them, *and so* yisterdaye I sawe them (89).

(2) Coordination without connectives sometimes occurs. Emphasis is felt in some cases, while in other cases cause or reason is often suggested in one of the coordinated clauses.

he truste hym not, he wold not delyver hym noon (54), I dare not put yt in joparte, there be so many theves stereng (65), Sche is not abydynge ther sche ys now, hyr dwellyng is in London (88).

2. Subordination

Sub-clauses are divided into attributive, adverbial and substantive clauses.

(1) Attributive clauses are introduced by relative pronouns and relative adverbs, restrictive and continuative.

a. *That* is used most frequently of all the relatives, closely followed by *which*. in frequency.

he wull graunte them *that* be in the place here lyfes and ther goodes (56), that is the grettest helpe *that* ye may have (5), they begyn to fayle now in my gretest ned *that* evyr I was in (62).

For *that which*, etc., *that that* is used.

he was rytgh sory of *that that* was don (10), as for *that that* was left...(15).

Sometimes the antecedent of *that* is omitted.

God gyf me grase to do *that* may plese yow (41); ye may verely know, by *that* youre unkell Will seyd (45).

That-clause may be continuative.

God send grase that he may do yow good servyse, *that* be ex-

tymacion is not lykelye (27), there is a man in Truntche hyghht Palmere to, *that* hadde of yowre fadre certein londe (6).

b. *Which* refers to persons as well as to things. *The Which* also occurs, but less frequently.

suych othere fals shrewys *the which* wuld have thes matere born ought for there owyn plesere (42), send it me be my seyd servaunt, and myn herneys wyth it *whyche* I lefte at Lundun (27), everythyng *the wych* I was charged wyth (86).

Which may introduce continuative clauses.

the seyd furst Mychell was sone to on William Pool of Hull, *whech* was a wurchepfull man (39), I undyrstand that he cannot, nere may, make no purvyans fore the *c* mark, *the wyche* causythe me to be rythgh hevy (65).

Which may be used attributively.

I receyved a letter from yow, in the *wyche* letter was viii *d.* wyth the whyche I schuld bye a peyer of slyppers (88).

c. *Who, whose* and *whom* occur much less frequently. They usually introduce clauses of additional statements. The nominative *who* occurs only in more or less stereotyped closing phrases.

evere gremercy God and ye, *who* evere have yow and me in his gracious governaunce (1), by the grace of God, *whom* (misused for *who*) have yow in hys kepyng (87), the seyd maner dessendid to Alise his dowtyr, *hos* estat I have (39), as to my Lady Pool, wyth *hom* I sojourned, that ye wil be...(22).

Who and *whom* are also used in general or indefinite sense.

who that dothe it I wyll paye (62), he is glad to schewe yow hem, or *whom* ye wol asygne with yow (12), *Qhom* God vysyteth, him he lovyth (44).

Compound relatives *whoever, hoso, hosoever* also occur.

therfor *whoever* sendys yow word that ...., they must geve yow anothyr reknyng (53), Telle yte here *hoso* wyll (16).

In the first example above, the pronominal correlative (*they*) occurs.

d. *What* and *whatsoever* are sporadic.

they tak dystressys owt of menys howsys, horse or catell or *what* they wyll (46), they...do *whatsoever* they wyll in the contre (46).

What is also used attributively.

I beseche yow to sende me comfort, *what* money ye coude fynde to get...and *what* peple...yowre frendys and myn, kowde make upoon a schort warnyng (57).

e. Remarks

The antecedent is doubly restricted in the following.

my white wine, or ony of my wateris, or ony othere thyng *that* I have *that* is in youre awarde (70), on of them *whyche* is ballyd and callyd Wylliam Peny, *whych* is as goode a man as gothe on the erthe (52).

The absence of a relative in nominative is often observed after 'there is...' and once after 'he has...'

there was a thryfty woman come forby the watteryng (16), He hathe a chort grene gowne, and a chort musterdevelerys gowne, were never reysyd; and a chort blew gowne *that* was reysyd (20).

In the second example above, both the absence and the presence of the relative are observed.

The absence of a relative as an object is also seen, but not so frequent as in Modern English.

ther was no woman in the world he lovyd so welle (30), the wysest I coude fynde here (1).

The relatives in the following may be pleonastic.

she knowyt not what ryght ne titell *that* ye have therin (35), the bysschop...put here in rememberawns how sche was born, wat kyn and frenddys *that* sche had, and suld have mo (55).

f. *As* occurs frequently in the pattern 'as (so)...as', 'such...as' and also in 'such as' with an antecedent understood.

ye challe have *as* fyne *as* maye be made (41), ye have *so* gret love of the pepyll *as* ye have (29), in thys contre is no *syche*

stuffe *as* I sent to yow for (53), *such as* ye can not spede at this tyme, let hem be sped as sone as ye may (33).

g. Relative adverbs used are *when, there, where,* and *wheresoevere.* They are used with or without antecedents.

the Sonday, *when* the seyd Brakley wend to have deyid (49), Sche is not abydynge *ther* sche ys now (88), ye are a felaw in Grays In, *were* I to was a felaw (18), *wheresoevere* they may gete them they schold dye (38).

Such compound relative adverbs as *wherby, wherfor, wherein, whereof, wherto* are also used.

ye have sent me word but late, *wherfor* ye may have non answer yet (36), my joyntore, *wherto* he is ibounde (22).

That is used after an antecedent denoting time, though it may be omitted. When an antecedent is modified by *such, as* replaces *that.*

the *day that* Paston men wold not a sofferyd that (16), tomorow are the nexst *day* ye schall have anoder letter (24), tylle *suche tyme* of yere *as* he was put owt therof (34).

Cf. that was the *cawse* men wolde not axe hym the rentte (6).

(2) Adverbial clauses are introduced by conjunctions and conjunctional phrases. In accordance with the meaning expressed, they are divided as follows. Pleonastic *that,* as in *after that, because that,* is already dealt with. See Remnants of Earlier English (3).

a. Clauses of time are introduced by *after (that), as, as soon as, er, ore than, since (that), till (that), what time that, when (that), while (that).*

I was maad bachylere *ore than* the letter cam (90), I schold send yow word *what tym that* I schold procede (90), The seyd Barow sayd to me if he com to London *quil* ye were there he wold drynk wyth you (11).

b. Clauses of cause or reason are introduced by *as, because (that), for (that), for because, forasmuch as, inasmuch as, insomuch (as), now, that, lesse.*

he dar not ben avowyd *for* he is sore thret (42), *for because* it was nye to the jentylman whyche weddyd hyr dowtyr

(88), he was rytgh sory hidderward, *inasmeche as* he had knowleche of yw before (10), how wel he hath ocupiid his tym *now* he hath had leyser (36), he wyl take a dysplesure wyth me *that* I send hym no mony (64), I am ryght glad *that* my wyff is enythyng your favore or trust (95).

After the verb or verbal phrases of fearing, *that* and occasionally *lesse* occur.

I was in fere *that* it wold not have bene doo so hastyly withoute dangere (70), I fere *lesse* he wyl take a dysplesure wyth me (64).

c. Clauses of purpose are introduced by *so as, so...that, so that, so, that*: with simple subjunctive or with *may*.

telle hir how hit is with me, *so as* I may ben excused for thys tyme (19), beware that ye be *so* purveyd for *that* ye take no cold (81), I praye yow fynd the menys *that* my lord may have some resonable meane profyrd *so that* he and my lady may undyrstand that... (53), *so* they overcome yow not with fors ne bosting... (39), I prey yow brenne this letter, *that* youre men ne non other man se it (12).

d. Clauses of result are introduced by *in so much that, so that, so...that, so, such...that, that*.

my lady wold be ryght glad to have yow abought hyr at hyr labore, *in so myche that* she hathe axyd the questyon of dyvers gentyllwomen whedyr they thought that ye wold awayte on hyr...or nought (76), I ageynwarde have hadde *so* lytell leysere *that* I have not spedde bot fewe of yowre erendys (48), he hath sent for all his tenauntes from every place, and othere..., *that* there is than like to be the grettest multitude of pepill that came ther yet (56).

e. Clauses of condition are introduced by *and, and if, as long as, but (that), but if, if (that), if...then, if...yet, in case, lesse than, save (that), saving that, so that, without (that)*: with subjunctive or indicative.

I had levere, *and* it pleasyd you, to be captenesse here than at

Castere (35), beolde hyr handys, for *and if* it be as it is tolde me, sche is dysposyd to be thyke (88), he wulle no more gadyre yt *but yf* ye comaund hym (60), *In cas* ye have pees send me word (39), it were best to porvaye one (=a horse) atte Camberag, *lesse than* ye canne gytte ony carreours from thens to Oxynforth (70), I wolde be most glad of any creature on lyve *so that* the mater myght growe to effect (80), This is a peyneful lyfe that we lede; I con not leve thus *wythoute* it be a gret displesure to Godde (54).

f. Clauses of concession or contrast are introduced by *how, notwithstanding, though, what (somever), when (soever), where (soever), whereas, whether...or, whosomever*: with subjunctive or indicative.

how corse *so ever* it be it makyth no matyr (87), *notwythstandyng* Hew Awstyn and hys men hathe crakyd many a gret woord (46), *qwat* casse *some ever* hap (24), I thynke notte a mater happy, nore weell handelyd, nore poletykly dalte with, *when* it can never be fynysshyd wythowte an inconvenyence (83), *wheras* they wryet that they have my good wyll therin, savyng your reverence they falsly lye of it (53), *whethyre* I had goode tydyngys *er* ill, I take Gode to wittnesse that I have don my devoyre as I wolde be don fore in case lyke (57).

g. Clauses of comparison are introduced by *as...as, as...as though, than.*

they woll not beleve me *as* weele *as* they woll do you (54), thow ye ben at London ye xul ben met wyth there *as* wele *as thow* ye were here (10), ye must seke som *other* remedy *than* ye do (37).

For other examples see Comparison (1) and (2).

h. Clauses of manner or degree are introduced by *after, as.*

othe rsuch of my frendes and servauntes as can avise yow *aftir* the mater requirith (33), I wol do *as* ye advyse me to (38), ye leid up mony in my cofirs every yere, *as* ye knowe (33).

(3) Substantive clauses are divided into object clauses, apposition clauses, predicate clauses and subject clauses.

a. Object clauses are introduced by *that, if* or *whether,* and interrogatives. The use of *that* is particularly frequent.

I desyir yow *that* [ye] wyll report aftyr my dethe *that* I took it upon my sowle at my dying *that* that wyll that John Paston put in to be provyd was Syr John Fastolfys wyll (49), I dowte nott but *thatt* he shall do weell (77), I...often tymes inquieryd of hym *and* he had mevyd the Kyng in these materys (27), I avyse you to enquere wysely *yf* ye canne gyte any more (45), I wol certyfye yow *how* I fryste felle in qweyntauns wyth hyr (88), ye shuld inquere *what* bribes or rewardes Edmond Clere toke of outlawed men (40), thei wost *ho* (misused for 'whom') I ment (10).

Object clauses occur after *think best* or *think strange.*

I *thynke best that* they be styll wyth yow (75), she *thynkyth* ryght *strange that* she may not have the profectys of Clyre ys place (35).

Cf. me thynke *it* were best *to* porvaye...(70), I took *it* upon my sowle at my dying *that* that wyll that John Paston put in to be provyd was Syr John Fastolfys wyll (49).

A sentence in mixed construction is occasionally found.

Ye schall fynde them gentylmanly, comfortable felawes, and *that* they wol and dare abyde be there takelyng (52), I praye yow feele my Lady of Norffolkys dysposicion to me wardys, and *whethyre* she toke any dysplesure at my langage...(69).

b. Apposition clauses are introduced by the same words as object clauses.

there is gret langage *that* it is lyke to be (48), it plese you for to send me worde *yf* my fadyr were at Norwiche...or no, and *how* the matyr dothe..., and *yf* ye sopose that it schall be brought abowte or no; and *how* ye fele my fadyr, *yf* he be wele wyllyng therto or no (21), *where* or in *whom* the defawte of the breche ys, I can have no parfyte knowlage (84).

c. Predicate clauses are introduced by *that* and once *for that*.

my wyll is *that* ye sholde have yowre holl xx *li.* ageyn (75). he askith myn avyse; whech is *that* ye conforte my tenauntes and help hem til I come hom (36), The cheff cause that I wryght to yow for at thys season is *for that* I undyrstand that my lady wold be ryght glad to have yow abought hyr at hyr labore (76).

d. Subject clauses occur in the pattern 'it is...that...' with a provisional subject *it*.

it is myn Lord Chancelere full inthenthe *that* ye schuld do so (24), *It* were welle do *that* ye sent a letter to hyr howe ye do (30).

Periphrastic construction for emphasis also occurs.

it is but a sympill oke *that* is cut down at the firste stroke (78), *it* be not on that fee *that* they ask the dwte for (46).

The pattern 'it is...that...' occurs also in the quasi-impersonal construction: 'it is said that...', 'it is talked how...', etc.

It is seyd that he schold com hyddyre (38), *it is noyced* here *that* my Lord of Norfolk hathe taken partye in thes mater (37), *It is talkyd* here *howe that* ye and Howard schuld a strevyn togyddyre (27).

Cf. And whanne he come, the mastere badde hym, 'Welcom, traitour', as *men say* (14), *they sey* ye are a good gille (40).

e. Remarks

Occasionally two substantive clauses occur in apposition.

I pray you send me word *how* ye wull that I be demened, *wheder* ye wull that [I] abide at Caystere or come to you to London (42), I avyse you for to be ware *that* ye kepe wysly youre wrytyngys that ben of charge, *that* it com not in here handys that may hurt you heraftere (45).

When two substantive clauses are connected by *and* or *but*, conjunction *that* is usually repeated, though the first *that* may be omitted (as in the last example).

I pray yow *that* ye wyl vowchesave to don bye for me..., and *that* ye wille do byen... (8), I know well *that* I may not askape but *that* I must dye in hast (49), telle Richard Calle he sent me viii nobills in goold for v mark, and *that*...I had nevir so moch gold of hym at onys (33).

Conjunction *that* is occasionally omitted after reporting verbs (e.g. *say, tell*), *hope*-verbs (e.g. *pray, wold*), *know*-verbs (e.g. *see, understand*), *think*-verbs (e.g. *suppose, trust*), etc. This is especially frequent after *say*. When these verbs occur in succession in such a way as 'the bysschop sayd *that* he supposyd *that*... (55)', the first *that* tends to be dropped.

he seid he wuld *that* all thyng were wele (42), I promyse yow your folk thynk *that* ye have forgetyn hem (49).

Occasionally both *that*'s are omitted.

I suppose they deeme we be not ensuryd together (54), I told hym I wost wele he sett never therupon...(10).

When a subordinate-substantive clause contains an *if*-clause, within, some confusion occurs as regards *that*. It may deserve some notice, however, that the *if*-clause always precedes.

I prey you *if* ye tary longe at London *that* it wil plese you to sende for me (93) [cf. sche profyrd me, if ye wold, *that* I xuld abydyn in this town (11)], Thomas Elys of Norwych...seyd... *that yf* my Lord of Suffolk nede a c men he wold purvey hym therof (35), he lete hem playnly wyte *that yf* ye...toke any dystresse in Drayton, they wold..., and *yf* thay cannot take the valew therof there, *that then* they wyll do breke youre tenauntys howsys (35).

Conjunction *that* which introduces apposition and subject clauses are usually retained, but not without some exceptions.

I sent yow word ye shuld inquere...(40), It was told me ye sent hym a letter (30), It is god a lord take sad cowncell (39).

That in the following would be redundant.

sende me worde wat mony and men ye thynke *that* I am lyke to get (57), suche a deed as he supposyd *that* wold don ease in prevyng of the tytyll (34).

That is occasionally used as a substitute instead of repeating the previous conjunction or conjunctive adverb.

yf my Lord of Norffolk wolld take uppon hym for you, and *that* he may have a comyssyon for to enquere of such ryottys ...., that then all the contray wyll...(43), if this myght...put hym in remembrauns...*hough* he hath leved in idelnes, and *that* he coud for this eschewe to do so heraftir, it myght fortune for his best (33).

3. Correlation

Examples of correlation such as *so...so, that...how that,* which are common in earlier English, do not occur in the *Paston Letters.* A single unique case of correlation is the pattern *this...that* (*how*), *this* serving as a provisional for *that-* or *how*-clauses. *That* may be omitted (as in the last example).

thys I ensure yow, *that* they that be wythin have no werse reste than I have (57), yowr answere may be *thys, how* the Kyng hathe seyd (52), *thys* I promysse yow, ye schall not be so longe ayen withought a byll (66).

Cf. *This* with *to*-infinitive: *thys* I thynk to do when I com to London, *to* spek wyth my Lord Chamberlyen (92).

For *the...the,* see Comparison (2). For *either...or, neither...nor,* see Coordination (1), and for *whoever...they, so...that, if...then* (*yet*), *whether ...or,* see Subordination (1) and (2).

III. VOCABULARY AND IDIOMS

"Rightly interpreted," writes H. C. Wyld, "language is a mirror of the minds and manners of those who speak it." The language of the

Paston Letters may endorse this statement in that it consists of those words and idioms which may in the letters reflect a legal, manorial and family life and thought centring around a fifteenth century rising landowner in Norfolk.

The following are those which may at the same time be characteristic of general fifteenth century English vocabulary and idioms, the distribution of which, as Professor Norman Davis says, is "very imperfectly known"[1].

A. Words and Idioms—Daily, Social, Religious, Legal, etc.

1. Daily Life

(1) Clothing and Ornaments

a. Cloth: chamlett (=camlet) 62, 64. frese (=frieze: a kind of coarse woollen cloth) 8. *hose clothe*[2] (=hose-cloth) 64, 87. carsey (=kersey) 64. lyere (=lyre: originally, the name of a town now Lire or Liere; certain kinds of cloth) 4. mustyrdevyllers (a kind of mixed grey woolen cloth much used in the 14th and the 15th cent.) 4, 20. puke (a superior kind of woollen cloth) 64. scarlette (a kind of rich cloth) 5.

b. Dresses and Ornaments: bonet 62, 64. doblet 40. gyrdyl 4, 5. stomechere (=stomacher: a kind of waistcoat worn by men) 87. tepet (=tipet: a kind of garment) 40, 64. gold (gold thread) 3. perle 50. ryban (riband) 64.

c. Others: bage 90. bare (threadbare) 20 (1483)[3] cf. Chaucer Prol. 260 thredbare. beseyn (=p.p.;dressed) 50. boredyre (=to border: to broider) 64 (1585). happe (=to hap: to cover for warmth) 40. lacys (a string,) 64. male (=mail: a bag, pack, or wallet) 40. murry (=murrey: a colour like that of mulberry) 20, 62, 64. patteyns (=patten) 64. [pypys][4] (=pipes: a tube or roll on which thread was wound) 3. poynttys (=points: tagged laces for attaching

1) The Language of the Pastons, p. 132.
2) The word in italics is the first citation in the *OED*.
3) The number in the parentheses indicates the year of the first citation in the *OED*.
4) The word shown in the brackets indicates the sole citation in the *OED*.

hose) 64. *reysyd* [< to raise: to bring (the nap of cloth)] 20. russette (of a reddish-brown colour; in the 15th and the 16th cent. usually of cloth) 14. syde (long) 20. trossing (=trussing) 46. *worsted* (from the name of a parish in Norfolk, now written Worstead) 40, 63. cf. worsted man 63.

(2) Food and Drinking

a. Food: almandys 8. barly 46, 74. malt 33, 74. mestlyon (=maslin: mixed grain, esp. rye mixed with wheat) 94. sugyre 8.

b. Drinking: cop-schotyn (=cup-shotten: intoxicated) 52. malmesey (a strong sweet wine) 64. tounne (=to tun: to put into or store in a tun) 81.

c. Others: botell 73. kasket 62. fyggys (=figs) 88. flakons (=flagons: a large bottle) 74 (1470—85). *junkerys* (a banquet or feast) 9. pewtere 43. pyke (=pike) 86. rowndlet 63. runlet 64. sponys (=spoons) 20. stewes (=stews: a pond or tank in which fish are kept) 3, 86 cf. Chaucer Prol. 350 many a luce in stuwe.

(3) Building and Furniture

a. Building: bakhous 46. botry (=buttery) 25. inventory 74. logge (=lodge) 42, 43. *placys of wurschip* (a good house) 25.

b. Furniture: cofirs 33, 62. fether beddes 42. moveabell godys (=movable goods) 45.

(4) Disease and Medicine

a. Disease: leye seke (=to lie sick) 4 (1560). seyetyka (=sciatica: a disease characterized by pain in the great sciatic and its branch) 4 (1450).

b. Medicine: millefole (=milfoil) 70. mint 70. salve 72. triacle (=treacle: a kind of salve) 89.

c. Others: browke (=to brook: to digest,) 70. (1598 OED last). *dressid* [< to dress: to treat (a wounded man or his wounds) with remedies] 61. lechecrafte (=leechcraft: the art of healing; medical science) 62. potecarie (=pothecary) 89.

(5) Horse

carte(to work with a cart) 30. ferrore(=farrier: a shoeing-smith) 30. to horse (to horseback) 77. horsse litter (=horse-litter) 77. *plowe ware* (=plough-ware: beasts employed in ploughing) 35. [splayyed] (< to splay: to infury in the shoulder muscles) 30.

(6) Recreation: hunting, tournament, pageant, game, etc.

dysgysynggys(=disguisings: a mask or masquerade) 25 (1481—90). dysportys 25. goshawk 68. hawke 69. jostys of pese (=joust of peace) 50. jostyd (<to joust) 50. pagentys (=pageants)50. sports 25. pleyng at the tabyllys (=tables: formerly the ordinary name of Backgammon. Obs. since c1750. Chiefly in phr. to play at (the) tables) 25. terssel (=tiercel) 68. tornay (=tourney) 49. torney (=to tourney) 50.

(7) Miscellaneous

bequethe (=to bequeath) 95. beset (to bestow or give in marriage) 12. browt up (<to bring up: to rear from childhood) 36 (1483). cart-yd (<to cart) 46. systern (=cistern)46. comouns (=commons: provisions provided for a community or company in common) 87. crod (=to crowd: to push in a wheel-barrow or hand-cart) 4. jornay (=journey: particular task) 21. matramony 55. pedegre 39. purway (=to purvey: to provide) 11, 30, 52, 78. qwyknyng (<to quicken: of a female, to reach the stage of pregnancy) 66 (1530). watteryng (a place where horses and cattle are taken to drink) 16 (1578 OED sole quotation).

2. Social Life

(1) Patronage and Manor

a. Patronage: lorchep (=lordship: the protection given by a lord) 34, 41. maystyreschepe (=mastership) 60.

b. Manor: fermour (=farmer: one who undertakes the collection of taxes, revenues, rent, etc.) 46, 93. feffees (=feoffees: the person to whom a freehold estate in land is conveyed by a feoffment) 34 (1542—3). rentte 6.

(2) Persons

The *Paston Letters* reveal the Pastons in a great variety of relations, friendly or hostile, with their neighbours and officials. The following are appellations of those persons.

a. Magnates or Superior persons: bachylere 90. baneret 39. *courtezane* (=courtesan, -zan: in 15—16th c. commonly used for member of the Papal Curia) 1. a man of lyvelode 36. men of substauns 33. a swyre of wurchyp 18.

b. Blood-relations and Intimate friends: babees (=babes: a young child) 93. broderhood 28. faderhood 27. felaschep 8, 38. gille (=gill) 40. godewyf (=goodwife) 11. kyn and frenddys 55. ken and servantis 36. kynysman 18. lytyll man (child) 50. lover (friend) 85. moderhode 22, 85. Voluntyn (=valentine: a sweet-heart, lover) 79, 80 Margery Brews's letters. weell-wyller (one who bears good will or wishes well, very frequently used from 1450 to 1700, since then largely superseded by Well-wisher) 9, 63.

c. Professional persons: [brasere] (=braser, -zier: one who works in brass) 42. *creansyr* (=creancer: a guardian, tutor: esp. at school or college) 87, 88. constablys 42. cownterrollere (=controller: a household officer) 28. man of the lawe 6. myller 93. sewere (an attendant at a meal who superintended the arrangement of the table) 28. taylore 92.

d. Contemptible or Inferior persons: brawlere (a quarrelsome wrangling fellow) 52. brethele (a worthless fellow, good-for-nothing) 55 (1469 OED last). brothell 10. charl (=churl: base fellow) 7, 64. *doggeboltes* (=dogbolts: contemptible fellow) 42. *robbere of the cherch* 43. *sanz deners* (=sans deners: a penniless person) 59.

e. Others: adversarie 1. bedman (=beads-man) 23, 37. bedewoman 80, 93. chylde (a lad or 'boy' in service) 7. contre men (=countrymen: a fellow-countryman) 18, 70. Londonerys (=Londoners) 89. a man of credens 23. mene (=mean: mediator) 32, 95. purse berere (the carrier of a purse) 30. Rome-rennere (=Rome-runner: a person constantly journeying to Rome) 72. traitour 14.

(3) Business

a. Money: arreragys (=arrearages: an amount overdue, an outstanding or unpaid sum) 89. cheysaunce (=chevisance: raising of money by some expedient, esp. on some surety or pledge) 27, 47. chevyche (=to chevise: to raise money, borrow) 57. comyth...in (=to come in: to come into hand as revenue or receipts) 32 (1558). docatys (=ducats) 72. escutys (=escus: older form of écu = a French silver coin = the English 'crown') 57 (1663). marc (=mark) 20, 71. nobelys (a former English gold coin) 5, 87. owthe of detys 64. parcelles (a small portion, instalment of a sum of money) 51. pesis (a piece of money) 40 (1575) . plate (a silver coin) 88. riall (a gold coin formerly current in England, first issued by Edward IV in 1465) 71 (1473). sette...to morgage (=to set to morgage) 60. sylver (money) 22, 23. wagys 49, 59. *wage* (=to wage) 33.

b. Unit: boshel 62. comb (a dry measure of capacity, equal to four bushels) 46. elne (=ell: a measure of length) 40, 64. *nayle* (a measure of length for cloth) 40. ton 21. troy wyght (the standard system of weights used for the precious metals and stones) 20.

c. Negotiation: to wham...gyve...credence (=to give credence to) 2, 22. to wham...gyve feith (=to give faith cf. L. fidem dare) 2 (1558). make yowr word god [=to make one's word good: to fulfil, perform (a promise, etc.)] 39 (1536). thorwe (=thorough: after the vb. *to be,* indicating settlement) 6 (1467).

d. Others: breve [to enter in books of account; make up (accounts)] 25 (OED last). bowth and sold (<to buy and sell) 36. coutirvale (= to countervail: to be equivalent to in value) 51. ferdyng wurth 7. ryotesly (extravagantly) 28 (1540). valew of on grote (a type of expressing worthless) 36. cf. the value of a grote, Langland 1362.

(4) Social Uneasiness and Disturbance

a. Quarrel and Assault: asaut and affray 7. choppyng (<to chop: to bandy words, to answer back) 68 (1581). entren...upon (=to enter on, upon: to begin an attack upon) 8 (1490). *face* (to confront with assurance or impudence) 37. fray (to make an attack upon) 37.

calkestokke (=kale-stock: the stout stem of a kale-plant, used as an abusive word) 64. to make a fase 33. *obloquy* (abuse or detraction as it affects the person spoken against) 58. pyked many quarellys to (<to pick a quarrel with, to: to seek and find an occasion of a quarrel) 63, 67.

b. Uneasiness: noyse (rumour) 1, 42. noyced (<to noise) 37. *noysyngly* 1. qwesye (=queasy: troublous) 61. trowblews (=troublous) 19, 56.

(5) Miscellaneous

causey (a raised way formed on a mound, across a hollow, esp. low wet ground) 81. colored under (<to colour under: to exhibit in a false light) 33. conventicles (a meeting) 56.

3. Religious Life

(1) Church

ile (=aisle) 67. closett (a pew in the chapel) 17. college (a community or corporation of clergy living together on a foundation for religious service) 45. the court of Rome (the papal Curia) 1. Holy Cherche 1. parklos (=parclose: a screen or railing in a church) 17. seintwarye (=sanctuary) 51.

(2) Rite and Festival

eveson (=evensong) 9, 17. howsyllyd (<to housel: to administer the Communion or Eucharist to) 49. levacion (the lifting up of the Host for the adoration of the people) 7. sakering (the consecrated elements) 7.

(3) Life and Death

wham God assole (=God assoil: an ejaculatory prayer for the departed. cf. OF. que Dieu assoille ! L. quem Deus absolvat !) 45, 91. God have hys sowle 75. passyd to God (<to pass to God: to die) 91.

(4) Miscellaneous

bysshopriche (=bishopric: a diocese) 1. cursyng (excommunication) 55. *gremercy* (=gramercy: thanks to) 1. *professe* [to receive the profession of (a parson)] 2. Pu[1]ver Weddenysday (Ash-Wednesday) 11 (1454) . speretuall (canonical) 24 (1474). *unprofessyd* 2.

4. Legal Life

(1) Lawcourts and Justices

aquitell (=acquittal: release) 15. adnulled (<to annul: to render void in law) 1. arreyned (<to arraign: to charge with fault) 14. assysis (=assizes) 38. dystreyned (<to distrain) 46. 89. hundred (court) 35. endyted (<to indict) 37, 45. inditements 15. keptid on day (<to keep a day: to hold a manor court) 36. kepe the coort 37, 41. cescioun (=sessions) 38. *withsette* (=to withset: to seize in compensation for a debt) 6.

(2) Officers and Persons concerning the law

bayly (bailiff) 35, 93. schanselere 55. coronere 45. eschetore 24. executryse (executrix) 89. shereff (=sheriff) 15, 41. suertees (=sureties: a bail) 22. undere sheve (=under-sheriff) 14, 41.

(3) Documents

comune seal (=common seal) 2. corte rolle (the roll or record kept in connexion with a manonial court) 27. instrument (a formal legal document whereby a right is created or confirmed) 1, 2. (1483) heyre determyner (=oyer and determiner: a commission formerly directed to the king's Judges, Serjeants, etc.) 37. supplicacyon (a written or formal petition) 23.

(4) Guilt snd Penalty

a. Guilt: dissesyd (<to disseise, -ize: to put out of actual seisin or possession) 10. rensackyd 43. tresspassed 1.

b. Penalty: exe (=ax, axe: the headsman's ax) 14. to bryng ...to... preson 46. comytyd to Flet 29. delyveryd owt of the Flet 29. hedyd (<to head) 63. in payne of there lyvys 58. take and arest 42.

(5) Estates

aportynantys (=appurtenances) 24. attornement (the transference of his homage and service by a tenant to a new feudal lord) 92 (15-31). intytill [=to entitle: to furnish (a person) with a 'title' to an estate] 24 (1468). entre (=entry: the actual taking possession of lands) 10 (1491). in fee symple (in absolute possession) 83. joynture

12, 22. relees (the act of conveying an estate to another) 34. tayle (the limitation of a freehold estate to a person) 12.

(6) Miscellaneous

entre into (=to enter in: to take possession) 13, 36 (1523). erroneous (faulty in law) 14 (1495). ententures (=indentures: a deed between two or more parties with mutual covenants) 12, 70. insurreccions (the action of rising in arms or open resistance) 56.

5. Military and Nautical

(1) Weapons

bombardys (the earliest kind of cannon) 46. chaseveleyns (a kind of weapon) 47. crosse bowis 8, 52. gleves (=glaives: a lance) 93. hand gunnys 8. ordinance (engines for discharging missiles) 8, 56. polle-axis (=pole-axes, poleaxes: a battle-ax) 8. qwarellys (=quarrels) 53, 58. takelyng (weapons) 52 (1529). wyfeles (a spear) 9 (c1460 OED last). wyndacys (=windases: a winch-like contrivance used for bending a cross-bow) 8.

(2) Nautical

barge 71, 88. capteyn 14. carvellis (the ordinary name, from the 15th to the 17th c., of a somewhat small, light, and fast ship) 21 (1462). galey 64. grete shippe (a ship-of-war) 14, 21. maister (the captain of a merchant vessel) 14. sayle (sailing-vessels) 21. schippis of forecastell 21. spynnes (=spinace: a small light vessel) 21. spynner (=earliest form of pinnace) 14.

(3) Miscellaneous

assege (a siege) 57. bolwerkys (=bulwarks) 52. *captenesse* 35. defensable (defensive) 9 (1545). defensabylly 32 (1465). horse (horse soldiers) 21 (1548). jack (padded or plated leather jacket) 8, 46. legge harneyse 14. lye in awayte (=to lie in await) 37. mayled (armed with mail) 14 (1596). manned [<to man: to furnish (a fort, ship, etc) with a force to serve or defend it] 21. wacche and ward 56. wonne the feld (=to win the field) 26.

B. Idiomatic Words and Expressions

1. Rhetorical Expressions

All members of the Pastons from time to time use rhetorical expressions in their letters. Especially Margaret often shows a command of metaphors and proverbs. On the other hand, Agnes is inclined to employ didactic injunctions which she seems to have heard at church.

(1) Proverbs and Proverbial Expressions

Agnes: In lityl bysynes lyeth myche reste. 44.

Margaret: Ye xall have best chepe and best choyse of Hayis wyf. 8. Oftyn rape rewith. 70.

Jonn III: I ecte lyek an horse of purpose to ecte yow owte at the dorys. 53. fere iee, fer fro hert. 68.

Edmond II: Poverte partys feleschep. 64.

J. Damme: There con they do best, and best chep.

E. Brews: It is but a sympill oke that [is] cut down at the first stroke. 78.

(2) Rhetorical and Figurative Expressions

Agnes: This world is but a thorughfare, and ful of woo. 44. Qhom God vysyteth, him he lovyth. 44.

John I: As a drane amonges bees whech labour for gaderyng hony in the feldes. 33.

John II: Wylliam Peny, whiche is as good a man as gothe on the erthe. 52 Idelnesse ledythe yowre reyne. 69. As weell as Bernard knewe hys sheeld. 72.

John III: I shold wryght how ofte the wynd changyth. 66. I prey yow send me some tydyngys howgh the wold gothe. 68.

Th. Daverse: My Lady Anne P. lappe, as white as whales bon. 47.

(3) Books and Literature

John II: Good malt ale, ho ho ! 46. the Byble. 52. I am as he that seythe, 'Come hyddre, John my men'. 71.

John III: Kyng Artourys cort 50. the Sege of Thebes 66. the book of VII Sagys 67.

Th. Daverse: Ovyde De Arte Amandi 47. Ovide De Remedio ibid.

W. Ebsham: the litill book of phisyke 51.

E. Brews: Uppon Fryday is Sent Volentynes Day, and every brydde chesyth hym a make. 78.

J. Whetley: playd Herrod in Corpus Crysty play 86.

(4) Dialectal words

a doo (=ado: to do) 33. *and* (than) 30. askape (to escape) 33, 61. doolis (=dools, doles: a boundary or landmark) 6. mykyle (much) 60. owle (to acquire, collect) 17 (1542 OED first, but does not record this meaning). plawnchere (a floor) 8. rippled (<to ripple: to scratch slightly) 7. spere (=to spear: to put a question or questions; to ask) 53.

C. Peculiar Phrases

1. Noun-Idioms

feith and credence 2. *by hummys and by hays* 53. empty hed 92 cf. empty headed OED first 1650. hey tyme (=high time) 23. ever on man (=one man: the same, constant man) 23. scherewd turne (a mischievous act) 18.

2. Adjective-Idioms

evyll dysposyd 67. evyll payd(displeased) 30. well dysposyd 24, 76.

3. Verb-Idioms

to attend upon 7 (1591). [fery over] (=to ferry over: to pass over) 81. wheruppon...harpyd (=to harp on or upon: to dwell wearisomely upon in speech or writing) 77 (1562). see for (to provide for) 33 (1548). se over (to peruse) 33 (1490). see to (to take special care about) 33 (1478). waytyng upon (<to wait upon) 13 (1509-10). cast ...calvys (=to cast calves: seems to be simply a jocular expression for 'to lose parts') 53. daunce attendaunce [to wait (upon a person) with assiduous attention and ready obsequiousness] 75 (1522). have ...myster (to be in straits or in necessity) 51 (1567 OED last). ledde uss a dawnce (=to lead a person a dance: to lead him in a wearyng, perplexing course) 77 (a 1529 ; see Norman Davis, LP, p.136.) make... awaunte (=to make avaunt: to boast) 37. It makyth no matyr (It

is of no consequence or importance.) 87 (1478). toke...my crommys (=to take one's crumbs: to 'pick up' or recover strength or health) 73 (1588). bereth hire an hand (=to bear on hand: to accuse, blame) 12, 54. *fond...no bonys in* (=to find bones in: to make difficulty) 23. *set...upon the hone* [to sharpen (a person) up] 29.

4. Adverb-Idioms

now last (recently) 33. [hys unwarys] (=his unwares: without his knowledge) 52. wel and discretly 39.

5. Preposition-Idioms

at the clokke 21. of the clok 24, 77. on...last passed (last past, also Sc. last by past, last was=last) 7, 39, 94. on...last was 4, 57. by colour of (under the mask or alleged authority of) 9. in cownsayle 8, 45. of custome 7. to ther porys (=to one's power) 29, 83.

IV. STYLE

Though the Paston letters are based on the traditional epistolary frame, especially in beginning and end, it is remarkable that "most of the writers [of the letters] now and again show a real sense of style, and can turn a graceful or a telling phrase,"[1] and what is more remarkable, "the language is manifestly the speech of the time, plain and direct, only organized and sometimes heightened a little for the written page."[2] In close connection with the preceding chapter on vocabulary and idioms, Professor Norman Davis's above statement must now be borne in mind. It is the aspect of the epistolary style of the Pastons that first strikes us, but the close and interested reading of the letters may reveal that there are stylistic varieties among the writers which show differences of personal temperaments in accordance with the varying situations and also stylistic characteristics of the prose used, not to mention the change of tones according to the situation and the social status of the persons

1) The Language of the Pastons, p. 136.

2) Ibid., p. 137.

to whom the letters are written. In the following pages we are going to treat in brief some aspects of the style, centering around (1) epistolary formulas, (2) characteristics of prose, and (3) personal styles:

1. Epistolary formulas

A. The forms of address are by and large traditional; however, there are observed slight differences from writer to writer, especially in letters from wife to husband, from father to son, or vice versa.

(1) From wife to husband: (courteous)

'Rygth worshipfull husbond, I recomaund me to yow'…(7)

'Right reverent and worshipfull ser, in my moste umble wice I recomaunde me unto yow as lowly as I can...'...(93)

(2) From husband to wife: (blunt without respectful address)

I recummand me to yow…(39)

Compare, however: 'Myn owne dere sovereyn lady, I recomaund me to yow,...(40) [John Paston I to Margaret Paston --humorous]

(3) From son to father: (extremely courteous)

'Most reverent and worschepful fadyre, I rekomawnd me hertylye, and submytt me lowlely to yowre good faderhood, besechyng yow for cheryte of yowre dayly blyssyng.' (27)

(4) From brother: (friendly)

'Rythe willbelovyd broder, I recomand me to yow...' (24)

Remarks:

1) John Paston III always uses courteous address and words for his mother, whereas John Paston II, whose informal temperament may be reflected in his letters, employs informal expressions like 'Modre' (57) , entering directly into the gist of the letter.

2) Formulas between friends or acquaintances make little or no difference, except the forms of address, which when used for superiors are 'lord', while, between equals, 'mayster' or 'cosyn'.

B. Complimentary closes:

(1) Simple forms: (generally)

'Your Jon Paston' (39) ; 'By yowyrs M.P.' (29)

(2) From son to parent: (courteous)

'Be yowre servaunt and eldere sone, John Paston' (27)

'Your sone and humbyll servaunt, J. Paston the yonger' (50)

(3) From Margery Brews to her lover:

'Be your own M.B.' (79); 'Be your Voluntyne, Mergery Brews' (80)

Remarks: Margery Brews's letter to her lover John Paston III begins with such a smilingly respectful address as:

'Ryght wurschypffull and welebelovyd Volentyne, in my moste umble wyse I recommande me unto yowe, &' (80)

N. B. For 'Volentyne' see III. Vocabulary and Idioms.

2. Characteristics of prose

A. General characteristics

Professor Norman Davis winds up his article: The Language of the Pastons by stating: "We need not look to devotional treatises for the models of all competent narrative or lucid exposition, or of the simple, moving expression of true feeling, when men and women of no extraordinary talents could so skilfully command 'the comyn termes that be dayli vsed." So is Margaret Paston when she writes to John Paston II her son: '...me thynke be the letter that ye sent me be Robeyn that ye thynke that I xuld wryte to yow fabyls and ymagynacyons. But I do not soo; I have wrytyn as yt have be enformed me, and wulle do." (60). This admonitory statement of Margaret's may well show the nature and character of the prose of the Paston letters, plain, direct and matter-of-fact, in a word, practical. Margaret Paston's letter which follows may exemplify the prose of "the simple, moving expression of true feeling":

And whanne Gloys was ayenst Wymondham, he seid thus: 'Covere thy heed!' And Gloys seid ageyn, 'So I shall for the.' And Whanne Gloys was forther passed by the space of iii or iiii strede, Wymondham drew owt his dagger and seid, 'Shalt thow so, knave?' And therwith Gloys turned hym, and drewe owt his dagger and defendet hym, fleyng into my moderis place; and Wymondham and his man Hawys kest stonys and dreve Gloys into my moderis place,

and Hawys folwyd into my moderis place and kest a ston as meche as a forthyng lof into the halle after Gloys, and than ran owt of the place ageyn. And Gloys folwyd owt and stod wythowt the gate, and thanne Wymondham called Gloys thef and seid he shuld dye, and Gloys seid he lyed and called hym charl, and bad hym come hym self or ell the best man he hadde, and Gloys wold answere hym on for on. And thanne Haweys ran into Wymondhams place and feched a spere and a swerd, and toke his maister his swerd. And wyth the noise of this asaut and affray my modir and I come owt of the chirche from the sakeryng, and I bad Gloys go into my moderys place ageyn, and so he dede. And thanne Wymondham called my moder and me strong hores, and seid the Pastons and alle her kyn were /.../ seid he lyed, knave and charl as he was. And he had meche large langage, as ye shall knowe herafter by mowthe. (7)

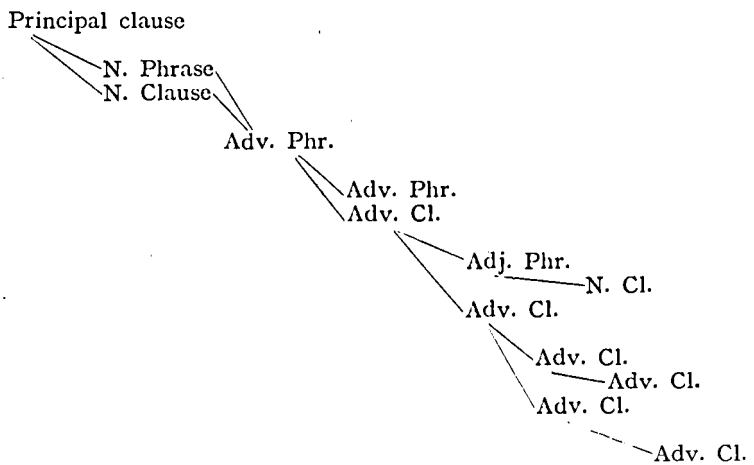
A point of linguistic interest here is the use of parataxical construction by means of 'and' which serves to pile up fact on fact almost endlessly. This kind of construction is one of the most salient features of the language of the Paston letters due to dictation, which, however, often tends to degenerate into a slipshod style as may be the case with women writers of the letters.

Another point is the use of spoken language, which may be detected in the following:

I praye you see to the god governaunce of my housold and guydyng of other thynges touchyng my profite, and that ye, with Daubeney and Richard Calle, and with other such of my frendes and servauntes as can avise yow aftir the mater requirith, wekely take a sad comunicacion of such thynges as be for to do, or oftenner and nede be; takyng avise of the master and of the viker and Ser Jamis in that is for to say, as well for provision of stuffe for myn howsold as for the gaderyng of the reveneus of my livelode or greynes, or for settyng a werk of my servauntes and for the more poletik meane of sellyng and cariing of my

malt, and for all other thynges necessari for to be do; so that whanne I come home I have not an excuse, seying that ye spoke to my servauntes and that Daubeney and Calle exkuse hem that thei were so besy thei myght not attende; for I woll have my mater so guided that if on man may not attende, another shall be comaundid to do it, and if my servauntes faile I had lever wage some other man for a jorny or a season thanne my mater shuld be onsped. (33)

An analysis of the above construction which is shown in the following diagram may help to understand the kind of prose often met with in the Letters:



This kind of structure is just the reverse of the so-called 'periodic sentence' which is arranged in stately rhetorical formal discourse; instead, as shown roughly in the above diagram, the passage illustrated above reveals striking features of ramification which may suggest a more or less logical development of ideas as they occur to the letter-writers when writing, with the result that a fragmentary idea or notion may be implemented successively by another fragmentary phrase or clause without having recourse to what the sentence first begins with. Such ramified sentences often crop up in John Paston I and II's

letters. This sort of movement of the prose may reflect that of the spoken language. Though general characteristics of the prose may fairly clearly be observed, they are not as strong as to enable us to discriminate the personal syntax of letter-writers.

B. Statistics and survey of the whole words used in the Paston Letters with special reference to their French or Latin origin.

We obtained the following tables 1—8 by making a statistical observation of the words of Latin and French origin against the whole words which appeared in the Letters.

	NAMES/	LET. NOS /	WHOLE WORDS /	Fr. & L. WORDS/	%
(1)	John I	33	1510	137	9.3%
	〃	36	539	55	10.0
	〃	39	609	80	13.1
	〃	40	909	114	12.5
	Total		3567	386	10.8
(2)	John II	57	671	60	8.9
	〃	61	521	50	9.5
	〃	73	246	23	9.3
	〃	89	565	58	10.2
	Total		2003	191	9.5
(3)	John II	27	676	70	10.3
	〃	31	217	33	15.2
	Total		893	103	11.5
(4)	John II	48	393	38	9.7
	〃	52	466	49	10.5
	〃	63	525	58	11.0
	〃	83	524	70	13.3
	Total		1908	215	11.2
(5)	John III	50	845	70	8.2
	〃	62	477	43	9.2
	〃	76	372	29	7.7
	〃	95	468	39	8.3
	Total		2162	181	8.3

(6)	John III	46	671	84	12.5
	〃	53	656	72	10.9
	〃	67	495	68	10.1
	〃	68	364	36	9.8
	Total		2186	250	11.4
(7)	Agnes	3	169	24	14.2
	〃	6	292	19	6.5
	〃	17	323	22	6.8
	〃	44	220	12	5.4
	Total		1004	77	7.6
(8)	Margaret	7	739	61	8.2
	〃	10	746	64	8.5
	〃	11	692	53	7.6
	〃	55	1124	103	9.1
	Total		3301	281	8.5

Remarks:

1) Table 1 shows statistics and ratio of all the words against French and Latin words in origin in four letters of John Paston I. Accordingly, *four* letters are selected from the rest of the letter-writers.
2) Tables 2 and 5 show letters from son to mother.
3) Table 3 shows letters from son to father.
4) Tables 4 and 6 show letters from brother to brother.

A glance at the above tables shows that men-writers employ words of French and Latin origin more frequently than women-writers, i.e. more than 10%, whereas women-writers use these loan words less than 10%, with a single exception of Agnes (Let. 3 : 14.2%) . This is very interesting in that a fondness of native words may be seen on the part of women whose vista of life is conservative and seldom extends beyond their native province, while on the other hand a general predilection for words of French or Latin origin which will often express abstract ideas may be perceived on the part of men-writers.

3. Personal styles

Nothing is so personal or private as letters, whether they are of information, business, observation, impression or feeling. This private character of letters may also be true of the Paston Letters. As indeed Professor Davis says in the Introduction to his Edition, "the prevailing tone is that of good speech," so we may through reading catch the inflexions of the living voice, its rhythms and tones, arising out of the context. "Men cut large thongs here out of other men's leather...we beat the bushes and other men have the birds...Haste reweth...which is to my heart a very spear." This is the unmistakable voice of Margaret Paston. "This worlde is but a thorughfare, and ful of woo; and whan we departe therfro, righth noughght bere wyth us but oure dedys and ylle. And ther knoweth no man how soon Good woll clepe hym, and therfor it is good for every creature to be redy". This is a religious echo of Agnes Paston who must often have heard such admonition from the pulpit. Every person has his own voice. Most impressive in this respect may be the letters of John Paston I, all of which are written to his wife Margaret. They may reveal his exact and fastidious and yet somewhat reserved nature which sounds even rigorous on some occasion: To take an example:

> It liketh me evill to here that my prestes and pore men be onpaiid, and that no mony sent to me more thanne x mark be Berney of alle this season. And yet therof telle Richard Calle he sent me viii nobills in goold for v mark, and that as long as gold was bettir payment thanne silver I had nevir so moch gold of hym at onys; and telle hym that I woll nat that he shall kepe that use, for I trowe my tenauntes have but litell gold to pay. (33)

His reserved tone towards his son John Paston II's loose life is sometimes tinged with a touch of bitterness as in the following letter to Margaret:

> Item, where ye desire me that I shuld take your sone to grase I woll for your sake do the bettir, and will ye knowe that he shall not be so oute of my favour that I will suffir hym to mischefe

without be eftsones his owne defaut...Nevirthelesse, as for your house and myne, I purpose not he shall come there, ner be my will non other, but if he can do more thanne loke foorth and make a fase and countenauns... (33)

However, it is worth noticing that John Paston I, though bitter and uncompromising in some cases, has a humane disposition which shows him not without a sense of humour and a consciousness of language.

1) (tone of praise to his wife):

...and in god feyth ye aquyt yow rygth wel and discretly, and hertyly to yowr wurchep and myn and to the shame of your adversariis. (39)

2) (jocund temperament, word-play, and doggerel rhyme):

Item, I pray yow remembir and rede often my bille of erandes and this lettir till it be don, and all such maters or articles as ye spede herof, crosse hem that ye may knowe hem from tho that be not sped; and send me answere of your good speed.... Though I write right certeynly, if ye loke hem lightly and see hem seld thei shall sone be forgete.

Item, I shall telle yow a tale:
Pampyng and I have piked your male,
and taken out pesis v,
for upon trust of Calles promise we sone onthryve.
..... (40)

3) (broad humour):

Myn owne dere sovereyn lady, I recomaund me to yow, and thank yow of the gret chere that ye mad me here, to my gret cost and charge and labour. (ibid.)

4) (tenderness for his wife)

Jon Hobbys tellith me that ye be seekly, whech me lekith not to here; praying yow hartyly that ye take what may do yowre eese and spare not, and in any wyse take no thowth ne to moch labor for thes materes, ne set it not so to yowr hert that ye fare the wers for it. (39)

Next come the representative women writers of the letters in the Pastons, that is, Agnes Paston and Margaret Paston. Our concern now is with their character and style.

1) Agnes Paston:

It is somewhat remarkable to notice a change of tone in her letter to Edmond after the death of her husband, William I, since we know she looks happy when she informs William about the future marriage of John I and Margery Brews:

> "I sendde yow not this lettre to make yow wery of Paston, for I leve in hoope, and ye wolle lerne that they schulle be made werye of here werke; fore in good feyth I dare wel seyne it was yowre fadris laste wille to have do ryghht wel to that plase..." (6)

The following extract almost sounds harsh and haughty:

> ...and he askyd why I had stoppyd in the Kyngys wey. And I seyd to hym I stoppyd no wey butt myn owyn, and askyd hym why he had sold my lond to John Ball; and he sore he was nevyr accordyd wyth your fadyr. And I told hym if hys fadyr had do as he dede, he wold a be achamyd to a seyd as he seyd. (17)

On the other hand, her religious: "This worlde is but a thorughfare, and ful of woo" may reveal a pulpit echo which may have been common to the spiritual climate of the fifteenth century.

2) Margaret Paston:

"In a remarkable series of letters to John", writes H. S. Bennett, "Margaret portrays for us what it meant to be the wife of a property-owner in the middle years of the fifteenth century, and what burdens and responsibilities she carried, both as a mother and as housewife."[1] She was indeed such a vigorous and energetic woman.

As John Paston was much in London, many duties, domestic and manorial, were left to Margaret Paston, who "received her husband's instructions, carried them out, reported action taken and warned him of

1) Six Medieval Men and Women, p. 101.

his enemies' moves with great efficiency, and at the same time was not slow in taking things into her own hands when necessary."[1] Even so, one of her letters to her husband John in London is impressive in showing her affection and tenderness to him and at the same time a loneliness of a married woman who misses her husband:

> I pre yow that ye wyl were the reyng wyth the emage of Seynt Margarete that I sent yow for a rememrau(n)se tyl ye come hom. Ye have lefte me sweche a rememrau(n)se that makyth me to thynke uppe on yow bothe day and nyth wanne I wold sclepe. (4)

Another letter of hers which was written nineteen years after her marriage does not even lose the tender tone which is hers:

> I am sory that ye xall not at hom be for Crystemes. I pray you that ye woll come as sone as ye may; I xhall thynke my selfe halfe a wedowe because ye xal not be at home, &c. (25)

Many another letter or Margaret's will show how she lived in a turbulent age, how she worried over her children and their marriage, how courageous she was over the legal and manorial affairs, etc., of which we will treat later. For the present it may be sufficient for us to note that though the tone of some letters of Margaret may sound harsh, it is rather the spirit of medieval, feudal age, but not the heart of Margaret, that seems harsh and rigorous to us.

V. NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE PASTON LETTERS

—in relation with London English and other dialects—

Here we may select a few salient points of spelling which seem to be important for the mutual relation between London English and Norfolk English with due consideration as to the letter-writers and their idiosyncracies.

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1) H. S. Bennett, ibid., p. 111.

1. *a* before *-nd*

'hand' : 19 exx. all in *a*-form.

'land' 24 exx., of which only one is *a*-form.

'England' : always in *o*-form (14 exx.), e.g. Inglond.

'stand' : 4 exx. 2 for each form.

'understand' : 52 exx. *a*-form(30), *o*-form (22) respectively.

It is observed that in 'hand' the Northern *a*-form is exclusively used while in 'land' *o*-form is by far the more prevalent. Morsbach remarks that in 14th century London English the ratios of o : a in 'land' and 'hand' are 24 : 11 (London documents), 20 : 26 (State d.), 18 : 31 (Parliament d.).[1] In the 15th century, according to Kihlbom, in London Correspondents *a*-form is more frequent than *o*-form both in 'hand' and 'land'. Moreover, as to Middle English *a* before nasals and consonants in general, she finds a comparatively great number of *a*-forms in *PL* (*stand*) and in the letters of Edmond de la Pole, which in many details agree with the usage in the letters from the East, and says that this fact suggests a possible route along which these Northern *a*-forms filtered into the language of London.[2]

As to this possibility we find an interesting fact with regard to the word 'understand'. As we have shown in our materials, *a* is more frequent than *o*, and it is after 1464 (No. 31) that *o*-forms are used. This may probably indicate the backward movement— the flow of *o*-forms from the south. But more important than this is the fact that, while John Paston III always uses *a* (8 times), John Paston II uses 4 *o*-forms beside 10 *a*-forms.

The two brothers belong to the same generation, but lived in different circumstances—John Pasfon II was often in London and died there, while John Paston III, his two-year younger brother, seems to have remained around his native place throughout his life.[3] The letters of the two are all in

1) L. Morsbach, Ueber den Ursprung der neuenglischen Schriftsprache (Heilbronn, 1888) pp. 61ff., 166.

2) Cf. Kihlbom, *A Contribution to the Study* of *Fifteenth Century English I.* (Uppsala, 1926).

3) Cf. the present edition, pp. xx ff.

autograph and they also reveal a few interesting linguistic differences in some other respets as we shall see later.

2. 'such', 'much' and 'church'

The words contain Old English *y*, which sound is important to the problem of dialect boundary in Middle English. Roughly speaking, *u* is a South-West and West-Midland form, *e* a South-East (Kent), *i* an East-Midland and North form. But there was probably no definite boundary, each form 'radiating from centers, crossing each other, and mixing, in the intermediate areas'.[1)]

(1) 'such' 97 exx. in all.

swiche, swyche: 4 exx. (WP I 1, Mgt 3)

sweche: (Mgt 2, JP I 1 'swhech')

sech(e) : (Mgt 10, JP I 2)

syche: 17 (exclusively by JP III)

such(e) : 57 (Fast 1, JJ 1, Eliz P 1, WP II 2, Mgt 19, JP I 7, RC 5 ThD 1, JP II 12, Eliz Br 2, M Br 1, Th B 2, Wr P 2, EP II 1)

soche: 4 (EP II 1, Mgt 3)

The supremacy of the normal Western form 'such(e)' over other dialectlal forms agrees with exclusive use of 'such(e)' in official London documents and private letters of the 15th century.[2)] Even earlier London documents show the same tendency.[3)]

The *u*-form begins to appear in 1456 (No. 19). Here again the two brothers show a sharp contrast. John Paston exclusively uses *syche*[4)] — a form not used by any other writer, while John Paston II always uses *such(e)*. This fact, too, seems to indicate the possible linguistic influence of the

1) Cf. Kihlbom, *op. cit.* p. 21.

2) Cf. Kihlbom, *op. cit.* p. 25.

3) Cf. the distribution of the forms in P. W. Chamber and M. Daunt, *A Book of London English* (Oxford, 1931): *such(e)* appears in 21, *swich(e)* in 4 documents; *soche, soche, sych, shuche*, each in one d.

4) Davis mentions two cases of *suche* against the usual *swyche, syche, siche*, and remarks that *syche*, earlier rare, becomes normal after 1462, the year JP III's own letters begin. Cf. his *The Language of the Pastons* (London, 1954) p. 126.
The minor differences are caused by the extent of the letters treated.

Metropolis on the elder brother.

In and after 1469 (No. 56) always *such(e)*, *soche* except for John Paston III's *syche*. Variety in this as in other points in Margaret's letters seems to be due to the change of hand.

(2) 'much' 68 exx. in all

myche: 21 exx. (Mgt 8, Ag P 3, JP III 9, Wr P 1 'mych')

mech(e): (WP I 1, Mgt 9, Elis Cl, J Osb, JP I, JP II, 1 each, M Br 2, Th B 1)

much (e): (Mgt, W Eb 1 each)

moch (e): 28 (Mgt 11, Wom 1, JP I 3, Th E 1, JP II 10, RC 2)

Contrary to *such*, in case of *much* the dialectal forms are dominant. In official London and State documents of 15th century *moche*, *much(e)* are exclusively used, while in London letters *much(e)*, *moche*, *mych(e)* are found. This shows that the official language of London has already decided the adoption of *o*-forms, while the colloquial speech of the metropolis are more conservative in retaining the other forms. In the Paston Letters *myche* generally predominates, though 'careful writers' such as John paston II and Richard Calle uses *moche* generally.[1] Even in earlier London documents *o*- and and *u*-forms are dominant.[2]

Moch(e) appears after 1448 (No. 7). It is still later, i.e. after 1465, that *much(e)* is found.

We may find another difference of usage of the two brothers. John Paston III always uses *myche* (9 times), while John Paston II prefers by far the London form *moch (e)* to *meche* (only once in No. 52).

(3) 'church' 12 exx. in all.

chirche, chyrche: 3 exx. (Mgt 2, JP III 1)

cherch(e): 7 (WP I 3, Ag P 3, Mgt 1)

church: 2 (Mgt No. 43)

We notice the considerable number of *e*-forms which are not found in

1) Cf. Kihlbom, *op. cit.* p. 24.

2) In *A Book of London English*, *mochel*, *moch(e)* appear in 26, *much(e)* in 3, *mych* in 4, *meche* in 1 documents.

contemporary official documents.[1] The modern *u*-forms which are already found in London documents of 14th century[2] appear only in No. 43, written in 1465. The form seems probably to be a result of influence from London.

3. 'sister' 18 exx. in all

Before 1469 (No. 53) only the OE forms appear (sustyrs, sustyr, etc. 6 times), and after that date 8 exx. of Scandinavian forms with *y* are found against 4 exx. of OE forms. John Paston III gives us 9 exx., and before 1469 he uses OE forms only (4 times), but after that he adopts the Scandinavian forms (4 times) using the OE form once (No. 66).

As to the currency of the forms in 15th century Kihlbom says that the Scandinavian form is used chiefly in the letters from the East, which indicates 'the route along which this northern form penetrated into London speech'.[3] In this connection John Paston III's change of the form in his later letters is interesting, and may suggest the northern origin of this route.

4. 'fro' : 'from' 93 exx. in all

fro: 31 exx. (WP I 1, Ag P 5, Mgt 9, J Osb 1, JP II 6, JP III 8, M Br 1)

from : 62 (Mgt 26, J Dm 2, WP II 1, JP I 6, RC 3, JP III 2, W Eb 1, JP II 11, Th B 1, J Wh 2, WP III 4, MP 3)

The English form 'from' is twice as frequent as 'fro' which derives from Old Norse. 'Fro' appears in 24 letters (of which 6 letters have more than two exx.), and 'from' in 38 letters (of which 15 have more than two exx.). It is rather rare that the two forms are used side by side in the same letter (6 letters, Nos. 56, 63, 72, 76, 77, 94). John Paston II fluctuates, especially in his later letters, while John Paston III prefers *fro* (8) to *from* (2 exx.). In the earlier century 'fro' surpasses in London

1) Cf. Kihlbom, *op. cit.* p. 22.

2) In *A Book of London English*, *chirch(e)*, *chyrch(e)* are found in 12 dd, *cherch(e)* in 4, *church(e)* in 6, dd. The first form appears chiefly in earlier dd. while the last *u*-forms appears chiefly in later ones, especially in the Wills.

3) Cf. Kihlbom *op. cit.* p. 102.

and Parliament documents, while State documents mostly uses 'from'.[1)]

5. Verb, 3rd person singular.

(1) 'have'

We have 151 exx. (hath 75, hathe 72, hat 3, haith 1), but no instance of 'has' which Chaucer's Reeve uses.

(2) other verbs (except substantive and anomalous verbs)

We have 283 exx. in all,[2)] of which only 19 are the Northern forms with *-s*. Let us examine by whom or in what letter these forms are used.

JP III: (9 exx.) clemys, delys, thynkys (No. 46), sendys (No. 53), waytys (No. 66), thynkys (3 times No. 68)

W Eb. (2) knowis, spekes (No. 51)

EP II: (3) recummawnddys, prays, gretys (No. 64)

M Br: (2) byddys, wottys (No. 69)

Th B: (1) specyfyes (No. 82)

J Wh: (2) lettys, delys (No. 86)

It is noteworthy that, while no instance is found of John Paston II, John Paston III uses the form in several letters,[3)] and indeed half of the examples are occupied by him. But even he uses this form much less frequently than the southern form with *-th* (57 examples).

The northern form first appears in 1467 in John Paston III's letter (No. 46). Morsbach quotes only one instance 'kepes' found in London documents of all the three kinds of the documents he treats,[4)] and even in 15th century London English Lekebusch quotes extremely rare in-

1) Cf. Morsbach, *op. cit.* p. 81

2) Beside the two forms we meet with such rare cases as 'he pray' (No. 64), which we have excluded from the table. For the dialectal influence on this form, cf. R. Huchon, *Histoire de la Langue Anglaise* Tome II (Paris, 1930), p. 348.

3) As to John Paston II, our result differs from Davis's statement. But he also admits that John Paston II uses *-ys* 'only five times beside the immeasurable commoner *-yth*.' As to the younger brother, he says that he 'extends the *-s* ending in the present indicative somewhat beyond his brother's use' (John Paston III 's 15 exx. against John Paston II's 5) Cf. op. cit. pp. 126, 128. But these, substantially taken, do not much affect our purpose.

4) Cf. Morsbach, *op. cit.* p.134.

stances of *s*-ending.[1] But in *A Book of London English*, we find 4 exx. of *-es*, and the influence from the north seems to have started quite early, and it still continues well into the 16th century.

6. The verb *be*, indicative present plural (including the polite plural 'ye')

The distribution of the forms is most complicated and abundant in variety. We shall examine how often and in what case each form is used. We have 101 exx. in all.

.er 1 (3rd person), arn 10 (1st 1, 2nd 1, 3rd 8),[2] (h)are 7 (2nd 4, 3rd 3), ar 8 (1st 1, 2nd 2, 3rd 5), ben(e), byn 23 (2nd 3, 3rd 20), be 50 (1st 1, 2nd 8, 3rd 41), bethe 2 (2nd and 3rd 1 each)

As easily perceived from the table given above, *be* is still by far the most frequent, followed by *ben*. This fact is sharply contrary to Brunner's statement that after 14th century, *beth*, *be(n)* are found only in the South and the West.[3] Besides these we notice a considerable number of the fewer *arn* and *ar(e)*.

Other Norfolk texts also show a great vacillation in the distribution of these two forms.[4] The form *are(n)* has already spread from the north into London speech in the beginning of 15th century, and 'rather numerous' instances are found in London English of the time.[5] But the form is, comparatively speaking, still minor in the 15th century official London

1) Cf. Lekebusch, *Die Londoner Urkundensprache von 1430 bis 1500* (Halle, 1906), pp. 121ff. He gives 1 instance of *-es* against 11x instances of *-eth* in London dd, 2 of *-es* against usual *-eth* (*-ith*, *-yth*), 5 of *-eth* against more than 600 *-eth* and numerous *-th*, *-yth*, *ed* (=eth) forms.

2) When the 3rd person is the subject we must see whether it is relative pronoun or not. When the subject is other than rel. pron. the examples found are: *er* 1, *arn*, *ar(e)* 15, *be(n)* 44, *beth* 1. But when it is relative pronoun: *arn* 1, *ben(e)*, *byn*, *be* 17, *bethe* 1. For the frequency of *be* or *ben* after rel. pron. as subject, cf. the idiomatic 'authorities that be'. Besides all our examples, we have several instances where it is not certain whether the verb is indicative or subjunctive, which we have excluded from the table given above.

3) Cf. Brunner, *Abriss der mittelenglischen Grammatik* (Halle, 1938), § 73. The misleading statement is pointed out by Forsström. Cf. his *The verb 'to be' in Middle English'* (Lund, 1948), p. 103.

4) Cf. G. Forsström, *op. cit.* p. 103.

5) Cf. G. Forsström, *op. cit.* p. 103.

documents.[1] It is interesting to find, beside the solitary instance of *er* of Scandinavian origin, two instances of Southern *bethe*, which is still found frequently in contemporary official London documents but which has almost completely been replaced by *ben* in the East Midland texts treated by Forström.[2] This may probably indicate another instance of backward influence from the south.

All the forms, except *er* and *bethe*, are common to many letters, but the two brothers John Paston II and III again offer an interesting tendency. While John Paston III uses *ar* 3 times as against 8 exx. of *be*, John Paston II uses only the Midland types *be* (15 exx.) and *ben* (1 ex.).

7. Other features

We meet with two instances of the Southern imperative form with *-eth*, *comyth* and *sedyth* (Friar JB No. 23). Of the old Southern past participle only one instance is found, *ibounde* (1459 Eliz P No. 22).

The adverb of the Southern form with *-liche*, which, though very rarely, is still found in the contemporary London documents,[3] is never instanced in our letters.

As for the Southern form of the verb, pres. pl., we encounter only the following dubious cases.

> his ken and servantis that levith (with psychological agreement with 'his ken'? No. 36)/ how your sonnys doth (No.43)/ All my felawshep ar mery...and recomandyth hem all (taking 'my felawshep' as collective singular in the second verb? No. 46).

Apart from all these discussed above, one of the features of the language of the Paston Letters is the frequency of the lowering of *i* of OE *i* and *io*, *eo* sounds to *e*.

This tendency is also current in London English of the 15th and even earlier 14th centuries. Such words as 'hedir', 'wete', 'leve', 'wretyn' and

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1) Cf. Lekebusch, *op. cit.* p. 128. He gives 11 exx. of *er* and *are(n)* beside more usual *beth* (9x exx.) and *be(n)* (8 exx.) in Parliament documents, but only one in State and London dd.

2) Cf. Forsström, ibid.

3) Lekebusch gives 3 exx. Cf, *op. cit.* p. 95.

"wedowe', all found both in the *Paston Letters* and in the contemporary London documents,[1] are already found in *A Book of London English.*

Some graphical features commonly found in *PL,* as *qu-* for *wh-* and *a* for *have* of weak stress,[2] are also found in the same book (qweche p. 221, shuld a yofe p. 106).

These concurrences may probably be another indication of earlier linguistic connection of the two regions.

As we have observed the linguistic features here presented are somewhat too complicated to be neatly discussed, and we find several symptoms of the effect of the standardization of the literary language and the influence from the south. But, generally, the pressure from the north is seen steadily working on.

This is largely due to the condition of population of those days. In the 14th century the South-East region of Midland was most populated, and people from the North brought with them their linguistic customs into the Metropolis.[3]

The members of the Pastons, in the following century, had also frequent connections with London for their business, which is partly shown by the fact that 44 out of the whole 95 letters of the present edition have some mention of Londoners (64 times in all). Of all the letters 6 are explicitly stated as addressed to London, 8 from London.

The influence of London speech on the Pastons is, as already observed several times, perceived on the two brothers of the third generation. Their divergences are too great to be merely ascribed to the individual deviation or to the insufficiency of the materials.

It is highly probable that to John Paston II, who was often in London and was interested in tournaments and books, the language of the Metropolis seemed elegant, and that he tried to assimilate his language to it. His younger brother, of sober mind and attached to his ancestral property,

1) Cf. Kihlbom, *op. cit.* pp. 3ff.
2) Cf. N. Davis, *The Language of the Pastons,* p. 124ff., and G. H. McKnight, *Modern English in the Making* (New York, 1928), p. 73.
3) Cf. F. Mossé, *Esquise d'un Histoire de la Langue Anglaise* (Lyon, 1947), p. 71, and J. M. Manly, *Canterbury Tales* (New York, 1928), p. 89.

once says to his brother, 'I had lever se yow onys in Caster Halle then to see as many kyngys tornay as myght be betwyx Eltam and London' (No. 49). He was also, it seems, one who was attached to the dear accents of his native place.

VI. CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is hoped that the above survey, though tentative and limited, may show how the English language as seen in the language of the Pastons had then been resolving into a newer language—so-called Modern English—how it had then been experiencing the crash and impact of older and newer elements of the language, thereby progressing a steady, if muddled, way towards the uniformity of a regional language—though with persistence of various usages in form and inflection—under the influence of the language of London which Norfolk was so close in touch with.

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