THE MODAL VERBS

WILL/WOULD, SHALL/SHOULD, CAN/COULD, MAY/MIGHT

NEED, MUST, OUGHT AND DARE/DURST

IN THE ENGLISH OF THE TIME OF SHAKESPEARE

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PREFACE

The thesis is a corpus study of the modal verbs using eight non-imaginative prose texts written in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Two are translations from Latin, one from French; there is an English text from Bacon with its Latin version, a text from Hooker, from Moryson's <u>Itinerary</u> and two texts which are collections of letters. Each text contains from 400 to 700 uses of the modal verbs. Preliminary to the corpus study is a consideration of the analyses of mood found in the grammars of English of the period, together with the sources of these analyses in Renaissance Latin grammar and in the ancient grammarians. The corpus study is conducted by means of sets of quotations, accompanied in the case of those from translated texts by the parallel Latin or French passages. Starting from the translated texts the selection, first of WILL or SHALL in translating the future, then of CAN or MAY in translating POSSUM/POUVOIR is studied. The idea of the modal pair and its behaviour in early Modern English is elaborated. An account is given of the adaptation of NEED to constitute a third modal pair with MUST. The use of MUST and OUGHT in the expression of obligation and necessity is considered and DARE is fully exemplified. A chapter is devoted to the operation of tense and mood in the modal phrase and there is an extensive exemplification and analysis of the modals in purpose and result clauses, in conditional sentences and in subordinate noun clauses. A chapter draws on the works of Shakespeare to illustrate, modify and extend the account of modal usage found in the corpus.

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Lodge	: Seneca
Holland	: Livy
Bacon	: The Advancement of Learning
Florio	: Montaigne
Hooker	: Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity
Moryson	: Itinerary
Chamberlaine	: Letters
Delaval	: Letters

SECTION 1 - THE PROJECT

The following chapters set out the results of a corpus study, made from a set of eight texts from around the year 1600, of the following words: WILL and WOULD; SHALL and SHOULD; CAN and COULD; MAY and MIGHT; OUGHT; DARE, DURST and NEED.

These chapters attempt to give an account of the way these words are used in the written English of the period, by means of an analysis of their occurrences in the eight texts chosen to make up the corpus.

SECTION 2 - HISTORICAL SYNTAX

The work is therefore intended as a contribution to the historical study of English syntax, assuming with Rÿden [1979 p.9] that historical linguistics is made up of diachronic studies and synchronic studies of historical material and that synchronic description must precede diachronic explanation. This study attempts a synchronic description and does not attempt diachronic explanation. It does not however adopt a synchronic approach with the (surely mistaken) methodological rigour which would deliberately exclude from the interpretation of the facts of usage around 1600, all knowledge of the earlier stages of the language or of its subsequent development. My interest in the modal verbs in English derives from my reading of the work of linguists analysing this system in PE, particularly Halliday [1970] and although it came to my notice after I had begun my work I have been sustained in my belief that the topic deserved detailed study by the significance D. W. Lightfoot attaches to the changes that occurred in the syntax of the modal verbs during the sixteenth century which he sees as a 'paradigm case for the study of diachronic syntax' [Lightfoot 1979 pp.81-115]. I have also included in this study a summary account of the earlier history of the two 'semi-modal' verbs DARE and NEED in

order to explain the peculiarities of their syntax and their relation-
ship to the other modal verbs. At the same time, I have tried to see
the modal usage of the period, in so far as it is reflected in the
chosen corpus, as a coherent whole and not as a set of differences from
the usage of PE. It is not, any more than PE usage is, a systematic
unity. In many places, eModE and PE have identical usage. I have
tried to survey eModE usage from the data and to describe and illustrate
it by bringing out its internal consistencies and inconsistencies and
not, except incidentally, its similarities with or differences from the
usage of today.

SECTION 3 - EARLY MODERN ENGLISH

Besides its importance for the advance of the historical study of
syntax, there is also a case to be made for detailed work on eModE
syntax in order to provide the research material on which a full grammar
of this stage of the language may be based. Such a grammar, or
practical grammars founded upon it, would be available for the use of
literary students and others who need to be able to read closely and
interpret accurately texts written in eModE.

The fact that no such grammar exists and that the work on which
such a grammar could be ⁖founded has only in recent years begun to
appear, can be related to the special preoccupations of linguistics
since detailed scholarly work on English began. In the nineteenth
century, concern with origins and the affiliation of the Indo-European
languages naturally drew most attention back to Old English, while the
interest above all other features of language in sound change, though
it could find a great deal to study in the development of Old English
into Middle English, and in the various written dialects of Middle
English, found little to attract it in the relatively standardized

language of eModE. But when in the twentieth century linguists for the most part turned away from the historical study of language, all attention was concentrated on languages which could be observed in their spoken form or studied through the first language intuitions of their speakers. Thus eModE was still neglected. However perhaps a more important reason for this neglect, at least in so far as concerns the failure to produce detailed grammatical work on eModE, is not so much the changing directions of linguistic fashion as the fact that within the language culture of the English speaking peoples, eModE was not thought of as a different language or a different historical state of the language from the one currently in use; rather as a different mode or style of the contemporary language; or more precisely, the various eModE texts were felt not as written in another form of the language but as assignable to various special but still in some sense current styles of Modern English. Thus the Authorised Version of the Bible was in the nineteenth century everywhere in use. It was brought up to date in 1881 by a revision which was to introduce the minimum of change, and where changes were necessary 'the style of the language employed in the existing version' was to 'be closely followed' [Revisers' Preface]. Biblical English was still current, could still be composed and through its use together with the use of the prayer book perhaps a majority of English-speaking people can be said to have maintained a receptive knowledge of a form of eModE. At the same time the formal prose of the nineteenth century was, through an unbroken literary tradition going back to the seventeenth century, more closely linked to the past than to contemporary speech. Poetry was written in a poetic language distinguished from that of prose by certain syntactic features, as the employment of the second person singular, the unemphatic use of DO-support, interrogative inversion and NOT without DO-support, that

are characteristic of eModE.

These conditions have changed. The New English Bible [1970] has been put forward to replace the Authorized and the Revised Versions because the language of these translations is no longer current. Modernism in literature means that there is no longer a traditional archaizing literary language for prose or poetry, so that eModE is felt no longer as the language of our classical literature as it was in the nineteenth century but as a distinct form of the language. In order to read eModE texts and especially to teach them, the resources available are no longer adequate because they were designed for a different cultural situation. New resources adapted to the requirements of teachers and readers who are not linguists or primarily interested in points of language are therefore needed, but to produce these, it will be necessary to extend our detailed knowledge of eModE in its written forms, until it begins to approach in detail our knowledge of PE.

SECTION 4 - RESOURCES AVAILABLE

At present the field of eModE studies still suffers from the lack of well-founded resource works devoted specifically to the language of this period; on the other hand, this very lack is a reason for undertaking direct research upon eModE. There is still no dictionary, no detailed grammar, no history devoted to the two centuries of eModE.

I give below some account of the books which my own work both here and in Reed [1975] has made use of, and the extent or nature of the usefulness for my purposes. It may be noted that because the modal verbs are lexical items I have been able to make use of dictionaries and lexicons in a way which is not usually possible in syntactical studies.

The works fall into two categories:

a)   Works covering all periods of English or works covering

modern English in its historical depth

b)   Works dealing with the language of Shakespeare

a) Works Covering All Periods

The Oxford English Dictionary

The articles on the modal verbs are still a starting point for

the study of the words in eModE. The limitations of these articles for

this purpose are discussed below in the section on 'Corpus study'.

Visser. An Historical Syntax of the English Language Part Three,

First Half [1969]

Since the whole work is really a syntax of the verb phrase, the

modal verbs are very fully treated, each construction illustrated by

quotations over the whole historical range of its use. However in his

analysis of the various uses of each modal, Visser seems to me to

depend very heavily on the articles in the OED.

Sweet. A New English Grammar Logical and Historical. Part II.

Syntax [1898]

This is very brief and summary. For the most part Sweet contrasts

Old-English with Modern English. Middle English and early Modern

English are usually unmentioned. The account of WILL and SHALL though

it does not distinguish an early Modern use, is of interest.

Jespersen. A Modern English Grammar [1909-49]

This contains embedded in its eight volumes perhaps the most

detailed grammar of eModE that we possess. Yet inevitably the over-

whelming emphasis is on the later period. Furthermore, Jespersen's

reading as reflected in his quotations for the eModE period is largely

restricted to Shakespeare, the Bible and the main literary figures.

Traugott. A   History of English Syntax [1972]

This book is concerned with the principles of syntactic change as

these can be illustrated from the development of English. It does not

attempt a general history of English syntax. It has interesting

material on the modals especially the developmentɔof the use of SHOULD

in certain kinds of subordinate clause and it gives a good account of

the changing meanings of CAN and MAY from OE to the present.

b) Works Dealing with the Language of Shakespeare

The comprehensive works dealing with Shakespeare's language are

none of them recent.

Schmidt. Shakespeare-Lexicon. A Complete Dictionary of all the

English Words, Phrases and Constructions in the Works

of the Poet [1875]

This is independent of the OED, and the articles on the modal

verbs are not without interest.

Abbott. A Shakespearean Grammar. An Attempt to illustrate some of

the differences between Elizabethan and Modern English.

For the ʔUse of Schools [1870]

Abbott is concerned, as he says in the preface to the first

edition, 'to furnish students of Shakespeare and Bacon with a short

systematic account of some points of difference between Elizabethan

syntax and our own' and, as the title states, he has in mind study in

school. The model, naturally enough for his time, is the way in which

Latin and Greek authors are studied. He writes: 'Our native tongue

should either not be studied critically at all, or be studied as

thoroughly as the languages of antiquity.'

Franz. Shakespeare-Grammatik [Third Revised Edition 1924]

Die Sprache Shakespeares in Verse und Prosa [a further

revision of the same work 1939]

The work was originally published in 1899 and the contents of

this first version are condensed in Die Grundzüge der Sprache

Shakespeares [1902]. Both Abbott and Franz deal in some detail with differences between Shakespeare's use of WILL and SHALL, WOULD and SHOULD, CAN and MAY and those found in the contemporary English of their time.

These two Shakespearean grammars are much more complete than any we have attempting to describe the grammar of eModE or any period of eModE generally. It is desirable surely to approach the language of a great writer through a knowledge of the language of his age, rather than the other way round, to approach the language of his age through our knowledge of the language of its great writer. From some periods of the past virtually all that remains to us of the language is the work of a single great writer. It is ironic however that with Shakespeare, the first literary figure of universal standing to arise after the invention of printing and for the language of whose time therefore we have almost inexhaustible materials, there is still no detailed linguistic account of that language available to Shakespeare scholarship.

More recent books with 'Shakespeare's language' as part of their title usually deal only with style and imagery. Mention may be made however of G. L. Brook, The Language of Shakespeare [1976]. The author makes the point in his preface that the longest chapter in the book is the one dealing with syntax, and says 'I have tried to reduce the length of this chapter by giving references to paragraphs in E. A. Abbott's A Shakespearean Grammar (Third Edition 1870) and Wilhelm Franz's Die Sprache Shakespeares (1939) where further examples may be found.' The chapter on syntax is 50 pages long (there is also a chapter on accidence of another dozen pages); the auxiliary verbs, that is the modals together with BE, HAVE and DO, are dealt with in two and a half pages, though there is a little on the forms of WILL, SHALL, DARE and OUGHT, perhaps half a page in all, in the chapter on accidence.

Among the books not restricted to Shakespeare but dealing

generally with eModE is Michel Poirier Précis d'Anglais Elisabéthain [1966]. This is a small handbook without pretence to original scholarship but extremely convenient and well set out for the use of literary students. It draws for its examples heavily on the romance-writers Lily and Sidney which it takes in their use of language as lying between the conservatism of the Authorized Version of the Bible and the extreme freedom of Shakespeare. The treatment of the modal verbs however is much in terms of the absence of modern distinctions.

A. C. Partridge Tudor to Augustan English. A Study in Syntax and Style from Caxton to Johnson [1969] has a wider historical scope than eModE but it lays particular stress on the period to be looked at in the present study. In the preface, Partridge writes:

> Probably the most influential generation, in the quality of its writing and notable improvements in the efficiency of language, was that of 1590 to 1625. For this reason the most significant resources of syntax have been chosen from this formative period.

There is a good deal about the modal verbs (referred to as verbs of incomplete predication) in the eModE period:

> (p.111) Since the eighteenth century, custom has rendered the nuances of tense and modality more precise than they were in Tudor English, when the tense auxiliaries were often confused with verbs of incomplete predication, such as can, must and ought.

There follows a list of examples of this 'interchange of tense auxiliaries and verbs of incomplete predication' but this takes the form of eModE quotations with CAN where MAY would be expected in PE, with MAY where CAN would be expected in PE, MAY and MIGHT with the notion of volition, etc. I have been unable to understand from the examples given what Partridge means by this interchange of tense auxiliaries and verbs of incomplete predication.

Two recent books, which by their titles and bulk might be taken to be the desired detailed grammars of eModE but which are in fact more

general books containing only derivative outlines of the grammar, must be mentioned.

The first is Charles Barber Early Modern English [1976]. This contains a chapter a hundred pages long on grammar (much of the book is taken up with questions of vocabulary, 'Attitudes to English', topics which are very fully treated elsewhere). In this there is a section of seven pages devoted to the modal auxiliaries. About half the examples are from Shakespeare.

The other is Manfred Görlach Einführung ins Frühneuenglische [1978]. About a third of this book is a very useful collection of short texts. Some 35 pages are devoted to syntax, of which less than one page to 'Modalverben'.

There are now many monographs on particular topics in eModE syntax but little on the modal verbs themselves. Ehrman The Meaning of the Modals in Present-day American English [1966] contains in addition to the main study a consideration of some uses of the modals in Shakespeare. My own M.A. Dissertation A Study of the Modal Verbs WILL/ WOULD, SHALL/SHOULD, CAN/COULD, MAY/MIGHT and MUST in Shakespeare's Much Ado About Nothing [1975] contains a chapter reviewing the treatment of the modal verbs in Shakespeare found in Abbott [1870], Schmidt [1874, 1875], Franz [1902, 1924], The Oxford Dictionary and Visser [1969].

SECTION 5 - CORPUS STUDY

The method adopted in this work has been to collect on cards a full quotation for every use of the eight modal verbs, whether the use itself was modal or non-modal; all uses of the verbs DARE and NEED were collected and all expressions containing the noun NEED or the adjectives NEEDFUL or NEEDLESS. In addition I collected the modal paraphrases BE ABLE and BE WILLING, uses of the non-modal verb TO WILL,

phrases expressing possibility or necessity, BE POSSIBLE TO or (THAT)

BE NECESSARY TO or (THAT) and other expressions which have some

similarity to modals;

> TO BE LIKE(LY) TO
>
> TO USE TO
>
> TO CHANCE TO
>
> TO BE TO

Finally, all uses of the subjunctive which were formally apparent were

also collected on the cards. There seem to be important advantages in

a corpus study in which all the examples of a particular form from a

text or series of texts are studied and classified, over

1) statistical studies, as that of Charles C. Fries The Periphrastic

   Future with SHALL and WILL in Modern English [1925]. I comment

   on the limitations of this method in the opening pages of Reed

   [1975].

2) studies based on selected examples. The problem is how the

   examples should be selected. Since modal verbs occur in the

   prose of the eModE period at the rate of one every 40 or 50 words

   the reader must either select examples at random, or the cate-

   gories that he wishes to illustrate must be already, even if only

   vaguely, in his mind. But if this is so, his collection of

   examples is likely to fit the preconceived categories and little

   new knowledge will be obtained.

The research undertaken in this thesis is indebted to the articles

on the modals in the OED and to the historical exemplification of modal

constructions in Visser. But the corpus study method has made it

possible to avoid a direct dependence on their categorizations of the

meaning and use of the modal verbs by working through a large number of

unselected examples and, by methods described later in the present

chapter and demonstrated in the chapters which follows, to devise a categorization to account for them.

Although the OED articles on the modal verbs are still foundation documents for any historical study of the modal verbs, the lexical method is not really well suited to such words which share something of the nature of grammatical words. It is not just the problem mentioned above of their order of frequency and the consequent difficulty of making a satisfactory selection of examples. The native speaker's knowledge of the meaning of lexical words is usually accessible and can be represented by a paraphrase. The meaning of grammatical words is not usually accessible in the same way to the untrained speaker of the language and is often difficult or impossible to paraphrase. Dictionaries however use the same format for all articles whether for lexical or grammatical words. It is true that dictionaries are not normally consulted for strictly grammatical words which are perhaps included merely for the sake of completeness. But in the case of modal verbs, which straddle the boundary between the two kinds, that is they are sometimes and in some ways lexical words and at other times or in other ways are grammatical words, the difficulties of finding a satisfactory dictionary treatment are great.

The OED laboured under further disadvantages. The readers for the quotations were amateurs. One of the directions they were given was

> Make quotations for ordinary words, when these are used
> significantly, and help by the context to explain their
> own meaning, or show their use.

I think it is evident that this would tend to turn readers away from making slips for many kinds of modal verb use, while the earlier instruction

> Make a quotation for every word that strikes you as rare,
> obsolete, old-fashioned, new, peculiar, or used in a
> peculiar way

was bound to draw into the net a number of eccentric uses, which then had to be accommodated in the articles. Thus there is a good chance that very strange uses will feature in the article and also that frequent and commonplace uses may escape attention.

The articles were evidently composed from the slips as the words came up in the alphabetical sequence. Thus the article on MAY refers back to the article on CAN, but the article on CAN has no references to MAY. There could be no revision of an article once the fascicle in which it appeared had been published, so cross reference, even for words so intimately related in the patterns of their usage as CAN and MAY can only occur in a backward direction alphabetically.

The OED articles on the modals set the pattern for the treatment in Visser [1969] and many of the quotations are reused. The dependence of Visser's arrangement on the articles for CAN and MAY in the OED is shown in detail in Reed [1975] pp.182-3 and pp.189-193.

SECTION 6 - SELECTION OF A CORPUS

In a study based on examples collected for the purpose, a wide selection of texts can be read extensively. Statistics on usage can be drawn from comparatively short passages, at least for frequently occurring words like the modals (with the exception of OUGHT, NEED and DARE) and to some extent statistical means can be used to discover at what point it becomes unrewarding to extend the text any further. But for a corpus study in which every use must be considered and classified, fairly extensive texts seemed necessary. The work done with Shakespeare's Much Ado About Nothing in Reed [1975] suggested that a suitable length would be a text yielding about the same number of modal verbs as this play - some 650. In the end, while this figure was used with some texts, so that the cut off point for the text was made when this quota of

modals had been collected, some texts were left shorter when a conven-
ient break occurred, as at the end of the first book of Hooker's <u>Laws
of Ecclesiastical Polity</u> and others, for example Chamberlaine's letters,
were read to include all those written in the reign of Elizabeth, even
though the number of modals rose higher than 650. It was found that in
sets of modals of about this size, WILL/WOULD, SHALL/SHOULD, CAN/COULD,
MAY/MIGHT and MUST were all represented in sufficient numbers, although
the present tense modals tended to be sparse in narrative texts like
Holland's <u>Livy</u>. OUGHT either appeared in a particular text in numbers
of the same order as those of MUST, or it was absent. DARE and NEED,
even if uses not modal in form or construction were included, were
found to occur so rarely comparatively, that where possible each text
was extended to two or three times its length for the purpose of
gathering further examples of these words. The two texts made up of
letters were not extended in this way, and in the case of Holland's
<u>Livy</u>, instead of extending the text from Book the First, to include the
following books, a different translation of Holland's, one of the essays
from his version of Plutarch's <u>Moralia</u> has been added to gather more
examples of DARE, NEED and OUGHT.

The details concerning the extent of each text are given in the
account of the texts in the corpus at the end of this chapter.

The original intention to include a text of about 650 modal verbs
from every main kind of writing at the period turned out to be too
ambitious. It seemed impossible to find a sufficient number of sub-
stantial texts which could be known to reflect the spoken language of
the period, and there appeared to be disadvantages in a corpus composed
of a range of texts from the imaginative literature of the period.
Certain poets of the period, for example Spenser, we know used an
archaic and artificial language, so that any piece of verse might

contain strange rather than normal use as a deliberate effect of the poet. Rhyme and metre might sometimes be responsible for a usage otherwise unlikely, and even in the imaginative prose of some writers of the period such as John Lily or his imitators we would at times be dealing with both syntax and word selection deliberately distorted for stylistic purposes. Of course no written text could be expected to be without any elements of deliberate style at all and in any case, a complete study of eModE would have to deal also with stylistic variation as well as normative syntax. However since this study was to be merely syntactic, it seemed worth attempting to find a corpus which would show the ordinary written use of the language and to choose texts concerned with conveying ideas or arguments, recording historical events or conveying news and personal messages; in other words, philosophy, history and letters.

For reasons connected with the process of analyzing the uses of the modals in the corpus, some of the texts used were translations from other languages into English. The danger of basing a study of usage on texts where the idiom of the English might well be distorted by the original was realized. The choice of translations was made to avoid as far as possible these dangers, selecting Thomas Lodge, a minor master of almost every form of Elizabethan writing, in his staid age translating Seneca; Philemon Holland, not it is true known to have written original work, but producing so convincing an English text that it is hard to believe that the classical languages ever betrayed his sense of English idiom; and Florio's translation of Montaigne, a text which, although it is sometimes awkward and from a translator whose first language credentials for English are not beyond doubt, yet an unsuperseded version, read by Shakespeare and in some ways more valuable than the other translations in that it is rendering into eModE not the

thought of antiquity but of contemporary Renaissance Europe.

For the rest, texts from Bacon and from Hooker were selected as these are the major philosophical writers of eModE and the only writers of eModE likely to be read closely for their meaning by readers who are neither historians nor students of literature. The account by Fynes Moryson of Tyrone's rebellion in his Itinerary was included as a piece of detailed contemporary history. It seemed useful to balance these works all written for publication with personal letters not written for publication, and in the case of John Chamberlaine's not published until the nineteenth century, in the case of those of the Delaval family in the Northumberland Public Records Office where I was permitted to use them, still unpublished.

SECTION 7 - THE MODAL VERBS

The original idea of taking these eight verbs together and of referring to them as the modal verbs derives of course from an analysis which has become usual in PE.

The formal criteria which justify this categorization are conveniently set out in Palmer [1979 p.9] with the key references to earlier work. These criteria are divided into two sets, the first placing the modal verbs in the same class as the 'primary auxiliaries' BE, HAVE, DO. They are

    i) Inversion with the subject (Must I come?)
   ii) Negative form with -n't (I can't go)
  iii) 'Code' (He can swim and so can she)
   iv) Emphatic affirmation (He will be there)

In similar functions all other verbs require the 'empty' or 'support' verb DO.

As they stand these criteria cannot be applied to the modal verbs in the English of 1600; at this period all other verbs do not require (although they may make use of) the 'empty' or 'support' verb DO in i)

ii) and iv). It is true that the abbreviation -n't does not occur with other verbs, but in any case all abbreviated forms are absent from the written form of eModE which we are at present studying. As for iii) 'Code', although examples are likely to be uncommon, it is possible that this construction still occurs with other verbs in eModE.

However, in eModE the modal verbs together with the 'primary' auxiliaries could be categorized apart from all other verbs in that they constitute a group of verbs which never appear with the 'empty' or 'support' verb DO.

Palmer then gives three more, this time specifically 'modal', criteria.

    v)   No -s form for 3rd person singular
   vi)   Absence of non-finite forms. (No infinitive, past or present participle)
  vii)   No cooccurrence (No 'He may will come')

Of these criteria, v) applies in the English of 1600 as in PE. vi) can be taken to apply also, although 'to can' and 'to may' still appear in dictionaries and grammars, and very occasionally in sentences as Bacon, 'Essay, of Great Place'

     In evill, the best condicion is not to will, the second not to can.

Considering vii), there is no cooccurrence in the eModE represented by my corpus (provided we assume such cases as 'shall need' 'might dare' exemplify the non-modal verbs TO NEED, TO DARE. But this proviso is also necessary if the criterion is to apply to PE.).

The Modal Verbs Viewed by Early Grammarians

Thus, although it is possible to adapt the formal criteria by which grammarians of PE distinguished the modal verbs as a separate group to suit the somewhat different conditions of eModE, in fact the contemporary grammarians of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century do not consider the modal verbs in this way, or group them all

together in a separate category. On the other hand, many of their

features are noticed at this time, as we may illustrate by the

following quotations:

Greaves Grammatica Anglicana [1594]

> [p.16] (Praesens) ... Will, Shall, May, Can, Must neque
> numerum aut personam variant, nisi forte in secunda
> persona Singulari. Wilt, Shalt, Mayest, Canst.
> Must, vero hoc solo tempore contentum videtur nec
> possunt haec explicari per periphrasin.
>
> [p.20] (Praeteritum) ... Defectiva sunt, Can, could:
> will, would: shall, should: may, might: quia carent
> reliquis a praesenti, & praeterito infecto temporibus.

Alexander Gil in Logonomia Anglica [1621] pp. 64-5, under 'Defectiva'

associates certain of the modal verbs according to formal character-

istics with certain non-modal verbs. Thus MUST, TROW and QUOTH are

grouped as verbs lacking all moods and tenses except the present, and

QUOTH indeed

> nunc manet invariabile ... ad res ante dictas refertur;
> ut, must debeo vel oportet, ad res futuras. Invariabile
> etiam est must sed nominativum sequitur, more aliorum
> Verborum; ut, I must, thou must ...

CAN, MAY, WILL and SHALL are listed together with GO as verbs lacking

certain tenses which are supplied from elsewhere:

> [p.65] Defectiva illa may, and can possum; & wil volo
> (quae signa diximus, reliqua tempora & modos supplent
> per anomalum to be & adiectiva cognatae significationis:
> ut I can aut I may, possum, aut possim. I could, aut
> might, poteram, aut possem. Indicat:
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | Perf. | I have been able | potui |
> | Indef. | I had been able | potueram |
> | Futurum. | I shall be able | |
>
> Potentialis Perf. I might have been able, potuerim,
> Futurum, I maybi able hereafter potuero. Infinitivi
> praesens, to be able, posse. Sic I wil, volo, aut
> volam, I would volebam aut vellem. Indic. Perfectum
> I have been willing volui; I had been willing volueram
> &c. Hinc compositum unum I nil nolo, & I nould, nolebam,
> veteribus frequens erat. Sed quemadmodum hoc Verbum
> nil, sic etiam illa quae usitata sunt, per adiectiva
> circumloquimur: ut, I am unwilling nolo, I am willing
> volo, I am able, possum, I am more willing, malo: quorum
> omnium una forma est in reliquis Modis, & Temporibus,
> quam modo diximus. Shal, ultra should nullo modo
> variatur, do, and have, a verbis perfectis desumuntur.

Ben Jo nson in his <u>English Grammar</u> [1640] does not draw attention to the irregular present tense forms of the modal verbs though he lists all three persons singular. All but NEED and MUST appear in his fourth conjugation in Chapter XX. Jonson's fourth conjugation is made up of those verbs that 'convey the Time <u>past</u> for the <u>present</u> by the change both of Vowells and Consonants,' and 'following the terminations of the first Conjugation, end in d. or t.' Of course this includes non-modal verbs like SELL, SOLD or TEACH, TAUGHT, yet it is remarkable that if we make this a separate conjugation, then it is the conjugation of all the modal verbs (for MUST belongs if we think of it as a preterite of MOTE, and as we shall see DURST appears to be modal but DARED and NEEDED are not (these would fall in Jonson's first conjugation). The presentation of those verbs we now consider modal is as follows, in Jonson's twentieth chapter;

[p.66] Pr. <u>Wolle</u>, <u>wolt</u>, <u>wolle</u>
   Pa. <u>wolde</u>, or <u>woulde</u>, <u>wouldest</u>, <u>would</u>
   Fut. <u>Wolle</u>. <u>Woll</u>.
The <u>infinite</u> Times are not used:
   Pr. (<u>Can</u>, <u>canst</u>, <u>can</u>.
   Pa. (<u>Colde</u>, or <u>could</u>
   Pr. (<u>Sholle</u>, <u>sholt</u>, <u>sholl</u>.
   Pa. (<u>Sholde</u>, or <u>shoulde</u>
The other Times of either <u>Verbe</u> are lacking.

[p.67] Pr. (Teach
   Pa. (Taught
To this forme belong: <u>thinke</u>, <u>retch</u>, <u>seake</u>, <u>reach</u>, <u>catch</u>, <u>bring</u>, <u>worke</u>: and <u>buy</u>, and <u>owe</u>, which make, <u>bought</u>, and <u>ought</u>.
   Pr. (<u>Dare</u>, <u>darest</u>, <u>dare</u>.
   Pa. (<u>Durst</u>, <u>durst</u>, <u>durst</u>
   Pr. (<u>May</u>, <u>mayst</u>, <u>may</u>.
   Pa. (<u>Might</u>, <u>mightest</u>, <u>might</u>.
These two <u>Verbs</u> want the other Times.

Thus we may summarise the observations of these grammarians by saying that the present tense anomalies are recorded for WILL, SHALL, CAN, MAY and MUST. (Only Jonson records DARE, as third person singular present. He makes no comment, but he does not set out three persons for the

present, unless there is some irregularity.) OUGHT appears to be taken

as a past tense of OWE, without any irregularity. The use of third

person present NEED without the inflection is not noticed. The absence

of tenses except the present and preterite is noticed for WILL, SHALL,

CAN, MAY and by Jonson, perhaps surprisingly, also for DARE. All notice

the invariability of MUST.

Absence of TO after Modals

    Gil [1621] has only;

> [p.94] Infinitivus et nomina sequitur, et verba. Post
> verba signum suum to, saepe deserit; ut I cannot under-
> stand you, non possum te intellegere: saepe dixi, quia
> saepe adsumit: ut, bid him write, sine signo: at command
> him to write, sine signo non dicitur.

Jonson's observation however is of great interest [1640]

> [p.78] When two Verbes meet together, whereof one is
> governed by the other, the latter is put in the infinite,
> and that with this signe to, comming betweene: as Good
> men ought to joyne together in good things.
> But, will, doe, may, can, shall, dare, (when it is
> intransitive), must, and lett, when it signifieth a
> sufferance, receive not the signe: Gower. To God no
> man may be fellow.

From the point of view of the grammar of the period, the set of modal

verbs, with the exception of DARE and NEED, could all be included

together with BE, HAVE and DO, in a category that appears in Gil [1621]

as 'Signa ... Temporum & Modorum'.

> [p.53] Sunt autem signa partim personae, de quibus
> supra, partim ipsa verba anomala, aut defectiva.
> Anomalorum princeps est verbum substantivum to be, esse.
> quod tamen quia per signa inflectitur, signa ipsa
> imprimis variabimus. Signa sunt Temporum, & Modorum.
> Temporum shall, will, have, had, do, did.

Later [p.55] Gil lists 'let, may, might, can, could, should and would'

as signa of moods. This idea of signa has its immediate source in the

sixteenth century method of teaching Latin where the signa are the

words in the vernacular which signal the grammatical forms which will

be required in the Latin rendering. Thus in the grammar book which Gil

must have used at school, Lily's A Short Introduction of Grammar [1549
Bii.v] we find MAY, CAN, MIGHT, WOULD, SHOULD and OUGHT, all given as
signa for a single Latin mood.

The Modal Construction

The eight modals can conveniently be divided into three groups

I   WILL/WOULD, SHALL/SHOULD, CAN/COULD, MAY/MIGHT.
     Each modal verb has two forms, present and preterite (together
     with a present second person singular form WILT, SHALT, CANST,
     MAY(E)ST) and no other forms.

II   MUST, OUGHT
     Originating as preterite forms of other verbs (MOTE, OWE) these
     use a single form for both present and preterite and have no
     other tenses.

III DARE/DURST, NEED
     Where the modal forms with present singular forms DARE, DARST,
     DARE, and NEED, NEEDST, NEED exist side by side with regular
     verbs, having present third singular in DARES, NEEDS, and
     preterites DARED, NEEDED and making all the compound tenses.

In PE, if we exclude these non-modal forms of DARE and NEED, the
peculiar characteristic of the modals which sets them apart from all
other verbs in the language is that they appear only in the following
construction or syntagm.

/subject/   /modal verb/   /verbal infinitive/

Implicit in this restriction are the other characteristics of modal
verbs, as that they do not form DO-periphrasis for negative, inter-
rogative, emphasis or any other reason; that they form no compound
tenses; that they cannot appear together.

In the English of around 1600, the following additional construc-
tions are found with modal verbs of Group I.

a)   with WILL, CAN, MAY

/subject/   /modal verb/   /direct object/

b)   with WOULD

/subject/   /modal verb/   /(THAT) clause/

1.1   [LS 21.5] You both are fortunate if ought my verses c a n
                 Fortunati ambo, siquid mea carmina p o s s u n t
(Aeneid 9.446 quoted by Seneca)

1.2   [LS 26.3] and diligently to discuss what things I cannot do,
       and what things I would not do, and whether I c a n anything
       that I w i l l not: for if I c a n n o t anything, I am
       glad I cannot.
                 & diligenter excutere quae non possim facere, quae
       nolim: p o s s i m ne aliquid, quod n o l i m; Nam si quid
       n o n   p o s s u m, non posse me gaudeo.

1.3   [LS 13.12] dreameth not how much he is incensed, but how much
       he m a y if so be he be provoked
                 cogitat non quantum iratus ille sit, sed quantum
       l i c e a t irato.

1.4   [C XXIII]   Sir Thomas Gerrard was appointed Colonell of
       the Londoners, but for an old grudge since the last Parliament
       they w o l d none of him.

All these examples can of course be reduced to the construction

         /subject/   /modal verb/   /verbal infinitive/

by supplying a verb: the verb DO for 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, the verb HAVE for

1.4. It has been usual to explain the use of modals without an infini-

tive but followed by an adverbial postposition as resulting from the

omission of a verb of motion.

1.5   [C XXXIII] I could be melancolike but for certain reliques of
       a merry progresse that run up and downe in my remembrance, and
       w i l l not out till they be committed <u>tutis auribus</u>

1.6   [C XXXV] Sir Henry Nevill is urged to returne into Fraunce,
       but he makes many excuses and so resolute resistaunce that he
       pretends he w i l l not backe again unles he be sent <u>pieds</u>
       <u>et poings liez</u>.

But in some examples a verb of motion is not suitable and it is diffi-

cult to suggest what the omitted verb may be

1.7   [HP 95.6] I c a n away with no labour and travell in the
       world
       [AMYOT]   ie ne p u i s durer au travail
       [ERASMUS] a laboribus abhorreo
                  pros tous ponous apagoreuo

There seems no objection to accepting the use of modals with an

adverbial postposition as well as modals with direct objects as construc-

tions still permissible in the English of about 1600, but due soon to

disappear at least in the standard language. However such constructions seem even at the period we are considering to have been somewhat colloquial and are so poorly represented in the corpus, that no more can be said here.

The use of a THAT-clause after WOULD is dealt with in Chapter 6 as part of the treatment of WOULD.

In Group I the absence of the third person singular present tense inflection is because SHALL, CAN, MAY are preterite-present verbs and therefore show preterite inflections in the present. WILL derives its present tense from an old optative.

In Group II, MUST and OUGHT are preterite forms (of MOTE and OWE) and therefore show preterite inflections.

In Group III, DARE is a preterite present. NEED is a weak verb. The uninflected third person singular present is introduced in the course of the sixteenth century, apparently to bring this verb into conformity with the other modal verbs.

Since no other preterite-present verbs survive into eModE (the longest lived of the rest is THORF which disappears from the southern language in the second half of the fifteenth century), the modal verbs are distinguished from all other verbs in the language in that they have no formal present tense distinction between indicative and subjunctive.

We may sum up the distinctive characteristics of the modal verbs in the English of around 1600 as follows:

a) There is no inflected ending -S/-ETH in the third person singular of the present tense.

b) The absence of all non-finite forms of the verb, infinitive or participial. This means the modal verbs cannot form any compound tense with BE or HAVE, since this requires a participle, or

combine with DO or occur after another modal verb, since this

requires an infinitive. (TO-form infinitives with CAN and MAY

are still possible though extremely rare except as a way of

citing the verbs, as in dictionaries.)

The characteristic feature of the modal verbs in PE, that they only

occur in the construction

/subject/ /modal verb/ /verbal infinitive/

is not characteristic of these verbs in the English of around 1600

because

1) WILL, CAN and MAY still appear with nouns as direct objects

2) WOULD appears with a following (THAT)-clause.

SECTION 8 - PROCEDURE

A quotation was copied for each use of one of the modal verbs in

the list and the use was classified according to the following features

of its syntax

1.   Person and number of the subject of the modal.

2.   Construction following the modal verb

        a) direct object
        b) clause
        c) infinitive   i) present
                         ii) perfect

3.   Clause containing modal verb

        a) negative or not
        b) interrogative or not
        c) main clause or subordinate clause and if subordinate,
           the nature of the subordination

This syntactic classification was straightforward. But a semantic

classification was also needed and it was not obvious how this should

be undertaken. A set of meanings such as 'futurity' 'intention'

'possibility' could be set up and each modal use classified as carrying

one or more of these meanings. This is the method adopted by Ehrman

[1966]; but her concern is with present-day American English, where presumably she has native speaker intuitions about the force of the modals in each quotation. It seemed to me that it would be unsatisfactory to apply this method to eModE. Even if by the study of context I could tell that sometimes my intuitions brought from PE must be adjusted, I could not always be sure that context would be clear and in any case, even if I could be sure of sensing whenever a modal use in the texts has a meaning different from the one that I would assign if I were depending entirely on PE intuitions I would still be treating the usage of modal verbs in my texts as a set of differences from PE usage, rather than making the attempt to uncover any systematic use that might be found in the language at this point in its development.

It was the desire to find some objective way of classifying the examples of modal usage semantically - that is to say some way that would not depend in each case on my own decision as a reader of the text, that suggested I should make use of translations. Provided I had a semantically equivalent text in some language distant enough from English not to have a similar modal system, I could classify each modal use according to the equivalent in the other language; it would not matter whether that other language were translated from English or English from the other language.

The objections to the use of translations in this way can be summed up briefly;

1)   translations are inevitably influenced by their originals and do not constitute a good sample of any language to study, when original texts are available.

2)   specifically on the modal verbs, the study of a translation is likely to reveal, not the rules of English but the rules that the translator has imposed on himself or have been imposed upon him by a tradition of translation.

I felt I could neglect these objections, which I think bring their conviction from the study of translation at an earlier period of the language. Much medieval translation is stilted and unidiomatic either because it is intended to serve as a guide to the original rather than as a text to be read in itself or because the translator has no developed literary medium into which he can translate. From the period around 1600 I knew I could select translations into English by writers with real literary skill in English, who were not producing 'cribs' but attempting to convey the sense of their authors as naturally as they could in the literary forms of their own day. In any case, although translations out of English into other languages at this period are not common, I could as a check on this possible disadvantage of the use of translations include one such original English text together with its foreign language version.

As for the second objection, though it seems evident that at an earlier period translators especially those translating the scriptures may have followed conventional rules, for example always translating the Latin future by SHALL, it seemed to me unlikely that such rules would be found in as it were free-lance translators or secular texts. But in any case, the results would show. Any mechanically applied rule which involved always translating a particular form in a particular way in defiance of English idiom would be apparent in my results, if not at once, at least as soon as I set it beside a comparable original text, and to establish some feature of Elizabethan translation in this way would itself be worth doing.

Nevertheless since I had decided to use translation methodically, so that half the corpus was made up of translations, though one of the four making up this half was an original English text, Bacon's Advancement of Learning with its translation into Latin, it seemed

sensible to make some study of the grammatical training current at the period, that is the grammatical analysis of Latin presented in the schools, so that I would be able to follow the analysis of a Latin sentence which would be likely to present itself to Lodge or Holland as they made their English versions. I found that this analysis would differ most from that which would be made by Latinists today in the moods of the verb. I was led to examine the development of thinking about mood during the sixteenth century and how this influences the earliest grammars of the English language, which begin to appear in the period of my study, around 1600.

This material is gathered together in the second chapter, as a preliminary to the actual analysis of the modal usage found in the chosen corpus of four translated and four original texts.

Chapters 3 and 4 dealing with WILL and SHALL, and with CAN and MAY depend heavily on the use of translation. In Chapter 5 dealing with NEED and MUST, OUGHT and DARE, translation is used to work out the relationship between MUST and OUGHT; but after this point translation does not play an important part in the method. DARE and NEED are discussed in terms of their past development in the language, and the two chapters which follow, Chapter 6 on the conjugation of the modal verbs and Chapter 7, on the use of the modal verbs in subordinate clauses, are not dependent on an analysis derived from translation for their organization or procedure. However the Latin or French equivalents are always given for those quotations where they exist, and incidental use is sometimes made of these. Chapter 8 moves outside the corpus, and drawing on the plays of Shakespeare illustrates from this source the analysis made of the modals, and adds to it certain constructions which do not occur in the corpus. The final chapter summarizes the study.

SECTION 9 - <u>PRESENTATION</u>

Total Occurrences of the Modal Verbs
in Present and Preterite Forms, in each of the eight
(unextended) Texts Constituting the Corpus

	LS	HL	B	FM	H	M	C	D
WILL	116	21	79	75	22	75	223	124
WOULD	23	67	35	72	25	146	76	66
SHALL	129	35	43	64	32	47	154	78
SHOULD	52	100	74	84	82	160	114	13
CAN	62	6	70	103	89	26	113	41
COULD	11	35	12	39	24	99	56	7
MAY	102	24	123	60	108	45	73	47
MIGHT	14	76	20	34	29	134	23	6
MUST	25	5	36	51	54	30	49	34
OUGHT	37	2	21	21	8	1	-	-
DARE	3	3	-	-	-	2	1	-
DURST	-	2	-	-	-	9	3	-
NEED	3	1	4	-	-	-	-	-

The aim has been to illustrate the material on which the study is based but not to reproduce it. That there are disadvantages in selecting is not disputed. But for the particular study undertaken here they seem less grave than the disadvantages of the alternatives which are

1)   to rely mainly on statistical tables

2)   to present in its entirety the set of examples from a much more restricted corpus.

The inadequacy of the statistical method to deal with the complex semantic issues which arise with modals has already been mentioned. The use of a more restricted corpus would I am sure have lessened the value of the present study. Even as it is, it was found necessary to extend the corpus considerably for the less frequent modals DARE and NEED, for the peculiarly distributed modal OUGHT and other infrequent uses. Again, certain modal constructions, for example with the perfect infinitive, are not found in sufficient numbers unless the corpus is extensive. Use of a modal in a particular sense or construction (sometimes as with OUGHT the very use of the modal verb itself) may be absent entirely from one kind of text and common in another, so that a corpus made up of several different texts, each substantial, is necessary.

The presentation in this study is as follows:

1.   Statistical tables or figures for number of occurrences are given usually at the beginning of a discussion.

2.   Complete sets of examples are given. These are of two kinds:

    a)   when the categorization of the list involves a sufficiently small number of examples for all to be included.

    b)   when the nature of the argument makes it necessary to treat every case the corpus itself may be limited, as in Chapter 3

1. Introduction   9. Presentation
                      10. Texts

when the examination of WILL and SHALL translating the

future is restricted to the Lodge-Seneca corpus.

3.   Illustrative sets of examples are given where the total number of

examples is very great, and where there appears to be no useful

break-down or sub-categorization to be made or no significant

variation among the examples which cannot be illustrated by

selection.

Except where two examples may be juxtaposed for purposes of

comparison, always pointed out in a comment, the examples in each set

are arranged according to the following order of texts.

1.	Lodge-Seneca	2.	Holland-Livy/Plutarch
3.	Bacon	4.	Florio-Montaigne
5.	Hooker	6.	Moryson
7.	Chamberlaine	8.	Delaval

Examples from the same text are arranged in textual order.

Normally in an illustrative set of examples, at least one example

will be taken from each text, but the need to produce the clearest and

most interestingly varied group of examples sometimes overrides this

consideration.

SECTION 10 - LIST AND DESCRIPTION OF TEXTS MAKING UP THE CORPUS

The corpus is made up of eight texts, four translated (two from

Latin, one from French into English, one from English into Latin) and

four original. They may be arranged as follows:

	Translated	Original
Philosophical	Florio's Montaigne Bacon's Advancement of Learning	Hooker's Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity
Narrative	Holland's Livy	Moryson's Itinerary
Epistolary	Seneca's Epistles	Chamberlaine's Letters Delaval Letters

In addition, Holland's translation of Plutarch's essay How a Man may discern a Flatterer from a Friend was drawn on for examples of OUGHT, DARE, NEED.

The details of the texts used, the extent of each corpus, the method of reference for examples follow, together with a short notice of the author's origin and education, mainly drawn from the Dictionary of National Biography, and some account of the nature of the text itself.

LODGE-SENECA

THE EPISTLES OF LVCIUS ANNAEVS SENECA THE PHILOSOPHER. Written vnto LVCILIUS, Together with the Arguments vnto every Epistle of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.   LONDON 1613

with title page thus, bound up in

THE WORKES both Morrall and Naturall of LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA. Translated by T: Lodge D of Phis   LONDON 1614

being the second item in the list of contents:

2. His Epistles.

Extent of Corpus:

1.   Epistles I - XXI being Books I and II of the Epistles (though neither Lodge nor Lipsius observes any division of the Epistles into Books).

2.   For DARE and NEED add also Epistles XXII - XLI, being Books III and IV.

Reference for examples: [LS 11.2] Number of the Epistle followed by the number of the paragraph of the Latin as given in modern editions of the Epistles e.g. Loeb, Budé.

Lodge published a revised edition of his translation of Seneca in 1620, including the Epistles, which again appear with their own title page. This revised edition has been consulted, and examples marked [1620] are taken from it.

Thomas Lodge (1558-1625). Son of a merchant who became Lord Mayor of London, he was educated at Merchant Taylors School, Oxford and Lincoln's Inn. He produced work in almost every literary genre popular in the Elizabethan age, as stage-plays, topical and polemical pamphlets, prose romances, narrative and lyric poetry including sonnets. He seems to have been a personal acquaintance of Green, Rich, Daniel, Spenser and Nashe and his work shows deep familiarity with the writing of his English contemporaries and also with recent French and Italian litera-ture. In later life, he became a Catholic, studied and practised as a physician and turned from fashionable belles lettres to translation, producing beside the two editions of Seneca's Workes, a translation of Josephus (out of the Latin and French) and A Learned Summary upon the famous poem of William of Saluste, Lord of Barthas.

Some individual philosophical works of Seneca had already been translated into English in the sixteenth century, but Lodge is the first to attempt the whole prose works, and there is no earlier version of the Moral Epistles to Lucilus and no other until Sir Roger L'Estrange's Seneca's Morals by way of Abstract of 1678 and no new complete translation apparently until that of T. Morell in 1786.

Lodge is translating from the text of Lipsius and his translation occasionally incorporates parts of Lipsius's explanatory notes. He translates the Latin summary which Lipsius gives of each epistle though I have not included these translated headings in the corpus. I used the second edition of Lipsius of 1615 though Lodge must have made the translation published in 1613 from the first edition, of 1605. Lodge's

translation has never been reprinted as a whole since 1620, though his

translation of the De Beneficiis appears in the Temple Classics in 1899.

Lodge's translation is painstaking, and attempts to follow Seneca

closely. On the whole he avoids expansion and paraphrase, striving to

reproduce in English the brief 'Senecan' style, if not very successfully.

The translation is on the whole hard to read and only occasionally

impressive. The thoughts, especially the connections and transitions

in the original are difficult and, to judge by more recent scholarship,

Lodge sometimes mistakes Seneca's meaning.

HOLLAND-LIVY

The First Booke of T. Livius, being pages 2-42 of:

> The Romane Historie written by T. Livius of Padua.
> Also the Breviaries of L. Florus. Translated out
> of Latine into English by Philemon Holland.
> LONDON 1600

Extent of Corpus:

1.   Booke one.

2.   Extended corpus for OUGHT, DARE, NEED, MUST.

HOLLAND-PLUTARCH

How a Man may discerne a Flatterer from a Friend, being pages 83-116 of:

> The Philosophie, commonlie called, THE MORALS WRITTEN
> By the learned Philosopher PLUTARCH of Chaeronea.
> Translated out of Greeke into English, and conferred
> with the Latin translations and the French by PHILOMEN
> HOLLAND of Coventrie, Doctor in Physicke.
> AT LONDON 1603

Reference for Examples from Holland-Livy: [HL 35G] Page number in the

volume of 1600, followed by the page section letter printed in

this edition, the odd numbered pages being divided down the inner

margin A to F, the even numbered pages G to M.

Reference for Examples for Holland-Plutarch: [HP 95.16] Page number in

the volume of 1603 followed by the line number, lines being numbered in this volume by tens.

Philemon Holland (1522-1637) was born in Chelmsford in Essex, son of a protestant clergyman. He was educated at Chelmsford Grammar School and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he became a fellow. Soon after 1595 he settled in Coventry, where he became physician and schoolmaster, occupying his leisure in voluminous translation. The version of Livy is the earliest of his works. It was followed in 1601 by Pliny's Natural History and Plutarch's Moralia in 1603. Further translations from Latin followed: 1606 Suetonius, 1609 Ammianus Marcellinus and 1610 Camden's Brittannia, which Camden himself read and corrected in proof. In his last translation he returned to Greek with a version of the Cyropaedia of Xenophon.

Holland's is the first complete translation of Livy into English, long after versions has appeared in the other main European vernaculars. However, there is a translation of the first five books into Scots made early in the sixteenth century by John Bellenden, which remained unpublished until 1822. His translation of the Moralia is the first into English. It was reprinted in 1657, and the Livy in 1659. Both books were superseded in the 1680s when Edmund Bohun translated Livy and a new version of Plutarch's Morals appeared 'by several hands, with a preface and dedication by M. Morgan'.

I have for Livy used the Latin text from the Aldini edition [Venice 1555]. For Plutarch I have used the Greek text given in the Loeb edition [Plutarch's Moralia,, Volume I, 1927]. As Holland mentions consulting French and Latin versions of Plutarch I have occasionally given for quotations the rendering to be found in Amyot's translation, using the third edition of Les Oeuvres Morales et Meslees de Plutarque [Paris 1575], from Guilielmus Xylander's Latin translation of the

<u>Moralia</u> [Basle 1570] and from the version of this particular essay, 'Libellum Plutarchi de discrimine adulatoris & amici' which Erasmus dedicated to Henry VIII and published as a kind of appendix to the <u>Institutio Principis Christiani</u> [Basle 1516].

Holland has a good understanding of Livy's text and appreciates the narrative and dramatic qualities of his original. He does not attempt to preserve Livy's terseness though his expansions come more often from a kind of copiousness, always using two nouns or verbs to translate each Latin noun or verb, rather than from paraphrase. He seeks appropriate English idiom and avoids Latinism of phrase to the point of anachronism by the conventions of later scholarship, as when he translates 'manibus dedi' by 'sent to the devil', yet he usually retains in English a syntactic structure over the whole sentence quite closely parallel to the Latin. In the translation of Plutarch expansion sometimes leaves the Greek text quite behind but much of Plutarch's subject matter would have been unintelligible to Holland's readers without inserted explanation and adaptation. Amyot has evidently been closely studied and in places the French has influenced the English, but Holland's version is in all essentials an independent translation.

<u>BACON</u>

> The Twoo Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the Proficience
> and Advancement of Learning, diuine and humane 2pt
>   London 1605

Extent of corpus:

1. The Advancement of Learning, the whole of Book I and Book II up
    to page 2.66r.

2. The whole of the Advancement Books I and II for OUGHT, DARE, NEED.
Reference for Examples from Bacon: [B 1.7r] Numbering according to the
    system of pagination in the first edition Part 1 or 2, leaf
    number, r (recto) v (verso).

Examples from The Advancement of Learning are paired with the

Latin translations of the English passages from the De Dignitate et

Augmentis Scientiarum, which appeared as Tomus Primus of the works of

Bacon in 1623. This is a Latin translation and expansion of The

Advancement of Learning, in which the thought has been in some places

much developed, the contents rearranged, and certain adaptations made

for a European readership (for example the removal of anti-Catholic

passages). However it seems clear that the Latin is directly based on

the English version. The relationship between the two books may be

given in the words of the introductory note to the De Dignitate by

William Rawley, its editor

> Tractatum istum, De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum,
> ante annos octodecim, edidit dominatio sua, lingua
> patria, in duos tantummodo libros distributum;
> ... Non ita pridem animum adiecit, ut in Latinam
> linguam verteretur: inaudiverat siquidem illud apud
> exteros expeti: quinetiam, solebat subinde dicere
> libros modernis linguis conscriptos, non ita multo post
> decocturos. Eius igitur translationem, ab insignioribus
> quibusdam eloquentia viris elaboratam, propria quoque
> recensione castigatam, iam emittit. Ac liber primus
> certe, quasi mera translatio est, in paucis admodum
> mutatus: at reliqui octo, qui partitiones scientiarum
> tradunt, atque unico ante libro continebantur, ut novum
> opus, et hunc primum editum, prodit.

When an example from Bacon stands without a Latin version it is because

I have not been able to find a parallel to it in the De Dignitate.

When the Latin is given it seems reasonable to take it as a translation

of the English, made by a professional Latinist but checked and

approved by Bacon himself.

Francis Bacon (1561-1626), son of Lord Keeper Nicholas Bacon,

educated at Trinity College, Cambridge and Grays Inn. The Advancement

of Learning is a work of exposition rather than of philosophical

thinking, intended to inform. It is therefore composed in a full, easy

and uncompacted style which has little in common with the deliberate

and self-conscious terseness of the Essays or the aphoristic style which Bacon believed might reflect and so communicate the actual processes of philosophical thought.

FLORIO-MONTAIGNE

> The Essayes, or Morall, Politike, and Millitarie
> Discourses of Lo: Michaell de Montaigne ... Now done
> into English by John Florio   London 1603

being a translation of the posthumous edition of Montaigne's Essays,

> Les Essaies de Michel Seigneur de Montaigne. Edition
> nouvelle, trouvee apres deceds de l'Autheur, reveue &
> augmentee par luy d'un tiers plus qu'aux precedentes
> impressions   Paris 1595

The text of Florio's translation is taken from the three volume Edition in the Everyman Library [1910] and frequently reprinted.

Extent of Corpus:

1.   Part of Book II Chapter XII, An Apologie of Raymond Sebond, from

the beginning (Everyman Volume 2, p.125) to page 251.

2.   For OUGHT, DARE, NEED, the remainder of Chapter XII (Everyman

Volume 2, pages 251-326).

The English verse translations of passages of verse quoted by Montaigne are not included in the corpus, but the English translations of Latin prose passages quoted by Montaigne are included. As they are not rendered into French in Montaigne these examples stand with Latin instead of French originals.

Latin originals are taken from the Everyman text. Original French text from Les Oeuvres Complètes de Michel de Montaigne edited A. Armaingaud [Paris 1925] which for the Essays gives the text of the Manuscript of Bordeaux.

Reference for examples: [FM 217e] page number in the Everyman volume

2, with lower case letters a-e to indicate place on page.

John Florio (1553?-1625), son of an Italian protestant exile, was born in London, but his father removed the family to the continent on the accession of Mary, so that John's early education was presumably not in English. However the family returned and he attended Oxford. Earlier works include Italian-English dialogues and the first Italian English dictionary. He was a private language tutor at Oxford and later a tutor of Magdalen College, teaching French and Italian.

Florio's language is too fresh and unsubdued to form an ideal medium for Montaigne. There is a reaching after variety and effect which sometimes transforms Montaigne's dryness. Yet no writer at this point could have reproduced in English what Montaigne achieved in French and as a virtually contemporary translation, Florio is irreplaceable and through him we glimpse how Montaigne must have sounded to the Elizabethans. His translation was reprinted in 1613 and in 1632 and then not until 1886. Thereafter reprints were frequent, and since 1910 when the translation appeared in the Everyman Library, Florio's translation has probably been the most accessible complete English version.

The next translation to be made of the Essays into English was that by Charles Cotton which appeared in 1685 and was reprinted and revised through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

HOOKER

Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie
Printed by John Windet. London

(This volume is undated though it is now assigned to 1593 ot 1594. It contains Books I to IV of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity.)

Extent of corpus:

1.   Book I

2.   For DARE, NEED add Books II and III.

Reference for examples: [H 64D] Page number and letter indicating

place on page as in the first edition.

Book I was reissued in the editions of 1648, 1651 and 1662, which

was the first to contain all eight books. There were many reprints of

Hooker in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and scholarly

editions in the nineteenth. Book I was edited separately by R. W.

Church in 1876.

Richard Hooker (1554?-1600) was born in Exeter and educated at

Exeter Grammar School. His parents were poor but through the influence

of his uncle John Hooker who edited and revised Holinshed's Chronicles

and was a friend of Bishop Jewell he was able to go to Corpus Christi

College Oxford where he obtained a fellowship in 1577. In 1581 he

entered holy orders. He obtained a country benefice in 1591 so that

he could write his book, and he worked, first at Boscombe later at

Bishopsbourne, near Canterbury.

Hooker makes greater use of very complex sentences than any other

writer within the corpus, and his ordering of clauses often seems

unnatural. However, his meaning is almost never obscure after a

careful reading. The strength and dignity of his style seem to have

been highly regarded in all periods since the appearance of his book.

MORYSON

> An Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson, Gent. First in
> the Latine Tongue, and then translated by him into
> English. (Containing his ten yeares travell through
> the twelve dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzer-
> land, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turky,
> France, England, Scotland, and Ireland.)   London 1617

Extent of Corpus:

1.   Part II Booke I Chapter I pages 1-100.

2.   For OUGHT, DARE, NEED, add also pages 101-202.

Reference for Examples: [M 73B] Page number in Part II of the

Itinerary followed by letters A-E to indicate place on page

(these letters are not in the edition of 1617). When the example

comes from a letter of Queen Elizabeth or of the Earl of Essex

this is indicated [M Eliz 36A] [M Essex 34B].

There were no further editions in the seventeenth century. Part

II was reprinted in Dublin in 1735 as <u>An History of Ireland, from the</u>

<u>year 1599 to 1603</u> and the whole of the Itinerary was edited and

republished in Glasgow in 1907.

Fynes Moryson (1566-1630) was the son of a lawyer who became

M.P. for Grimsby.   He attended Peterhouse, Cambridge where he

became a fellow in 1584. In 1589 he was given leave to travel and he

set out on a long journey through Europe in 1591. A second journey in

1595 undertaken with his brother Henry took him to Jerusalem. In 1600

he went to Dublin where his brother Richard held a post. Fynes became

Chief Secretary to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, accompanied him on

his campaigns which put down Tyrone's rebellion and served him until

Mountjoy's death in 1606. He then occupied himself in preparing an

account of his travels, first in Latin and then, for publication, in

English. The Itinerary consists of three parts

1. An account of Moryson's European Travels

2. A History of the Rebellion of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone

3. General Essays on travel, the national characteristics

of the European nations etc.

The Latin version of Part I of the Itinerary survives as Harleian

MS 8133. Sidney Lee, author of the Life of Moryson in the DNB says

'Moryson is a sober and truthful writer without imagination or much

literary skill.' In Part II though Moryson is fond of military statis-

tics, lists of captains etc, he writes in a plain but natural style

which is well suited to a detailed historical account and which enables

him to move from descriptions of the campaign to character studies of

the protagonists and discussion of the general political issues of the

rebellion and its suppression. At the same time Moryson's own personal

experience when it comes into his story is vividly presented.

CHAMBERLAINE

Letters written by John Chamberlaine during the reigns
of Queen Elizabeth Edited from the originals by Sarah
Williams   London 1861. Camden Society

The Letters of John Chamberlaine, edited with an
Introduction by Norman Egbert McClure
                                    2 Vols. Philadelphia 1930
(Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Vol. 12)

Extent of Corpus:

1. Letters I to LXII, being all the letters of Elizabeth's reign,

    the contents of the Camden Society edition (1598-1603).

Reference to Examples: [C XXIV] Roman numeral refers to the letter as

    numbered in the Camden Society edition of 1861. McClure's

    edition has arabic numerals. These correspond to the numbers in

    the Camden Society edition up to 20. Camden's XXI is in McClure

    'Enclosure in Letter 20' and thereafter McClure's numbering is

    one behind Camden's. The originals of the letters are in the

    Public Records Office. Chamberlaine's surviving correspondence

    runs from 1598 to 1626.

John Chamberlaine (1553-1627). Son of Alderman Richard Chamber-

lain who was Sheriff of London in 1561. He attended Trinity College

Cambridge, but seems not to have undertaken any career. The letters in

the reign of Elizabeth are almost all addressed to Dudley Carleton, not

yet knighted, first while he travelled in Europe, and later when he

became secretary to the English Ambassador in Paris. Though the letters

reveal a good deal about Chamberlaine's social life and are written in

a tone of friendliness which is sometimes humorous and playful, they
are not gossip letters or letters merely intended to maintain contact
and friendship but serious newsletters to help keep Carleton abreast of
events at the English court and in London, and pass on news and reports
from other parts which had reached Chamberlaine. The extent to which
Chamberlaine's letters are concerned with reporting information is
clearly reflected in the comparative frequency of certain constructions
in the prose.

Of the writers so far considered in this corpus he is the first
who was writing privately and not for publication. On the other hand
the letters are not by any means casual, and although we may be misled
by the fact that we know little of Chamberlaine'except what comes
through the letters it is easy to suppose that the gathering of the
material for them and their composition became the focus of his
otherwise easy-going life.

DELAVAL

A set of some fifty-two letters of the Delaval family of Seaton
(now Seaton Delaval) in Northumberland, sent between 1585 and 1622
(there is one much later letter, not used here, probably from the 1660s).
The chief recipient is Sir Ralph Delaval (1576 or 7-1628) and it is
presumably his collection of letters which has been preserved. There
are letters from his father, Robert Delaval (1541-1606/7) and after his
father's death, when Sir Ralph became head of the family, from his
brothers, together with letters to other members of the Delaval family
and letters to Sir Ralph from servants.

The family tree in so far as it can be put together is as
follows:

Robert Delaval b. 1541
father died January 1571/2
High Sheriff of Northumberland
1575,83,92
Knighted 1603
d. January 1606/7

= Dorothy, daughter of Sir Ralph
Grey of Chilingham
d. before 1600

Sir Ralph Delaval = Jane	Sir John	Robert of Cowpen	Edward	Claudius	Francis	Arthur	Jane = George Bowes
b. 1576/7	daughter		served in		attended	b. 1584	To Oxford	
High Sheriff of	of Thomas		Low		Oxford	Univ.	in 1600	
Northumberland	Hilton, after		Countries		d. 1623	College	aged 12	
1604, 1608, 1621	death of her		with Earl			Oxford		
d. 1628	husband m.		of N'hum-					
	Francis Reed		berland					

Robert, d.1622

Sir Ralph

The original letters are in the Northumberland County Archives and the examples were taken directly from these. I have kept the numbering system for the letters as in the Archives although it does not run chronologically or follow any principle I can perceive. Extent of Corpus:

All the letters with the exception of the letter belonging to the second half of the seventeenth century were used.

Reference to Examples: [D 32] Figure refers to the letter number assigned in the County Archives.

The details of the letters, number, sending and recipient and date are given below.

L1	Will Salkeld to Ralph Delaval (not used)	9 October 1666?
L2	Christopher Mitford to John Delaval	?
L3	William Wicliffe to Robert Delaval	2 April 1585
L4	Mark Erington to Ralph Delaval	15 August 1600
L5	John Fenwick to Sir Ralph Delaval	5 December 1623
L6	George Ratclyff to Robert Delaval	29 October (?before 1587?)
L7	Ralph Delaval of Tynmouth to Ralph Delaval student of Inner Temple	9 May 1597
L8	John Carvile (lawyer) to Robert Delaval	9 June 1600
L9	Francis Delaval to Sir Ralph Delaval	30 November 1612
L10	" " " " " "	28 November 1613
L11	" " " " " "	6 July 1615
L12	" " " " " "	4 March 1617
L13	" " " " " "	28 August 1623
L14	" " " " " "	1 December 1623
L15	" " " " " "	28 February 1623
L16	" " " " " "	25 November 1624
L17	" " " Sir Robert Delaval of Cowpen	25 November 1624
L18	Francis Delaval to Sir Ralph Delaval	31 May 1625
L19	" " " " " "	22 June 1626
L20	William Wicliffe to Ralph Delaval	14 February 1600
L21	Robert Delaval to Sir Ralph Delaval	27 August 1613
L22	Robert Delaval to Ralph Delaval	Midsummerday 1600
L23	" " " " "	1 July 1600
L24	" " " " "	15 July 1600
L25	" " " " "	28 July 1600
L26	" " " " "	12 August 1600
L27	[There is no letter at present corresponding to this number in the County Archives]	
L28	Robert Delaval to Ralph Delaval	16 September 1600
L29	" " " " "	20 September 1600
L30	" " " " "	4 October 1600
L31	" " " " "	10 October 1600

L32	Robert Delaval of Cowpen to ?	20 March 1612
L33	" " to Sir Ralph Delaval	28 May 1618
L34	" " " " " "	28 December 1624
L35	" " " " " "	24 September 1619
L36	" " " " " "	14 November 1623
L37	" " " " " "	1 May 1624
L38	" " " " " "	2 May 1624
L39	" " " " " "	18 May 1624
L40	" " " " " "	24 December 1624
L41	Arthur Delaval to John Delaval	15 July 1610
L42	" " " Sir Ralph Delaval	27 August 1610
L43	Geo. Nicolson to Robert Delaval	22 November 1611
L44	Arthur Delaval to Sir Ralph Delaval	5 November 1611
L45	" " " " " "	7 December 1611
L46	" " " " " "	12 September 1612
L47	" " " " " "	19 May 1613
L48	George Bowes to Sir Ralph Delaval	21 April 1621
L49	" " " " " "	(no date) 1622
L50	" " " " " "	17 September 1621
L51	" " " " " "	2 March 1622
L52	" " " " " "	7 June 1622
L53	Lord Setoun to Mr. Delaval	10 October 1595?

Although there are some notes sent over short distances, the letters are usually between Sir Ralph at Seaton, just north of Newcastle and other members of the family in the South; there are letters from his father during the visit of the latter to London in the summer and autumn of 1600 and later letters from his younger brothers making their way in London.

Almost every letter is directly occasioned by some financial matter. Sir Ralph was responsible for paying annuities to his younger brothers and many letters are complaints that these have not been received. When money has been received the letters often incorporate a receipt. This may have been the reason for the preservation of the letter.

The letters to Sir Ralph as head of the family are often carefully composed, by the 1620s frequently in an italic hand, and look like fair copies. On the other land, Robert Delaval's letters from London to his son at Seaton, appear hastily written in the press of business or with a carrier waiting to leave, in a careless secretary

hand and uncorrected.

Apart from the use of 'bigg' for barley and one or two other agricultural words there is no trace of northern dialect in this Northumberland family (the boys received their education at Oxford or at the Inns of Court in London). 'While' in the sense 'until' is not confined to the north at this period and its appearance in the Delaval letters and not elsewhere in the corpus may be due to their more colloquial quality.

CHAPTER 2

MOOD

Section 1 - Interpreting the Moods of the English Verb

        Bellot

        Lily

        Granger

        Hewes

        Gil

Section 2 - The English Verb without Moods

        Greaves

        Jonson

Section 3 - The Two Doctrines. Ramus and Linacre

        Ramus

        The Inflected Subjunctive

        Linacre

Section 4 - The Potential Mood

Section 5 - The Moods before Linacre

Note: I use the spelling 'mood' in my own text though the grammarians writing in English whom I quote often use 'mode'. The Latin modus is first borrowed into English as 'mode'. The change in spelling is apparently due to association with the native English word 'mood' but since it also occurs in other borrowings of Latin modus with technical meanings in music and logic it cannot be attributed directly to the interpretation of grammatical mood as 'inclinatio animá'.

SECTION 1 - INTERPRETING THE MOODS OF THE ENGLISH VERB

This chapter attempts to set out the way in which mood was understood in the sixteenth century. It suggests that as Latin grammar came to be written in English, and as the first grammars of the English language were composed drawing on ideas from contemporary Latin grammar, interpretation of the Latin moods shaped the educated understanding of the function of that group of words in English which much later came to be known as modal verbs.

I take as my starting point the earliest exposition of the system of moods in English which I have been able to find. This is in Le Maistre d'Escole Anglois or The English Scholemaister by Jacques Bellot, published in 1580. Although this book has the appearance of a phrase book or vocabulary, being printed throughout in two columns with the French on the left (in Roman type) and the English translation on the right (in black letter), it is intended as a general manual of instruction for 'the naturall borne french men, and other straungers that have their French tongue to attayne the true pronouncing of the Englishe tongue', to quote from the English column of the title page. 'Pronouncing' here must be intended to cover learning to speak the language for besides an initial discussion of the letters and sounds of English the book contains a summary grammar of English set out in the bilingual format described above. The book seems curiously inept for its purpose, and only possesses an accidental importance in being the earliest printed grammar of English we possess. It survives in a single copy. (An earlier grammar of English in French, Gabriel Meurier's Traicté pour apprendre a parler francoys et angloys [1553] has been completely lost.)

Bellot's book contains a systematic analysis of the English verb which appears in the English column as:

The Englishmen haue in the coniugation of their verbes, six moodes, To know, The Indicatiue, The Imperatiue, The Optatiue, The Subiunctiue, The Potentiall, and the Infinitiue: And haue also fiue Tences, That is to witte, The presente, The imperfect, The Perfect The Plusperfect, and the future. They haue also some signes in their moodes and tenses, To know. For the present Indicatiue, Doe, Doest, Doeth in the singular number, and in their plurall, throughout all their persons haue Doe. For the imperfect, haue in the singuler, Did, Diddest, Did: And in the plurall, throughout all their persons haue Dide. For the perfect haue, Haue, Haste, Hath, in their singuler: And haue in their Plurall throughout all their persons Haue. For the Plusperfect, haue in their singuler number, Hadde, Haddeste, Hadde: And have in their plurall throughout all their persons Hadde. For the future, they haue in the singuler, Shall or will, Shalt or wilt, Shall or Will: And in their plurall, throughout all their persons. Shall or Will, For the Imperatiue, They haue in the singuler, Let him: And in their Plurall, in the fyrst, and thirde persons, they haue, Let us. Let they. They haue in the Optatiue, throughout all the tences of the same, The selfe same signes they haue in the Indicatiue. In the Subiunctiue They haue also, the same signes as in the Indicatiue. In the potentiall they haue for the present, May or can. Mayst or canst. May or Can in the singular, and in their Plurall, they have for eche person, May or Can. For the Imperfect they haue in the singuler, Might or could. Mightest or couldest. Might or could. And for the Plurall, they haue in all their persons, Might or Could. For the perfect, they haue in their singular, Might, Would, Should, or Ought to haue. Mightest, Wouldest, Shouldest, or oughtest. Might, Would, Should, or ought, &c. in eche personne, of the plural they haue, Might, Would, Should or Ought to haue. For the Plus-perfect, they haue the same signes of the Perfect, and therein doe onely chaunge Haue into Hadde. For the future, they haue the same signes of the Present in this same moode, there adding onely, Hereafter. In the Infinitiue, they have this signe, To.

The elements of this analysis, the six moods, the five tenses and the identification of these by means of 'signes', all appear to derive directly from Lily's Grammar, that is the work published in 1548-9 with William Lily's name, its full title being A Short Introduction of Grammar generally to be used in the Kings Maiesties Dominions for the bringing up of all those that intende to atteyne to the knowledge of the Latin Tongue. The book is put together from a Latin Accidence, Aeditio, published by John Colet in 1510 and a syntax

by Lily himself, apparently revised by Erasmus. By 1580, when Bellot's
manual appeared, Lily's textbook had been used in grammar schools for
a generation and so provided the grammatical framework with which all
educated Englishmen would be familiar. Thus it is not surprising that
the analysis of the Latin verb which appears in Lily's grammar, should
be taken over as the analysis of the English verb, in a book intended
to teach the English language and that the signes, which in Lily are
the words in the English text which indicate that a particular conjuga-
tional form will be required in a Latin version, should be used as a
means of explaining and organizing the forms of the English verb for
foreign learners.

Lily's account of the moods runs as follows:

[B ii.v]   MODES
There be sixe modes, the Indicatiue, the Imperatiue,
the Optatiue, the Potencial, the Subiunctiue, and the
Infinitiue.
The Indicatiue mode sheweth a reason true or false: as
Ego amo, I loue: or els asketh a question: as, Amas tu?
Doest thou loue?
The Imperatiue byddeth or commandeth: as, Ama, Loue thou.
The Optatiue wyssheth or desyreth, with these signes,
woulde god, I praie god, or god graunt: as Vtinam amem,
I praie god I loue, and hath euermore an adverbe of
wishyng ioyned with hym.
The Potenciall mode is knowen by these signes, maie,
can, might, would, shoulde or ought: as, Amem, I can
or maie loue, without an adverbe ioyned with hym.
The Subiunctiue mode hath euermore some coniunction
ioyned with hym: as Cum amarem, when I loued. And it
is called the Subiunctiue mode, because it dependeth of
an other verbe in the same sentence, eyther goyng afore,
or commyng after: as, Cum amarem eram miser, when I
loued, I was a wretche.
The Infinitiue signifieth to dooe, to suffre, or to bee,
and hathe neyther number nor person, nor nominatiue
case before hym, and is knowen commonly by this signe
to: Amare, to loue. Also whan two verbes come together
without any nominatyue case betwene them, then the
latter shall be the infinitiue mode: as Cupio discere,
I desyre to learne.

The tenses in Lily are as in Bellot, five, with three past tenses, the
preterimperfect, the preterperfect and the preterpluperfect tense, a

Present tense and a future tense. Lily sets out the six modes as

follows:

Indicatiue mode, pres tens	Amo	I loue
Preterimperfect tens	Amabam	I loued or dyd loue
Preterperfect tens	Amaui	I haue loued
Preterpluperfect tens	Amaueram	I had loued
Future tens	Amabo	I shall or wyll loue

For the imperative, Lily gives only one tense,

Imperatiue mode pres. tens. Ama   Loue thou

The next three moods, the optative, the potential and the subjunctive

are conjugated through all five tenses. The Latin forms are identical

for these three moods:

present tens	Amem
preterimperfect tens	Amarem
preterperfect tens.	Amauerim
preterpluperfect tens	Amauissem
future tens	Amauero

Thus, amavero, the tense which the analysis of the Latin verb now

usually accepted takes as an indicative tense, the future perfect, is

for Lily the form of the future in all three of the non-indicative

moods that run through all five tenses.

The English translations for the Optative are:

[B iiii r] present tens	God graunt I loue
preterimperfect tens	Woulde god I loued
preterperfect tens	I praie god I haue loued
preterpluperfect tens	Woulde god I had loued
future tense	God graunt I loue hereafter

For the Potential Mood:

[B iiii v] present tens	I maie or can Loue
preterimpert tens	I might or coulde Loue
preterperfect tens	I myght, shoulde, or ought to haue loued
preterpluperfect tens	I myght, should or ought to had loued
future tens	I maie or can Loue hereafter

The form for the pluperfect, 'I might had loved', gains a grammar book

currency from Lily's use and infinitives which are preterite in form

continue to appear in English grammars until the end of the eighteenth

century. These forms are discussed under the name of 'pluperfect

Latinisms' in Michael [1970, p. 493].

For the Subjunctive:

present tens	Whan I loue
preterimperfect tens	Whan I loued or dyd loue
preterperfect tens	Whan I haue loued
preterpluperfect tens	Whan I had loued
future tens	Whan I shall or wyll loue

For the Infinitive Mood:

Present and Preterimperfect tens	Amare	To Loue
Preterperfect and preterpluperfect tens	Amauisse	To haue or had loued
future tens	Amaturum esse	To loue hereafter

Lily's analysis which is of course that of the Latin, not the

English verb, thus has four moods conjugated through the five tenses

which he recognizes; the indicative has its own forms, the optative,

potential and subjunctive share the same forms. The infinitive

expresses the five tenses with only three forms, while the imperative

has only the present, though with two sets of forms

```
Ama    amet  amemus amate    ament
Amato amato amemus amatote amanto
```

Because of its status as the nationally prescribed school Latin

grammar, many of the teaching grammars of the early seventeenth century

are in the form of explanations or commentaries for Lily. For its

interesting further systematization of Lily's analysis of mood, it is

worth noticing Thomas Granger's Syntagma Grammaticum of 1616. This

book is subtitled

> An easie, and methodicall explanation of Lillies
> Grammar, whereby the misterie of this Art is more
> plainely set forth, both for the better helpe of all
> schoole-maisters, in the true order of teaching, and
> the Schollers farre more easie attainement of the
> Latin tongue.

Granger's treatment of mood arranges the six moods of Lily as a

series of choices, so that the result is strikingly like a Hallidayan

Moode

The Infinite moode
is not determinate
with number, and
person

Finite
determinate by
number and
person

unlike tenses

like tenses
are alike in all
numbers and persons

imperative   indicative

subiunctiue
dependeth on another
verbe in the same sentence
to perfect his signification
And it hath euer some
coniunction ioyned with it

absolute
can absolue, or perfect
a tense by it selfe

Optative
wisheth or desireth, & is
knowne by these signes,
would God, I pray or
God grant, & hath always
an adverbe of wishing
ioyned with it.

Potentiall
is knowne by these signes,
may, might, would, should
or ought ... And it may
stand without an adverbe
ioyned to it.

FIGURE 1

'system'. In fact Granger does not use a diagrammatic presentation but his system might be set out as in Figure 1.

Granger has set himself to explain Lily's grammar and his systematization of the six moods which are his data is extremely intelligent. The distinction between infinite and finite moods corresponds to later grammatical insight that mood is characteristic of the finite verb and that the infinitive is not to be considered as a mood. The distinction between unlike tenses and like tenses, though apparently based on a formal feature (that in Latin the indicative and imperative have different forms but the optative, potential and subjunctive have identical forms), also corresponds to the distinction which Meillet makes [1927, Sect.294] of the mood system of Indo-European

> A ces deux modes nettement objectifs (i.e. indicatif, impératif) s'opposaient trois modes différents à valeur subjective, le désideratif, le subjonctif et l'optatif.

Finally, Granger sees that the optative and potential must be classed together as moods with semantic content and contrasted with the subjunctive, which is a syntactic mood without semantic content.

The way in which Lily's analysis of the Latin verb becomes at the same time the analysis of the verb in English is well illustrated by John Hewes' book, published in 1624, A Perfect Survey of the English Tongue, taken according to the use and analogie of the Latin. Indeed this is a book which might be classified as a grammar which is unsure which of the two languages, Latin or English, it is discussing. Its subtitle runs 'And serueth for the more plaine exposition of the Grammaticall Rules and Precepts, collected by LILLIE, and for the more certaine Translations of the English tongue into Latine'. For Hewes in 'A Brief note of the Moodes according to the English tongue' the moods are six as in Lily and are distinguished by their 'signes'. For the Potential, Hewes has;

May, might, would should, Signes of the Potentiall.
Note yet that those wordes, especially the word (may)
where they haue no precedent Coniunction or a Relatiue,
may be no lesse translated by their owne Verbes. Possum,
Volo, Nolo, Debeo.

Logonomia Anglica by Alexander Gil [1619 and 1621], the most

important early grammar of English which belongs to the Lilian tradition

does not reproduce for English the same analysis of the verb which Lily

gives for the Latin verb. It is true that his tenses do not differ

greatly from Lily's, since they are;

[1621. p.47] Praesens, Futurum, Imperfectum,
Perfectum, & Indefinitum

and Indefinitum is given as 'I had loved' and so corresponds to the

Praeterpluperfectum of Lily. The mood system is however simplified:

[p.46] Modi sunt quatuor, vt apud Latinos;
Indicatiuus, Imperatiuus, Potentialis, & Infinitiuus.

The three moods which in Lily's system share the same forms in Latin

(though not in fact in their English equivalents as given by Lily),

namely, the optative, subjunctive and potential, are thus reduced to

one, the potential. Gil gives the signs of the moods as follows;

[p.55] Indicatiuus signis caret; sed rem aperte esse,
aut non esse; fieri, aut non fieri significat.
Imperatiui signa sunt in praesenti Let, sine aut fac;
in futuro shal.
Potentialis signa mai, might, can, could, should, etiam
& would.
Infinitiui, tu.

Gil like Lily sets out the moods in all their tenses, as follows;

[p.58]

Indicatiuus	Praesens	I loue
	Futur.	I shall aut will loue
	Imperf	I loued
	Perf	I haue loued
	Indefinitum	I had loued
Imperatiuus	Praesens	Let me loue, loue thou, let him loue
		Let us loue, loue ye, let them loue.
Potentialis	Praesens	I may loue
	Futur	I may loue herafter
	Imperf.	I might loue
	Perf.	I might haue loued

(The Indefinitum is apparently absent from this mood.)

Infinitum   Praesens   to loue
               Futurum   to loue herafter
               Perfectum to haue loued

There is some evidence that Gil realized that such forms as SHOULD and

WOULD could be viewed not only as preterite (imperfect in Gil's termino-

logy) but also as non-indicative (potential mood). Thus he sets out

'I will';

        Indicatiui futurum
volam, voles, volet }   (we   )   (volemus
I wil, thou   he wil } Plur. {ye   } wil {voletis
        wilt,   (they)   (volent

        Potentialis imperfectum
Vellem   velles   vellet }   (we   )velle(mus
I would, though wouldst, he would} Plur{ye   )   {tis
                                        (they)would(ent

Though there seems some confusion in the reference to <u>I wil</u> as a future

tense.

SECTION 2 - <u>THE ENGLISH VERB WITHOUT MOODS</u>

A generation earlier than Gil's <u>Logonomia</u>, there is in Paul

Greaves's <u>Grammatica Anglicana</u> [1594] a treatment of the verb in

English which seems to owe nothing to Lily. There is no mention of

moods at all, and no use of signa. The tenses are;

    [p.15] Praesens - I hate
    [p.16] Praeteritum primum - I hated
    [p.21] Praeteritum secundum - I have hated
           Praeteritum tertium - I had hated
           Futurum primum idem est cum themate, postposita
               persona expressa, aut intellecta ut <u>Hate though</u>
               <u>hate he</u>. plur. Hate vve, hate ye, hate they
           Futurum secundum circumscribitur syntaxi infiniti
               & praesentis verbi <u>Will</u> vel <u>Shal</u> vt <u>I shall</u>
               vel <u>will hate etc</u>.

It can be seen that what has been traditionally regarded as the

Imperative mood is here classified as a future tense. We also find

this treatment of the imperative in Ben Jonson's <u>English Grammar</u> [1640].

In Chapter XVI, <u>Of a Verbe</u>, Jonson sets out the tenses, using Latin to illustrate, as follows;

[p.61] A <u>Verbe finite</u> therefore hath three only <u>Tymes</u>, and those alwayes <u>imperfect</u>.
The first is the <u>present</u> : as
          <u>Amo</u>, Love
The second is the <u>tyme past</u> : as
          <u>Amabam</u>, loved
The third is the <u>Future</u> : as
          <u>Ama, amato</u> : Love, love.

Here, as in Greaves we find that the imperative is considered to be the primary future tense. Jonson continues;

The other <u>Tymes</u> both imperfect : as
          <u>Amem, amarem, amabo</u>.
And also <u>perfect</u> : as
          <u>Amavi, amaverim, amaveram</u>
          <u>Amavissem, amavero</u>
Wee use to expresse by a <u>Syntaxe</u>, as shall be seene in the proper place.

Jonson's <u>Grammar</u> is divided into the two parts

[p.35] <u>Etymologie</u> which is the true notation of words.
<u>Syntaxe</u> which is the right ordering of them.

In Latin grammars the whole conjugation of the verb is contained in Etymology. Jonson finds the English verb has to be treated partly in Etymology (the simple tenses) and partly in Syntax (the compound tenses). This I assume accounts for the selection of the imperative as the primary future for English since like the present and preterite (and those tenses alone) it is uncompounded.

In Jonson's scheme then, there are three 'Tymes', present, past and future. To each time, there may be several tenses, and these tenses may be imperfect, or perfect. In English there is a present, past and future tense which is simple. There are three more imperfect tenses, corresponding to the Latin tenses, amem, amarem, amabo, present and imperfect subjunctive and future simple, which are compound or syntactical tenses. Also, all the perfect tenses in English are compound.

We must turn to the 'Second Booke, of the English Grammar, Of
Syntaxe' and to the sixth chapter, 'Of the Syntaxe of a Verbe, with a
Verbe', to find these compound tenses described.

[p.79] And here those Times, which in Etymologie we
remembered to be wanting, are set forth by the Syntaxe
of the Verbes joyned together. The Syntaxe of
imperfect Times in this manner:
The Presents by the infinite, and the Verbe, may, or
can, as for, Amem, Amarem : I may loue : I might loue.
And againe, I can loue,: I could loue.
The futures are declared by the infinite, and the Verbe,
shall, or will : as Amabo : I shall, or, will loue.
Amavero addeth thereunto, haue, taking the nature of
two divers Times; that is, of the future, and the Time
past:
            I shall have loued : or,
            I will have loued.

SECTION 3 - THE TWO DOCTRINES : RAMUS AND LINACRE

Thus Jonson is able to treat the English verb without any mention
of mood, and to group together, as tenses formed by syntax of a verb
with a verb, I may love, I can love, I shall love, I will love. In
spite of the dependence on Latin in one way (we may note that 'I may or
can love' is seen as the equivalent to the Latin subjunctive, or
potential according to the modal analysis of the Latin verb), Jonson is
able to present a very simple and economic scheme for the tense forma-
tions of the English verb.

Both Greaves and Jonson derive their approach to English grammar
from the Latin grammar of Pierre de la Ramée which was published in
1559. Greaves's title in fact characterizes his grammar as 'ad unicam
P. Rami methodum concinnata'. De la Ramée or Ramus wrote grammars both
of Greek and Latin, with revolutionary features. He abandoned the
concept of mood, employing instead a tense system of past, present and
future, and of imperfect and perfect, with several tenses in each
category, distinguished by number. His Latin grammar appeared in an

English translation in 1585 and from this version I give part of his

account of the Latin verb.

> [p.59] A tense is a difference of a verbe according to
> the times present, past, and to come.
> Euery present tense is passing, but not past: The
> preter tense and the future tense are partly not past,
> & partly fully past. Therefore of this verbe finite
> there are three tenses not past, & as many fully past,
> and euery one of them almost are double.
>
> The tense not past

as the first present tense,	amo, amor
the second,	amem, amer:
the third	amarem, amarer:
the first preter-tense,	amabam, amabar:
the second also,	amarem, amarer:
The first future,	amabo, amabor:
the second,	ama, amare, amato, amator.

> Yet amem, and amer, may also be of the future tense, as
> well as amarem, and amarer.

> The tenses fully past

as the first preter tense,	amavi:
the second,	amaverim:
the third,	amavissem:
the fourth	amaverim:
the future	amaverim, or amavero.

It will be noted that Ramus makes the Latin future simple, the first

future and the imperative, the second future (with the present subjunc-

tive as a possible third future). Both Greaves and Jonson make the

imperative the first future, in Jonson's treatment with considerable

advantage, since it gives him a first past, present and future as the

set of uncompounded tenses for the English verb. In the above transla-

tion 'not past' and 'fully past' correspond to Jonson's 'imperfect'

and 'perfect', and 'preter' to Jonson's 'past time'.

We have then at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the

seventeenth century two schools of grammar, sharply divided in their

treatment of mood. One, the immediate source of which for English

grammarians is evidently Lily's grammar, makes mood an important element

in the analysis of the verb; every verbal form is assigned to one or

other mood; so that the non-finite parts of the verb are assigned to an infinitive mood. Besides the Indicative and the Imperative, there are in Lily's version, three further moods, running through all five tenses, sharing the same formal inflections - the subjunctive, the optative and the potential. This scheme, devised for Latin, is sometimes applied directly to English, as in Bellot [1580], sometimes with modification as in Gil [1621]. On the other hand, there is a school which derives from Ramus's Greek and Latin grammars which excludes mood entirely from the analysis of the verb. The distinction between the finite and non-finite parts of the verb is not treated as a difference of mood. In Greek and Latin the optative and subjunctive forms are treated as secondary and tertiary tenses within a system defined by time, past, present and future, and by a distinction between imperfect and perfect. The imperative is regarded as a future tense. This system is applied to English by Paul Greaves and by Ben Jonson. In spite of its apparent convenience in treating the English verb, it was unable to establish itself against the tradition deriving from Lily which in fact governs the treatment of the verb in English grammars until the nineteenth century (see Michael [1970 p.434] for a table of the mood systems in grammars of English until 1800. 88, about half the total, retain the potential mood).

It is perhaps not surprising that, between the Lilian tendency to found mood on semantic criteria in Latin and to look for clear signa in English, and the Ramist rejection of mood, the already limited traces of the inflected subjunctive in English should have escaped all notice at this time. But it is surprising that so little attention is paid to the use of BE as the present tense of the verb TO BE and of WERE in the singular of the preterite. The only passage I have found which shows

that these subjunctive forms have been noticed at all is in Greaves, in

his final chapter, De Syntaxi coniunctionis cum verbo.

[p.35] Be in presenti raro utimur, & fere semper post
coniunctionem That, expressam, aut intellectam, ut,
If that perfect constancie be the childe of chance,
let wisdome be counted the root of wickedness.
Huiusmodi vero loquutiones non videntur praecepto
quadrare, ut Suppose all men be honest, Imagine
pleasure be a companion of vertue: veritas tamen semper
& ubique eadem est, nam in his & huiusmodi exemplis
elipsis est coniunctionis That, aut praepositionis to,
si that, tunc be est praesentis iuxta regulam, si To,
tum infiniti, & sic explenda est oratio. Suppose that
all men be honest, Imagine that pleasure be a companion
of vertue. Alias Suppose all men to be honest, and
pleasure to be a companion of vertue. Nam inerti, at
vulgari solaecismo laborat haec oratio, I be negligent,
thou be honest.
Idem de were imperfecto singulari, verbi Am, dicendum
est.

The 'iners' at vulgaris solaecismus' or at least the use of BE for the

indicative is fairly well evidenced in the corpus, as the following

examples show:

2.1 [B I.33r] And Senators, or Counsellours likewise, which b e e
learned, doe proceede vpon more safe and substantiall principles;
then Counsellors which a r e onely men of experience;
          Quin senatores ipsi et consiliarii, qui literis
exculti sunt, solidioribus innituntur principiis, quam qui ab
experientia tantum edocti sunt
(Where a clause containing BE is followed by an apparently exactly
parallel clause containing ARE and both words are translated by the
Latin indicative SUNT.)

2.2 [B I.42v] Nay further in generall and in sum: certain it is,
that Veritas and Bonitas differ but as the Seale and the Print:
for Truth prints Goodnesse, and they b e cloudes of Error,
which descend in the stormes of passions and perturbations.
          Imo ut in summa dicam, pro certo est veritatem et
bonitatem distingui tantum, sicut sigillum et impressionem, nam
veritas bonitatem signat. Et contra, vitiorum ac perturbationum
procellae ex erroribus et falsitatis nubibus erumpunt.

2.3 [HP 94.36] Other flatterers there b e, who...
          Heteroi toinun, hosper ...

2.4 [FM 204] Observe what glorious and noble words these b e:
          Voyla des paroles tresmagnifiques et belles:

2.5 [H 89E] The Church being a supernaturall societie, doth differ
from naturall societies in this, that the persons vnto whome we
associate our selues in the one are men simplye considered as men,

but they whome wee b e ioyned in the other are God, Angels and
holie men.
(A subjunctive is not ruled out here, but it seems unlikely.)

2.6   [C XXXI] Order is taken for 2,000 to be sent away presently, for
      the leading of whome there b e above fowrscore captaines,
      suitors at Court.

The great freedom permitted in Elizabethan English as to agreement in

number between subject and verb no doubt made the uninflected third

person singular of the present subjunctive and the subjunctive use of

WERE in the singular less obvious than they are in the literary

standard of PE.

Even so the correct understanding of the subjunctive in English

had still not been reached in the late eighteenth century and indeed

seems to become available only when versions of the modal analysis

deriving from Lily are finally abandoned with the historical study of

English in the nineteenth century (see Michael [1970 pp.426-427] for

late eighteenth century uncertainties about whether the inflected

subjunctive existed in English).

The grammar of Ramus is original, the work of a man of iconoclastic

intellect whose main contribution to the development of thought was his

attack on Aristotelian logic. Himself a protestant, his influence in

the protestant north of Europe both in logical and linguistic studies

was powerful but short lived. Lily's grammar was anything but original

and the sense that the book was in some ways a distillation of the

grammatical learning of the great Latinists of humanism was present

throughout the seventeenth century, so that in the anonymous Reflections

upon Learning [1700] we read:

          [pp.19-20] In our times the Common Grammar that goes
          under the name of Mr. Lily was done by some of the most
          considerable men of the Age. The English Rudiments by
          Dr Colet Dean of St Pauls, with a Preface to the first
          Editions, directing its use by no less Man than Cardinal
          Wolsey; The most Rational part, the Syntax, was writ or
          corrected by Erasmus, and the other parts by other

> hands: so that tho' Mr. Lily now bears the name, which
> while living, he always modestly refus'd, yet it was
> carri'd on by the joynt endeavours of several Learned
> men, and he perhaps had not the largest share in the
> work.

From the point of view of the search for the origin of Lily's

analysis of the moods, the most important name is missing from this

account. That name, even if it could be overlooked in 1700, would

certainly in the sixteenth century have been placed among the most

considerable of the age. The name is Thomas Linacre.

Linacre in the early years of the sixteenth century wrote a short

introductory grammar of Latin in English. This appeared in two

versions, one entitled Progymnasmata Grammatices Vulgaria, the other

Rudimenta Grammatices, neither volume with a date. In the Progymnasmata

there is the following account of the moods of the Latin verb.

> [XXVIII] Modys be. vi, the indicatyf, the imperatyf; the
> optatyf: the potential: the subiunctyf: and the
> infinytyfe.
> The indicatyf signifieth a dede, as told as amo I loue.
> some tyme as axyd, as amo ego? Loue I.
> The imperatyf betokenyth a thing as bodyn or commaundyd.
> as ama loue thow.
> The optatyfe signifieth a dede as wysshyd. symtyme with
> an aduerbe of wysshyng. and sum tyme with out. as
> vtinam amer God graunt I be louyd.
> The potential mode signyfyeth a thyng as mayying or
> owyng to be doone. And his sygnes in englysshe be
> these. may might. wold. or shuld. and hit hath v. tens
> in euery verbe of lyke voyce to the subiunctyve mode,
> as amem I may loue. amarem. I myght wolde. or shold
> loue. Amauerim I may haue louyd. Amauissem I myght
> had louyd amauero: I shall may loue. sumtyme I shall
> haue louyd. And this mode also may be takyn in axyng
> or dowtyng, as amem ne ego inimicum.
> The subiunctyfe mode signyfieth like the indicatyf mode
> but hyt commyth neuer with out a nother verbe sett out
> or vnderstond. as rogo vt facias.
> The infinytyfe signyfieth doyng beyng or sufferyng with
> out nombre and parson as amare.

In the Rudimenta Grammatices, the declensions and conjugations are

given in the first part and here we find

[B 2v] The uerbe is declined with modes, tenses, persons, and nombres.
Modes. Modes be. v. the indicatyue, the imperatyue, the optatyue, the subiunctyue, the infinityue.

In the second part where the various parts of speech are explained, the moods are given as six, and are described as in the Progymnasmata with a few differences. Thus in the account of the potential, 'amauero: I shall may loue' becomes 'I shall or may loue' and 'sumtyme I shall haue louyd' (which in the Progymnasmata is not given in its place but has to be supplied from the list headed 'Errores' at the end of the volume) is omitted.

Thus to an original list of five moods, a sixth, the potential mood is added and receives a more detailed description than any of the other moods.

SECTION 4 - THE POTENTIAL MOOD

Linacre's care to explain the potential mood is understandable, since this is the first time mention of such a mood has been published. It is in fact a personal contribution to Latin grammar by Linacre and is set out and justified in his detailed and learned Latin grammar, De emendata structura Latini Sermonis libri sex, which appeared in 1524.

In this work, after listing the traditional five moods (with a mention of a sixth, the hypotheticon, an assumptive mood, for putting forth hypotheses which uses the same forms as the imperative) he writes;

[Fol.11v] Nobis alium his adjicere visum est. In quo est latini sermonis non solum lepos, sed etiam compendium, cum quod alias per debeo, vel possum, est interpretandum, una voce dixisse liceat, ut mox ostendemus.

Linacre goes on to show that in Latin the subjunctive is sometimes used where the sense is equivalent to possum or debeo or volo followed by an infinitive. Thus, from Quintilian

Non expectes, ut statim gratias agat, qui sanatur invitus.

to which Linacre adds 'pro debes expectare'. From Juvenal,

> Expectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta

> pro potes expectare

Sometimes a subjunctive and a verb following possum appear to be equivalent, as in Virgil,

> Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando
> Explicet, aut possit lacrymis aequare dolores

or to illustrate tenses other than the present, also from Virgil,

> Faces in castra tulissem
> Implessemque foras flammis, matremque patremque
> Cum genere extinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem

> pro volueram vel debueram ferre, implere, extinguere,
> dare

Linacre also sees this potential mood as an equivalent in Latin to the use of the conditional particle 'an' in Greek, which occurs in apodösis, sometimes with a past indicative tense, indicating non-fulfilment, sometimes when fulfilment is possible, with the optative. Since two formally distinct moods are involved this cannot constitute a mood of its own in Greek. But in Latin this conditional possibility is expressed always with the subjunctive or rather, as Linacre takes it, with the optative. Since the subjunctive and the optative are already two separate moods employing the same forms, there is no reason why a third mood should not be constituted, since this meaning clearly does not coincide with that proper to the optative.

> [Fol.13r] Potentialem vocamus, quem Graeci per an
> coniunctionem et verbum duplicis modi, alias indicativi,
> alias optativi explicant, quo minus illis modum unum
> statuere licuit. Nobis quibus id non obstat (quippe
> qui optativi voce tantum utimur) ratio unum modum
> statuendi non defit et alioqui sic faciamus oportet,
> nisi confundere diversissimas affectiones volumus
> quales sunt huius de quo nunc agimus et optativi.
> Siquidem in altero indicatio est potentiae, debiti ve.
> Aliquando voluntatis. In altero tantum significatur
> optatio.

Linacre then continues,

> Nec est (ut arbitror) quod aliquem torqueat, quo minus
> hic duos esse modos concedat, propterea quod una sit
> utriusque vox, non magis quam ubi optativum et
> subiunctivum duos facit quorum non minus, ut clare
> liquet, una est vox. Haec vero nostra sententia cui
> placebit potest, si volet, hunc, quem novamus modum,
> potentialem appellare.

'Quem novamus modum' - the Latin could cover the meaning of reviving

something from the past, but there can be no doubt that Linacre thinks

that the potential mood is his own invention and that he means 'this

new mood which I have introduced'. There is no trace of this mood in

any earlier writers, and Linacre who discusses for example, Grocinus's

new division of the tenses very favourably though he does not adopt it,

would surely mention earlier authorities in favour of a potential mood,

if these existed. From Linacre the potential mood, a radical innovation

in the traditional grammatical analysis of Latin passes directly to

Lily who is to be the official and authorized version of Latin grammar

in England for two centuries, and therefore, since Latin was during

this period the only language widely learned grammatically by Englishmen,

the authorized version of grammar itself. The potential mood which

Linacre himself excluded from Greek eventually finds its way there for

in Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon under AN we read 'hence the

Indicative with an represents a potential mood' and further on in the

same article 'hence the optative with an becomes a potential mood'.

The potential mood is in Lindley Murray, and as late as 1893 the OED

article on CAN has the following acerb comment at the beginning of its

treatment of the word as 'an auxiliary of predication'.

> (Many manuals of English Grammar have ineptly treated
> can so construed as an auxiliary of the subjunctive or
> 'Potential' mood!)

But Linacre himself takes a rather more relaxed attitude towards his

theoretical innovation

[Fol.13v] Cui diversa sententia erit, siue optativum
esse contendat, (nam subiunctivum esse (ut Priscianus
non recte censet) nulla ratio efficit), sive voces
quinque temporum, quae publice subiunctivo tribuuntur,
triplici significat o donet, optandi, potentiae,
subiunctivi (hoc autem est indicandi, caeterum sub
altero verbo subiecti, ut post dicetur) dummodo
significationis ipsius et usus admonitus latinius loqui
incipiat, me certe non offendet.

Though to some extent Linacre's arguments are theoretical, as the

final phrases in the quotation above show, his real concern as a

linguist is practical - directly related to teaching, to improving the

standard of Latin in his day. Certainly his hope, that the student of

his book 'Latinius loqui incipiat' appears to belong to applied rather

than theoretical linguistics, however different we may feel the

intellectual atmosphere in the great humanists is from that found in

today's TESL. The disfavour with which the humanists are regarded by

literary medievalists as having destroyed the living language of

Medieval Latin and replaced it by a sterile simulacrum of classical

literary Latin and the fact that Chomsky has directed admiration at a

later Renaissance grammarian like Sanctius who tended to dismiss the

works of the humanists, has made it easy to ignore the particular value

of their achievement. No one would wish to defend the excesses of

Ciceronianism or indeed most aspects of the classical education system

which was founded in the sixteenth century. But what is often forgotten

is that the best work of the humanists, in attempting to write and

encouraging others to write in what they called better Latin, drew

attention to the individuality of the Latin language, its genius and

distinction from, on the one hand, Greek and on the other the European

vernaculars. Because many of the humanists were also Hellenists they

were able to some extent, for the first time since Latin ceased to be a

genuine first language, to deal with the unsuitable framework of Greek

grammar clamped down upon Latin by the derivative grammarians of earlier

centuries. At the same time their concern for the purity of Latin was
an awareness of the profound differences of idiom and syntactical
structure between Latin and the various European vernaculars, even, or
perhaps particularly, those actually deriving from Latin. It is this
work - against the grain of general or philosophical grammar - which I
find exemplified in Linacre's thought by the proposal of the potential
mood.

In this suggestion Linacre is, as he makes explicit, proposing
for Latin a system of moods distinct from that in Greek. It is true of
course that the proposal is shaped by the very situation of the pattern
of Greek moods imposed unsuitably on Latin - it is because the
subjunctive forms in Latin already express two moods, subjective and
optative, in order to bring Latin into line with Greek, that Linacre
claims there can be no objection to his adding a third. But he per-
ceives clearly that the Greek system of moods does not, as he shows in
the case of conditionals, provide a satisfactory way of describing Latin
usage. In fact, Linacre also puts forward a tentative mood system for
Latin based on formal distinctions:

> [Fol.15v] Modi, si vocum discrimen spectes, quatuor
> tantum sunt.

He then gives the characteristic endings of the indicative, imperative,
subjunctive and infinitive, and describes the use of the third of these:

> [Fol.16r] Tertius alias rebus optandis convenit, qua
> ratione optativus dicitur ...
> Alias posse, vel debere fieri aliquid ostendit ... Alias
> velle aliquid.

On the other side, Linacre in proposing the potential mood is drawing
attention to what he calls 'latini sermonis lepos'; he is attempting to
show that Latin frequently uses the subjunctive where modern vernaculars
use an auxiliary verb - the equivalent of volo, possum or debere.
Latin after all has to be written by men who speak modern vernaculars,

and there would be a natural tendency to carry over this segmentization

of the subjunctive into Latin. When Linacre cites Quintilian's

> non expectes, ut statim gratias agat qui sanatur
> invitus

and says 'pro debes expectare' it is surely because anyone thinking in

a modern European vernacular might be tempted to translate the idiom

of his own language into Latin in this way.

It is perhaps not a coincidence that the formulation of this

distinction between the vernaculars and Latin through the institution

of the potential mood was the work of an Englishman, since English of

all the European languages, even by the beginning of the sixteenth

century, had gone furthest in the development of special modal verbs

operating, at least in certain ways, to form mood and tense.

SECTION 5 - THE MOODS BEFORE LINACRE

The five-fold scheme for the Latin moods which Linacre inherits

is found generally in the earlier humanist grammarians, as Perottus,

Rudimenta Grammatices [1474]

> Quit sunt modi verborum? Quinque, Indicativus,
> Imperativus, Optativus, Subiunctiuus & Infinitivus

and Sulpicius [1495] who gives as alternative titles to the same five

moods: diffinitivus, precativus, desiderativus, coniunctivus, infinitus.

The medieval tradition however, deriving from Donatus, has six moods.

In addition to the five mentioned above, Donatus gives Impersonalis - a

mood displayed by Latin verbs used impersonally [Keil IV, p.359, 1.9].

Donatus also mentions though he rejects a promissive mood.

One of the commentaries on Donatus, the Sergii Explanatio in

Donatum argues that impersonal verbs do not constitute a separate mood

of the verb, and discusses the promissive mood. This is of interest as

it raises the question which the study of the modal verbs in early

modern English also suggests, whether the future is not to be grouped

with the moods rather than with the tenses.

> [Keil IV, p.503, 1.24] promissivus, per quem
> promittimus, quaesitum est, utrum modus esset an tempus
> modi, quoniam indicativi modi tempus futurum est; et
> modus non est, si tempus est modi. sed qui dicunt
> modum esse, hi dicunt primum. 'non possumus indicare
> de rebus quas non novimus': ergo detrahunt tempus
> indicativo modo et faciunt alterum modum. qui autem
> negant eum modum esse, hoc astruunt, per rerum naturam
> fieri non posse ut unum tempus habeat aliqui modus.
> deinde qui dicunt eum modum esse, negant esse mirandum,
> si unius temporis sit. omne enim quod promittemus in
> futurum promittimus : nec enim promitto aut praesentem
> rem in praesenti, quam dare iam possum, aut rem
> praeteritam, quam dedi.

Even more interesting is the following, from Servius's Commentarius in

Donatum, calling in question the very possibility of a future indicative

tense.

> [Keil IV, p.412, 1.6] Qui negant promissivum modum
> esse, hoc asserunt, superflue hunc modum putari,
> quoniam indicativi modi sit tempus futurum, id est
> legam scribam. qui autem dicunt proprium modum esse,
> negant indicativum modum tempus futurum per rerum
> naturam habere posse. nam si indicativus ideo dictus
> est, quod per ipsum indicamus, nemo autem indicat nisi
> quae novit, futurum non potest habere, quia nemo
> indicat ea quae nescit.

Linacre himself speaks [1525 Fol.11] of

> isodynamon potentialis cum promissivo modo, sive futuro
> tempore, quorum utroque significatur voluntas vel
> debitum.

In fact the earlier humanists in their five mood system restore the

five enkliseis of Dionysius Thrax, namely [Uhlig I.1, pp.47-53]

horistikē	(indicativus)
prostaktikē	(imperativus)
euktikē	(optativus)
hypotaktikē	(subjunctivus)
aparemphatos	(infinitivus)

The 'enkliseis' or moods are one of the eight ways in which the verb is

modified,

enkliseis	(modi)
diatheseis	(genera)
eidē	(formae)
schēmata	(figurae)
arithmoi	(numeri)
prosōpa	(personae)
chronoi	(tempora)
syzygiai	(conjugationes)

In the Ars Minor, Donatus reduces this list to seven by grouping modi

and formae together as subdivisions of a category Qualitas [Keil IV,

p.359, De Verbo]. He gives four formae

Perfecta, ut lego
meditativa, ut lecturio
frequentativa ut, lectito
inchoativa, ut fervesco calesco

The close association of mood with forma has some influence on the

understanding of mood in the grammatical tradition; the forms more

obviously than the moods suggest that what is expressed in a single

verb could be given in two verbs or a verb with an adverb. Thus lectito

can be expressed as 'soleo legere' and calesco as 'incipio calere'. Now

in Linacre we find the following:

[1524, Fol.16]

Indicativus	ut scribis - aio vel iudico scribere
Imperativus	ut salve - iubeo te salvere
Optativus	ut utinam valeas - opto te valere
Potentialis	ut implevissem - potueram, debueram, vel volueram implere

Linacre calls this 'Solutio reliquorum modorum in infinitum' and it

corresponds with what might be called 'Solutio reliquarum formarum in

perfectam' suggested above.

The distinction between moods and forms is explained thus by

Sergius [Keil IV, p.503, p.505]

Qualitas verborum dividitur in modos et in formas ...
Accidunt etiam formae, quae sensum habet, non declina-
tionem, ut modi. nam modi declinationem habent et ideo
quasi casus verborum sunt : in formis autem significa-
tiones sunt : nam ostendunt quo modo loquamur.

and by Cledionus Pompeius Iulianus [Keil V, p.54]

Modi sunt proprie casus verborum, formae intellectus.

which I understand to mean the same thing, namely that moods belong to

the conjugation of a verb, but formae are distinct verbs with different

meanings.

The idea that the moods are cases of the verb has a certain

plausibility - for example there are conjunctions which take a parti-

cular mood in the verb following them in the same way that prepositions

govern a particular case in the noun. But I am not aware who

originated this idea or whether it was worked out in detail. Dionysius

Thrax defines the verb as a word without case, showing tense, person,

number, describing something done or suffered [Uhlig Vol. I.1, p.46].

Enklisis or Mood is only mentioned in the list of the eight Ways in

which the verb is affected. Priscian says the verb is without case,

showing tense and mood, signifying something done or suffered. This

emphasis on mood to make it one of the defining features of the verb is

followed by the humanist grammarians and in Linacre we find these

alternative definitions;

> [1524, Fol.8r] Verbum est pars orationis, quae modis
> et temporibus inflexa, esse aliquid agere ve aut pati
> significat.
> Aliter, verbum est pars orationis cum tempore et modis
> significativa.

The tendency to ignore mood and see the verb entirely in terms of tense

as Ramus and also Sanctius, conforms more with Greek than Latin views

of the verb. Scaliger, although he is not among those who abandon mood

is interesting in this connection.

> [1540, p.246] Tempus autem non videtur esse affectus
> Verbi, sed differentia formalis, propterquam Verbum
> ipsum, Verbum est.
> Modus autem non fuit necessarius : unus enim tantum
> exigitur ob veritatem, ut dicebamus, Indicativus.
> Caeteri autem ob commoditatem potius.

The word used in Greek grammar for mood is enklisis. The meaning

of this word is usually expressed in Latin by inclinatio, though the

Latin grammarians use modus as the technical equivalent, a much wider

term, as Linacre observes:

> [1524, Fol.11] Modus Latine, sicuti Graeci tropos
> latius patere videtur, quam id quod Graeci enklisin
> vocant.

Linacre goes on to suggest that it was because the Latins adopted the

term in a wider sense that they sometimes took even participles as a

separate mode or manner of the verb. His intention, he says, is to use

the word modus but in the more restricted manner corresponding to

enklisis in Greek. However Latin grammar had always preserved the

narrower meaning of enklisis in the definition of mood, as in Priscian

[Keil II, p.421]

> Modi sunt diversae inclinationes animi, varios eius
> affectus demonstrantes.

and this is adopted by the earlier humanists without much change, as by

Perottus,

> Quid est modus? Est inclinatio animi : declinationem
> verbi significans.

Here both inclinatio and declinatio seem to be attempts to render the

underlying idea of enklisis. In Suplicius [1495]

> Modus est diversa inclinatio animi varios eius
> affectus demonstrans.

This understanding of mood as reflecting an inclination in the mind of

the speaker works well for the imperative and optative. Scaliger

relates imperative and optative as directed to inferiors and superiors

respectively.

> [1540, p.237] IMPERATIVUS est nota animi inclinati ad
> eliciendum actionem aut passionem ab alio : hoc habet
> commune cum Optativo : sed differunt, quod Imperativus
> respicit personam inferiorem, Optativus, potentiorem :
> item Imperativus semper exigit personam, Optativus non
> semper.

But it does not work well for the subjunctive in Latin which is

frequently no more than a mark of subordination, or for the infinitive.

Indeed, Scaliger rejects the infinitive as a mood for this reason

> [1540, p.237] INFINITIVUS autem Modus non est, nullam
> enim animi inclinationem ostendit : sed omnes ipse
> sequitur modos, atque cum ipsis coalescit ad signifi-
> candum, quae fuit caussa eius nominis : non, ut dixere,
> propterea quod neque personas, neque numeros finiat.

It also fits well with the potential mood of Linacre, who defines mood

as;

> [1524, Fol.11] voluntas,vel affectio animi per vocem
> significata.Ubi rectius adsignificata vel consignificata
> (mea quidem sententia) dixeris.

With Linacre's potential mood, the 'voluntas vel affectio' must surely

lie with the subject of the verb; whereas with the optative and

imperative, any 'inclinatio animi' to use the older term must lie in

the mind of the speaker who employs the mood, not in the subject of the

verb. Still even with these other moods there is sometimes a tendency

to assume the inclination lies in the subject as is revealed in the

following passage from Scaliger where he justifies the change of name

from enklisis to modus because the moods sometimes have inanimate

subjects incapable of conditions of mind.

> [1540, p.236] Nostri, quoniam declararentur animi
> temperationes Modos appellarunt, fusiore quam Graeci
> fecissent appellatione : propterea quod etiam ad res
> animo carentes transferrentur : ut Ignis urit : ureret.

As our discussion of the modal verbs in English will show, the modality

expressed in these verbs is sometimes closely related to the subject of

the verb and might be considered as an 'inclinatio animi', even when

the subject is inanimate. But sometimes the 'inclinatio' lies

elsewhere, and often in the mind of the speaker.

This review of sixteenth and early seventeenth century grammatical

thought about mood suggests that what recent linguistic scholarship on

the development of the English language has seen as the integration of

the modal verbs into the verb phrase as part of the conjugation of the
verb, a development taking place in the course of the sixteenth century,
is reflected in the linguistic thought of the time, in that during this
period there arose, the work of an Englishman and quickly established
as grammatical orthodoxy in England, a new view of the modal structure
of the Latin verb, which would strongly encourage the interpretation of
the modal verbs MAY/MIGHT and CAN/COULD, WOULD, SHOULD and OUGHT as
parts of the verb phrase and indicators of mood. There was it is true
also a reaction, setting aside the concept of mood altogether, much
less influential generally, although attractive to some of the few
minds concerned to formulate a grammar proper to the English language.
However, as this new analysis of the Latin verb replaced mood by tense,
it did not in fact encourage an interpretation of these English words
as full verbs, but as forming alternative tenses, to be grouped with
those formed by the auxiliaries BE and HAVE. So that in their assump-
tion that what were later to become called the modal verbs formed part
of the conjugation of the verb, Gil's Logonomia and Jonson's English
Grammar are in agreement.

CHAPTER 3

WILL AND SHALL

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Section 1 - Forms

Section 2 - Tables of WILL and SHALL from the translated texts

       Lodge-Seneca

       Holland-Livy

       Florio-Montaigne

       Bacon

Section 3 - WILL and SHALL as a Future Tense in Contemporary Grammars

Section 4 - An Analysis of the choice of WILL or SHALL in translating

       the future in main clauses in the Lodge-Seneca text

SECTION 1 - FORMS

WILL appears as will, wil (wilt)

SHALL appears as shall, shal (shalt)

There is no appearance of wol, wolle, and the written forms combining

will, wol with other words as wont, woont, ile, heele, sheele, weele,

youle, twil which are frequent in the printed texts of plays at this

time are completely absent from the corpus, though wilbe and shalbe

occur.

SECTION 2 - <u>TABLES OF WILL AND SHALL FROM THE TRANSLATED TEXTS</u>

<u>Lodge-Seneca</u>

Latin words, tenses etc, translated by WILL and SHALL

	WILL	SHALL
a) VOLO, NOLO	25	1
IUBEO	1	1
b) Future Tenses		
Indicative	58	82
Subjunctive	1	15
-URUS	7	2
Present Tenses		
Indicative	9	4
Subjunctive	3	12
Imperfect Tenses		
Subjunctive	1	-
Imperative	-	1
Gerundive	-	1
Totals	105	119
Uses impossible to match in Latin	11	10
Total uses of WILL	<u>116</u>	Total uses of SHALL <u>129</u>

Holland-Livy

Latin words, tenses etc, translated by WILL and SHALL

	WILL		SHALL
a) VOLO, NOLO	1		–
b) Future Tenses			
Indicative	6		13
Subjunctive	–		3
-URUS	7		5
Present Tenses			
Indicative	4		–
Subjunctive	–		4
Perfect			
Subjunctive	–		1
Optative (or Old Future) FAXO	–		1
Gerundive	–		1
Infinitive	–		4
Totals	18		32
Uses impossible to match in Latin	3		3
Total uses of WILL	21	Total uses of SHALL	35

Florio–Montaigne

French words, tenses etc, translated by WILL and SHALL

	WILL	SHALL
a) VOULOIR	17	1
ALLER	1	—
VENIR A	—	1
POUVOIR	—	1
b) Future Tenses		
Indicative	21	39
Conditional	—	1
Perfect	—	5
Present Tenses		
Indicative	32	10
Subjunctive	1	2
No finite verb in French	3	4
Total uses of WILL	75	Total uses of SHALL 64

Bacon : Advancement of Learning and De Augmentis Scientiarum

Latin words, tenses etc, used to translate WILL and SHALL

	WILL	SHALL
a) VOLO, NOLO	1	1
POSSUM	4	2
OPORTET	1	1
IN ANIMO ESSE	1	—
b) Future Tenses		
Indicative	42	22
Subjunctive	5	5
-URUS	1	1
-UM IRI	—	1
Present Tenses		
Indicative	9	2
Subjunctive	13	6
Imperfect		
Subjunctive	1	2
Imperative	1	—
Total of translated uses of WILL	79	Total of translated uses of SHALL 43

The above tables set out the words or conjugational forms in the original language which give rise in the three translated texts, to the modal verbs WILL and SHALL. These are followed by a table for the corpus from Bacon's <u>Advancement of Learning</u> showing how WILL and SHALL are rendered in the Latin version of that text. The analysis of Latin conjugation employed is that of Donatus, still current at the time the translations were made, in which the tense -ero, -eris, -erit, -erimus, -eritis, -erint is called the future subjunctive rather than an indicative tense, the future perfect, as in more recent Latin grammars. However the point is not of great significance here since by both analyses these endings are considered to constitute a future tense.

It will be seen that in the three translated texts, WILL is used with fair frequency to translate VOLO/NOLO in Latin and VOULOIR in French, although a much larger number of uses render future tenses in the original language; that SHALL is considerably more frequent as a rendering of the future and that overall, SHALL is more frequent in the texts translated from Latin than WILL. This does not hold for Florio's translation of Montaigne nor for the Bacon text where the original language is English. In this text WILL is almost twice as common as SHALL, and its uses outnumber those of SHALL when the Latin rendering is a future tense. This suggests a tendency in translators to favour SHALL in rendering the future as compared with usage in texts originally written in English. However all three translations show over one third of the future tenses in the original rendered by WILL. The present chapter tries to find if there is any principle of selection which determines whether a future tense appears in one of these translations as WILL or SHALL.

SECTION 3 - WILL AND SHALL AS A FUTURE TENSE IN CONTEMPORARY GRAMMARS

The grammars of the time all take WILL and SHALL as formatives

for a future tense (or tenses) in English.

In the tradition of Latin grammar for speakers of English, SHALL

and WILL are alternative signa of the future and for the purposes of

this grammar no distinction between them is required.

Thus Linacre, Rudimenta Grammatices [1523?] under tenses

> [Gi] The future tense betokeneth a doyng as to come,
> and his signes in englysshe be these wordes shall or
> wyll : as I shall or wyll loue, amabo.

and in Lily and Colet, A Short Introduction of Grammar

> [Biii] The future tense speaketh of the tyme to come,
> with this signe shall or wyll : as Amabo, I shall or
> wyll loue.

The future in the tabular conjugations in this work is always

given in the English column in the form 'I shall or wyll loue'. This

passes into those grammars which are intended to explain Lily and Colet,

as Granger, Syntagma Grammaticum [1616] Of Tense:

> [p.98] The future tense speaketh of the tyme to come :
> as amabo, I shall or will love. It is known by the
> signe, shall or will.

The Latin Grammar of Ramus which makes the imperative a second future

is followed by Greaves Grammatica Anglicana, though he places the

imperative first.

> [p.21] De futuro primo.
> Futurum primum idem est cum Themate, postposita persona
> expressa, aut intellecta. ut Hate thou, hate he. plur.
> Hate we, hate ye, hate they
>
> De futuro secundo.
> Futurum secundum circumscribitur syntaxi infiniti &
> praesentis verbi Will vel Shal : ut I shall vel will
> hate, Thou shalt vel will hate. He shall vel will hate
> Plur. Wee shall vel will hate &c.

The first grammarian of English to use the Ramist idea of more than one

future tense to make SHALL and WILL form separate future tenses seems

to be Thomas Tomkis in his manuscript <u>De Analogia Anglicani Sermonis</u>
<u>Liber Grammaticus</u> [1612] where the first future is 'will love', and the
second future is 'shall love' and there is a third future in 'shall
have loued' [Michael 1970, pp.398-9]. The use of SHALL in English in
such sentences as 'Thou shalt not kill' perhaps made the designation of
the imperative as a future tense more convincing in English. Though in
fact Gil is more within the Linacre-Lily tradition, we find in
<u>Logonomia Anglica</u> [1621]

> [p.52] Futurum formatur a Praesenti, per signa <u>shal</u>,
> aut <u>wil</u> in Indicativo; <u>shal</u> in Imperatiuo; <u>herafter</u>,
> in Potentiali, & Infinitivo.

The first grammarian to concern himself with the distinct use of SHALL
or WILL is George Mason in his <u>Grammaire Angloise</u> [1622], where he
writes:

> [p.25] Le signe du futur est, <u>shall</u> ou <u>will</u>, mais il
> n'en faut pas user indifferemment : car si vous usez
> de ce signe, <u>shall</u>, quand il faut dire, <u>will</u>, il a
> mauvaise grace, oultre qu'il semblera que vous parliez
> daudace : example, vous pouvez dire elegamment, <u>If I</u>
> <u>doe eate that, I shal be sicke</u>, si ie mange cela, ie
> seray malade : au lieu que si vous disiez, <u>I will be</u>
> <u>sicke</u>, il sembleroit que volontairement vous voulussiez
> estre malade. ains vous pouvez dire, <u>I hope you wil be</u>
> <u>my good friend</u>, i'espere que vous me serez ami : <u>If you</u>
> <u>doe that, you shall bee beaten or chidden</u>, si vous
> faites cela, vous serez battu ou tancé : <u>but I shall</u>
> <u>not</u>, mais non seray : <u>but you shall not chuse</u>, mais
> vous ne choisirez pas, c'est à scavoir ce ne sera pas
> à vostre chois : Pour le faire court, il est mal-aisé
> d'en bailler reigle certaine, parquoy ie vous renvoye
> à l'usage ...

The first to attempt 'reigle certaine' is Wallis in <u>Grammatica Linguae</u>
<u>Anglicanae</u> [1653] and it may be noticed that his treatment occurs not
as part of a discussion of the future tense but in the chapter 'De
verbis Auxiliaribus Mutilis', under 'Shall, will'.

> [p.106] <u>Shall</u> & <u>will</u> indicant Futurum. Uret, <u>It shall</u>
> <u>burn, it will burn.</u>
> Quoniam autem extraneis satis est cognitu difficile,
> quando hoc vel illud dicendum est (non enim promiscue

dicimus shall & will:) neque tamen alii quas vidi ullas tradidere regulas quibus dirigantur : has ego tradere necessarium duxi, quas qui observaverit hac in re non aberrabit.

In primis personis shall simpliciter praedicantis est; will, quasi promittentis aut minantis. In secundis & tertiis personis, shall promittentis est aut minantis, will simpliciter praedicantis.

Uram, ures, uret, uremus, uretis, urent : I shall burn, you will, (thou wilt) he will ; we shall, ye will, they will, burn; nempe hoc futurum praedico: vel I will, you shall, (thou shalt) he shall; wee will, yee shall, they shall burn; nempe, hoc futurum spondeo, vel, faxo ut fit.

SECTION 4 - AN ANALYSIS OF THE CHOICE OF WILL OR SHALL IN TRANSLATING

THE FUTURE IN MAIN CLAUSES IN THE LODGE-SENECA TEXT

An analysis was made of the translated texts to discover what determined whether a future tense would be rendered by WILL or SHALL. Because of the importance attached to person in this matter by Wallis and subsequent grammarians the analysis was made person by person. The future in interrogative and subordinate clauses was not included. The analysis for Lodge-Seneca is here given and discussed in detail.

First Person uses of WILL

Singular

The great majority of these uses are in clauses expressing authorial intention, to be fulfilled directly in the text itself.

3.1   [LS 1.4] I w i l l ingeniously [1620 ingenuously] confesse vnto thee, ...
                    F a t e b o r ingenue : quod ...

3.2   [LS 6.3] I w i l l reckon vp vnto thee diuers men ...
                    multos tibi d a b o ...

3.3   [LS 6.7] I w i l l tell thee that which pleased me today in Hecaton:
                    Quid me hodie apud Hecatonem delectaverit, d i c a m.

3.4   [LS 7.10] But lest I should reserue vnto my selfe the profit I haue gotten this day, I w i l l communicate with thee three most worthy sentences to one sense;

Sed ne soli mihi hodie didicerim c o m m u n i c a b o
tecum quae occurrerunt mihi egregie dicta circa eumdem fere
sensum tria.

3.5   [LS 8.9] I w i l l repeat one of his verses, which
appertaineth to Philosophie,
                uhum versum, qui ad philosophiam pertinet ...
r e f e r a m

3.6   [LS 8.10] Neyther w i l l I let slip that likewise which was
farre better set downe by thee:
                Illud etiamnum melius dictum a te non p r a e t e r i b o

3.7   [LS 9.6] I w i l tell thee, if ...
                D:i:c a m si ...

3.8   [LS 9.6] I w i l l shew thee, saith HECATON, a means to
increase loue without medicine, hearb, or inchantments
                Hecaton ait : ego tibi m o n s t r a b o amatorium
sine medicamento, sine herba, sine ullius veneficae carmine.

3.9   [LS 16.2] yet w i l l I tell thee freely mine opinion.
                D i c a m tamen quid sentiam.

3.10 [LS 17.11] I w i l l therefore borrow of Epicurus to pay thee:
                Ab Epicuro mutuum s u m a m

3.11 [LS 18.14] I w i l l send Epicurus to pay thee my debt:
                D e l e g a b o tibi Epicurum. Ab illo fiet
numeratio.

3.12 [LS 20.4] Moreouer I w i l l tell thee whence this inconstancie
of affaires and counsailes doth proceed.
                Etiamnunc d i c a m unde sit ista inconstantia, &
dissimilitudo rerum consiliorumque.

3.13 [LS 21.1] But what it is that hindereth thee, because thou
thyselfe doeth little conceiue or prie into [1620 into it] I
w i l l tell thee
                Quid sit, autem quod te impediat, quia parum ipse
dispicis, d i c a m.

3.14 [LS 21.3] I w i l l relate an example of Epicurus
                Exemplum Epicuri r e f e r a m

3.15 [LS 21.11] I w i l l aduertise thee of one thing
                Hoc c o m m o n e f a c i a m

3.16 The following also express the author's intention, to be

fulfilled in the text, though not immediately.

3.16 [LS 12.11] I w i l l perseuer to vrge Epicurus vnto thee
                P e r s e v e r a b o Epicurum tibi ingerere

3.17 [LS 14.17] I w i l l pay thee in golde:
                Aurea te stipe i m p l e b o

3.18 [LS 15.9] now w i l l I adde a gratefull office to these
     benefits

               mercedula, & munus gratum ad hoc beneficia a c c e d e t

3.19 [LS 19.2] For neuer w i l l I so much condemne the furie of
     mankinde, that ... I would haue thee locke thy selfe vp in an
     hermitage,

               Numquam enim usque eo te a b i g a m generis humani
          furore damnato, ut latebram tibi aliquam parari ... velim
(Negative use, and somewhat indirect translation.)

The following passage expresses extra-textual intentions.

3.20 [LS 6.5] I w i l l send thee therefore the bookes themselues:
     and lest thou shouldest take too much paines in following those
     things which profit publikely, I w i l l put certaine markes to
     find those things quickly, which I proue and admire;

               M i t t a m itaque ipsos tibi libros, et ne multum
          operae impendas, dum passim profutura sectaris, i m p o n a m
          notas, ut ad ipsa protinus quae probo et miror, accedas

The only first person plural example of WILL is

3.21 [LS 6.6] But I call thee not onely vnto me, to the intent thou
     shouldest receiue profit, but to the end thou shouldest profit
     others: for we w i l l continually assist one another;

               Noc in hoc te accerso tantum, ut proficias sed ut
          prosis aliis: plurimum enim alter alteri c o n f e r e m u s.
('aliis' is not in the best MSS so that 'prosis' would be understood as
'prosis mihi' and lead naturally to the following clause. With 'aliis'
the connection in the sense is not apparent and Lodge's rendering of
'plurimum' is forced.)

First Person uses of SHALL

Singular

3.22 [LS 21.5] I s h a l l haue fauour with posteritie
               H a b e b o apud posteros gratiam

Plural

SHALL SEE translating 'videbimus'

3.23 [LS 13.5] We afterwards s h a l l see whether these things are
     to be valued by their owne forces or our weaknesse
               Postea v i d e b i m u s, utrum ista suis viribus
          valeant an imbecillitate nostra.

3.24 [LS 13.7] We s h a l l see what shall happen hereafter,
               V i d e b i m u s quid futurum sit

3.25 [LS 14.14] But we s h a l l see hereafter, whether ...
               Sed postea v i d e b i m u s, an ...

3. WILL AND SHALL   4. SHALL in 1st Person
                                     WILL in 2nd Person

Other uses of WE SHALL

3.26 [LS 5.4] societie, from which we   s h a l l   become separated by this dissimilitude of profession
               congregationem : a qua professionis dissimilitudo
s e p a r a b i t

3.27 [LS 13.10] We   s h a l   partake the pain too ouertimely when it commeth [1620] Thou   s h a l t   partake the paine time enough when it commeth
               Satis cito   d o l e b i s,   cum venerit
('venerit' for Lodge a future subjunctive translated into English by the present)

3.28 [LS 18.8] we   s h a l l   be more assuredly rich, if we know that it is no grieuous matter to be poore.
               securius divites   e r i m u s   si scierimus quam non sit graue pauperes esse.

Second Person uses of WILL

Singular

The intention of the person addressed to interrupt with a question is

assumed and stated.

3.29 [LS 1.4] Happily thou   w i l t   aske me what I doe,
           I n t e r r o g a b i s   fortasse quid ego faciam.

3.30 [LS 5.7] But thou   w i l t   say, How can these things being so diuers, be together?
           D i c e s   quomodo ista tam diuersa pariter eunt.

Negative use, anticipating the refusal of the addressee to comply with

the author's wishes.

3.31 [LS 19.10] but I feare me thou   w i l t   not receiue it for good payment in this sort, but   w i l t   cauill (if I know thee well)
           sed   m o v e b i s   mihi controversiam, si novi te.

In the apodosis of conditional sentences.

3.32 [LS 3.3] if thou supposeth him to be faithfull, thou   w i l t   doe no lesse.
           Fidelem si putaveris,   f a c i e s.
(Lodge hardly conveys the meaning of the Latin.)

3.33 [LS 5.7] Thou   w i l t   giue ouer, saith he, to feare, if thou ceasest to hope.
           D e s i n e s,   inquit, timere, si sperare desieris.

Second Person uses of SHALL

Singular

3.34 [LS 4.1] And in reforming and moderating the same thou s h a l t enioy it

     f r u e r i s quidem etiam dum emendas, etiam dum componis

3.35 [LS 9.21] thou s h a l t find that in the Cynique Poet,
Apud poetam comicum i n v e n i e s

3.36 [LS 16.8] Thou s h a l t learne from those to couet alwayes more.

     Maiora cupere ab his d i s c e s

THOU SHALT is twice followed by UNDERSTAND

3.37 [LS 13.16] thou s h a l t vnderstand how loathsome mens leuitie is

     i n t e l l i g e s quam foeda sit hominum levitas

3.38 [LS 20.7] or that which thou canst not know by thy merites, thou s h a l t vnderstand by the meanes of pouertie

     aut quod tu beneficio tuo non potes scire, paupertatis s c i e s

THOU SHALT in the apodosis of conditional sentences

3.39 [LS 4.3] If thou wilt well bethinke thy selfe, thou s h a l t vnderstand that ...

     Profice modo : i n t e l l e g e s ...

3.40 [LS 13.16] If thou cast thine eye on euery man, thou s h a l t meete with olde men ...

     Circumspice tecum singulos : o c c u r r e n t tibi senes

3.41 [LS 16.7] If thou liuest according to nature, thou s h a l t neuer be poore; if according to opinion, thou s h a l t neuer be rich:

     Si as naturam vives, numquam e r i s pauper: si ad opiniones, numquam e r i s dives

3.42 [LS 19.11] This shall not happen to thee, except thou retire thyselfe, & separate thee from the multitude; otherwise thou s h a l t haue at thy table, not thy friends, but such as thy remembrancer hath chosen among the multitude of thy saluters.

     Hoc non continget tibi, nisi secesseris: alioquin h a b e b i s convivas, quos ex turba salutantium nomenclator digesserit.

Construction : Imperative + AND THOU SHALT

3.43 [LS 4.8] Take account of those that are dead, by the complots of their seruants ... and thou s h a l t see that ...

     Recognosce exempla eorum qui domesticis insidiis perierunt ... : i n t e l l i g e s ...

3.44 [LS 13.14] Wrest from <u>Cato</u> the sword that assured his libertie,
      and thou s h a l l (sic) detract from him the greatest part of
      his glorie
                Catoni gladium adsertorem libertatis extorque : magnam
      partem d e t r a x e r i s gloriae

3.45 [LS 20.6] Pursue then that which thou hast begun, and thou
      s h a l t happily attaine eyther to the height, or at least-wise
      to that thou alone shalt vnderstand that as yet it is not compleat
                Preme ergo quod coepisti et fortasse p e r d u c e r i s
      aut ad summum aut eo quod summum nondum esse solus intelligas.

In these three examples, the use of SHALL seems due to the strong

sense of guarantee which the construction implies. Carrying out the

order ensures the fulfilment of the following clause. If we leave this

to one side as having more in common with the appearance of SHALL in

certain subordinate clauses and examine the rest of the first and

second person examples, I suggest that the most striking feature which

distinguishes the contexts in which WILL is selected to render the

Latin future from those in which SHALL is selected lies in the lexical

verbs which follow these modal verbs.

The examples yield the following lists:

WILL		SHALL	
confess	3.1	have favour	3.22
reckon	3.2	see	3.23-5
tell	3.3 3.7 3.9 3.12 3.13	become separated	3.26
communicate	3.4	partake	3.27
repeat	3.5	be rich	3.28 3.41
let slip	3.6	enjoy	3.34
shew	3.8	find	3.35
borrow	3.10	learn	3.36
send	3.11 3.20	understand	3.37-9
relate	3.14	meet	3.40

3. WILL and SHALL

4. Selection of WILL or SHALL

WILL	
advertise	3.15
persever	3.16
pay	3.17
condemne	3.18
add	3.18
condemn	3.19
put	3.20
assist	3.21
ask	3.29
say	3.30
receive	3.31
cavill	3.31
do	3.32
give over	3.33

SHALL	
be poor	3.41
have at table	3.42

All the verbs in the column under WILL refer to an activity. All the verbs or verbal expressions under SHALL are stative, verbs of inert perception, or verbs which in the senses which here occur, refer not to an activity on the part of the subject of the verb, but to some event befalling or influencing that subject.

Of the verbs in the WILL list, 'persever' and 'give over' require verbal complements, but with these complements in the examples 3.16 'persever to urge' and 3.33 'give over to fear' refer to deliberate and conscious activities. There is perhaps room for discussion of this in the case of 3.33 though I am inclined to think that Lodge's choice of 'give over' to render 'desino' shows he views it here as a positive action. Cooper [1565] for DESINO gives 'to leave; to cease; to make an end.' 3.31 requires us to take 'receive' as a positive action, though the verb itself is negated in this example.

In the list under SHALL, the verbal expressions with BE and HAVE and the quasi passive 'become separated' evidently do not refer to activities on the part of the subjects of those verbs. SEE and UNDERSTAND are verbs of perception in which the subject is receptive, and this is also true of ·3.34 ENJOY (where the deponent Latin verb FRUOR more clearly reflects the semantic structure of the concept). FIND, LEARN and MEET are verbs which sometimes refer to an activity or action on the part of the grammatical subject, sometimes to an event or condition which befalls that subject. 3.40 contains MEET in the sense of something which happens or occurs to the subject; the Latin translated as 'thou shalt meete with olde men' is 'occurrent tibi senes'.

3.35 does not prognosticate a deliberate and ultimately successful search through the works of the comic poet, but states that the passage occurs and like the old men in certain circumstances will be met with. INVENIO in Latin corresponds with FIND in English in that both words can mean to come upon either deliberately (as the result of a search), or by accident. Again as in English to come upon by accident becomes equivalent to 'to be confronted with'. Cooper [1565] under INVENIO gives 'invenio obtrectatores - to be ill spoken of by naughtie tonges.'

The two senses of LEARN in the same way can be seen as the deliberate pursuit of knowledge or skills, or the involuntary acquisition of information or patterns of behaviour. In 3.36 the sense is evidently of picking up a way of behaving rather than deliberately modelling oneself upon others.

In these three verbs then, there is sometimes present and sometimes absent a component of meaning, 'deliberate, intentional activity'.

The only other verb in the SHALL list which can also have this component in its meaning is PARTAKE, but in context in 3.27 it is

evident that the component must be absent from this particular use.

We may say then that in the list of verbs under WILL we find only verbs of activity, under SHALL only verbs or verbal expressions which are not verbs of activity. The distinction can also be formulated in this way; in the WILL list are verbs with subjects which in the deep grammar are in the agentive case. In the SHALL list, the subjects of the verbs are non-agentive. This discussion suggests the following simple rule of for the use of WILL and SHALL in forming a 'future tense' in English at this period:

Use WILL before all verbs of activity

Use SHALL before all other verbs.

Although the sample from which it has been derived is very small, this rule has, in addition to this evidence, a common-sense plausibility. If we suppose there was in English at this time such a thing as a future tense, each use of a verb in this tense must guarantee the accomplishment in the future of the activity or event referred to by the verb. To assert the intention or determination of the agent by the use in the present tense of WILL does provide such a guarantee but only if the verb refers to an activity of the kind which is associated with intention and determination - in other words, is a verb of activity as we have defined this above; for WILL to have the sense which can be taken as providing a guarantee of accomplishment it must be the will of an agent directed towards an activity.

If however the verb 'in the future tense' is not a verb of activity but refers to an event or a state of affairs, so that the subject of this verb is not an agent but rather the experiencer or sufferer of the state or event, then the accomplishment implied by the use of the future tense can only be guaranteed as it were from outside. The word SHALL by its etymology is reasonably well suited to express

this idea of an event being 'due to' or 'ordained' to take place. To say that the event is ordained is to guarantee its accomplishment - but only in the absence of an agent. If what is ordained or due to take place is the activity of an agent, then SHALL cannot strictly guarantee its accomplishment which must still lie with the agent. In this case SHALL will suggest only a certain pressure upon the agent towards the accomplishment of the activity and so no longer forms a future tense, as we have defined this above, but becomes a means of expressing injunctions and in certain grammatical circumstances of giving commands.

This explanation, besides accounting for the use of both WILL and SHALL in the formation of a future tense and relating these uses to the employment of the two words at this time in non-future uses, shows the English language here reflecting at this period of its development a quality of human experience of the future which is lost in those languages which have developed an undifferentiated future tense. The future actually presents itself to present human experience under these two aspects - the accomplishment of the intentions of agents and the accomplishment of events more vaguely seen as ordained, due or destined to occur. The language here captures our feeling that the future is made up of both human free will and predestined events and it was perhaps the very closeness of these means of talking about the future to lived experience, their authenticity as it were, as much as the absence of such a distinction from the classical and the modern languages familiar to them, which hindered the Elizabethans from formulating a semantic analysis of their means of expressing the future.

When an analysis is eventually made, by Wallis in 1653, the rules he gives for the use of WILL and SHALL appear to me to describe a similar disposition to the one I have suggested above, but he employs a terminology which depends on performatives rather than on certain

semantic features which can be identified in the subject and in the
verb.

Thus in the first person, Wallis says by WILL the speaker promises
or threatens. By SHALL he predicts. But it is in fact only his own
intended <u>activities</u> that the speaker can guarantee. Of these he can
certainly say, almost tautologically, 'faxo ut fit'. But what will
happen to him, what experiences he may have, these he can only predict.
In the second person however, if I refer to your future activities by
means of WILL, obviously I cannot offer you my personal guarantee.
Here I can only predict. But it is at least plausible that in so far
as I consider it worthwhile to tell you what is about to befall you, I
am promising or threatening to bring such events about. Similarly in
the third person, what activities others are to undertake are predicted;
but what will happen to others, the speaker by asserting, is felt in
some semse to guarantee. It becomes by his utterance, his threat or
promise.

The weakness of Wallis's analysis in my view is his use of
'praedico', the concept of foretelling which has in effect to be
resolved into other more basic speech activities. And although in the
word SPONDEO Wallis catches the rather surprising way in which SHALL
sometimes seems to call in the authority of the speaker though there is
no sign of this in the surface grammar, still I think that the speaker's
own guarantee is not built so firmly into third person uses of SHALL as
Wallis's analysis suggests.

Wallis's analysis has formed the basis for all subsequent sets of
'rules' for the proper use of WILL and SHALL, although it has always
been acknowledged that writers and speakers frequently offend against
these rules, or as we would now tend to say, that the rules do not
accurately reflect natural spoken or even literary usage. Yet it is

also accepted that Elizabethan usage, as exemplified in the works of

Shakespeare, and in the Authorized Version of the Bible, the two texts

of the period that have been most extensively studied, does not corres-

pond with the eighteenth and nineteenth century formulations deriving

from Wallis.

In the further testing of the theory of the use of WILL and SHALL

to form a future tense which has been suggested, the examination of

translations offers an opportunity to study the use of WILL outside the

formation of a future. If the theory is correct whenever WILL appears

with a verb which is not a verb of activity it is not forming part of a

future tense and we should expect it to correspond to a lexical item, a

verb meaning to want or to wish in the original text.

A list follows of the examples from the Lodge-Seneca corpus where

a conjugational form of the Latin VOLO is rendered by WILL in the modal

construction. Such uses in conditional clauses have been omitted here

for consideration later. Non-negative uses are here listed first,

followed by negative uses.

3.46 [LS 9.14] I w i l l shew thee how Crysippus distinguisheth them:
            V o l o tibi Chrysippi quoque distinctionem indicare

3.47 [LS 17.1] I w i l l take such a course that my reuenue may
      maintain me, without doing any thing;
            Sic illam disponere v o l o ut sufficere nihil
      agenti possit.

3.48 [LS 17.5] I w i l l, sayest thou, recouer whereupon to liue:
            Parare, inquis, unde vivam v o l o.

3.49 [LS 19.9] I w i l l recount vnto thee in this place the saying
      of Mecaenas,
            V o l o tibi hoc loco referre dictum Maecenatis

3.50 [LS 9.3] yet notwithstanding that he w i l l have a friend
            Sed tamen et amicum habere v u l t

3.51 [LS 9.8] the wise-man although he be content with himselfe,
      w i l l notwithstanding haue a friend,
            sapiens etiam si contentus est se tamen habere amicum
      v u l t.

3.52 [LS 17.8] thou w i l t attaine therevnto after all other things
          Cum omnia habueris, tunc habere et supentiam v o l e s

3.53 [LS 9.5] Thus is a wise-man so farre content with himselfe, not
      that he w i l l be without a friend, but that he can be;
               Ita sapiens se contentus est, non ut v e l i t esse
      sine amico, sed ut possit.

3.54 [LS 20.4] No man proposeth vnto himselfe an end wherevnto he
      w i l l tend, neyther if he haue proposed it doth he perseuer in
      the same, but ouer-shooteth himselfe;
               Nemo proponit sibi, quid v e l i t, nec si proposuit,
      perseuerat in eo, sed transilit.

Negative

3.55 [LS 14.10] lest whilst we w i l l not be trod vpon we seeme
      able to be trod on
                    dum calcari n o l u m u s, videamur posse calcari

3.56 [LS 4.3] they w i l l not liue, and they know not how to die
               Vivere n o l u n t, mori nesciunt

3.57 [LS 15.11] Prefix thy selfe certaine bounds which thou w i l t
      not exceede or breake although thou mightest.
               Finem constitue, quem transite ne v e l i s quidem
      si possis.

3.58 [LS 5.3] and we are the cause that in disliking all our actions
      they w i l l not imitate one of them
               Illud quoque efficimus, ut nihil imitari v e l i n t
      nostri, dum timent ne imitanda sit omnia

This set of examples suggests that WILL even when used with verbs

of activity is still often felt to have its full meaning. This is

perhaps especially to be expected in the first person singular, where

in most contexts – certainly in that of the writer explaining his plans

for the text – there can be little distinction between wish and firm

intention.

Examples similar to 3.46, 3.49 can be found in Florio-Montaigne.

3.59 [FM 159a] I w i l l not omit to alleage another example ...
               je ne v e u x pas obmettre à alleguer aussi cet
      autre exemple ...

3.60 [FM 203a] But leave we the commonpeople ... Who feeleth not
      himselfe, who judgeth not himselfe, who leaves the greatest part
      of his naturall parts idle. I w i l l take man even in his
      highest estate.
               Laissons là le peuple ... qui ne se sent point, qui ne
      se juge point, qui laisse la plus part de ses facultez naturelles

oisives. Je v e u x prendre l'homme en sa plus haute assiete.

When WILL is used with any verb of activity, if the subject is animate, the full meaning of WILL remains present. But since this meaning is in a way also implied in the verb of activity itself through the deliberate and intentional nature of the activity, WILL can as it were be taken for granted and the phrase WILL + verb becomes equivalent to a future tense. When however anything in the context makes against the direct transition from wish and intention to the guaranteed future accomplishment, then WILL tends to retain its full meaning.

The general context may provide reason for not treating WILL merely as a sign of the future, as in 3.54. The negation of WILL itself usually seems to bring out a fuller meaning in the word. But of course it is the use of WILL with a verb which is not a verb of activity according to the analysis suggested above which prohibits our reading WILL as a sign of the future and compels us to take it in the sense of wishing or wanting, without this guarantee of accomplishment that belongs to the future.

It seems likely that Lodge was able to assume that his readers would take his renderings in 3.50, 3.51, 3.53 and also in 3.55 and 3.56, not as futures, but as uses of WILL in its full sense of want or wish.

There is a good example of WILL in its fullest meaning before a passive verb in Florio-Montaigne:

3.61 [FM 133d-] I w i l l be dissolved should we say, and be with Jesus Christ.
               Je v e u i l estre dissout, dirions nous, et estre aveques Jesus-Christ.
(The reference is to Philippians Ch.1 v.23, for which the Vulgate text runs 'desiderium habens dissolvi et esse cum Christo.)

Another example from the same corpus:

3.62 [FM 193b] I am well pleased not to be sicke, but if I be, I w i l l know that I am so; and if I be cauterized or cut, I w i l l feel it.

          Je suis contant de n'estre pas malade; mais, si je le
suis, je v e u s scavoir que je le suis; et, si on me cauterise
ou incise, je le v e u s sentir.

Both 'know' and 'feel' are here verbs of inert perception (in PE

these verbs must be grouped with verbs of inert perception with regard

to the BE + -ING construction).

Another example from Holland-Livy. In this, Lucrece is telling

her husband and father of her essential innocence after her rape.

3.63 [HL 41C] howsoever I quit and assoile myselfe of sinne, yet I
     w i l l not be freed from punishment.
               Ego me etsi peccato absolvo, supplicio non l i b e r o.

It seems to me that Holland was a sensitive enough translator not to

have put ('I will not be freed from punishment' unless he was sure it

would not be read as if Lucrece was merely saying that she expected to

be punished rather than that she was determined not to escape punishment.

These three examples, all in the first person are I recognize

plausibly explained by Wallis's rules, though it seems to me that the

PE reader of these translations will be misled about the sense of the

originals.

From the non-translated texts, the examples of WILL with full

meaning before a verb of non-activity are all negative. In all these

it is clear that present refusal or unwillingness is indicated and not

future non-accomplishment.

3.64 [H 49A] We are accused as men that w i l l n o t haue Christ
     Iesus to rule ouer them.

3.65 [C XI] The seventh of this moneth the Quenes atturney married
     the Lady Hatton to the great admiration of all men ... and the
     world w i l l n o t beleve that yt was without a mysterie.

3.66ᴏ [C L] Mr Secretarie and his other frends wold have him sent
     again; but the father w i l l in n o w i s e heare of yt
     because he is such a jewell and the staffe of theyre house.

3.67 [C XXXVI] His miserie and ambition is much misliked of all, and
     the Clergie w i l l in n o w i s e be well perswaded of him.

3.68 [C XLVIII] the gentlewoman you wot of followes still the old
      haunt and w i l l n o t be beaten from yt by fayre meanes nor
      fowle.
(Chamberlaine refers to the lady's Catholic views. The sense is her
obstinate refusal to listen to argument.)

3.69 [C XLVI] and there she is whole dayes and nights, and w i l l
      n o t be spoken to by brother nor sister, and more foolishly
      obstinate in her aunswers then I ever knew her.

In all these examples WILL refers to a psychological state in the
subject and not to the future event.

If we then refer to the full sense and the future sense for WILL,
the pattern being proposed to account for the examples so far adduced
may be set out as:

	with verbs of ACTIVITY	with verbs of NON-ACTIVITY
Non-negative	FULL or FUTURE	FULL
Negative	FULL or FUTURE	FULL

In PE,

  He will agree   means 'he is going to agree' and not 'he
                       wants to and is willing to agree'

  He will be beaten   means 'he is going to be beaten' and not 'he
                       wants or is willing to be beaten'

While:

  He won't agree   means either 'he is not going to agree'

                       or 'he refuses or is unwilling to agree'

and: He won't be beaten. means either 'he is not going to be beaten'

                       or 'he refuses or is unwilling to be beaten'.

The table for PE therefore should be:

3. WILL and SHALL   4. WILL in full or future sense
                                        WILL NEEDS

	with verbs of ACTIVITY	with verbs of NON-ACTIVITY
Non-negative	FUTURE	FUTURE
Negative	FULL or FUTURE	FULL or FUTURE

This suggests that a system in which WILL could have its full meaning in all contexts and weakened, future meaning only before verbs of activity preceded a system where WILL can have a future meaning in all contexts and the possibility of retaining its full meaning in negative contexts only.

However it is not here proposed that the suggested system at 1600 has changed into the system in PE through the intervening centuries. Both systems might have existed side by side; the PE system may derive from some earlier colloquial system not represented in our Elizabethan documents. The sharpest difference between the two systems lies in the top right hand quarter, non-negatives with verbs of non-activity, which in the proposed system of 1600 must be read will full meaning and in the PE system must be read as future. We have seen that some trans-lators appear to assume that WILL + verb of non-activity will not be read as a future, but have been unable to produce clear examples to illustrate this assumption from the untranslated texts. There are in fact indications that WILL in this context was ambiguous.

Thus we find in Florio-Montaigne:

3.70 [FM 139a] But these w i l l   n e e d s be whipt to their owne cost, and cannot abide their reason to be combated, but by it selfe.
            Mais ceux cy v e u l e n t estre foitez à leurs propres depens et ne veulent souffrir qu'on combatte leur raison que par elle mesme.

Here Florio had added the abverb NEEDS, apparently to mark that WILL must be taken in its full sense. This does not in itself prove that it would be strictly ambiguous otherwise since a translator may attempt to

bring out the meaning of his original as clearly as he can. Yet in the

non-translated texts we do find, in non-negative contexts similar to

those negative contexts already quoted where WILL has its full meaning,

that NEEDS is added.

3.71 [C XXVI] The negociation is kept very close, yet some w i l l
      n e e d s beleve that he hath stoode only yet upon the time,
      place, and the commissioners for the treatie.
(That is to say 'insist on believing'. The verb 'believe' is a verb of
non-activity, so that 'will believe' implies an active will or wish to
believe, instead of the condition of being persuaded or convinced by
the evidence.)

NEEDS is also used with WILL before verbs of activity where it resolves

the ambiguity between present wish or insistence and future intention.

3.72 [C X] Ortelius his Thesaurus Geographicus is too bigg to be
      sent ... Your cousen Lytton w i l l n e e d s bestow yt on
      you, wherin I made no long strife.

This use of NEEDS to resolve ambiguities suggests that the use of WILL

+ verb of non-activity could be given a future interpretation, and

there are examples in which there is no possibility of interpreting

WILL as anything but an indicator of future tense.

3.73 [C XV] but yt will by no meanes sincke down with me, but that
      still I feare he w i l b e cousened and trussed up in the end.

    WILL then can be thought of within the system proposed for the

English of this period, as always retaining its full sense of wanting

or intending. With verbs of activity, WILL is used as an equivalent of

the future tenses in other languages not because the full sense of WILL

is weakened but because this sense is already implied in the verb

itself, a verb of activity being defined as a verb requiring an

agentive subject and an agentive subject in turn implying deliberate

and willed activity. Because of this, the force of the word WILL in

this context no longer lies in the psychological condition of its

subject, in the state of willing, wanting or being determined, but in

the implication of this, namely that the activity of the verb is not

yet accomplished but that its accomplishment is guaranteed. This also

explains why when WILL is negated this overlapping of its psychological

meaning with the implications of a verb of activity as to its subject

is lost.

For whereas

'John runs'

contains the implication that John deliberately and intentionally

chooses or wills to run,

'John does not run'

does not imply that he deliberately and intentionally chooses not to.

The ambiguity of 'John won't run' comes from its use both as the nega-

tive of 'John will run' in the full sense, and also as the grammatical

negation of 'the future tense'.

When WILL is followed by a verb of non-activity which by defini-

tion excludes the implication that an activity is intentional or

deliberately performed, then the full psychological meaning is brought

out. It does not form a future tense because intention and determination

are only valid to bring about the activities of agents. The experiences

and events which are referred to by verbs of non-activity can be willed,

in the sense of desired and striven for but this is strictly no

guarantee of their accomplishment. On the other hand, the negative of

WILL before experiential verbs, at least in many contexts, does

guarantee the non-accomplishment of the event, and in this case the

negative guarantee against the future accomplishment is contained as it

were within the assertion of present negative volition.

It is proposed that SHALL is like WILL in having a full sense

which is always present but that when SHALL is used with verbs of non-

activity this full meaning, like the full meaning of WILL when this is

used with verbs of activity, coincides with an implication in the

meaning of the verb of non-activity and so is neutralized, leaving

behind nothing more than the guarantee of the eventual actualizing of the event referred to by the verb. This forms effectively an equivalent to a future tense. Thus, since all verbs or verbal phrases must be either verbs of activity or of non-activity, WILL and SHALL together provide the language with a way of referring to the guaranteed future accomplishment of all verbs and therefore can be considered to constitute a future tense.

Whereas the full meaning of WILL is fairly easy to specify, and WILL is used regularly in the language of this time to translate VOLO in Latin and VOULOIR in French, the full meaning of SHALL is much more difficult to paraphrase and there is no word in Latin or French that SHALL is regularly used to translate.

The etymological origins of the word SHALL in a verb meaning 'to owe', suggest a makeshift paraphrase in

- is due to -

which might be elaborated to

- is ordained to -

Just as verbs of activity, used in the present affirmative indicative, contain as part of their meaning the will of an agent, which appears as the subject to the verb, so verbs of non-activity may be said to contain as part of their meaning when they are used in the present indicative - negative as well as affirmative in this case - the implication that the cause, the effective agent, the source of the event or experience is precisely not indicated by the grammatical subject and that in the immediate grammatical context of subject and verb this agent remains unspecified.

A verb of activity is accomplished by the WILL of its agent-subject. Therefore to assert this will of the agent subject guarantees its accomplishment.

A verb of non-activity is accomplished upon its specifically non-agentive subject by an unspecified actuating cause. To assert the presence of this cause is to guarantee its accomplishment. SHALL performs this, asserting a totally unspecified actuating compulsion or pressure. Just as WILL asserts what is already a part of the meaning of a verb of activity and so is in the context of such a verb neutralized into a mere guarantee of future accomplishment, that is, the necessary present condition for future accomplishment, so SHALL asserts what is already implicit in any verb of non-activity, namely that it is brought about by compulsion or pressure unspecified except that it is not exerted by the grammatical subject, so that it too is reduced in this context to a mere guarantee of future eventuality. However, WILL when followed by a verb of non-activity does not guarantee accomplishment, since WILL is only effective to the activities of the agent-subject and not to its experience or the events which befall it, and in this context its full sense, the psychological 'will towards', the mere wish or intention, is brought out. In the same way SHALL used with a verb of activity comes into its full meaning, an outside pressure upon an agent towards the accomplishment of an activity. But this does not constitute a future tense because there can be no guarantee of the accomplishment of the activity through this pressure.

That SHALL around 1600 is used with verbs of activity in a way quite different from the guarantee of future accomplishment is evident.

3.74 [H 65C] Thou s h a l t loue the Lorde thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soule, and with all thy minde.

This is Hooker's citation of Deuteronomy Ch.6 v.5. In the preceding chapter of Deuteronomy come the Ten Commandments also expressed by SHALL. These are perhaps still the most familiar occurrences of SHALL used in this way to form what is practically equivalent to an imperative.

(The form with SHALL is kept by the translators of the New English

Bible.)   The texts used in this study do not contain examples of

SHALL in this quasi-imperative use, though SHALL is regularly used to

report orders or commands as

3.75 [H 90A] a lawe supernaturall, which God himselfe hath reuealed
      concerning that kinde of worship which his people s h a l l doe
      vnto him.

3.76 [C L] Once here is order taken that no goldsmiths or jewellers
      s h a l l go into the west countrie.

Sometimes instead of a command, we have an offer or suggestion:

3.77 [C IV] together with an offer from the Spaniard (as they say)
      that, come peace or war with the States, the Quene s h a l l
      hold the cautionarie townes fowre yeares.

As in this quotation, the source of the command or offer may be explicit

in a superordinate clause. Or, as in the next example, the sense that

what is reported is to be taken as a command or ordinance is derived

from the use of SHALL itself.

3.78 [C XXXVIII] for yt is thought my Lord himself s h a l l first
      lead the way: and then they shall follow thicke and threfold.
(This refers to the expected executions after Essex's downfall.)

    It may seem that examples like this are in fact future uses of

SHALL, and they may be so considered unless the verbs LEAD and FOLLOW

are understood in their strictest sense as verbs of activity. If they

are, then Essex's leading and the following of the rest are activities

presently ordained. What is reported is the order 'Essex shall lead

the way'. If however LEAD and FOLLOW are taken as verbs of non-activity,

stative verbs equivalent to 'be in place or be placed first in order'

'be in sequent place or be placed sequently' then the clause becomes an

expression of the future. By either reading, Essex's leading is not a

willed act on his own part. The writer reports (as it is rumoured)

either the decree ordering Essex to perform a certain activity, or else,

a guaranteed future event, guaranteed because ordained or due to take

place. If we substitute WILL for SHALL,

'It is thought my Lord himself will lead the way'

this could equally well be taken in two senses: either a future, with

LEAD as a verb of activity; or a statement of the Lord's insistence

that he be placed first (which in certain contexts might be a virtual

guarantee that he would be so placed). However to bring out this sense

clearly it would probably have to be

'It is thought my Lord himself will needs lead the way'.

It can be seen that the two futures, 'he shall lead' and 'he will lead'

are in fact different in meaning corresponding to the difference between

the guarantee of future accomplishment which derives from what is

ordained to happen and what is willed or determined by the agent of

that action.

Another example where the interpretation can be either the SHALL

of authority or of the future, occurs in the Delaval letters:

3.79 [D 10]   and besides this is two masques more, all being a means
to make the Chequer pore, but at last the pore subject s h a l l
pay for all

'the authority of the state ordains that in the end, the taxpayer

settles the bill' or as an event of guaranteed future accomplishment

'the taxpayer in the end is going to be charged for all this'.

In these examples SHALL is used for orders which seem to emanate

from the speaker, or refer to the authority of God or the state. But

the source of the causation, the authority for the decrees implied by

SHALL can only be gathered contextually. All that SHALL itself indicates

is that its grammatical subject is not that source or that authority,

that the grammatical subject is not in this matter the agent. Who is

or is not the agent in certain events may be entirely determined by

social convention.

3.80 [C L] and on Wensday next ... our Mr Trot s h a l l mary one
Mr Perins daughter of Hartfordshire, a lusty tall wench able to
beat two of him.

Evidently (for Chamberlaine normally reports forthcoming marriages with

SHALL) to marry was felt to be the undergoing of a rite in some sense a

submitting and not a self-willed activity. The interplay between event

and activity in this matter is brought out in

3.81 [C XXV] The Lord Cobham is contracted to the Countesse of
Kildare before the Quene, but it is thought w i l l not marry
till he be a counsaillor.

In philosophical writing and divinity, it is a future ordained in

the general sense by God, rather than by human or other agents which

appears to call for the employment of SHALL. So Hooker, comparing the

race of Angels with men

3.82 [H 58A] That which agreeth to the one now, the other s h a l l
attaine vnto in the ende;

So it is ordained. Or, if we read this as a future tense, to attain

here is not to be understood in the sense of 'succeeding in reaching'

but of 'being brought to', a divine bestowal. Again

3.83 [H 79E] Whereas wee now loue the thing that is good, but good
especially in respect of benefit vnto vs; we s h a l l then
loue the thing that is good, only or principally for the goodnes
of beautie in it self.

There seems no doubt, in view of the use of 'now' and 'then' that this

should be read as a future guaranteed of accomplishment. But the verb

'love' here is not the willed activity of 'Thou shalt love' but refers

to a state of feelings, a spiritual condition. This love will happen

to us, we are not proposing it to ourselves as an activity.

Since SHALL indicates that its subject is not the agent of its

verb, there is no expectation that its subjects should be animate.

3.84 [H 79E] As the will doth now worke vpon that object by desire,
which is as it were a motion towards the end as yet vnobtained,
so likewise vpon the same hereafter receiued it s h a l l worke
also by loue.

Here the future seems indicated by 'hereafter'.

By an analogy with the full meaning of the word WILL as indicating
intended and determined activity, WILL with inanimate subjects indicates
activity which has its origin in the nature of the subject, is in fact
its characteristic behaviour. In this sense, much of its strictly
future meaning disappears, unless it is indicated contextually. The
characteristic behaviour of an inanimate belongs to a general present,
or extends from the past through the present into the future. On the
other hand, there seems some natural association of this sense of
characteristic behaviour with the future, perhaps through the concept
of 'expectation'. Just as the guaranteed accomplishment of an action
or event in the future might be called 'expected', so characteristic
behaviour is also 'expected' behaviour, or rather, it is characteristic
because it is expected. It is because we can foretell how an inanimate
will behave in certain future circumstances that we can call this
behaviour characteristic. This perhaps explains why this sense of
'characteristic behaviour' is found expressed by the future tense in
other languages, for example, Latin. Although this sense of charac-
teristic behaviour must be the only one with inanimate subjects until
WILL is no longer associated with its basic meaning of intention or
determination, it is also extended to animates although this use is
confined to the third person in the texts.

We now consider the use of SHALL and WILL in the third person,
translating Latin future tenses, from the corpus taken from Lodge's
translation of Seneca. Here we begin with animate or personal subjects,
leaving the inanimate to be dealt with at the end:

WILL

3.85 [LS 14.7] A wise-man therefore w i l l neuer prouoke the
     displeasure of the mightie, but rather w i l l decline the same,
            Itaque sapiens numquam potentium iras p r o v o c a b i t
    immo d e c l i n a b i t ...

3.86 [LS 16.5] ... Philosophie must be our retreat. She w i l l
exhort us to obey God willingly, and to resist fortune constantly:
she w i l l teach vs to follow God, and to beare with
casualties.
philosophia nos tueri debet. Haec
a d h o r t a b i t u r ut deo libenter pareamus, ut fortunae
contumaciter: haec d o c e b i t ut deum sequaris, feras casum

3.87 [LS 17.2] [Philosophie] she w i l l counsell thee not to busie
thy selfe about thine accounts.
s u a d e b i t tibi, ne ad calculos sedeas

3.88 [LS 17.9] [The wise man] he w i l l bestow that on his bellie
and his backe which appertaineth vnto them and being content with
himselfe, shall laugh at the occupations of the rich,
ventri et scapulis suum reddet et occupationes
divitum ... securus laetusque r i d e b i t ...

3.89 [LS 20.7] [Poverty] She w i l l retaine thy true and certain
friends, and whosoeuer shall leaue, followed not thee but another
thing.
Illa veros certosque amicos r e t i n e b a t;
discedet quisque non te sed aliud sequebatur.

WILL in Apodosis

3.90 [LS 4.9] And if by chance thou fallest into the hands of thine
enemies, the conqueror w i l l command that thou be ledde ...
At si forte in manus hostium incideris, victor te duci
i u b e b i t

3.91 [LS 17.9] [The wise man] And if he haue wherewith to weare out
and prolong the same, he w i l l take it in good part, and will
no further endeuour himselfe, but for those things that are
necessarie
Si vero exiguum erit et angustum quo possit vita
produci, id boni c o n s u l e t nec ultra necessaria
sollicitus aut anxius

3.92 [LS 20.11] I know not, sayest thou, how this man w i l l beare
his pouertie, if he fall into the same;
Nescio, inquis, quomodo paupertatem iste l a t u r u s
sit, si in illam inciderit

3.93 [LS 20.11] neyther know I, saith Epicurus, if this poore man
w i l contemne his riches if he fall on them.
Nec scio ego, Epicure, an gloriosus iste pauper
c o n t e m p t u r u s sit divitias si in illas inciderit.

WILL in clauses analogous to Apodosis

3.94 [LS 9.8] He ... w i l l take his flight as soone as he feeleth
himself deliuered from his bonds.
cum primum crepuent catena d i s c e d e t

3.95 [LS 20.7] All this troope when thou desistest to feed them
w i l l feede themselues
            Turba ista cum a te pasci desierit, ipsa se p a s c e t

The following uses of WILL require explanation.

3.96 [LS 6.7] Asketh thou, saith he, wherein I have profited? I haue
begun to be a friend to myselfe. He hath gotten much : he
w i l l neuer be alone.
            Quaeris, inquit, quid profecerim? Amicus esse mihi
coepi. Multum profecit : numquam e r i t solus.

The strict future here would be 'he shall never be alone'. I

think that Lodge rejects this because it would mean that Hecaton is

guaranteed never to be alone by some causal influence other than

himself. The whole point of the passage is that Hecaton's escape from

aloneness is a matter of his own self-discipline and self-determination.

For this, the appropriate modal is WILL. Of course this use of WILL

would be impossible here if there were a real danger of its being read

as a translation of

            ' numquam vult esse solus'

(Even in PE 'he won't be alone' can be read as 'he refuses to be left

alone'.) The context certainly makes so strongly against this reading

that it would be excluded even if there were in theory a possible

ambiguity. It is clear that, at least in non-negative contexts, WILL

was often employed in a weakened or merely future sense before verbs of

non-activity. But in fact the extraordinary context here demands that

we take 'BE ALONE' as a verb of activity, that is to say, in the

special Stoic sense that it is within a man's own will to find

supporters and advisers within himself, 'not to be alone' becomes a

kind of deliberate and determined act.

3.97 [LS 11.1] he left me a taste, whereunto I assure mu selfe he
w i l l answer.
            Dedit nobis gustum, ad quem r e s p o n d e b i t

'Answer' here must obviously be taken in the sense of 'correspond,

be equivalent or matching' which would normally be a verb of non-activity.

3. WILL and SHALL   4. WILL in 3rd Person
WILL with Inanimate Subject

The reason why we have WILL here and not SHALL is, I suspect, because Lodge has added 'I assure myself' to the strict word for word rendering of the Latin.

'I assure myself he shall answer'

makes the SHALL derive from the superordinate 'assure' giving a sense 'I guarantee (and I will see to it) that he corresponds ...' This is clearly not the sense intended. Even without ASSURE 'he shall answer' might have sounded inconveniently similar to the common threat in the language of the time 'He shall answer for it'.

WILL used with Inanimate Subject

3.98 [LS 6.5] yet our speaking and liuing together w i l l profit thee more, then onely reading.
                        Plus tamen tibi et viva vox et convictus quam oratio
p r o d e r i t

3.99 [LS 21.2] Thy studies w i l l make thee famous and noble
                        studia te tua clarum et nobilem e f f i c i e n t

3.100 [LS 14.16] yet w i l l it (fortune) bring some vexation and aduersitie
                        at (Fortuna) aliquid vexationis a f f e r e t,
aliquid adversi

3.101 [LS 11.1] I doubt not but when he shall be best retired, and despoyled of all his vices, that then this complexion w i l l accompanie him.
                        Hic illum, quantum suspicor, etiam cum se confirmaverit et omnibus vitiis exuerit, sapientem quoque s e q u e t u r.

The verbs in the above examples may all perhaps be read as verbs of activity. In each example it is the inherent quality or nature of the subject and not something other than this subject which guarantees future accomplishment. In 3.100 the relation of this sense of WILL (which might be paraphrased as 'has it in itself to') to the full sense can be seen, since fortune could be read as a personification or the goddess and so a personal subject. Here no guarantee from outside, either from the speaker or elsewhere is required; indeed those are specifically excluded. So in 3.98 'our speaking and living together'

in itself, by the very fact of our speaking and living together, profit

will accrue - not because Seneca himself will so conduct himself towards

Lucillus that this results. In 3.101, the complexion, (which is the

tendency to blush) is inherently of such a nature that it remains with

the Stoic sage, even at the height of his discipline and self-control.

3.102 [LS 11.6] That which attendeth vs thorow the condition of our
        birth ... w i l l remain continually.
                Quaecomque attribuit condicio nascendi ...
        h a e r e b u n t.

3.103 [LS 21.2] This   because it is reflected vppon by an externall
        light w i l l presently yeeld a thicke shadow to whomsoeuer
        setteth himself before the same;
                Haec fulgore extrinsecus veniente perfusa est, crassam
        illi statim umbram f a c i e t quisquis obstiterit

3.104 [LS 13.1] a true mind, and such as w i l l n o t subiect it
        selfe to other mens wils, approueth it selfe.
                verus ille animus et in alienum n o n v e n t u r u s
        arbitrium probatur.

These three examples may be read as uses of WILL to express

characteristic or expected behaviour. It is possible to read a future

sense in 3.102 though I take it as 'It is the nature of that which

attendeth us through the condition of our birth to remain ...' 3.104

can easily be read with a full sense of WILL in the English translation

though nothing in the Latin would justify this.

3.105 [LS 13.4] things ... which happily w i l l n e u e r befall
        thee
                Fortasse n u m q u a m v e n t u r a sint.

I am unable to find any explanation for the use of WILL here

except this: with SHALL the sentence would be taken to mean something

quite different, namely an assurance that fortunately these things

would not happen. It is true this appears to depend on an ambiguity in

the word 'happily' which would not be present if 'fortasse' were trans-

lated by 'perhaps'. Yet the possibility, which is never completely

absent with SHALL, that its accomplishment is guaranteed by the speaker,

may have been one of the reasons why WILL gained ground in contexts

where it was important to exclude this.

3.106 [LS 15.2] which w i l l not cost thee much, if thou behaue thy
selfe wisely
                Quae non magno tibi c o n s t a b i t si volueris
bene valere

The subject here is bodily health. Lodge seems to mistake the

sense of 'si volueris bene valere' and this makes it hard to measure

his meaning against the Latin. I take it that again, the speaker's

assurance is being excluded. 'It is inherent in the nature of bodily

health to be easily maintained'.

3.107 [LS 19.7] If thou withdraw thy selfe to a priuate life, all
things w i l l be lesser, but they w i l l fill thee more;
             si te ad privata retuleris, minora e r u n t omnia,
sed adfatim i m p l e b u n t

3.108 [LS 13.10] Is it likely some mischance w i l l happen?
             Verisimile est aliquid f u t u r u m mali

In neither of these examples does the avoidance of SHALL seem to

be due to the wish to exclude any sense of promise or guarantee on the

part of the speaker and I can only attribute them to the spread of WILL

as a uniform neutralized future indicator.

SHALL in the Third Person

    The following are the expected uses of SHALL before the verb TO

BE in various contructions.

SHALL before Passives

3.109 [LS 9.18] yet s h a l l all his good be inclosed and bounded
within himself
             Omne intra se bonum t e r m i n a b i t.

3.110 [LS 11.9] who can respect in that sort s h a l l suddenly be
made worthie to be respected himselfe.
             Qui sic aliquem vereri potest, cito e r i t verendus.

3.111 [LS 13.11] at the least wise it slh a l l be so much good
time gotten.
             Quid f a c i e s lucri? Tempus.

3.112 [LS 20.9] for it s h a l l not onely be said but approued.
             Non enim d i c e n t u r tantum illa, sed
p r o b a n t u r.

SHALL + BE + Noun

3.113 [LS 14.1] He s h a l l be slaue to many that will be slaue to his own bodie, shall too much feare for the same, and referre all things vnto that.
     Multis enim s e r v i e t qui corpori servit, qui pro illo nimium timet, qui ad illud omnia refert.

An excellent example of the operation of the WILL/SHALL system of

Elizabethan English, the two words contrasted, both appearing before

the same verbal phrase, and corresponding to a different, purely tense

contrast in Latin.

3.114 [LS 20.1] for it s h a l l be my glorie
                 mea enim e r i t gloria

SHALL + BE + adjectives and adverbial phrases

3.115 [LS 8.7] it s h a l l not be at mine owne expence
                id non de meo f i e t

3.116 [LS 9.4] and as ioyfull s h a l l he be in his maimed and mangled bodie, as he could be were it whole
                Et e r i t imminuto corpore et amputato tam laetus quam integro fuit

3.117 [LS 9.5] without a friend he s h a l l neuer be
                sine amico quidem numquam e r i t

3.118 [LS 18.8] It s h a l l be as easie for thee to endure it alwayes, as to attempt it sometimes.
                 Quod tam facile e r i t tibi illud pati semper quam aliquando experiri.

SHALL + BE + Infinitive

3.119 [LS 7.10] of which the one s h a l be to acquit this Epistle of that which it oweth to thee;
                 ex quibus unum haec epistula in debitum s o l v e t

SHALL + Verbs of Non-Activity

3.120 [LS 9.4] if any accident hath bereft him of his eye that which remaineth with him s h a l l suffice him
                Si quis oculum vel oculos casus excusserit, reliquiae illi suae s a t i s f a c i e n t.

3.121 [LS 9.9] He that is made a friend for profit sake s h a l l please as long as he may be profitable
                Qui utilitatis causa assumptus est, tam diu p l a c e b i t, quamdiu utilis fuerit

3.122 [LS 19.3] and then s h a l they who haue libertie to liue
according to their own good liking, perceiue whether ...
           Deinde v i d e b u n t de isto, quibus integra sunt,
an ...

3.123 [LS 19.6] Thinkest thou thy contents and honours shall be so
affluent that nothing shall remaine for thee to desire? That
time s h a l l neuer happen.
           Donec desinas habere quod cupias, numquam e r i t
tempus.

3.124 [LS 19.11] This s h a l l not happen to thee,
           Hoc non c o n t i n g e t tibi

3.125 [LS 20.9] Beleeue me, this thy discourse s h a l l haue more
lustre and magnificence in a lowe bedde and vnder a ragged coate;
           Magnificentior, mihi credas, sermo tuus in grabato
v i d e b i t u r et in panno

SHALL followed by verbs of activity to be given the sense of

non-activity

3.126 [LS 9.18] notwithstanding although he (the wise man) be most
affectionate to his friends ... yet shall all his good be
inclosed and bounded within himselfe, and he s h a l l speake
as Stilbon did ...
           Nihilominus, cum sit amicorum amantissimus ... omne
intra se bonum terminabit et d i c e t quod Stilbon ille dixit

The two verbs, 'be inclosed' and 'speake' would appear to require

different modals to translate Latin futures. But 'speak' here does not

refer to the activity but to the situation of the wise man. He will be

in a position to say, truly of himself, what Stilbon said, "Omnia bona

mea mecum sunt". Alternatively we can take this situation (that all

his good is inclosed and bounded in himself) as the cause, the ordaining

circumstance that guarantees the activity of declaration.

3.127 [LS 14.11] Neuer s h a l l vice obtaine so great force, neuer
s h a l l any conspire so much against vertue, but that the name
of Philosophie shall alwaies remaine holy and venerable.
           Numquam in tantum c o n v a l e s c e t nequitia,
numquam sic contra virtutes c o n i u r a b i t u r, ut non
philosophiae nomen venerabile et sacrum maneat.

The underl ying sense of the verbs is not of activity, as a

closer rendering of that Latin shows: 'Never shall vice become so

strong, never shall there be such a conspiracy against virtue'. Yet

I think Lodge's translation is deliberate and by the employment of these verbs of activity he brings out a vehement sense of personal guarantee on the part of the writer.

3.128 [LS 19.6] Into that life art thou demised which s h a l l
neyther end thy miserie nor seruitude.
            In eam demissus es vitam quae numquam tibi terminum
miseriarum ac servitutis ipsa f a c t u r a sit.
('not be an end to, perpetuate' in a stative sense)

SHALL followed by Verbs of Activity, with the sense that the accomplishment is ordained

3.129 [LS 19.5] And greater things besides these s h a l l sease
thee hereafter, and the one s h a l l beget the other.
            Maiora deinde officia te e x c i p i e n t et ex
aliis alia.

In the following, the writer's own guarantee seems involved in the accomplishment of what is ordained.

3.130 [LS 21.5] No day s h a l l you exempt from memorie of man
            Nulla dies umquam memori vos e x i m e t aevo
(Virgil's line quoted by Seneca. The poet himself can guarantee an undying memory.)

3.131 [LS 20.9] Although thou enuie it, yet s h a l l Epicurus, euen
at this present voluntarilie defray the duetie for me.
            Invideas licet, etiam nunc pro me d e p e n d e t
Epicurus.

This depends on the playful language in which Seneca speaks of his frequent use of quotations from the classic Stoic and Epicurean writers. These are referred to as if the sages themselves were personally involved. The use of SHALL here is therefore appropriate 'I have arranged with Epicurus for him to ...' The same explanation accounts for the next example:

3.132 [LS 21.7] And to the end that Ideomenaeus be not gratis inclosed
in my Epistle, he s h a l l redeeme the same at his owne charge.
            Ne gratis Idomeneus in epistulam meam venerit, ipse
eam de suo r e d i m e t.

3.133 [LS 21.3] If (saith he) thou art touched with glorie, my
Epistles s h a l l make thee more famous then all those things ...
            Si gloria, inquit, tangeris, notiorem te epistulae meae
f a c i e n t quam omnia ista ...

Contrast 3.99, Lucilus's own studies 'have it in them' to make him

famous. The fame in store for him from Seneca's letters, Seneca

himself can guarantee.

Discussions of Other Uses of WILL and SHALL in Lodge-Seneca

3.134 [LS 9.8] So s h a l he end his friendship euen as he began
           the same
                   Quemadmodum coepit, sic d e s i n e t

The Latin seems to mean 'it will end the way it started'. Lodge's

translation of the whole passage differs from that of modern scholars

though it has its own internal coherence. WILL used here would give

the sense 'He will decide to terminate his friendship for the same

reasons that he decided to start being your friend'. Lodge's actual

translation is rather 'For him the end of friendship will come in the

same kind of circumstances (of self-seeking) as those in which he esta-

blished his friendship'.

3.135 [LS 17.9] he w i l l bestow that on his bellie and his backe
      which appertaineth vnto them and being content with himselfe,
      s h a l l laugh at the occupations of the rich, and the goings
      and comings of those who sweat to get riches, and s h a l l say ...
               ventri et scapulis r e d d e t et occupationes
      divitum concursationesque ad divitias euntium, securus laetusque
      r i d e b i t ac d i c e t ...

The apparently random use of WILL and SHALL in this passage in

fact seems to reflect the distinction between the activities of the

Stoic sage, and his reactions; what he does out of choice and decision,

and what he finds himself in a position to do. 'To laugh' here means

to be amused by, to find amusing, 'To say', to be so placed that it is

true for him to say. Indeed there is in the passage a sense that the

accomplishment of the later verbs, 'laugh' and 'say' is guaranteed by

the earlier clauses, 'he bestows etc, he is content with himself, and

this ensures that ...'

3.136 [LS 17.9] and if happily extreame necessitie doe surcharge him,
      he s h a l l escape from this life, and s h a l l cease to be
      troublesome to himselfe.

                    Sed si necessitates ultimae inciderunt iamdudum
e x i l i e t e vita et molestus sibi esse d e s i n e t

ESCAPE is one of the verbs like FIND and LEARN which can be read

as verbs of activity ('he escaped by knotting his sheets') or of non-

activity ('he escaped serious illness in childhood'). 'Will escape'

here would make the English refer unequivocally to suicide, which is

surely what the Latin must mean if 'necessitates ultimae' is taken as

Lodge takes it, to mean 'extreme necessity'. 'Ultima necessitas' in

Latin can refer to death itself, so Seneca's sentence could be read

'If he dies in the end from the harshness of his poverty he is free

from a weary life'. I think Lodge would be bound to tone down or avoid

references to suicide [see at the end of the 1614 Workes of Seneca, "A

Table wherein Seneca's Paradoxes and other Stoical Vanities are set

downe, to the end that such as are of weakest judgement and apprehen-

sion, may both know and be more circumspect in iudging of them", under

which is included as number 18 "Death is in the power and will of a man

to kill himselfe, and to depart out of this world when hee thinketh

fit ...] 'Exiliet' would seem to suggest activity more strongly than

the word 'escape' in English. The Latin future in itself does not

distinguish between what the wise man will do (commit suicide) and what

will happen to him (die). The English of this period cannot altogether

avoid making the distinction.

3.137 [LS 21.5] After vs there s h a l l com a long and hidden tract
      of time, some few wits s h a l l lift vp their heads, and ...
      s h a l l resist oblivion, and s h a l l keep themselues long
      time in reputation.
                    Profunda supra nos altitudo temporis v e n i e t,
      pauca ingenia caput e x s e r e n t, & in idem ... oblivioni
      r e s i s t e n t, ac se diu v i n d i c a b u n t.

Lodge has here to choose between the modals appropriate to the

meaning of the Latin he is translating and those appropriate to the

metaphor through which that meaning is expressed. Seneca is talking

about the future in terms of what is to happen to literary and

philosophic reputations. Just as he refers to his use of quotations

from Epicurus and Hecaton as if he were conducting personal and monetary

transactions with these persons, so here he refers to these future

happenings in literary history as if they were activities of the authors

concerned. In Latin the nature of the future tense presents no prob-

lems. In the English of this time the form of the future cannot be

accommodated equally well to both sides of the metaphorical equation.

3.138 [LS 21.10] The Host of his house courteous vnto his guests, full
     of hospitalitie and humanitie, w i l l be addressed, and
     s h a l l entertain thee with a cake and present thee with water
     as much as will suffice thee and in the end w i l l say vnto thee:
                   Paratus e r i t istius domicilii custos, hospitalis,
     humanus, & te polenta e x c i p i e t, & aquam quoque large
     ministrabit, & d i c e t:

The passage describes the Garden of Epicurus. The tenses there-

fore refer to the expected activities of the custos or Host in the

Garden. 'Be addressed' is not here a passive. In Lodge's usage, I

think the use of WILL prevents a passive reading. But in any case the

meaning in PE is 'will be ready' not in the sense that you will find

him in a state of readiness but that he will have got ready to welcome

you. In this way, 'be addressed' is equivalent to a verb of activity,

'will prepare (to welcome you)'. This is the characteristic activity

of the Host, as is the message which 'in the end (he) will say unto

thee'. The use of SHALL with 'entertain' and 'present', also evidently

verbs of activity, is I think because these verbs though not grammati-

cally dependent on 'be addressed' are felt as expressing the purpose of,

and so the result and outcome of the readiness or preparations referred

to in that expression. The sentence is thus equivalent to 'He will be

addressed to entertain thee with a cake and present thee with water'

but Lodge follows the Latin closely in rendering its future tenses by

what he considered futures in English; the effective subordination of

the later verbs is indicated (not I suspect consciously on Lodge's part)

by the use of SHALL.

CHAPTER 4

CAN   AND   MAY

4. CAN and MAY   1. Forms
                   2. Method of Study

SECTION 1 - FORMS

CAN   can   (canst)

MAY   may maie   (maist, mayest, maiest)

Cannot is the typographical convention though can not in two words occurs in the written corpuses Chamberlaine and Delaval. There are no abbreviated forms as can't, mayn't in the corpus.

(Forms for COULD and MIGHT are given in Chapter 6, Section 1.)

SECTION 2 - METHOD OF STUDY PROPOSED

In Chapter 3 by studying closely in a few texts the way in which Elizabethan translators rendered the future tenses in Latin and French, it was possible to make some suggestions about

1) the nature of the semantic relationship between WILL and SHALL which seems to be the reason why they are 'paired' in the language.

2) the way in which the full meanings of these two words are in certain contexts modified or, to make use of the term we have adopted, 'weakened' so that WILL and SHALL are used to form what at the period of our study and long after was universally considered to be 'the future tense' and certainly served as an equivalent for the translators to the inflected future tenses of Latin and French.

3) the nature of the contexts in which this weakening took place, relating it to certain semantic features in the verbs following WILL and SHALL.

In this chapter it is intended to see whether by a similar close study of the usage of the same translators in the same texts, suggestions can be made about the semantic relationship of CAN and MAY, and whether the full meanings of these words are 'weakened' in the same way. Like WILL

and SHALL, CAN and MAY seem to be paired. In the sixteenth century they appear together in the Latin-English dictionaries and grammars as the English equivalents of the Latin word POSSUM, and indeed it is this association which provides the starting point for our analysis of the translators' usage. It is true that CAN and MAY are not usually considered to share in the forming of a tense in the way that WILL and SHALL may be said to form the future tense, but as we have seen, in the sixteenth century, CAN and MAY were associated with the then newly proposed potential mood, though they were not considered the only signa for this mood, as WILL and SHALL were considered for the future tense. For this reason, and also because the potential mood in Latin as analysed by Linacre is not formally distinct from the subjunctive it has not been possible to work out for CAN and MAY a direct parallel to the method used in Chapter 3 for WILL and SHALL. Like WILL and SHALL, CAN and MAY occurring in translations from Latin and French sometimes reflect lexical items in the original, sometimes conjugational forms. Tables showing these for the three translated texts and for Bacon follow. In these tables COULD and MIGHT have also been included.

SECTION 3 - TABLES OF CAN/COULD AND MAY/MIGHT FROM THE TRANSLATED TEXTS

Lodge-Seneca

Latin words, tenses etc, translated by CAN/COULD and MAY/MIGHT

	CAN	COULD	MAY	MIGHT
a) POSSUM	33	5	29	4
LICET	-	-	6	2
LIBERUM ESSE	-	-	1	-
FORTASSE	-	-	2	-
VOLO/MALO	-	3	-	-
b) Indicative Tenses				
Present	9	-	15	1
Future	5	-	3	-
Perfect	-	-	-	1
Subjunctive Tenses				
Present	3	-	24	1
Future	1	-	2	1
Imperative	1	-	-	-
Non-Finite				
Infinitive	-	-	2	-
Present Participle	1	-	-	-
Future Participle	4	-	2	1
Gerundive	-	-	2	1
Supine	-	-	1	-
Totals	57	8	89	12
Uses impossible to match	5	3	13	2
Total Occurrences	62	11	102	14

Holland-Livy

Latin words, tenses etc, translated by CAN/COULD and MAY/MIGHT

	CAN	COULD	MAY	MIGHT
a) POSSUM	3	15	4	12
LICET	–	–	1	–
OPORTET	–	–	1	–
DEBEO	–	–	1	–
b) Indicative Tenses				
Present	1	–	2	2
Imperfect	–	3	–	2
Perfect	–	4	–	–
Subjunctive Tenses				
Present	2	–	10	6
Imperfect	–	3	1	35
Perfect	–	1	–	2
Non-Finite				
Infinitive	–	3	2	2
Future Participle	–	–	–	1
Gerundive	–	1	–	1
Totals	6	30	22	63
Uses impossible to match	–	5	2	13
Total Occurrences	6	35	24	76

Florio-Montaigne

French words, tenses etc, translated by CAN/COULD and MAY/MIGHT

	CAN	COULD	MAY	MIGHT
a) POUVOIR	77	13	32	10
SAVOIR	8	15	–	–
VOULOIR	2	–	1	–
DEVOIR	–	–	1	1
IL FAUT	1	–	1	–
ETRE POSSIBLE	–	–	–	1
b) Indicative Tenses				
Present	9	2	6	–
Future	3	–	2	–
Imperfect	–	3	–	3
Perfect	–	2	1	1
Subjunctive Tenses				
Present	1	–	7	1
Imperfect	–	1	–	3
Conditional	–	1	–	9
Non-Finite				
POUR + Infinitive	2	2	9	5
Total Occurrences	103	39	60	34

Bacon

Latin words, tenses etc, used to translate CAN/COULD and MAY/MIGHT

	CAN	COULD	MAY	MIGHT
a) POSSUM	29	8	45	7
LICET	2	–	4	1
POLLEO	1	–	–	–
VALEO	–	–	1	–
EVENIT	–	–	1	–
PAR EST	2	–	–	–
SOLEO	–	–	2	–
NEQUIT	1	–	–	–
NECESSE EST	1	–	–	–
PROBABILE EST	–	–	–	1
b) Indicative Tenses				
Present	13	–	22	–
Future	4	–	7	–
Perfect	2	2	–	–
Pluperfect	–	1	–	–
Subjunctive Tenses				
Present	11	–	26	5
Imperfect	‡	1	3	5
Perfect	1	–	4	–
Old Optative (AUSIM)	1	–	–	–
Non-Finite				
Infinitive	–	–	3	–
-ENS	–	–	–	1
-URUS	–	–	3	–
Past Participle	–	–	1	–
Gerundive	2	–	1	–
Total translated occurrences	70	12	123	20

SECTION 4 - ANALYSIS

It will be seen that in every column of every table, the number of occurrences related to POSSUM in Latin and POUVOIR in French, is substantial in comparison with total occurrences, and it is to these that attention is first directed in order to discover what are the syntactic, semantic or contextual conditions which led a translator when faced with POSSUM or POUVOIR to select on the one hand, CAN/COULD, on the other MAY/MIGHT as his rendering. It was assumed that the material from Bacon, although representing a translation from English into Latin could also be used in this study. Certain examples from this corpus contain both CAN and MAY, each separately translated by POSSUM and so are suggestive of the pattern of their use.

4.1   [B 2.36r] the opinion of <u>Copernicus</u> ... which Astronomie itself c a n n o t correct, ... yet <u>Naturall</u> Philosophy m a y correct.
         sententiam Copernici ... ab astronomicis principiis non p o s s e revinci, a naturalis tamen philosophiae principiis, recte positis p o s s e.

4.2   [B 2.6r] but as an Image in a crosse way; that m a y point at a way, but c a n n o t goe it.
         ut Mercurius in bivio: qui digitum p o t e s t in viam intendere, pedem inferre non p o t e s t.

4.3   [B 2.9v] for if hee had looked downe hee m i g h t haue seene the Starres in the water, but looking aloft hee c o u l d e not see the water in the Starres:
         nam si ocules demisisset, stellas illico in acque videre p o t u i s s e t : verum suspiciens in coelum, aquam in stellis videre non p o t u i t.

From these examples, since except for the negative the semantic and syntactical circumstances for each pair of uses appear the same in all ways likely to be relevant, it would seem that CAN is used in negative clauses while MAY is used in non-negative clauses. However since not every use of CAN is in a negative clause, nor every use of MAY in a non-negative clause, it is evident that this will not serve in itself as an explanation of the selection between the two words. Nevertheless in the whole set of examples from the four corpuses, two out of

every three uses of CAN/COULD are in negative clauses, and only one use in fifteen of MAY/MIGHT is in a negative clause. It would therefore seem useful at this stage to examine the two sets of less usual uses, that is to say, uses of CAN/COULD in non-negative clauses and the use of MAY/MIGHT in negative clauses. Negative clauses are here taken to be clauses containing one of the negative words NOT, NEITHER, NOR, NEVER, NONE, NO, NOWHERE. Examples from the translated texts, except where noted, are confined to equivalents of POSSUM/POUVOIR but further examples are added here from the non-translated texts.

CAN/COULD in Non-Negative Clauses

Certain kinds of clause, although non-negative by the definition given regularly have CAN/COULD in place of MAY/MIGHT.

a) Clauses containing HARDLY and ONLY

4.4 [HL 19D] So unseemely and foule a sight as which, the Albanes themselves c a n h a r d l y suffer.
            quod vix Albanorum oculi tam deforme spectaculum ferre
    p o s s e n t.

4.5 [M 55E] o n e l y three of the whole Company with their Armes c o u l d be found, to be so transmitted.

HARDLY is sometimes referred to as a pseudo-negative by grammarians of PE. In PE it behaves like a negative in requiring the use of ANY in place of SOME. ONLY often seems to give the clause in which it appears the characteristics of a general negative to which an exception is made; in 4.5 it is equivalent to NONE BUT. Clauses containing NONE BUT are negative by the definition given above, and occur with CAN/COULD.

4.6 [H 95D] which vse n o n e b u t diuine lawe c o u l d institute

b) Noun clauses which are the objects of verbs in negative clauses, though not themselves negative, take CAN/COULD

4.7 [B 1.6v] let no man ... thinke or maintaine, that a man c a n

search too farre, or bee too well studied in the Booke of Gods
word, or in the Booke of Gods workes; Diuinitie or Philosophie;
        Nemo ... p o s s e nos nimium progredi, in libris
sive Scripturarum, sive creaturarum, theologia aut philosophia
existimet:

4.8   [B 1.14v] so that it is impossible for them to esteeme that any
       greatnesse of their owne fortune c a n bee, a true or worthy
       end of their being and ordainment;
              Nullo modo sibi persuadere p o s s u n t fortunae
       propriae amplitudinem tanquam praecipuum sibi bonorum finem
       statui posse.

4.9   [B 1.43r] And therefore wee see the detestable and extreame
       pleasure, that Arch-heretiques and false Prophets and Imposters
       are transported with, ... so great, as if they haue once tasted
       of it, it is seldome seene, that any torture or persecution
       c a n make them relinquish or abandone it.
              Ac idcirco videmus detestabilem illam, et immensam
       delectationem, qua haeresiarchae falsi prophetae, et impostores
       magni perfunduntur, et rapiuntur ... tantum certe, ut qui eam
       semel degustavit, nullis fere persecutionibus aut tormentis adigi
       p o s s i t, ut hoc regno se abdicet.
(where 'it is seldom seen' is in effect negative, and the sense is that
usually torture and persecution cannot make heretics relinquish their
pleasure)

When two negatives give a non-negative sense, MAY not CAN is used.

4.10   [H 66E] Again there is nothing in it but anie man ... m a y by
       labour and travayl finde out.

c) In certain subordinate clauses which although formally non-negative

   are felt as negative because of the semantic implications of their

   subordination. Thus CAN/COULD rather than MAY/MIGHT is found after

   BEFORE.

4.11   [HL 18k] And b e f o r e that the third, who was not far off,
       c o u l d get to the other, he had slaine the second Curiatius
                  prius itaque, quam alter, qui nec procul aberat,
       consequi p o s s e t, & alterum Curiatium conficit

4.12   [HL 27A] This came so sodainly upon him, that the enemies were
       passed over the river Anio, before the power of the Romanes
       c o u l d meet them, and make head against them.
              Adeoque ea subita res fuit, ut prius Anienem transirent
       hostes, quam obviam ire ac prohibere exercitus Romanos p o s s e t.

4.13   [HL 27E] Whose armour and weapons floting downe the Tyber, were
       knowne at Rome, and brought newes thither of this victorie, in
       manner before word c o u l d be brought thereof by land.
              quorum fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi,
       prius pene quam nunciari p o s s e t, insignem victoriam fecere.

So also in clauses after a comparative and THAN.

4.14 [B 2.17v] a more absolute varietie, then c a n bee found in the Nature of things.

et varietatem magis pulchram, animae humanae complacere, quam in natura ipsa, post lapsum, reperire ullo modo p o s s i t.

4.15 [B 2.33r] So it is more probable that he ... shall ... prolong life ... then that it c a n be done with the vse of a fewe drops, or scruples of a liquor or receite.

longe verisimilius est ab homine ... posse ... vitam prolongari ... quam quod hoc fieri p o s s i t per guttas pauculas, aut scrupulos alicuius pretiosi liquoris, aut quintessentiae.

4.16 [FM 135b] Oh men most braine-sicke and miserable, that endevour to be worse than they c a n !

Homes bien miserables et escervelez, qui tachent d'estre pires qu'ils ne p e u v e n t !
(The negative particle NE in the French may be noted.)

d) Also COULD occurs after IF apparently to stress the impossibility

of the condition being fulfilled.

COULD

4.17 [LS 3.4] if they c o u l d, they would scarcely trust themselues, but inwardly oppresse themselues with their owne secrets

si p o s s e n t, ne sibi quidem credituri interius premunt omne secretum.

4.18 [LS 4.3] We might feare death, if it c o u l d abide alwayes with vs:

Mors ... timenda erat, si tecum esse p o s s e t.

COULD HAVE

4.19 [HL 21C] If thou c o u l d e s t h a u e learned to keepe allegeance, promise, and convenants, thou mightest haue been tought it at my hands with life.

Si ipse discere p o s s e s fidem ac foedera servare, vivo tibi ea disciplina a me adhibita esset.

The way in which the use of CAN often suggests a negative which is not

otherwise expressed can be seen in:

4.20 [B 1.24r] wherein contrariwise, we see commonly the leuitie and vnconstancie of mens iudgements, which till a matter bee done, wonder that it can be done; and assoone as it is done, woonder againe that it was no sooner done.

Quin potius levitas hominum atque inconstantia, hinc optime perspici potest, qui, donec res aliqua perfecta sit, eam

mirantur fieri p o s s e; postquam facta semel est, iterum
mirantur eam iam pridem factam non fuisse.
(Where 'wonder that it can be done' must from the context mean that
they suppose that it cannot be done.)

e) In Comparative Clauses

In clauses after THAN the implied negation is evident. Such a

negation is not semantically present in clauses depending on a phrase

containing a superlative or in clauses introduced by AS + Adjective/

Adverb + AS, yet these appear usually with CAN/COULD though MAY/MIGHT

is also found.

Superlative followed by CAN/COULD

4.21 [FM 192d] To have no infirmitie at all is the c h i e f e s t
      possession of health that man c a n hope-for
                    Le n'avoir point de mal, c'est le p l u s avoir de
      bien que l'homme p u i s s e esperer;

4.22 [B 1.32r] that which the Grecians call Apotheosis ... was the
      s u p r e a m e honour, which man c o u l d attribute vnto man;
                    quem Graeci Apotheosin ... vocarunt, supremus honor
      fuit, qui homini ab homine tribui p o s s e t
(where 'supreme' seems to have the force of a superlative)

Superlative followed by MAY

4.23 [FM 203c] and have brought and strained unto the h i g h e s t
      pitch of wisdome, it m a y possibly reach unto.
                    et l'ont montée au p l u s haut point de sagesse oû
      elle p u i s s e atteindre.

AS + Adjective + AS followed by CAN/COULD

4.24 [HL 16L] Who led forth his armie and marched on a s n e e r e
       to his enemies a s hee c o u l d ...
                    Is ducit quam proxime ad hostem p o t e s t.

4.25 [FM 127d] I cam ere long a s w e l l a s I c o u l d to an
      end of it:
                    j'en vins à bout comme je p e u s :

4.26 [FM 173c] a s g e n t l y a s for my heart I c o u l d, I
      cleansed, wiped, and dried the same.
                    l'essuyay et nettoyay le plus proprement que je
      p e u x.

4.27 [FM 207c] I expound this fantazy a s p l a i n e a s I c a n.
                    J'exprime cette fantasie autant que je p u i s.

4.28 [FM 232b] For us to goe according to Nature, is but to follow
according to our understanding, a s f a r a s it c a n
follow, and as much as we c a n perceive in it.
            Car, aller selon nature, pour nous, ce n'est qu'aller
selon nostre intelligence, autant qu'elle p e u t suyvre et
autant que nous y voyons:

AS + Adjective + AS followed by MAY

4.29 [LS 13.12] there is no end of miserie, if a man feare a s
m u c h a s he m a y feare
                nullus miseriarum modus, si timetur quantum p o t e s t.

4.30 [B 1.27v] the attributes and acts of God a s f a r r e a s
they are reuealed to man, and m a y be observed with sobrietie,
            in attributis atque actis Dei, quaternus revelantur
homini, et sobrie indagari p o s s u n t.

The following two examples from Bacon with MAY after AS + Adverb + AS

are similar and share the same Latin rendering.

4.31 [B 2.5v] and it is euer a true rule of exercises, that they bee
framed as nere as m a y be to the life of practice.
            Illud autem in exercitiis perpetuo tenendum est, ut
omnia (quam f i e r i p o t e s t) maxime representent ea,
quae in vita agi solent.

4.32 [B 2.24v] I am otherwise zealous and affectionate to recede as
little from Antiquitie either in tearms or opinions, as m a y
stand with truth, & the proficience of knowledge:
            In caeteris omnino avemus (quatenus sine veritatis ac
scientiarum dispendio f i e r i p o s s i t) vel minimum ab
anti quorum aut opinionibus, aut loquendi more deflectere.

f) Perhaps related to these comparative clauses, in that they can

   usually be paraphrased with the words AS MANY AS or AS MUCH AS, are

   clauses introduced by WHAT(SOEVER)

4.33 [C LV] No doubte but he will informe you of whatsoever he c a n
come by.

From the collection of examples translating POSSUM/POUVOIR

4.34 [HL 21E] then everie man catching up hastily, and carrying forth
w h a t he c o u l d
            Raptim quibus quisque p o t e r a t elatis.
('whatsoever he could')

4.35 [HL 26G] and by making w h a t friends he c o u l d by gifts,
fauours and good turnes.
            Beneficiisque quos p o t e r a t sibi conciliando.
('whatsoever friends he could' or 'as many friends as he could')

A similar sense is also expressed by ALL + Noun + (THAT)

4.36 [C XXVI] but then he had yt with a l l the ceremonies and
     compliments that c o u l d be devised, to crie quittance for
     the honor don to Mr Edmunds
('with whatsoever ceremonies ... could be devised' with a slight
weakening of the sense. 'With as many ceremonies ... as could be
devised' seems almost exactly equivalent.)

4.37 [FM 222e] and my soule possessed with a l l the contents and
     delights, it c o u l d possibly desire or hope for.
               et cette ame saisie de tout le contentement qu'elle
     p e u t desirer et esperer.

4.38 [FM 248b] patcheth up and comforteth this received beliefe, with
     a l l the meanes his reason c a n afford him,
               va plastrant et confortant cette creance recue, de
     tout ce que p e u t sa raison.

If we then count as negative clauses all those containing CAN/

COULD which fall into the categories above, we are left with a small

residue of clearly non-negative clauses with CAN. A complete set of

examples from the translated corpuses follows, where POSSUM renders or

is rendered CAN/COULD in a non-negative clause.

1.   Lodge-Seneca

4.39 [LS 20.5] That I may therefore leaue the olde definitions of
     wisedome, and comprehend the whole manner of humane life, I
     c a n be content with this.
               Itaque ut relinquam definitiones sapientiae veteres, &
     totum complectar humanae vitae, modum hac p o s s u m contentus
     esse.

4.40 [LS 21.5] I shall haue fauour with posteritie, and c a n beare
     away with me the names of such as shall liue in memorie.
               habebo apud posteros gratiam, p o s s u m mecum
     durata nomina educere.

4.41 [LS 7.8] admit those whom thou c a n s t better;
               illos admitte, quos tu p o t e s facere meliores

4.42 [LS 17.10] Wherefore expectest thou the gain of thy vsurie, or
     the succession of some olde man, or the profit of merchandize,
     if thou c a n s t become rich suddenly.
               Expectabisne fenoris quaestum aut ex merce compendium
     aut tabulas beati senis, cum fieri p o s s i s statim dives.

4.43 [LS 9.5] Thus is a wise-man so farre content with himselfe, not
     that he will be without a friend, but that he c a n be;
               Ita sapiens se contentus est, non ut velit esse sine
     amico, sed ut p o s s i t.

4.44 [LS 11.9] Happie is he that c a n respect one of that sort, that by the onely remembrance of him he can reforme his minde: who c a n respect in that sort shall suddenly be made worthie to be respected himselfe.

O felicem, qui sic aliquem vereri p o t e s t, ut ad memoriam quoque eius componat atque ordinet. Qui sic aliquem vereri p o t e s t, cito erit verendus.

4.45 [LS 21.5] That which Epicurus c o u l d promise his friend, that I promise thee, Lucilius.

Quod Epicurus amico suo p o t u i t promittere, hoc tibi promitto, Lucili.

2.   Holland-Livy

4.46 [HL 33D] she herselfe for her part, could be at no repose, for thinking that Tanaquil, an alien and stranger borne, c o u l d contrive in her head, and effect so great a matter,

nec conquiescere ipsa potest si, cum Tanaquil peregrina mulier, tantum moliri p o t u i s s e t animo.

3.   Bacon

4.47 [B 2.28r] the Summary Law of Nature, wee knowe not whether Mans enquirie c a n attaine vnto it.

summariam nempe naturae legem. Haesitamus merito, an humana p o s s i t ad illud inquisitio pertingere.

4.48 [B 2.30r] For as in ciuill actions he is the greater and deeper pollitique, that c a n make other men the Instruments of his will and endes.

Nam sicut in rebus civilibus prodentia politica fuerit multo altior et mirabilior si quis opera aliorum ad suos fines et desideris abuti p o s s i t.

4.49 [B 2.40r-v] Nay, a Painter with a few shelles of colors, and the benefite of his Eye, and habite of his imagination c a n imitate them all (i.e. faces) that euer haue ben, ar, or may be, if they were brought before him.

imo pictus ex pauculis colorum testis acie oculi usus, et vi phantasiae, et manus constantia, omnium facies, qui sunt, fuerunt, atque etiam (si coram repraesentarentur) qui futuri sunt, penicillo imitari ac describere p o s s e t.

4.50 [B 1.38r] It was easie to be eloquent, vpon so good a subiect: But saith hee, Turne your stile, and let vs heare what you c a n say against vs;

In bona causa, facile est cuilibet esse eloquenti, quin verte, inquit, stylum, et quid contra nos p o s s i s, audiamus.

4.51 [B 1.62v-63r] The pretence whereof is to remooue the vulgar Capacities from being admitted to the secrets of Knowledges, and to reserue them to selected Auditors: or wittes of such sharpnesse as c a n pearce the veyle.

Intentio autem eius ea esse videtur, ut traditionis involueris vulgus (profanum scilicet) a Secretis Scientiarum

summoveatur : atque ille tantum admittantur, qui aut per manus magistrorum parabolarum interpretationem nacti sunt, aut proprio ingenii acumine et subtilitate intra velum penetrare p o s s i n t.

4.52 [B 1.16r] <u>He could not fiddle, but he c o u l d make a small Towne a great state.</u>
             Se quidem fidium rudem esse, sed quo pacto oppidum parvum in civitatem magnam evadere p o s s e t, satis nosse.

4.53 [B 1.45r] that whatsoeuer motions the spirite of man c o u l d act, and perfourme without the Organs of the bodie, they thought might remaine after death;
             quoscumque motus et actus anima humana absque corporis organo praestare p o s s i t, eos etiam post mortem permanere probabile esse:

4.54 [B 1.39v] As first, it is reason hee be thought a Master of words, that c o u l d with one word appease a mutinie in his Armie;
             Primo igitur, magister sit oportet loquendi, qui unico verbo seditionem in exercitu comprimere p o t u i t.

In most of these examples, the sense of power, either skill or strength (usually here of a moral or spiritual kind) to accomplish the action referred to by the verb following, is the evident sense of CAN/ COULD. Examples 4.41, 4.44, 4.47, 4.48, 4.49, 4.50, 4.51, 4.52 require no commentary. In 4.40 the metaphor, at least in the English, is of having the physical strength to lift and carry something. In 4.42, 'if thou canst become rich suddenly' to make sense of the Stoic paradox here being propounded must mean 'if you have it in your own power to become rich at once'. Seneca is not referring to the possibility of becoming rich, but of the ability of the wiseman, by the act of will that cuts off desire, to achieve genuine riches. So again, in 4.43 within the Stoic framework of thought, 'he can be without a friend' - 'he has the psychological and spiritual abilities to sustain solitude'.

In 4.45 'that which Epicurus could promise his friend'. He had in himself the power and authority to promise - what is promised is a literary immortality through being the recipient of the philosopher's letters. It is important here to go beyond the idea that it was possible for Epicurus to make the promise and that he did indeed make

the promise, to the fact that the promise has been fulfilled; Epicurus's correspondents have been immortalized by their association with him.

In 4.39, in spite of the literalness of the translation from Latin 'I can be content' is fairly common colloquial English of this time. It occurs frequently in Chamberlaine for example. The sense is apparently 'I am able to bring myself to accept' or 'I am willing, although with a certain natural reluctance overcome'. Not therefore merely that it is possible for me to be content but that certain qualities in me make it possible for me.

MAY/MIGHT in Negative Clauses

The following are the examples from the Latin translated texts of MAY/MIGHT corresponding to POSSUM in negative clauses.

Lodge-Seneca

4.55 [LS 17.11] A man m a y n o t salute the Kings of Parthia
without a present:
            Reges Parthorum n o n p o t e s t quisquam
salutare sine munero.

Holland-Livy

4.56 [HL 11c] (for so nigh a warre m i g h t beare n o delay)
            N e q u e enim dilationem pati tam vicinum bellum
p o t e r a t

4.57 [HL 14H] Whereunto, he seeing that they m i g h t n o t be
brought and framed in time of warre, whose hearts were alreadie
by continuall warfare growne wild and savage:
            quibus cum inter bella assuescere videret n o n
p o s s e, (quippe efferatis militia animis)

4.58 [HL 19C] By vertue of this law were the Duumvirs created, who by
the rigour of that law thought they m i g h t n o t quit so
much as a guiltlesse person:
            Hac lege duumviri creati, qui se absolvere n o n
rebantur ea lege ne innoxium quidem p o s s e ...

4.59 [HL 27B] Accius Navius ... gave out plainely, that there
m i g h t be n o t h i n g changed or newly ordained in that
behalfe, unlesse the birds first approoved and allowed the same.
            Negare Accius Navius ... n e q u e mutari neque novum
constitui nisi aves addixisset p o s s e.

There are no examples in Florio-Montaigne or the Bacon corpus.

Since the tendency to use CAN/COULD in negative clauses and MAY/MIGHT

in non-negative clauses is not restricted to those cases where POSSUM/

POUVOIR are being rendered, in order to extend the set of examples of

MAY/MIGHT in negative clauses we add the following examples being all

the remaining uses of MAY/MIGHT in negative clauses to be found in the

Holland-Livy corpus.

4.60 [HL 7B] whereupon the custome held, that so long as the familie
of the Pinarij continued, they m i g h t   n o t feed of the
sacred inwards.
          Inde institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne
extis sollennibus v e s c e r e n t u r.

4.61 [HL 12M-13A] The old Romanes againe m i g h t   n o t   abide an
alien or forrainer to be king.
          Romani veteres peregrinum regem a s p e r n a -
b a n t u r.

4.62 [HL 16H] but being commanded by authoritie, they m i g h t
n o t will nor chuse:
          Sed imperio subigi:

4.63 [HL 39E] resolved under the cloake of base contempt to save
himselfe, since that in right or justice he m i g h t repose
small or n o safegard at all
          Statuit contemptu tutus esse, ubi in iure parum
praesidii esset

Of these examples, 4.55, 4.58, 4.59, 4.60 and 4.62 contain MAY/

MIGHT NOT in the clear sense of 'is/was not permitted to'. However in

the rest, 4.56, 4.57, 4.61, 4.63, this sense is not found and it is

hard to see what difference is made to the sense if COULD is substituted

for MIGHT.

In the development of the language, MAY/MIGHT originally held

almost all the area now occupied by CAN/COULD and therefore these uses

may perhaps be considered archaisms. Certainly the infrequency of

occurrence of MAY/MIGHT in negative clauses, as compared with CAN/COULD

is more striking than the proportion of these occurrences which show

the meaning, proper to MAY/MIGHT, but not to CAN/COULD, of permission;

although the majority of uses of MAY/MIGHT in negative clauses have the

sense of 'it is not permitted to', rather than of 'it is not possible to'.

As we have seen from 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 in one area of their use at least, CANNOT occurs as the negative of MAY. We may now suggest that in rendering the Latin POSSUM or the French POUVOIR, CAN is used in negative and a range of quasi-negative clauses and when it occurs in a non-negative clause it implies knowledge, skill, ability or power in whatever is the reference of the subject of CAN. MAY translates POSSUM/POUVOIR in all non-negative clauses; it is uncommon in negative clauses and when it occurs it tends to mean that the reference of its subject is prohibited from acting by some person or set of rules not directly expressed in the syntax though usually evident from the context.

The parallel between this pair of meanings characteristic of CAN in non-negative clauses and MAY in non-negative clauses to the pair of meanings we have assigned to WILL and SHALL is striking.

Like WILL, CAN makes the reference of its grammatical subject the source of movement towards the accomplishment of the activity or process referred to by the verb which follows.

Like SHALL, MAY (NOT) implies that the reference of its subject is itself impelled or constrained from without, in relation to the accomplishment of the activity or process referred to by the verb.

If we take the modality of WILL and SHALL as 'expectation', then

N will V

can be set out as

[that N V] is expected, for reasons connected with N

and

N shall V

as   [that N V] is expected, for reasons not connected with N

If we take the modality of CAN and MAY as 'possibility', then

N can V

can be set out as

[that N V] is possible, for reasons connected with N

and   N may V

as   [that N V] is possible for reasons not connected with N

The diagrammatic presentations of the relationships in semantic struc-
ture between WILL and SHALL also fit these for CAN and MAY. Thus if we
present the structure of the meaning of WILL as

$$S \longrightarrow \textcircled{M} \longrightarrow V$$

to indicate the relationship here between subject and modal and modal
and verb, and the structure of SHALL as

$$\underbrace{S \cdots\cdots\cdots V}_{\textcircled{M}}$$
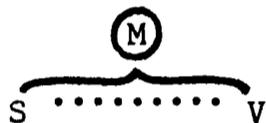
to indicate that the modal operates as a kind of superordinate clause,
then this diagrammatic presentation will serve for CAN and MAY in the
senses we have adduced.

If we present 'Tom will go' as

and 'Tom shall go' as

```
              S
             /  1 \
          /       \
       NP          VP
       X          /  \
              /        \
           V            NP
         Shall          |
                        |
                      /  S 2 \
                   /          \
                NP             V
                Tom            go
```
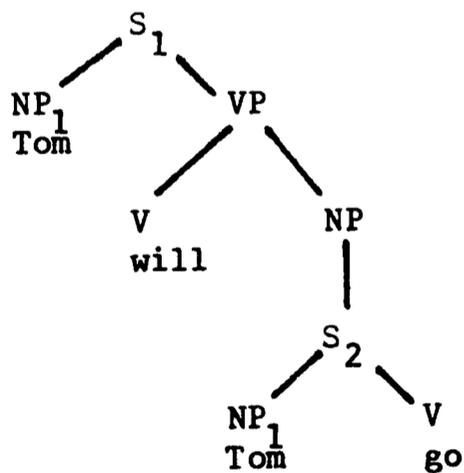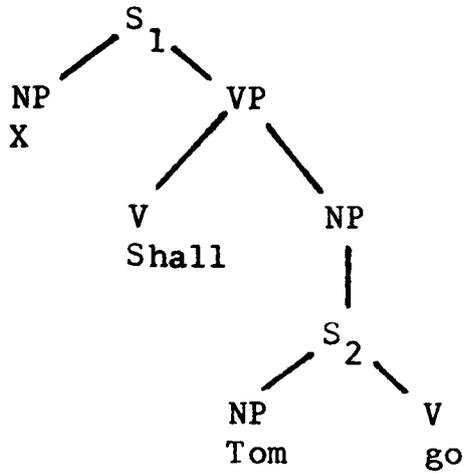
Then these trees will serve for 'Tom can go' and 'Tom may go' and the
unexpressed subject of the modal (shown as NP.X) has the same range of
possible senses, with MAY, as it has with SHALL, and the actual sense in
any clause will tend to be determined in the same way. For example, in
the second person there is a similar presumption that the speaker is the
subject X.

Thou shalt   [I ordain that thou ...]

Thou mayest   [I permit that thou ...]

However it is necessary to note here that the trees for 'Tom shall not
go' and 'Tom may not go' do not match because the negative is
differently placed.

```
          S                              S
         /  1 \                         /  1 \
      /        \                     /    |    \
    NP          VP                 NP     VP    neg
    X X        /  \                X     /  \
           /        \                 /      \
         V            NP             V        NP
                      |                        |
                    /  S 2 \                 /  S 2 \
                 /    |    \               /        \
               N     V     neg            N          V
```
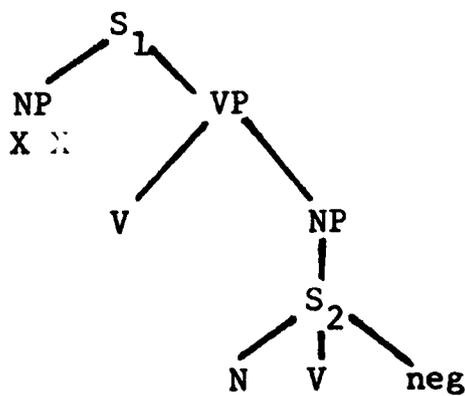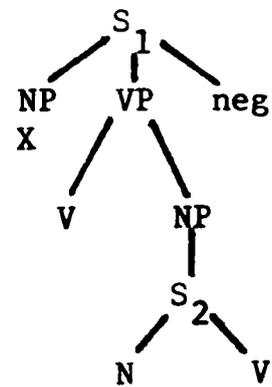
Tom shall not go   Tom may not go

This difference in the placing of the negative in the underlying syntax,
helps to explain other differences from WILL and SHALL which CAN and
MAY display as a modal pair, differences to ..be set out in the present
chapter. However at this point the parallels between the two pairs
which we have established deserve some further consideration.

It is possible to see in the meanings of CAN and MAY another aspect of the fundamental distinction which was suggested in the discussion of WILL and SHALL - between activity and event. As the future can be viewed as made up of the intentions, or characteristic and thus predictable processes of agents on the one hand, and on the other, events which are destined to occur, so universal contingency can be viewed as made up of the powers within the agents and the opportunities offered or the constraints imposed on those agents from outside. If WILL stands for the drive of the agents that act in the world, and SHALL for the drive of the world itself imposed on the agents, CAN and MAY stand for the scope of the agents, and the scope and constraint of the world around them. Diagrammatically

	Activity SELF			Event WORLD
DRIVE	WILL			SHALL
		WOULD	SHOULD	
		COULD	MIGHT	
SCOPE	CAN			MAY

The process by which systems of this kind are produced in the language is outside the subject of this essay, although the serial organization of the material for exposition is in danger of implying a possible process by which the system was gradually elaborated in the language. Since this exposition started with WILL and SHALL the suggestion is perhaps given that the roles of CAN and MAY have as it were been modelled on those of WILL and SHALL. Certainly the re-forming of the past tense COUTH(E) or COUD(E) as COULD (the OED says 'L began to be inserted about 1525, app. in mechanical imitation of would') suggests that CAN/COULD at least came to be seen as having some kind of relationship with WILL/WOULD and SHALL/SHOULD. The WILL-SHALL pairing is certainly much older in the language than that of CAN-MAY. Yet the CAN-MAY pairing replaced a similar pairing between

.

magan   -   motan

in which the relationship between the meaning of the two words is roughly the same; and in most ways the distinction between CAN and MAY and the relationship between them is more transparent than that of WILL and SHALL. It is perhaps for this reason they did not attract the same attention from grammarians as WILL and SHALL. No one appears to have attempted a formulation of the way they were used. Wallis [1653] merely distinguishes their meanings,

> [p. 95] may & might vel de Jure vel saltem de rei possibilitate dicuntur; at can & could de viribus agentis.

Neither he nor any earlier grammarian that I have seen makes any reference to the role played by negation in the selection of one or the other.

Like WILL and SHALL, CAN and MAY are associated together because in certain grammatical contexts their full and quite distinct meanings are weakened, and fall together. Thus both WILL and SHALL indicate future time. However WILL and SHALL do not then become alternatives in free variation to form a future tense, because the grammatical contexts in which their full meanings are weakened, are complementary. With WILL and SHALL the context which determines whether the modal will have the weakened sense is whether the following verb is a verb of activity or of non-activity, and the weakening is really the result of what might be called a semantic overlap between the modal and the full verb. Thus verbs of activity already contain as part of their meaning the sense of action deliberately undertaken which is also part of the meaning of WILL. So with such verbs, WILL is weakened until all that remains is the element of futurity. In the same way, verbs of non-activity by the structure of their meaning already contain the idea of a process which is caused or brought about and so before such verbs,

SHALL loses that part of its meaning. A similar weakening of CAN and MAY also occurs before certain verbs which already contain the idea of permitting or enabling in their semantic structure, and this will be studied later in the present chapter. But this weakening does not give rise to a quasi-tense as with WILL and SHALL it gives rise to the so-called future, though in a way, as we shall see, it could be said to modify the conjugation of certain verbs.

At the same time, CAN and MAY do form together something which whether we call it a tense or, as sixteenth century grammarians usually called it, a mood, is in some ways analogous to the so-called future, formed by WILL and SHALL. If, following the terminology of the sixteenth century we refer to this as the potential, we can say it is the mood of possibility as what is formed by WILL and SHALL is the mood of expectation, and that the rule for its formation is that in negative clauses it is formed with CAN and in non-negative clauses by MAY. The meaning is thus

    N MAY   V - It is possible for N to V

    N CANNOT V - It is impossible for N to V

These meanings are not weakened meanings of MAY and CAN as we have defined their full meanings and as we have defined weakening in the account above of WILL and SHALL. They are rather generalized meanings.

The full meaning of 'N MAY V' is paraphrasable as 'someone or something permits that N V'. But the someone or something that permits, is not expressed as part of the construction. This absence from the expression of the authority granting permission enables it to be generalized, until no permitting agency is implied and permission becomes possibility.

Now this generalization can only take place with a word having a semantic structure like MAY, where the source of power or permission is

not specified. It cannot develop from a word with the semantic struc-
ture of CAN, where the source or enabling power is specifically
referred to in the grammatical subject and this subject must always be
expressed. This provides a reason why the mood of possibility should
be formed with MAY and CANNOT. It is natural for MAY to develop this
sense of possibility in non-negative clauses and impossible for CAN to
develop it. On the other hand, the negative of CAN, except where the
word still retains its older meaning of 'know how to', will usually be
a matter of external circumstances which render the thing impossible
rather than a failure or inadequacy of powers in the self; indeed even
the failure or absence of these powers becomes a part of the outward
circumstances. In other words, what is permitted and was possible for
a subject are easily associated and contrasted with what a subject is
able to do. What a subject is unable to do and what is impossible for
him are associated and are in contrast to what he is forbidden to do.
Thus instead of

	CAN	MAY
Non-Negative	power in self	permission
Negative	no power in self	no permission

we have

	CAN	MAY
Non-Negative	power in self	permission + possibility
Negative	impossibility	no permission

The negative in this tabulation is for both CAN and MAY the negation of
the modal and not of the verb. There is no example in the texts
analyzed of N MAY NOT V in the sense 'it is possible that N not V'
although the use is already to be found. In the summaries prefixed to
each Epistle by Lipsius in his edition of Seneca's Epistles to Lucilius
and translated by Lodge (but not included in the analysis for this

study) there is

> EPIST XIII ... he aduiseth vs not to be tormented with
> the feare of things to come; he auoweth them to be
> vncertaine, and such as may not fall out.

The development of this usage is an important modification of the

pattern for CAN and MAY described here though the corpus under examina-

tion does not provide material for its study. Its place in the

expression of possibility and necessity is shown in Section 6 of the

present chapter and there is further consideration in Chapter 6, Section

6, Epistemic uses.

CAN and MAY Expressing Characteristic Behaviour

Before we consider the weakening of CAN and MAY when used with

certain verbs, we may notice a use which seems to correspond with the

use of WILL to express characteristic or expected action or behaviour.

There are two examples where Bacon's translators have rendered this use

of MAY by SOLEO.

4.64 [B 1.10v] but rather it will keepe and defend the possession of
the mind against idlenesse and pleasure, which otherwise, at
vnawares, m a y enter to the preiudice of both.
        Quin potius vindicant animum ab otio et voluptate,
quae alias sensim ad utriusque damnum, et negotiorum et
literarum, subintrare s o l e n t.

4.65 [B 2.17v] which beeing not tyed to the Lawes of Matter; m a y
at pleasure ioyne that which Nature hath seuered: & seuer that
which Nature hath ioyned, and so make vnlawfull Matches &
diuorses of things:
        Quae iniqua et illicita prorsus rerum conjugia et
divortia comminisci et machinari s o l e t.

Elsewhere we find the Latin indicative rendered by MAY

4.66 [LS 11.1] That which is borne with vs m a y be sweetned and
corrected by arte, but neyther mastered or rooted out.
        Quicquid infixum & ingenitum est l e n i t u r arte,
non vincitur.

There are many examples of CAN rendering the indicative in negative

clauses:

4.67 ⌈LS 11.2⌉ Neyther discipline n o r vse c a n wholly take
     from them these imperfections:
                Haec nec disciplina nec usus umquam e x c u t i t.

4.68 ⌈LS 11.6⌉ N o wisedome, as I haue said, c a n take away this
     inf irmitie.
                Haec, ut dixi, nulla sapientia a b i g i t.

4.69 ⌈LS 13.14⌉ we feare the incertaine as certaine, neyther c a n
     we keep any measure. A doubt doth incontinently become feare.
                Expavescimus dubia pro certis. Non s e r v a m u s
     modum rerum. Statim in timorem vestit scrupulus.

4.70 ⌈B 1.4r⌉ neither is it any quantitie of knowledge, how great
     soeuer, that . c a n make the minde of man to swell;
                Neque certe vis ulla scientiae, quanta quanta sit,
     i n f l a t mentem.

In negative clauses with a passive verb, the use seems particularly

natural.

4.71 ⌈LS 2.3⌉ The wound c a n hardly be cured, that is couered with
     diuers sorts of medicines.
                Non v e n i t volnus ad cicatricem, in quo crebro
     medicamenta temptantur.

4.72 ⌈LS 11.1⌉ For those vices which are connaturall eyther in minde
     or bodie, c a n n o t be wholly defaced by any industrie.
                nulla enim sapientia, naturalia corporis aut animi
     vitia p o n u n t u r.

CAN/MAY also occur where the main meaning is future time.

4.73 ⌈B 2.40v⌉ all that euer haue ben, ar, or m a y be,
                omnium facies, qui sunt, fuerunt, atque etiam ... qui
     f u t u r i s u n t.

and appear as translations of the Latin future

4.74 ⌈LS 13.11⌉ And againe, many things m a y fall out
                Multa i n t e r v e n i e n t

4.75 ⌈LS 16.4⌉ But som one m a y say
                D i c e t aliquis:

4.76 ⌈LS 4.4⌉ Thinkest thou that vertue c a n n o t inforce as much
     as excessiue feare could?
                Non putas virtutem hoc e f f e c t u r a m, quod
     efficit nimia formido.

4.77 ⌈LS 9.5⌉ As Phidias hauing lost one statue, c a n suddenly
     fashion another;
                quomodo si perdiderit Phidias statuam, protinus alteram
     f a c i e t:

4.78 [LS 9.15] for he c a n liue happily without his friends
                 V i v e t enim etiam sine amicis beate

4.79 [LS 14.10] Wisedome onely c a n shew vs how this may be
                  affected,
                          Quomodo hoc fiat, sapientia sola m o n s t r a b i t.

CAN and MAY Weakened Before Some Classes of Verbs

CAN and MAY are weakened, in the sense we have used this word in

the discussion of WILL and SHALL, when they occur with verbal expressions

which already contain, as part of their own meaning, a sense of

enablement. Just as verbs of activity contain a sense of deliberate or

willed action which weakens the modal WILL when it is used with such

verbs, so certain verbs of non-activity, from which this sense of

deliberate or willed activity is of course absent, contain the idea

that the process referred to by the verb is itself an enablement of the

subject. The subjects of such verbs are not, like the subjects of

passive verbs, mere receptors. They do engage in activity, but the

validity of that activity lies in the subject's reaction to or reflection

of circumstances which are referred to in the verbal predicate. It is

as if the subject is only able to perform the activity because he is

enabled to by the activity itself. The verbs that belong to this

category have in common a kind of transitivity in which what is in one

manner the object or goal of the action is in another manner its origin.

1) The most obvious group of words in this category are the verbs of

perception, or rather since the transitivity is essential to the

characteristic which weakens the modals CAN and MAY, verbs of perception

followed by the object perceived. As has been noticed in PE, CAN before

such verbs as SEE and HEAR seems to lose its usual force and to become

no more than the marker of a tense indicating a present continuous

process, equivalent to the BE + -ING tense which is not used in this

way with these words. However this only occurs when some object of

sight or hearing is mentioned. When the blindman whose sight has been

restored cries 'I can see again', CAN has its full sense. But 'I can

hear music' is equivalent to 'I hear music' and indeed might be

considered responsible for the failure of the form 'I am hearing music'

to develop in sentences of this kind in PE. 'I can hear music'

contains the idea that there is music, and it is because the music is

there that I am able to hear it. We find MAY/MIGHT in non-negative

clauses, CAN/COULD in negative.

4.80   [HL 22L]   therefore certaine men were sent of purpose to see this
        strange and prodigious sight : who m i g h t   plainely behold
        stones to fall thicke out of the skie,
                    missis ad id visendum prodigium, in conspectu ...
        crebri cecidere caelo lapides.

4.81   [M 82D]   In the meane time wee   m i g h t   see the rebels forces
        draw ouer the mountaines towards the pace of <u>Carlingford.</u>

4.82   [HL 20K]   By which meanes, a great part of the footmen   c o u l d
        n o t   see the Albanes as they departed and went their waies.
                    Id factum, magnae parti peditum Romanorum conspectum
        abeuntis Albani exercitus intersepsit.

4.83   [B 2.27r]   As for the possibilitie, they are ill discouerers,
        that thinke there is no land when they   c a n   see nothing but
        Sea.
                    Ad inventionis possibilitatem vero quod attinet, sunt
        certe ignavi regionum exploratores, qui ubi nil nisi coelum et
        pontum   v i d e n t,   terras ultra esse prorsus negant.

2)   In addition to verbs of perception, we can make a second category,

verbs of intellectual perception, of learning, knowing and believing.

All the examples here are negative and there seems to be a noticeable

difference of idiom from PE which makes it in some cases difficult to

be sure of the intended sense. However the following examples exhibit

the introduction of CAN or COULD in translation of the indicative.

4.84   [FM 126a]   which I   c a n n o t   beleeve
                    ce que je ne   c r o y   pas

4.85   [FM 214d]   I   c a n   n o t   easily be perswaded that ...
                    Je ne me p⸱e⸳r⸳s u a d e   pas aysement que ...

4.86 [FM 235a] our tongue speakes it, but our understanding c a n no whit apprehend it.
        nostre parole le dict, mais nostre intelligence ne l' a p p r e h e n d e point.

4.87 [FM 185a] we c o u l d n e v e r learne, they had any speciall excellencie in their life.
        nous n' a v o n s pas pourtant apris qu'ils ayent eu aucune particuliere excellence en leur vie;

So, in the Delaval Letters,

4.88 [D 26] I c a n no way learne of Sir edward fytton to be at London

and the expression 'I cannot learn' or some variant occurs a dozen times in the Chamberlaine corpus.

Also in Chamberlaine

4.89 [C LVIII] The litle gentlewoman without Creplegate sends you word that her mother marvayles she c a n n o t heare of you.

4.90 [C XLVII] which ... wrought so with him, that I heare he hath made his peace, but on what conditions I c a n n o t learne.

4.91 [C XLIX] for my part, I c a n n o t yet beleve all that is reported, though I make no doubt but he is in great daunger; but I c a n n o t perswade myself that so fowle a canker could breed in an open souldierlike breast.

3)   A third category of expressions with which CAN/MAY occurs in a weakened sense is in first person uses of verbs of saying. The speaker is enabled to make the statement because the statement is true (or is unable to make it because it is not true). Thus:

4.92 [M 51C] So as at this time, I m a y boldly say, the rebellion was at the greatest strength.

4.93 [M 48C] I c a n n o t say that he was bountiful to them.

'I may say' is established as an idiom, which persists in PE.

4.94 [HL 41C] a deadly pleasure, I m a y s a y, to me: & to himselfe also no lesse, if yee be men of courage.
        Mihi sibique si vos viri estis, pestiferum ... gaudium

This use of MAY is extremely common in Bacon

4.94a [B 2.33r] the true NATVRALL MAGICKE ... I m a y reporte deficient

In Chamberlaine

4.95 [C VII] whereto I c a n only adde that this day sevenight the erle of Essex went to the court but with what successe, or how matters stand since, I know not.

and with CAN in a non-negative clause

4.96 [C LX] I c a n assure you now that neither Mrs Faringdon nor her sister are so far gon as theyre Valentine wisht and reported:

In this example the verb is a performative, and it may be noticed

that in PE certain other performative verbs retain performative force

in the form I CAN + verb whereas this force is absent from the form

I AM + *ING. Thus 'I can assure you', 'I can promise you', 'I can

state', perform the actions of assuring, promising and stating just as

well as 'I assure you', 'I promise you', 'I state' whereas 'I am

assuring you', 'I am promising you', 'I am stating', merely refer to

these actions. Perhaps the performative function in 4.96 accounts for

the use of CAN here instead of MAY; see also 4.45 for discussion of

force of CAN/COULD with the verb 'promise'.

4)   The fourth category of verbs before which CAN and MAY are

weakened are those which refer to a moral or emotional reaction to a

state of affairs, real or supposed. Here again the subject is in one

sense an agent, in another is reacting to the state of affairs which is

mentioned as the object of the verb. I give four translated examples

(all negative for I can find no clear non-negative examples). In each,

CAN seems to me to not retain its full meaning, and is not reflected in

the other language.

4.97 [HL 19E:] The people c o u l d no longer endure, either the teares of the old father, or the constant resolution of the youth his son, who shewed himselfe still the same, & not to change for any danger
　　　　　Non t u l i t populus nec patris lacrymas, nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum.

4.98 [B 1.16v] Not that I c a n taxe or condemne the morigeration or application of learned men to men in fortune.
　　　　　Neque hoc d i c o, quasi literatos culpem si ad beatos et potentes vires quandoque se applicent.

4.99   [B 2.40r] And therefore I c a n n o t much blame Phisitians,
that they vse commonly to intend some other Art or practise.
          Equidem medicis minus s u c c e n s e o si saepe
numero vacent alicui alteri studio

4.100 [FM 233b] I c a n n o t allow a man should so bound Gods
heavenly power under the Lawes of our word.
          Je ne t r o u v e pas bon d'enfermer ainsi la
puissance divine soubs les loix de nostre parolle.

CAN and MAY in Questions

The selection of CAN or MAY in questions is appropriate to the

expected answer. Thus questions not containing a negative particle and

expecting a negative answer, select CAN/COULD. Questions containing a

negative particle and expecting a non-negative reply select MAY/MIGHT.

Questions with CAN/COULD expecting a negative reply. These are

fairly common in the texts and a selection is given here:

4.101 [LS 19.1] for what better thing c a n I intreat at my friends
hand, then that for which I should implore God in his behalfe?
          quid enim habeo melius, quod amicum rogem, quam quod
pro ipso rogaturus sum?
(Expecting the answer 'I cannot entreat for anything better ...')

4.102 [HL 4H] (for who c a n certainly avouch a thing so long agoe?)
          (quis enim rem tam veterem pro.certo affirmet?)

4.103 [FM 157a] C a n all this be conceived without reason?
          Tout cela se peut il comprendre sans ratiocination et
sans discours?

4.104 [H 71B] C a n a mother forget her child? [Isaiah Ch.49 v.15]

4.105 [H 81B] Since the firste foundation of the world what one
c a n say, My wayes are pure?

4.106 [H 93A] What c a n be more immediate to our saluation then
our perswasion concerning the lawe of Christ towardes his Church?

4.107 [HL 35D] For c o u l d there be (quoth he) a prowder part
plaid, than thus to mock, delude, & abuse the whole state of
Latium.
          An quicquam superbius esse, quam ludificare sic omne
nomen Latinum.

4.108 [FM 184e] C o u l d they ever draw any ease for the gout from
Logike?
          ont-ils tiré de la Logique quelque consolation à la
goute?

However, the two following examples contain CANNOT and expect non-negative answers.

4.109 [M 71C] C a n n o t Princes erre : C a n n o t Subiects suffer wrong?

4.110 [FM 181c] And what qualities of our corporall constitution, both in <u>Plato</u> and <u>Cicero</u> c a n n o t fit and serve a thousand beasts?
Et quelles qualit&s de mostre corporelle constitution en Platon et en Ciceron ne peuvent servir à milles sortes de bestes?

Rhetorical questions with MAY NOT/MIGHT NOT, expecting a non-negative answer are much less common in the texts than questions with CAN/COULD expecting a negative answer and the following list is complete:

4.111 [FM 143b] That defect which hindreth the communication betweene them and us, why m a y it n o t as well be in us, as in them?
Ce defaut qui empesche la communication d'entre elles et nous, pourquoy n' e s t il aussi bien à nous qu'à elles?

4.112 [FM 240b] For, why m a y n o t a Goose say thus?
Car pourquoy ne d i r a un oison ainsi:

4.113 [FM 152d] Should we see her running alongst the river side, approach her eare close to the yce ... m i g h t n o t we lawfully judge, that the same discourse possesseth her head, as in the like case it would ours?
Quand nous le verrions au bord de l'eau approcher son oreille bien pres de la glace, ... n' a u r i o n s -nous par raison de juger qu'il luy passe par la teste ce mesme discours qu'il feroit en la nostre.

4.114 [FM 225b] M i g h t n o t <u>Epicurus</u> with some shew of humane reason object that unto <u>Plato</u>, if he did not often shrowd himselfe under this sentence;
Epicure o p p o s e r o i t -il pas cela à Platon avec grande apparence de l'humaine raison, s'il ne se couvroit souvant par cete sentance:

4.115 [M 73D] This I thought with myselfe, ... if <u>Leicester</u> were pardoned, ... why m i g h t n o t <u>Essex</u> be pardoned.

However the following three examples with MAY all expect negative answers.

4.116 [LS 16.4] and against those that are vncertaine what prouision m a y be made ...?
& nihil praeparari p o t e s t adversus incerta
(Where a negative Latin statement is rendered as a rhetorical question.)

4.117 [HL 35E] What better dealings m a y the Latines hope and
      looke for?
                    Quid spei melioris Latinis portendi?

4.118 [FM 184d] What good or commoditie m a y we imagine this far -
      understanding of so many things brought ever unto <u>Varro</u>, and to
      <u>Aristotle</u>?
                    De quel fruit p o u v o n s nous estimer avoir estё
      à Varron et Aristotle cette intelligence de tant de choses?

All are in the form WHAT + Noun + MAY. See 4.101 for a question in

similar form with CAN.

SECTION 5 - <u>CAN/COULD AND THE EXPRESSION OF OBLIGATION AND NECESSITY</u>

         This study in the two previous chapters has pointed out certain

parallels between WILL and SHALL on the one hand and CAN and MAY on the

other, as these are used in the written language around 1600. These

may be summarized:

  i)   the semantic structure of SHALL is related to that of WILL in

       precisely the same way as the semantic structure of MAY is

       related to that of CAN

  ii) both pairs, besides their full meanings, also together form some-

       thing which might be and indeed is in the grammarians of the

       period referred to as a tense or mood.

The study has also shown certain differences between the two pairs

which in the light of these striking parallels may be overlooked.

These may be summarized:

  i)   in the similar semantic structures of the two pairs it should be

       noticed that with WILL and SHALL the negative belongs to the

       lexical verb;wwibh CAN and MAY the negative belongs with the

       modal

  ii) the process by which WILL and SHALL lose their full meanings and

       so function as indicators of future time is one of weakening due

       to a kind of semantic overlap with the verbs that follow them.

4. CAN and MAY   5. Expressing Obligation and
                           Necessity

This process also occurs with CAN and MAY and leads to the use of

CAN and MAY with verbs of perception to form a kind of substitute

for the present tense in BE + -ING. But the process by which CAN

and MAY come to form a potential mood, is not that of weakening,

but one that we have called generalization, by which the

expression of permission in a syntactic structure which does not

admit specification of the source of permission becomes the

expression of possibility.

This process of generalization from permission to possibility is

apparently common to many languages, though philosophically the concepts

are distinct. The concepts of obligation and necessity which philo-

sophically can be derived from permission and possibility are, as we

might expect, provided with separate terms in language, but the close

connections between possibility and necessity at least, though this is

less true of permission and obligation, remain perceptible in language.

Indeed the logic of the relationship between possibility and necessity

is reflected faithfully in the English usage of this time, and is

perhaps the point at which to begin the study of the modal uses con-

cerned with necessity and obligation. In this way, it will be easier

to bear in mind that though, as we shall show, by the eModE period, the

language had evolved a pair of modals, apparently after the pattern of

WILL/SHALL and CAN/MAY, for the expression of obligation and necessity,

this does not in fact constitute a third system of equal standing with

the other two, but remains always closely involved and indeed a part of

the CAN/MAY system.

There are two striking connections between these systems, which

distinguish their relationship from that between WILL/SHALL and CAN/MAY.

The first is historical, the fact that MUST in the period before eModE

occupied the semantic territory now belonging to MAY, and indeed held

in relationship to MAY in ME something of the relationship which MAY

now holds to CAN. This semantic shift presumably turned on MUST NOT.

Because being under an obligation not to do something is equivalent to

not being permitted to do it, and what is impossible, necessarily does

not occur, MUST NOT kept the same meaning while MUST moved from per-

mission to obligation and necessity.

The second connection between the two systems is that the

expression of necessity by means of CAN/COULD remains a normal part of

the language at this time. The logical relationship between possi-

bility and necessity,

$$\sim P(\sim a) \equiv N(a)$$

also applies to permission and obligation. Whatever it is not possible

not to do, it is necessary to do, and what it is forbidden not to do,

it is obligatory to do. This is directly reflected in the ordinary

language. A negative particle in the clause with CAN or MAY negates

the modal. If the lexical verb which follows the modal is also negated,

then the sense will become that of obligation or necessity. MAY NOT is

not used to express obligation except in so far as it is used with a

verb which contains a negative semantic component, as 'I may not omit'

or 'I may not deny' which appear to be equivalent to 'I must say'.

Necessity is also expressed in this way with CANNOT and verbs

containing a negating component.

4.119 [B 2.31v] I may onely make this prediction that there c a n n o t
      f a i l e to bee more kindes of them, as Nature growes furder
      disclosed.

4.120 [B 2.39r] and it c a n n o t be d e n i e d, but that the
      bodie of Man of all other things, is of the most compounded Masse.
                    Usque adeo verum est unam, inter res caeteras,
      corporis humani massam maxime fermentatem et ex plurimis
      coagmentatum esse.

4.121 [M Eliz 40C] We know you c a n n o t so much f a y l e in
      iudgement, as not to vnderstand, that all the World seeth, how
      time is dallied.

4.122 [C XLVI] I am glad you had so short and safe a passage, which I
      made account you c o u l d   n o t   w a n t, carieng so many
      goode wishes alonge with you.

But there is also a special negative particle, BUT, which can be used

to negate the lexical verb following CANNOT. NOT as a negative

particle is placed after the finite verb it negates but when used with

infinitives, or indeed any other phrase, its negation applies to what

follows it. However it appears that CANNOT BUT is not a modification

for the sake of clarity and elegance of CANNOT NOT but an adaptation of

the use of BUT after negative words, of the kind NONE BUT, to a parti-

cular syntactic need.

Besides CANNOT BUT we also find CANNOT CHOOSE BUT usually, but

not always (see 4.140, 4.141) with a personal subject. In the examples

of this expression CHOOSE BUT is always followed by an infinitive, not

a clause, but the two passive examples (4.144, 4.145) have clauses

after BUT as their postponed subjects. In 4.144 the interrogative

takes the place of the negative with COULD, and we notice that the

necessity which is expressed by 'how could it be chosen but' is

reexpressed in the clause to which this necessity applies by the use of

the modal MUST.

In the first example below, the order 'it cannot be but ...'

occurs instead of the expected 'it cannot but be ...' but that it was

read implying necessity seems clear from the Latin translation.

4.123 [B 1.8r] so by like reason it c a n n o t be b u.t a matter
      of doubtfull consequence, if States bee managed by Emperic
      Statesmen.
               consimiliter n o n p o t e s t n o n esse
      periculosissimum, quoties summa rerum empiricis consiliariis
      praecipue mandatur.
(Not I think 'it cannot be a matter of consequence merely doubtful ...'
though strictly BUT after the verb should lose its negative force. See
4.151-155 and discussions.)

CANNOT BUT + Verb

4.124 [B 1.24v] men haue abandoned vniuersalitie, or _Philosophia prima_; which c a n n o t b u t cease, and stoppe all progres$ion.

Mox a plerisque universali ʳrerum cognitioni et philosophiae primae renunciatur, quod quidem profectui doctrinarum inimicissum est.

4.125 [B 1.44v] for the originals cannot last; and the copies c a n n o t b u t leese of the life and truth.

Archetypa enim ipsa, iamdudum confecta vetustate, perierunt; exempla autem indies primagenia similitudine mulctantur.

4.126 [B 2.6r] So in like manner there c a n n o t b u t bee a fraternitie in learning and illumination.

Eodem modo fieri n o n p o t e s t, q u i n inter-cedat fraternitas illustris et generosa, inter homines, per doctrinas et illuminationes.

4.127 [B 2.11v] So againe Narrations, and Relations of actions ... c a n n o t b u t be more purely and exactly true, then HISTORIES of TIMES,

At relationes actionum speciales ... omnino puriore et magis sincero veritatis candore vestiri par est, quam historias justas temporum.

4.128 [B 2.11v] whereas he that vndertaketh the story of a time ... c a n n o t b u t meet with many blankes, and spaces,

cum contra historia temporis ... veluti spatia vacua contineat.

4.129 [B 2.14r] which possession I c a n n o t b u t note, that in our times it lieth much wast.

quam quidem possessionem n o n p o s s u m n o n notare nostro aevo incultam ut plurimum et neglectam jacere.

4.130 [B 2.34v] yet to those that seeke _truth_ and not _Magistralitie_, it c a n n o t b u t seeme a Matter of great profit, to see before them the seueral opinions touching the foundations of Nature;

4.131 [H 68D] Now the due obseruation of this Law, which reason teacheth vs, c a n n o t b u t be effectuall vnto their great good that obserue the same.

4.132 [H 83D] requisite it c a n n o t b u t seme the rule of diuine law should herein helpe our imbecilitie.

4.133 [M 8C] But howsoeuer I c a n n o t b u t mention these imputations, yet I aduise the Reader to iudge of them, as obiections of the Rebels ...

4.134 [M 20B] And it was thought ... that besides the superiour command of this Lord, ... c o u l d n o t b u t be vnsupportable to him.

4.135   [M 102A] Lastly, that between these submitties were factions
        and heart-burnings, which discreetly measured, c o u l d   n o t
        but aduantage the seruice.

4.136   [D 14] as I trust you c a n n o t   b u t   remember

CANNOT CHOOSE BUT + Verb

4.137   [HP 100.42] in such sort, that if we be not altogether ignorant
        of ourselves, and wilfully blinde, not seeing that we be
        covetous, shamelesse, timorous and base minded, we c a n n o t
        c h o o s e   b u t   start and finde out a flatterer; neither is
        it possible that he should escape us.
        [AMYOT]   de soɾte que si nous ne nous mescognoissons nous
        mesmes, & que nous ne voulions ignorer que nous soions ou
        conuoiteux, ou dehontez, ou pusillanimes, iamais le flatteur
        n e   n o u s   p o u r r a   d e c e u o i r:
        [XYLANDER]   Itaque nisi nos nostrae ipsorum fallant cupiditates,
        impudentia, timiditas :   n o n   l a t e b i t   nos adulator
        [ERASMUS]   Unde nisi ipsi non sentiamus nos ipsos cupidos esse,
        impudentes esse, ignavos esse, nihil nos fallet adulator
                     hothen ei me lanthanomen heautous epithumõntes
        anaischuntountes apadeiliõntes, ho kolax hemas o u   l e s e t a i
(The negative future tense in Greek is reflected in both Latin versions.
Amyot has the negative future of POUVOIR, Holland typically doubles his
translation, giving the sense first as an expression of necessity, then
of impossibility.)

4.138   [HP 104.40] Being compared with true, sound and grave friendship,
        which (as they say) will endure the hammer, he c a n n o t
        c h o o s e   b u t   finde himselfe to be but light, falsified
        and deceitful:
        [AMYOT]   se sentant donc leger, non naturel, ains falsifié,
        quand on le vient à conferer de près auec vne vraye, solide, &
        graue amitié, qui endure le marteau
        [XYLANDER]   Itaque ubi cum vero ac gravi & solido comparatus
        amico impedire n o n   p o t e s t   q u i n   levis, adsciticius,
        ac fallax depraehendatur.
                     hotan oun elaphros on kai epitektos kai apatelos
        enguthen antexetazetai pros alethinen kai embrithe philian kai
        sphurelaton, ouk anapheron
(Holland's 'cannot choose but' reflects Xylander's 'impedire non potest
quin' more closely than anything in the Greek or French.)

4.139   [HP 112.8] whiles he c a n   n o t   c h o o s e   b u t   be
        modestly disposed, who is so modestly and gently entreated.
        [AMYOT]   en remplissant de honte & de reuerence celuy,
        qu'elle mesme doute d'aborder de honte.
        [XYLANDER] dum verecundia occupatur is quem verecunde
        tractavimus.
                     anapimplamenen tou aidesthai to aidoumenon

4.140   [H 56D] whereupon their adoration, loue, and imitation of God
        c o u l d   n o t   c h o o s e   b u t   be also interrupted.

4.141   [H 60B] Affections ... c a n   neyther rise at the conceipt of
        a thing indifferent, n o r   yet c h o o s e   b u t   rise at
        the sight of some things.

4.142 [H 62B] Our felicitie therefore being the obiect and accomplish-
      ment of our desire, we c a n n o t c h o o s e b u t wish
      and couet it

4.143 [C I] This is all I can bethinke me of for the present, neither
      c a n you c h u s e b u t be reasonablie satisfied, for what
      you want in waight you have in measure.

IT COULD NOT BE CHOSEN BUT THAT

4.144 [H 71C] If therefore when there was but as yet one only family
      in the world, no meanes of instruction humane or diuine could
      preuent effusion of bloud: how c o u l d it b e c h o s e n
      b u t that when families were multiplied ... violence must grow
      among them?

4.145 [M 175E] that hee had aduised Tyrone to set vpon our Camps,
      telling him that it c o u l d n o t b e e c h o s e n,
      b u t our men were much decayed by the winters siege, and so,
      that we should hardly bee able to maintaine so much ground as
      wee had taken when our strength was greater.

CAN/COULD ... NO OTHER THAN ...

Sometimes expressions of this kind seem to imply necessity, as

4.146 [B 1.28r] which worke so appointed to him, c o u l d be n o
      o t h e r t h a n worke of contemplation,
                  quod quidem opus a l i u d e s s e n o n
      p o t e r a t, q u a m quale pertinet ad contemplandum

Here the 'no' appears to negate 'could' and 'be other than a work of

contemplation' is equivalent to 'not be a work of contemplation', so

that the sense is 'must be a work of contemplation'.

4.147 [FM 226d] Man c a n be n o o t h e r t h a n he is, nor
      imagine but according to his capacity:
                  L'homme ne peut estre que ce qu'il est, ny imaginer
      que selon sa portée.

This seems similar, though the French suggests 'Man can only be what

he is'.

The two examples which follow are possibly capable of an interpretation

implying necessity.

4.148 [H 50C] Being the first, it c a n haue n o o t h e r
      t h e n it selfe to be the author of that law which it
      willingly worketh by.

4.149 [H 68B] The benefit whereof as oft as we cause God in his
      iustice to withdraw, there c a n n o o t h e r thing follow,
      then that which the Apostle noteth,

In the following, it is possible to take 'a little' as a quasi-negative adverb

4.150 [B 2.24v] And herein I c a n n o t a l i t t l e maruaile
at the Philosopher <u>Aristotle</u>:
        Qua in re Aristotelis confidentiam proinde subit
    mirari.

CANNOT ... BUT without the implication of necessity

If BUT is not placed before the infinitive it does not negate the

clause, and instead of being a negative particle it has the more

complex sense of 'if not'. Thus

4.151 [FM 243a] Mans eye c a n n o t perceive things, b u t by
the formes of his knowledge.
        Les yeux humains ne peuvent apercevoir les choses que
    par les formes de leur cognoissance.

where the sense is 'Man can only perceive things through the forms of

his knowledge'. Thus the logical structure is not

$$\sim P(\sim a)$$

(Man's eye cannot but perceive things by the forms of his knowledge)

but   if $\sim b$, then $\sim P(a)$

(If not by the forms of his knowledge, man's eye cannot perceive things).

So also

4.152 [M 36B] Fourthly, since no warre can be made without Munition,
and munition this Rebell c a n n o t haue, b u t from <u>Spayne</u>,
<u>Scotland</u>, or your owne Townes here

4.153 [M 55A] so as if his Lordship forgaue him this fault, he was
not like to catch him againe in the like, neither c o u l d
any thing b u t want of intelligence make his Lordship faile
in stopping the returne of <u>Tyrone</u>, and his forces into the North.

It is true that 4.152 could be paraphrased 'munition this rebel must

have from Spain, Scotland, or your own towns here' but this would be

with 'if he have any munition at all' understood. It seems likely that

MUST was sometimes used in this way, with an unexpressed condition

understood. However, in 4.153 the sense is that want of intelligence

'could', not that it 'must' make his Lordship fail.

4.154 [B 2.63r] For <u>Aphorismes</u>, except they should bee ridiculous,
c a n n o t bee made b u t of the pyth and heart of Sciences:
          Aphorismi enim, nisi prorsus forent ridiculi,
n e c e s s e e s t, ut ex medullis et interioribus scientiarum
conficiantur.

The Latin translates by 'necesse est', and here the expressed condi-
tional clause, 'except they should be ridiculous' appears to make 'must
be made of the pith and heart of sciences' a possible paraphrase.

4.155 [FM 240a] No man can be happy without vertue, nor can vertue be
without reason; And n o reason c a n lodge b u t in a
humane shape:
          Nul ne peut estre hureus sans vertu, ny la vertu
estre sans raison, et nulle raison loger ailleurs qu'en
l'humaine figure.

Here I think that the sense is not that reason must lodge in a human
shape, but that if reason lodge anywhere the shape it takes must be
human. But this example well illustrates the kind of problem which
interpreting these expressions in philosophical contexts may present.

BUT THAT may introduce a negative conditional clause, with
CANNOT/COULD NOT in apodosis as,

4.156 [H 64B] surely this c o u l d neuer stand with reason, b u t
t h a t wisdome thus prescribing, groundeth her lawes vpon an
infallible rule of comparison.

Since wisdom does so ground her laws, then it can (not must) stand with
reason. The pattern is the same as the following, with 'except' instead
of 'but that'.

4.157 [FM 249e] There c a n be no principles in men, e x c e p t
divinitie hath revealed them unto them:
          Or n'y p e u t -il avoir des principes aux hommes,
si la divinité ne les leur a revelez:

'There can only be principles in men, if divinity hath revealed them...'

4.158 [H 56D] Thinges beneath them coold l d n o t in such sort be
presented vnto their eyes, b u t that therein they must needs
see alwayes how those things did depend on God.

BUT THAT introduces a negative result clause, Here COULD NOT ... BUT
THAT does imply necessity; if it is not possible to act so that a
result does not follow, then that result is necessary. The necessity

is expressed in the result clause itself by the modal MUST and the adverb NEEDS.

SECTION 6 - THE EXPRESSION OF POSSIBILITY AND NECESSITY, PERMISSION AND OBLIGATION

We can now set out a table of the uses of CAN/MAY to express permission and possibility. Since in each, both modal and lexical verb can be negative or non-negative, there will be four possibilities in each.

P(a)	N permitted to V	N MAY V
~P(a)	N not permitted to V	N MAY NOT V
P(~a)	N permitted not to V	-
~P(~a)	N not permitted not to V	-

P(a)	Possible for N to V	N MAY V
~P(a)	Not possible for N to V	N CANNOT V
P(~a)	Possible for N not to V	(N MAY NOT V)*
~P(~a)	Not possible for N not to V	N CANNOT BUT V

* occurring at this time, but uncommon

In order to consolidate this with the expressions of obligation and necessity we may for convenience set the material out according to the modal square of traditional logic, superimposing permission/obligation on possibility/necessity. The modal square is arranged thus:

4. CAN and MAY   6. Possibility, Necessity,
                           Permission, Obligation

N obliged to   N not permitted to V
Necessary for N to V   Impossible for N to V

N permitted to V   N not obliged to V
Possible for N to V   Not necessary for N to V

    N must V   N may not V
    N must V   N cannot V

    N may V   N need not V
    N may V   N need not V

Thus on the level of possibility-necessity, MUST/NEED NOT corresponds

closely with MAY/CANNOT in that a different modal word is used when the

modal is negated, while on the level of permission/obligation, MUST/

NEED NOT also occurs, contrasting with the unchanged modal in MAY/MAY

NOT.

In order to set out the forms when the lexical verb is negated

we can replace the corners of the modal square by the appropriate

negatives. When this is done in logic, the square remains in its

relationships except that the right hand corners appear on the left and

the left hand corners on the right. Thus

N obliged not to V   N not permitted not to V
Necessary for N not to V   Impossible for N not to V
(= N not permitted to V)   (= N obliged to V)
(= Impossible for N to V)   (= Necessary for N to V)

N permitted not to V   N not obliged not to V
Possible for N not to V   Not necessary for N not to V
(= N not obliged to V)   (= N permitted to V)
(= Not necessary for N to V)   (= Possible for N to V)
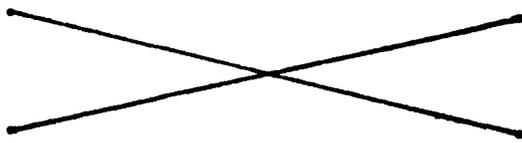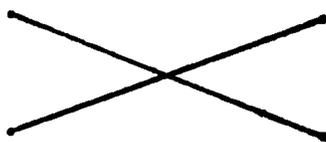
In the language of this period we find:

    N must not V   —
    N cannot V   N cannot but V

    N need not V   —
    N may not V*   —
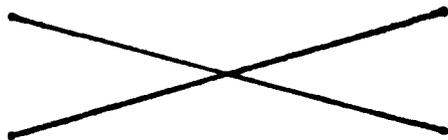
       * occurring at this time, but uncommon

The idiom of the language does not permit 'N may not not V'

                'N need not not V'

4. CAN and MAY 6. Possibility, Necessity, Permission, Obligation

We may compare the square above with the earlier square, repeated below with the left-hand corners on the right and the right-hand corners on the left.

N may not V
N cannot V   N must V
                                                      N must V

N need not V
N need not V   N may V
                                                      N may V
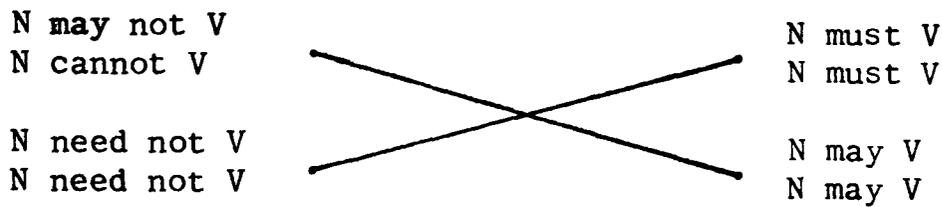
This provides expressions which are logically equivalent to 'N may not not V' 'N need not not V' namely 'N must V', 'N may V'; though on the level of possibility, 'not necessary for N not to V' would perhaps be expressed as 'N can V' and not as 'N may V'. We may also notice:

Top left-hand:

N must not V (N obliged not to V) is logically equivalent to

N may not V (N not permitted to V)

N cannot V (Impossible for N to V) is used for the expression of

necessity (Necessary for N not to V) because MUST NOT is

apparently confined to obligation (though some dialects of PE

certainly permit the extension to necessity).

Bottom left-hand:

The use of 'N MAY NOT V' as (Possible for N not to V) instead of

the logical equivalent N NEED NOT V (Not necessary for N to V)

provides a precise parallel to the top left hand corner, but

introduces a serious overloading of MAY NOT which now is

ambiguous between

N not permitted to V

Possible for N not to V

Top right-hand:

Shows logical equivalent of 'N cannot but V' with 'N must V'.

It can be seen from this that NEED and MUST serve to express obligation and necessity in the same way that CAN and MAY serve to express

permission and possibility, although the logical complexities which

arise from the possibility of negation of the modal or of the lexical

verb or of both, lead in the language to a system of expressions

deploying all four modals; CAN sometimes occurring in expressions of

necessity, NEED in expressions of permission and possibility. Whereas

MAY and MAY NOT, MUST and MUST NOT appear in these tables, we find

CANNOT and NEED NOT but not CAN and NEED (at least unless the

suggestion about the expression of NEED NOT NOT by CAN, in the bottom

right-hand corner of the last square given above, is accepted.)

CHAPTER 5

NEED, MUST, OUGHT, DARE

SECTION 1 - FORMS

NEED	need, neede, nede
	2nd Person Singular : needest
	3rd Person Singular : neede, needs, needeth
	Preterite : needed
MUST	must
OUGHT	ought
	2nd Person Singular : oughtest
DARE	dare
	2nd Person Singular : darest
	3rd Person Singular : dare, dares, dareth
	Preterite : 1. durst
	2. dared

SECTION 2 - <u>NEED</u>

<u>NEED AS PART OF THE MODAL SYSTEM</u>

Although NEED occurs as part of the system for the expression of possibility and necessity together with CAN, MAY and MUST, it does not occur in the texts studied with comparable frequency. In order to collect a set of examples of the use of NEED large enough to be useful it was necessary to extend the texts drawn on, as explained in Chapter 1. All the occurrences of NEED as a verb, and the verbal phrases HAVE NEED, BE NEED are listed in this section.

1.   NEED displaying the formal characteristics of a modal verb:

a)   followed by the infinitive without TO

b)   without -ETH/S inflection in the 3rd person singular, present tense.

Third Person Singular:

5.1   [B 1.10v] so as no man n e e d e   doubt, that learning will expulse businesse.
            quare neutiquam m e t u e n d u m ne literae eliminent negotia

5.2   [B 2.21r] Now that there are manie of that kinde n e e d e   not bee doubted:
            Plurima autem id genus axiomata esse nemo ambigat

5.3   [FM 182a] and that to coole the longing and aswage the heat of friendship, one n e e d but perfectly view and thoroughly consider what he loveth
            que, pour refroidir l'amitiê, il ne f a i l l e que voir librement ce qu'on ayme.

5.4   [H 59A] the same is thereby restrayned vnto such generalities as euerywhere offering themselues, are apparent vnto men of the weakest conceipt that n e e d e be.

This I interpret as a strictly modal use of NEED parallel to 'the weakest conceipt that can be' or 'may be' but viewing this extremity of weakness not as a possibility but an (unfortunate) necessity. This is certainly awkward but the difficulty is not removed by reading as 'the weakest concept that is need'. No doubt NEED BE had a familiar sound from the use of IF NEED BE as in:

5.5   [LS 28.6] Can there bee anything more turbulent then the Pallace, yet if n e e d b e, a man may liue peaceably euen there.
          Num quid tam turbidum fieri potest, quam forum? ibi quoque licet quiete vivere.

though the proper analysis of this phrase is clear from the next

example:

5.6   [C XXIII] and now they have an ymagination of sincking certain hulkes in the channell yf n e e d s h o l d b e.

5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 are the only examples of the fully modal use

of NEED in the third person singular present tense displaying the

absence of ETH/S inflection. 5.1 and 5.2 are related as active to

passive, and 5.4 is somewhat puzzling. 5.1, 5.2 are in negative

clauses, 5.3 in a clause with BUT, 5.4 in a clause dependent on a

phrase containing a superlative.

See 5.96 for an isolated example of NEED without third person

inflection in the construction with a direct object.

Third Person Plural:

5.7   [B 2.19r] expounded, that Monarchies n e e d e not feare any courbing of their absolutenesse by Mightie Subiects, as long as by wisedome they keepe the hearts of the people.

5.8   [H 121E] many things being howerly done by men, wherein they n e e d not vse with them selues any manner of consultation at all:

5.9   [M 107E] Neither n e e d e these little Castles bee workes of any great charge, for they may be easily made such, as this people will hardly force them.

5.10 [M 204E] and finde the men, to fill up other Companies, by disposing them to such as we know will best preserue them, so as they n e e d e not reinforce their Companies with the Irish.

Second Person:

5.11 [LS 16.7] Peruse it well, and thou shalt find it, thou n e e d e s t not maruaile at me.
          Excute illam & invenies. Non est quod mireris animum meum.

5.12 [LS 27.6] That he bought them so higely deare, thou n e e d e s t not wonder, he found them not so, but put them forth to be trained.
          Magno emisse illum non est quod mireris. Non invenerat: faciendos locavit.

5.13 [HL 33C] You n e e d not go so far as to Corinth or Tarquinij for to seeke and compasse forraine kingdomes, as your father did.
        Non tibi ab Corintho nec ab Tarquiniis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri n e c e s s e est.
('You need not' translating 'Non tibi necesse est')

First Person:

5.14 [C XLII] the more for that yt is thought she is prettily forward with child, though I n e e d e not bragge nor boast of yt.

5.15 [C LII] I n e d e not relate our sports of hawking and hunting.

5.16 [FM 138d] to convince the weaknesse of their reason, we n e e d not goe far to cull out rare examples.
        pour conveincre la foiblesse de leur raison, il n' e s t b e s o u i n d'aler triant des rares exemples.

5.17 [FM 285d] And in our daies Copernicus hath so well grounded this doctrine, that hee doth very orderly fit it to all Astrologicall consequences. What shall we reape by it, but only that wee n e e d e not care, which of the two it be?
        et, de nostre temps, Copernicus a si bien fondé cette doctrine qu'il s'en sert très-regléement à toutes les consequences Astronomiques. Que prendrons-nous de là, sinon qu'il ne nous d o i t chaloir le quel ce soit des deus?
('wee neede not care' translating 'il ne nous doit chaloir')

5.18 [H 165C] these on the contrarie side, as being of a farre other nature and qualitie, not so strictly nor euerlastingly commaunded in scripture, but that vnto the complete forme of Church-politie much may be requisite which the scripture teacheth not, and much which it hath taught become vnrequisite, sometime because we n e e d e not vse it, sometime also because we cannot.
(need not, cannot - because no necessity, because no possibility)

Examples 5.7 - 5.18 all show NEED in negative clauses. There is also

the following interrogative clause:

5.19 [C XLII] but what n e e d I trouble you with these thinges when your brother was there in person.

where the meaning is 'I need not trouble you ...'

2.   NEED in the Modal Construction but followed by the Infinitive

      with TO.

Third Person Singular NEEDETH:

5.20 [B 1.30r] considering the great commaundement of wits and meanes whereby nothing n e e d e t h t o be hidden from them.
        praesertim cum tot ingeniis imperent, tantasque opes praesto habeant, quibus omnis secreti investigatio absolvi p o s s i t.

(The Latin translation of 'nothing needeth to be hidden' i.e. there is no necessity for anything not to be known, is 'omnis secreti investigatio absolvi possit', 'the investigation of every secret could be completed', i.e. it is possible for every thing to be known.)

5.21 [B 1.39r] As for <u>Iulius Caesar</u>, the excellencie of his learning
n e e d e t h not t o be argued from his education,
          Quantum ad Julium Caesarem, non e s t o p u s ut de
praestantia eruditionis eius, aut ex educatione ... conjecturam
faciamus.

5.22 [B 2.88v] Neither n e e d e t h it at all t o be doubted,
that this knowledge shoulde bee so variable as it falleth not
vnder precept;
          Neque vero est cur vereamur, ne scientiae huius tam
varia sit materia, ut sub praeceptionibus non cadat:
(Compare 5.2)

5.23 [H 121E] I do rather inclyne to thinke, that seing all the
vnforced actions of men are voluntary; & al voluntary actions
tending to the end haue choice, & al choice presupposeth the
knowledge of some cause wherefore we make it : wher the reasonable
cause of such actions so readily offereth it self, that it
n e e d e t h not t o be sought for;

5.24 [H 152D] But such as do not sticke at this pointe, such as
graunt that what hath bene instituted vpon any special cause
n e e d e t h not t o be obserued, that cause ceasing, do
not withstanding herein faile;

Third Person Singular NEEDS:

5.25 [H 72E] If things be simplie good or euill, and withall   .
vniversallie so acknowledged, there n e e d s no new law t o
be made for such things:

Third person singular NEED – always without TO; NEEDETH, NEEDS,

always with TO. All the examples here are with passive infinitives –

and most of the examples in the preceding section without TO, are

active. But see 5.2.

Third Person Plural with TO:

5.26 [B 2.64v] For those, whose conceites are seated in popular
opinions, n e e d e onely but t o prooue or dispute:
          At illi, quorum documenta in opinionibus popularibus
iam sedes suas collocarunt, non aliud habent, quod agant, nisi ut
disputent et probent.
(A quasi-negative clause in which both 'only' and 'but' appear.)

Second Person:

5.27 [LS 4.10] Thou n e e d e s t not for the same t o attempt
the fortune of the Sea and of armes.
          non est n e c e s s e maria tentare, nec sequi castra.
('non est necesse' translated by 'Thou needest not'.)

5.28 [LS 16.2] Thou n e e d e s t not therefore to court me with
     many affirmatiue and long discourses;
               Itaque tibi apud me pluribus verbis o p u s non
     e s t ut affirmatis.

No First Person uses.

All uses in negative or pseudo-negative (as 5.26) clauses.

3.   Preterite NEEDED, followed by the Infinitive without TO

5.29 [B 2.85r] And therefore we may see what Celsitud of honor
     Plinius secundus attributeth to Traiane in his funerall oration,
     where he said. That men n e e d e d make noe other praiers to
     the Gods, but that they woulde Continue as good Lords to them, as
     Traiaine had beene;
               O p u s non e s s e hominibus, alias ad Deos preces
     fundere, quam ut benignos aeque et propitios se dominos
     mortalibus praestarent, ac Trajanus praestitisset.

The preterite is here due to the sequence of tenses after 'said'.

Reported speech accounts for NEEDED also in the following example.

Preterite NEEDED, followed by the Infinitive with TO;

5.30 [M 72E] My Lord Keeper told him againe, that if thereby he meant
     the crime of disloyalty, it was that which he n e e d e d not
     t o feare.

NEEDED + Negative + TO HAVE + Past Participle

5.31 [B 2.41v] yet in regard of the great vse of this obseruation,
     the inquiry n e e d e d not by him so sleightly t o h a u e
     ben relinquished altogether,
               Itaque, ut et usui consulatur simul et humanitati, non
     est omnino r e j i c i e n d a anatomia vivorum.

5.32 [B 2.56v] And therefore Velleius the Epicurean n e e d e d not
     t o h a u e asked, why God should haue adorned the Heauens with
     Starres.
               At non o p u s f u i t Velleio Epicureo interrogare...

5.33 [B 2.71r] Neyther n e e d e d men of so excellent parts t o
     h a u e despaired of a Fortune, (which the Poet Virgill promised
     himselfe, and indeed obtained)
               Neque tamen d e b u e r a n t viri tam eximii
     desperasse de fortuna, simili ei, quam poëta Virgilius, et sibi
     spondere ausus et revera consequutus est;
('needed' translated by a gerundive, 'opus fuit' 'debuerant')

These examples are considered as to their meaning with other Preterite

Modal + HAVE uses in Chapter 6, Section 5.

NEEDED occurs only once without TO. All uses are in negative clauses.

The evidence of examples from these texts suggests that when NEED is

required in a non-negative clause, the form HAVE/HAD NEED is employed.

HAVE NEED followed by the Infinitive with TO:

5.34 [LS 9.16] It beginneth to be subiect vnto fortune, if it h a u e
      n e e d t o seeke any part of it selfe out of it selfe
                   incipit fortunae esse subiectum, si quam partem sui
      foris quaerit.

5.35 [LS 24.24] Which of these sentences thou shalt keepe in memory,
      it will confirme thee in the sufferance eyther of life or death:
      for we h a u e n e e d both t o be admonished and confirmed
      in both of these, to the end we neyther too much loue, nor too
      much loath our life.
                   Quidquid horum tractaveris confirmabis animum, vel ad
      mortis, vel ad vitae patientiam. In utrumque m o n e n d i ac
      f i r m a n d i sumus, & ne nimis amemus vitam, & ne nimis
      oderimus.

HAD NEED is found consistently in non-negative clauses frequently

with a present rather than a preterite sense. Further it approximates

more closely to the modal pattern than HAVE NEED in that it is often

(here in six out of the twelve examples) followed by an infinitive

without TO.

HAD NEED without Preterite Sense; + Infinitive without TO:

5.36 [B 1.41v] Scilicet ingenuas didicisse fidelièr artes,/ Emollit
      mores nec sinit esse fero. It taketh away   the wildnesse and
      barbarisme and fiercenesse of mens minds: but indeed the accent
      h a d n e e d be vpon, fideliter.
                   ... Veruntamen o p u s e s t, ut accentus sit in
      voce illa fideliter.

5.37 [B 2.65r] For hee h a d n e e d e be well conducted, that
      should designe to make Axiomes Conuertible:
                   Auspicato enim et felicis cuiusdam genii ductu
      procedere o p o r t e t, qui axiomata scientiarum convertibilia
      facere attentaverit

5.38 [B 2.114r] From the former of these two haue been drawne certaine
      senses and expositions of Scriptures, which h a d n e e d be
      contained within the bounds of sobrietie; The one Anagogicall,
      the other Philosophicall.

5.39 [FM 322c] To judge of the apparences that we receive of subjects,
      we h a d n e e d have a judicatorie instrument:
                   Pour juger des apparences que nous recevons des
      subjets, il nous f a u d r o i t un instrument judicatoire

5.40 [M 134C] two thousand more [i.e. footsoldiers] at the least
h a d   n e e d e   come soone after vnto Corke, if it be not
inuested before their comming, but if it bee, their landing must
then be at <u>Waterford</u> or <u>Yoghall</u>.

HAD NEED without Preterite Sense + TO + Infinitive:

5.41 [LS 38.1] No man giueth counsell with clamour yet must we
sometimes (as I should say) vse these declamations, when he that
doubteth h a d   n e e d   t o be enforced
                consilium nemo clare dat. Aliquando utendum est &
illis ut ita dicam contionibus; ubi qui dubitat, i m p e l l e n d   u s
e s t;
(The same Latin construction in 'utendum est' and 'impellendus est' is
translated first as 'must' then as 'had need to'.)

5.42 [HP 94.6] And therefore we h a d   most   n e e d   t o   beware of
a flatterer in the praises which he giveth
[AMYOT]   Et pourtant se   f a u t   -il principalement donner de
garde du flatteur en ses louanges;
[XYLANDER] Qua propter maxime ubi laudat   c a v e n d u m   e s t
ab adulatore
[ERASMUS] Quapropter potissimum, in laudibus   c a v e n d u m
e r i t   assentator
                Dio p h'u.l a,k t e o n esti malista ton kolaka peri
tous epainous

5.43 [HP 107.49] For like as a Chirurgian, when he maketh incision
and cutteth the flesh of his patient, h a d   n e e d   t o   use
great dexterity, to have a nimble hand and an even;
[AMYOT]   pouce que tout ainsi comme quand le Chirurgien
incise la chair d'vn homme, il   f a u t   qu'il y vse d'vne grande
dexterité, netteté, & propreté en son faict
[XYLANDER]   Quemadmodum enim medicus carnem secans, agilitatem
aliquam   d e b e t   ac mundiciem operi adhibere
                hosper gar iatrou sarka temnontas euruthmian tina
d e i   kai kathariostéta tois ergois epitrechein

5.44 [HP 112.39] even so it may be said to every one that will seem
freely to reprehend another, that he h a d   n e e d   himself
t o   be in manners well reformed
[AMYOT]   aussi pourroit on dire à tout homme qui se mesle de
parler librement pour reprendre autruy, qu'il a b e s o i n g
de meurs bien reformees
[XYLANDER]   sed profecto libertas dicentis morum probitate ut
commendetur requirit;
                parrésia de pantos andros ethoas isos d e i t a i

HAD NEED with Preterite Sense + Infinitive without TO:

5.45 [C XLVII] I know not whether I shold more commend your bountie
or your judgement in foreseing I shold meet with beggers and
therefore h a d   n e e d   be double stored
(The occasion for this is to report the fulfilment of the 'foreseeing'
which is therefore in the past. 'Had need' is equivalent in tense to
'should meet'.)

HAD NEED with Preterite Sense + TO + Infinitive:

5.46 [FM 303c] and that to powre forth what shame had forced and
bashfullnesse restrained, they h a d also afterward n e e d
t o seeke some secret place
              et que, pour eslancer ce que la honte avoit contreint
et retiré, il leur e t o i t encore apres b e s o u i n de
chercher l'ombre

5.47 [HP 113.5] Thus <u>Socrates</u> mildly and gently would seeme to
reproove yoong men, making semblance as if himselfe were not void
of ignorance, but h a d n e e d also t o be instructed in
virtue, and professing that he h a d n e e d with them t o
search for the knowledge of trueth.
[AMYOT]   Et Socrates arguoit ainsi tout bellement les ieunes
gens, comme n'estant pas luy-mesme deliuré d'ignorance, ains
a i a n t b e s o i n g d'estre auec eux instruict de la vertu,
& de recercher la cognoissance de la verité;
[XYLANDER] Et Socrates ita paulatim adolescentes redarguit
seipsum quoque non vacare inscitia simulans, sed vna cum illis se
d e b e r e virtuti operam dare & verum quaerere profitens
              kai ho Sōkratēs houtōs atrema tous neous elenchen,
hōs med'autos apellaagmenos amathias, alla met'ekeinon oiomenos
d e i n aretēs epimeleisthai kai zētein t'alēthes
(Present infinitives in Greek and Latin, a present participle in French
but Holland's construction makes it necessary to read 'had need' as
preterite.)

HAVE NO NEED TO:

Although HAVE/HAD NEED (TO) seems to be employed to avoid the use

of the verb NEED in non-negative clauses it has its own negative form

in HAVE NO NEED TO.

5.48 [LS 4.10] But to the end to driue away this hunger and thirst,
thou h a s t n o n e e d t o wait or attend on these proude
and great gates ...
              ut famem sitimque depellas, n o n e s t n e c e s s e
superbis assidere liminibus
(See 5.13 where 'Non ... necesse est' is translated 'you need not'.)

5.49 [LS 13.7] to day thou h a s t n o n e e d e too complaine
              hodie nihil negotii habet

5.50 [LS 13.15] True it is, that I am too tedious in exhorting thee,
who h a s t n o n e e d t o bee exhorted, but instructed and
admonished onely.
              Nimium diu te cohortor, cum tibi admonitione magis,
quam exhortatione o p u s e s t.

A participle form of HAVE NEED TO occurs once.

HAVING NEED TO:

5.51 [HP 84.42] but the perswasion is it, that is dangerous and
slipperie, h a v i n g n e e d t o be restrained with great

heed and carefulnesse
[AMYOT]   mais la persuasion en est dangereuse, & a
b e s o i n g d'estre bien retenue
[XYLANDER] opinari autem se iis praeditum, periculosum est,
multamque r e q u i r i t cautionem
[ERASMUS]   caeterum opinio, periculosa est, quaeque multam
desyderet cautionem
                he d'oiēsis episphalōs kai d e o m e n ē pollēs
eulabeias
(Holland alone of these translations carries over the participle con-
struction found in the Greek.)

NEED used with a Modal Verb

In order to complete the examples in which NEED is followed by an

infinitive, there follows a list in which NEED is preceded by a modal.

All the examples are in negative clauses except for 5.60 with WILL and

all are followed by TO.

SHALL:

5.52 [B 2.41r] I s h a l not n e e d e t o alledge an example
      forraine,
                Minime o p u s e r i t exemplum aliquod forinsecum
      ab alienis artibus petere.

5.53 [FM 250e] They s h a l l not n e e d t o tell me, ...
                Il ne f a u t pas qu'ils me dient:

5.54 [H 134C] In which case our apologie s h a l l not n e e d e
      t o be very long:

5.55 [C LXI] and I can gather there at first hand to serve my turne
      sufficiently (saving for certain particulars) so that I s h a l l
      not n e e d e t o put you to trouble or paines.

5.56 [C LXII] I s h a l l not n e e d e t o write you what
      favorable accesse and audience Mr Winwood found at her Majesties
      hands:

SHOULD:

5.57 [H 95E] Which lawes, sauing onely that we are members of the
      common wealth where they are of force, we s h o u l d not
      n e e d e t o respect as rules of action, ...

5.58 [H 98D] About which point there s h o u l d not n e e d e
      any question t o growe, and that which is growne might
      presently ende, if they did yeelde but to these two restraints:

CAN:

5.59 [H 165B] For so perfectly are those things taught, that nothing
      c a n euer n e e d e t o be added, nothing euer cease to be
      necessary;

WILL:

5.60 [H 153A] Theft will be alwaies and w i l l alwaies n e e d t o be brideled

The use of SHALL with NEED in the examples above does not appear to modify the sense, which is any case turned towards the future. In 5.53, the present 'Il ne faut pas' is translated 'they shall not need'. (The future 'opus erit' in the Latin of 5.52 is of course a reflection of the 'shall' in the English). The two uses of SHOULD seem due to the conditional nature of the sentences in which they occur. In 5.59 'nothing can ... need' has the full sense of the impossibility of something being necessary. In 5.60, there is a clear emphasis on future time so that 'will always need to be bridled' is different in sense from 'always needs to be bridled'.

The examples so far adduced may be tabulated as follows:

	followed by infinitive without TO	followed by infinitive with TO	in non-negative clauses
NEED	16	9	-
NEEDED	1	4	-
modal + NEED	-	8	1
HAVE NEED	-	6	3
HAD NEED	6	6	12

The characteristics of the usage may be summarized,

1) Variation in the use or omission of TO after all the forms, although

    a) third person singular without inflection is not followed by TO

        third person singular with -ETH/S always followed by TO

    b) when NEED is preceded by a modal, TO is always used.

2) A strong tendency to avoid the verb NEED in non-negative clauses and to prefer for such clauses the form built from the noun NEED

5. NEED   2. Place in the Modal System

used with HAVE.

The reason why NEED does not share with any regularity the features of the other modal verbs which we have so far considered seems to be because it has been drawn into the system to fill a place to which it was not already adapted by the constructions in which it appeared during its earlier existence in the language. Before we look at this earlier existence in more detail, it will be useful to state the nature of the role required of NEED in that part of the modal system expressing permission and obligation, possibility and necessity.

With the establishment of MUST with a structure:

$$
\begin{array}{c}
S_1 \\
NP \quad VP \\
X \quad\quad V \quad NP \\
\quad\quad\quad\quad S_2 \\
\quad\quad\quad NP \quad V \quad Neg
\end{array}
$$
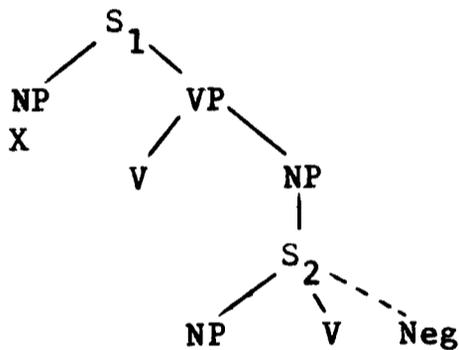
giving a surface expression of the form 'He must not do so' there was no convenient way of expressing the negative of the obligation or necessity, that is in negating S_1, 'There is no necessity/obligation for him to do so'.

$$
\begin{array}{c}
S_1 \\
NP \quad VP \quad Neg \\
X \quad\quad V \quad NP \\
\quad\quad\quad\quad S_2 \\
\quad\quad\quad NP \quad V
\end{array}
$$
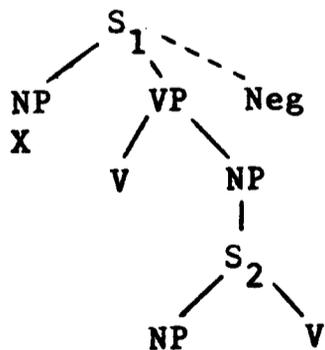
It is true that MUST could have developed the ambiguity subsequently developed in MAY, by which the form 'he may not do so' besides reflecting the above structure on the level of permission, also reflected

```
              S₁
           /     \
        NP        VP
        X       /    \
              V        NP
                       |
                      S₂
                    /  |  ` - - -
                  NP   V      `Neg
```

on the level of possibility.   Indeed, in PE we find precisely this

ambiguity with HAVE TO and HAVE GOT TO, where, in some dialects, 'he

hasn't to ...' and 'he hasn't got to ...' are ambiguous between 'He has

no obligation to' and 'He has an obligation not to'.

That NEED was drawn into the system to provide a modal expressing

obligation/necessity in which the negative would apply always to the

modal and never to the lexical verb accounts for the overwhelming pre-

dominance of its negative uses - indeed as the examples adduced show,

when it is formally a modal, it is always in a negative clause.

But the word that was to provide the means of expressing negative

obligation and necessity would be paired with MUST, in a way parallel

to the way CAN pairs MAY and WILL pairs SHALL.   That would give it the

same structure as WILL and CAN,

```
              S₁
           /    \  ` - - -
        N₁       VP      `Neg
               /    \
             V        NP
                      |
                     S₂
                   /    \
                 N₁      V
```
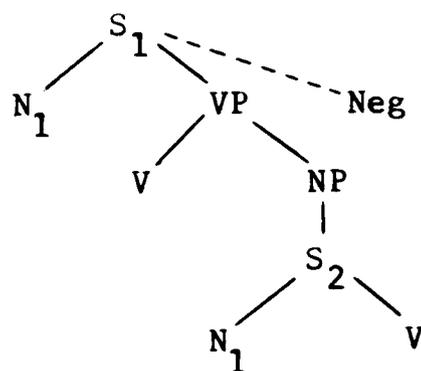
And 'N need V' would be paraphraseable as 'There is a necessity that N V

and this necessity stems from N', beside, 'N must V' paraphraseable as

'There is a necessity that N V and this necessity stems from some source

other than N'.

WILL and SHALL both negate the S₂ clause, CAN and MAY both negate

the modal (though MAY also comes to negate the S₂ clause) but NEED and

MUST negate differently, NEED in the modal, MUST in the S_2 clause. For this reason the difference between WILL NOT and SHALL NOT, and between CANNOT and MAY NOT which is related to their full meaning is unlike the difference between NEED NOT and MUST NOT which is merely a difference of the place negated - between 'no obligation or necessity to' and 'obligation, necessity not to'.

Just as with CAN in negative clauses there is no distinction between inability and impossibility so with NEED in negative clauses there is no distinction between the absence of an inner need in the subject or the absence of a necessity imposed from without. When however NEED is used in a non-negative clause we would expect it to refer to the compulsion that comes from a lack in the self rather than as an imposed compulsion from without. It seems to me that this distinction is maintained in PE where

'The machine needs to be cleaned'

is distinct in meaning from

'The machine must be cleaned'

in that the first refers to a necessity which belongs to or springs from the machine itself and the second to a necessity which has its source elsewhere, often in the speaker.

The present extended corpus gives no examples of the verb NEED followed by an infinitive in a clause which is neither negative or quasi-negative but the use of HAVE NEED instead seems particularly suited by employing the noun NEED with its basic sense of something lacking to bring out the necessity from within. This is I think marked in 5.34, 5.35, 5.37, 5.39, 5.42, 5.43, 5.44, 5.45, 5.46, 5.47, the last a particularly good example bringing out the implications of the passage it seems to me, better than the original Greek or the Latin version. In 5.38 Bacon is perhaps emphasizing that the anagogical and

philosophical expositions of scripture by their inherent nature require restraint. In 5.40 the construction appears to be used for 'There is need that two thousand soldiers come'. 5.36 cannot be squared with this view of inner necessity and in 5.41 'had need to' appears to be employed for stylistic reasons to balance 'must' in the earlier clause.

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEED

Although some of the modal verbs, as we have already discussed, still at this period occur in constructions other than the modal construction

    Subject + Modal Verb + Infinitive without TO

for example, WOULD followed by a clause, or CAN with a noun as object, these constructions are vestiges of wider pre-modal use and are destined to disappear in the course of the development of ModE. NEED on the other hand exists in a wide variety of constructions. None of the modal restrictions or forms is always observed. It occurs with other modals. In the third person singular it sometimes has no inflec-tion, sometimes -S or -ETH. It is sometimes followed by TO, sometimes not. Further, in the later development of English there has been no · tendency for these non-modal constructions to disappear or become rarer, although it is also true to say that the negative modal construction in the form 'He need not come' shows no sign of disappearing either. The difference between NEED and the other modals is this; the others were verbs which took on the characteristics of modals by a process of elimination; the non-finite forms where these existed dropped out of use; the verbs ceased to appear in any construction other than Subject + Modal Verb + Infinitive without TO. But this construction had always been a common one with these verbs. NEED however until late Middle English did not appear in this construction at all. Modalization for

NEED must be seen not as a process in which all non-modal constructions are lost, but one in which the single modal construction is acquired. In a similar way the uninflected third person singular forms are in the other modals a characteristic which comes to them from their history as preterite-present verbs. For NEED this uninflected form is a creation of the sixteenth century, part of the process of giving NEED the outward marks of a modal verb.

We can best understand the range of sixteenth century uses of NEED by seeing the development of the constructions in which the word is used during the Old and Middle English periods. In OE the verb NEED is used only absolutely with a clausal subject. The expression IS NEED may be used with clauses and also with nouns. The only personal construction is with HAVE NEED, at first with a clausal complement, and later with an infinitive. The constructions with NEED noun and verb, current in OE as shown in the OED are tabulated below together with the date attached there to the earliest example.

	IMPERSONAL	PERSONAL
With Clause	1. NEED IS (THAT) + Clause [950] 2. NEEDS (THAT) + Clause [960]	1. NP + HAS NEED (THAT) + Clause [950] 2. NP + HAS NEED (TO) + Infinitive [1000]
With Noun Phrase	1. NEED IS + Genitive NP [908]	
Absolutely		NP HAS NEED [950]

Personal constructions with a NP expressing the thing needed are introduced early in ME thus filling the empty box in the grid above.

1. NP_1 + NEEDS OF/TO + NP_2 [1200]
2. NP_1 + HAS NEED OF/UNTO + NP_2 [1200]

This completes the early system of constructions with NEED. The verb NEED is never used transitively with clause, infinitive or noun as object, and for all constructions in which the verb NEED can be used, there are equivalents employing NEED IS or HAS NEED.

During the course of the fourteenth century there is a remarkable extension of the constructions possible with the verb NEED. These may be set out on the same grid as used for the OE uses above as follows.

	IMPERSONAL	PERSONAL
With Clause		3. NP + NEEDS TO + Infinitive (D)
With Noun Phrase	2. NP + NEEDS (A)	3. NP_1 + NEEDS + NP_2 (C)
Absolutely		2. NP + NEEDS (B)

The concern of this essay is chiefly with NP + NEEDS TO + Infinitive since this eventually gives the modal use of NEED, but as this is part of a more general extension of the constructions with the verb NEED in the period immediately before the emergence of eModE, these other uses are also briefly discussed.

(A)   NP + NEEDS corresponding to older NEED IS + Genitive NP: In the MED under nēden (v.2) this is meaning 1 a(a) 'To be necessary, needed, required, or essential', and the earliest example is a 1398 Trevisa Bartholemew 'To the sight ... neduth ten thinges principalliche'. The OED treats this construction under 'There needs' and gives first 1440 Paston Letters 'I hope ther shal nede no gret trete be twyx hym'. This quotation is also included in MED under I a (a).

(B)   NP + NEEDS, corresponding to older NP + HAS NEED: This is MED nēden 1 a (b) 'to be poor, needy or in want', OED Need v. 7b and both dictionaries have as the earliest example the Wyclifite Bible,

Ecclesiasticus Ch. 40 v. 29 'betere is to dien than to neden'.

(C)   NP$_1$ + NEEDS + NP$_2$, corresponding to older NP$_1$ + NEEDS OF/TO + NP$_2$

or NP$_1$ + HAS NEED OF/UNTO + NP$_2$: This is OED 7(a) transitive 'To stand

in need of, to require', which corresponds generally to MED 2(a) 'To

need (sth), want, lack, require', though this includes uses without an

object, and the first example cited is of this kind 1300 'He was swythe

of-longed to his fader blysse, Nought for than that he nedde in his

godcunnesse'. Its second citation coincides with the first of the OED

for 7(a) being again the Wyclifite Bible, Genesis Ch. 33 v. 15 'This

one onelich I nede'.

(D)   NP + NEEDS TO + Infinitive corresponding to the older construction

NP + HAS NEED TO + Infinitive: This is MED 2(c) 'to need (to do sth),

be required, obliged or well-advised (to do sth)' and OED 8 'To be

under a necessity or obligation to do something'. The OED but not the

MED separates the quotations with TO before the infinitive from those

without. The earliest citation in the MED is from Trevisa's translation

of Higden's Polychronicon, a.1387 and in the OED from Wyclif's Select

Works c.1380. The OED's first quotation under 8(b) 'With omission of

TO' is from Henry Wallace 1470 'The woman ... Cawkit ilk yett that thai

neid nocht gang by'. The earliest example in the MED list which

displays an infinitive without TO is a 1500 from a translation of Alain

Chartier's Quadrilogue Invectif 'Nede nat thei putte away their

felliship to live sengelly for their profight'.

We may notice also that it is in the late fourteenth century that

the word NECESSARY enters the language, the evidence suggests mainly

through the Wyclifite writings and translations and although NEEDFUL is

in use throughout the ME period and indeed occurs in Late OE, the

citations of the OED indicate that its use in the construction IT IS

NEEDFUL (THAT) + Clause (corresponding to the older (IT) NEEDS (THAT) +

Clause, IT IS NEED (THAT) + Clause) and NP IS NEEDFUL (corresponding to

older (THERE) IS NEED OF + NP, and (THERE) NEEDS + NP) is first found

in Richard Rolle. The MED does not distinguish constructions but among

its examples appear to be earlier uses. However, by the late fourteenth

century both the boxes under the Impersonal column on the grid con-

tained constructions with IS NEEDFUL and IS NECESSARY.

To summarize then, we may say that during the fourteenth century

there was considerable elaboration of the language through which

necessity could be expressed. This took the form of new adjectival

expressions with NEEDFUL and NECESSARY and a remarkable extension of

the verbal uses of NEED, from one of which, NP + NEEDS TO + Infinitive,

the modal use of NEED derives by the loss of TO, perhaps a century

after the construction is introduced, and during the sixteenth century

the development of the inflectionless third person singular form. The

old preterite present THORVEN disappears during the fifteenth century

but the full verb uses of NEED do not tend to disappear, nor do the

older constructions with IS NEED and HAS NEED which survive to form an

extremely rich field of expressions which we have displayed from the

extended corpus, starting with the strictly modal uses and going on to

those which diverge in various ways from this.

NEED AS VERB AND NOUN IN OTHER CONSTRUCTIONS

We have so far listed all the examples of the verb NEED which

belong to the structure

$$\text{NP} + \text{(Modal)} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{NEED(ED)} \\ \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{HAVE} \\ \text{HAD} \end{matrix} \right\} \text{NEED} \end{matrix} \right\} \text{(TO)} + \text{Infinitive}$$

and derive from the two basic constructions

NP + HAS NEED + Infinitive   [1000]

NP + NEED   + Infinitive   [1380]

In order to display the full range of constructions used to express necessity in the English of Shakespeare's time, the lists which follow give all the examples from the extended corpus of other constructions with NEED verb and noun, and also IS NEEDFUL and IS NECESSARY. The arrangement of the examples is as follows:

I.   Personal Constructions with Noun Phrase:

    1. NP_2 + NEEDS OF/TO + NP_2 has left no trace

    2. NP_1 + HAS/HAD NEED OF + NP_2 26

    3. NP_1 + HAVE NO NEED OF + NP_2 and other negative and
        interrogative uses   8

    3. NP_1 + NEEDS + NP_2, mostly in negative or pseudo-
        negative clauses   29

II. Impersonal Constructions with Noun Phrase:

    1. NEED IS + gen. NP (THERE IS NEED OF ...) No examples

    2. NP + NEEDS (THERE NEED) Mostly in negative or pseudo-
        negative clauses, except one.   15

    3. NP + IS NEEDFUL   8

    4. NP + IS NECESSARY   4

III. Impersonal Constructions with Clause or Infinitive:

    1. NEED THAT + Clause (IT NEEDETH THAT) All in
        negative clauses or after THAN   4

    2. NEED TO + Infinitive (IT NEEDETH TO) All in
        negative or interrogative clauses   3

    3. NEED IS TO + Infinitive (THERE IS NEED TO)   6

    4. IS NEEDFUL THAT + Clause (IT IS NEEDFUL THAT)   6

    5. IS NEEDFUL/LESS TO (IT IS NEEDFUL TO)   6

    6. IS NECESSARY TO (IT IS NECESSARY TO)   1

I.   Personal Constructions with Noun Phrase

HAVE NEED OF:

5.61 [LS 9.14] He saith that a wise-man wanteth nothing, and yet
h a t h   n e e d e   o f   many things: a foole h a t h   n e e d e
o f   nothing, because hee can make vse of nothing, but wanteth
all things. The wise-man h a t h   n e e d e   o f hands and
eies and diuers other parts of him for the ordinarie vses of life,
yet neuerthelesse he wanteth nothing:

> Ait sapientem nulla re indigere, & tamen multis illi
rebus o p u s   e s s e: contra, stulto nulla re o p u s   e s t;
nulla enim re scit vti, sed omnibus eget. Sapienti & manibus, &
oculis, & multis ad quotidianum vsus necessariis o p u s   e s t,
sed eget nulla re.

(An interesting philosophical passage where Lodge uses WANT and HAVE
NEED OF to render in English INDIGERE/EGERE and OPUS ESSE. In fact
NEED does not contain the underlying sense of 'capacity to make use of'
which Seneca is bringing out in OPUS EST though this does belong
etymologically to BEHOVE. See White [1975 pp.108-116] for a recent
discussion of the difference in meaning between WANTS and NEEDS.)

5.62 [LS 9.15] desireth to haue more, but not in regard that hee
h a t h   n e e d e   o f   them to liue happily, for he can liue
happily without his friends.

> hos cupit habere quam plurimos, non ut beate vivat:
vivet enim etiam sine amicis beate.

5.63 [LS 16.8] nature h a t h   n e e d e   but   o f   a little,
opinion of infinite

> Exiguum natura desiderat, opinio immensum.

5.64 [LS 17.5] Lay then apart all these excuses; Say not that thou
hast not as yet all that which thou hast   n e e d   o f,

> Tolle itaque istas excusationes: Quantum sat est,
nondum habeo.

6.65 [LS 26.1] I Tolde thee not long since that I am in view of olde
age, but now I feare me I haue left olde age behinde me:
vndoubtedly my yeares and bodie at this time   h a u e   n e e d e
o f   another word;

> Modo dicebam tibi, in conspectu esse me senectutis:
iam vereor, ne senectutem post me reliquerim. Aliud iam hic
annis certe huic corpori vocabulum convenit.

5.66 [LS 36.5] To pay this debt of anothers: hee that trafficketh
h a t h   n e e d e   o f   a good and happie nauigation

> Ad illud aes alienum solvendum, o p u s   e s t
negotianti navigatione prospera

5.67 [HP 95.5]   we ingram men ... that   h a v e   n e e d e   o: f   advice
[AMYOT]   nous ... qui a u o n s   b e s o i n g   de conseil
[XYLANDER] consilio   i n d i g e n t e s
[ERASMUS] cuibus o p u s   e s t   consilio
hoi gnõmes   d e o m e n o i

5.68 [HP 110.11] But foolish sots in all their actions
H a v e n̠e e d eftsoones̠ o f sharpe corrections.
agan de mǒrainonti nouthetēmata

5.69 [HP 114.22] and if himselfe afterwards chance to offend and
h a v e n e e d o f the like reprehension ...
[AMYOT]   car s'il aduient puis aprȅs qu'il faille luy-mesme,
& qu'il a i t b e s o i n g de remonstrance ...
[XYLANDER] qui si ipse postmodo peccet, ac o p u s h a b e a t
castigatione:

an gar husteron autos hamartanēi kai d e ē t a i
nouthesias ...

(Note how 'have need of' reflects literally the French 'ait besoing de'
and Latin 'opus habeat'.)

5.70 [FM 238a] We h a v e n e e d o f nourishment, then so have
the Gods
Nous a v o n s b e s o i n g de nourriture, aussi ont
donc les Dieux

5.71 [FM 294c] So much are heavenly opinions different from ours,
concerning what we h a v e n e e d o f
tant les opinions celestes sur ce qu'il nous f a u t,
sont diverses aus nostres

HAVE GREAT NEED OF:

5.72 [M 190B] Onely o f one thousand thereof we h a v e great
n e e d e, for the reinforcing of the Companies which are weake.

SHALL/SHOULD HAVE NEED OF:

5.73 [LS 27.5] If thou wilt be assisted, thou s h a l t h a u e
n e e d o f another forme of letters
Aliud litterarum genus adiutorium admittit

5.74 [M 132A] The best place for the greatest quantity will be Dublin,
for from thence we may find meanes to transport what other places
s h a l l h a v e n e e d e o f, except the warre be in
Connaght, for then onely from Lymrick and Galloway all our
prouisions must come.

5.75 [M 152D] Since the returne of Master Marshall and other Officers
and Commanders, sent ... to draw the forces thereabouts the more
speedily hither to vs, and to hasten such other prouisions as
giue vs leaue here we s h o u l d h a u e n e e d o f f.

HAVE NO NEED OF:

As HAVE NEED TO has a negative form in HAVE NO NEED TO, so we

find HAVE NO NEED OF as a negative of HAVE NEED OF.

5.76 [LS 9.1] reprehendeth those that say, that hee that is perfectly
wise is content with himselfe, and that for this cause he h a t h
n o n e e d e o f a friend:
reprehendat ... qui: dicunt sapientem se ipso esse

contentum, &, propter hoc amico non i n d i g e r e.
(Where 'have no need of' translates 'non indigere'. But see 5.74 where 'indigere' is translated 'want' and contrasted with 'have need' rendering 'opus esse'.)

5.77 [LS 18.7] thou shalt vnderstand that to satisfie our selues we
h a u e   n o   n e e d   o f   fortune.
& intelliges ad saturitatem n o n   o p u s   e s s e
fortuna.

5.78 [HP 89.37] I h a v e   n o   n e e d e   o f   such a friend, that
will alter as I doe
[AMYOT]   Ie n'ay que faire d'amy qui se change ainsi quand &
moy
[XYLANDER] n o n   m i h i   o p u s   e s t   amico mecum sese mutante
[ERASMUS] N i h i l   o p u s   e s t   amico, qui mecum mutet
locum

ou   d e o m a i   philou summethistamenou

5.79 [HP 109.45] I h a v e   n o   n e e d   o f   them now, nor of such
friends as you.
(This is an expansion of Holland's, not found in the Greek or any of
the other translations.)

5.80 [HP 109.48] They h a v e   n o   n e e d   as the case now stands
o f   free reprehensions
[AMYOT]   Ils ne recoiuent point d'aspres remonstrances
[XYLANDER] non sententiarum recitationem _r e q u i r u n t
houto toinun kai ta pragmata ton dustuchounton ou
parresian endechetai kai gnomologia

Other negative forms of HAVE NEED OF:

5.81 [FM 185d] We h a v e   n o t   much more n e e d   o f   offices,
of rules, and lawes how to live in our commonwealth, than the
Cranes and Ants have in theirs
Il ne nous f a u t   guiere non plus d'offices, de
regles et de loix de vivre, en nostre communauté, qu'il en faut
aus grues et aus formis en la leur.

5.82 [M 124B] to inioy a quiet priuate life, and that her Maiestie
may n e u e r   more h a u e   n e e d   o f   men of our profession.

Interrogative of HAVE NEED OF:

5.83 [HP 109.9] When fortune doth upon men smile
What n e e d   h a v e   they o f   friends the while?
[AMYOT]   Quand lon est bien, qu'a lon b e s o i n g d'amis?
[XYLANDER] Cum res secundae sunt, quid amicis e s t   o p u s?
hotan d'ho daimon eu didoi, ti d e i   philon;

HAD NEED OF without Preterite Sense:

5.84 [LS 40.14] Besides, thou h a d d e s t   n e e d e   o f   daily
exercise and thy studie is to be transferred from matters to
words
Praeterea exercitatione o p u s   e s t   quotidiana,
& a rebus studium transferendum est ad verba.

5.85 [FM 233e] I see the Pyrhonian Phylosophers, who can by no manner of speech expresse their Generall conceit : for, they h a d n e e d o f a new language.

        Je voy les philosophes Pyrrhoniens qui ne peuvent exprimer leur generale conception en aucune maniere de parler: car il leur f a u d r o i t un nouveau langage.

5.86 [FM 322b] We h a d n e e d o f some body void and exempted from all these qualities, that without any preoccupation of judgement might judge of these propositions as indifferent unto him:

        Il nous f a u d r o i t quelqu'un exempt de toutes ces qualitez, afin que, sans praeoccupation de jugement, il jugeast de ces propositions comme à luy indifferentes;

5.87 [C XVI] The unkindnes twixt him and others is not yet reconciled, which no doubt will much hinder this action that h a d n e e d o f all furtheraunce

5.88 [C LVII] At the end of the terme here was a speach of a call of Sergeants, but many lawiers complaine, and say they h a d more n e e d e o f a call of clients.

HAD NEED OF + NP, with Preterite Sense:

5.89 [B 1.16v] <u>Because the one sort knew what they h a d n e e d o f & the other did not;</u>

        Hoc ideo fieri, quod philosophi, quibus rebus i n d i g e a n t, probe intelligant, divites non item (Present tense in the Latin translation, but preterite in English by sequence of tenses from a preterite verb of saying.)

5.90 [M 199C] your prouidence and care of vs was such, as things necessary were in readinesse for our supplies, before you had notice from vs that we h a d n e e d o f them.

5.91 [C XLVI] his patience was not proofe to beare out such a triall, but that many times yt fayled him when he h a d most n e e d e.

HAVE NEED OF + NP + TO BE + Past Participle:

5.92 [HP 109.14] yea & many there are who h a v e n e e d o f wit, discretion and reason t o b e put into them from without
[AMYOT]   & la plus part o n t b e s o i n g de sagesse empruntee, & de raison venant d'ailleurs
[XYLANDER] plerique i n d i g e n t aliorum externis consiliis, rationibusque foris
[ERASMUS]   At plaerique mortales, o p u s h a b e n t aliena prudentia, consilioque aliunde accedente
        hoi de polloi phrenon epeisakton d e o n t a i kai logismon piezonton exothen

The addition of an infinitive after the NP here forms the equi-

valent of a clause, 'Many have need that wit, discretion and reason

should be put into them from without'. Yet the construction seems to

remain essentially still HAVE NEED OF + NP with a participial extension

of the NP as in the other languages.

Construction STAND IN NEED OF:

5.93   [FM 293b] that not by enjoying or possession, but by imagination
       and full wishing, we cannot all agree in one, that we most
       s t a n d   i n   n e e d   o f, and would best content us.
                    Que, non par jouissance, mais par imagination et par
       sonhait nous ne puissions estre d'accord de ce quoy nous avons
       pour nous contenter.

NP_1 NEEDS NP_2:

This construction enters the language towards the end of the

fourteenth century, at the same time as NP + NEED TO + Infinitive,

which becomes the modal use. The two constructions are related and in

certain elliptical contexts it is impossible to tell in which of the

two constructions the verb NEED is intended;

5.94   [FM 214a] It is better to learne more than wee n e e d, than
       nothing at all
                    Satius est supervacua discere, quam nihil

5.95   [D 51] of whome to borrow so much as I shall n.e d e,

'More than we need to learn', or 'more than we have need of', 'so much

as I shall need to borrow' or 'so much as I shall have need of'.

Both NP + NEED TO + Infinitive and NP_1 NEEDS NP_2 are introduced

into areas where constructions with HAVE NEED are long established; and

both seem to be used first in negative clauses, leaving the HAVE NEED

constructions in non-negative clauses though these constructions also

continue to be common in negative clauses. All the examples of NP_1

NEEDS NP_2 from the extended corpus are here arranged so as to demonstrate

the preference for negative and pseudo-negative clauses.

An isolated example suggests the influence of the modal construc-

tion on NP_1 NEEDS NP_2 since we find the uninflected third person

singular form in a context where there is no likelihood of subjunctive

mood or ellipsis of a verb.

5.96 [FM 155a] Touching strength, there is no Creature in the world,
open to so many wrongs and injuries as a man: He n e e d not a
Whale, an Elephant, nor a Crocodile, nor any such other wilde
beast, of which one alone is of power to defeat a great number of
men: seely lice are able to make Silla give over his
Dictatorship:

          Quant à la force, il n'est animal au monde en bute de
tant d'offences que l'homme: il ne nous f a u t point une
balaine, un elephant & un crocodile, ny tels autre animaux,
desquels un seul est capable de deffaire un grand nombre d'hommes;
les pous sont suffisans pour faire vacquer la dictature de Sylla;
(or did Florio write or mean to write, following the French more closely,
'We need not a Whale ...?)

Further examples in negative clauses:

5.97 [LS 12.5] thus succeedeth in place of pleasure that he
n e e d e t h none.
          hoc ipsum succedit in locum voluptatem, nullus e g e r e.

5.98 [LS 21.8] This sentence is so plaine that it n e e d e t h n o
interpretation, and so expresse as it n e e d e t h n o helpe.
          et apertior ista sententia est quam
i n t e r p r e t a n d a :sit, & disertior quam
a d i u v a n d a.

5.99 [H 64C] Axiomes lesse generall, yet so manifest that they
n e e d e n o further profe, are such as these,

5.100 [H 105A] Let this be graunted, and it shall hereupon plainely
ensue, either that the light of scripture once shining in the
world, all other light of nature is therewith in such sort
drowned, that now we n e e d it n o t, neither may we longer
vse it;

5.101 [H 163E] First so farre foorth as the Church is the mysticall
body of Christ and his inuisible spouse, it n e e d e t h n o
externall politie

To these we may add the following examples in clauses which are nega-

tive in that they contain one of the negative words although the sense

is not strictly negative.

5.102 [H 87E] wee n e e d e n o other meanes for our full
instruction, then God hath alreadye furnished vs withall.

5.103 [H 88D] It sufficeth therefore that nature and scripture doe
serue in such full sort, that they both ioyntly and not
seuerallye eyther of them be so complete, that vnto euerlasting
felicitie wee n e e d e n o t the knowledge of any thing more
then these two.

5.104 [H 95C] What thinges are food, and what are not we iudge
naturally by sense, n e y t h e r n e e d e we any other law
to be our director in that behalfe then the selfe same which is
common vnto vs with beastes.

These three can be read as negatives to which an exception is made.

The following is not negative in meaning at all, but contains negative words.

5.105 [B 2.80] They n e e d e medicine n o t onely to asswage the disease b u t to awake the sense.
             Medicina illis hominibus o p u s e s t, non solum ad curandum morbum, sed ad sensum expergefaciendum.
(They need medicine, in order to assuage ...)

We may add here a single example of the participle NEEDING:

5.106 [FM 301a] Touching the libertie of Philosophicall opinions, concerning vice and virtue, it is thing n e e d i n g n o great extension.
             Quant à la liberté des opinions philosophiques touchant le vice et la vertu, c'est chose où il n'est b e s o i n g de s'estendre.

The following two examples show a negative sense:

5.107 [LS 14.17] He most of all possesseth riches, that l e a s t n e e d e t h them
             Is maxime divitiis fruitur, qui m i n i m e divitiis i n d i g e t

5.108 [B 1.15r] Yet it will receiue an open allowance, and therefore n e e d e s the l e s s e disproofe or excusation.
             Tamen palam scilicet apud omnes laudem referent, ut, in hac re, longa defensione n o n s i t o p u s.

NEED also appears in certain kinds of clause which as we saw in Chapter 4 prefer CAN rather than MAY: as clauses of comparison after AS + Adj + AS:

5.109 [FM 249c] For our masters preoccupate and gaine afore-hand as much place in our beleefe, as they n e e d to conclude afterwards what they please ...
             Car nos maistres praeoccupent et gaignent avant main autant de lieu en nostre creance qu'il leur en f a u t pour conclurre apres ce qu'ils veulent.
('They need ... place - in order to conclude'. So in French 'pour conclurre'.)

and clauses equivalent to those introduced by WHOSOEVER or ALL THAT:

5.110 [FM 145a] I omit that, which necessitie in time of need doth particularly instruct and suddenly teach s u c h a s n e e d it;
             Je laisse a part ce que particulierement la necessite en aprant soubdein a ceus qui en o n t b e s o u i n

NEED is also found in questions, and though there are no examples of

this in the present corpus, a reported question may account for NEED in

5.111 [LS 22.12] But if for this cause thou recoilest, that thou
mayest looke about thee, how much thou shalt carried with thee,
and what great riches thou n e e d e s t to liue in repose,
thou shalt neuer finde an issue.
                    Sed si propter hoc tergiversaris, ut circumspicias,
quantum feras tecum, & quam magna pecunia instruas otium:
numquam exitum invenies.
(i.e. thou needest riches, in order to live in repose.)

NEED like CAN also appears in IF clauses which are not themselves

negative:

5.112 [M 185A] but rather they shall shew them fauour, and helpe them
if they n e e d e any thing

and the single appearance of the preterite NEEDED in this construction:

5.113 [M9B] That if for his defence he n e e d e d forces, he
shall leuy none out of his Countrey without speciall licence of
the State, in which case he might haue English bands.

However NEED is not excluded from non-negative clauses, though its

comparative rarity must lend it a particular emphasis:

5.114 [B 2.38r] But the inquisition of this part is of great vse,
though it n e e d e t h, as Socrates sayd, A Delian diuer,
being difficult & profound.
                    Atque haec inquisitio nobilis profecto esset usus;
verum (ut ait Socrates) natatore Delio i n d i g e t quia
mergitur in profundo.

There is perhaps a tendency to weaken the concentrated verbal force in

NEED when used without a negative by using the auxiliary DO or the

modal SHALL with NEED. Since the sense of NEED is usually turned

towards the future, SHALL often seems not to change the meaning.

5.115 [H 91D] Wherefore seeing that God hath indued vs with sense to
the end that wee might perceiue such things as this present life
d o t h n e e d e ...

although it may be noted that the clause in which NEED appears is

equivalent to one introduced by WHATSOEVER.

5.116 [B 2.102v] For he that dooth so, leeseth infinite occasions
which enterveine, and are many times more proper and propitious
for somewhat, that he s h a l l n e e d afterwards: then for
that which he vrgeth for the present.
                    Qui enim hoc facit, occasionum innumerarum iactura
mulctabitur; quae rebus agendis ex obliquo intervenire solent,

quaeque fortasse magis fuerint propitiae et commodae ad alia
quae postea usui futura sint, quam ea, quae in manibus habeamus.

5.117   [H 168B]   much the Church of God   s h a l l   alwayes   n e e d
which the scripture teacheth not.

5.118   [M 184E]   and haue moreouer things which they   s h a l l
n e e d,   to furnish them to their voiage

5.119   [D 48]   to helpe to by such cattell there as I   s h a l l
n e d e   for Streatham

5.120   [B 2.4r]   Another defect I note, wherin I   s h a l l   n e e d e
some Alchimist to helpe me
          Defectum nunc notabo alium, in quo alchemista quispiam
in auxilium   a d v o c a n d u s   foret
(Here we must take 'alchemist' as the subject of 'to help me' so that
there is a kind of accusative and infinitive clause.àfter 'I shall
need'.   5.105 and 5.118 might possibly be taken intthe same way, though
in these I read the infinitive as expressing the purpose of the subject
of HAVE NEED OF, or NEED.)

There is one example where NEED is used with MIGHT:

5.121   [FM 147a]   whereas Nature hath clad and mantled all other
creatures, some with shels, some with huskes ... according as
their quality   m i g h t   n e e d,   or their condition require.
          là où toutes les autres creatures, nature les a
revestues de coquilles, de gousse ... selon le   b e s o i n   de
leur estre;
(The expansion of this last phrase into 'as their quality might need or
their condition require' may be considered with examples 5.163, 5.164
where we find 'as need requires' apparently as an expansion of 'as need
is'.   'Require' is often taken as equivalent in meaning to the verb
NEED when construed with a direct object.   See also 5.44, 5.51, 5.80
where NEED or HAVE NEED corresponds to Latin REQUIRO.)

SHALL and SHOULD also occur with NEED in negative clauses and clauses

of comparison.

5.122   [FM 148d]   The earth without labour or tilling doth sufficiently
produce and offer him as much as he   s h a l l   n e e d.
          Et la terre en produit et luy offre assez pour sa
n e c e s s i t é,   sans autre culture et artifice.

5.123   [H 155E]   Which argument   s h a l l   n e e d e   no touchstone to
trye it by but some other of the like making

5.123a   [LS 32.5]   My desire is ... that [thy spirit] should please it
selfe, and vnderstanding true goods, which are possessed as soon
as they are known,   s h o u l d   n e e d   no adiection
          Opto tibi ... ut placeat sibi, & intellectis veris
bonis, quae simul intellecta sunt, possidentur, aetatis
adiectione non   e g e a t

5.124 [FM 139a] These sentences of the Holy Ghost, doe so lively and manifestly expresse, what I would maintaine, as I s h o u l d n e e d e no other proofe against such ... as would yeeld to his authority.

    Ces sentiments du sainct esprit expriment si clairement et si vivement ce que je veux maintenir, qu'il ne me f a u d r o i t aucune preuve contre des gens qui se rendroient ... à son authorité.

The following is I think best taken as an example of this construction of NEED with a clausal subject

5.125 [H 147D] and that as it were altogether bootles to alledge against them, what the spirit hath taught vs; so likewise that euen to our ownselues it n e e d e t h caution and explication how the testimony of the spirit may be discerned

I read as 'how the testimony of the spirit may be discerned needeth caution and explication' (the discerning of the spirit requires caution and explication) rather than 'caution and explication how the testimony of the spirit may be discerned needeth, that is, is necessary, even in our own case'. I suggest that if Hooker had intended this, he would have written 'there needeth caution and explication'. See examples 5.138, 5.139, 5.140, all with THERE NEEDETH, which I have taken as belonging to the absolute construction. In 5.139 in parallel clauses 'there needeth' 'it must'.

 With this we conclude the exemplification of the verb NEED and HAVE NEED in personal constructions with infinitival and nominal objects and turn to the impersonal verbs BE NEED, and NEED, with clausal or nominal subjects. On the oldest level of the language there is the construction NEED IS + Genitive NP, 'There is need of ...'. The late ME NP + NEEDS 'There needeth ...' is represented by the following set of fifteen examples, all except one in negative, interrogative clauses or clauses of comparison.

II.   Impersonal Constructions with Noun Phrase

THERE NEEDETH:

5.126 [LS 9.13] to that there n e e d e t h no more then an intire and erected minde, and such as dispiseth fortune.
           ad illud tantum animo sano et erecto & despiciente fortunam.

5.127 [LS 17.7] There n e e d e t h not any preparation for maintenance beforehand.
           Non est ergo prius adquirendum.

5.128 [B 2.26v] whereof there n e e d e t h noe enumeration;

5.129 [H 90E] albeit about things easie and manifest vnto all men by common sense there n e e d e t h no higher consultation.

THERE NEEDS:

5.130 [B 1.36v] of whose vertues and Acts in warre there n e e d e s no note or recitall.
           Horum virtutes militares et res in bello gestas, supervacaneum esset notare,

THERE NEED (Plural):

5.131 [LS 38.1] it is good to vse these more submissive speeches. They enter more sweetly; but they continue, for there n e e d e not many, but such as are effectuall.
           ad haec submissiora verba veniendum est. Facilius intrant, sed & haerant. nec enim multis o p u s e s t, sed efficacibus.

5.132 [HL 40I] There n e e d not many words for this matter, quoth Collatinus
           Collatinus negat verbis o p u s e s s e

5.133 [M Eliz 40E] We answere ... that we are ill serued; and that there n e e d not so frequent demands of full pay:

WHAT NEED THERE?

5.134 [LS 31.5] What n e e d there any vowes?
           Quid votis o p u s e s t?

THERE DOTH NEED:

5.135 [H 80D] That there is somewhat higher then either of these two no other proofe d o t h n e e d e, then the verie processe of mans desire.

5.136 [H 122C] The vnsufficiencie of the light of nature is by the light of scripture so fully and so perfectly herein supplied, that further light then this hath added there d o t h not n e e d e vnto that ende.

SHALL NEED:

5.137 [H 53E] from thence we must borrow so much as s h a l l
       n e e d e for briefe resolution in this point.
(Clause of comparison)

In the following examples this construction occurs with an infinitive,

representing a purpose clause, so that sense is 'N is not necessary in

order to V'.

5.138 [H 62B] Neither must we suppose that there n e e d e t h one
       rule to knowe the good, and another the euill by
(Clause dependent on a negative clause)

5.139 [H 141E] If I belieue the Gospell, there n e e d e t h no
       reasoning about it to perswade me; If I doe not belieue, it
       must be the spirit of God and not the reason of man that shall
       conuert my hart vnto him.

In the next example, the infinitive 'despise' is used without TO and the

whole construction seems broken and exclamatory.

5.140 [LS 30.8] But despise her that giueth vs leisure to see her
       approach, and is vpon the point to lay hands on vs, there
       n e e d e t h more settled and maturely established constancie
                      At illa quae in propinquo est, utique ventura,
       desiderat lentam animi firmitatem:

This last example is the only one where NEED does not occur in a clause

that is negative or pseudo-negative or a clause of comparison.

       THERE NEEDS + NP can be expressed by using adjectives NP IS

NEEDFUL, NP IS NECESSARY.

IS NEEDFUL:

5.141 [B 2.180v] For the Appeale is lawful (though it may be it shall
       not be n e e d e f u l)
                      Appellatio sane legitima fuerit (licet res fortasse
       minus ea i n d i g e b i t)

5.142 [H 48D] Which because wee are not oftentimes accustomed to doe,
       when we doe it the paines wee take are more n e e d e f u l l
       a great deale, then acceptable.

5.143 [M 143E] and although so great a masse of victuals, as is
       n e e d e f u l l cannot bee sent at an instant, wee desire it
       may be sent as it can be prouided.

5.144 [M 199C] and may besides prosecute those that haue shewed
       themselves worst affected, while such places as are
       n e e d f u l l may be fortified

IS NEEDFUL FOR + NP:

5.145 [FM 148e] our common mother nature, hath with great plentie
stored us with whatsoever should b e n e e d f u l l f o r
us.
                    et que ... nostre mere nature nous avoit munis à
planté de tout ce qu'il nous f a l l o i t.

5.146 [M 143C] And although (grieued with her Maiesties huge expence)
we are loth to propound for so many men as are conceiued to b e
n e e d f u l l and profitable f o r the present prosecution
of this dangerous warre,

5.147 [M 159D] what could there be more done ... but ... to inuest
them from succours or reliefe, not omitting in the meane time to
prouide whatsoeuer might be n e e d f u l l, f o r the
businesse in hand.

IS NEEDFUL TO + NP:

5.148 [H 86B] there is not in the world any Arte or Science, which
proposing vnto it selfe an ende ... hath bene therefore thought
defectiue, if it haue not deliuered simplie whatsoeuer is
n e e d f u l l t o the same ende:

Use of NECESSARY for NEEDFUL is illustrated by the following.

IS NECESSARY:

5.149 [FM 148c] The bandles and swathes about our children a r e no
more n e c e s s a r y
                    Les liaisons et emmaillotements des enfans ne sont
non plus n e c e s s a i r e s

5.149a [H 94D] For although euen here likewise the lawes of nature and
reason be of necessary vse, yet somewhat ouer and besides them
is n e c e s s a r y, namely humaine and positiue law.

IS NECESSARY FOR/UNTO:

5.150 [H 62B] Seeing therefore that f o r the framing of mens
actions the knowledge of good from euill i s n e c e s s a r i e

5.151 [H 70E] Vnnotlo° life many implements a r e n e c e s s a r i e

III. Impersonal Constructions, with Clause or Infinitive

IT NEEDETH THAT:

5.152 [LS 39.1] I t n e e d e t h n o t now t h a t thou exact
at my hands, either this or that authoritie
.   Tu a me, non est quod illum aut illum exigas

5.153 [H 151B] Surely if we haue vnto those lawes that dutifull
regard which their dignitie doth require: i t w i l l not
greatly n e e d, t h a t we should be exhorted to liue in
obedience vnto them.

THAN NEEDS:

5.154 [FM 210c] They that would know what we conceit of every thing,
use more curiosity t h a n n e e d s
.   Qui requirunt, quid de quaque re ipsi sentiamus;
curiosius id faciunt, quam n e c e s s e e s t
(supposing this to be in full 'than it needs that they should use')

5.155 [C XLVIII] yt hath vext your frends where she is, more t h e n
n e e d e s

IT NEEDETH TO ... / WHAT NEEDETH IT TO ...

5.156 [LS 24.1] For w h a t n e e d e t h vs t o call on and
anticipate our calamities, which will befall vs too soone, and
lose the present good for feare of the euill to come?
.   Quid enim n e c e s s e est mala accensere, & satis
cito patienda, cum venerit, praesumere, ac praesens tempus
futuri metu perdere?
(Impersonal use with oblique case of person experiencing need, frequent
in ME, but by this time unusual.)

5.157 [H 60C] For as the authoritie of higher powers hath force euen
in those things which are done without their priuitie, and are
of so meane reckoning that t o acquaint them therewith i t
n e e d e t h not:

5.158 [H 113D] In like sort Leo saith, Wr h a t n e e d e t h i t
t o beleeue that thing that neither the Lawe hath taught, nor
the Prophets haue spoken ...
.   Quid o p u s e s t in cor admittere quod lex non
docuit, quod Prophetica non cecinit ...

THERE IS NEED TO:

5.159 [HP 86.13] For surely t h e r e w a s no great n e e d t o
detect and convince the flatterie of Melanthius the Parasite and
Iester of Alexander Pheraeus the Tyrant ...
[AMYOT]   Car il n'y auroit pas grande affaire à descouurir vn
tel truant escornifleur qu'estoit Melanthius, le plaisant
d'Alexandre tyran de Pheres.
[XYLANDER] Non enim puto, n e c e s s e e r a t Melanthium
Alexandri Pheraei parasitum adsentationis convincere.

[ERASMUS]   Neque enim o p u s   f u i t, Alexandri pherei parasitum deprehendere
            ou gar depou Melanthion e d e i   ton Alexandrou tou Pheraiou parasiton exelenchein

5.160 [HP 100.31] Also if he see him not disposed to take a journey by land or voyage by sea, or to go about any enterprise, whatsoever it be, slowly and with an ill will, he will say unto him; either that there i s no such great n e e d, or the time is not so convenient, but it may be put off to a farther daie
       [AMYOT]   Et s'il voit son homme mal affectionné à entreprendre quelque voyage par terre ou par mer, ou à faire chose que ce soit, il dira que le temps ne presse point, & qu'il n'y est pas propre, & que lon le pourra bien remettre à vn autre temps
       [XYLANDER]   Idem si videat te ad iter, aut navigationem opusve aliquod obeundum animo esse ob molliciem segni : dicet nullam urgere temporis n e c e s s i t a t e m, ac posse idem agi re dilata, aut alio misso
                    kai pros hodon e ploun e tina praxin horon apomalakizomenon ou phesei katepeigein ton kairon
(i.e. there is no such great need to take the journey)

5.161 [C XI] Sir Thomas Norris ... is thought to have taken the alarme too soone and left his station before t h e r e w a s n e e d:

5.162 [C XII] and unles t h e r e shold b e exceding urgent n e e d indeed, yt is thought a straunge pollicie to discover our want so far to the world.
('unless there should be need to do so')

To this construction belong 5.5 and 5.6 where the full sense is 'Can there be anything more turbulant than a palace, yet if there is need to live even there peaceably, a man may do so' and 'and now they have an imagination of sinking certain hulks in the channel, if there should be need to do so'.

This construction appears to underlie NEED REQUIRE + [THAT] + Clause / + (object) + Infinitive.

5.163 [LS 36.9] No man learneth to haue power, if n e e d so r e q u i r e d, to lye sweetly and softly amongst the roses
                  Nemo discit, ut, si n e c e s s e f u e r i t, aequo animo in rosa iaceat
(if need required him to lie among roses)

5.164 [M 130B] For my selfe, I thinke it fittest to stay hereabouts, for from hence I may aptly draw towards Mounster or Connaght as n e e d r e q u i r e s
(as need requires me to, as need requires I should)

IT IS NEEDFUL (THAT) + Clause:

5.165 [H 166D] But as in all other matters concerning the kingdome of
      heauen, so principally in this which concerneth the very
      gouvernement of that kingdome, n e e d f u l   i t   i s   we
      should be taught of God
(SHOULD in THAT-Clause)

5.165a [H 168E] When we do otherwise, surely we exceede our bounds,
       who & where we are we forget, & therefore n e e d f u l l   i t
       i s   t h a t   our pride in such cases be controld.
(Subjunctive BE in THAT-Clause)

5.166 [M 175B] I t   i s   n e e d f u l l   t h a t   we all be on
      horsebacke at once and the greater haste the better [Letter
      translated from the Spanish of Don Juan del Agüyla]
(Subjunctive BE in THAT-Clause)

IT IS NOT NEEDFUL (THAT) + Clause:

5.167 [B 2.114r] <u>N e i t h e r   w a s   i t   n e e d e f u l l   t h a t</u>
      <u>any should beare witnesse to him of Man, for he knewe well what</u>
      <u>was in Man</u>
(Refers to John 2.25. But 1611 reads:
      (He) needed not that any should testify of man
      kai hoti ou chreian eichen hina tis marturēsei peri tou anthrōpou)
(SHOULD in THAT-Clause)

5.168 [LS 29.2] It   i s   n o t   alwayes   n e e d f u l l   t h a t
      a good Archer hit the white, sometimes he may misse
                  Sagittarius non aliquando ferire debet, sed aliquando
      deerrare
(Subjunctive in clause. 'not be needful' translates 'non debet'.
The Latin is expressed by means of necessity.
Debet non aliquando ferire - It is necessary sometimes not to hit
Debet aliquando deerrare - It is necessary sometimes to miss
The English by means of negative necessity and possibility
                  It is not necessary always to hit
                  It is possible sometimes to miss)

The following examples may also be considered under this construction.

5.169 [B 1.45r] But it must be remembered, both in this last point,
      and so i t may like b e n e e d f u l l in other places.
                  Sed enim meminerint homines, et nunc et alias ubi
      o p u s   f u e r i t
(i.e. (that it should be remembered) is needful)

IT IS NEEDFUL TO + Infinitive:

5.170 [HP 86.23] What kinde of flatterer then i s   i t   so hard and
      yet n e e d f u l l   t o   beware of?
      [AMYOT]   De quel flatteur doncques est-il difficile, &
      neantmoins n e c e s s a i r e, de se garder?
      [XYLANDER] Quem igitur o p o r t e t cauere?
      [ERASMUS] A quo nam igitur c a u e n d u m   e s t?
                 Tina oun d e i phulattesthai;

5.171 [H 73A] therefore vnto laws that men do make for the benefit of men it hath seemed alwaies n e e d f u l t o ad rewards which may may more allure vnto good then any hardnes deterreth from it.

IT IS NEEDFUL FOR + NP + TO + Infinitive:

(Where FOR + NP with TO + Infinitive form subject and verb of a clause,

subject of IS NEEDFUL.)

5.172 [LS 36.8] neither also should i t b e n e e d f u l l f o r him t o addresse and accustome himselfe to that whereunto our natural inclination sufficiently disposeth vs, as is the desire to conserue a mans selfe.
            nec eum n e c e s s e e s s e t in id comparari & acui, in quod instinctu quodam voluntario iremus, sicut feruntur omnes ad conservationem sui.

This appears to be the only example of this construction in the

extended corpus. FOR + Noun evidently does not provide a subject to

the Infinitive in

5.173 [M 202B] And because i t will b e also n e e d f u l l f o r the furtherance of our resolutions here, t o haue good vnderstanding of the ciuill parts of that gouernement

NEEDLESS

    This word serves as a negative of NEEDFUL. In this corpus it

occurs twice in the construction

IT IS NEEDLESS TO:

5.174 [HL 17E] which t o rehearse, as they were in a long prescript forme pronounced, w e r e verie n e e d l e s s e
            quae longo effata carmine non o p e r a e e s t referre

5.175 [HP 108.54] And now of this point, n e e d l e s s e it i s t o discourse any longer
       [AMYOT]   pourtant n'est-il ia b e s o i n g d'allonger ce propos d'auantage
       [XYLANDER]   Itaque hac de re nihil attinet prolixius disserere
       [ERASMUS]   Nihil igitur o p u s e s t de his sermonem in longum producere
            ouden oun d e i peri touton legonta mekuneih

NEEDLESS occurs once as an adjective:

5.176 [H 83B] When supernaturall duties are necessarily exacted, naturall are not rejected as n e e d l e s s e.

There is a single example of IS NEEDFUL in the construction NP + IS

NEEDFUL TO + Infinitive.

5.177 [LS 22.2] A man may in general giue aduice eyther by speech, or
       writing of that which hath beene accustomed, or of that which
       i s n e e d f u l l t o be done
                  Quid fieri soleat, quid o p o r t e a t, in
       universum & mandari potest, & scribi

where IS NEEDFUL functions like NEED TO or HAD NEED. 'That which needs

to be done', 'that which had need be done' seem to give the meaning,

though Lodge's translation does not really suit the Latin.

IT IS NECESSARY FOR + NP + TO + Infinitive:

5.178 [H 88E] For they only pleade, that whatsoeuer God reuealeth as
       n e c e s s a r i e f o r all Christian men t o doe or
       belieue, the same we ought to embrace

SECTION 3 - MUST, OUGHT AND OTHER EXPRESSIONS OF OBLIGATION AND NECESSITY

Selection of MUST or OUGHT in Translation

The method which was used in Chapter 3 and 4 to study the modal

pairs WILL/SHALL and CAN/MAY makes use of the fact that both WILL and

SHALL occur as translations of the future tense in Latin and French and

both CAN and MAY occur as translations of POSSUM in Latin and POUVOIR

in French. By studying the grammatical circumstances in which one or

other of each pair was selected we were able to say something about

their relationship and the usage of the period around 1600. However

this method is quite inappropriate for the study of NEED and MUST,

although as has been shown, in some ways these two words constitute a

pair parallel to WILL and SHALL, CAN and MAY. In the first place,

although words and conjugational forms in Latin and French which are

frequently translated by MUST, are occasionally translated by NEED,

there are separate expressions, such as AVOIR BESOIN in French, corres-

ponding to HAVE NEED in English and OPUS ESSE in Latin, corresponding

to IS NEED, at least in certain of its English constructions, which are

not normally translated by MUST. But in any case, the study of WILL

and SHALL, and of CAN and MAY, was directed at finding out what governed, in the English of this time, the use of WILL instead of SHALL, of CAN instead of MAY. The relationship between NEED and MUST leaves nothing to be discovered in this way, because MUST can only be used positively – when used in a negative clause, it is always the infinitive of the lexical verb which is negated, never the obligation or necessity that are the meaning of MUST itself. To express the non-existence of obligation/necessity, NEED NOT must be employed. As we have seen, in its strictly modal form and construction, NEED seems never to be used except negatively and therefore, in the modal system itself we may take NEED and MUST as constituting a pair related in this simple way; MUST expresses necessity or obligation; NEED NOT expresses the non-existence of necessity or obligation.

Yet it so happens that the particular method which offered a way to begin the study of both WILL and SHALL and CAN and MAY, the method that is of examining which of the two alternatives is in each case selected as the appropriate translation of a single item in another language, can also be used with MUST, not in relation with its paired modal NEED, but with another modal, so far unmentioned, OUGHT. In the three languages from which the translated texts are taken – for we have for the purposes of the study of MUST and OUGHT added a corpus from a text translated by Holland from Greek – the conjugational forms and the words which are frequently translated by MUST can be set out as follows:-

	Latin	Greek	French
Conjugational Form	gerundive	verbal adjective	–
Impersonal Verb	OPORTET	DEI	IL FAUT
Personal Verb	DEBEO	OPHEILŌ	DEVOIR

DEBEO, OPHEILŌ and DEVOIR have as their basic sense, 'to owe'. OPHEILŌ occurs in fact only once (when it is translated MUST) but in the texts under consideration taken as a whole all the others are translated by (or are used to translate) both MUST and OUGHT. The table is as follows:-

		Gerundive	DEBEO	. OPORTET
Lodge's	MUST	18	2	2
Seneca	. OUGHT .	22	. 8	0
Holland's	MUST	0	0	0
/Livy	OUGHT	2	0	2
Bacon	MUST	14	3	1
(English to Latin)	OUGHT	4	8	0
		Verbal Adjective	OPHEILŌ	DEI
Holland's	MUST	6	1	3
Plutarch	. OUGHT .	11	. 0	. 18
			DEVOIR	IL FAUT
Florio's	MUST		5	33
Montaigne	OUGHT		11	7

A study of the selection between MUST and OUGHT made by the translators revealed no obvious syntactical reasons for one word rather than the other. On the assumption that in some cases at least the translators were making merely a stylistic choice, the following experiment was tried. In each example with MUST occurring, OUGHT was substituted; in each example with OUGHT, MUST was substituted, and the resulting sentences considered. Of course all that could be brought into play was the language feeling of a native speaker of PE, not eModE. However, the distinction between the majority of cases where the substitution produced a sentence which seemed both acceptable and to convey essentially the same meaning as the first version, and a minority

of the sentences where the substitution produced a sentence that clearly

had a different meaning or was puzzling or unacceptable, was so sharp

that it seemed worth pursuing.

The distinction may be illustrated by the following set of

examples, taken from Florio-Montaigne in which MUST translates IL FAUT.

5.179 [FM 132a] And we burne those men, which say, that truth m u s t
be made to abide the yoke of our need:
            Et nous bruslons les gens qui disent qu' i l f a u t
faire souffrir à la verité le joug de nostre besouin

Substituting OUGHT for MUST

            And we burn those men, which say, that truth ought to
be made to abide the yoke of our need.

This substitution appears to leave the meaning essentially unchanged.

Since elsewhere Florio translates IL FAUT by OUGHT, it seems likely

that here we have what is fundamentally a stylistic choice. Although

there may be reasons of style or semantic nuance for the selection of

MUST, there is here no syntactical reason for the use of one modal

rather than the other.

5.180 [FM 137c] Such felloweß m u s t somwhat more roughly be
handled: for they are more dangerous, and more malicious than
the first.
            Il f a u t secouer ceux cy un peu plus rudement,
car ils font plus dangereux & plus malitieux que les premiers.

Substituting OUGHT for MUST

            Such fellows ought somewhat more roughly to be
handled: for they are more dangerous, and more malicious than
the first.

Again this seems to be both acceptable and to have the same meaning.

5.181 [FM 188d] But we m u s t tread this foolish vanitie under
foot...So long as man shall be perswaded to have meanes of power
of himself, so long wil he denie, and never acknowledge what he
oweth unto his Master ... He m u s t be stripped into his
shirt.
            Mais i l f a u t mettre aux pieds cette sote
vanité ... Tant qu'il pensera avoir quelque moyen & quelque
force de soy, jamais l'homme ne recognoistra ce qu'il doit à son
maistre ... i l le f a u t mettre en chemise.

Substituting OUGHT for MUST

But we ought to tread this foolish vanity under foot
... He ought to be stripped into his shirt.

Again no fundamental difference is made.

5.182 [FM 192a] We m u s t be besotted ·ere we can become wise, and
dazled before we can be led.
                 I l nous f a u t abestir pour nous assagir, et
nous esblouir pour nous guider.

Substituting OUGHT for MUST

We ought to be besotted ere we can become wise, and
dazzled before we can be led.

This is evidently not an equivalent to the original and its meaning is

not at all clear.

In order to illustrate the substitution in the opposite direction,

let us leave the translations and take the entire set of uses of OUGHT

from Book I of Hooker's Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. These are:

5.183 [H 65A] The soule then o u g h t to conduct the bodie and the
spirite of our mindes the soule.

5.184 [H 88E] For they only pleade, that whatsoeuer God reuealeth as
necessarie for all Christian men to doe or belieue, the same we
o u g h t to embrace.

5.185 [H 92C] Easiest a great deale it is for men by law to be taught
what they o u g h t to doe, then instructed how to iudge as
they should do of law;

5.186 [H 95A] for that they discerne not aright what place and force
these seueral kindes of lawes o u g h t to haue in all their
actions.

5.187 [H 62A] whereby rules haue beene found out concerning that
natural goodnes wherwith the will of man o u g h t to be moued
in humaine actions

5.188 [H 83D] which cause men of sundrie wits to be also of sundry
iudgements concerning that which o u g h t to be done.

5.189 [H 47E] He that goeth about to perswade a multitude, that they
are not so well gouerned as they o u g h t to be, shall neuer
want attentiue & fauourable hearers:

5.190 [H 52A] All things therefore, which are as they o u g h t to
be, are conformed vnto this second law eternall.

The first six of this set permit the substitution of MUST for OUGHT

with no more than a slight stylistic change. Hooker is a writer fairly

sparing in his use of the word OUGHT, and in all these examples it has
a certain emphasis, partly perhaps because of the TO which always follows
it and ensures that a stress falls both on OUGHT and on the following
infinitive. When MUST is substituted, not being followed by TO, it
forms a single stress group with its infinitive and so is itself rela-
tively unstressed. For this reason MUST seems less strong then NEED.
However in 5.189 and 5.190 the substitution of MUST produces unacceptable
sentences.

From these two sets of examples it would be reasonable to assume
that MUST and OUGHT are usually interchangeable, but that MUST sometimes
has a meaning, or appears in some syntactical situation, where it is
not replaceable by OUGHT, and likewise with OUGHT.

To discover precisely in what sense or situation MUST cannot be
replaced by OUGHT, we take more examples where the change is impossible
to make and consider these together with the example 5.182 already
noted.

5.191   [LS 19.8] or in this solicitude of procuration, and afterwards
of ciuill offices, thou m u s t waxe old in trauell and be
alwayes tossed with new waves.
            aut in ista sollicitudine procurationum et deinde
urbanorum officiorum s e n e s c e n d u m, in tumultu ac
semper novis fluctibus.

5.192   [B 2.3c] For if you will haue a tree beare more fruit then it
hath vsed to do; ... it is the styrring of the earth, and
putting newe moulde about the rootes, that m u s t worke it.
            Nam si arborem solito fructuosiorem fieri cupias terra
ipsa circa radicem subigenda et gleba laetior admovenda, aut
nihil egeris.

5.193   [FM 130b] Compare but our manners unto a Turke, or a Pagan, and
we m u s t needs yeeld unto them:
            comparez nos meurs à un Mahometan, à un Payen; vous
demeurez tousjours au dessoubs:

5.194   [FM 242a] Some there are so seely and popular ... that five or
six of them m u s t be shufled up together to produce an eare
of corne.
            Il en est de si chetifs et populaires ... qu'ils en
f a u t entasser bien cinq ou six à produire un espic de bled.

5.195 [HP 104.41] seeing then that he m u s t needs be detected and knowen for such an one as he is, what doth he, thinke you?
[AMYOT]   il ne la peut endurer, pource qu'il scait bien qu'il sera descouuert pour tel qu'il est:
ouk anapheron all'exelenchomenos tauto poiei

5.196 [H 94C] and in this case there is no remedie but we m u s t adde yet a further law.

5.197 [M Essex 36D] and that your Victorie will be certaine, though many of vs your honest seruants m u s t sacrifice our selues in the quarrell ...

5.198 [C V] yet being to go out of towne to morrow towards Askot, me thinckes I m u s t needes bid you farewell.

5.199 [D 47] which remainder of money I m u s t in treat that favour of you to send me up so soone as convenient you may.

If we look at these examples, together with 5.182, we find that in each of them the writer is referring to what is inevitable and unavoidable if certain conditions obtain or if a certain end is to be achieved. If the replacement of MUST by OUGHT yields a plausible sense then that new sense shows the writer himself involved, no longer merely setting out an inevitable state of affairs, but by his utterance, involving himself in it. Thus 5.182

We must be besotted ere we can become wise

states what is necessary if an end is to be achieved. In

We ought to be besotted ere we can become wise

Montaigne would have to be advocating becoming besotted before we had a chance to grow wise – the French shows this cannot be intended. In 5.193 'we ought to yield unto them' would make perfectly good sense, though not that of the example as it stands with MUST and it would involve us in understanding the word 'yield' in a different sense. The French indicates we are concerned with the fact of inferiority, not with the need for an honest recognition of it – though it is true that without the 'needs' in Florio's translation it would be possible here to read MUST in a way which would be replaceable by OUGHT.

So with the other first person examples. 5.196 is stating as a consequence that there is another law to be added. It is not advocating a further act of legislation; 5.198 finds no alternative to bidding farewell - though here again, it is only the presence of 'needs' that compels this reading. In 5.199 the whole rhetoric of politeness is destroyed if 'I must intreat you' is replaced by 'I ought to intreat you'. The writer is proclaiming that he can do no other, given his circumstances.

In the second person, 5.191 Seneca is telling Lucilius what will inevitably happen to him unless he escapes from public life: OUGHT would here lay an obligation upon Lucilius to endure this fate, reversing Seneca's intention. 5.194 as it stands, tells what would be necessary to produce a certain result. With OUGHT it would advocate doing this.

In 5.192 'that ought to work it' though it is true that this might occur in PE, certainly does not give an acceptable meaning here.

In 5.195, we have a reported state of mind. The flatterer sees the inevitability of his exposure, not its moral (or any other kind) of appropriateness. Again here we find the adverb NEEDS.

From these examples, it seems clear that when MUST has the sense of what in our general discussion of the system CAN-MAY-NEED-MUST we referred to as obligation (corresponding to permission) then it is replaceable by OUGHT. When the sense is of necessity (corresponding to possibility), then OUGHT cannot replace MUST.

MUST

Where the context requires, MUST is disambiguated by the use of an adverb which indicates that MUST is to be taken in the sense of necessity, not obligation. The most frequent adverb used is NEEDS though we also find OF NECESSITY, NECESSARILY, and OF FORCE. In the

present corpus about one in every ten uses of MUST has necessity indicated adverbially in this way.

We refer here to Chapter 3, Section 4, pp. 100-101 where WILL NEEDS is mentioned. WILL NEEDS is used to indicate that WILL is to be taken in its full sense of 'insists, is determined to', and not in a weakened sense. In the terminology which we have employed in this study, MUST has its original meaning in obligation which is in some contexts generalized into necessity. NEEDS is also sometimes used to mark this sense and its appropriateness in both cases is evident, in terms of the two poles of self and world. On the one hand the inevitability that comes from self in WILL NEEDS, on the other, the inevitability of the world in MUST NEEDS.

Yet the distinction between obligation and necessity as these apply to MUST is best made without attempting to establish a kind of philosophical definition of what is necessary by seeing it as a cosmic obligation. It is true that language starts from obligation, as it starts from permission, and derives necessity and possibility from these. This is surely because to permit and, in the sense we are here using the word, to oblige, are in themselves verbal actions. There is a verbal form for giving permission and permission cannot be given except by pronouncing this form or some equivalent to it. In the same way the obligation which corresponds to permission can only exist as a pronouncement. The word OUGHT cannot be uttered (except in quotation) without involving the speaker as the originator or promulgator of an obligation. It is this participation by the speaker in the obligation which distinguishes it from the expression of necessity. Here the speaker is no longer involved in a speech act which promulgates the obligation, but uses language to refer to the existence of the obligation, which by this verbal stance becomes from the point of view of the

sentence in which he does so, necessity. Thus

5.200 [C LIII] therefore you m u s t not <u>succumbere oneri</u>, but go
       on cherefully to the journies end

is an utterance which establishes an obligation. It is equivalent to

'you ought not to ...' The obligation has its origin with the writer

and its existence in the utterance.

But in

5.201 [C LV] but the more I thincke the lesse I am satisfied, to see
       ... that I have none other meanes to acknowledge your kindnes:
       so that you m u s t even put me in the number of your doubtfull
       or rather desperate debters.

the writer is stating an obligation for which he has no responsibility

at all. His correspondent is informed not what he ought to do but what

he has no choice except to do. The sentence reports a situation and

records the necessity that it imposes on the correspondent.

In such second person examples the distinction is perhaps

clearest, since here, the expression of obligation with MUST is close

to a command or request, while as an expression of necessity it may

refer to the fate of the interlocutor which the speaker is helplessly

bewailing. Yet the use of the same word for these two purposes is a

kind of irony built into the language itself. In the first person, this

irony becomes a resource of rhetoric. 'I must' can be the obligation

that I impose on myself or the recognition of a necessity from which I

have no escape.

5.202 [C LVI] And now we are in mirth, I m u s t not forget to tell
       you of a cousening prancke of one Venner ...

where the sense is I suppose 'I ought not to forget' and

5.203 [C XXXVIII] but I cannot be so easilie led to beleve protesta-
       tions (though never so deep) against manifest proofe, yet I
       m u s t needes say that one thing stickes much in many mens
       mindes, that ...

5.204 [D 29] You say you haue lett elwyk tyth for vij years. I
       m u s t be content when no more can be got.

where the speaker is stating the necessity and not imposing an obligation

upon himself. Further, utterances of 'I must' or 'You must' may be

quoted or referred to in other utterances. Thus

5.205 [C LI] mary matters are caried more close, and I m u s t not
      be acquainted with theyre proceedings, which doth nothing
      displease me: forIIsee she m u s t have her swinge.

Here, 'I must not be acquainted' seems to be a quotation of an obligation

the speaker feels has been laid upon him, 'you must not be acquainted'

but now repeated it reports a necessity. Again the observation of what

is inevitable, 'she must have her swinge', derives from the lady's own

'I must' which is presumably an obligation which she lays upon (or

claims for) herself.

Again from Chamberlaine we may take:

5.206 [C XII] And for horsemen to that service the justices of peace
      throughout England m u s t be intreated to furnish them.

In another context this could be the command that application for

horses be made to the justices of the peace, or it could stand in

Chamberlaine's letter as a quotation of that command. But I suspect

MUST is here being used of strict necessity with ironical effect.

'Such is now the state of public finance, that there is no alternative

but that justices of the peace have to be entreated to supply horses.'

There seem no traces of the older sense of MOTE, expressing

possibility still surviving in the use of MUST at this time with the

possible exception of the following example from the Delaval letters.

5.207 [D 18] I have beene a houskeper since the beginnig of March,
      and to want the meanes wherby we m u s t subsist and live ...
      would much redound to my hurt.

Taking 'whereby we must subsist and live' as a purpose clause introduced

by a relative, this might be considered as falling under MUST 1b in the

OED

          Past subjunctive (i.e. of MOTE) in petitions, final
          clauses, wishes and the like = might, should, might be
          permitted to.

But the last example given in the dictionary is c.1400. MAY or MIGHT would certainly seem more appropriate, but MUST may arise from the contextual sense of necessity - 'means which are necessary to our subsistence'.

There are the following pleonastic uses of MUST:

5.208 [D 18] and if it be not spedily retorned me, I m u s t   b e f o r c e d to come downe wch will be a great chardge to me besides I am a newly maryed man.

5.209 [D 51] my ground hear requeres a gretter then I have yet so as I   m u s t   b e f o r s t ether to take vp sum monney to stok my ground with all ...

5.210 [B 2.11v] whereas he that undertaketh the story of a time, specially of any length, cannot but meet with many blankes, and spaces, which hee   m u s t   b e   f o r c e d   to fill vp out of his own wit and coniecture.
          cum contra historia temporis ... necessario in memoria rerum saepius fatiscat, et veluti spatia vacua contineat; quae ingenio et conjectura occupari, et suppleri satis licenter consueverunt.

OUGHT

Further examples of uses of OUGHT where the word cannot be replaced by MUST.

5.211 [LS 12.2] this would not happen if any man had digged about them, and watred them as they   o u g h t   to be.
          Hoc non accideret, si quis has circumfoderet, si irrigaret.

5.212 [LS 13.4] Somethings therefore doe more afflict vs then they o u g h t,   some before they   o u g h t,   othersome torment vs when they should not at all.
          Quaedam ergo nos magis torquent quam   d e b e n t; quaedam ante torquent quam.   d e b e n t;   quaedam torquent cum omnino non debent.

5.213 [B 2.51r] But heere was their cheefe Errour: They charged the deceite vppon THE SENSES; ... But they   o u g h t   to haue charged the deceit vpon the weaknes of the intellectual powers ...
          Verum in hoc maxime ab illis peccatum est; quod sensum perceptiones calumniabantur ... D e b u e r a n t autem potius defectum hac in parte imputasse mentis tum erroribus.

5.214 [FM 131b] Men are but directors unto it and use religion for a shew: It   o u g h t   to be cleane contrarie.
          Les hommes y sont conducteurs et s'y servent de la religion: ce   d e v r o i t   estre tout le contraire.

5.215 [FM 169a] causes, which o u g h t not to move two scolding
fish-wives to scratch one another ...
          causes qui ne d e v r o i e n t pas esmouvoir deux
harengeres a s'esgratigner ...

5.214 and 5.215 suggest that MUST cannot replace OUGHT in contexts

where the obligation expressed by OUGHT runs counter to the actual

situation. This is explicit in 5.214. The actual situation is des-

cribed; the writer pronounces that he requires it to be 'clean contrary'.

It is of course the way in which, within the sentence itself, the

situation is given as the background to the counter-obligation that

makes it necessary to select OUGHT and reject MUST. Thus 'Men must not

be directors unto religion and use it for a show', taken by itself, is

acceptable for here the fact that this runs counter to their actual

practice is not specifically brought into the sentence. We may note

that in the French, the conditional tense, 'ce devroit' is employed.

In 5.215 OUGHT NOT cannot be replaced by MUST NOT because the point is

that such causes as are here under consideration create much greater

conflicts than the fighting of fishwives.

In 5.213 'they charged deceit upon the senses', Bacon expresses

an obligation now in the past - an obligation unfulfilled. OUGHT TO

HAVE can never be replaced by MUST HAVE; a discussion of the way these

and other modal forms followed by HAVE behave is to be found in Chapter

6, Section 5.

In 5.211 the whole sentence provides a context which makes it

clear that 'as they ought to be', a phrase added for clarification and

not found in the Latin, refers to an obligation unfulfilled. No one

had digged about the trees and watered them, yet there was the obligation

to do this.

In 5.212, and also, to return to the examples from Hooker, 5.189,

involve obligations which are not properly fulfilled. We may note that

the clauses in which OUGHT appears in these two examples, after 'than' and 'before' in 5.212, after 'not as well as' in 5.189 are of the quasi-negative kind which require CAN instead of MAY.

5.190 is perhaps to be explained in the same way, for the meaning seems to be 'only those things which are as they ought to be'. The implication that there are things which are not as they ought to be disappears if we substitute MUST for OUGHT. 'All things therefore, which are as they must be, are conformed unto this second law eternal' is hard to make sense of, unless the relative clause is read unrestrictively.

OUGHT then like MUST is used to express obligation. Unlike MUST is cannot also be used to express necessity. On the other hand, MUST is not used to express obligation in contexts which involve the non-fulfilment of the obligation, where only OUGHT can be used. This may be set out diagrammatically as

MUST   OUGHT

Necessity
or
Logical
Obligation

Obligation

Moral
Obligation

Not Possible Not   Not Permitted Not   Not Allowed Not

No question
of
Non-fulfilment

Unfulfilled
or
Question of
Non-fulfilment

To reflect frequency of occurrences in the corpus the area of overlap should be very much larger in relation to the two areas of no overlap. The overlapping of the two circles represents all those cases in the translations when the rendering of the Latin gerundive, of DEBEO, of IL FAUT and DEVOIR as MUST or OUGHT is apparently due to stylistic

rather than to semantic considerations and in the untranslated texts where the substituion of OUGHT for MUST, or of MUST for OUGHT gave an acceptable sentence with the meaning essentially unchanged.

The left-hand crescent where the MUST circle does not overlap represents uses of MUST where OUGHT cannot be substituted. This includes all uses of MUST NEEDS, MUST OF FORCE, etc. In the right-hand crescent come uses such as 5.189, 5.190 and 5.211-215 where MUST cannot be substituted for OUGHT.

The three areas defined by the two circles are labelled here to suggest how the English language on a more self-conscious level deals with the semantic questions involved. Thus we are able to distinguish between logical and moral obligation, but the word obligation itself embraces both. Again the phrase 'not permitted not' would be appropriate in all three areas, 'not possible not' only indicates necessity and I have suggested 'not allowed not' in the right-hand area of OUGHT, because in Elizabethan English 'allow' still embraced the sense of approval as well as permission and in PE it is less likely than 'permit' to appear in purely logical contexts.

Thus although much reliance has had to be placed on judgements made from the language sense of a native speaker of PE the system which emerges from this examination is plausible enough. It suggests that the language has not changed greatly in this area since 1600. There are certainly some features of change, the most notable being the disappearance of MUST NEEDS from use.

DISTRIBUTION OF OUGHT

A more detailed study of the materials presented here would go into the principles of the stylistic choice between MUST and OUGHT in the area of obligation. This is omitted here, but there is one outstanding feature in the stylistic distribution of OUGHT which must be

considered as it throws what is perhaps a new light on the relationship between MUST and OUGHT as discussed so far.

MUST and OUGHT occur in the texts as follows:

	MUST	OUGHT
Lodge-Seneca	25	37
Holland-Livy	5	2
Holland-Plutarch	17	40
Bacon	36	21
Florio-Montaigne	51	21
Hooker	54	8
Moryson	30	1
Chamberlaine	49	0
Delaval	34	0

The marked difference between the translated texts and the untranslated is to be noted, though of course in the case of Bacon, the English is the original. But the high frequency of OUGHT in Lodge and Florio is not due to any mechanical rendering of DEBEO and DEVOIR, as can be seen by referring to the table on p. 206 which shows that OUGHT in these texts is not overwhelmingly derived from these words in the originals. The complete absence of OUGHT from both the letter corpuses suggests the word was not felt appropriate for informal written style. This in turn may suggest it was not in colloquial use, being replaced by SHOULD. See 5.212 where 'debent' occurs three times and is twice translated by OUGHT, and once by SHOULD.

The single occurrence of OUGHT in the extended text from Moryson's Itinerarie is

5.216 [M 72C] he alleaged ... that he thought his seruice o u g h t not to be any bar against them, for the receiuing the reward of their deserts.

SHOULD here would give the sense that he did not expect his service to be any bar against them. The very large number of constructions which make use of SHOULD means that its use is often ambiguous, especially

in complex philosophical prose. In conversation this would hardly

apply. This may explain the frequency of OUGHT in Bacon. The very

high frequency in Lodge's Seneca and Holland's Plutarch may derive from

habits of translation, but the infrequency of OUGHT in so complex a

stylist as Hooker, and in a subject so concerned with obligation, is

remarkable. A further discussion of the stylistics of the use of OUGHT

at this time is to be found below in Chapter 8 on Shakespeare's

Language, where the subject is resumed and the discussion summarized

and concluded in the light of the evidence from the corpus and from

Shakespeare.

OUGHT WITHOUT TO

OUGHT like MUST is a modal with a single tense form. Historically

a past tense of OWE (the form OUGHT is used by Chamberlaine for OWED

but not as a modal) it does not show distinct present and preterite

forms.

It is distinguished from MUST in its modal characteristics and

indeed from all the other modals in that it is regularly followed by TO.

A complete list of the exceptions to this, where TO is omitted, is

given below.

5.217 [LS 17.6] We o u g h t in her behalfe endure hunger
                T o l e r a n d a est enim ad hoc properantibus vel
      fames

5.218 [FM 222d] He o u g h t in the behalfe of humane reason be
      answered:
                Il f a u d r o i t luy dire de la part de la raison
      humaine:

5.219 [FM 130b] Whereas in respect of our religious superioritie, we
      o u g h t by much, yea by an incomparable distance, out-shine
      them in excellencie:
                là où, au regard de l'avantage de nostre religion,
      nous d e v r i o n s luire en excellence, d'une extreme &
      incomparable distance;

In all three examples, there is a phrase interposed between OUGHT and

the infinitive.

BEHOVES

Side by side with the development of NEED as it draws, if only partially, into the modal system, we may note here another word, with a development very similar to that of NEED, which acquires about the same time as NEED the modal construction, Subject + Modal Verb + Infinitive. It is the verb BEHOVE. Through the ME period it is used with a clausal subject

BEHOVES + (THAT) Clause

BEHOVES + Accusative Noun + Infinitive.

These are both impersonal constructions similar to those in early use with NEED. The basic meaning is close to that of NEED being 'to require' though whereas with NEED what is required is what is lacked, with BEHOVE what is required is what can be made use of.

The OED attributes the development of the personal construction to a misreading of the accusative noun used as the object after the impersonal verb BEHOVES as a nominative, and gives two examples.

> Richard Rolle: The Nam of Ihesu es helefull and nedys by-houys be lufed of all.

> Chaucer: A Servant of God behoveth nought to chi.de.

This construction is soon lost in Southern English, though it continues in Scotland, side by side with the impersonal use, and in the preterite with the form BUIT or BUDE becomes a substitute for MUST/OUGHT.

With the impersonal constructions it remains in the written standard of this period as a subsidiary means of expressing obligation and necessity. Examples are listed below.

IT BEHOVES + (THAT) Clause:

5.220 [HP 105.48] In which regard it b e h o o v e t h that this libertie in fault finding, be tempered with a certain amiable affection.
[AMYOT]   Parquoy il f a u l t que ceste liberté de reprendre soit temperée d'vne affection amiable.

5. MUST, OUGHT   3. BEHOVE

[XYLANDER]   Itaque lenitate o p o r t e t temperatam esse libertatem
[ERASMUS]   Quapropter libertas iucunditate morum erit c o n d i e n d a
    dio d e i ten parresian ethei kekpasthai

IT BEHOVES + Accusative NP + (THAT) Clause:

5.221 [LS 5.5] I t b e h o u e t h vs t h a t our life be balanced betwixt good and publike maners
    Hic modus placet. Temperetur vita inter bonos mores & publicos.

IT BEHOVES + TO + Infinitive:

5.222 [LS 13.12] I t b e h o u e t h, contrariwise, t o reiect and contemne the feare it selfe, which is attended euerie way with apparent occasions.
    evidentem quoque metum respue.

IT BEHOVES + Accusative NP + TO + Infinitive:

5.223 [LS 6.5] I t therefore b e h o o u e t h thee t o transport thy selfe hither:
    In rem praesentem venias o p o r t e t

5.224 [LS 14.10] Afterwards i t b e h o o u e t h thee, according to the aucient precept, t o endeuour thy selfe to auoyde three things;
    Tria deinde ex praeceptione veteri praestanda sunt, ut vitentur.

5.225 [LS 16.1] i t b e h o o u e t h thee also t o imprint it in thy soule
    sed hoc ... f i r m a n d u m ... est

5.226 [H 48D] for better examination of their qualitie, i t b e h o o u e t h the very foundation and root, the highest welspring and fountaine of them to be discouered.

5.227 [M 199C] For since ... there is great likelihood, that a new supply from Spaine will come speedily & strongly if at all, i t b e h o u e t h vs t o be in readinesse to intertaine them ...

Preterite:

5.228 [LS 14.2] So ought we to behaue our selues, not as though i t b e h o u e d vs t o liue for our bodie; but as if we might not liue without the same.
    sic gerere nos debemus, non tamquam propter corpus vivere d e b e a m u s, sed tamquam non possimus sine corpore.

5.229 [H 84D] by often putting them in minde of that whereof i t b e h o u e d them t o be specially mindefull

In the examples above BEHOVE expresses obligation. In 5.230 and 5.231

it is used to express necessity.

5.230 [LS 14.18] He that wanteth riches, feareth for them: but no man
       enuieth a good that breedeth feare: whilst he thinketh to
       encrease the same, he forgetteth the vse of them; i t
       b e h o o u e t h him alwaies t o haue the counter in his
       hand, to assist at the bursse time, and visit his bookes of
       account: briefly, of a Master he becommeth a Factor.
               Qui eget divitiis, temet pro illis. Nemo autem
       sollicito bono fruitur; dum de incremento cogitat, oblitus est
       usus; rationes accipit, forum conterit, Kalendarium versat; fit
       ex domino procurator.
(translating present indicative tenses in Latin. The necessity is
logical rather than moral 'he must always have the counters in his hand'
but not 'he ought always to have the counters in his hand.')

5.231 [LS 17.5] If thou desirest to enioy the freedome of thy minde,
       eyther i t b e h o o u e t h thee t o be poore, or like a
       poore man.
               Si vis vacare animo, aut pauper sis o p o r t e t
       aut pauperi similis.

There is no use of the modal construction Subject + BEHOVE TO +

Infinitive. All uses are in non-negative clauses. The word is rarely

used by any of the writers in the corpus except Lodge.

BE TO + Infinitive:

     The expression of necessity in the English of this period is

perhaps most sharply different from PE in that the employment of HAVE

TO + Infinitive is virtually absent. In fact the use of HAVE TO +

Infinitive to express necessity is at this time just beginning and the

use which the OED gives as the first occurrence falls within the corpus

on which this study is based.

5.232 [H 48A] Whereas on the other side, if we maintaine thinges that
       are established, we haue not onely to striue with a number of
       heauie preiudices deepely rooted in the hearts of men ... but
       also to beare such exceptions as minds so auerted beforehand
       vsually take ...

but no other example of the expression occurs anywhere in the texts

studied. On the other hand, the expression BE TO + Infinitive in a

range of senses is often employed to express obligation and necessity.

     A set of examples is given, illustrating the use of BE TO +

Infinitive, used to translate the main expressions in Latin and French, more usually rendered by MUST and OUGHT, and also to illustrate the employment of this expression in the original texts, where the sense either of obligation or necessity seems clear.

BE TO + Infinitive is not confined to this meaning but its uses when it is not expressing obligation and necessity are not considered here.

BE TO + Infinitive used to Express Obligation/Necessity in Translation:

Latin gerundive

5.233   [LS 24.1] Beleeue me Lucillius, so little ought death to be feared that nothing is to be preferred before the benefit thereof.
        Mihi crede, Lucili, adeo mors timenda non est, ut beneficio eius nihil a n t e f e r e n d u m sit.
(where the first gerundive is rendered by OUGHT and the second by BE TO)

Greek DEI (corresponding to French IL FAUT and Latin gerundive)

5.234   [HP 92.38] so we a r e t o thinke well of friendship when it is pleasant, delightsome and cheereful, if otherwhiles also it can displease and crosse againe;
        [AMYOT]   aussi f a u t - i l estimer que celuy-la resiouit & complaist en amy, qui peult aussi quelquefois contrister & contredire.
        [ERASMUS]   ita p u t a n d u s est amice iucundus & blandus esse, qui quandoque possit contristare amicum ac resistere.
        houtō d e i to euphrainon kai charizomenon hēgeisthai philikon ...

French DEVOIR

5.235   [FM 149d] when the Ichneumon i s t o grapple with the Crocodile, he walloweth his body in the mire, then lets the same drie, and harden upon him.
        & l'ichneaumon, quand il d o i t venir aux prises avec le crocodile, munit son corps, l'enduit & le crouste tout à l'entour de limon bien serré & bien pestry ...

French IL FAUT

5.236   [FM 157b] Amongst other things, he w a s for a long while t o counterfeit and faine himselfe dead ...
        I l f a l l o i t entre autre choses qu'il contrefit pour un temps le mort ...

The translation of Bacon frequently renders BE TO + Passive Infinitive by DEBEO.

5.237　[B 1.44v]　how much more are letters to be magnified, which as Shippes, pass through the vast Seas of time ...
　　　　　　quanto rectius literae celebrari d e b e n t, quae, tanquam naves sulcantes oceanum temporis ...

5.238　[B 2.45v]　So as these predictions a r e now impertinent, t o be referred ouer.
　　　　　　Huiusmodi igitur praedictiones praesentis non sunt instituti, verum ad artes proprias remitti d e b e n t.

5.239　[B 2.64r]　For that knowledge, which is newe and forreine from opinions receiued, i s t o bee deliuered in another fourme, than that that is agreeable and familiar;
　　　　　　Aliter enim tradi d e b e n t scientia, quae ad animos hominum nova et peregrina prorsus accedit; aliter ea, quae opinionibus iam pridem imbibitis et receptis est affinis et familiaris.

In the Texts which are Not Translated:

BE TO + Passive Infinitive is common in Hooker to express obligation:

5.240　[H 64A]　<u>That the greater good i s t o be chosen before the lesse.</u>

5.241　[H 64B]　and on the other side momentanie benefites, when the hurt which they drawe after them is vnspeakable, a r e not at all t o be respected.

5.242　[H 75B]　Now as the learned in the lawes of this land obserue, ... so heere it i s not t o be omitted that ...

5.243　[H 77E]　But as the iust authoritie of ciuill courtes and Parliaments i s not therefore t o bee abolished, because sometime there is cunning vsed to frame them ...

and sometimes necessity, in 5.245 with an adverb to indicate the sense:

5.244　[H 59C]　It resteth therfore that we search how man attaineth vnto the knowledge of such things vnsensible as a r e t o be knowne that they may be done.

5.245　[H 88E]　that which they should confirme, ... is, that the same traditions a r e n e c e s s a r i l y t o be acknowledged diuine and holye.

The following uses are found in Delaval and Moryson:

5.246　[D 13]　that you would be pleased that I might haue my XX^{li} for my halfe yeares Annuety due at this Martinmas next coming, to be retorned against ye begining of Michaelmas tearme, because I a m the first weake in Tearme t o pay it vpon bond.

5.247　[M 34D]　the Lord <u>Bourgh</u>, if he had not beene preuented by sudden death, had contracted with these Scots, promising 4000. men for the first moneths pay ... After which moneth, their Septs w e r e t o be cessed for their victuals ... All which Septs w e r e t o put in pledges to the Lord <u>Bourgh</u>, not to prey any vnder the Queenes protection.

SECTION 4 - DARE

Meaning of DARE

Like NEED, DARE occurs very thinly in the texts. In order to find enough examples to study, the corpus was extended as for NEED. A complete set of the occurrences in this extended corpus is given.

Although NEED and DARE are at this period similar to each other, and in contrast with the other modal verbs in displaying a mixture of modal and non-modal forms (both verbs have third person present singular with and without -ETH/-S inflection, both verbs are sometimes followed, sometimes not followed by TO) historically they present a contrast, DARE showing a development which is the converse of NEED's.

NEED as we have seen is originally an ordinary weak verb with no formal similarities to the true modals. It is not used in the construction Subject + NEED + TO + Infinitive until the late ME period and TO begins to be dropped only towards the end of the fifteenth century. The third person singular present tense form without inflection does not appear until the sixteenth century. DARE on the other hand belongs, like SHALL, CAN, MAY, and MUST to the group of preterite-present verbs. Its present tense was originally a preterite and so did not have the third person -ETH inflection. It appears from the beginning mainly in the construction Subject + DARE + Infinitive without TO. It has a monosyllabic preterite, DURST.

According to the OED the following developments all take place during the sixteenth century

1) appearance of the third person singular present tense form DARETH, DARES

2) appearance of preterite and past participle form DARED

3) use of TO with the following infinitive

4) development of transitive uses of DARE.

Thus NEED is a verb having historically none of the formal qualities of the other modal verbs but which, from the late fourteenth to the sixteenth century, acquires a structural place in the modal system, expressing the absence of necessity or obligation. At the same time it retains its non-modal forms and its ability to appear in other kinds of construction. DARE on the other hand brings from its past all the formal marks of a modal verb. It is largely restricted to the construction Subject + DARE + Infinitive (The MED says it is sometimes followed by (THAT) clause but from the meaning of DARE this is a construction not likely to be frequently required. Until the fourteenth century the infinitive is rare). During the course of the sixteenth century DARE acquires the forms of a regular weak verb and begins to occur in transitive constructions.

Changes in the pattern of constructions possible with NEED which occurred in the late ME period enabled it to take a place in the system of modals which formed in the sixteenth century, a place left vacant by the disappearance of the old preterite present verb THORVEN. There was however no place in the system for DARE in spite of its formal suitability and the similarity of its semantic structure to that of CAN and NEED.

$$
\begin{array}{c}
S_1 \\
\diagup \; | \; \diagdown \;\; \text{(Neg)} \\
NP_1 \quad VP \\
\diagup \diagdown \\
DARE \quad NP \\
| \\
S_2 \\
\diagup \diagdown \\
NP_1 \quad V
\end{array}
$$
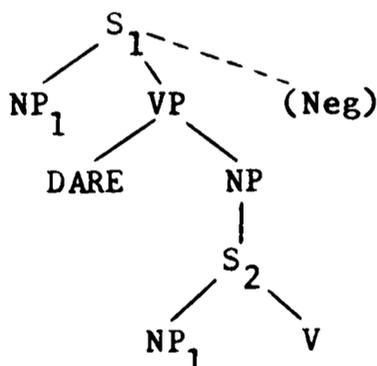
DARE may be seen as occupying a position between WILL and CAN.

WILL - have the determination   to act

DARE - have the courage   to act

CAN - have the skill, strength to act

Because in DARE NOT the negative applies to S_1, the modal itself, and

not to S_2, the infinitive lexical verb, DARE might have come to stand

in the same relation to WILL as NEED stands to MUST. As 'N WILL NOT V'

means 'N has the determination [that N not V]', so 'N DARE NOT V' means

'N lacks the determination [that N V]'. Sometimes as in 5.254 WILL NOT

and DARE NOT are found together to give the combined sense

> N has determination (that N not V)

> ✦ N lacks determination (that N V).

Again, DARE NOT has the same semantic structure as CANNOT and is no

more unsuited by its full meaning than CANNOT to express impossibility.

Indeed the MED gives as meaning 3 for DURREN 'To be able to' with two

quotations both in negative clauses. c.1350 Southern Legendary

'Wrecchedore gost then he was ne dorte nomon fynde' and 1423 Rotuli

Parliamentorum 'For other grete charges ... they dur not, nor they

suffice not, to bey Wolles nor other Merchandises wyth inne the Roialme'.

It would do as well to say 'The scissors daren't be found' as 'The

scissors can't be found' for the scissors do not lack the skill or

strength to be found any more than they lack the courage. But the

obsession with personal courage which is perhaps particularly marked in

the cultures which have moulded the Indo-European languages makes

speakers reluctant to say 'I dare not find the scissors' and that

weakening or generalizing of the basic sense which must take place if a

word is to operate in a closely knit system like that of the modals

never becomes usual with DARE. The MED it is true documents a use

almost throughout the ME period with the meaning 'To be under necessity

or obligation' where DARE has the sense of MUST, OUGHT, NEEDS, SHOULD.

However this sense seems entirely due to what the dictionary at the

head of the article refers to as 'much confusion in meaning and form

with thurven'. Indeed some of the quotations given as examples of DARE

with the meaning NEED (all but one of the examples are in negative

clauses) occur in the OED under THARF.

The OED gives a single sense for DARE (apart from the sixteenth

century developments with direct object),

> To have boldness or courage (to do something), to be
> so bold as.

This covers two meanings which for convenience may be numbered

1. to have daring enough (to do something)

2. to be so bold as to, i.e. daringly to do something

The first sense is parallel to that of some other modals, implying the

conditions for an action rather than the action itself. Thus

> WILL - to have the determination (to do something)

> CAN - to have skill or strength enough (to do something)

Sense 2 is rather parallel to such expressions as TO CHANCE (to do

something) which means, 'By chance, to do something'. Sense 1 does not

imply that the action is performed though a condition for its perfor-

mance is present. Sense 2 says the action is performed in a certain

way (daringly). It is sense 1 which is more properly modal.

We may note that whereas COULD DO rarely implies DID, WAS ABLE TO DO,

usually implies DID and the perfect, a tense absent from the modals,

HAS BEEN ABLE TO DO always implies HAS DONE.

In the negative of course the distinction is lost, as it is lost

between COULD NOT and WAS NOT/HAS NOT BEEN ABLE. Unfortunately the

only comment on the difference between the historical and the

refashioned forms of DARE in meaning given in the OED takes a negative

example, suggesting 'none dared to speak', is more emphatic than 'none

durst speak'. The question is whether 'They dared to speak' means that

they were bold enough to speak, and 'They durst speak', that they had

daring enough to speak, although for other reasons they did not. It

appears to me that in my own dialect of PE both the following are unacceptable

 * He dared to ask for a rise but decided not to.

 * Chapter I in which Oliver dare ask for more.

As the examples show, non-modal forms remain at this time, around 1600, still fairly uncommon (even if we count DARETH and DARES without TO as non-modal, 13 non-modal to 44 modal). DARETH in 5.292 and 5.293 both translate present indicatives and are clearly sense 2, as in 5.297 though here DARETH translates 'ose'. On the other hand 5.248, the first example listed and the only non-negative, third person uninflected use found in the corpus, is also sense 2 and translates a present indicative.

However, the modal forms being the older must originally have contained both meanings 1 and 2 and such separation as there has been may belong to a later period than 1600.

However, this development may account for the change in the sense of I DARE SAY, which seems originally strongly in sense 2 - 'I am so bold as to say and do say ...' To express this in the later language it would be necessary to say 'I dare to say', but the form has remained and been re-interpreted in sense 1, so that 'I dare say' becomes little stronger than the proposal of a possibility.

We may note in the examples, that TO is never used with any of the forms that belong to the preterite-present verb, that is after present tense DARE, preterite DURST.

Although the set of examples is too small to draw conclusions, it would appear that TO is necessary after DARED and after infinitive uses of DARE, but that after DARETH/DARES, TO is optional.

We may also notice with DARE a pleonastic use like 'can be able' or 'must be forced', where it is followed by a verb or phrase itself

meaning 'to behave with daring' as 5.249 'No man dare be so bold as

to ...', 5.266 'I dare presume ...'

The Old Preterite-Present DARE/DURST, Without TO

Third Person Singular Present Tense without Inflection:

in Non-Negative Clause:

5.248 [FM 142d] It is through the vanity of the same imagination,
that he d a r e equall himselfe to God ...
        C'est par la vanité de cette mesme imagination qu'il
s'egale à Dieu ...
(Translating present indicative in French.)

in Negative Clauses:

5.249 [HP 98.32] Hearken (quoth he) o <u>Caesar</u>, what it is that we all
accuse and blame you for, but no man d a r e be so bolde as to
speake it out:
[AMYOT]   Escoute Cesar en quoy nous nous plaignons tous de
toy, & n'y a personne qui te l' o s e dire ouuertement:
[XYLANDER] Audi, inquit, Caesar quid in te universi desideremus,
nemo tamen a u d e t palam eloqui.
        akouson ephe, kaisar ha soi pantes enkaloumen,
oudeis de t o l m a i phanerōs legein.

5.250 [HP 104.34] but before such as he knoweth better than himselfe,
he trembleth and is afraid, and in truth d a r e not come
neere nor shew his face to such an one.
[AMYOT]   mais il redoute & tremble deuant celuy qu'il scait
estre plus homme de bien que luy ne comparoissant par certes
aupres de luy.
[XYLANDER]   meliores autem metuit ac tremit
        ton de kreittona tremei kai dedoiken
(Holland's version owes something to Amyot's expansion, but there is no
word corresponding to 'dare' in any of the earlier texts.)

5.251 [HP 107.8] it carrieth (I say) authoritie with it, and no
exceptions can well be taken, nor a man d a r e lift up an eie
against it:
[AMYOT]   ...se fait reuerer, & rougir de honte, de sorte que lon
n ' o s e r o i t leuer les yeux à l'encontre:

[XYLANDER] ... venerabilis est & gravis, & contra quam oculos
non a u d e a s sustollere
        aideston esti kai semnon kai a n a n t i b l e p t o n

in Interrogative Clause:

5.252 [LS 9.11] And who d a r e say that a vicious habitude is
produced from a cause more honest?
        Ex honestior causa coit turpis affectus?

Third Person Plural:

in Non-Negative Clause:

5.253   [HP 105.35] But very few there be among many others, who
d a r e   freely and plainely speake unto their friends, but
rather sooth them up and seeke to please them in every thing.
[AMYOT]   Car il y en a bien peu entre plusieurs qui o s e n t
librement & franchement parler à leurs amis.
[XYLANDER]   Pauci enim de multis sunt, qui libere potius cum
amicis loqui a u d e a n t, quam gratificari
                  oligoi men gar ek pollōn eisin hoi parrēsiazesthai
mallon e charizesthai tois philois   t o l m ō n t e s
(The sense here is however negative - 'Most men dare not speak'.)

in Negative Clauses:

5.254   [HP 108.5] But forasmuch as many men neither will nor d a r e
controll and reforme their friends when they do amisse, so long
as they be in prosperitie;
[AMYOT]   Mais pour autant que plusieurs ne veulent n'y
o s e n t   redresser leurs amis quand ils faillent, pendant
qu'ils sont en prosperitê.
[XYLANDER]   Iam cum multi amicos rebus secundis utentes neque
velint neque a u d e a n t castigare.
[ERASMUS]   Caeterumquoniam plaerique amicos donec prospera res
sunt, nec volunt, nec a u d e n t corrigere.
                  Epei de polloi tous philous eu pheromenous en tois
pragmasin out'axiousin oute   t o l m ō s i   rhuthmizein.
(The association of negated verbs for WILL and DARE runs through all
the versions.)

5.255   [FM 230e] Namely, if it be a breathing creature, as it's motions
make it so likely, that Plato assureth it, and divers of ours
either affirme it, or d a r e not impugne it;
                  notamment si c'est un animant, comme ses mouvemens le
rendent si croyable que Platon l'assure, et plusieurs des nostres
ou le confirment ou ne   l ' o s e n t   infirmer;

5.256   [M 36C] whereas the men of best qualitie among the rebels,
which are their Leaders, and their horsemen, d a r e   neuer put
themselues to any hazard ...

Second Person Singular:

in Negative Clauses:

5.257   [LS 21.1] Thou seest where felicitie is planted, but thou
d a r e s t not attaine there vnto.
                  vides, ubi sit posita felicitas, sed ad illam
pervenire non a u d e s.

5.258   [LS 25.6] In the meane time keepe thy selfe vnder the authoritie
of some one: eyther let him be Cato, or Scipio, or Laelius, or
such as by whose interview men of least hope would suppresse
their vices also, whilst thou makest thy selfe him before whom
thou d a r e s t not offend.

interim te aliquorum auctoritate custodi. Aut Cato
ille sit, aut Scipio, aut Laelius, aut cuius interventu perditi
quoque homines vitia supprimerent; dum te efficis eum coram quo
peccare non a u d e a s.

in Interrogative Clause:

5.259 [HL 34G] How d a r e s t thou, during my life, assemble the
Senatours ...?
Qua tu audacia, me vivo, vocare a u s u s e s Patres?

First Person, Singular and Plural:

in Non-Negative Clauses:

5.260 [LS 10.1] I d a r e well trust thy selfe to thy selfe.
A u d e o te tibi credere.

5.261 [M Essex 35A] hauing now passed through the Prouinces of
Lemster, and Mounster ... I d a r e begin to giue your maiesty
some aduertisement of the state of this Kingdome ...

5.262 [M 121D] but in short I d a r e assure you, I see a faire way,
to make Vlster one of the most quiet, assured, and profitable
Prouinces ...

5.263 [M 122C] I d a r e vndertake, we haue rid my Lord President
of the most dangerous rebell of Mounster

5.264 [M 180D] that an addition: of Oates may be giuen ... for we
d a r e assure your Lordships, if for want of them our horses
had not beene growne so feeble, there had few of the enemies
horse or foot escaped.

5.265 [M 181B] We have indured (I d a r e boldly say) the most
miserable siege for extremity of weather and labour, that in
this age hath been heard of.

5.266 [M 181C] I d a r e presume that I haue made no euill way for
my successour to tread after me.

5.262 - 5.266 all from official correspondence in Moryson's text

and all performatives of stating in which the modal does not weaken

the performative force, but rather serves as a mark of deference by

writer to addressee. This may explain the absence of these performa-

tives of stating with DARE from the two corpuses of letters, which are

mainly between intimates.

in Negative Clauses:

5.267 [HL 2H] WHether in writing the acts and affairs of the people
of Rome, from the first foundation of the citie, I shall performe

a worke of importance and woorth my trauaile, neither wote I
well, nor if I wist, d a r e I advouch:
        FACTVRVS ne operae pretium sim, si a primordio urbis
res populi Romani perscripserim nec satis scio; nec, si sciam,
dicere a u s i m:

5.268 [FM 280a] I that nearest prie into my selfe and who have mine
eyes uncessantly fixt upon me, as one that hath not much else to
doe else where ... d a r e very hardly report the vanity and
weaknesse I feele in my selfe.
        Moy qui m'espie de plus prez, qui ay les yeux
incessament tendus sur moy, comme celuy qui n'a pas fort a-faire
ailleurs, ... a peine o s e r o y -je dire la vanité et la
foiblesse que je trouve chez moy.

5.269 [H 117A] For mine owne part, I d a r e not so lightly esteeme
of the Church.

5.270 [H 130C] In like sort with Rome we d a r e not communicate
concerning sondrie hir grosse and greeuous abominations.

5.271 [C LVIII] but yf you rest unsatisfied in your self, and relie
more upon other mens opinion I d a r e not alone undertake
such a taske that requires the heads and hands of all your best
frends.

DURST without Preterite Sense:

    in Non-Negative Clauses:

5.272 [M 173C] The necessitie of making head to an enemie (who hauing
the hearts of all this people, shal haue all their helps, if
they d u r s t), doth draw our Army to indure the incommodities
of a miserable Winters siege.

    in Negative Clauses:

5.273 [FM 137d] which they d u r s t not charge, did they behold
her in her Majesty, full of authority and commandement.
        laquelle ils n' o s e r o y e n t ataquer en sa
majesté pleine d'autorité & de commandement.

5.274 [FM 249b] Yet d u r s t no man move that but for an exercise
of Logike:
        Cela toutes fois ne s' a u s e r o i t esbranler,
que pour l'exercice de la Logique.

5.275 [M 14B] which might giue the Rebels iust cause to thinke that
they d u r s t not charge him with treason.

DURST with Preterite Sense:

    in Non-Negative Clauses:

5.276 [FM 194e] And whose counsell is this? his, Who onely d u r s t
professe himselfe a wise man
        Et de qui est ce conseil? de celuy. Qui se unus
sapientem profiteri sit a u s u s.
('only' here not with quasi-negative force)

5.277 [M 33E] So as howsoeuer the Queenes Army was great, yet he
       d u r s t boldly say, that the playster would doe no more then
       couer the wound.
(A letter from Essex to the Lords in England, summarized and therefore
in reported speech after a preterite verb.)

       in Negative Clauses:

5.278 [HL 41] not all the while that the young prince learned to bee
       a king, d u r s t either Mezentius or the Tuscanes, or anie
       other of the borderers, once stirre or rise in armes.
                primum puerilis regni, movere arma aut Mezentius
       Etruscique aut ulli alii accolae a u s i s i n t.

5.279 [HL 20H] The Albane captaine ... neither d u r s t keepe his
       standing, nor openly turne unto the enemie ...
                Nec manere ergo, nec transire aperte a u s u s.

5.280 [HL 39D] And for that he d u r s t not put any other in trust
       with the answeres
                Neque responsa ... ulli alii committere a u s u s.

5.281 [HP 97.1] And verily meete and reason it had beene, that as
       Patroclus when he put on the armour of Achilles, and brought
       forth his horses of service to battel, d u r s t not meddle
       with his spear Pelias ...
       [AMYOT]   Or estoit il bien raisonnable, que comme Patroclus se
       vestant des armes d'Achilles, & menant ses cheuaux à la guerre,
       n' o s a toucher à sa iaueline.
       [XYLANDER] Oportuit sane, quemadmodum Patroclus Achillis arma
       cum indueret, & equos eius ad pugnam educeret, solam non
       a u s u s f u i t contrectare Peliadem hastam:
                edei men gar hōs ho Patroklos tou Achilleōs ta hopla
       periballomenas kai tous hippous, exelaunōn epi tēn machēn monēs
       ouk e t o l m ē s e tēs Pēliados thigein.

5.282 [M 10A] Sure I am that the Earle d u r s t neuer enter into
       rebellion, till he had gotten the sons of Shane O'neale to be
       his prisoners.

5.283 [M 19D] And saying, that he d u r s t not come to the Lord
       Generall, because many promises by him made, being not kept, he
       knew it was much against his honourable mind ...

5.284 [M 26E] and since he affected it, no man d u r s t be his
       riuall.

5.285 [M 34C] A Masse of Redshankes, who were to be cessed in
       Connaght and Mounster, because Tyrone, hauing deadly fewde with
       some of the chiefe Leaders, d u r s t not trust them in Vlster.

5.286 [M 47D] skill in tongues (so farre as he could read and vnder-
       stand the Italian and French, though he d u r s t not aduenture
       to speake them).

5.287 [M 57B] these one thousand being part of the men he was to draw
       against Tyrone, he d u r s t not leade them farre from the Sea ...

5.288 [C XV] but understanding that they were yeelded and sworne to the King of Spaine d u r s t not proceed, but turned backe again ...

5.289 [C L] for Sir Ed: Norris wold by no means agree he shold chaunge his course: and he d u r s t not dispute yt here;

5.290 [C LVI] and what a vaine thinge yt was in them or any other to dreame of a toleration, whereas her Majestie had neuer any such meaninge, nor any of her counsaile d u r s t euer make such a motion.

    Plural:

5.291 [M 93A] but as well Iohn as the titulary Earle his brother, were so terrified herewith, as they d u r s t neuer keep together, & thought themselues least secure in the head of their owne men from like practices.

THE NEW WEAK VERB DARE/DARED

1.   Without TO

DARETH:

    Only in Non-Negative Clauses:

5.292 [FM 139d] Is it possible to imagine any thing so ridiculous, as this miserable and wretched creature, which is not so much as master of himselfe ... and yet d a r e t h call himselfe Master and Emperour of this Universe?
        Est-il possible de rien imaginer si ridicule que cette miserable & chetive creature, qui n'est pas seulement maistresse de soy ... se die maistresse & emperiere de l'univers.
(that is 'is so bold that he does call himself'. 'dareth' corresponds to nothing in the French but is strongly suggested by the context.)

5.293 [FM 142c] Who perceiveth and seeth himselfe placed here, amidst their filth and mire of the world ... and yet d a r e t h imaginarily place himselfe above the circle of the Moone, and reduce heaven under his feet.
        Elle se sent & void logée icy, parmy la bourbe & le fient du monde ... & se va plantant par imagination au dessus du cercle de la Lune & ramenant le ciel soubs ses pieds.
(part of the same rhetorical flight in Montaigne as 5.292 and again 'dareth' is added by Florio. We may note that here the word 'imaginarily' comes between 'dareth' and the verb, a feature associated with the omission of TO after OUGHT see 5.217-5.219.)

DARES:

    in Negative Clauses:

5.294 [HP 97.49] none of all these enormities touch and moove him: Heere he is mute and hath not a word to say; he d a r e s not reprove these abuses:
        [AMYOT]   toutes ces choses la ne luy touchent en rien, ains muet & couard en tout cela:

[XYLANDER] omnia haec nihil ad se adulator pertinere putat, ad haec mutus est, hiscere non a u d e t.

ouden esti pros auton, all'aphōnos en toutois kai a t o l m o s

in Interrogative Negative Clause:

5.295 [FM 283b] D a r e s not Philosophie thinke that men produce their greatest effects, and neerest approching to divinity, when they are besides themselves, furious, and madde?

N'y a-t-il point de la hardiesse a la philosophie d'estimer des homes qu'ils produisent les plus grans effaicts et plus aprochans de la divinitê, quand ils sont hors d'eus et furieus et insensez?

(Again Florio's French does not present him with OSER. I take it that Montaigne's point is that it is particularly bold of philosophy itself which claims to be the study of reason to proclaim the power of the irrational. Florio attempts to match the negative rhetorical question – 'Is it not the case that Philosophy is so bold as to think', expecting the answer 'it is indeed the case'. Had Florio needed to express the rather different sense, 'Is it that case that philosophy is not bold enough to think', I suggest this would have required 'Dare not Philosophy think ...')

2.   With TO + Infinitive

DARETH:

in Non-Negative Clauses:

5.296 [FM 182d] This discourse of beautie toucheth only our common order, and is not so sacrilegious as it intendeth or d a r e t h to comprehend those divine, supernaturall, and extraordinarie beauties, which sometimes are seen to shine among us ...

Ce discours ne touche que nostre commun ordre, & n'est pas si sacrilege d'y vouloir comprendre ces divines, supernaturelles & extraordinaires beautez qu'on voit par fois reluire entre nous ...

(Where Florio's 'dareth' together with 'intendeth' corresponds to Montaigne's 'vouloir'. Occurring in a clause dependent on a negative clause, semantically DARETH is here negative.)

5.297 [FM 183a] Health I say, which is the goodliest and richest present, nature can impart unto us. So that even Stoike Philosophie d a r e t h to affirme, that if <u>Heracletus</u> and <u>Pherecydes</u> could have changed their wisdome with health ... they would surely have done it.

la santê, dis-ie, le plus beau & le plus riche present que nature nous sache faire. De facon que la Philosophie, voire Stoique, o s e bien dire que Heraclitus & Pherecides, s'ils eussent peu eschanger leur sagesse avecques la santê ... qu'ils eussent bien faict.

DARED:

This new weak preterite occurs only once in the extended corpus.

In Negative Clause:

5.298 [LS 33.8] I think therefore that these neuer-authors, but alwayes interpreters, lying hid under the shadow of other men, haue no generous nature in them, which neuer d a r e d to publish that which they haue learned in long space of time.

Omnes itaque istos, numquam auctores, semper interpres, sub aliena umbra latentes, nihil puto habere generosi, numquam a u s o s aliquando facere, quod diu didicerant.

Infinitive Uses of DARE

5.299 [HP 94.47] those they will nickname, heartlesse, and base minded folke, altogether insufficient to do or d a r e any thing

[AMYOT] ils l'appelleront lascheté & faute de coeur de h' o s e r entreprendre

[XYLANDER] nihil animi aut virium ad res gerandas habere criminantur

kai poneron autarkeian te kai dikaiosynen os a t o l m i a n kai arrostian pros to prattein

5.300 [FM 302c] That which we call civility, not to d a r e to doe that openly, which amongst us is both lawfull and honest, being done in secret, they termed folly:

Ce que nous apelons honestete, de n' o s e r faire a descouvert ce qui nous est honneste de faire a couvert, ils l'apeloint sotise;

5.301 [C LII] to make such a perambulation to no purpose, and not to d a r e to follow any part of theyre first project

after Modal Verb:

5.302 [LS 29.4] Not withstanding I will vndergoe this perill, and d a r e to show him his infirmities.

Nihilominus adibo hoc periculum, & a u d e b o illi mala sua ostendere.

5.303 [FM 221d] The Aegyptians with an impudent wisdome forbad upon paine of hanging, that no man should d a r e to say, that Serapis and Isis their Gods, had whilome beene but men ...

Les Aegiptiens, d'une impudente prudance, defandoint sur peine de la hart que nul eut a dire que Serapis et Isis, leurs dieus, eussent autresfois esté homes;

5.304 [FM 206d] Wherfore shall not a wise-man d a r e that in all things, which this man d a r e t h in such as he hath learned of his Masters?

pour quoi un sage n' o s e r a il en toutes choses ce que cestuicy o s e en celles qu'il a aprinses de ses maistres ...?

5.304 also contains the only two uses in the corpus of DARE with a direct object. They are closely modelled on the French; alternatively the constructions may be thought of as resulting from the ellipsis of the verb DO.

CONJUGATION   OF   THE   MODAL   PHRASE

Section 1 - Forms

Section 2 - Introductory

Section 3 - Preterite Forms of the Modal Verb with Preterite Sense

    General
    WOULD
    SHOULD
    COULD
    MIGHT

Section 4 - Preterite Forms of the Modal Verb with Softened Sense

    General
    WOULD and SHOULD
    SHOULD exemplified
    WOULD exemplified
       WOULD RATHER
       WOULD FAIN
       BE FAIN
    WOULD (THAT) + Clause
    WOULD + NP + Infinitive

Section 5 - HAVE Forms of the Infinitive

    General
    SHALL HAVE
    SHOULD HAVE (from SHALL)
    SHOULD HAVE (from SHOULD)
    OUGHT TO HAVE
    WOULD HAVE (from WILL)
    WOULD HAVE (from WOULD)
    MIGHT HAVE
    COULD HAVE
    NEEDED NOT TO HAVE
    MUST HAVE

Section 6 - Epistemic Uses

    General
    IT MAY BE THAT
    MAY
    MIGHT
    MIGHT HAVE
    Doubtful Examples
    MUST
    MUST HAVE

SECTION 1 - <u>FORMS</u>

WOULD   would, would(e)st
                 wold, woldest (usual forms in Chamberlaine
                    and Delaval)

SHOULD   should, should(e)st
                  shold, sholdest (usual forms in Chamberlaine
                    and Delaval)

COULD   could, could(e)st

MIGHT   might, might(e)st
                  mought

The form 'mought' occurs, seven times in all, and only in Book II

of Bacon's <u>Advancement of Learning</u>. The set of examples is given below.

6.1   [B 2.3v] because there is no education collegiate, which is free; wher such as were so disposed, m o u g h t giue themselues to Histories, ...
           propterea quod non habeatur educatio aliqua collegiata, in hos usus destinata, ubi scilicet homines ... historiae ... pricipue incumbant

6.2   [B 2.4v] And if <u>Alexander</u> made such a liberall assignation to <u>Aristotle</u> of treasure for the allowance of Hunter, Fowlers, Fishers and the like, that he m o u g h t compile an Historie of Nature, much better do they deserue it that trauailes in Arts of nature.
           Si enim Alexander magnam vim pecuniae suppeditavit Aristoteli, qua conduceret venatores, aucupes, piscatores, et alios quo instructior accederet ad conscribendam historiam animalium, certe majus quiddam debetur iis, qui non in saltibus naturae pererrant, sed in labyrinthis artium viam sibi aperiunt.

6.3   [B 2.6r] which surcharge neuerthelesse is not to be remedied by making no more bookes, but by making more good books, which as the Serpent of <u>Moses</u>, m o u g h t deuour the Serpents of the Inchantors.
           quae tamen redundantia (si quis recte judicet) neutiquam delendis antehac scriptis libris, sed novis melioribus edentis tolli debet, qui eius generis sunt, ut, tanquam serpens Mosis, serpens magorum devorent.

6.4   [B 2.14r] yet if particularitie of actions memorable were but tolerably reported as they passe, the compiling of a complete HISTORIE of TIMES m o u g h t be the better expected.
           idcirco si actiones particulares, sub tempus ipsum, quo geruntur, tolerabili aliquo scripto memoriae mandarentur, sperandum esset, exoriturus quandoque, qui historiam justam ope et auxilio illarum relationum conscribere p o s s e n t.

6.5   [B 2.14r] for the collection of such relations m o u g h t be as a Nursery gardein, whereby to plant a faire and stately gardein, when time should serue.

Illae enim instar seminarii esse p o s s i n t, unde, cum usus foret, hortus amplus et magnificus consereretur.

6.6   [B 2.15r-v] For although they had knowledge of the <u>Antipodes</u>: ... yet that m o u g h t be by demonstration and not in fact.
Antiqui certe zonas et antipodas noverant ... idque ipsum magis per demonstrationes, quam per peregrinationes.

6.7   [B 2.41v] the inquiry needed not by him to sleightly to haue ben relinquished altogether or referred to the casuall practises of surgerie, but m o u g h t haue been well diuerted vpon the dissection of beastes aliue.
non est omnino rejicienda anatomia vivorum, neque ad fortuitas chirurgicorum inspectiones ... remittenda : cum hoc ipsum bene expediri p o s s i t per dissectionem bruttorum vivorum.

The OED gives 'mought' under MAY A. Inflexional Forms 4. Indicative

and Subjective past. β and says, 'This form had an extensive literary

currency in the 16th and 17th C; it is often difficult to distinguish

from the archaic MOTE v., which was by confusion frequently written

<u>mought</u>'. Among examples of the form it cites 6.1.

SECTION 2 - <u>INTRODUCTORY</u>

In Chapters 3, 4 and 5 the set of eight modal verbs has been con-

sidered. This set has been seen as consisting of three modal pairs;

WILL and SHALL, CAN and MAY, NEED and MUST and the study has concentrated

on the relationship between the members of each pair and the parallels

and differences between the pairs. In addition there has been a study

of the use of OUGHT and MUST as words expressing obligation and

necessity. DARE and NEED have provided contrasted studies of the

connections between the modal verbs and the verb system generally,

through these two verbs which are partly modal and partly non-modal.

In the course of this much has been left to one side. In Chapter 3

WILL and SHALL were studied but the preterite forms WOULD and SHOULD

were excluded. In Chapter 4 although examples of COULD and MIGHT were

considered together with CAN and MAY no attention was given to the

distinct usage of present and preterite forms. In Chapter 5 although a

complete corpus of all the examples of DARE and NEED from the texts was used, many points were left undiscussed, the most important being the uses of HAD NEED and DURST without preterite sense.

In this chapter we turn from the study of the modal verbs as a set of lexical items to what may be called the conjugation of the modal verb, or rather of the whole modal phrase, since as we have defined modal verbs they can only occur followed by the infinitive of a non-modal verb. The study will consider the manner in which tense and mood are present in the two verbal elements that make up the modal phrase and how they combine in the conjugational characteristics of the phrase as a whole.

Because its use is confined to this construction, the modal verb has no infinitive or participial forms and no compound tenses. Stripped in this way the English verb is left with two tenses, present and preterite, and three moods, indicative, subjunctive and imperative. The true modals (DARE in its unmodal sense of 'boldly to do' is the exception) have no imperative forms. I can offer no convincing reason why this should be, since the imperative is not incompatible with the modal construction and although some modals for purely semantic reasons cannot appear as commands, others could and in their paraphrases do, e.g. 'Be able to ...' However modal imperatives do not occur and native speakers of PE have a strong language sense that they are impossible. Modal verbs are left then with two binary contrasts: tense, present and preterite; mood, indicative and subjunctive. Of course it is possible that the modal verbs have developed other distinctions to make up for the limitations imposed by the absence of compound tenses; it is also evident that the tense-distinction is not formally present at least in all the modal verbs. It is therefore convenient at this point in the discussion to set out the formal features of the modal

verb conjugation by grouping the modals according to their historical
development.

Group I   SHALL, CAN, MAY. Preterite-present verbs with preterite

inflections in the present and therefore not showing -ETH/S

inflection in 3rd person singular.

Re-formed preterites SHOULD, COULD, MIGHT.

WILL derives its present tense from an old optative and

also lacks -ETH/S inflection in 3rd person singular.

Preterite WOULD.

Group II   MUST, OUGHT preterite forms of MOTE, OWE used as

presents, and not showing -ETH/S inflection in 3rd person

singular.

Same forms MUST, OUGHT used as preterites.

Group III i)   DARE, a preterite-present verb, not showing -ETH/S

inflection in 3rd person singular of present tense.

Re-formed preterite DURST.

(Side by side in eModE period and later with a re-formed

weak verb DARE, with DARETH/DARES in 3rd person singular,

preterite DARED and compound tenses.)

ii)   NEED a weak verb, partly reformed in the sixteenth

century as a modal of Group I with loss of -ETH/S inflection

in 3rd person singular of the present tense. Both forms in

use in eModE and later. Preterite NEEDED remains but in

eModE the phrase HAD NEED is frequently preferred.

Thus all the modal verbs are characterized by the absence of the

-ETH/S ending in the 3rd person singular of the present tense. All

other verbs in the language in this person of this tense make a formal

distinction between indicative and subjunctive mood and in all other

verbs except the verb TO BE,

a)   the distinction is that the form with ETH/S inflection is indica-

tive and the form without is subjunctive.

b)   in the two uncompounded tenses, present and preterite, this 3rd

person singular, present tense distinction is the only formal

distinction made between the indicative and subjunctive moods.

Thus the modal verbs are the only verbs in the language with no formal

distinction at all between indicative and subjunctive.

Thus the verb TO BE, which alone in the language preserves a

distinction between indicative and subjunctive in the preterite (all

persons of the singular) has the following mood and tense structure

(showing 3rd person singular forms):

Present Indicative	Present Subjunctive
IS	BE
Preterite Indicative	Preterite Subjunctive
WAS	WERE

All other verbs except the modals have the structure:

Present Indicative	Present Subjunctive
-ETH/S	zero

Preterite
Indicative and Subjunctive

and the modals

Present
Indicative and Subjunctive   .

Preterite
Indicative and Subjunctive

This suggests that the contrast between present and preterite forms is

always a tense contrast and never a mood contrast and that mood con-

trast in the modals cannot be given formal expression. Yet there is

apparently evidence for rejecting this. The preterite forms of the

Group I modals are frequently used without preterite sense, as this

study has shown with DURST and with the modal substitute HAD NEED.

Further there are in PE such uses as 'He can get his own tea this

afternoon (I'm not bothering)' and 'He could get his own tea this afternoon (he won't mind doing so)' where there is clearly no tense difference but the second version seems milder and more polite. Or in answer to the question 'Is Tom going to the meeting?' the replies 'He may go' and 'He might go', do not differ in tense but the first of them carries a stronger sense of the possibility of Tom's going than the second.

This suggests a paradigm for the modal verbs as follows

```
                    Present/Indicative
                        (WILL)
          Tense                      Mood
       Preterite                  Subjunctive
        (WOULD)                     (WOULD)
```
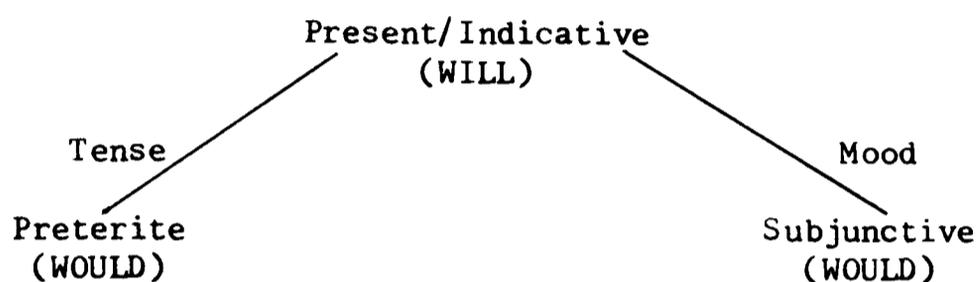
This accounts for the present/preterite form contrasts above as contrasts of mood and the same formal contrast as a contrast of tense, as 'He can get his own tea (he's old enough now)', 'He could get his own tea (before he became senile)' and 'He said "I may go"' and 'He said he might go'. Further this paradigm is founded on the fact that the modals have no formal mood distinction in the present tense, a feature which is not shared by any other verbs in English. On the other hand, the existence of a preterite indicative and a preterite subjunctive under the same form is a feature of all English verbs except the singular of the verb TO BE where there are formal distinctions. In the specific constructions which demand the preterite subjunctive, e.g.

1a. It is time he made tea

2a. I wish I knew

3a. As if I cared

and in certain conditionals of the form

4a. If Tom came, we would all leave

we find the preterite-form modals

1b. It is time he could make his own tea

2b. I wish I could tell

3b. As if I would

4b. If Tom should come, we would all leave

That these constructions involve the preterite subjunctive rather than
the preterite indicative we can check by using examples with the verb
TO BE, as

1c. It is time he were able to make his own tea

2c. I wish I were in possession of all the facts

3c. As if I were in the least concerned

4c. If Tom were to come, we would all leave

There is then every reason to suppose that when the preterite-form
modals appear in these constructions they are, like the non-modal verbs,
preterite subjunctives formally identical with preterite indicatives.
We then assume that the relationship between CAN and COULD in 'He can
get his own tea this afternoon', 'He could get his own tea this after-
noon' or MAY and MIGHT in 'I may go' and 'I might go' is indicative to
subjunctive, comparable to say the relationship between 'If he goes'
and 'If he go', the second example in each pair suggesting somewhat
less certainty about the future event.

However there are certain unsatisfactory features about this
paradigm for the modals. If the form-contrast in the modals can be
either present/past tense or indicative/subjunctive mood, the present
form modal is cast as an indicative without a subjunctive. Historically
the forms of the present modals may derive from the indicative rather
than the subjunctive, as appears to be the case with SHALL and CAN.

Yet the formal endings of the present modals in the 3rd person
singular coincide with those of the present subjunctive of other verbs
and are in contrast with those of the indicative. In itself this is

perhaps merely an accident, and it is hard to know whether the resem-
blance between the modals and the present subjunctive in the absence of
-ETH/S in the third person singular caused some kind of assimilation in
the language sense of Elizabethan speakers, because as we have seen,
there was no conscious perception of the forms of the subjunctive in
its historical manifestation. Nevertheless, at least in the case of
semi-modal DARE it is sometimes doubtful whether the uninflected third
person form is to be taken as the modal or the present subjunctive of
the non-modal form (see Chapter 8 under DARE). But in meaning the
modal verbs are closer to the subjunctive than to the indicatives of
other verbs; the modal phrase (modal verb together with lexical infini-
tive) is often an equivalent of a non-indicative mood of the lexical
verb, and when the modal was CAN or MAY, COULD, MIGHT, WOULD or SHOULD
sixteenth century grammarians usually took the modal phrase to be the
equivalents in English of the Latin subjunctive or potential moods. If
instead of taking the present form modal as an indicative that has lost
a subjunctive we take it as a subjunctive without an indicative, we get
the paradigm

```
                          Present
                       Subjunctive
                       /           \
          Mood and    /             \       Tense
          Tense      /               \
                    /                 \
              Preterite            Preterite
              Indicative           Subjunctive
```
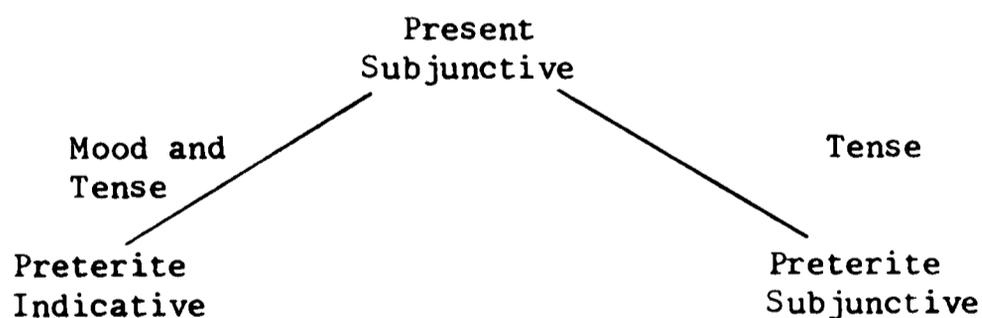
In spite of its apparently greater complexity this has some
plausibility. Although not always, the present-preterite contrast does
on occasion involve a shift both in mood and tense; the best example,
evidenced in the corpus examples 6.16, 6.17, 6.18, 6.19, is seen with
WILL in the sense of habitual activity. In the present form this can
be characterized as belonging to a mood of expectation. Its equivalent
in Latin and French is often the future. In the preterite form WOULD a

shift in tense is also a shift in mood since it can evidently no longer
be part of a mood of expectation. It is now often used to translate
the indicative imperfect in Latin or French. The same shift from a
future-directed non-indicative sense of CAN to the equivalent of an
indicative past tense with COULD is also possible. Further, in so far
as the modal verbs are used as equivalents to the historical subjunctive
it seems more satisfactory to take the two forms as present and
preterite subjunctive, equivalent to the two forms in the verb TO BE,
BE/WERE. Further, the difference between the replies 'He may go' and
'He might go' is perhaps better represented as the difference between
'If he go' and 'If he went' than between 'If he goes' and 'If he went'.
In other words we can see the difference here as a difference merely
of tense if we maintain it is a difference of tense within the subjunc-
tive mood, where the present tense usually refers to a future
possibility and the preterite to a possibility not realized in the
present. Yet this really does not capture the distinction we find
between the present and preterite modal forms in this use, which seems
more nuanced, a matter of language feeling, less sharply syntactical
than the difference between present and preterite subjunctive. Rather
surprisingly the nearest parallel can be found in PE in rough para-
phrases of examples of this modal usage, employing non-modal verbs.
Thus the two replies 'I may go' and 'I might go' have the same
relationship of increasing tentativeness as 'I think of going' and 'I
thought of going' or 'I am thinking of going' and 'I was thinking of
going'. Similarly, 'I intend to go', 'I intended to go'. Again,
fabricating an eModE example of the modal contrast 'Wilt thou speak
with me?' and 'Wouldst thou speak with me?' and assuming the distinction
is here one of softening, of the greater politeness of the second form
over the first, this is closely paralleled by PE. 'You wish to see me?',

'You wished to see me?', or 'What is it you want?', 'What was it you wanted?'

Examples of these preterite uses in a present sense for greater politeness or tentativeness can be extended beyond the area of modal paraphrase. Thus 'I was collecting signatures and hoped for yours' as a diffident but present request. 'How many people did you expect at your party tomorrow?' 'I was counting on you to come'.

The clear impossibility of *'What were it you wanted?' *'I were thinking of going' *'I were counting on you' (much sharper than the preference for WERE over WAS in 1-4c) indicates that these are preterite indicatives, and I think PE native speakers can perceive the semantic process by which the use of preterite tenses here gives a politer, more diffident, less assured present. 'I hope for yours' is confronting. By putting it into the past the speaker distances himself from what now sounds presumptuous. Some time ago he did find himself entertaining such a hope, though now the time comes to make the request he is much less confident. Again 'I thought of going' really does refer to past consideration given though at the same time it reports on my present state of mind. The greater uncertainty about my going comes from the suggestion in the use of the preterite that the matter is not occupying the forefront of my present thoughts.

Of course usually preterites do not work in this way. In most cases, preterite indicatives cannot refer to the present, and preterite subjunctives only occur in constructions which indicate that they are subjunctives. In PE this rule that the construction must be indicated before a preterite subjunctive is used is so rigid that usual freedoms of word order are abrogated. Thus whereas

He likes opera, she says

He would enjoy opera, she fervently hoped

are acceptable

    *He enjoyed opera, she wishes

is not.

    What then is the semantic context in which we find this use of a
preterite indicative which has a real reference to past time yet is used
of present time with a diffident or tentative overtone, which may be
employed to give greater politeness to a question or request or to make
a statement less decisive? The examples cited are all with verbs the
sense of which is completed only in reference to some future or possible
event. As there appear to be no strictly syntactical limitations, the
modal verbs must belong to this group through their semantic charac-
teristics. The reason why these verbs can use the preterite to refer
to the present appears to lie in this fact that their meaning is not
self-contained but passes on through them to be completed in a second
verb which may or may not be expressed but which has a future reference.
Thus yesterday's digging and today's digging are distinct in a way that
yesterday's hoping and today's hoping if both are directed towards the
same still unrealized future are not. Present and preterite are avail-
able to such verbs as HOPE but the contrast between them is weakened by
a more important temporal distinction for such verbs - present hope
when the hoped for future remains, and past hope, when the object of
hope is no longer future. With this weakening of the contrast between
present and past the two tenses become available, present to express
immediacy, intensity and confidence in the future-directed process, the
preterite with the opposite of all these; in social usage this in turn
is available especially when these verbs are used in requests and
questions to accomplish the toning down which accords with politeness.

    This suggests that present/preterite form contrast in the modals
of the 'I may go/I might go' kind is something found with all verbs

that have the same semantic structure as modal verbs, verbs that is to say of expectation and possibility. We have taken our examples from PE but it seems unlikely that in this respect modal verbs have more in common with non-modals of a certain kind than in eModE since it is generally agreed that during the development of ModE modals have tended to become more and more distinct from other verbs. The analogy with non-modal verbs here put forward suggests that the preterite forms are preterite indicatives contrasting with present indicatives, although an earlier suggestion was that the present forms should be regarded as subjunctive. It has usually been assumed that these 'softened' forms, to give the term employed in the OED, are really preterite subjunctives though in fact there is no formal evidence in the documents, since even in OE the forms of preterite indicative and subjunctive in the modals are not kept distinct. The OED in its articles on the modal words does not make any separation in listing forms between Past Indicative and Past Subjunctive except in the cases of CAN and DARE, the earliest treated in alphabetic sequence. All the forms given under Past Subj COULD are found under Past Indic COULD. With DARE the only distinction between 4. Past Indic. and 5. Past Subj. is in the plural dorston/dorsten until the eleventh century.

Perhaps we must accept that it is inappropriate to try and set out a paradigm of mood and tense for the modals, or even to attempt to classify strictly in terms of tense and mood any modal usage. In mood at least we ought rather to see the modal system as a complex field of interaction between three principles. The first is the old indicative/ subjunctive system of the verb with two moods in two tenses. The modal verbs are the only verbs in the language where this mood system has no formal reflection at all, and yet clearly it is of immense importance because as our examination of the modals in subordination in Chapter 7

will show, the present and preterite modal forms are used as alternatives

to the present and preterite subjunctive tenses. The second principle

is precisely this use of the modal phrase as the equivalent of a verb in

a subjunctive tense so that in a sense mood is displayed by the whole

modal phrase while the modal verb itself becomes modally neutralized

semantically, as it already is formally. The third principle is the use

of preterites to indicate what is not actual. Jespersen [1909-49] dis-

cusses this as something found in many languages.

> [IV 9 1(2)] The use of the preterite to indicate
> unreality may perhaps be explained psychologically in
> this way: the tense which is ordinarily used to express
> past time here simply removes the idea from the actual
> present and keeps the action or state denoted by the
> verb at some distance: the sphere of the preterite is
> thus extended to comprise everything not actually
> present: but of course this can only take place if the
> sentence indicates at the same time clearly that it
> must not be understood as referring to real past time.

If, as Jespersen suggests, the preterite has this sphere of the non-

actual, the origin of most of the modals as preterite-present verbs may

be connected with their use as alternatives to the subjunctive, particu-

larly in their own re-formed preterite forms.

Out of the interaction of these principles comes the complex system

of modality for ModE. In this study we attempt to display from a corpus

the usage of this system around 1600. The present inconclusive dis-

cussion must serve as a justification for the arrangements adopted though

this arrangement is also justified as a matter of practical convenience.

The use of the modals in subordinate constructions demands a separate

chapter - the longest in the whole dissertation - because of its complex-

ity. The use of the modals as substitutes for the subjunctive is apparent

from the examples given in the next chapter, dealing with subordinate

constructions. In the present chapter we deal with the use of the modals

outside these subordinate constructions. The preterite form modals are

illustrated, first in preterite sense, then in the non-preterite or softened

~~sense which I have suggested~~ is not to be identified with the preterite

subjunctive use though the separation of the two is in any case imposed

by the decision to deal with subordination separately. In fact because

of the non-conversational nature of the corpus there are few examples

of these 'softened' uses except with WOULD and SHOULD which are complex

and rich. The concluding sections 5 and 6 deal with the second element

in the modal phrase in so far as this displays tense and modality.

SECTION 3 - PRETERITE FORMS OF THE MODAL VERB WITH PRETERITE SENSE

There is a clear cut use of the purely temporal distinction

between the present form modals and the preterite form modals in the

indirect reporting of speech. Utterances of WILL, SHALL, CAN, MAY in

reported speech after a preterite verb of saying become WOULD, SHOULD,

COULD, MIGHT.

6.8   [M 62E] ¡His Lordship further aduertised Master Secretary ...
        That hee w o u l d presently send a thousand old souldiers from
        Dublyn to Loughfoyle, and likewise with them such as were to be
        in garrison at Ballishannon, vnder the command of Sir Mathew
        Morgan, but that, for some difficulties, they c o u l d not yet
        be setled there, yet lying at Loughfoyle in the meane time,
        m i g h t doe seruice ...

which reports a statement which must have originally been delivered as:

        I w i l l presently send a thousand old soldiers from Dublin
        to Loughfoyle ... but that for some difficulties they c a n n o t
        yet be settled there, yet lying at Loughfoyle in the mean time,
        m a y do service.

6.9   [M 57D] In the acceptance whereof, the Lord Deputie professed,
        that hee s h o u l d esteeme himselfe much honoured, and
        w o u l d be ready, after putting off the person which now was
        imposed on him, with much contentment to be commaunded by his
        Lordship.

where the Lord Deputy's words, we may suppose, were:

        I s h a l l esteem myself much honoured, and w i l l be ready,
        after putting off the person which is now imposed on me, with
        much contentment to be commanded by Your Lordship.

Further examples of preterite use of WOULD, SHOULD, COULD and MIGHT

follow.

WOULD

WOULD is frequently found in the translations from Latin rendering

a future participle, part of an accusative and infinitive construction

after a past tense verb.

6.10 [HL 16G] For well hee wist, that hee w o u l d make deniall,
and yeeld no amends: and then might hee with safe conscience
justly proclaime warre against him.
      Satis sciebat n e g a t u r u m Albanum: ita pie
bellum indici posse.

We may postulate the original formulation of thought as

He will make denial and yield no amends. Then may I with safe
conscience justly proclaim war against him.

In Florio-Montaigne, this WOULD, referring to a future prospect now

viewed as in the past, sometimes translates the conditional tense in

French.

6.11 [FM 126e] Wherein he seemed to be well advised, as he who by
discourse of reason fore-saw, that this budding disease
w o u l d easily turne to an execrable Atheisme:
      En quoy il avoit un tresbon advis, prevoyant bien,
par discours de raison, que ce commencement de maladie
d e c l i n e r o i t aysément en un exécrable atheisme:

Other examples:

6.12 [M 70E] Before my Lord went into Ireland, he vaunted and boasted,
that hee w o u l d fight with none but the Traytor himselfe, he
w o u l d pull him by the eares out of his den, he w o u l d
make the Earle tremble vnder him &c.

WOULD in relation to WILL as the same as DID to DO is illustrated in:

6.13 [M 71A] that particular bond of duty, which he then did and euer
w o u l d acknowledge to owe vnto the Earle, was now to be
sequestered, and laied aside.

In the following example, the use of the preterite WOULD is one of the

indications that the contents of the letter are being reported, although

this is not explicitly stated.

6.14 [C LIII] Mrs Faringdon sent her your monitorie letter with
advise not to neglect the counsaile of so carefull and loving a
brother; mary for her part she w o l d not intermeddle in such
matters, but wisht her to follow her conscience, with divers
other clauses that puld downe as fast as she set up:

WOULD in the sense of 'was willing'

6.15 [M 9E] caused him to be hanged, (hardly finding any, in regard
      of the generall reuerence borne to the blood of the <u>Oneals</u>, who
      w o u l d doe the office of hangman.)

WOULD as preterite of WILL, indicating habitual action. This WOULD

provides a translation for the imperfect tense in both Latin and French.

6.16 [HL 24H] and presently the King w o u l d in these or such
      like words ... move them in this manner.
                  Confestim rex ferme verbis patres c o n s u l e b a t:

6.17 [FM 157d] they were so accustomed to that number as it was
      impossible by any compulsion to make them draw one more, which
      taske ended they w o u l d suddenly stop.
                  Ils estoient si accoustumez à ce nombre qu'il estoit
      impossible par aucune force de leur en faire tirer un tour
      davantage; et ayant faict leur tache, il s' a r r e s t o i e n t
      tout court.

6.18 [FM 166d] For, walking thorow the Fruit-market, he w o u l d
      here and there snatch up some with his truncke ...
                  car, se promenant par le marché où l'on vendoit des
      fruicts, il en p r e n o i t avec sa trompe ...

But WOULD is also used to translate other past tenses, and can be

thought of as constituting an alternative preterite of the English verb.

In the example below two verbs, both in the perfect tense, 'fecit' and

'deremit' are translated, the first by 'made', the second by 'would

break'.

6.19 [HL 35B] with whom it pleased him he m a d e war and peace,
      league and societie, even of his owne head: and w o u l d
      b r e a k e the same as himselfe thought good:
                  Bellum, pacem, foedera, societates per se ipse cum
      quibus voluit, iniussu populi ac senatuss f e c i t
      d i r e m i t q u e.

This use of WOULD gives a sense equivalent to that of USED TO, as the

employment of both in the next example illustrates.

6.20 [M 46D] but in the time of the warre, he v s e d commonly t o
      breake his fast with a drie crust of bread, and in the Spring
      time with butter and sage, with a cup of stale beere, wherewith
      sometimes in Winter he w o u l d haue sugar and Nutmeg mixed.

WOULD occurs with USED TO in the following example; this is not I think

a pleonastic use of WOULD but is to be interpreted as 'insisted on

their custom of going hunting'. The Latin has been expanded and offers

no help.

6.21 [HL 5B] it was no boot to keepe them within dores, nor to set
      them idlie to tend the cattell, for they w o u l d u s e to
      hunt abroad in the forrest:
                  nec in stabulis, nec ad pecora segnes, venando peragrare
      saltus.

SHOULD

       Like WOULD, it renders future infinitives in Latin and the

conditional in French, after preterite verbs of saying.

6.22 [HL 32H] and the wisemen or wizards prophesied, that the
      soveraintie and Empire s h o u l d be settledcand established
      in that State, whereof any one cittizen sacrificed that cow unto
      Diana
                  & cecinere vates, cuius civitatis eam civis Dianae
      immolasset, ibi f o r e imperium.

6.23 [HL 38M] which sight imported no doubt and plainely foretold,
      that it s h o u l d be the cheefe castle of the Empire and the
      capitall place of the whole world.
                  Quae visa species haud per ambages arcem eam imperii
      caputque rerum f o r e portendebat.

6.24 [FM 239b] saying moreover unto her, that the next day, the first
      man she met withall, s h o u l d heavenly pay her her wages.
                  luy disant au surplus que lendemin le premier qu'elle
      rencontreroit, la p a i e r o i t celestemant.de son salaire.
('The first man you meet, shall pay ...')

6.25 [HL 4M] as for the babes he commanded they s h o u l d be cast
      into the streame.
                  Pueros in profluentem aquam mitti iubet.

6.26 [C XLVII] The earle obeyed but sent her Majestie word she
      s h o l d find Sir Fra: a knave, a coward, and a buffon.

6.27 [C XXX] I was yesterday at the starchamber upon report of some
      speciall matter that s h o l d be delivered touching my Lord
      of Essex.

COULD

       Like WOULD and SHOULD, COULD is frequent in the reporting of past

utterances.

6.28 [M 30C] But few daies after, his Lordship signified by his
      letters into England, that he c o u l d doe no more this season
      of the yeere.

6.29 [C I] and therewithall began to dilate to me what he had don and
      c o u l d do for you.

6.30 [B 1.16r] <u>He c o u l d not fiddle, but he c o u l d make a
small Towne, a great state</u>
Se quidem fidium rudem esse, sed quo pacto oppidum
parvum in civitatem magnam evadere p o s s i t, satis nosse.
(reporting, 'I cannot fiddle, but I can make ...')

COULD with some verbs translates a past tense as part of a narrative:

6.31 [HL 19E] The people c o u l d no longer endure ...
Non tulit populus ...

6.32 [HL 20I] By which meanes a great part of the footmen c o u l d
not see the Albanes as they departed and went their waies.
Id factum magnae parti peditum Romanorum conspectum
abeuntis Albani exercitus intersaepsit.

and it is used for possibilities or impossibilities applying to situa-

tions now past:

6.33 [H 70B] This was the cause of mens vniting themselues at the
first in politique societies, which societies c o u l d not be
without gouernment.

sometimes, though this appears to be unusual, it refers to a specific

action accomplished in the past:

6.34 [B 1.39v] As first, it is reason hee be thought a Master of
words, that c o u l d with one word appease a mutiny in his
Armie;
Primo igitur, magister sit, oportet loquendi qui unico
verbo seditionem in exercitu comprimere p o t u i t.
(This refers to the occasion when Caesar restored his mutinous troops
to allegiance by addressing them as 'Fellow citizens' and it is hard to
see how it differs in meaning from 'it is reason he be though a master
of words, that with one word appeased a mutiny in his army'.)

MIGHT

MIGHT seems to occur mostly in reports of past utterances or by

sequence of tenses in narrative.

6.35 [H 71D] finally they knew that no man m i g h t in reason take
vpon him to determine his owne right.

6.36 [H 81C] <u>When men of excellent wit ... had wholy betaken
themselues vnto study ... they spared no labour that m i g h t
be spent in the search of truth.</u>
Magno & excellenti ingenio viri, cum se doctrinae
penitus dedidissent, quicquid laboris p o t e r a t impendi ...
ad inquirendae veritatis studium contulerunt ... [Lactantius,
quoted in Hooker]

MUST/NEEDED

The form MUST, usually present, is also used for the preterite.

6.37 [C XVII] There was some curtesie made at the first, but in the end they m u s t geve downe theyre milke.

6.38 [M Eliz. 41C] Had it not bin enough to haue sent Vs the testimony of the Counsell, but that you m u s t call so many of those, that are of slender experience, and none of Our Counsell, to such a forme of subscription.

(Falling under 3e in the OED article MUST 'As a past or historical present tense, must is sometimes used satirically or indignantly with reference to some foolish or annoying action or some untoward event.')

The substitution of HAD TO for the preterite MUST common in PE is not found at this time. However HAD NEED seems to be used as a substitute for the past tense of MUST as well as of NEED. See Chapter 5, examples 5.45, 5.46, 5.47. See also in Chapter 5, the suggestion that the preterite of BE TO is sometimes used instead of MUST.

Though this is not evidenced in the texts, the Bible of 1611 in order to make past tense clear with words that are normally translated MUST or OUGHT has recourse to BEHOVED, which is not otherwise employed. There are only two uses:

[Luke 24.46] and thus it b e h o v e d Christ to suffer, and to rise ...
                    et sic o p o r t e b a t Christum pati et resurgere
                    kai houtōs e d e i pathein ton Christon kai anastēnai

[Hebrews 2.17] Wherfore in all things it b e h o o v e d him to be made like unto his brethren ...
                    Unde d e b u i t per omnia fratibus similari
                    hothen ō p h e i l e kata panta tois adelphois homoiōthēnai

NEED has a weak preterite NEEDED. See examples 5.29, 5.30, both in reported speech.

OUGHT

Like MUST, OUGHT is in origin a preterite subjunctive form. In preterite tense sequence, the unchanged form OUGHT is employed.

6.39 [M 72C] he alleaged ... that he thought his seruice o u g h t not to be any barre against them, for the receiuing the reward of their deserts.

DARE

Alone of the modals has two preterite forms, one which belongs to the verb historically, DURST, the other a regular weak preterite introduced during the sixteenth century, DARED.

For examples of DURST with preterite sense, see 5.276-291. 5.277 5.283 are examples of indirect speech, preterite reporting present tense utterance.

5.298 is the only use of DARED in the extended corpus. The sense is perhaps perfect rather than strictly preterite in this example.

SECTION 4 - PRETERITE FORM OF THE MODALS IN SOFTENED SENSE

In this section we deal with certain uses of the preterite form modals which perhaps ought to be considered preterite indicatives, perhaps preterite subjunctives or perhaps an employment of the preterite form distinct from either of these. As preterite indicatives they can be compared with a similar use found in some non-modal verbs which express expectation or future possibility. In such verbs because they are turned towards future possibility the distinction between present and preterite is weakened and the preterite can be used to soften the sense of the verb with the effect of making the future outcome sound more uncertain. Questions and requests sound more diffident and therefore politer. As preterite subjunctives, they might be interpreted as in apodosis with protasis understood, or contextually implied. The unspoken condition would tend to make the outcome more uncertain and in questions and requests taken as 'if you please' or some similar formula, politer.

The following examples are to be found in Chapter 5.

HAD NEED - 5.36, 5.38, 5.42, 5.43, 5.44. All these are to be taken as referring to a present need. The use of the preterite softens

from necessity to obligation, making HAD NEED closer to OUGHT than to

MUST.

Of the examples of DURST without preterite sense, only 5.275 is

not in some form of conditional sentence.

COULD, MIGHT

These appear very infrequently in the corpus.

6.41 [H 86D] In like sort, albeit scripture do professe to conteyne
in it all things which are necessarye vnto saluation; yet the
meaning cannot be simplye of all things which are necessarye, but
all things that are necessarye in some certaine kinde or forme;
as all things that are necessarye, and eyther, c o u l d not at
all, or c o u l d not easily be knowne by the light of naturall
discourse;
(There is no reason in the context for a past tense. In spite of the
negative 'could not' is weaker than 'cannot' here, implying they can be
known from the scripture itself.)

6.42 [H 67B] we restraine it to those duties, which all men by force
of naturall wit either do or m i g h t vnderstand to be such
duties as concerne all men.
(for 'may understand'. Perhaps implying a condition such as 'if they
tried'.)

WOULD, SHOULD

With WILL and SHALL the softened sense from OE times has seemed

less a modification and more like a separate word. The reason for the

difference in this from CAN and MAY is evident. The softening of CAN

and MAY in so far as together they form a mood of possibility will

merely intensify the uncertainty inherent in this meaning. But WILL

and SHALL forming a mood of expectation, seem to guarantee the future

occurrence of the activity or eventuality to which the verb comple-

menting them refers. Once this is softened, the guarantee must be

changed into something different. The two new senses may be set out

WOULD - a movement of the will, which is not felt by the willer

as assured of fulfilment.

SHOULD - an ordinance of act of ordaining made or referred to by

the speaker but not felt by the speaker as assured of

fulfilment.

Thus WOULD and SHOULD in these senses form a pair like WILL and SHALL, though in softening their meanings they seem to have diverged rather than come closer together, so there is no way in which we can view them as forming a tense or mood. But the relationship between them, WOULD reflecting the self, SHOULD the world, is the same as that between WILL and SHALL.

WOULD meaning 'wish' or 'want' helps to keep WILL from being used in this area of meaning. So that a distinction which cannot be made in Latin or French without recourse to other lexical items is preserved in English, WOULD occurring in the present and preterite senses almost as an independent word.

The meaning in SHOULD derived from this softening of SHALL turns out to be the same as that which we have already examined in OUGHT. SHOULD is of course much older than OUGHT, being found in the earliest period of recorded English. OUGHT meaning 'is bound or under an obligation' with the form AHTE(N) is given in the OED from the twelfth century, and with the form OUGHT from the fourteenth. Though OUGHT was evidently drawn into the new system for the expression of obliga-tion and necessity in late ME and eModE it was never completely modalized so that it retains TO before the infinitive and as we have seen, it does not make headway in informal and colloquial English. Since OUGHT is derived from the preterite of the verb to OWE, which is also the primitive meaning of SHALL/SHOULD, there is perhaps some explanation needed why OUGHT was introduced at all. However as is shown in Chapter 7 SHOULD does carry a very leavy load as the preterite subjunctive of SHALL and OUGHT may have been introduced in more careful and learned writing in order to avoid ambiguities arising from the many different uses of SHOULD. Although SHOULD survives and even in PE in some spoken dialects has hardly yielded any ground at all to OUGHT, the

development of the new system of expressing obligation and necessity in
the late fourteenth and fifteenth century and the formation of the modal
system itself restricting these words to the modal construction
seriously disrupted the much older WILL/SHALL system taking this to
include WOULD/SHOULD paired in the senses of wish and obligation. The
construction WOULD + (THAT) Clause now becomes anomalous. At the time
of the texts here used it is already restricted to the first person
singular. It is the loss of this construction that spells the end of
this use of WOULD, for wishes as distinct from intentions cannot con-
veniently be expressed in a standardized syntactical format which
insists that the grammatical subject of the wish must always be the
wisher himself. So WOULD in the sense of wish is lost except for a few
traces, while SHOULD which had always been restricted to the modal
construction continues, unaffected in the later language by the virtual
disappearance of the symmetrical use WOULD, the rivalry of OUGHT, or
the loss of ground by its original present form, SHALL.

SHOULD Exemplified

    That SHOULD was consciously considered an exact equivalent of
OUGHT and could be used instead as a stylistic variant seems suggested
by the two following examples (see also 5.212 where DEBENT occurring
three times is twice translated OUGHT and once SHOULD).

6.43 [FM 129b] The like o u g h t to be done, and we s h o u l d
      accompany our faith with all the reason we possesse:
                  Il en f a u t faire de mesme, & accompaigner nostre
      foy de toute la raison qui est en nous.
(Where the two infinitives after 'Il faut' are rendered one with OUGHT,
the other with SHOULD.)

6.44 [H 92D] Easier a great deale it is for men by law to be taught
      what they o u g h t to doe, then instructed how to iudge as
      they s h o u l d do of lawe;
(Where 'ought to doe' and 'should do' seem deliberately paralleled,
though possibly Hooker feels he is making some distinction in sense.)

In the following examples from Florio, the conditional and the present
tense of DEVOIR are rendered by SHOULD.

6.45 [FM 130a] We s h o u l d blush for shame, that ...
Nous d e v r i o n s avoir honte qu' ...

6.46 [FM 130c] The peculiar badge of our truth s h o u l d be vertue;
La marque peculiere de nostre verite d e v r o i t
estre notre vertu.

6.47 [FM 135c] The bond which s h o u l d binde our judgement, tie
our will, enforce and joyne our soules to our Creator, s h o u l d
be a bond taking his doubling and forces ... from a divine and
supernatural compulsion.
Le neud qui d e v r o i t attacher nostre jugement &
nostre volonté, qui d e v r o i t estreindre nostre ame &
joindre à nostre createur, ce d e v r o i t estre un neud
prenant ses repliz & ses forces ... d'une estreinte divine &
supernaturelle.

6.48 [FM 194c] What? shall Philosophie ... which s h o u l d harden
my courage ... will she so faint, as to make me like a fearfull
cunnie creepe into some lurking hole ...
Comment la philosophie ... qui me d o i t roidir le
courage ... vient elle à cette mollesse de me faire conniller par
ces destours couars & ridicules?

6.49 [FM 208b] [Although] ... and that hee perceive he s h o u l d
not engage his consent, seeing some falshood may be like unto
this truth:
et qu'il s'apercoive qu'il ne d o i t engager son
consentement, atandu qu'il peut estre quelque faus pareil a ce
vrai.

6.50 [FM 220e] But to have made Gods of our condition, whose imper-
fections we s h o u l d know ...
Mais d'avoir faict des dieux de nostre condition, de
laquelle nous d e v o n s connoistre l'imperfection.

6.51 [FM 251d] But of that which appertaineth to us, and which we
s h o u l d know best ...
mais de celle qui nous apartient, que nous d e v o n s
mieus conestre ...

Florio also translates AVOIR A, with some rephrasing, by SHOULD:

6.52 [FM 186c] It was a bare and simple commandement whereof man
s h o u l d enquire and know no further:
le fust un commandement nud et simple où l'homme
n' e u s t rien à connoistre & a causer;

However the translation of DEBEO, or of the gerundive, words which are
frequently translated by MUST or OUGHT, by SHOULD in Lodge and Holland
is uncommon. Apart from 5.212 in Lodge, where SHOULD is used apparently
to avoid a third use of OUGHT, I can only find:

6.53 [HL 15B] should teach ... how the spirits beneath and ghosts of
bodies departed s h o u l d be quieted and pacified:
p l a c a n d o s manes edoceret ...

Bacon's Latinists twice translate SHOULD by a gerundive:

6.54 [B 2.3r] For if men iudge that learning s h o u l d bee
referred to action, they iudge well:
Nam si quis judicet doctrinam omnem r e f e r e n d .a m
esse ad usum et actionem recte sapit.

6.55 [B 2.65v] The other giueth Rule, vnto what degree of
particularitie, a knowledge s h o u l d descend:
Altera normam praescribit, quousque et ad quem
particularitatis gradum propositiones scientiarum sint
d e d u c e n d a e.

and once by OPORTET (with an addition to the English which employs

DEBEO):

6.56 [B 2.20v] which Science whether I s h o u l d report difficient
or noe, I stand doubtfull.
Hanc ipsam utrum inter desiderata reponere
o p o r t e a t, haesito: sed arbitrot tamen poni d e b e r e.

In the following, the Latin avoids translating the phrase containing

the second SHOULD, which appears to have a meaning equivalent to OUGHT

TO:

6.57 [B 2.21r] why in all Diuersities of things there should bee
certaine Participles in Nature, which are almost ambiguous, to
which kinde they s h o u l d bee referred?
Similiter nemo, qui de simili et diverso disseruit,
satis explicavit, cur, quasi perpetuo inter species diversas,
interponantur participia quaedam, quae sunt speciei ambiguae.

The following further examples of SHOULD from the translated

texts, do not reflect the words and constructions usually rendered by

MUST and OUGHT.

6.58 [FM 228B] So great is the fury of a troubled minde put from the
state it s h o u l d be in, as ...
Tantus est perturbatae mentis et sedibus suis pulsae
furor, ut ...

6.59 [LS 20.2] This thing is difficult, neyther say I that a
wise-man s h o u l d alwayes march one pace, but one path.
Est enim difficile hoc; nec dico sapientem uno semper
i t u r u m gradu sed una via.

6.60 [HL 3A] when as we rather s h o u l d begin ... with good
osses and luckie forespeakings, with vowes and praiers ...

cum bonis potius ominibus votisque et precationibus ...
libentius inciperemus.

6.61 [HL 23E] [considering] ... and that warres s h o u l d not
onely be made, but also denounced and proclaimed orderly, and in
some religious forme of solemnitie:
        Nec g e r e r e n t u r solum, sed etiam indicerentur
bella aliquo ritu;

6.62 [HL 32M] she ... sat still, and seconded him not in audacitie
and boldnesse, as a woman s h o u l d doe.
        quod virum nacta, m u l i e b r i t e r cessaret
audacia.

The following uses of SHOULD, translating Latin imperfect sub-

junctives, though they seem replaceable by OUGHT without change of

meaning, illustrate the way in which the obligation sense of SHOULD

shades into other subjunctive uses, as here the use in indirect

questions (see also example 6.57).

6.63 [HL 15A] a rule, whereby he might know what beasts should be
killed for sacrifice, upon what daies, and at which temples, and
how the monie s h o u l d be levied and disbursed for the
defraying of all charges.
        Quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa sacra
fierent, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur.

I am also uncertain about the sense in which SHOULD is to be taken in

the following example, though obligation seems the most likely.

6.64 [LS 19.1] for what better thing can I intreat at my friends hand,
then that for which I s h o u l d implore God in his behalfe?
        quid enim habeo melius, quod amicum rogem, quam quod
pro ipso r o g a t u r u s sum?

From the untranslated texts the sense of what is ordained and

proper but not certain to be fulfilled seems clear anough in:

6.65 [H 53C] Let Phidias haue rude & obstinate stuffe to carue,
though his arte do that it s h o u l d, his worke will lacke
that bewtie which otherwise in fitter matter it might haue had.

6.666 [C LVII] We are now as busie about the Duke of Buillon, and
coine many messages, aunswers and replies, besides large
discourses what course he will or s h o l d take.

The following, from Hooker, who as we have seen though he uses OUGHT is

sparing in his use, are all in contexts which imply the non-fulfilment

of obligation.

6.67 [H 48D] But when they who withdrew their obedience pretend that
the lawes which they s h o u l d obey are corrupt & vicious ...

6.68 [H 70C] Laws politique, ordeined for externall order and
regiment amongst men, are neuer framed as they s h o u l d be,
vnless ... presuming man to be in regard of his depraued minde
little better then a wild beast.

6.69 [H 72E] & many that know what they s h o u l d do, would
neuerthelesse dissemble it, and to excuse them selues pretend
ignorance & simplicity.

6.70 [H 76E] because nature doth presume that how many men there are
in the world, so many Gods as it were ther are, or at leastwise
such they s h o u l d be towards men.

6.71 [H 77C] the Lacedemonians ... are in that respect both by
Iosephus & Theodoret deseruedly blamed, as being enimies to that
hospitalitie which for common humanities sake al the nations on
earth s h o u l d embrace.

6.72 [H 88E] For they only pleade, that whatsoeuer God reuealeth as
necessarie for all Christian men to doe or belieue, the same we
ought to embrace, whether we haue receyued it by writing or
otherwise, which no man denieth: when that which they s h o u l d
confirme, who clayme so great reuerence vnto traditions, is, that
the same traditions are necessarily to be acknowledged diuine and
holye.

6.73 [H 95C] Thus by following the law of priuate reason, where the
law of publique s h o u l d take place, they breede disturbance.

A similar context of non-fulfilment is found in these examples from

other texts.

6.74 [M Essex 36D] your Maiestie ... hauing ... such means ... to
waste the Countrie, which s h o u l d nourish them.

6.75 [M 49A] he brauely aduentured his person, more then in the
opinion of Militarie wise men, a Generall s h o u l d ordinarily
hazard himselfe.

6.76 [M 78D] The chiefe complaints were these; that the forces that
s h o u l d lye vpon the borders, neare the Rebels, were lodged
vpon them.

6.77 [C L] and on Wensday next (twixt June and July when he
s h o u l d kepe his mouth wet and somewhat els drie) our Mr
Trot shall marry one Mr Perins daughter of Hardfordshire.

6.78 [D 2] cause not yor enemyes and myn both to lawgh at o^r maters
that s h u l d be frends.

SHOULD RATHER:

Attention is drawn to this because of its parallel with WOULD RATHER.

6.79 [H 78A] So the grieuous abuse which hath bene of councels s h o u l d r a t h e r cause men to studie how so gracious a thing may againe be reduced to that first perfection, then in regard of staines and blemishes sithens growing be held for euer in extreme disgrace.

See also 6.60 'rather should'.

SHOULD in the two following examples might be read as obligation but I think here, are subjunctive forms of SHALL.

6.80 [M Eliz 40C] all the World seeth, how time is dallied though you thinke the allowance of that Counsell whose subscriptions are your Ecchoes s h o u l d serue and satisfie vs.

6.81 [C XLVII] wherein I assure you I know not whether I s h o l d more commend your bountie or your judgement in foreseing I shold meet with beggers and therefore had need be double stored.

WOULD Exemplified

Like SHOULD and OUGHT, WOULD, in the sense of want to or wish to, can be both present and preterite. The argument of Chapter 3 maintains that WILL can still at this period mean want to, or wish to and it is shown that WILL is often used to translate VOLO or VOULOIR. Conse-quently when we find WOULD translating a past tense of these verbs it is not clear whether we have here the ordinary preterite of WILL or the softened WOULD used as a preterite.

Examples follow, first from Florio, and then from the texts translated from Latin.

French Imperfect:

6.82 [FM 213e] Plutarke reporteth a like example of one who w o u l d not bee resolved of what he doubted ...
            Plutarque recite un pareil example de quel qu'un qui ne v o u l o i t pas estre esclaircy de ce dequoy il estoit en doute.

Perfect:

6.83 [FM 145b] Thus (answered he) that I have suffered thee to speake all thou w o u l d s t ...

Que je t'ay laissé dire tout ce que tu as v o u l u.

6.84 [FM 207e] Hee w o u l d not make himselfe a stone or a blocke, but a living, discoursing and reasoning man.
Il n' a pas v o u l u se fair pierre ou souche; il a v o u l u se fair homme vivant, discourant & raisonnant.

6.85 [FM 215b] And for this consideration was it reasonable, that they w o u l d not throughly unfold common opinions ...
& a esté raisonnable, pour cette consideration, que les communes opinions ils n' a y e n t v o u l u les esplucher au vif ...

From Latin, WOULD in translation of the past tenses of VOLO is unusual.

I find only

6.86 [LS 19.9] This w o u l d he say that feare and amaze possesseth the highest
Hoc v o l u i t dicere; attonita habet summa;

and in the translation of Bacon

6.87 [B 1.14r] <u>Yea, of such as they w o u l d receiue.</u>
ex illis, quas ipsi v o l u i s s e t accipere

and the following, when the indirect speech of the English is trans-

lated as direct speech in Latin (so that WOULD is here read by the

translators as preterite of WILL by sequence of tenses after 'answered').

6.88 [B 1.38r] he answered, <u>That he w o u l d not steale the Victorie.</u>
N o l o, inquit Alexander, suffurari victoriam.

In Hooker, in allusion to Matthew Ch. 23 v. 37, we may notice:

6.89 [H 61E] ouer whom our Sauiour spake weeping, <u>O Ierusalem, how often and thou w o u l d s t not?</u>
Jerusalem ... quoties ... et n o l u i s t i.
Ierousalém ... posakis ... kai ouk ē t h e l ē s a t e.

WOULD NEEDS

Occurs only as the preterite of WILL NEEDS, 'to insist on doing some-

thing'.

6.90 [FM 159D] it fortuned on a day, his master w o u l d n e e d s feede him himselfe.
un jour le maistre v o u l u t luy mesme le penser.

6.91 [B 1.16r] the great Ladie ... w o u l d n e e d s haue him carie her little Dogge.
matrona nobilis catulum suum Melitaeum ... gestare v o l u i t.

6.92 [B 1.34r] <u>Phillip</u> of <u>Macedon</u>, who when hee w o u l d   n e e d s
ouer rule and put downe an excellent Musitian ... was well
answered by him againe ...

WOULD

The following preterite uses of WOULD in the sense of 'wanted to',

also occur in the translated texts. The negative contexts suggest that

these may be preterite uses of WILL.

6.93 [B 1.17r] Neither was it accounted weaknesse, but discretion in
him that w o u l d not dispute his best with <u>Adrianus Caesar</u>;
Quin prudens ille, non pusillanimis habitus est, qui
in disputatione quadam cum Hadriano Caesare vinci passus est;

6.94 [B 2.51r] For hee vsed to disable his knowledge, to the end to
inhanse his Knowledge, like the Humour of <u>Tiberius</u> in his
beginnings, that w o u l d Raigne, but w o u l d not
acknowledge so much.

6.95 [FM 176C] but he seemed to make no accompt of them and
w o u l d not so much as remove out of his place for them.
il n'en fit compte & ne d a i g n a se remuer de
sa place;

WOULD, in translation of the Present Tense of VOULOIR:

6.96 [FM 137c] <u>Some say his Arguments are weake, and simple to</u>
<u>verifie what he would.</u>
Aucuns disent que ses argumens sont foibles & ineptes
à verifier ce qu'il v e u t.

6.97 [FM 139a] These sentences of the Holy Ghost, doe to lively and
manifestly expresse, what I w o u l d maintaine ...
Ces sentences du sainct esprit expriment si clairement
& si vivement ce que je v e u x maintenir.

6.98 [FM 159c] It is reported, that the Ravens of <u>Barbary</u> will doe
the like, when the water they w o u l d drinke is too low.
On dit que les corbeaux de Barbarie en font de mesme,
quand l'eau qu'ils v e u l e n t boire, est trop basse.

6.99 [FM 214d] Thus with the price of his owne life w o u l d he
attáine a Science, whereof both use and possession shall
therewith bee taken from him;
Il v e u t, au pris de sa vie, acquerir une science
de laquelle l'usage et possession luy soit quand et quand ostee ...

WOULD in translation of the Present Infinitive of VOULOIR:

6.100 [FM 176d] a Tiger ... endured the force of gnawing hunger, two
daies together, rather than she w o u l d hurt him;
un tygre ... souffrit deux jours la faim avant que
de le v o u l o i r offencer.

WOULD in translation of the Present Tense of VOLO:

6.101 [FM 194e] I remember even those things I w o u l d   not; and can not forget what I w o u l d.
        Memini etiam quae n o l o: oblivisci non possum quae v o l o.

6.102 [LS 5.4] Let vs rather take heede lest these fashions for which we w o u l d be held in admiration, proue not ridiculous and odious vnto others
        Videamus, ne ista, per quae admirationem parare v o l u m u s, ridicula & odiosa sint

6.103 [LS 9.2] For the contrarie of that which we w o u l d expresse may be vnderstood:
        Poterit enim contrarium ei, quod significare v o l u m u s intelligi.

WOULD in translation of Present Subjunctive of VOLO:

6.104 [LS 21.1] Thou knowest not what thou w o u l d e s t:
        Quid v e l i s, nescis.

WOULD in translation of Future of VOLO:

6.105 [LS 8.3] What one soeuer of vs w o u l d liue a sweet life ...
        Quisque nostrum tutam agere vitam v o l e t.

6.106 [LS 16.9] and when thou w o u l d e s t know, whether that thou asketh, haue a naturall or blind desire ...
        & cum v o l e s scire, quod petis utrum naturalem habeat, an caecam cupiditatem.

We may add here Hooker's

6.107 [H 67C] Doe as thou w o u l d e s t be done vnto
        Quod tibi fieri non v i s, alii ne feceris.

The following use of WOULD is present tense, translating REQUIRO:

6.108 [FM 210c] They that w o u l d know what we conceit of every-thing, use more curiosity than needs.
        Qui r e q u i r u n t, quid de quaque re ipsi sentiamus; curiosius id faciunt, quam necesse est.

The untranslated texts provide the following examples where WOULD is unambiguously present tense and cannot be taken as a preterite of WILL.

In Non-Negative Clauses:

6.109 [H 64C] Others to be vsed by vs as we our selues w o u l d by them

6.110 [H 69D] That which we doe not and w o u l d doe, is commonly accepted as done

6.111 [H 73D] what one amongst them commonly doth not stomacke at such contradiction, storme at reproofe, and hate such as w o u l d reforme them?

6.112 [C XII] the title of Sir Henry Leonard that w o l d be Lord Dacres of the South was argued.

('that will be Lord Dacres' would I think at this point in the development of the language be ambiguous between 'wants to be, i.e. claims the title' and the future (is heir to the title). It seems safe to read WOULD as present though the main verb is preterite.)

6.113 [C XXXV] Belike the Lord Keper mistrustes the holding of yt, and w o l d make frends with the meetest mammon.

6.114 [C XLII] Some do much marvayle that he w o l d be the meanes to make such a Sir John Norris.

6.115 [D 23] theirfor I w o l d call to him for it in earnest sort.

6.116 [D 26] I persave your wyffe w o l d see me come home.

6.117 [D 28] But as for thos hens of seton and hartlawe I w o l d deny him them and charge the tenands to delyver none.

6.118 [D28] You saye that my sonne John w o l d sell his blackstoude horsse for xx^{li}
(I read this as 'wants to sell' PE 'would like to sell'. I think the reading of WOULD as subjunctive, implying a condition: 'if someone offered him £20 he would sell his horse' which is how a reader of PE would be likely to take this is excluded by the context, but whether it was a possible reading in the language at this time, is hard to say. The use of WOULD in the sense now under consideration which has since largely disappeared from the language, is likely to have ruled out certain other subjunctive uses in contexts where there would be serious confusion.)

6.119 [D 29] you and your wyffe w o l d se me come home before myghelmes by reson she dowteth to be syck about that tyme.

6.120 [D 29] and if it please god to send her a sonne that you wold haue had me to haue bene a godfather which I w o l d wth hart and good wyll but I dowbt it wylbe after that tyme or I come. (Evidently in spite of the 'would have had me to have been', at the time of writing the birth is still in the future. I read 'which I would' as 'which I want to be' or 'would like to be'.)

In Negative Clauses:

6.121 [H 65E] That because we w o u l d take no harme, we must therefore doe none;

6.122 [H 65E] That sith wee w o u l d not be in any lthing extreamelie dealt with, we must our selues auoyde all extremitie in our dealinges;

6.123 [C X] yet not having any body there to direct yt unto ... I
w o l d not commit yt altogether to hap hasard.

6.124 [C XLVI] One thing I had almost forgotten: (which I w o l d
not willingly, that you may have a taste of her judgement,)

6.125 [C LII] and yet hearing of a post that goes away soone, I
w o l d not omit to write though I have nothing but countrie
occurrents:

WOULD RATHER

This seems worth noting separately, since in combination with

RATHER, WOULD in the sense under consideration has survived into PE;

and now might be said to constitute a separate form (see Palmer, 1979,

p. 148, 7.8).

However at this period it is no more than a construction with

WOULD - 'wish to do this in preference to that'.

6.126 [FM 185c] I have in my daies seen a hundred Artificers, and as
many labourers, more wise and more happie, than some Rectors in
the Universitie, and whom I w o u l d   r a t h e r   resemble.
          J'ai veu en mon temps cent artisans, cent laboureurs,
plus sage & plus heureux que des recteurs de l'université et
lesquels j' a i m e r o i s   m i e u x   ressembler.

6.127 [HL 32L] I w o u l d   r a t h e r   thinke with most writers,
that he was his sonne
          pluribus tamen auctoribus filium   c r e d i d e r i m.

6.128 [HL 39A] And therfore I w o u l d   r a t h e r   give credite
unto Fabius Pictor .. than to Piso ...
          eo magis Fabio ... crediderim ... quam Pisoni

Beside WOULD RATHER we find HAD RATHER. This seems, like WOULD,

a preterite used as a present, and in the same sense.

6.129 [H 62E] The former of these is the most sure & infallible way,
but so hard that all shunne it, and h a d   r a t h e r   walke
as men do in the darke by hap hazard, then tread so long and
intricate mazes for knowledge sake.

6.130 [B 1.7v] or if any man h a d   r a t h e r   call for Schollers,
that were great Generals ... let him take Epaminondas
          Aut si quid   r e q u i r a t   p o t i u s   literatos
qui in claros imperatores evaserunt ... praesto est Epaminondas.

But HAD RATHER occurs with other constructions: thus with TO

6.131 [LS 19.7] But whether h a d d e s t   thou   r a t h e r   t o
haue securitie in want, or hunger in abundance?

                        Utrum autem movis ex inopia saturitatem, an in copia
    famem?

and in the later edition Lodge revises this translation to

6.132 [LS 19.7] But whether haddest rather, either contentment with
       a little, or necessitie in abundance [1620]

which turns it into an ordinary use of HAVE. But Lodge also follows

HAD RATHER with a clause introduced by THAT

6.133 [LS 9.4] He haa d r a t h e r that he wanted nothing;
       neuerthelesse he desireth not that which he wanteth.
                    Quae sibi desunt, non desiderat: sed non deesse
       m a v u l t.

or without THAT; in the following examples the clause contains SHOULD

6.134 [LS 24.21] I h a d r a t h e r thou shouldest reade thy
       selfe, then my Epistle
                    M a l o te legas, quam epistulam meam

6.135 [LS 25.2] I h a d r a t h e r the successe then my indeuour
       should faile me.
                    m a l o successum mihi, quam fidem deesse.

6.136 [LS 40.12] I exact not that his speech be deliuered without
       impediment, r a t h e r h a d I it should be pronounced then
       lauished
                    non exigo, ut oratio eius sine impedimento exeat:
       proferatur tamen malo, quam profluat.

I find one example of HAD BETTER, which as Palmer [1979, p. 148] points

out, has in PE the same relationship with WOULD RATHER as MAY has to

CAN.

6.137 [M 13D] filled our Bands with such false hearted souldiers, as
       some doubted, whether we h a d not b e t t e r haue them
       enemies then friends.

WOULD FAIN

       Although this is merely a strengthening of WOULD in this sense of

wishing or wanting with an adverb meaning 'gladly' (GLADLY is sometimes

actually used see 6.152, 6.153 below). But like NEEDS with WILL and

MUST it clearly marks the sense of WOULD, and strengthens it in

suggesting a certain emotional intensity in the wanting, and also in

some contexts at least, the unlikeliness of its being satisfied.

Apart from the two translated uses from Florio, the expression is confined in our texts to Chamberlaine.

6.138 [FM 167e] As for warre ... I w o u l d   f a i n e know, if we will use it for an argument of some prerogative ...
          Quant à la guerre, ... je s c a u r o i s volontiers si nous nous en voulons servir pour argument de quelque prerogative ...
(where 'faine' appears to render 'volontiers' and 'would ... know' the conditional 'saurais'. In some of Chamberlaine's uses WOULD in this phrase seems to have a strongly conditional sense.)

6.139 [FM 189b] for he feeleth himself grieved with sicknesse, and w o u l d   f a i n e be rid of it.
          car il sent avoir du mal et v·o·u d r o i t en estre depestre;

6.140 [C VII] Yf he were now at home I know he wold send you many thancks, which I w o l d   f a i n e supplie if I were as goode at yt as himself.

6.141 [C VIII] and now ... I w o l d   f a i n requite your kindnes, and repay you in the same coine yf our market did affoord yt.

6.142 [C XXXIII] Out of the Lowe Countries we have nothing at all, but that we w o l d   f a i n e kepe the treaty of peace on foote, which otherwise were like enough to fall to the ground.

6.143 [C XXXIV] At my first comming hither all was fish that came to net, and I bestowed it as freely as yt came, which, seing it was so welcome, I w o u l d   f a i n e second with the like.

6.144 [C XXXIV] We w o u l d   f a i n e persuade our selves that Fraunce and Spaine are falling out, and devise many tales and reasons to confirme yt.

6.145 [C XXXVIII] The earle of Southampton spake very well ... and as a man that w o l d   f a i n e live pleaded hard to acquite himselfe.

6.146 [C XLI] he is still at Beckley, but w o l d   f a i n e remove and borrow Mr Dormers house at Hampton-poile.

6.147 [C XLII] Here is much justling and suing for places in the privie chamber, by reason that most of them being growne old and wearie of waiting, w o l d   f a i n e bring in a successor.

6.148 [C XLIII] Capt Widdon and I meet sometime in Powles, and he w o l d   f a i n e draw me to Puddle Wharfe, but I have no inclination to yt.

6.149 [C XLVII] he hath many forerunners and attendants here that w o l d   f a i n e be going.

6.150 [C XLVIII] Yet divers younge captains raise voluntarie companies, as Sir Rob. Wroths younger sonne hath one of 200 and Dr Doyles sonne w o l d   f a i n e make up another.

6.151 [C LIX] there is much canvassing for his Deanry, and mastership of St Crosse which George Brooke **w o l d   f a i n e** ingrosse.

WOULD GLADLY

6.152 [C XIX] which came short but two howres of the boat that was dispatcht to you in such haste, so that I was faine to send yt by the poste of Sandwich, and **w o l d   g l a d l y** heare the safe arrival of yt.

6.153 [C XLV] I have nothing now to write to Mr Gent but only thancks for his bookes, and to pray him to commend me to Askot, where I **w o u l d   g l a d l y** know how they do.

All these uses appear to be present. 6.145 I take as 'like a man who wishes to live'.

BE FAIN TO

'Gladly' seems used in 6.152 to avoid repetition after 'I was faine to' and this construction requires separate notice here, although it does not contain any of the modal verbs under study, because it appears to form a pair with WOULD FAIN, after the familiar modal pattern,

> WOULD FAIN - a strong and emotionally coloured need/necessity to do something, having its origin in the subject of WOULD FAIN
>
> BE FAIN TO - a strong and emotionally coloured need/necessity to do something, having its origin elsewhere than in the subject of BE FAIN.

This could also be expressed as follows: that WOULD FAIN holds the same relationship to NEED and WILL as BE FAIN TO holds to MUST and SHALL.

The emotional colouring of WOULD FAIN, the sense of almost distressful longing reappears as the distressful reluctance or resignation often implied by BE FAIN TO.

Though in some uses of BE FAIN TO it is possible to replace FAIN by the adjective GLAD without destroying the sense - in other words the context makes it plain that the circumstances were such that this course

was better than any alternative, as perhaps in example 6.161 below, BE

FAIN TO always introduces a course of action distasteful to the subject

and it is as if the adverb FAIN in WOULD FAIN and the adjective FAIN in

BE FAIN TO, had acquired opposite meanings approximating to EAGERLY/

RELUCTANT.

The use of the auxiliary verbs BE and HAVE in quasi-modal

expressions of obligation and necessity is remarkable. We may note BE

TO (at this period often expressing necessity and perhaps underlying BE

FAIN TO), HAVE TO, beginning to appear at this time, HAD BETTER. HAD

RATHER appears to be the only auxiliary verb expression with a meaning

relating to WILL/CAN/NEED, rather than SHALL/MAY/MUST.

6.154 [HL 29C] At their first comming, they cried out both at once,
and interrupted one another in all outrageous maner, so as by a
sergeant they w e r e   f a i n e   to be restrained & commanded
to speak by turnes ...
        primo uterque vociferari, & certatim alter alteri
obstrepere. Coerciti ab lictore, & iussi in vicem dicere.

6.155 [B 2.102r] yet hee could make noe greate matter of it, because
men vnderstood him not: but w a s   f a i n e   in the end, to
goe the beaten tracke of getting Armes into his handes, by
coulour of the doubte of Caesars dessignes:
        nihilo plus ad fines suos proficiebat, eo quod etiam
illi, qui proculdubio eum, fuisset adjuturi, quid vellet non
perciperent. Adeo ut tandem c o a c t u s   s i t, tritam et
vulgarem inire viam, ut scilicet, praetextu se Caesari
opponendi, arma et exercitum compararet.

6.156 [H 62E] As therefore Physicians ... being overruled by their
patients impatiency a r e   f a i n e   to try the best they can,
in taking that way of cure, which the cured will yeeld vnto:

6.157 [M 70D] He proposed also in the end a president for the Earles
punishment (saying, he w a s   f a i n e   to seeke farre for one
gentle enough)

Chamberlaine often uses BE FAIN TO in Result Clauses:

6.158 [C XIII] he was so incountred and beset that he w a s   f a i n
to retire without attempting further.

6.159 [C XVI] The Quenes want of mony is not yet so fully supplied
but that they a r e   f a i n e   to descend to mean men, and
picke yt up here and there as they can get yt.

6.160 [C XIX] The last I wrote you was at the beginning of this
moneth, which came short but two howres of the boat that was
dispatcht to you in such haste, so that I w a s   f a i n e   to
send yt by the poste of Sandwich.

6.161 [C XXXIII] One Ben: Woode an adventurer that hath ben out these
fowre yeares ... in his returne homeward was driven to that want
that they   w e r e   f a i n e   to eat one another.

6.162 [C XLVII] Sir Fra: Veres voluntaries come not in so fast but
that we   a r e   f a i n e   to come to a presse of 1000 men out
of the neighbour shires.

6.163 [C XLVIII] the violent pressing, which was so generally
misliked, that the counsaile   w e r e   f a i n e   to take other
order: and blame the citie for that disorderly course.

6.164 [C XLVIII] The poore Count Egmond that flourisht here a while
with his coaches and liveries lies now at gage in so poore state,
that divers noblemen   a r e   f a i n e   to make a purse to
relieve him.

6.165 [C LVI] but he was not so nimble to get up on horsebacke, but
that he   w a s   f a i n e   to forsake that course, and betake
himselfe to the water.

BE FAIN TO, in other than Result Clauses:

6.166 [C XLVII] Sir Thomas Sherley ... had not ben ten dayes at sea
but   w a s   f a i n e   to put in at Falmouth for lacke of
vitayle.

6.167 [C LXII] I find little but that I have seen in other theyre
pamflets before, so that yt seemes they   a r e   f a i n e   to
feed us with crambe for want of better provision.

6.168 [C LVI] Tirrell had made a head of 800 foote and 100 horse, but
he was almost surprised in the middest of his forces,   b e i n g
f a i n e   with his wife to flie away naked, with the losse of
200 men and his baggage.

WOULD in this sense of 'wish' or 'want' requires an animate

subject: from a semantic point of view it ought not to be possible to

turn it into a passive with the object of the lexical verb becoming the

subject of WOULD, but such constructions, though not common, do occur.

6.169 [C LI] We have speach of a progresse to begin toward the latter
end of this moneth: first to Sir John Fortescues in Buckingham-
shire, then to the erle of Hartfords and the Lord Chiefe Justice,
where there were jewells and presents provided the last yeare
that   w o l d   not   b e   lost:

Perhaps there is a certain affectation here, as if Chamberlaine is

being delicate enough to avoid saying directly 'which the Queen would

not lose'. But there is also,

6.170 [FM 149e] I beleeve neverthelesse, that if a childe, bred in
        some uncouth solitariness, farre from haunt of people ... would
        no doubt have some kind of words to expresse, and speech to
        utter his conceits: ...
        But it w o u l d be knowen, what language such a child should
        speake:
                Toutefois, je croy qu'un enfant qu'on auroit nourry
        en pleine solitude, esloigné de tout commerce ... auroit quelque
        espece de parolle pour exprimer ses conceptions; ...
        Mais cela est à scavoir quel langage parleroit cet enfant;

which does not suggest that the construction is deliberately eccentric.

The OED gives under WILL 4θc 'of a thing: Needs or requires to,

ought to, should', with quotations from 1440 to 1682. The first quota-

tion is from the Paston Letters, 'The goune nedyth for to be had; and

of colour it wolde be a godely blew, or erlys a bryghte sangueyn'. In

all the other quotations WOULD is followed by a passive infinitive.

WOULD Followed by (THAT) Clause

So far we have looked at WOULD in the normal modal construction

of Subject – Modal Verb – Infinitive. Yet this construction, though

eminently suited to WILL, in the sense of 'determine' or 'intend'

limits the expression of wishes which are by no means confined to the

activities of the wisher. WOULD at this period still retains a clausal

construction, though this is already threatened by the development of

the modal system. Outside the two texts made up of letters it is

uncommon except for formulas like 'God would'. In the letters (as in

the Elizabethan drama) it is common but confined to the first person

singular. (In the drama the pronoun is often omitted suggesting that

there was now no need to indicate person. But this omission is not

found in the corpus except in 6.176 'Would to God'.)

The four uses from Holland's Livy are all preterites and the

first must be read as the preterite of WILL NEEDS THAT with a sense,

'insists on it that', here translating 'iussit' commanded.

6.171 [HL 13F] so hee also w o u l d needs, t h a t the will and counsell of God should be sought for ...
De se quoque deos consuli i u s s i t.

The other three seem ambiguous between preterites of WILL ('as God willed') and preterite uses of the softened WOULD. In 6.172 the translation from 'noluerat' suggests the latter perhaps.

6.172 [HL 5D] marie this w o u l d hee in no wise should bee knowne in hast, and before due time;
sed rem immaturam nisi aut per occasionem, aut per necessitatem aperire n o l u e r a t.

6.173 [HL 5A] (as God w o u l d)
forte quadam divinitus

6.174 [HL 14I] and a second time (as God w o u l d) in our age for us to see.
iterum, quod nostrae aetati dii dederunt, ut videremus.

All the other examples from these texts are first person singular, present in tense, though because WOULD is formally a preterite, they are followed by a preterite subjunctive in the clause; either a modal verb, or WERE or the preterite form of a lexical verb.

6.175 [B 2.16r] This part I ought in no sort to note as deficient, onely I w o u l d the vertue and sinceritie of it, w e r e according to the Masse, and quantitie.
In hac parte, defectum aliquem non invenio, quin supersunt in illa complura potius quam desunt; illud sane o p t a r e m, ut massae tam praegrandi virtus quoque et sinceritas narrationum responderent.

The following is the grammar book translation of UTINAM, 'would' with the first person singular pronoun dropped, and the insertion of 'to God' as if the wish were a prayer.

6.176 [LS 19.5] W o u l d to God thou h a d s t beene so happie as to waxe olde after the manner of thine auncestors ...
U t i n a m tibi quidem senescere contigisset intra natalium tuorum modum

Chamberlaine always omits THAT after WOULD;

6.177 [C LI] I w o l d this enclosed medicine sent you from your sister Alice c o u l d do as much for you;

6.178 [C LVII] Mr Cope is very hot and earnest for his papers; I
w o l d   you   c o u l d   tell how to stop his mouth.

6.179 [C XLII] I   w o u l d   you   c o u l d   have kept him still with
you, for he was like to prove a very sufficient man, and is much
llamented.

6.180 [C XXII] Howsoever yt be I   w o l d   we   w e r e   well rid of
this brunt.

6.181 [C XLVII] at all adventures I   w o l d   yt   w e r e   no worse
but to morrow comes not yet.

6.182 [C L] At all adventures I   w o l d   there   w e r e   litle worke
for him.

6.183 [C LVIII] but at all adventures I   w o l d   you   h a d   sett
all at sixe and seven in the instant, and left him in the lurch:

The Delaval letters twice have THAT after WOULD, and show a preference

for DID in the clause.

6.184 [D 28] now if you thinke that she behaveth her selfe both in
that she hath in charge and otherwyes toward you and your wyffe
I   w o l d   t h a t   she   d i d   stay.

6.185 [D 30] for i knowe the chamber is right cold wher she lyeth by
Reason of the back Dowr for my kichin which i   w o l d   t h a t
you   m a y d e   vp for this wynter time.

6.186 [D 25] I   w o l d   you   d i d   wryte to arther graye to knowe
his mynd hearin.

6.187 [D 26] and so he hath giuen me a byll under his hand for the
x^{li} so that i   w o l d   you   d y d   paye vnto John Rand the odd
fyve pounds.

6.188 [D 29] and as for the pament of such savlt as they shall now
resave I   w o l d   it   w a r e   payed at seton then at london.
(where WOULD appears to be for WOULD RATHER)

However, it was possible to express after WOULD wishes with

subjects other than the subject of WOULD, and yet preserve the strictly

modal construction, Subject - Modal Verb - Infinitive, by the device of

a kind of linking verb, standing as an infinitive after WOULD, but

itself taking an accusative and infinitive construction. The verb used

is HAVE; WOULD HAVE is then followed by a construction we find with

WISH and WANT - an object noun phrase and an infinitive. This construc-

tion is especially frequent in the very practical letters between the

Delavals. Like WOULD (THAT) it is virtually confined to the first

person singular, and the Delavals use it, as they use WOULD THAT, as a

way of issuing instructions. The infinitive following HAVE is sometimes

without TO, sometimes with.

WOULD HAVE + NP + Infinitive without TO:

6.189 [LS 19.2] For neuer will I so much condemne the furie of
       mankinde, that ... I w o u l d   h a u e   thee locke thy selfe
       vp in an hermitage ...
                     Numquam enim usque eo te abigam generis humanis
       furore damnato ut latebram tibi aliquam parari & oblivionem
       v e l i m.

6.190 [B 2.52v] Aristotles opinion, that w o u l d   h a u e   vs
       chaunge a rich Wardrobe, for a paire of Sheares.
                     Aristotelis opinioni ... qui nobis a u c t o r
       f o r e t   ut vestiarium cum forfice commutaremus.

6.191 [FM 207d] For God w o u l d not h a v e us know these
       things, but onely use them.
                     Non enim nos Deus ista scire, sed tantum modo uti
       v o l u i t.

6.192 [FM 214a] As another, that w o u l d not h a v e his
       Physitian remove the thirst he felt in his ague ...
                     comme l'autre qui ne v o u l o i t pas que son
       medecin luy ostat l'alteration de la fievre:

6.193 [M Eliz. 56E] We doe write to you ... more directly in this
       point ... because we w o u l d   h a u e them apprehend, (seeing
       you thinke such an opinion would be good), that our Army shall
       not be so soone abated, as we hope you will;

WOULD HAVE + NP + Infinitive with TO:

       Translating Latin Past Tenses of VOLO

6.194 [LS 41.6] In one sort doth the golden crested Lion subiect
       himself ... in another sort such a one as is generous and
       untamed. This being sharp in his assault, such as nature
       w o u l d   h a u e him t o be, faire in his dreadfulnesse ...
                     Aliter leo aurata iuba demittitur ... aliter incultus,
       integri spiritus. Hic scilicet impetu acer, qualem illum natura
       v o l u i t, speciosus ex horrido

6.195 [HL 14H] Then pronounced hee in plaine words what tokens by
       sight or flight of fowles he w o u l d   h a v e   t o   appeare.
                     Tum peregit verbis auspicia, quae mitti v·e l l e t

6.196 [HL 30L] The third hee w o u l d   h a v e   t o be of those
       that were esteemed worth 50000 Asses.
                     Tertiae classis millium quinquaginta censum esse
       v o l u i t.

Translating Latin Present Subjunctive of VOLO

6.197 [LS 10.1] I finde not any man with whom I w o u l d h a u e thee t o conuerse.
                Non habeo cum quo te communicatum v e l i m.

6.198 [HL 17A] But this one point Tullus I w o u l d h a u e you t o remember and consider:
                Illud te, Tulle, monitum v e l i m.

Not translating VOLO

6.199 [HL 2L] T-his w o u l d I h a u e everie man rather t o thinke upon in good earnest, and consider with me ...
                ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum.

6.200 [B2.104r] But I continue this beyond the measure of an example, led, because I w o u l d not h a u e such knowledges, which I note as deficient, t o be thought things imaginative, or in the air. .

I WOULD HAVE YOU + Infinitive without TO:

6.201 [C XXVII] Yet yf this letter come to your hands in any time I w o l d h a v e you know that Mr Edmunds is bound for another viage to the archduke and Infanta.

6.202 [DD223] but if any stoppage be mayd it shall content him, so I w o l d h a u e you taulk wth him therin.

6.203 [D 23] nevertheless as I sayd unto you and your brother John - for your beinge there I w o u l d h a u e you so prouyde and if I be asked for at that time, you maye answere ...

6.204 [D 24] I w o l d h a v e you see him at his comyng home.

6.205 [D 24] which If he do /// then w o l d i h a v e you laboure lavnce cramlyngton to byd order of frends to sitt downe what he may be damnyfied

6.206 [D 25] If arthur graye goo to his mother ... I w o u l d h a u e you send one of my men wth him to heare what is sayd or done therein.

6.207 [D 26] therfore I w o l d h a u e you wrytt to Lyons and his partners tuchinge the none pament hearof.

6.208 [D 28] I w o l d h a u e you call John Hill and thoms Delavale or thos that ware old servants: to satifyes you hearof if they can.

6.209 [D 28] I w o l d h a u e you remember to pay the queens rent which wilbe calde for a but myghellmes.

6.210 [D 29] but be presently expelled out of the towne which I w o l d h a u e you do in any wyes for exsambles sake if they so contenewe such obstynatsye.

I WOULD HAVE YOU + Infinitive with TO:

6.211 [D 24] I w o l d   h a u e   you   t o   labour so as to haue
peter hangingshall inquered for.

6.212 [D 26] you wrote to me to rēmber R[   ]s payment which is about
saynt lukes Daye next which i   w o l d   h a u e   you   t o   be
myndfull of what so ever god fo[   ]une vnto me.

6.213 [D 28] I   w o l d   h a u e   you   t o   offer M^r wykcleff as
hearetofore.

6.214 [D 29] I have wrytten in my letter that I sent by post that I
w o l d   h a u e   you and your wyffe   t o   perswade her to stay.

6.215 [D 30] I   w o l d   h a u e   you   t o   be carefull that you
choose such a woman to be his nursse, of a second milke which is
better then one of the first mylk ...

YOU WOULD HAVE ME TO which quotes an utterance presumably of I WOULD

HAVE YOU TO:

6.216 [D 28] and if god send her a sonne you   w o l d   h a u e   me
t o   be a godfather

When there is a passive infinitive after WOULD HAVE + NP, (TO) BE is

omitted so that the constructions runs WOULD HAVE + NP + Past Participle:

6.217 [HL 13C] the Senatours passe by their authoritie, that which
they   w o u l d   h a v e   done ...
Patres auctores fiunt ...

6.218 [B 1.6r] and if they   w o u l d   h a u e   it otherwise
beleeved, it is meere imposture,
cuius diversum credi si vellent, impostura mera esset.

6.219 [M 34B] That the King of _Spaine_ had promised them aide of men,
which they   w o u l d   not   h a u e   landed in _Vlster_, but in
some Port of _Mounster_, or at _Galloway_ in _Connaght._

6.220 [C L] Mr Secretarie and his other frends   w o l d   h a v e   him
sent again, but the father will in no wise heare of yt.

6.221 [C LIII] which course you may hold with me (yf you please) in
whatsoever you   w o l d   h a v e   kept close or reserved:

6.222 [D 23] allso he hath proces to be serued on Roger Rames and
thos that ar bound wth him which i   w o u l d   h a v e   proseded
and ...

6.223 [D 29] and if you   w o l d   h a u e   so much bought to haue it
wth slefes or w^thout sleffes set it downe in your letter.

Other constructions with WOULD HAVE, perhaps with ellipsis of TO BE:

6.224 [C IX] Mary he w o l d   h a v e   yt under the brode seale of
England that after a yeare he might return when he will.

6.225 [C XV] We run away with all, as though all were our owne, and
are easilie persuaded to beleve that we w o u l d   h a v e.

Perhaps the following should also be included, though it is possible to

read as a preterite of WILL HAVE meaning 'determined'.

6.226 [HL 4L] But it was a fatall thing, and (as I thinke) which God
w o u l d   h a u e, that so great a cittie should be built for
to yeeld the ground and beginning of that Empire.
        Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis,
maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium.

WOULD HAVE NP [TO BE] ... appears to have a specialized use meaning

'maintain (frivolously or falsely in the view of the speaker) that ...':

6.227 [B 2.75r] Sp haue they encreased the feare of death, in
offering to cure it. For, when they w o u l d   h a u e   a mans
whole life, t o   b e   but a discipline or preparation to dye;
they must needes make men thinke, that it is a terrible Enemy,
against whom there is no end of preparing.
        Veluti, cum mortis formidinem medendo augent. Etenim,
cum nihil aliud fere vitam humanam f a c i a n t, quam mortis
quandam praeparationem et disciplinam, quomodo fieri possit, ut
ille hostis mirum in modum non videatur terribilis, contra quem
muniendi nullus sit finis?

6.228 [FM 243d] When he w o u l d   needs h a v e   the Sunne t o
b e   a burning stone, he remembered not, that a stone doth not
shine in the fire;
        Sur ce qu'il f a i s o i t   le Soleil une pierre
ardente, il ne s'avisoit pas qu'une pierre ne luit point au feu
(a few lines later Montaigne has 'Il faisoit un du Soleil et du feu'
which Florio renders 'he made the Sunne and fire to be all one')

6.229 [FM 180c] The Italians proportion it big and plum; The Spaniards
spynie and lanke, and amongst us one w o u l d   h a v e   her
white, another browne, one soft and delicate, another strong and
lustie:
        Les Italiens la faconnent grosse & massive, les
Espagnols vuidſe & estrillſe; & entre nous, l'un la f a i t
blanche, l'autre brune; l'un molle & delicate, l'autre forte &
vigoureuse;
(The passage from which this comes begins: 'Quant a la beaute du corps
... il me faudroit scavoir si nous sommes d'accord de sa description'.
Montaigne's feminine pronoun refers back to 'la beaute du ccorps'.
Florio in shifting from 'it' to 'her' leads the reader to suppose he is
now referring not to physical beauty in the abstract but to its
embodiment in a woman. Thus it would be natural to take 'one would
have her white' as 'one desires a fairskinned mistress' which makes
perfectly good sense rather than 'one maintains that beauty lies in a
fair skin' which I suppose is the meaning of the French text.)

6.230 [C XXXVII] The Quene entertained him very graciously, and to
shew that she is not so old as some w o l d h a v e her,
daunced both measures and galliards in his presence.

The OED under WILL 24 gives 'Maintained, "wanted to make out"'

with three quotations 1500, 1545, 1567. This meaning apparently occurs

with the construction WOULD THAT + Clause. There are two quotations

1534 and 1602 for WILL 4 'Intends to express, means; affirms, maintains'

in the construction WILL THAT + Clause. The relation between the

meaning of these uses of WILL/WOULD and the usual meanings is discussed

in Chapter 9, Section 8.

SECTION 5 - HAVE FORMS OF THE INFINITIVE IN THE MODAL PHRASE

1.   HAVE FORMS AFTER PRESENT MODALS

The forms WILL + HAVE + Past Particple, CAN + HAVE + Past Parti-

ciple, MAY + HAVE + Past Participle, NEED + HAVE + Past Participle,

DARE + HAVE + Past Participle do not occur in the corpus.

SHALL HAVE:

6.231 [FM 135a] and when feare s h a l l h a v e supprest, or
sicknesse vanquished this licentious fervour of a wavering minde,
then will they suffer themselves gently to be reclaimed ...
        Et, quand la creinte ou la maladie a u r a
a b a t t u, cette licencieuse ferveur d'humeur volage, ils ne
lairront de se revenir ...

6.232 [FM 237b] when I s h a l l h a v e seene what good he shall
have thereby, I will thanke you for your offer.
        et puis quand j' a r a i v e u come il s'en sera
trouve, je vous diray grandmercy de vostre offre.

In both examples SHALL HAVE appears in the same construction, a

clause introduced by WHEN, preceding and dependant upon a clause with

WILL. Both translate a tense in Montaigne's French made up from the

future tense of AVOIR followed by the past participle.

If however Florio has been led by the French into a construction

which is unusual in English we must note that Alexander Gil,, less than

twenty years after this translation was made, in Logonomia Anglica [1619]

claims that this tense, which he exemplifies in a construction exactly

parallel to the one in Florio's uses, is a peculiarly English idiom.

[pp.59-60] Sed vti omnis alia lingua, sic etiam Anglica
suos habet idiotismos, qui Latine vix, aut omnino reddi
non possunt. Vnum in Tempore coniunctiuo futuri
praeterito: vt, when I shall have taught my scholars, I
will come to you, ad sensum aliqualem, quum finem
fecerim docendi discipulos meos, veniam ad te. Neque
per docuerim, nec per docuero, expresse satis dicetur:
quia (shall have taught) est temporis vtriusque.

He translates 'shall have taught' into Latin by means of 'finem fecerim

docendi', the verb here in the perfect subjunctive. SHALL HAVE however

is not caught exactly by this tense, nor by 'docuero' (for Gill, future

subjunctive presumably) because it is of both tenses - of future and

perfect subjunctive. However he gives no real analysis because the

name he gives to it 'Tempus coniunctivum futuri praeteritum', the

preterite conjunctive (or subjunctive) of the future is impossible to

relate to his scheme for English grammar where as we have seen he has

only four moods, Indicativus, Imperativus, Potentialis and Infinitivus.

Wallis [1653] continues to be impressed by the fact that this

tense has no equivalent in Latin and his brief discussion carries us on

to HAVE infinitives with preterite-form modals.

[p.97] Sic shall have, will have, illud indicant quod
erit praeteritum; quod Graeci fortasse per ipsorum
paulo-post-futurum, vel mox-futurum exprimere possunt;
Latini vero aegrius exprimunt nisi in verbis formae
Passivae, ut loquutus ero, I shall have spoken, locutus
essem, I should have spoken, nam I shall have burned,
it will have burned, difficilius latine redditur; nisi
forsan ussero, usserit, tandundem significare dicamus:
At I should have burned, I would have burned, Latine
dicimus, Vssissem, ussisse vellem.

2. HAVE FORMS AFTER PRETERITE MODALS

HAVE infinitives after the preterite form modals, including MUST

and OUGHT which have only the preterite form are frequent. Their use

in the apodosis of conditionals is illustrated in Chapter 7. Epistemic

uses of MUST HAVE and MIGHT HAVE are discussed in Section 6 of the

present chapter. All other occurrences of these forms are given or

referred to here.

SHOULD HAVE:

Since we have just considered SHALL HAVE, we pass first to SHOULD

HAVE.

6.233 [C XIV] Yt was expected that the treasurship s h o l d
h a v e ben bestowed on the Lord Buckhurst for a new-yeares
gift, but it succeded not.

6.234 [C XXVI] The archdukes ambassador that s h o l d h a v e had
audience this day sevenight was put of til Satterday.

6.235 [C XXXIV] his daughter, the great heyre (for whom he s h o l d
h a v e had eight thousand pound of the erle of Pembroke, ...)
died on Friday: and the land returnes to the Viscount Binden.

As we have seen because of the structure of the modal phrase which

looks forward to a future event, the preterite modal has a weakened

sense. It is often used with present meaning, and csince the modal

phrase as a whole cannot be past unless the future event to which it

looks is no longer in prospect, this can only be indicated in the

lexical infinitive. SHOULD HAVE is thus used to refer to an event

ordained or due to happen, now considered to belong to the past because

it never in fact took place. What the modal refers to, here the

ordaining, the expectation, occurred but is now past. The event

ordained, referred to by the infinitive did not occur.

6.236 [C XXIV] Cap: Chute (that s h o l d or wold h a v e ben
knight in Fraunce) is in likewise about some such matter
(that was either due to be knight in France or else wanted to be
knighted in France, but was not)

6.237 [LS 13.11] some haue suruiued to burie those who s h o u l d
h a u e been their hangmen.
Aliquis carnifici suo superstes fuit.
(those who were appointed to be their hangmen 'thou shalt be hangman
to these'; an office which was frustrate)

6.238 [FM 176c] the Dog ... to whom was first presented a Stag, then
a wilde Boare, and then a Beare, with each of which he
s h o u l d h a v e foughten, but he seemed to make no accompt
of them ... but when he saw a Lion, he presently rouzed himselfe,...

grand chien ... On luy presenta premierement un cerf pour le combattre, & puis un sanglier, & puis un ours: il rien fit compte ... mais, quand il veid un lyon, il se dressa incontinent sur ses pieds ...

(Florio changes the French which says the stag, boar and bear were brought in to fight the dog, rather than for the dog to fight. By turning the expression as he does Florio anticipates the outcome of the story, for in 'should have foughten' he indicates not only that the dog was supposed to fight the other animals but that in fact he did not.)

6.239 [H 72E] so as the thing which they had deuised for a remedy, did indeed but increase the soare which it s h o u l d   h a u e cured.

6.240 [M 82B] He had purposed to plant a garrison at Armagh 8. miles beyond Mount Norryes, but the rebels Cowes had eaten vp all the grasse thereabouts, which s h o u l d   h a u e fed our horses.

SHOULD HAVE as well as providing the disappointed past tense for SHALL, that which was ordained or due to happen and did not, also serves for the past of the softened SHALL, SHOULD and so expresses an obligation which was not fulfilled. In the examples so far adduced the original sense has been taken as 'due to' and SHOULD HAVE assumed to derive from a modal phrase with SHALL. In the rest, the original sense has been taken as 'ought to' so that SHOULD HAVE derives from a modal phrase with SHOULD. But the distinction is often impossible to make with certainty.

6.241 [M 18B] they cut him off by remembring him of all the benefits, and that of his last pardon, receiued from the Queene, which s h o u l d   h a u e counterpoised his wrongs, and kept him in duty.

6.242 [M 18D] Only Odonnel had some fifteene barrels of powder, whereof he s h o u l d   h a u e had a portion, but neuer had it.

6.243 [M 26B] For whereas they s h o u l d   h a u e built Castles, and brought ouer Colonies of English, and haue admitted no Irish tenant, but onely English, these and like couenants were in no part performed by them.

6.244 [M 69D] 2. His going to Lemster and Mounster, when he s h o u l d   h a u e gone to Vlster

6.245 [M 70A] whereas he made to the number of threescore ... yea & that in a most unseasonable time, when things were at the worst, which s h o u l d   h a u e been done vpon victorie and triumph onely.

In 6.245, 'only' has quasi-negative force so that the modal phrase is
equivalent to 'should not have been done'. As 'should have been done'
implies the modal phrase is now regarded as belonging to the past in so
far as the obligation has not been fulfilled as in 6.241-6.244, so
'should not have been done' implies a negative obligation which has not
been fulfilled. A negative obligation existed. The prohibited
activity referred to in infinitive took place in the past.

From SHOULD HAVE used in this way, we may pass to its exact
synonym OUGHT TO HAVE.

OUGHT TO HAVE:

Like SHOULD HAVE when derived from SHOULD (obligation) OUGHT TO
HAVE is used for an obligation which is thought of as belonging to the
past in that the obligation was not fulfilled.

6.246 [B 2.42r] And as for the footesteps of diseases, ... they
o u g h t   t o   h a u e   beene exactly obserued by multitude of
Anatomies, and the contribution of mens seuerall experiences;
and carefully set downe ... whereas now vpon opening of bodies,
they are passed ouer sleightly and in silence.
Itidem vestigia, et impressiones morborum ... omnia
et his similia, per eam, quam diximus, anatomiam comparatum, et
multorum medicorum experimenta in unum collata, magna cum cura
perquiri et componi   d e b e n t.   At varietas ista accidentium
in anatomicis aut perfunctione tractatur, aut silentio
praeteritur.

The English takes the obligation as it existed in the past as
unfulfilled, though the obligation is thought of as still existing.

The Latin with 'debent' translates as a continuing obligation.

6.247 [B 1.21v-22r] So in naturall Historie, wee see there hath not
beene that choise and iudgement vsed, as   o u g h t   t o   h a u e
beene.

6.248 [B 2.57r] For it commeth to passe for want to this, that we are
sure to end there where wee   o u g h t   t o   h a u e   begun.

See also 5.213 under OUGHT.

In the same way as SHOULD HAVE forms a past for both SHALL and
SHOULD, so WOULD HAVE forms a past for WILL and WOULD.

WOULD HAVE: from senses of WILL

WOULD HAVE corresponds to SHOULD HAVE, instead of an act of

ordaining we have an act of intending or expectation, now assigned to

the past, in that intention or expectation has not been fulfilled.

6.249 [C LVIII] The Lord Admiralls feasting the Quene had nothing
       extraordinarie, neither were his presents so precious as was
       expected; being only a whole suit of apparell, whereas yt was
       thought he w o l d   h a v e bestowed his rich hangings of all
       the fights with the Spanish Armada in eightie eight.

Thus   It is thought he will bestow   Present

            It was thought he would bestow   Preterite, which is

                 independent of the outcome.

            It was thought he would have bestowed   which is only

                 appropriate if in the event he has not bestowed

6.250 [C XLIX] but that I could by no meanes leave Mrs Dormer in
       extremitie, which I assure you was such, that I did not thincke
       she w o l d   h a v e seene this day.

6.251 [C XXXVI] the last place he tooke was St Cateline a fort built
       to bridle Geneva, whether Beza came to see him in hope he
       w o u l d   h a v e left the fort to the towne: but the King
       meant no such matter, yet used him well and gave him 300 crownes.

where the failure of Beza's mission is as it were written into the

expression of it. Thus Beza comes 'in hope he will leave the fort to

the town'. In preterite narrative this becomes 'in hope he would leave

the fort to the town', 'In hope that he would have left the fort to the

town' looks back from the vantage point of the end of the story.

6.252 [C IX] I ... have now staide the longer to see yf this north-
       easterly wind w o l d   h a v e brought us anything from you.
(But it has not.)

6.253 [C LI] If I were not now taking my leave of this towne for the
       best part of this vacation, I shold have put of this letter
       somwhat longer, to see yf any thing w o l d   h a v e risen
       worth the flienge at:

WOULD HAVE: from sense of WOULD, to wish or want

A wish or intention belonging to the past in having been frus-

trated - not in the sense that it has not been fulfilled but that all

chance of its fulfilment has been removed, so that the wish itself

belongs to the past.   Hence it forms a preterite for WOULD in this

sense.

6.254 [LS 24.5] More easily did <u>Porsenna</u> pardon <u>Mutius</u> for that he
       w o u l d h a u e killed him, then <u>Mutius</u> did himselfe,
       because he had not murthered him.
                 Facilius Porsena Mucio ignovit, quid v o l u e r a t
       occidere; quam sibi Mucius quod non occiderit.

6.255 [LS 26.8] I w o u l d now h a u e made an end, and my hand
       was prefixing the period: but all solemnities must be obserued,
       and I must giue this Epistle his safe conduct.
                 Finire iam v o l e b a m, & manus spectabat ad
       clausulam: sed conficienda sunt sacra: & huic epistulae viaticum
       dandum est.

6.256 [HL 6L] But as <u>Cacus</u> ... w o u l d h a u e kept him from
       entrance, <u>Hercules</u> smote him with his club:
                 Quem cum vadentem ad speluncam Cacus vi prohibere
       c o n a t u s e s s e t, ictus clava ...

Conatus esset - had tried.   I think the preterite of TRY in PE usually

carries the same sense of lack of success as WOULD HAVE in the English

of this time.

6.257 [M 18B] When he w o u l d h a u e remembered the wrongs
       since his late Pardon prouoking him to disloialtie, they cut him
       off by remembring him of all the benefits ...
(PE When he tried to remind them about the wrongs ... they cut him off
by reminding him of all the benefits.)

6.258 [C LIV] Here was one Mowbray a Scottish man accused by one
       Daniell a little pigmee Italian fencer, that he w o l d h a v e
       suborned him to have slaine the king of Scotts.
('that he tried to suborn him ...')

The following examples require some discussion.

6.259 [FM 172c] with a milde and gentle contenance as if he w o u l d
       willingly h a v e taken acquaintance of him ...
                 d'une facon molle et paisible, comme pour entrer en
       reconnoissance avec luy

where 'willingly' appears to have been added by Florio in order to

reinforce the sense of 'wanting' in 'would'.   I think Florio reads the

situation in the story (the lion is here recognizing Androclus of Dacia

in the arena) as precluding any real acquaintance between brute and man.

Perhaps, PE 'as if he were trying hard to make friends with him'.

6.260 [FM 280e] Even in my writings, I shall not at all times finde the tracke, or ayre of my first imaginations; I wot not my selfe what I w o u l d h a v e said, and shall vexe and fret my selfe in correcting and giuing a new sense to them, because I have peradventure forgotten or lost the former, which happily was better.

En mes escrits mesmes je ne retrouwe pas tousjours l'air de la premiere imagination: je ne scais ce que j' a y v o u l u dire, et m'eschaude souvent à corriger et y mettre un nouveau sens, pour avoir perdu le premier, qui valloit mieux.

What I would have said 'ce que j'ai voulu dire' = what I wanted to say, what I meant. 'I would have said' used in this way corresponds with the notion of frustrated intention, for what it was intended to say, evidently was not in fact said.

6.261 [C XX] ... yt is odds but I shall forget somwhat that I w o l d h a v e remembred.

Perhaps this is an example of WOULD HAVE and means 'I shall forget something that I wanted to remember (but did not)'. But the passage makes better sense if we take this as an example of WOULD HAVE + NP + Past Participle, 'I shall forget something that I wanted to have remembered, i.e. something I wished to remind you about'.

WOULD NEEDS HAVE:

6.262 [C XLVI] the more by Mr Clarencieux friendly presence; who came from the buriall of the Lady Barrington unlooked for and unrequested, but went not empty away as he pretended, and w o l d n e e d e s h a v e done.

He will needs go. He would needs go (and went).

He would needs have gone (but did not).

WOULD FAIN HAVE:

6.263 [B 2.47v] most men are of the tast and stomach of the Israelites in the desert, that w o u l d f a i n e h a u e returned Ad ollas carnium and were wearie of Manna.

Ita in hoc pabulo appetendo et deligendo plerique palatum nacti sunt Israelitarum simile in deserto; quas cupido incessit redeundi ad ollas carnium; mannae autem fastidium cepit.

6.264 [C LI] for she is yet but sliding, and stands to be satisfied in some points wherein she w o l d e f a i n e h a v e had a conference before her at Oxford by a great man in that place, and some of the other side.

6.265 [C VII] He went yesterday to Bletso to convoy the Lady Pelham that hath lien here this fortnight, and w o l d   f a i n e   h a v e   drawne me along with him.

'Would fain draw me along with him' would imply that he still desired me to come, and there was still some question of my going.

6.266 [B 2.100v] For <u>Macciauel</u> noteth wisely how <u>Fabius Maximus</u> w o u l d   h a u e   been temporizing still, according to his ould biasse, when the nature of the warre was altered, and required hotte pursuite.

        Prudenter enim observat Machiavellus in Fabio Maximo: Quod pristinum suum et inveteratum cunctandi et bella trahendi morem retinere mordicus v o l u e r i t, cum natura belli essent alia et acriora postularet consilia.

Where 'would have been temporizing still' might be rendered into PE as 'tried to go on temporizing'; he 'wanted to go on tempoäzing, but failed because it was no longer possible. For 'he will be temporizing still' compare ADO 1 O1 109 BEATRICE I wonder that you will still be talking, Signior Benedick: nobody marks you. In this construction WILL seems to have the sense of 'insist on going on'.

MIGHT HAVE:

    A permission or possibility which is considered as in the past because the permission was not on the occasion made use of, or because what was possible in fact did not occur.

    Permission:

6.267 [HL 3B] they wholly forbare to shew any rigor at all, as by martiall right of warre they m i g h t   h a v e   done
        omne ius belli Achivos abstinuisse

6.268 [H 66B] as in their act who soulde their possessions and layd the price at the Apostles feet; which possessions they m i g h t   h a u e   retained unto themselues without sinne;

    Possibility:

6.269 [H 69C] It is no excuse therefore vnto him, who being drunke, committeth incest, and alleageth that his wits were not his owne, in as much as himselfe m i g h t   h a u e   chosen whether his wits should by that meane haue bene taken from him.
(He had the possibility of choosing, but he did not choose, since for Hooker to choose is to exercise reason and therefore to retain his wits.)

6.270 [B 2.22v] And therefore i.there was neuer Miracle wrought by God
to conuert an Atheist, bycause the light of Nature m i g h t
h a u e   ledde him to confesse a God:

        Quamobrem nec Deus unquam edidit miraculum, quo
converteretur atheus: quia   p o t e r a t   ·ipso naturae lumine
ad notitiam Dei perduci;

6.271 [B 1.14r] and·yet himself m i g h t   h a u e   said:
        Ipsemet tamen p o t u i t   dicere.

The Latin 'potuit dicere', perfect tense followed by present infinitive.

Clearly 'might say' is impossible here because it would be read as

subjunctive, leaving the possibility of his still saying it open. The

sense here is I take it 'It was possible for him to say this, although

in fact he did not actually say it' and not 'it is possibly the case

that he said this'.

6.272 [H 72C] there being no impossibilitie in nature considered by
it selfe, but that men m i g h t   h a u e   liued without any
publike regiment.

However, they did not. Hooker appears not to regard the possibility as

still open, I suppose for fairly obvious reasons.

6.273 [M 11C] one of the plaintiffs, offered him seuen thousand Cowes
to make him chiefe of the name, when he m i g h t   h a u e
learned, that his mind was not so poore, to preferre Cowes or
any bribes before the Queenes seruice.

6.274 [M 72B] That in making the Earle of <u>Southampton</u> Generall of the
Horse, the deceiueable guide which misled him, was an opinion
that her Maiesty m i g h t   h a u e   beene satisfied with those
reasons which moued him ...

6.275 [M 83D] And I will not forget one accident that m i g h t
h a u e   proued of great consequence:

6.276 [C XIII] and I marvayle that they which knew these wants did
hearken no more after the peace when they m i g h t   h a v e
had yt with goode conditions.

COULD HAVE + Past Participle in Non-Negative Clauses:

    A possibility or opportunity which is considered as in the past

because it was not made use of.

6.277 [FM 180b] and a man (who yet liveth) sweareth to have seen in a
Province of the East-Indias the people so carefull to make them
[i.e. their ears] great, and so to load them with heavie jewells,
that at ease he c o u l d   h a v e   thrust his arme through one
of their eare-holes.

> et un home d'au jourdui dict avoir veu en une nation
> orientale ce souin de les agrandir en tel credit, et de les
> charger de poisans ioieaus, qu'a tous coups il passoit son bras
> vestu, au travers d'un trou d'oreille

'That at ease he could thrust his arm through' would I think imply that
he did thrust his arm through (the French seems to say that he did).
'Could have thrust' suggests a possibility open to him (the holes in
the ears were large enough) but not actually taken up.

With SHOULD HAVE, OUGHT TO HAVE, WOULD HAVE and MIGHT HAVE the
modal phrase is felt as belonging to the past because the event modally
proposed is no longer realizable. What WOULD HAVE, OUGHT TO HAVE,
WOULD HAVE and MIGHT HAVE — occurred, did not in fact occur. In the
same way, what SHOULD NOT HAVE, OUGHT NOT TO HAVE, WOULD NOT HAVE,
NEEDED NOT TO HAVE occurred, did in fact occur.

But whereas the possibility expressed by MIGHT can be regarded as
in the past when the possible event did not take place, the impossibility
expressed by COULD NOT HAVE does not become past when the impossible
event occurs, but is nullified. COULD NOT HAVE then must refer to an
impossibility which is thought of as belonging to the past. But since
what is impossible does not occur, what is the mark that pushes it into
the past?

The small number of examples from the corpus (we are excluding of
course COULD NOT HAVE in apodosis and epistemic uses) are considered
below.

Subjective Impossibility. What someone thought was impossible
but then happened can be expressed by COULD NOT HAVE.

6.278   [M 38A] who presently charged vpon the causey, and to the very
         skirts of the Wood, with such resolution, as the rebels either
         thinking Horse c o u l d n o t h a u e serued there, or
         expecting aduantages vpon them in that boggy place, stood gaping
         on them, and gaue way ...

The impossibility may be a rhetorical one, associated with a particular

action in the past. COULD NOT HAVE is used with a comparative in

6.279 [B 1.36r] For if there be considered of the one side ... and there be considered on the other side ... as I c o u l d n o t h a u e chosen an instance so recent and so proper: so, I suppose, I c o u l d n o t h a u e chosen one more remarqueable, or eminent, to the purpose nowe in hand:

6.280 [M 9E] He c o u l d have spoken nothing more pleasing to this State (as he well knew), and therefore his answere was approued ...

Or it may refer to an impossibility which existed as part of a now past

historical situation

6.281 [M 74E-75A] Tyrone ... wrote to the Countesse of Ormond ... Auowing lastly, that where it was said, that the Earle was treacherously surprised, (which c o u l d h a r d l y h a u e beene so proued, that Tyrone and his rebellious confederates should haue beleeved it), he would in that case not onely take his fauour from Owny, but procure the Earles inlargement without any condition ...

'Could hardly have' here occurs in an authorial interjection. The

impossibility of proving that Ormond was treacherously surprised to

Tyrone belonged to that historical moment; Moryson himself has no doubt

about the treachery. The following quotation suggests that impossi-

bility in the past could be expressed indifferently by the preterite

modal simply or by the preterite modal with HAVE. In the passage Livy

is discussing the theory, which he rejects, that Pythagoras was the

teacher of Numa Pompilius.

6.282 [HL 13D] From which places (albeit he had lived at that time) what fame of him c o u l d spread so farre as to the Sabines? or by what entercourse and affinitie of language m i g h t hee possiblie h a v e trained any man unto him for desire of learning at his hands? or by what good meanes and helpe, c o u l d Numa trauell alone unto him in safetie, through so many countries, of diuerse tongues and sundrie manners?
          Ex quibus locis, etsi eiusdem aetatis fuisset, quae fama in Sabinos? Aut quo linguae commercio quemquam ad cupitatem discendi e x c i v i s s e t? Quove praesidio unus per tot gentes dissonas sermone moribusque p e r v e n i s s e t?

The rhetorical questions expecting negative answers refer to impossi-

bilities. The variation between preterite and preterite + HAVE, like

the variation between COULD and MIGHT appear to be unmotivated except

stylistically.

Finally there is a single example of COULD (NOT) HAVE which

refers to impossibility in the present-perfect rather than the past, an

impossibility existing up to the present but not obtaining for the

future.

6.283   [M 101E] About this time his Lordship had aduertisement from
         Sir <u>Henry Dockwra</u> Gouernour at <u>Loughfoyle</u>: ... That <u>Cormacke</u>
         <u>ONeale</u>, being of late come from <u>Dublyn</u>, c o u l d <u>hitherto</u>
         h a u e done no seruice, but that he was of reasonable esteeme
         among the people of his Countrey ...

It is clear that in this reported speech, 'could do no service' would

suggest Dockwra said, 'ONeale can do no service'. It seems unlikely

that Dockwra said 'can have done no service' however.

Similar to COULD NOT HAVE is MUST HAVE. Just as what is not

possible cannot be relegated to the past by taking place, so what is

viewed as a matter of necessity cannot become necessity in the past by

failing to take place. As we have seen in contexts of non-fulfilment

there can be no necessity, only obligation, so that except in apodosis

and epistemic uses, MUST HAVE is replaced by OUGHT TO HAVE. Occasionally

we find MUST HAVE used of necessity in circumstances which have not

arisen but these should be read as belonging to conditional construc-

tions where the protasis is contextual.

6.284   [M 34D] After which moneth, their Septs were to be cessed for
         their victuals, vpon such countreys, as they m u s t h a u e
         fought with the Rebels for euery morsell.

6.285   [M 58E] or else to haue sought to haue ruined them by planting
         strong garrisons, which in most places m u s t h a u e beene
         done by an Army.

Similar to MIGHT HAVE is NEEDED NOT TO HAVE. Just as what is

possible may not happen so what it is not necessary should happen may

happen. If it has happened then the non-necessary modality of its

happening belongs to the past. There are three examples of NEEDED NOT

TO HAVE, all from Bacon, given in the examples of NEED, 5.31, 5.32,

5.33.

There is one example of OUGHT TO HAVE where HAVE indicates not an obligation now past because not fulfilled but an outstanding obligation to do one thing before something else.

6.286 [FM 212c] Those who reconcile Lawyers, o u g h t first t o
h a v e reconciled them every one unto himselfe
           Et les reconciliaturs des jurisconsultes d e v r o i·m t
premierement les concilier chacun a soy
(The sentence well illustrates a certain clumsiness in English or
Florio's management of it compared with the neatness of Montaigne's
French. Florio translates 'premierement' and also tries to express its
force grammatically through the tense of the infinitive. Perhaps he
felt the conditional of DEVOIR as a past tense not properly translated
by OUGHT though elsewhere he frequently so translates it.)

Modal Phrases with HAVE often appear to be due to sequence of tenses from a modal phrase with HAVE in a superordinate clause. See 6.269 where SHOULD HAVE follows on from MIGHT HAVE, and

6.287 [M Eliz. 39D-40E] if we could haue imagined by the contents of
your owne writings, that you w o u l d h a u e spent nine
weekes abroad ... if we could haue suspected it s h o u l d
h a u e been vndertaken, before we heard it was in action.

SECTION 6 - EPISTEMIC USES

The corpus contains epistemic uses only with MAY/MIGHT and MUST.

MAY	2
MIGHT	2
MIGHT HAVE	1
MUST	18
MUST HAVE	2

I have also listed three examples of MAY, one of MIGHT HAVE and one of MUST where an epistemic reading is possible, though not, I think, intended.

In PE epistemic uses occur with CAN, WILL, WOULD, SHOULD, OUGHT and NEED NOT but I know of no work which has studied the relative frequency of these uses, so that their absence from this eModE corpus may not be evidence of a difference in this usage between the two stages of the language. CAN(NOT) HAVE, MAY HAVE, only appear in

epistemic uses in PE and these are absent from the corpus (though MAY

HAVE is not impossible in eModE and occurs in Shakespeare).

The OED under MUST as meaning 6. has:

> Expressing the inferred or presumed certainty of a fact;
> either (with pres inf.) relating to the present time,
> as in you must be aware of this = I cannot doubt that
> you are aware of this; or (with perfect inf.) relating
> to the past, as in he must have done it = it is to be
> concluded that he did it.

This is, surely, what a more recent terminology has labelled the

epistemic use of MUST. Yet the quotations for this begin with 1652

Evelyn Ess 1st Bk Lucretius (1656) 164. The continent must be

incorporeal, the contained corporeal, followed by 1673 Dryden Marr-a-

la-Mode 1.i.8 Your friend? then he must needs be of much merit.

Since, as the examples which follow show, this use of MUST is

established in the English of around 1600 and since Florio, Hooker,

Bacon and Moryson were all read for the dictionary this is evidence of

the inadequacy of the method employed in the compilation of the OED as

applied to very frequently occurring words. Important distinctions

between various uses of the same construction are not usually apparent

to untrained native speakers. Yet it was readers of this kind who had

to decide when it was worth making a slip for a word as common as MUST

and their decisions determined the evidence of usage on which the

article was eventually based.

It is only in much later times that the distinction in modal

meaning here under sconsideration has been given close study.

The term 'epistemic' itself seems to have been introduced by

Hoffman [1966]. The non-epistemic or usual meaning of the modals he

calls the root meaning, and these are the terms used here. In the next

few years important articles by Boyd and Thorne [1969], Halliday [1970]

and Anderson [1971] appeared, all more or less independently and

without making use of the same terminology, showing that there are two kinds of modal meaning under the same forms in PE. My own indebtedness to all this work is evident. However there are differences in treatment of the distinction between epistemic and root meanings and its relation to other distinctions in modal meaning; Newmeyer [1975] appears to take the root-epistemic contrast as corresponding to permission-possibility and obligation-necessity. In order to relate epistemic modality in so far as it appears in the corpus with the distinctions already made in modal meaning, I set out below by means of PE paraphrases the different meanings I believe are possible with the modal phrases containing MAY/ MIGHT/MIGHT HAVE and MUST/MUST HAVE in the English of around 1600.

1.	He may do so	He is permitted to do so
2.	He may do so	It is possible for him to do so It is possible that he should do so
3.	He may do so	It is possible that he does so
1.	He might do so	He was permitted to do so
2.	He might do so	It was possible for him to do so It was possible that he should do so
3.	He might do so	It is possible that he did so
1.	He must do so	He is obliged to do so He ought to do so
2.	He must do so	It is necessary for him to do so It is necessary that he should do so
3.	He must do so	It is necessarily the case that he does so

With MUST, past tense meanings corresponding to those for MIGHT are possible.

1.	He might have done so	He was permitted to do so, but did not
2.	He might have done so	It was possible for him to do so, but he did not It was possible that he should do so, but he did not
3.	He might have done so	It is possible that he did so

For 'He must have done so', there are only two meanings since that which corresponds to 1. namely, he was obliged to do so but did not, appears as 'He ought to have done so'.

2.   He must have done so

In circumstances that were never realized, it would have been necessary for him to do so

(This meaning only appears when 'He must have done so' is effectively the apodosis of a conditional.)

3.   He must have done so

It is necessarily the case that he did so

It can be inferred that he did so

In some ways meanings 1 and 2 are similar and in contrast to 3.

a)   1 and 2 MAY, 1 and 2 MUST have a forward looking time-reference; 3 MAY refers to a present possibility, 3 MUST to a presently existing state of affairs. 1 and 2 MIGHT HAVE refer to something which did not occur, 3 MIGHT HAVE to the possibility that something did take place.

b)   Permission and possibility on the one hand, and obligation and necessity on the other in certain contexts shade into one another. 3 is always distinct even though sometimes it may not be clear whether 2 or 3 is intended.

In another way 2 and 3 are in contrast to 1. Both 2 and 3 can be strengthened by an appropriate adverb of possibility e.g. PERHAPS or of necessity e.g. NEEDS. 1. cannot be so strengthened.

As has been pointed out by recent writers on modals, the epistemic modal is the equivalent of a sentence adverb and the fact that both 2 and 3 can be strengthened by an adverbial expression of the modality may offer a clue to the nature of the different semantic structures which may underlie identical surface forms. Thus by adding PERHAPS to 'They may do so' we exclude the meaning 'They are permitted to' but 'They may perhaps do so' is ambiguous between 'It is possible

for them to do so' and 'It is possible that they do so'. In the first

case PERHAPS is pleonastic. In the second, we might say that MAY is

pleonastic. Thus

They may (perhaps) do so - It is possible for them to do so

They (may) perhaps do so - It is possible that they do so

However we may note that this does not quite work with MUST. In eModE

by adding NEEDS to 'They must do so' we exclude the meaning 'They ought

to do so' but there is apparently no *'They needs do so' as an alterna-

tive to 'They needs must do so' in the epistemic sense. This is

apparently a restriction on the adverb NEEDS but even with other adverbs

or adverbial phrases of necessity we do not find an exact equivalence

between the indicative sentence and the epistemic modality of MUST.

'They necessarily do so' and 'They necessarily must do so' appear in PE

at least not to share the clear identity of meaning between 'They perhaps

do so' and 'They may perhaps do so'. This seems to be because adverbs

of necessity are not naturally taken as sentence adverbs but are applied

to the verb unless the modal MUST is present.

In the examples of epistemic usage which follow, those which are

reinforced by means of a sentence adverb expressing the modality

(including for MUST, OF CONSEQUENCE, expressing necessity by inference)

are listed first, according to the adverbs employed.

Besides being sometimes paraphraseable by means of indicative

sentences with appropriate sentence adverbs, the epistemic senses of

MAY and MUST can also be expressed in the form IT MAY/MUST BE (THAT) +

[Clause with Indicative Verb]. Thus 'He may do so' in the epistemic

sense is equivalent to 'It may be that he does so' and 'He must do so'

to 'It must be that he does so'. If the verb in the THAT-Clause lacks

indicative modality, that is if the verb is subjunctive or itself

contains a modal verb, the equivalence to epistemic modality is lost.

A complete set of the occurrences of IT MAY BE (THAT)+ Clause is given, 6.288-6.299, arranged according to whether the verb in the THAT-Clause is indicative or whether it is accompanied by a modal.

The precise grammatical relationship between these complex sentences and the simple modal sentences they appear to be equivalent to, is not altogether clear. IT MAY/MUST BE (THAT) Clauses are non-epistemic modal sentences with THAT-Clause as the subject and BE used absolutely as the verb in the modal phrase; they might be paraphrased as 'It is possible/necessary for the fact that [Clause] to be so'. Newmeyer [1975] points out that there is an interesting parallel between the way in which 'It may be that he does so' is equivalent to 'He may do so' and 'It seems that he does so' to 'He seems to do so'. But the parallel is not perfect and Newmeyer admits he cannot explain the disappearance of BE when 'It may be that ...' is reorganized.

The evidence that epistemic modal sentences can be paraphrased in the form IT + Modal + BE + (THAT) Clause only if the clause has its verb in the indicative, together with the evidence that they can at least sometimes be replaced by indicative sentences containing a sentence adverb expressing modality suggest that epistemic modal sentences beneath their surface grammar must contain an indicative clause that is not present in non-epistemic modals. This is also supported, though in a way which does not lend itself to conclusive linguistic argument, by the curious regularity of the paraphrases of epistemic and non-epistemic modality in PE. These are fully worked out in White [1975] who is concerned as a philosopher with the precise meanings of modal expressions in the English language rather than the syntactical apparatus by which they are expressed. In his paraphrases of non-epistemic and epistemic modals (though he does not use these terms which would be highly confusing in a philosophical context) he shows how for possibility, it is necessary to distinguish between the possibility that is expressed

by 'It is possible ...' followed by an indicative clause 'that he does so' or 'that he did so', and the possibility expressed by 'it is possible ...' followed by a non-epistemic clause, 'It is possible for him to do so', 'It is possible he do so', 'It is possible that he should do so'. It is true that I would differ from White in taking 'It is possible that he will do so' as non-indicative and so expressing non-epistemic modality while he considers this a future indicative and so a form of epistemic modality. But the general point is the weight of evidence that the epistemic modal phrase seems somehow to contain a verb with indicative modality while the non-epistemic modal does not. Of course epistemic and non-epistemic modality share the same surface form and in this form the verb is always an infinitive. The infinitive is certainly non-indicative and this may be why non-epistemic or root modality is as it were primary and overwhelmingly more frequent in use. But infinitives in surface grammar can reflect indicative as well as non-indicative verbs in the deep structure; for example in 'I know him to be wise' 'to be' reflects the verb in 'that he is wise' and the verb in this clause after 'know' is certainly indicative.

For this reason, in the absence of an elucidation of all the problems involved, it seems possible to associate epistemic/non-epistemic modality with the underlying indicative or non-indicative mood reflected by the infinitive in the modal phrase and therefore to include its consideration at this point, as part of the discussion and illustration of the conjugation of the modal phrase.

Noun Clause with Indicative Verb as subject of MAY BE, giving an equivalent to epistemic use of MAY:

Present Indicative

6.288 [D 28] If Lyons of Yarmuth send a ship for sault stay her not
for that i t m a y b e she i s not his owne and so you may
do wrong to annuther
(Equivalent to 'she may not be his own', a construction, as has been noticed, not usual in the English of this period.)

6.289 [C XXVI] Y t m a y b e we f e a r e the French will fall
in with the States, yf we leave them in this extremitie:
(Equivalent to 'we may fear the French will ...' in epistemic sense, though this form would be most naturally taken in the root sense as referring to future possibility. Chamberlaine's meaning here is that it is possible that official fears already exist about future French reactions.)

Preterite

6.290 [H 72D] At the first when some certaine kind of regiment was
once approued, i t m a y b e that nothing w a s then
further thought vpon for the maner of gouerning ...
(Equivalent to 'nothing may then have been further thought upon'. MAY HAVE does not appear in the corpus and is unusual at this time.)

Perfect

6.291 [C XIX] Y t m a y b e you h a v e not heard that the Duke
of Joyeuse is once more become humerous.
(Equivalent to 'you may not have heard ...')

6.292 [C XXXVI] Y t m a y b e you h a v e heard all or most part
of this already

Present Subjunctive

BE

6.293 [C XXVIII] Y t m a y b e there b e divers other things I
shold impart to you, yf either I had leysure, or that they came
redilie to hand.
(If BE is taken as subjunctive then requivalent to 'There may be divers other things' taken in root sense, 'It is possible that there would be'. But BE is sometimes used as an indicative, in which case 'There may be' in the epistemic sense 'It is possibly the case that there are divers other things'.)

Noun Clauses with Modal Verbs as subject of MAY BE:

The clause has a future reference, so that the whole sentence remains equivalent to a root use of MAY. This is obvious when the modal in the clause is also MAY.

6.294 [D 28] such a place which ought to be right clenly vsed and so
        i t m a y b e that vpon your wyffe persuasion and yours to
        her she m a y staye longer.
(Equivalent to 'she may stay longer'; this construction seems unlikely
in more literary prose.)

With WILL

6.295 [C XXXII] Y t m a y b e much of this w i l b e counter-
        maunded;
('Much of this may be countermanded' in the root sense of future
possibility, rather than the epistemic sense about a possible present
situation, which could be expanded to 'It may be much of this is
countermanded (already although I have not heard)'.)

6.296 [C XL] Yet because sometimes <u>gratae divitibus vices</u>, y t
        m a y b e you w i l l not scorne coarser cates, but find
        some taste in sleighter dishes of lesse curiositie and cost ...
(Equivalent to 'You may not scorn'. This however usually carries the
meaning 'You are not permitted to' and this may be the reason why
Chamberlaine avoids using it here.)

6.297 [C LIII] She continues still wavering, and redy to slide upon
        every occasion, yet y t m a y b e but a naturall inconstancie,
        and that she w i l l not fall downe right, but loves to hold
        her friends in suspence;
(Again, 'She may not fall' could be taken as a prohibition.)

With SHALL

6.298 [C XXXII] Yet because the particulars are not yet thoroughly
        knowne, but growe dayly as letters come, y t m a y b e I
        s h a l l send you somwhat you know not before;
(Equivalent to 'I may send' in root sense.)

6.299 [C XLVI] Well I have wearied you and my self, but pardon this
        once for y t m a y b e I s h a l l not do yt often.
('I may not do it often' almost certainly in Elizabethan English to be
read as 'I am not permitted to do it often'.)

Epistemic Uses of MAY/MIGHT/MIGHT HAVE

MAY;

With PERHAPS

6.300 [M 10E] made a distress for the same, (which by the English law
        m a y p e r h a p s be treason, but in that Countrey neuer
        before subiect to law, it was thought no rare thing, nor great
        offence)
(Equivalent to 'is perhaps treason', 'it is possibly the case that this
action is by English law, treason'.)

Without PERHAPS

6.301 [H 92E] Furthermore, although we perceiue not the goodnes of
        lawes made, neuerthelesse sith thinges in themselues m a y haue

that which we peraduenture discerne not; should not this breede a feare in our hearts.

('it is possibly the case that things possess qualities that it is possibly the case we do not discern')

MIGHT:

With PERHAPS

6.302 [M 90C] First, her Maiesty required him to look wel in general, vpon the dispositions of all his Captaines, whereof, some preferred by the Earle, m i g h t p e r h a p s haue hollow hearts towards her seruice ...

('some perhaps have hollow hearts')

Without PERHAPS

6.303 [M 73A] And as for all those excuses which the Earle alleaged for himselfe, hee cleerely cut them off, shewing that his excuse of following the Counsell of <u>Irelands</u> aduice, was nothing, his commission being so large, that he was not bound to follow them; and if he had beene, yet were they a Counsell at his command, he might force them to say what he list: his own letters which he alleaged, m i g h t be prouisionary, written of purpose then to excuse him now.

(Reported speech, for 'His own letters, which he alleges, may be provisionary' equivalent to 'are perhaps provisionary'.)

MIGHT HAVE:

6.304 [LS 13.13] No man thinketh with himselfe that the author is a vaine man, that eyther m i g h t h a u e dreamed the same, or beleeued it lightly.

　　　　　　Nemo dixit vanus auctor est, vanus haec aux finxit aut credidit.

(The Latin gives the words after 'dixit' in <u>oratio recta</u>. Lodge takes the Latin to mean, 'The authority (from which I had this alarming rumour) is a fool. As a fool it is possibly the case that he made the whole thing up, or alternatively, that he believed it without checking'.)

There are several examples from Hooker where the somewhat abstruse subject matter makes interpretation of the modality difficult. The indications are that PE makes a greater use of epistemic modality than eModE and therefore present day readers are liable to read some root constructions epistemically - though the distinction in meaning is often elusive. I consider the following can best be read non-epistemically.

MAY:

6.305 [H 58C] so beasts though otherwise behind men, m a y
        notwithstanding in actions of sense and phancy goe beyond them
('it is possible for animals to outdo men, and not that it is perhaps
the case that they have superior abilities)

6.3061 [H 61C] Reason therefore m a y rightly discerne the thing
        which is good, & yet the will of man n o t incline it selfe
        thereunto, as oft as the preiudice of sensible experience doth
        ouersway.
('as often as the prejudice of sensible experience oversways, it
prohibits the will of man from inclining to the good' rather than 'it
is possibly the case that the will of man does not incline itself to
the good')

6.307 [H 75C] That which plaine or necessarie reason bindeth men vnto
        m a y be in sundry considerations expedient to be ratified by
        humane law
(Conceivably 'is perhaps expedient' but the whole context, strongly
suggests the root modal sense of MAY. Since 'be expedient' includes
the sense 'be permitted' perhaps MAY is here pleonastic.)

MIGHT HAVE:

6.308 [H 76E] in like manner, the national lawes of mutuall commerce
        between societies of that former and better qualitie m i g h t
        h a u e bene other than now, when nations are so prone to offer
        violence, iniurie and wrong.
(Either ' it is possibly the case that the laws were different then
than they are now (we do not know)' or as I incline to take it, there
was then a possibility of a better order of things in primitive times
which is now no longer possible because of the degeneration of mankind.)

Epistemic Uses of MUST/MUST HAVE

MUST reinforced by adverb NEEDS:

6.309 [HL 37F] he ... was fully persuaded ... that his kings pride
        m u s t n e e d s be odious to his subjects, which his verie
        owne children could not brooke and endure.
                sciretque invisam profecto superbiam regiam civibus
        esse quam ferre ne liberi quidem potuissent

6.310 [HL 39A] ... Piso, who writeth, that there was 40000 pound
        weight of silver set by for that use. Which summe or masse of
        mony could never be looked for to arise out of the saccage of
        one only citie in those daies: & m u s t n e e d s exceed the
        charges of the foundation of any of these stately and magnificent
        buildings in this our age.
                Pisoni, qui quadraginta milia pondo argenti seposita
        in eam rem scribit, quia summem pecuniae neque ex unius tum
        urbis praeda sperandum et nullius ne horum quidem magnificentiae
        operum fundamenta non exsuperaturam.

In both these examples MUST NEEDS introduces something which is inferred

to be the case.

6.311 [B 1.6v] he will easily beleeue that the highest Linke of
Natures chaine m u s t n e e d e s be tyed to the foote of
Iupiters chaire.
          Facile credet summum naturalis catenae annulum pedi
solii Jovis affigi

What he believes is that the highest link is tied to the foot of

Jupiter's chair, which is rendered by the Latin.

6.312 [H 50B] They all confesse therefore in the working of that first
cause, that counsell is vsed, reason followed, a way obserued,
that is to say, constant order and law is kept, whereof it selfe
m u s t n e e d s be author vnto it selfe. Otherwise it
should have some worthier and higher to direct it, and so could
not itself be the first.

6.313 [H 62C] so in action, that which doth lye the euenest between
vs and the end we desire, m u s t n e e d e s be the fittest
for our vse.

6.314 [H 72A] because not hauing the naturall superioritie of fathers,
their power m u s t n e e d s be either vsurped, & then
vnlawful; or if lawful, then either graunted or consented vnto
by them over whom they exercise the same, or else giuen extra-
ordinarily from God, vnto whom all the world is subiect.

Clearly BE USURPED is BE + adjective and not a passive. The two

readings bring out vividly the distinction between root and epistemic

senses in the modal.

Their power must be usurped = we or someone else must usurp their power

Their power must be usurped = we infer that what they hold is a usurped

power.

6.315 [H 79B] Nothing may be infinitely desired but that good which
in deed is infinite, for the better the more desirable, that
therefore most desirable wherein ther is infinitie of goodnes, so
that if any thing desirable may be infinite, that m u s t
n e e d s be the highest of all thinges that are desired.

6.316 [H 87C] It hath bene alreadie shewed how all things necessarie
vnto saluation in such sort as before we haue maintained,
m u s t n e e d e s be possible for men to knowe.

6.317 [M 49B] and for that the Rebels vse most commonly to assault
vpon Woody paces and difficult passages, where euery man m u s t
n e e d e s be in danger, and they most who ride in the best
troope, it could not be but that we should haue our share in the
aduenture of our persons.
('where every man is necessarily in danger ...')

6.318 [M 71C] he would not say that the Earle meant to compare her
       absolutely to Pharaoh, but in this particular onely, which
       m u s t   n e e d s   be very odious
(which is, necessarily, very odious)

MUST reinforced by adverb NECESSARILY or OF NECESSITY:

6.319 [FM 156a] he is enforced to confesse, that such a dog   m u s t
       n e c e s s a r i l y   discourse thus with himselfe, I have
       followed my Masters footing hitherto, hee   m u s t   o f
       n e c e s s i t y   passe by one of these three wayes; it is
       neither this nor that, then consequently hee is gone this other.
                     il est contraint de confesser qu'en ce chien la un
       tel discours se   p a s s e: J'ay suivy jusque a ce carre-four
       mon maistre a la trace;   i l   f a u t   necessairement qu'il
       p a s s e   par l'un de ces trois chemins; ce n'est ny par
       cettuy-cy, ny par celuy-la;   i l   f a u t   donc infailliblement
       qu'il   p a s s e   par cet autre;

This may be considered by examining how Florio has rendered the

three occurrences of 'passer' in Montaigne's French.

1.   Present Indicative in French. But the 'discourse' in the dog's

mind is inferred, and Florio renders by epistemic MUST.

2.   Present Subjunctive after 'il faut'. Florio translates literally.

The dog is tracking his master and so by the nature of the situation

the master's passage is now in the past. The dog in Montaigne seems to

view the situation as it presented itself to the master when he reached

the crossroads,   'it is necessary that he pass down one of these three

ways'. The modality here is non-epistemic. We might have expected 'it

is necessarily the case that the passed down one of these three ways'

which would be epistemic. Florio's 'must' can of course be read as a

preterite 'he had necessarily to pass' which is still non-epistemic but

I think he is attempting to reproduce the present 'il faut' from the

French. Here then we might say that we have a non-epistemic use of

MUST where the meaning requires an epistemic use. Instead of having

the dog infer what necessarily took place, the dog is shown as it were

rehearsing the necessity, which faced his master at the crossroads, of

going one of three ways.

3.   In French precisely reproduces the grammar of 2. 'It is therefore absolutely necessary that he go down this third way'. Florio here however reads this as if it were epistemic in modality and past in tense 'it is necessarily the case that he went down this third way' and renders it by the indicative perfect with the modality of inference given by the sentence adverb 'consequently'.

6.320   [FM 163c] The rule of fluttering, and order of shaking their
        wings, by which they conjecture the consequences of things to
        ensue,   m u s t   n e c e s s a r i l y   be directed to so noble
        an operation by some excellent and supernaturall meane:
                Cette regle, cet ordre du bransler de leur aile par
        lequel on tire des consequences des choses a venir,   i l   f a u t
        bien qu'il   s o i t   conduict par quelque excellent moyen a une
        si noble operation.

'It is necessarily the case that it is directed'. 'necessarily', not suggested by the French unless by 'bien', prevents the reading 'ought to be directed'.

MUST reinforced by OF CONSEQUENCE:

6.321   [B 1.43v-44r] and   m u s t   not   o f   c o n s e q u e n c e,
        the pleasures of the intellect or vnderstanding exceede the
        pleasures of the affections?
                Et non pari gradatione intellectus voluptates,
        eas quae sunt affectuum transcendent.

6.322   [FM 130d] considering with himselfe what force and divinity it
        m u s t   o f   c o n s e q u e n c e   have, since it was able,
        amidst so many corruptions and so viciously-poluted hands, to
        maintaine her dignitie and splendor.
                considerant combien elle   d e v o i t   avoir de ʒforce
        & de divinite a maintenir sa dignite & sa splendeur parmy tant
        de corruption & en mains si vicieuses.

MUST without adverbial reinforcement:

6.323   [FM 130b] Are they so just, so charitable, and so good?   Then
        m u s t   they be Christians.
                Sont ils si justes, si charitables, si bons?   ils
        sont donq Chrestiens.

Translating the French present indicative 'They are (we infer) Christians'.

6.324   [FM 135d] Nor is it likely, but that this vast worlds-frame
        m u s t   beare the impression of some markes, therein imprinted

by the hand of this great-wondrous Architect, and that even in all things therein created, there m u s t be some image, somewhat resembling, and hauing coherencie with the workeman that wrought and framed them.

Aussi n'est-il pas croyable que toute cette machine n'ait quelques marques empreintes de la main de ce grand architecte, & qu'il n'y ait quelque image es choses du monde, raportant aucunement a l'ouvrier qu∤ les a basties & formees.

6.325 [H 78E] For if euery thing were to bee desired for some other without any stint, there could be no certaine end proposed vnto our actions, ... Therefore somethinge ther m u s t be desired for it selfe simplie and for no other. That is simply for it selfe desirable, vnto the nature whereof it is opposite & repugnant to be desired with relation to any other.

Something necessarily exists, desired for itself simply.

6.326 [H 93C] Would Angels acknowledge themselues fellow seruants with the sonnes of men, but that both hauing one Lord, there m u s t b e some kind of lawe which is one and the same to both.

MUST HAVE:

With OF CONSEQUENCE

6.327 [B 1.28r] for there being then no reluctation of the creature, nor sweat of the browe, mans employment m u s t o f c o n s e q u e n c e h a u e ben matter of delight in the experiment and not matter of labor for the vse.

Cum enim tunc temporis nulla potuerit esse creaturae reluctatio nullus sudor vultus, n e c e s s a r i o s e q u i t u r actiones humanas ad voluptatem et contemplationem non ad laborem aut opus, comparatas f u i s s e.

The reference is to man's condition in the garden of Eden 'we infer

that man's employment was a matter of delight ...'

With NEEDS

6.328 [H 63C] For that which all men haue at all times learned, nature her selfe m u s t n e e d e s h a u e taught;

We infer (from its universality) that Nature has taught it, or rather

perhaps, that it is Nature which has taught it. The HAVE of MUST HAVE

here has the force of a perfect rather than as in 6.327 a preterite.

Doubtful:

    It is frequently possible to take a use as either epistemic or

root.

6.329 [B 2.48r] for mans labour is to <u>inuent</u> that which is <u>sought</u> or
        <u>propounded</u>: or to <u>iudge</u> that which is <u>inuented</u>: or to retaine
    Tthat which is iudged: or to deliuer ouer that which is retained.
    So as the Arts m u s t be foure:
                N e c e s s e igitur e s t; ut totidem s i n t
    artes rationales.

Either 'there are consequently four Arts' taking 'the Arts must be

four' epistemically or, 'it is necessary for us to have four Arts;

these facts impose on mankind the necessity of constructing four

different sets of rules or Arts' giving MUST the full or root sense of

obligation/necessity.

CHAPTER 7

THE MODAL VERBS IN SUBORDINATION

Section 1 - Introductory

Section 2 - Purpose Clauses

> Purpose as Willed
> Purpose as Ordained
> Purpose as Permitted

Section 3 - Result Clauses

Section 4 - Complementary Purpose Clauses

> Verbs of Willing or Ordaining
> Verbs of Promising
> Verbs of Begging or Demanding

Section 5 - Conditional Clauses

> Without Modals
> Present Sequence
> Preterite Sequence
> Pluperfect Sequence
> Mixed Sequence
> Elliptical Protases
> Various Clauses expressing Condition

Section 6 - Concessive Clauses

Section 7 - AS IF Clauses

Section 8 - SHOULD in Noun Clauses

> Protasis as Noun Clause
> Noun Clauses with Predicates expressing Modality
> Noun Clauses as Subject or Objects
> Noun Clauses Reporting News
> SHOULD in Questions
> Noun Clauses after THAN

SECTION 1 - INTRODUCTORY

The examination of modal usage in the English of Shakespeare's time as it appears in the corpus is concluded in the present chapter with a consideration of the modal verbs when they appear in one of the clauses of a complex sentence and there serve to establish the relationship between the clauses and so to indicate the kind of complex construction being used. This was the procedure followed in order to compile the set of examples in this chapter:

A.   All instances where a modal verb ·appears in a complex sentence were examined.

B.   Where the modal verb was judged to play no part in indicating the relationship of the clauses in the complex structure; where that is to say the substitution of the appropriate indicative tense of the lexical verb for the modal phrase both caused the same change in meaning which would occur if the same substitution were made in a simple sentence and at the same time left the organization of the complex sentence unchanged; in these cases the examples were set to one side. This test eliminated all relative constructions containing a modal except a certain group in which the modal appeared to cause the relative clause to serve as a purpose or result clause. Although sometimes these cases appeared doubtful, a selection of clearer examples is given in Sections 2 and 3, as Purpose Clauses introduced by a Relative Pronoun (examples 7.72 - 7.80) and Result Clauses introduced by a Relative Pronoun (examples 7.154 - 7.178). This test effectively eliminated all modals except WILL/WOULD, SHALL/SHOULD, CAN/COULD, MAY/MIGHT.

C.   The remaining examples were arranged and it was found they could be accommodated in three categories

    i)   Purpose and Result Clauses and related constructions

       (Sections 2, 3 and 4)

ii)   Conditionals and related oconstructions (Sections 5, 6 and 7)

iii)   Noun Clauses with SHOULD (Section 8).

It was found that in Category i) although all four of the modals occurred, MAY and MIGHT predominated. In Category ii) again all four modals occurred but here WILL/WOULD, SHALL/SHOULD predominated. Conditional sentences selected because they contained a modal in apodosis were frequently found to have a subjunctive verb in protasis. Since modal verbs in other examples appear in protasis, the examples were arranged in the following way: first, with subjunctive in protasis, according to modal in apodosis; then, according to modal in protasis.

D.   Because of the evident alternative possibility in protasis of a modal construction or the subjunctive, the corpus was re-read for examples of formally apparent subjunctives in all the kinds of complex sentence which appeared with modals. These examples of subjunctive constructions were included in the materials for the chapter.

E.   Since the total number of examples for the whole corpus was inconveniently large, the following course for the display of the materials was adopted. Modal constructions which occur with very great frequency are merely illustrated, complete sets of examples are given for less common constructions. Thus MAY/MIGHT in non-negative Purpose and Result Clauses, SHOULD in Complementary Purpose Clauses of Willing or Ordaining, WOULD and SHOULD in apodosis are merely illustrated. Complete sets are given for MAY/MIGHT, CAN/COULD in negative Purpose and Result Clauses and for all protases with modals. It was decided to include subjunctive examples. These are complete except for Section 5 Conditionals where one example is given for each of the main kinds of non-modal conditional sentence together with the total number of such examples found in the corpus. It should be noted that except for a very few examples which are specially noticed, only formally apparent

subjunctives are given.

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The setting out of the chapter is therefore a compromise between
a rigorously complete listing of every modal occurrence in every complex
sentence and the need to display the usage found in the corpus which
would not be out of proportion to the rest of the study. The material
is rich and diversified and it is hoped that the arrangement throws
light both on the functions of the modal verbs and on the constructions
in which they frequently appear. The chapter cannot of course claim
to contain a study of Purpose and Result Clauses, of Conditionals or of
the Noun Clause in the English of Shakespeare's time, each of which
would require a treatment of the same length as the present thesis and
a much wider basis of illustration.

The inclusion of subjunctive examples should be seen as a purely
synchronic observation on usage at this time, as found in the corpus.
It would have been artificial to exclude all mention of the subjunctive
since in conditionals it occurs side by side with the use of the modals
and in any case the need to discuss indicative and subjunctive modality
in the consideration of the conjugation of the modal phrase has already
drawn attention to the similarity between certain modal phrases and a
subjunctive tense of the lexical verb which they contain. The evidence
shows that some constructions at this time permit either a subjunctive
tense or a modal construction but there has been no assumption that
this is a stage in a diachronic process in which the modal verbs are
encroaching on the functions of the historical subjunctive. However,
for the alternative to exist, we might expect there to be apparent
points of similarity between modal uses and the subjunctive. These
could be briefly summarized as

1.   Both can be used to indicate that the clauses in which they appear

make no assertion of fact. With the modals this comes about because they give for the lexical verb a modality which is not that of assertion. With the subjunctive it is rather an absence of indicative modality. But the modals used in subordination are not stripped of their positive modality. MAY/MIGHT in Purpose and Result Clauses have the meaning of potentiality, enablement, possibility that belongs to them. In apodosis, WILL/WOULD, SHALL/SHOULD may still be thought of as making up a mood showing what is expected, given certain circumstances.

2. Both can be used to indicate that the clause in which they appear is a subordinate clause. This seems to be for both the subjunctive mood and the modal a use which derives from 1. above, but a subordinate clause may of course very well be factual. In a way the modal is more appropriate for this use than the subjunctive for the modal phrase includes subordination within itself, the lexical verb in the infinitive being subordinate to the modal verb. However in this function the modality or meaning of the modal can play no part. For this reason, a single modal form SHOULD takes on the function of indicating subordination simply. Certain examples found in the corpus suggest that the use of SHOULD in Noun Clauses is closely related to its use in protasis and in both cases it seems safe to assume it is the preterite subjunctive of SHALL used as a carrier of the subjunctive without a meaning or modality of its own, or alternatively as a neutral modal which subordinates the verb which follows it without implying any modality at all, even a negation of indicative modality. It is perhaps an inconvenience that the SHOULD which probably represents a softened use of the preterite indicative of SHALL has developed a clear and specific modality of obligation and it may be the difficulties which arise from the formal identity of the empty SHOULD as a sign of subordination and the SHOULD of obligation which makes it necessary to draw OUGHT into

the modal system especially in the kind of prose which makes much use of complex sentences rich in subordinate clauses.

SECTION 2 - PURPOSE CLAUSES

Purpose and Result Clauses have both the same structure

MAIN CLAUSE   SUBORDINATE CLAUSE
(CAUSE)   ⟶   (EFFECT)
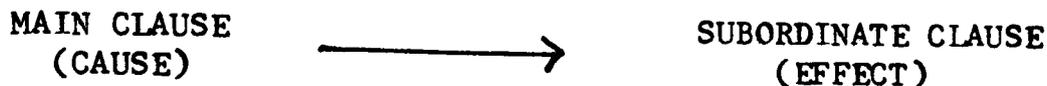
and are distinguished by the nature of the effect. If the effect is intended, the clause is a purpose or final clause. If the effect is an outcome, real or potential of the circumstances expressed in the main clause, the clause is a result or consecutive clause.

Purpose clauses are sometimes, though rarely,in this corpus, found with verbs in the subjunctive.

7.1 [LS 10.4] liue continually thus, that one thing abase thee not, neither master thy courage.
        sic vive; vide ne te ulla res deprimat.

7.2 [D 32] And I praye yo^w lett it be well dighted lest he reprove me. Because it is for seed.

More commonly, the purpose clause contains a modal. The purpose is in the mind of the agent (whether expressed or not) of the main clause and may be viewed as something

        1) Willed or wished

        2) Ordained

        3) Permitted or enabled.

1.   Purpose as Willed or Wished

The modal in the purpose clause is WILL/WOULD. This kind of purpose clause is only used when the subject of the purpose clause refers to the purposing agent. In the most usual form the subject of the main clause and subject of the purpose clause have the same reference.

The purpose clause is usually introduced by BECAUSE.

7.3   [HL 13C] This pleased and contented the commons so highly, that
b e c a u s e they w o u l d not seeme behind in bountie and
curtesie, they answered againe, that this only they ordained and
agreed upon, to wit, that the Senate should determine who should
be king.
            adeo id gratum plebi fuit, ut, ne victi beneficio
videretur, id modo sciscerent iuberentque ut senatus decerneret
qui Romae regnaret.

7.4   [HL 42K] Brutus hauing intelligence of his comming, turned
another way b e c a u s e he w o u l d not meete with him
            flexit viam Brutus (senserat enim adventum) ne obvius
fieret.

7.5   [FM 214a] one who would not bee resolved of what he doubted,
b e c a u s e hee w o u l d not lose the pleasure hee had in
seeking it;
            quelqu'un qui ne vouloit pas estre esclaircy de ce
dequoy il estoit en doute, pour ne perdre le plaisir de le
chercher;

7.6   [FM 214a] As another, that would not have his Physitian remove
the thirst he felt in his ague, b e c a u s e he w o u l d
not lose the pleasure he tooke in quenching the same with
drinking.
            comme l'autre qui ne vouloit pas que son medecin lui
ostat l'alteration de la fievre, pour ne perdre le plaisir de
l'assouvir en beuvant.

7.7   [B 2.64v] All which I haue remembred to, this purpose,
b e c a u s e I w o u l d erecte and constitute one generall
Enquirie.

7.8   [H 74E] But for as much as none did so vsually this way offende
as men in that case, which they wittingly fell into, euen
b e c a u s e they w o u l d e bee so much the more frelie
outragious;

7.9   [C XV] But it is said the erle geves few places nor bestowes
offices to any as yet, b e c a u s e he w i l l hold his
followers in hart till he have them there;

7.10 [D 52] my request to you therefor is that you would be pleased
to send me the remande of that money which is due to me the last
of this month or part therof b e c a u s e I w o u l d not
loose the benifitt of the goodness of my pastures.

Clauses not introduced by BECAUSE

7.11 [LS 4.4] another hath stabbed himselfe into the breast rather
than he w o u l d be brought back to the place from whence he
was fled.
            Alius, ne reduceretur a fuga, ferrum adegit in viscera.

7.12 [C XLVII] The weather growes here so warme that divers of our Aldermen disrobe themselves ... some for one cause and some for another ... alderman Banning for spite, that he w o l d not have his wife Lady Mayores.
(He disrobed himself out of spite, in order not to have his wife become Lady Mayoress.)

2. **Purpose as Ordained**

The modal in the purpose clause is SHOULD. The subject of the

purpose clause may refer to the purposing agent or not. SHOULD follows

both present and preterite in the main clause.

The purpose clause is introduced by THAT

TO THE END (THAT)

BECAUSE

Non-Negative:

7.13 [LS 6.6] But I call thee not onely vnto me, t o t h e i.in t e n t thou s h o u l d e s t receiue profit, but t o t h e e n d thou s h o u l d e s t profit others.
Nec in hoc te accerso tantum, ut proficias, sed ut prosis.

7.14 [HL 19E] Yet t o t h e e n d t h a t the murder so manifest and openly knowne, s h o u l d be in some sort expiate ... his father was charged to purge his sonnes sinne.
Itaque, ut caedes manifesta, aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, imperatum patri, ut filium expiaret ...

7.15 [FM 209d] Yet not as Apollo giving oracles, t h a t all s h o u l d bee certaine and set downe ...
Nec tamen, ut Pythius Apollo, certa ut sint et fixa ...

Negative:

7.16 [C LIII] and do as the people of Calicut, that worship him, not so much for any help they looke for at his hands, as b e c a u s e he s h o u l d do them no harme

7.17 [HL 31E] t o t h e e n d, that he s h o u l d not alwaies seeke to purchase wealth and puissance by war and martiall prowesse onely, he attempted to amplifie his dominion by pollicie ...
Ne semper armis opes adquirentur consilio augere imperium ɔconatus est.

7.18 [HL 37A] t o t h e e n d they s h o u l d have no captaine of their owne to lead them ... he shuffeled or mingled the bands and companies of Latines and Romaines one with another.
Ne ducem suum ... haberent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque.

But negative clauses with SHOULD are more commonly introduced by LEST.

7.19 [LS 6.5] and l e s t thou s h o u l d e s t take too much paines ... I will put certaine markes ...
    & ne multum operae impendas ... imponam notas.

7.20 [LS 20.2] exacteth this of us, that eueryone liue according to her law, l e s t the life s h o u l d differ from speech.
    & hoc exigit, ut ad legem suam quisque vivat, ne orationi vita dissentiat.
(In 1620 Lodge translates 'that our manners should accord with our words'.)

7.21 [HL 7D] Furthermore, l e a s t t h a t the cittie so large in compasse, s h o u l d stand void and vacant, Romulus ... set vp a sanctuarie ...
    Deinde, ne vana urbis magnitudo esset ... asylum aperit.

7.22 [B 2.49v] who taught the Ant to bite euerie graine of Corne, that she burieth in her hill, l e a s t it s h o u l d take roote and growe?
    Quid formicam docuit, ut grana in colliculo suo reponenda circumroderet prius, ne reposita germinarent ...

7.23 [H 95D] And l e a s t appetite in the vse of foode, s h o u l d leade vs beyond that which is meete, we owe in this case obedience to that law of reason, which teacheth mediocritie in meates and drinkes.

7.24 [M 92D] Florence mac Carty ... refused to giue his sonne for pledge, l e s t his waged souldiers s h o u l d cast him out of his Countrey.

7.25 [C LIX] yet l e a s t he s h o l d go empty and so make an yll impression, I haue thought goode to send you what I have got at the first sight.

3.   Purpose as Permitted or Enabled

The modal in the purpose clause is MAY, sometimes MIGHT after a

present tense in the main clause, and MIGHT after a preterite tense.

The subject of the purpose clause may refer to the purposing agent or not.

Non-Negative Purpose Clauses introduced by THAT, THAT SO, TO THE END

(THAT):

MAY in Purpose Clause after Present Tense in Main Clause

7.26 [LS 6.4] I am glad to learne, t o t h e e n d I m a y teach;
    Gaudeo discere ut doceam

7.27 [LS 11.8] We ought to chuse out som good man, and alwaies fix him before our eies, t h a t we m a y to liue, as if he alwayes lookt on.

Aliquis vir bonus nobis diligendus est ac semper ante
oculos habendus ut sic tanquam illo spectante vivamus.

7.28 [LS 17.1] Cast away all these things if thou beest wise, or
rather t o t h e e n d e thou m a y e s t be wise.
Proice omnia ista, si sapis, imo ut sapias¡

7.29 [HL 18L] Two brethren alreadie (qd. he) have I sent to the
divell, the third likewise shall I send after them, t h a t a
Romane m a y command an Albane, which is the cause of this
warre.
Duos, inquit, fratrum manibus dedi¡ tertium, causam
belli huiusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo.

7.30 [B 2.31r] onely we haue endeauoured in these our Partitions to
obserue a kind of perspectiue, t h a t one part m a y cast
light vpon another.

7.31 [B 2.57r] in setting downe in the verie beginning, the
definitions of our wordes and termes, t h a t others m a y
knowe how wee accept and vnderstand them.
et definitiones (de quibus diximus) artibus praemissae
(secundum prudentiam mathematicorum) vocabulorum pravas
acceptiones corrigere valeant;

7.32 [FM 163a] The fish called a Pouroontrell, or Manie-feet, changeth
himselfe into what colour he lists, as occasion offereth it selfe;
t h a t so he m a y hide himselfe from what he feareth
mais le poulpe se donne luy-mesme la couleur qu'il luy
plaist, selon les occasions, pour se cacher de ce qu'il craint ...

7.33 [FM 163e] she is seene to hide herselfe under the mud, t h a t,
other fishes ... m a y fall into her clawes.
On la void se tapir soubs le limon, afin que les
autres poissons ... tombent en sa puissance.

7.34 [FM 174c] Touching the mutuall societie, and reciprocall
confederation, which they devise amongst themselves, t h a t s o
they m a y be fast combined together ...
Quant a la societe & confederation qu'elles dressent
entre elles pour se liguer ensemble ...

7.35 [H 86E] all things which are necessarye to be knowne t h a t
we m a y be saued.

7.36 [H 91E] seeking by all meanes to know what the will of our God
is, what righteous before him, in his sight what holy, perfect,
and good, t h a t we m a y truely and faithfully doe it.

7.37 [H 94C] but how glorifie God in such sort as is required, t o
t h e e n d he m a y be an euerlasting Sauiour, this we are
taught by diuine law.

7.38 [C XVIII] yet I have got you a transcript of yt t h a t you
m a y picke out the offence yf you can;

7.39 [D 3] I haue therfore thought good by this bearer to wrytte vnto yo^u to the nde I maye understande what time and place yo^u will appoynte therfore.

7.40 [D 52] my request to you therefor is that you would be pleased to send me the remande of that money which is due to me the last of this month or part thereof b e c a u s e I w o u l d not loose the benifitt of the goodness of my pastures but t h a t I m a y buy goods att durham now vppon Saterday next f o r t o make good the stint that wants ffor the buisenes that you spoke to me last of ...
(containing three forms of purpose clause, 1. because ... would; 2. that ... may; 3. for to ...)

MIGHT in Purpose Clause after Present Tense in Main Clause

7.41 [HL 8H] But <u>Romulus</u> dissimuling his inward heart-burning, t o t h e e n d he m i g h t find time and place meet for the purpose, prepareth to set forth certaine solemne plaies and games ...
            cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus ... ludos ex industria parat ... solemnes
(Historic present in main clause. Holland follows Livy's tenses, MIGHT translating imperfect subjunctive.)

7.42 [B 2.66r] to giue men countenance, that those which vse the tearmes m i g h t bee thought to vnderstand the Art;
            ad hoc, ut qui voces artis habeant in promptu, etiam artes ipsas perdidicisse existimentur

7.43 [H 83D] requisite it cannot but seme the rule of diuine law should herein helpe our imbecillitie, t h a t we m i g h t the more infalliblie vnderstand what is good & what euill.

7.44 [H 87E-88A] These things are written, t h a t yee m i g h t belieue that Iesus is Christ the Sonne of God, and t h a t in belieuing yee m i g h t haue life through his name.
            tauta de gegraptai, hina pisteusēte, hoti ho Iēsous estin ho Christos ho huios tou Theou, kai hina pisteuontes zōēn echēte en tōi onomati autou [John Ch.20 v.31]

7.45 [C XLVIII] You may take as litle knowledge of these matters as you list, for I only write them that you m i g h t know how the world goes.

MIGHT in Purpose Clause after Preterite in Present Sense in Main Clause

7.46 [D 30] I thought it not amyss if you could fraught a crayer to London wth xx or xxx wayes to be delyvered at london and to send one wth thame of my owne men t h a t I m y g h t haue no vnivst delynge in the waye thus mvch I thought not a myss so to derect.

MIGHT in Purpose Clause after Perfect in Main Clause

7.47 [LS 8.1] To this end haue I withdrawne myselfe to this intent
haue I shut up my doores, t h a t I m i g h t profit many men.
        In hoc me recondidi, & fores clausi, ut prodesse
pluribus possim.

7.48 [FM 156e] I have seene some, going along a Towne-ditch, leave a
plaine and even path, and take a worse, t h a t s o they
m i g h t draw their Master from the ditch
        j'en ay veu, le long d'un fosse de ville, laisser un
sentier plein & uni et en prendre un pire, pour esloigner son
maistre du fosse.

7.49 [FM 212d] Plato hath (in my seeming) loved this manner of
Philosophying, Dialogue wise in good earnest, t h a t therby he
m i g h t more decently place in sundry mouthes, the diversity
and variation of his owne conceites.
        Platon me semble avoir aime cette forme de philosofer
par dialogues, a esciant, pour loger plus decemment en diverses
bouches la diversite et variation de ses propres fantaisies.

7.50 [H 87D] The cause of writing hath bene t o t h e e n d
t h a t things by him reuealed vnto the world m i g h t haue
the longer continuance.

7.51 [H 91D] Wherefore seeing that God hath indued vs with sense t o
t h e e n d e t h a t wee m i g h t perceiue such things as
this present life doth neede ...

MIGHT in Purpose Clause after Preterite in Main Clause

7.52 [FM 133d] The forcible power of Platoes discourse of the
immortality of the soule, provoked divers of his Schollers unto
death, t h a t s o they m i g h t more speedily enjoy the
hopes he told them of.
        La force du discours de Platon, de l'immortalite de
l'ame, poussa bien aucuns de ses disciples a la mort, pour joir
plus promptement des esperances qu'ils leur donnoit.

7.53 [HL 34G] and set up an assessing or taxing, t h a t the state
of the wealthier persons being made knowne and exposed to envie,
he m i g h t bring them into disgrace with the people.
        instituisse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam
locupletiorum fortuna esset.

7.54 [HL 41A] he would lay by her side in naked bed her owne
manservant ... t h a t it m i g h t be voiced abroad, that
she was taken and killed in filthie adultery.
        cum mortua jugulatum servum nudum positurum ait, ut in
sordido adulterio necata dicatur.

7.55 [B 2.49v] who taught the Rauen in a drowth to throw pibbles into
an hollow tree, where she spyed water, t h a t the water
m i g h t rise, so as she might come to it?
        Corvo quis auctor fuit, ut magna siccitate lapillos
immitteret arbori cavae, ubi aquam forte conspexerit, ut surgentem
laticem rostro posset attingere?

7.56 [H 71D] there was no way but ... by ordeining some kind of gouernment publike, and by yeelding themselues subiect thereunto, t h a t vnto whom they graunted authoritie to rule & gouerne, by them the peace, tranquilitie and happy estate of the rest m i g h t be procured.

7.57 [M 24D] First he sent aid to Phelim mac Feagh ... t o t h e e n d he m i g h t make the warre in Lemster against the English;

7.58 [M 49A] To this end also, and t h a t he m i g h t bee euer at hand, as well to incourage and direct them fighting ... he brauely aduentured his person ...

7.59 [M 50B] Againe, he had a special care to cut downe and cleare the difficult passages, t h a t s o our forces m i g h t with more safetie meete together.

7.60 [C II] I am newly returned from Knebworth, whence I made the more haste t h a t I m i g h t aunswer your letter from Ostend of the 9th of Aprill.

Negative Purpose Clauses with MIGHT, introduced by TO THE/THIS END

(THAT)

7.61 [HL 21A] The Albanes went up toward the hils without my commission, neither was it my commandement that, but a policie and countenance only of command; t o t h i s e n d, t h a t yee not knowing how ye were forsaken, m i g h t n o t withdraw your hearts from fight.
          Ut nec, vobis ignorantibus deseri vos, averteretur a certamine animus;

7.62 [M 78A] And t o t h e e n d the Commaunders m i g h t n o t be idle, her Maiestie required, that all seruices done by them, might be certified monethly into England.

7.63 [M 78C] And t o t h e e n d the Commaunders m i g h t n o t be thought to lye idle ... hee particularly remembred many preyes taken, and seruices done ...

Negative Purpose Clauses with MIGHT, introduced by THAT (SO) ... NOT

7.64 [M 9D] Andcorder was giuen, that all the Neighbour Lords should be drawne to the like conditions, t h a t s o they m i g h t n o t spoile Tyrone

7.65 [HL 19B] The King, t h a t hee m i g h t n o t seeme the authour of a judgement so unpleasant and odious unto the people ... assembled the people together ...
          Rex, ne ipse iam tristis ingratique ad vulgus judicii ... auotor esset concilio populi advocato ...

7.66 [M 82C] And whereas his Lordship was resolued to returne into the Pale by Carlingford, to discerne whether that way or the way of the Moyry were more safe, t h a t the army m i g h t n o t runne so continuall hazards.

Negative Purpose Clause with MIGHT, introduced by SO AS ... NOT

7.67 [M 15B] and now <u>Tyrone</u> had sent letters of submission to them
both (intreating the Lord Generall more specially for a milder
proceeding against him, s o a s he m i g h t n o t be forced
to a headlong breach of his loyaltie.)

Negative Purpose Clauses with MIGHT, introduced by LEST

7.68 [HL 14L] l e a s t haply the divine ministerie that belonged
the king, m i g h t be neglected, he created a Flamin to
<u>Iupiter</u> ...
            Ne sacra regiae vicis desererentur, flaminem Jovi ...
creavit.

7.69 [FM 175c] the little birdlet, l e s t he m i g h t surprise
him whilst he sleepeth, with his singing, and pecking him with
his bill, awakens him.
            ce petit oyseau, de peur qu'il ne le surprenne endormy,
va de son chant & a coup de bec l'esveillant & l'avertissant de
son danger;

Negative Purpose Clause with MIGHT, introduced by BECAUSE ... NOT

7.70 [HL 25A] The Ianiculum likewise was adjoined unto the cittie,
not for want of ground, but b e c a u s e it m i g h t n o t
be at any time a fortresse and hold for the enemies
            Ianiculum quoque adiectum non inopia loci sed ne quando
ea arx hostium esset.

Purpose Clause with MIGHT HAVE

7.71 [C XXXVIII] but at his arraignment though he were confronted by
Sir Rob; Crosse and the rest, yet he stoode totthe deniall,
affirming his intent to be only to have angred her for one half
howre, t h a t she m i g h t h a v e lived the merrier all
her life after.

'Might have lived' seems to follow the tense of 'to have angred', which

in turn, indicates the intent to be in the past (where PE would perhaps

prefer 'affirming his intent to have been only to anger her ...').

Purpose Clauses with MAY/MIGHT introduced by a Relative Pronoun

Purpose clauses are sometimes introduced by a relative pronoun;

the purpose is related to some noun in the main clause, or adverbially

to the place or the manner of the main verb. Such clauses are referred

to in Latin Grmamar as 'Relatives of Design' and in Latin, have their

verbs in the subjunctive like Purpose Clauses proper. In English at

this time such clauses are usually found with MAY or MIGHT.

MAY:

7.72 [LS 18.5] I aduise thee to choose out certaine dayes, w h e r e i n
thou mayest content thy selfe with the least, and cheapest dyet,
and mayst cloath thy selfe in a hard and coarse garment: say to
thyselfe ...
          praecipiam interponas aliquot dies, quibus contentus
minimo ac vilissimo cibo, dura atque horrida veste dicas tibi:

The sense is 'choose certain days, so that on those days you may etc'.

The English does not follow the Latin construction closely, where the

subjunctive verb in the relative clause is 'dicas'.

7.73 [FM 242-3] Since they seeke the truth, w h e r e b y they
m a y be free, let us beleeve it is expedient for them, to be
deceived.
          Quum veritatem qua liberetur, inquirat: credatur ei
expedire, quod fallitur.

They seek the truth in order to be free by means of it.

7.74 [H 73A] it hath seemed alwaies needful to ad rewards which
m a y more allure vnto good then any hardnes deterreth from it,
& punishments which m a y e more deterre from euill then any
sweetnes therto allureth.

It is needful to add rewards in order to allure by their means ...

7.75 [M Essex 35D] which prouision, consists ... in hauing ships both
of warre and transportation, w h i c h m a y carry and waft
them both [forces and victual], vpon the first allarum of a
discent

7.76 [C XLVI] I verely thincke she seekes occasion of some unkindnes
from your brother and sister, w h e r e b y she m a y have
some colour to cast herself away.

MIGHT:

7.77 [LS 7.3] By casualtie I fell vpon the Showes at noone,
exspecting some sports, and wittie jests, and recreation
w h e r e b y mens eyes m i g h t be reposed a while, that in
the morning had beene fedde with the shedding of mens bloud
          Lusus expectans, & sales, & aliquo laxamenti, quo
hominum oculi ab humano cruore [qui mane affatim effusus (Lipsius's
note)] adquiescant

7.78 [HL 15A] and to him hee gave in writing, set downe under his
hand and seale, a rule w h e r e b y he m i g h t know what
beasts should be killed for sacrifice ...
          eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit,
quibus hostiis ... erogaretur.

7.79 [HL 26L] wherein were assigned scaffolds for the Senators, and
for the gentlemen or knights severally by themselves, called FORI
w h e r e they m i g h t make them places to see the pastimes
at their ease and pleasure.
           Loca divisa patribus equitibusque ubi spectacula sibi
quisque facerent; fori appellati.

7.80 [H 72E] This constrained them to come vnto lawes, w h e r e i n
all men m i g h t see their duties beforehand.

SECTION 3 - RESULT CLAUSES

Result Clauses are usually introduced by THAT or AS. The word SO

normally appears in the Main Clause. A real effect which occurs or

occurred is expressed by a clause with its verb in the indicative.

7.81 [C X] now ... that the fire is come s o neere him that yt
h a t h almost consumed his countie of Tipperare.

If the effect is thought of as potential, the verb may be in the

subjunctive.

7.82 [H 70C] Lawes politique do accordingly prouide notwithstanding
s o to frame his outward actions, t h a t they b e no
hinderance vnto the common good for which societies are
instituted:

7.83 [C XII] the great ones of that countrie and those that have ben
alwayes thought soundest use the matter s o, t h a t they b e
not out of suspicion:

7.84 [B 1.5r] The first, That wee doe not s o place our felicitie
in knowledge, a s wee forget our mortalitie
           Primus, ne ita felicitatem collocemus in scientia, ut
interim mortalitatis nostrae oblivio subrepat.
(Where I assume 'forget' like the Latin 'subrepat' is in the subjunctive.)

Results may concern volition, be in the future, involve necessity etc.

It follows that any modal verb, used in one of its ordinary senses, may

appear in a result clause.

WILL:

7.85 [M Essex 35B] The Townes ... are s o carried away with the
loue of gaine, t h a t for it, they w i l l furnish the
rebels with all things that may arme them ...

7.86 [C XXXIV] but I doubt those old fencers had s o late triall one
of another, t h a t they w i l l brawle a goode while before
they fall to blowes.

7.87 [C LIV] The Court came to Richmond the eighth of this present, where the Quene findes her self s o well t h a t she w i l l not easilie remove.

WOULD:

7.88 [B 1.40r] wherewith they were s o surprised, crossed, and confused, a s they w o u l d not suffer him to goe on in his speech.

Eo perculsi milites et plane obstupefacti, concionantem deinceps perpetuo obturbabant.

7.89 [FM 176d] an Elephant ... conceived s u c h an extreme inwarde griefe, t h a t he w o u l d never afterward touch any food ...

un elephant ... en print un deuil si extreme qu'il ne v o u l u t onques puis manger ...

7.90 [C LI] ... we have had s o small store of game t h a t all I could catch or come by, w o l d scant stretch to make a poore present to Mr Winwood.

7.91 [M 82A] They were then s o well beaten, a s they w o u l d neuer after offer to meddle with vs, till our returne by Carlingford.

WOULD HAVE:

7.92 [B 1.35v] yet when <u>Alexander Seuerus</u> refused the name, because he was a stranger to the familie, the Senate with one acclamation sayd, <u>Quomodo Augustus, sic & Antoninus.</u> In s u c h renowne and veneration was the name of these two Princes in those dayes, t h a t they w o u l d h a v e had it as a perpetuall addition in all the Emperours stile.

WOULD HAVE HAD, because the wish was not granted. 'They attempted to

make it a perpetual addition ...'

7.93 [C LI] for had she come no doubt there had growne s u c h an alliance t h a t the knot w o l d never h a v e ben untied without cutting:

WOULD HAVE follows the tense in the Main Clause, HAD GROWN, which is in

Apodosis.

SHALL:

7.94 [FM 176e] is it not oft seen, how some make Cats, Dogs and Hares s o tame, s o gentle, and s o milde, t h a t without harming one another they s h a l l live and continue together?

il nous advient ordinairement d'apprivoiser des chats, des chiens & des lievres ensemble:

7.95 [M Essex 35C] you must hide from them all purpose of establishing English gouernement, till the strength of the Irish be s o broken, t h a t they s h a l l see no safety but in your Maiesties protection.

7.96 [C L] but when he hath shewed his obedience and is come into Ireland he sayes he will tickle him with a letter, and s o lay the law to him, t h a t he s h a l l see there is nothing to be learned nor gotten there.

7.97 [C LXI] as long as Powles is so furnisht that yt affords whatsoever is stirring in Fraunce, and I can gather there at first hand to serve my turne sufficiently (saving for certain particulars) s o t h a t I s h a l l not neede to put you to trouble or paines.

SHOULD:

7.98 [LS 18.9] whether it were a thing of t h a t desert, t h a t a man s h o u l d employ much labour in repayring the same.
& an dignum, quod quis magno labore pensaret.

7.99 [B 2.13v] I doe finde strange thattthese times haue s o little esteemed the vertues of the times, a s t h a t the Writings of liues s h o u l d be no more frequent.
Tempora ista nostra haud nosse bona sua; cum tam rara sit commemoratio et conscriptio vitarum.

7.100 [FM 139a] These sentences of the Holy Ghost, doe s o lively and manifestly expresse, what I would maintaine, a s I s h o u l d neede no other proofe against such as ... would yeelde to his authority.
Ces sentenees du sainct esprit expriment si clairement & si vivement ce que je veux maintenir, qu'il ne me f a u d r o i t aucune preuve contre des gens qui se rendroient ... a son authorite.

7.101 [H 85E] nor any thing in s u c h wise aboundeth, t h a t as being superfluous, vnfruitfull, and altogether needlesse, wee s h o u l d thinke it no losse or daunger at all if we did want it.

7.102 [M 90D] yet aduising that hereafter no Countrey should s o absolutely bee passed, a s all the inhabitants s h o u l d depend vpon one man.

7.103 [C XXIV] Yt is much marvayled that this humor shold s o possesse him, t h a t not content with his first dosens and scores, he s h o l d thus⸴fall to huddle them up by halfe hundreds.

7.104 [C XLVII] which together with Lough-foile and the fort of Blackwater (yf they be well garrisoned and maintained) do s o pen and coape up Tiron, t h a t he s h o l d soone be brought aux dernier abbois:

Yet the idea that a result or effect is something enabled or permitted by its cause seems to be most frequent, and most Result Clauses, like most Purpose Clauses, are found with MAY or MIGHT.

MAY:

7.105 [LS 16.8] and bring thee to t h a t height of delights and
       riches, t h a t thou m·a·y e s t couer the earth with marble,
       and mightest not onely possess riches, but treade on them.
                eo deliciarum opumque perducat, ut terram marmoribus
       abscondas non tantum habere tibi liceat, sed calcare divitias.
[1620 'mayest' i& changed to 'mightest'.]

7.106 [HL 2K] certes, s u c h is the renowmed martiall prowes of
       the Romans, t h a t all nations of the world m a y ... abide
       them to report Mars ... to be the stockfather.
                Ea belli gloria est populo Romano, ut, cum suum,
       conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam & hoc
       gentes homanae patiantur.

7.107 [FM 155a] untill the Fish be s o neere, t h a t with a
       sodaine leape she m a y catch it.
                jusques à ce que ce petit poisson soit si prez d'elle
       que d'un saut elle puisse l'atraper.

7.108 [B 2.57v] There remayneth one parte of Iudgement of great
       excellencie, which to mine vnderstanding is s o sleightly
       touched, a s I m a y e report that also deficient.
                Superest artis judicandi appendix quaedam insignis,
       quam etiam desiderari statuimus.

7.109 [H 62E] when they are s o neere at hand t h a t easily they
       m a y be conceiued without any far remoued discourse:

7.110 [M Essex 36A] their foot are s o vnwilling to fight in battell
       or grosse, ... t h a t your Maiestie m a y be alwaies
       Mistresse of the champion Countries, which are the best parts of
       this Kingdome.

7.111 [M 49B] And s u c h was his forwardnesse, a s his Lordships
       seruants m a y without offence boldy say, they were a small
       part of this great action.

7.112 [C XLVII] Since, I receced yours of the 6th of this present,
       s o well stored in yt self, and s o well accompanied t h a t
       I m a y justly say of yt as the Spaniards do of some of theyre
       phrases and proverbes that they be hinchados, that is, with
       child:

7.113 [D 29] you say that they haue sent a letter and mynde to send a
       ship for xl wayes and after Reseyt therof they wyll send for
       therty more. I praye God that they maye s o do t h a t the
       gardener m a y e be clinged before wynter come,

MIGHT:

7.114 [HL 32L] s u c h was the good fortune, I beleeve, of the
       Romane people, t h a t thereby the raigne of Servius m i g h t
       continue the longer, and the cittie brought and setled in good
       order.
                fortuna, credo, populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servii
       regnum esset, constituique civitatis mores p o s s e n t.

'Possent' - the sense here lexically expressed in Latin that the result

is permitted or enabled.

7.115 [FM 193b] if it were s o deeply rooted, t h a t the
approaching and birth of evils m i g h t gainsay it.
            Si on la bastissoit si profonde que l'abort mesme et
la naissance des maus en fut a dire.

7.116 [FM 195c] if they could possibly adde any order or constancie
to a mans life, t h a t it m i g h t thereby be still
maintained in pleasure and tranquillitie ...
            S'ils pouvoient adjouster de l'ordre & de la constance
en un estat de vie qui se maintint en plaisir & en tranquillité

7.117 [B 2.49v] that the water might rise, s o a s shee m i g h t
come to it.
            ut surgentem laticem rostro p o s s e t attingere?

7.118 [C XXXVIII] This was the summe of his aunswer, but delivered
with s·u c h bravery and s o many words t h a t a man
m i g h t easilie perceue that ...

MIGHT HAVE:

7.119 [H 59E] Choice there is not, vnlesse the thing which we take to
be s o in our power t h a t we m i g h t h a u e refused
and left it.

Looked at in time from the point after the choice has been made - so

that the possibility of refusing the thing which has been chosen is in

the past.

        Result Clauses are distinguished from Purpose Clauses in that in

the negative MAY NOT/MIGHT NOT is replaced by CANNOT/COULD NOT.

CAN in Negative Result Clauses:

7.120 [B 2.43r] commanding s o ouer the medicine, a s the medicine
c a n n o t command ouer the disease:
            Ita superba imperantes medicinae, ut medicina non
amplius imperet morbo.

7.121 [FM 177e] for, it is s o composed and proportioned, t h a t
it c a n receive or admit n o manner of thing, but the Bird
that built it;
            car elle est composée & proportionée de maniere
qu'elle ne peut recevoir ny admettre autre chose que l'oiseau
qui l'a bastie: ·

7.122 [H 68C] For God hath shut their eyes t h a t they c a n n o t
see (Isaiah Ch.44 v.19)

7.123   [H 88D]   any man ... may haue thereby the light of his naturall
vnderstanding s o perfected t h a t the one being relieued
by the other, there c a n want n o part of needful instruc-
tion vnto any good worke which God himselfe requireth.

7.124   [M 45C]   I must acknowledge my weaknesse s u c h, a s I
c a n n o t fully apprehend his compleat worthinesse.

7.125   [C V]   In the meane time the state of Ireland stands in ylll
termes, for we are s o wholly possest with this ymaginarie
peace t h a t we c a n n o t attend yt

7.126   [D 25]   and now this season being s o ferr spent t h a t it
c a n n o t be letten

CAN in Negative Result Clause strengthened with POSSIBLY:

7.127   [FM 177e]   for, to all things else, it is s o impenetrable,
close and hard, t h a t n o t h i n g c a n p o s s i b l i e
enter in:
              car à toute autre chose elle est impenetrable, close
& fermée, tellement qu'il n'y p e u t rien entrer.

7.128   [H 54B]   ... things naturall ... do s o necessarily obserue
their certaine lawes, t h a t as long as they keepe those
formes which giue them their being, they c a n n o t
p o s s i b i l i e be apt or inclinable to do otherwise then
they do;

COULD in Negative Result Clauses:

7.129   [HL 22K]   for by the suddain and forcible charge of the horsemen,
the battel of the Sabines was s o broken, their rankes s o
disordered, t h a t they c o u l d n e i t h e r stand close
together to fight it out, nor yet spread themselves to flie,
without great slaughter and bloodshead.
              ab equitibus repente invectis turbati ordines sunt
Sabinorum, nec pugna deinde illis constare, nec fuga explicari
sine magna caede p o t u i t.

7.130   [FM 227d]   <u>What injustice of the Gods was s o great, a s they
c o u l d n o t be appeased, unlesse such men perished?</u>
              Quae fuit tanta Deorum iniquitàs, ut placari populo
Romano non p o s s i n t, nisi tales viri occidissent?

In these two translated examples, COULD translates POSSUM.

7.131   [M 49E]   which kept the rebels at home, s o a s they
c o u l d n o t second one another, for feare of loosing their
owne goods.

7.132   [M 88B]   our forces were s o disposed, a s they c o u l d
n o t escape without fighting with vs upon disaduantage to them.

7.133   [C LIII]   I told him what other imployments and busines withheld
you t h a t you c o u l d n o t attend such trinckets.

7.134 [D 38] I haue bene s o busyed about the disartinge his Lo:ᵖˢ
receipte, a s I c o u l d n o t be souner free therof then
this day in the fornoune

The change from MAY/MIGHT in non-negative to CAN/COULD in negative

result clauses is well illustrated in

7.135 [M 50D] This worthie Lord Deputie ... gaue them s u c h
delatory answers, a s m i g h t well hearten them in
obedience, but c o u l d no way strengthen their tyranny.ouer
the poore people.

COULD in Pseudo-Negative Result Clauses:

7.136 [HL 18H] they were s o astonied, t h a t unneath they
c o u l d well speake or freely take their wind
torpebat vox spiritusque

7.137 [M 23B] yet then it was all s o waste, s o a s the Rebell
c o u l d make little vse of it.

7.138 [M 45E] he vsed almost daily to cut it with his sizers, keeping
it s o low with his owne hand, t h a t it c o u l d scarce
bee discerned.

7.139 [M 51C] the worthy Generals of this age ... were s o wasted,
a s the best iudgements c o u l d hardly finde out any man
fit to command this Army in chiefe

7.140 [M 89A] with assurance that Spaine was s o intangled with the
warre of Savoy, a s the Irish Rebels c o u l d at this time
haue small succour thence.

CAN/COULD in Non-Negative Result Clauses:

7.141 [FM 159b] and put so many into the Jarre, that he made the Oyle
come up s o neare the brimme, a s he c o u l d easily
reach and licke some.
& en mit dans cette cruche jusques à ce qu'il eut
fait hausser l'huile plus pres du bord, où il la p u t attaindre.

7.142 [B 2.59r] in s o much a s Countreys and Prouinces, which
vnderstand not one anothers language, c a n neuerthelesse read
one anothers Writings.
Adeo ut gentes complures, linguis prorsus discrepantes,
sed huiusmodi characteribus consentientes scriptis communicent.

Here in both examples CAN/COULD has a stronger sense than possibility.

In 7.141 it is virtually physical ability, the use of COULD reflecting

POUVOIR in the French. In 7.142 CAN in the full sense of 'know how to',

though this is not reflected in the Latin translation.

7.143   [FM 245b] as no edge of man is s o piersant, a s it c a n
        passe into heaven, or dive into the earth.
                  ut nulla acies humani ingenii tanta sit, quae
        penetrare in caelum, terram intrare p o s s i t.

7.144   [B 2.43v] it is a vaine and flattering opinion, to think any
        Medicine can be so soueraigne, or s o happie, a s t h a t
        the Receit or vse of it, c a n worke any great effect vpon the
        bodie of man;
                  opinio fuerit magis blanda, quam vera, si quis
        existimet medicamentum aliquod tam potens aut felix fieri posse,
        ut usus eius simplex curationi alicui grandiori sufficiat.

In these two examples, though the result clause is non-negative, it is

dependent upon a negative or effectively negative main clause, in such

a way that the result clause expresses a negation; thus, man's edge

cannot penetrate into heaven, medicine cannot work any great effect on

the body of man.

COULD HAVE in Negative Result Clauses:

7.145   [M 26C] Neither did these gentle Vndertakers make any resistance
        to the Rebels, but left their dwellings, and fled to walled
        Townes; yea, when there was s u c h danger in flight, a s
        greater c o u l d not h a u e been in defending their owne.

7.146   [M 47E] for I haue heard himselfe professe, that being in his
        youth addicted to Popery, s o much a s through preiudicate
        opinion no Writer of our time c o u l d haue conuerted him
        from it, yet by obseruing the Fathers consent, and the
        Schoolemens idle and absurd distinctions, he began first to
        distaste many of their opinions ...

7.147   [M 89D] s o strengthened him, a s without great vnthankful-
        nesse, and popular obloquy, he c o u l d not h a u e beene
        questioned vpon this weake ground

7.145 the result is in the form of the apodosis of an unfulfilled

conditional, equivalent to 'if they had defended their own (which they

did: not) the danger in flight could not have been greater than in

defending their own'. This is also a possible interpretation of 7.146,

but it seems unlikely that there is here an implied conditional clause

with the sense 'if they had tried' for this would mean Mountjoy had in

mind personal debate with theological writers, or that he is distin-

guishing between writers of that time, and those when he was a youth.

I take it 'no writer of our time' to mean no protestant theologian and 'could convert' means by the force of argument in his books. Thus the PE equivalent would be 'no writer of our time could convert him from it' and that the form used by Moryson indicates that the possibility is in the past now, since Mountjoy is no longer a Papist. In 7.147, 'without great unthankfulness and popular obloquy' functions as a protasis, 'unless there had been etc, he could not have been questioned'.

The following is the only example of the use of MAY/MIGHT in a negative result clause.

7.148 [M 46C] as his meanes increased, so his Table was better serued, s o t h a t in his latter time, no Lord in <u>England</u> m i g h t compare with him in that kinde of bountie.

Negative Result Clauses are also introduced with BUT but only after negative main clauses, so that the real sense of the Result Clause is non-negative. After BUT we thus find MAY/MIGHT not CAN/COULD, though other modals also appear.

7.149 [FM 130a] there was neuer any s o factious ... but w o u l d in some sort conforme his behaviors and square his life unto it.
          il ne fust jamais partisan ... qui n'y conformast aucunement ses deportemens & sa vie.

7.150 [FM 206c] Take the best and strongest side, it shall neuer be s o sure, b u t you s h a l l haue occasion to defend the same, to close and combat a hundred and a hundred sides.
          Prenez le plus fameux party, il ne sera jamais si seur qu'il ne vous faille, pour le diffendre, attaquer & combattre cent & cent contraires partis.
('You will always have occasion to defend the same'.)

7.151 [H 61A] Whereupon it followeth, that there is no particular obiect s o good, b u t it m a y haue the show of some difficultie or vnpleasant qualitie annexed to it;

7.152 [H 88D] There is in scripture therefore no defect, b u t t h a t any man what place or calling soeuer hee holde in the Church of God, m a y haue thereby light of his maturall vnderstanding so perfected, that ...

7.153 [C II] but for ought I can learne the old mans case is not s o desperate b u t he m a y hold out another yeare well inough.
(The old man is well enough to hold out another year.)

It may be noted that the distinction in the formation of the negative clauses between Purpose and Result follows from the analysis already given in Chapter 4. A negative purpose clause with MAY/MIGHT expresses what another action is intended to forbid. A negative result clause expresses what another action or set of circumstances renders impossible. The occurrence of MAY NOT in the first and CANNOT in the second is therefore appropriate.

More generally we may notice that the same relationship holds between Purpose Clauses and Result Clauses as between not only the full meanings of CAN and MAY and their meanings as a mood of possibility, but also between WILL and SHALL in their full meanings and, as a future tense, and between obligation and necessity.

Result Clauses introduced by a Relative Pronoun, or SUCH ... AS used as a Relative

Like Purpose Clauses, Result Clauses are sometimes introduced by a relative pronoun. Here the Result Clause is the effect, not of the main clause as a whole, butoof the nature or quality of the antecedent. In Latin grammar such clauses are sometimes referred to as 'Relatives of Tendency'. As with the Purpose Clauses introduced by a relative, the Relative of Design, no separate classification is strictly called for in English, since the modal verbs in such relative clauses have the same meanings as elsewhere. However the sense of a result stemming from the particular nature of an antecedent is sometimes marked by the use of SUCH ... AS which is also found in full Result Clauses and seems closely related to the more usual SO ... AS, SO ... THAT of Result Clauses.

WOULD:

7.154 [M 75c] His Lordship protested that it was s u c h a place, as he knew the Earle w o u l d not seeke.

Which may be read as a re-formulation of the Result Clause, 'His

Lordship protested that it was so (humble) a place that he knew the

Earl would not seek it'. Here the object of the result clause has

become the connecting relative, expressed by AS. More commonly it is

the subject of the Result Clause that is provided by the relative, as

in

7.155 [FM 186b] otherwise ... we might peradventure forge and devise
      s u c h duties to our selves a s w o u l d induce us (as
      <u>Epicurus</u> saith) to endevour to destroy and devoure one another.
                  autrement ... nous forgerions en fin des devoirs qui
      nous mettroient à nous manger les uns les autres, comme dit
      Epicurus.

Here the relative construction is reproduced from the French, but the

sense that this relative clause refers to the result or outcome of the

devising of duties is due to the use of SUCH and AS, instead of 'devise

duties to ourselves which would induce us ...'.

WOULD HAVE:

7.156 [C XXIII] Upon Monday toward evening came newes (yet false)
      that the Spaniardes were landed in the yle of Wight, which bred
      s u c h a feare and consternation in this towne a s I w o l d
      litle h a v e looked for.

The expectation (or non-expectation) is now in the past, and this

cannot be indicated though the use of WOULD alone. 'As I would little

look for' suggests I would still generally expect a stout or stoic

response from Londoners to threatening news; but Chamberlaine is now

disillusioned.

SHOULD:

7.157 [FM 166b] even as if there were s o many strangers in a City,
      that s h o u l d either banish and expell all the naturall
      inhabitants thereof, or utterly suppresse their ancient power
      and authority ...
                  ny plus ny moins que si, en une cité, il y avoit si
      grand nombre d'estrangers qu'ils en missent hors les naturels
      habitans, ou esteignissent leur authorité & puissance ancienne ...

The French is expressed as a result, 'si grand nombre d'etrangers

qu'ils en missent'. This becomes a 'Relative of Tendency' in English

by the omission of an equivalent to the pronominal subject, that is,

instead of translating 'so many strangers that they should ...' 'they'

is omitted so that 'that' is taken as a subject relative pronoun with

'strangers' as the antecedent.

7.158 [M 34C] That they were confident to draw the warre into s u c h
a length, a s s h o u l d be vnsupportable to the State of
England.

7.159 [C XXXVIII] ýf yt had taken effect yt was only to prostrate
himself at her Majesties feet, and there manifest s u c h
matters against his ennemies a s s h o l d make them odious.

MAY:

7.160 [HL 13C] and in case yee shall elect a man of s u c h
qualitie, a s m a y be deemed worthie to succeed Romulus
si dignum, qui secundus ab Romulo numeretur crearitis.

'A man of such quality that he may be deemed'. 'As' here the relative

pronoun, standing as subject to the clause.

7.161 [B 1.25v] Another Error is in the manner of the tradition and
deliuerie of knowledge, which is for the most part Magistrall
and peremptorie; and not ingenuous and faithfull, in a sort,
a s m a y be soonest beleeued; and not easilest examined.
Similis error se ostendit in modo tradendi doctrinam,
qui, ut plurimum, est imperiosus et magistralis, non ingenuus et
liberalis, its demum compositus, ut potius fidem imperet, quam
ceexaminni subjiciatur.

In Latin, not a Relative of Tendency, but a Result Clause 'ita

compositus ut potius fidem imperet' 'so composed that it may rather

command faith ...' 'In a sort as may be soonest believed' (PE 'in a

manner which may be ...') with 'as' as a relative pronoun with 'sort'

as antecedent, and standing as the subject of the clause.

7.162 [FM 187d] It is they that store and supplie us with all
s u c h things a s m a y make us live happily and well.
ce sont elles qui, nous fournissent dequoy bien &
heureusement vivre.

7.163 [H 60D] Children which are not as yet come vnto those yeares
w h e r e a t they m a y have ... the vse of right reason to
guide themselues.

Equivalent to 'come to such years as they may have the use' and this in

turn to a result clause like 'are not so old that they may have ...'

7.164 [H 60E] In the rest there is that light of reason, w h e r e b y
good m a y be knowne from euill.

Equivalent to 'such light of reason that good may be known'.

7.165 [M 35B] they will furnish the rebels with all things t h a t
m a y arme them, or inable them against the State, or against
themselues.

7.166 [D 36] I shall take s u c h course wth him, for that p(ar)t
I stand for, a s m a y geue him content.

MIGHT:

7.167 [HL 37B] s o stately a Temple of Iupiter a s m i g h t
beseeme the soveraigne king of gods and men
          amplitudinem Iovis templi, quae digna deum Rominumque
rege ... esset

7.168 [FM 203c] they have strengthened and under-propped it with all
foraine helpes, t h a t m i g h t any way fit or stead her ...
          Ils ... l'ont appuyée & estanconnée de tout le
secours estranger qui luy a esté propre...

7.169 [H 84A] There are ... but a few ... free from all s u c h
affaires a s m i g h t trouble their meditations ... who haue,
and that very hardlie, beene able to finde out but onely the
immortalitie of the soule.

7.170 [M 14B] and their Lordships professed to doubt, that Tyrones
performance would not be s u c h a s m i g h t warrant this
act.

7.171 [M 33D] And that no traytor sought pardon, but vsed s u c h
insolent behauiour, a s m i g h t well shew they had no such
thought.

7.172 [C VI] and have left me to convay theyre letters and to write
you s u c h refuse newes a s peradventure m i g h t scape
them;

7.173 [C LX] the contents were indifferent to you both, only
ordinarie occurrents and s u c h a s m i g h t easilie be
parted between you.

COULD in Negative Clauses:

7.174 [H 83C] For they are either s u c h a s we of our selues
c o u l d e not easily haue found out,

7.175 [H 84C] together with s u c h supernaturall duties a s
c o u l d not possiblie haue beene otheruise knowne to the
worlde.

7.176 [C 77c] so that I was greatly distracted to supply all places,
w h e r b y I c o u l d not do my wife the honor (as was my
meaning) to conduct her some part of the way.

'I was so greatly distracted ... that I could not ...'

CAN is used in a non-negative clause of this kind where it clearly has its full meaning of power or ability.

7.177 [B 2.63r] to reserue them to selected Auditors; or wittes of s u c h sharpnesse as c a n pearce the vayle.
        Atque illi tantum admittantur, qui aut per manus magistrorum parabolarum interpretationem nacti sunt, aut proprio ingenii acumine et subtilitate intra vellum penetrare p o s s i n t.

MAY is retained in the following which I take to be a Result Clause of the same kind, equivalent to 'Is there such a place, that in it, his honourable acts ...'. The interrogative in the main clause has the force of a negative and the sense is 'Wherever it is, his honourable acts may save him'.

7.178 [HL 19E] For to what place can you lead this young gentleman, where his honourable acts m a y not save him from so unworthie and shamefull punishment.
        quo enim ducere hunc iuvenem potestis, ubi non sua decora eum a tanta foeditate supplicii vindicent.

SECTION 4 - COMPLEMENTARY PURPOSE CLAUSES

In purpose clauses of this kind, intended effect is not expressed through the subordinating link between the main clause and the clause of purpose, but through the verb in the main clause, to which the clause of purpose is the complement. The main clause no longer describes what is done with a particular intention in mind, but merely serves to introduce the intention.

The modal verbs which appear in complementary purpose clauses can be best examined according to the kinds of verb which introduce them.

1.   Verbs of absolute intention - verbs which will or ordain

2.   Verbs which offer an intention - verbs which promise or commit

3.   Verbs which request an intention - verbs which beg or demand.

These three kinds of verbs have differing deep structures:

1.

2.

3.
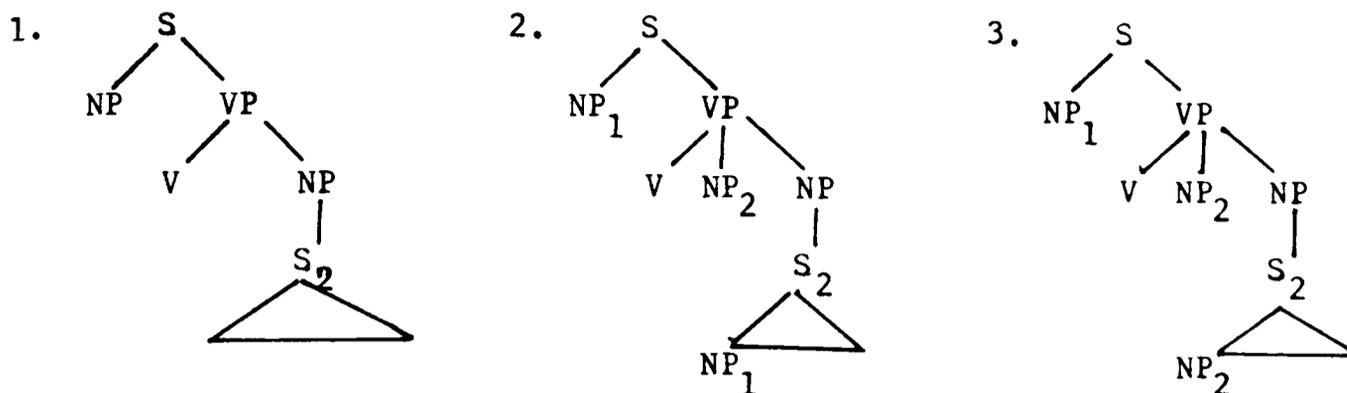
With verbs of the first type, verbs of willing or ordaining, there is

no indirect object. With verbs of the second kind, verbs of promise or

committal, there is an indirect object, and the subject of the verb of

promising is also the underlying subject of the S_2 (the promise itself).

It is not always the surface subject of course, as there will always be

a need to use sentences of the form 'A promises B that C will ...' which

presumably stands for 'A promises B that A will see to it that C ...'.

For this S_2 must be rewritten as
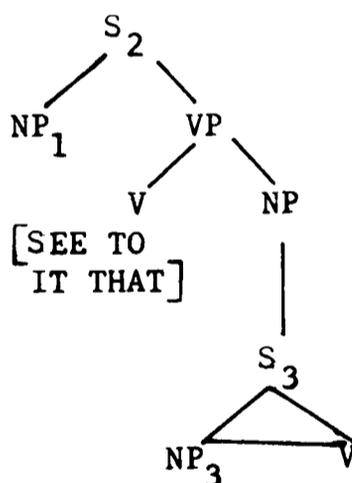
In verbs of type 3, verbs which beg or demand, the indirect object of

the verb is the underlying subject of S_2 (the request, prayer or demand),

though again, as with verbs of promising it may not always be the

surface subject - 'A begs B that C may', 'A begs B that B will see to

it that C may ...'

```
                    S
                  /  2\
                /      \
              /          \
            NP           VP
              2        /    \
                     /        \
                    V          NP
                [SEE TO         |
                 IT THAT]       |
                                |
                               S
                                3
                              /___\
                          NP
                            3
```
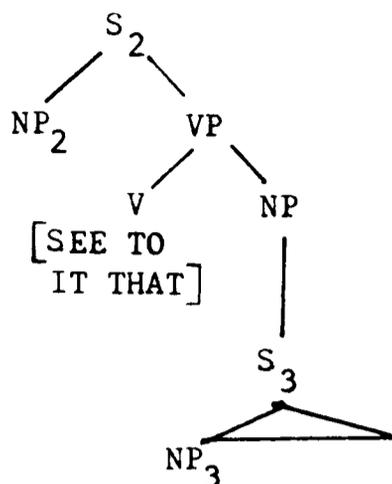
These differences between the deep structures of verbs of the second

and third kinds are clearly reflected in the readings which we give to

the surface forms

    2. He promised you to go

    3. He begged you to go.

1.   Verbs of Willing and Ordaining followed by SHALL or SHOULD

    SHALL is unusual in these texts since reported acts of command

are usually in the preterite.

7.179 [HL 12L] Tell the Romans that the will of the gods in heauen is, that my cittie of Rome   s h a l l   bee the head and cheefe of the whole world:
          Nuntia Romanis caelestes ita velle ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit.

SHOULD may follow the present,

7.180 [C LIII] You see I am willing you   s h o l d   know all, and more peradventure then I shall haue thancks for.

or preterite used as present,

7.181 [LS 1.5] yet I had rather thou   s h o u l d e s t   keepe thine owne ...
        Tu tamen malo serves tua

or the preterite or perfect,

7.182 [LS 4.7] 1620. Caius Caesar commanded that Lepidus   s h o u l d   present his neck to the Tribune Decimus
        Caius Caesar iussit Lepidum Decimo tribuno praebere cervicem

7.183 [HL 4K] But peace was concluded upon these tearms, That the river Albula, which now they call Tyberis,   s h o u l d   divide the Tuscanes from the Latines ...

Pax ita convenerat, ut Etruscis Latinisque fluvius
Albula, quem nunc Tiberim vocant, finis esset.

7.184 [HL 40G] The Tarquines ... willed the matter s h o u l d by
all possible means be caried so secret as might be ...
Tarquinii ... rem summa ope taceri iubent.

7.185 [FM 177a] But Gods decree hath been, that all the watrie
wildernesse s h o u l d be quiet and made calme ...
mais Dieu a voulu que toute la mer fut arrestée
affermie et aplanie ...

7.186 [FM 213d] His maide servant ... said unto him, that he
s h o u l d no more busie himselfe about it;
sa chambriere ... luy dit ... qu'il ne se penast plus
pour cela.

7.187 [B 1.7r] Cato ... gaue counsell in open Senate, that they
s h o u l d giue him his dispatch
Cato ... frequenti senatu auctor fuit ut ...
dimitterent hominem.

7.188 [B 1.41r] The Message imported, that they s h o u l d deliuer
vp their Armes, and submit themselues to the Kings mercy;
Legatio huc spectabat, ut, positis armis atque
deditis, se regiae clementiae submitterent

7.189 [H 52E] He gaue his decree vnto the sea, that the waters
s h o u l d not passe his commandment.

7.190 [H 74D] And by that lawe it was agreed, that he which being
ouercome with drinke did then strike anye man, s h o u l d e
suffer punishment double as much as if hee had done the same
being sober.

7.191 [M 38E] after short conference, it was concluded, that the next
day Commissioners, s h o u l d meete to treate of Peace.

7.192 [M 75E] ... the Lord Deputy wrote to Sir Arthur Chichester ...
that he s h o u l d not spare the subiects lately submitting
... that he s h o u l d receiue no more, but such as would
simply submit ... neither s h o u l d giue pay to any except ...

7.193 [M 95E] They further solicited by these letters for supplies of
victuals, munition and mony, and that the victuals and munition
s h o u l d be addressed some part to Dublin and Tredagh ...

This construction with SHOULD, from the nature of the subject matter,

is extremely frequent in Moryson.

7.194 [C XXXII] The Quene was very vehement the last weeke to disgrade
some of my Lord of Essex Irish knights, specially such as were
made after a certain letter she wrote that he s h o l d make
no more.

7.195 [D 21] I was forced to send my broth^r Arthers money to Naworth, and mayd use of yor name to John Read yor man to cary it, that it was yor pleasure he s h o u l d be sent therwth to my broth^r as from yo^w, if he came not by newcastle.

2.   Verbs of Promising

WILL/WOULD:

When the surface subject of the complementary clause has the same

reference as the subject of the verb of promising.

7.196 [M 10D] After he was imprisoned ... and within few daies, againe inlarged; with promise that the Lord Deputy himselfe w o u l d go to settle him in his countrey of Monaghan.

7.197 [M 14E] Tyrone ... promised the Treasurer at warres, Sir Henrie Wallop, that he w o u l d continue his Alleageance to the Queene.

7.198 [M 22B] promising ... there should be no impediment giuen to her Maiesties Ministers ... yea, that for a poore token of his humblest duty, hee w o u l d voluntarily giue to the hands of the Captaine fortie Beeues ...

SHALL/SHOULD:

When the surface subject of the complementary clause has a different

reference from the subject of the verb of promising.

7.199 [M 58B] ONeale requesteth you to come speake with him, and doth giue you his word that you s h a l l receiue no harme.

7.200 [HL 8K] But Romulus himselfe in person went from one to another ... promising nevertheless that they s h o u l d bee linked in lawfull wedlocke.
              Sed ipse Romulus circumibat docebatque ... illas tamen in matrimonio ... fore;

7.201 [M 9D] These he promised to performe vpon his honour before the Lords in England, and that his pledges to be put in, s h o u l d lie for performance of them, to his power.

7.202 [M 22B] promising that for the time of this cessation, there s h o u l d be no impediment giuen to her Maiesties Ministers bringing victuals to Blackwater Fort.

7.203 [M 18D] hee vndertooke that with all speede the Pledges s h o u l d be sent to Dublin.

7.204 [M 76C] besides that he and their Fathers protested, that their danger s h o u l d not hinder them from doing their vttermost seruice to the Queene.

7.205 [C XXXII] for I remember that upon a word cast out by myself at the first mention of yt, he protested that no respect s h o u l d carrie him beyond his conscience.

7.206 [D 30] his Lord was carefull for him and left word that he s h o u l d lack nothinge at is departur from delfe.

3.   Verbs of Begging or Demanding

The pattern for verbs of begging and demanding may be set out as

follows:

> i) A begs B that A may
>
> ii) A begs B that B will
>
> iii) A begs B that C may/shall.

The appropriateness of these modals is clear if we expand, remembering

that B is the deep subject of the complementary clause.

> A begs B that B permits that A
>
> A begs B that B will
>
> A begs B that B permits that C
>
>   ordains that C

or, to return to the tree already given for verbs of begging and

demanding

With case ii) 'A begs B that B will ...' S_2 can be rewritten

where the identical reference of the subject nouns of S_2 and S_3 mean

that this corresponds to the deep structure for WILL. However in case

i) 'A begs B that A ...' we have:

```
              S
            /  2 \
           /      \
         N         VP
          2       /   \
               /       \
             V           NP
                          |
                         S
                          3
                        /____\
                      N
                       1
```
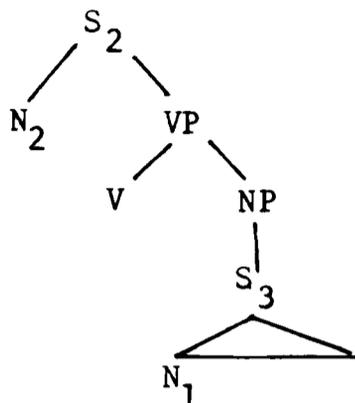
which admits SHALL and MAY for V but not WILL.

Many verbs can be used both as verbs of willing and ordaining and

as verbs of begging and demanding, so that the modal used in the

complementary clause may establish the force of the verb. Thus in

Moryson,

7.207 [M 90D] her Maiesty wished that hee would conceale this his
       desire for a time

reports a letter from the Queen to Montjoy. It implies a request from

the Queen 'she wished him, that he would ...'. With 'her Majesty

wished that he should conceal this his desire for a time' the word

'wish' would have to be read as a verb of ordaining.

i) MAY/MIGHT

When the surface subject of the complementary clause has the same

reference as the subject of the verb of begging or demanding.

MAY:

7.208 [B 2.24r] And heere I will make a request, that for the latter
       (or at least for a parte thereof) I m a y reviue and
       reintegrate the misapplyed and abused Name of NATVURALL MAGICKE.

7.209 [H 49A] Behold therefore we offer the lawes whereby we liue
       vnto the generall triall and iudgement of the whole world,
       hartely beseeching Almightie God ... that both we and others ...
       m a y haue eyes to see, and harts to embrace the things that in
       his sight are most acceptable.

7.210 [D 16] Good Sir I becich yow to be pleased to knowe the cause
of this, and that I m a y have this 42^{li} 10^s retorned me soe
soone as possably may be.

7.211 [M 45D] I ... therefore desire ... that with others, to whom
his Lordship was lesse knowne, my rude Pen m a y not derogate
any thing from his due praise.

All these examples are with the first person in both clauses

(effectively so in 7.211) but this seems to be accidental.

MIGHT:

7.212 [HL 12L] as I stood all quaking for feare, readie to worship
him, and humblie beseeching that I m i g h t behold him face
to face:
cum perfusus horrore venerabundusque adstitissem,
petens precibus, ut contra intueri f a s e s s e t.

7.213 [FM 214c] Eudoxus wished, and praid to the Gods, that he
m i g h t once view the Sunne neere at hand.
Eudoxe souhetoit & prioit les Dieux qu'il p e u t
une fois voir le soleil de pres.

7.214 [M 7D] In an Irish Parliament he put vp his petition, that by
vertue of the letters Patent granted to his Grand-father, to his
Father & his heires, he m i g h t there have the place and
title of Tyrone, and be admitted to this his inheritance.

7.215 [M 83D] Sir Henrie Dauers came vnto his Lordship, and desired
he m i g h t take twentie of his owne horse to fall into the
Rere.

ii)   WILL/WOULD

When the surface subject of the complementary clause has the same

reference as the indirect object of the verb of begging or demanding.

WILL:

7.216 [M 45C] I ... therefore desire, that those of greater iudgement
to discerne the same, will impute all defects to the
vnskilfulnes of the workeman.

Here 'those of greater judgement' are to be understood as those to whom

the desire is directed, so that the sentence could be rewritten 'I ...

therefore desire those of greater judgement to discern the same, that

they will impute ...'.

WOULD:

7.217 [HL 10K] Beseeching their owne fathers on the one side, and
their husbands on the other, that they, being fathers and sonnes
in law, w o u l d not embrew themselues with so unkind and
:unnaturall bloudshead ...
            hinc patres, hinc viros orantes, ne se sanguine
nefando soceri generique respergerent.

7.218 [HL 12I] With earnest praier beseeching him of his grace, that
he w o u l d vouchsafe to be propice, and save their ofspring
and posteritie for ever.
            pacem precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam
semper sospitet progeniem.

7.219 [M 11E] intreated the Lords ... that their Lordships w o u l d
approue of his match with the Marshals sister.

7.220 [M 53C] he wrote to Master Secretarie from Daintrie, intreating
him, that ... he w o u l d moue her Maiestie to giue him power,
to retaine one or two thousand in Lyst, of those English, which
otherwise he was to cast.

7.221 [C XXX] the avoyding wherof must only be imputed to God and her
Majesties clemencie, upon an humble letter he wrote the night
before he was to appeare, that she w o l d be pleased to let
that bitter cup passe from him.

A letter, that is, begging the Queen. 'Would be pleased' is a formula

(as the following examples from the Delaval letters suggest) but WOULD

is determined by the syntax and 'would be pleased to let' a polite

expansion of 'would let'.

7.222 [D 12] good S^r as I was a sutor unto yow in my last letter so
in this I must persist that yow w o u l d be pleassed to let
me haue my annuety for whitsontyde next to be sent me vp to be
heare against the begininge of Aprill.

7.223 [D 52] My request to you therefore is that you w o u l d be
pleased to send me the remande of that money which is due to me.

The following example illustrates in a single grammatical complex the

conditions that call for both WOULD and MIGHT.

7.224 [D 13] I would humbly intreate that you w o u l d be pleased
that I m i g h t haue my xx^{li} for my halfe yeares Annuety due
at this Martinmas next comming to be retorned against y^e
begining of Michaelmas tearme.

iii) SHOULD/MAY/MIGHT

Where the surface subject of the complementary clause has a different reference from that of either the subject or the indirect object of the verb of begging or demanding we find (SHALL)/SHOULD when the person begged is to ordain, MAY/MIGHT when the person begged is to permit. There is no example from the corpus with SHALL. 7.225 below illustrates various constructions.

SHOULD/MIGHT:

7.225 [M 15C] His humble petitions were, that hee and his m i g h t be pardoned, and haue free exercise of Religion granted ... That the Marshall s h o u l d pay him one thousand pounds for his dead Sisters, his wiues portion. That no Garrisons nor Sheriffes s h o u l d be in his Country. That his Troope of fiftie horse in the Queenes pay m i g h t be restored to him. And that such as had preyed his Country m i g h t make restitution.

Tyrone petitions the Commissioners. Tyrone is then the subject of the verb of begging. Tyrone petitions the Commissioners that the Commissioners permit Tyrone to be pardoned; that they ordain that the Marshal pay him, that they ordain that no Garrisons are to be in his country; that they permit his troops to be restored to him; that they permit such as had preyed his country to make restitution.

MAY:

7.226 [D 26] that you wyll do your best to persuayd him that the deche m a y be cast downe

7.227 [D 29] I praye God that they m a y e so do that the gardener may be clinged before wynter come

MIGHT:

7.228 [H 55D] our Sauiour ... did not teach to pray or wish for more than onely that here it m i g h t be with vs, as with them it is in heauen.

7.229 [M 10C] But still he delaied and put off the performance, by letters vnto both States intreating that equall security m i g h t be taken of Sir Tyrlogh Lynnogh

7.230 [M 14E] The Lord Deputy ... in his letters to the Lords in England had let fall a request, that some old experienced Commander m i g h t be sent ouer to him

7.231 [M Eliz. 39D] for the which purpose, you did importune with great earnestnesse, that all manner of prouisions m i g h t be hastned to <u>Dublin</u> against your returne.

7.232 [M 102D] they besought their Lordships that victuals and munition m i g h t with all possible speed be sent thither out of <u>England</u>

7.233 [C XXXI] and requested that Mr Edmunds m i g h t be sent over to informe and satisfie her Majestie.

<u>SECTION 5 - CONDITIONALS</u>

Like sentences expressing purpose and result, conditional sentences consist of two related clauses. The conditional sentence contains the Condition, or Protasis; and the Consequence, or Apodosis. In some ways then the conditional sentence resembles the sentence expressing a result, with this difference: that in a result sentence both clauses may be indicative, and the clause expressing cause will always be in the indicative, whereas, whatever the grammatical representation, neither clause of an ordinary conditional strictly asserts the proposition it contains.

Thus whereas the modal verbs occur in both purpose and result clauses frequently and help to mark the nature of the relationship of these clauses to the main clause, but do not have any special part to play in the main clauses themselves, in conditionals the modal verbs are capable of playing a part directly connected with conditionality in both protasis and apodosis, though they function differently in each.

The Protasis in a conditional sentence is the subordinate clause. Its verb is frequently in the subjunctive. Sometimes it is constructed without a finite verb. Here the role of the modal system is similar to that played in subordinate adverbial clauses, or in noun clauses; SHALL/SHOULD in employed to mark subordination.

The Apodosis is the main clause, but as it does not assert the proposition it contains, the indicative tenses of the verb are not

strictly appropriate to it. However since the fulfilment of the apodosis is guaranteed - though only by the fulfilment of the protasis - it is particularly suited to the modality of expectation, found in WILL and SHALL.

There is great variety in the forms of conditional sentences, and this Section does not pretend to be a complete study of conditional sentences within the corpus. There are at this period of the language many conditionals without a modal verb in either protasis or apodosis. In order to avoid extensive listing here of non-modal conditionals, a single example of each kind is given with the total number of occurrences found in the texts that make up the corpus.

In order to arrange the exemplification of the modal uses, the following pattern of tenses has been assumed, although as the non-modal examples show, almost any combination of tenses in protasis and apodosis can be found.

	Protasis	Apodosis
1.	Present Sequence Present Subjunctive	Present Indicative
2.	Preterite Sequence Preterite Subjunctive	Preterite Indicative
3.	Pluperfect Sequence HAD + Past Participle (Pluperfect Subjunctive)	HAD + Past Participle (Pluperfect Indicative)

Any modal verb in its full meaning may appear in protasis or apodosis, but the use of modal verbs to indicate the conditional structure can be set out as follows.

	Protasis	Apodosis
1.	SHALL	WILL, SHALL
2.	SHOULD	WOULD, SHOULD
3.	(SHOULD HAVE) see Examples 7.400 and 7.401 and ensuing discussion	WOULD HAVE, SHOULD HAVE

CONDITIONAL SENTENCES WITHOUT MODALS

Apodosis in Present Indicative

       Protasis unmarked for Mood   20

7.234 [FM 240b] if beasts frame any Gods unto themselves (as likely
     it is they doe) they surely frame them like unto themselves ...
            si les animaux se forgent des dieus, comme il est
     vray-sembable qu'ils facent, ils les forgent certainement de
     mesme eux ...

       Protasis in Present Subjunctive   82

7.235 [B 1.9v] If it make men positiue and reguler, it teacheth them
     what thinges are in their nature demonstratiue, & what
     coniecturall.
            Esto etiam, animos efficiunt magis pertinaces, et
     difficiles; at simul docent, quae res demonstrationibus, quae
     conjecturis innituntur

       Protasis in Present Indicative   3

7.236 [FM 141e] If that which we have not seene, is not, our
     knowledge is wonderfull abridged.
            Si ce que nous n'avons pas veu, n'est pas, nostre
     sciance est merveilleusement racourcie:

All three examples from Florio-Montaigne and all translating an indica-

tive present in protasis in French.

       Protasis in Present Perfect, where marked for mood, Subjunctive 9

7.237 [B 2.34r] if they haue once admitted a doubt, it goeth euer
     after Authorized for a doubt.

       Protasis in Preterite   6

7.238 [M 88A] This is a pleasant towne for a seate, if the inhabitants
     were suitable.

Apodosis in Preterite, where marked for mood, Subjunctive

       Protasis in Present Subjunctive   4

7.239 [C XXXI] If anything come of it, there were never men plaide
     theire game better then the Hollanders.

       Protasis in Preterite   26

7.240 [M 88B] And if neither fell out, then his Lordship purposed to
     plant a Garrison.

Apodosis in Preterite Indicative

    Protasis in HAD + Past Participle   5

7.241 [M 73A] in prescribing that course, which had it been followed, was the onely way to have reduced that Realme.

Apodosis in HAD + Past Participle

    Protasis in HAD + Past Participle   11

7.242 [LS 6.6] Cleanthes had neuer expressed Zeno had he onely heard him:

        Zenonem Cleanthes non expressisset, si eum tantummodo audisset.

1.   PRESENT SEQUENCE

Present Subjunctive in Protasis

    WILL in Apodosis, translating or translated by Future Tense:

7.243 [LS 17.9] And if he haue wherewith to weare out and prolong the same he w i l l take it in good part, and w i l l no further endeuour himselfe, but for those things that are necessarie:
        si vero exiguum fuerit & angustum, quo possit vita produci: id boni c o n s u l e t, nec ultra necessaria sollicitus aut anxius.

7.244 [LS 20.11] I know not sayest thou how this man w i l l beare his pouertie, if he fall into the same; neyther know I saith Epicurus, if this poore man w i l contemne his riches if he fall on them.
        Nescio, inquis, quomodo iste paupertatem l a t u r u s sit, si in illam inciderit. Nescio, inquit Epicurus, an pauper iste c o n t e m p t u r u s sit divitias sin in illas inciderit.

7.245 [B 1.42r] For if a mans minde, be deepely seasoned with the consideration of the mortalitie and corruptible nature of thinges, hee w i l l easily concurre with Epictetus ...
        S i enim animus cuiuspiam, contemplatione mortalitatis, et rerum naturae corruptibilis imbutus fuerit et intinctus, iuxta cum Epicteto s e n t i e t;

7.246 [B 2.63v] For if the Field bee kept, and the summe of the Enterprize pursued, those smaller things w i l l come in of themselues;
        Etenim si quis in acie sit superior, et summae belli sedulo incumbat, minora illa loca ultro se s u b m i t t e n t:

7.247 [FM 201e] I am perswaded, if he speake in conscience, he w i l l confesse that ...
        Je croy qu'il me confessera, s'il parle en conscience, que ...

7.248   [FM 205c] If by a certaine judgement, you say that you cannot
tell, they w i l l maintaine that you can tell.
         Si, par certain jugement, vous tenez que vous n'en
scavez rien, ils vous m a i n t i e n d r o n t que vous le
scavez.

WILL in Apodosis from Non-Translated Texts

7.249   [C IV] in which space yf the States do not repay the mony she
hath disbursed for them, he upon those townes w i l l see her
satisfied.

7.250   [C VI] but yt is thought yf the warre go forward, that the
Quene, with the States consent w i l l translate that garrison
to Armew.

7.251   [C VIII] yf yt bringe any thinge with yt worth the writing I
w i l l not faile you:

7.252   [C XVI] wher[in] yf he be not prevented, he w i l l sone begger
both the Hollanders and us.

7.253   [C XXVI] Yt may be we feare the French w i l l fall in with
the States yf we leave them in this extremitie:

7.254   [C XXXII] Mrs Elizabeth Russell lies at the last cast and is
either dienge or dead ... yf she go, she w i l l mend the new
brides marriage.

7.255   [C XL] Yf you direct your letters either to my lodging or to
Mr John Nortons they w i l l finde me out.

7.256   [C XLVII] ... two pretty ships went ... to seeke the north-west
passage to the Indies, which yf yt hit right w i l l be a
matter of great importaunce.

7.257   [C L] and yf she come to Portesmouth yt is thought greater
personages w i l l go to see and dive into her.

7.258   [C L] Here is speach that the plague shold be in Ostend, which,
yf yt cease not the sooner w i l l soone make an end of that
siege.

7.259   [C LIII] To which end and your owne goode, yf you sometimes
furnish me with such toyes as you thincke fit yt w i l l not
be amisse.

7.260   [C LIII] You see how bold a beggar I am, but yt is upon
confidence you w i l l alwayes use me as boldly, yf ever yt
come to my turne to stand you in stead.

7.261   [C LVI] Yf Mr Winwood be still with you I know you w i l l
make him partaker of this, and whatsoever els of any worth comes
from me to your hands.

7.262   [C LXII] yf all be true that is reported yt w i l l prove the
greatest prize that ever I heard of.

SHALL in Apodosis translating/translated by Future Tense

For examples from Lodge-Seneca see 3.40, 3.41.

7.263 [HL 4Q⁴] if thou once speake thou s h a l t surely die
                M o r i e r e, si emiseris vocem

7.264 [B 1.19r] But then if a man be to haue any vse of such knowledge
       in ciuile occasions ... Then s h a l l he finde it prepared to
       his hands in those Authors, which write in that manner.
                Si quis tamen doctrinam ad usus civiles adhibeat ...
       omnia, quae cupiat, praeparata et adornata in huiusmodi
       auctoribus r e p e r i e t

7.265 [B 1.41r] and if we yeeld vp our Armes, how s h a l l we make
       vse of our Vertue?
                si igitur arma dedamus, cui usui obsecro, nobis
       e r i t virtus?

7.266 [FM 164b] for, if they be removed from out their kennell, him
       that she first brings thither againe, s h a l l alwaies prove
       the best;
                comme, si on les emporte hors de leur giste, le
       premier qu'elle y rapportera, s e r a tousjours le meilleur;

7.267 [FM 206d] If it be lawfull for Panaecius to maintaine his judge-
       ment ...: Wherefore s h a l l not a wiseman dare that in all
       things, which this man dareth in such as he hath learned of his
       Masters?
                S'il est loisible à Panaetius de soutenir son
       jugement ... pour quoi un sage n' o s e r a il en toutes
       choses ce que cetuicy ose en celles qu'il a aprinses de ses
       maistres.

SHALL in Apodosis, from Non-Translated Texts

7.268 [C IX] They make him aunswer that if he be the man, he
       s h a l l not want maintenaunce nor theire mediation, but if he
       be not, he must look for that he deserves.

7.269 [C XXV] Yf any thing fall out worth the writing you s h a l l
       heare of me next weeke;

7.270 [C XXX] and lie at the Lord Chamberlaines, or the Lord Cobhams,
       whose mariage is thought liekwise s h a l b e then consummated,
       yf yt be not don already

7.271 [C XLIX] Yf God do call her I s h a l l thincke this a dismall
       unluckie yeare to loose my woman-frends so fast,

Present Form Modals in Protasis

SHALL

7.272 [HL 17E] If they s h a l l first goe backe and faile therein
       by publicke consent, and fraudulently; that day, O Iupiter,
       smite thou the citie of Rome.

> Si prior d e f e x i t publico consilio, dolo malo;
> tum illo die, Iuppiter, populum Romanum sic ferito.
> (defexit - optative, archaic form only found in ritual contexts as here)

7.273 [HL 19B] IF HE S H A L APPEALE FROM THE DUUMVIRS, LET HIM TRAVERSE HIS APPEALE
> Si a duumviris provocarit, provocatione certato.
> (provocarit, presumbly read as future subjunctive)

7.274 [B 2.33v] wherein if I haue differed from the ancient, and receiued doctrines, and thereby s h a l l moue contradiction; for my part, as I affect not to dissent, so I purpose not to contend;
> Qua in re si a priscis et receptis opinionibus
> discesserimus, eoque nomine contradicendi ansam cuiquam
> p r a e b u e r i m u s; quod ad nos attinet, ut dissentiendi
> studium longe a nobis abest, ita etiam et contendendi consilium.
> (discesserimus - translating 'have differed', by perfect subjunctive;
> praebuerimus - translating 'shall move' by future subjunctive.)

7.275 [FM 192a] And if a man s h a l l tell me, that the commoditie to have the appetite cold to griefes ... drawes this incommoditie after it ... It is true.
> Et, si on me d i t que la commodité d'avoir le
> goust froid & mousse aux douleurs & aux maux, tire aprea soy
> cette incommodité ... cela est vray;

7.276 [M 8A] And therefore, if in this new imployment any s h a l l thinke that he followed this counsell, seeking to make it a preferment to him and his family, I doe not much marvell thereat.

7.277 [M 22C] Thirdly, if any during the Truce s h a l l breake into Rebellion, he promiseth not to aid them.

In all these examples, it seems possible to replace Protasis with SHALL

by Protasis with present subjunctive without change of meaning.

WILL in Protasis

7.278 [C IX] Others say he may have yt yf he w i l l, but because there is a course spoken of somwhat to geld and curtall yt he refuseth to accept yt unles he may have yt whole and unmaimed.

7.279 [C XLIX] but let them brabble and fight yt out yf they w i l l, so we continue frends.

7.278, 7.279 in sense of wish or want.

7.280 [C XLI] and if you w i l l do as much for me to Mr Winwood I have no more to say at this time but God save you.

7.281 [C XLIX] Yf you w i l l do so much for me to Mr Winwod, I will commend you to the protection of the Almighty.

7.282 [C LIV] the dwarfe Daniell must follow or is alredy gon to trie yt out to the utterance yf the Scottish king thincke fit, and w i l l give them campo libero

7.280, 7.281, 7.282 WILL with sense of willingness.

7.283 [C II] and yf nothing els w i l l take, reserve that course for <u>ultimum refugium</u> at a dead lift.

WILL with sense of characteristic behaviour.

In all these examples WILL has a full meaning and is not like SHALL equivalent to a present subjunctive.

WILL in Protasis appears to be confined to Chamberlaine (but see 3.39 for an example from Lodge-Seneca). Chamberlaine never uses SHALL in Protasis.

CAN in Protasis (Non-Negative)

7.284 [C III] but he will not go yf he c a n possiblie avoyde it.

7.285 [C XVIII] yet I have got you a transcript of yt that you may picke out the offence yf you c a n;

7.286 [C XXVII] makes account to be gon towards Satterday or Sonday ... so that yf you have any minde to the jorny, and c a n be redy in time ... you have all the helpe I can afoord you.

7.287 [C XXXI] the whole army sat downe at Nieuport, whence yf they c a n dispatch quickly they meane to besiege Dunkerke.

7.288 [C XLVI] Yf I c a n learne what: yt was you shall have yt in my next.

7.289 [C XLVI] excuse me to him till the next weeke when he shall heare of me yf I c a n light upon anything worth the sending.

7.290 [C XLVI] Yet yf you c a n bethincke or advise any better course, wherin I can do any goode, in goode faith I will adventure that for your sake that I will not do for hers.

7.291 [C XLVIII] and hath geven her promise to stand out no longer yf she c a n be resolved of one point.

Again all examples from Chamberlaine. As already noticed in Chapter 4 in Protasis CAN is often used in non-negative constructions where the sense is possibility rather than ability.

MAY in Protasis

7.292 [LS 19.1] Withdraw thy selfe, if thou m a y e s t from these busie affaires, or if thou canst not forcibly deliuer thy selfe... Si p o t e s, subduce te istis occupationibus; si minus eripe.

7.293 [C XX] Sir Samuell Bagnoll hath don some small service in Ireland, at leastwise yf that m a y be called a service to defend himself when he was assaulted by the ennemie.

7.294 [C LVII] all is to entertain the time, and win her to stay here yf yt m a y be.

7.295 [M Eliz. 39C] And finding now by your letters by <u>Cuffe</u>, a course more strange, if stranger m a y be.

7.292 the contrast with 'if thou canst not' seems to account for MAY.

In 7.293 the sense is perhaps 'if it is permitted' rather than 'if it is possible'. 7.294 and 7.295 exhibit the avoidance of CAN when the verb is BE, used absolutely.

2.   <u>PRETERITE SEQUENCE</u>

Preterite Subjunctive in Protasis

> WOULD in Apodosis

> > A. Resulting from tense shift in reporting a conditional of

> > > Present Sequence; IF + Present Subjunctive - (THEN) WILL

7.296 [HL 29B] both for that the king, if he lived still, w o u l d be a more sharp revenger of the murder, than a privat person:
        & quia gravior ultor caedis, si superesset, rex
futurus erat quam privatus:

Occurring in narrative, reporting the consideration 'If the king live

still, he will be a more sharp revenger ...'.

7.297 [B 1.40r] whereto <u>Caesar</u> sayd, <u>That if hee did not desist, hee
w o u l d   laye him dead in the place:</u>
            Si perstes, inquit, mortuus es.

The Latin version puts into direct speech, 'If you do not desist, you

are dead'. The English supposes Caesar's actual words were 'If thou

dost not desist, I will lay thee dead'.

7.298 [M 18E] And that <u>Odonnel</u> before his comming had giuen answere, that if the King sent an Army, he w o u l d take his part, and hoped the like of the other Irish.

Odonnel's words: 'If the King send an Army, I will take his part, and

hope the like of the other Irish'.

7.299 [M 76A] praying that ... the Army might by all meanes be strengthened, which w o u l d be necessary if such assistance were sent, and w o u l d make an end of the warres if none were sent.

The original prayer, 'that the Army may by all means be strengthened,

which will be necessary if such assistance be sent, and will make an

end of the wars if none be sent.

7.300 [D 51] and if I would not then he w o u l d sue me

Reporting 'if you will not, then I will sue you'.

> B. When the condition is an imaginary or projected one this form
>
> is little more than a stylistic variant, rendering the premise
>
> more remote from real possibility. Thus in the next example,
>
> a literal translation of the Latin, which has present subjunc-
>
> tive in the protasis and future in the apodosis, would be 'If
>
> wisdom itsèlf be given me, upon this condition to conceal it,
>
> ... I will refuse the same'.

7.301 [LS 6.4] If wisedome it selfe w e r e giuen men vpon condition to conceale it, and not to publish it, I w o u l d refuse the same.
> si cum hac exceptione detur sapientia ut illam
> inclusam teneam nec enuntiem, reiciam.

7.302 [B 2.5v] For as the proficience of learning consisteth much in the orders and institutions of Vniversities, in the same States & kingdoms: So it w o u l d bee yet more aduanced, if there w e r e more Intelligence Mutual betweene the Vniversities of Europe, then now there is.
> Quemadmodum enim doctrinarum progressio, haud parum in
> prudenti regimine et institutione academiarum singularum
> consistit; ita magnus ad hoc cumulus accedere possit, si
> academiae universae per totam Europam sparsae, arctiorem
> conjunctionem et necessitudinem contraherent.

This differs only in confidence from 'so it will be yet more advanced,

if there be more intelligence mutual between the Universities of Europe,

than now there is'.

7.303 [B 2.56v] for certainely, if a childe w e r e continued in a Grotte or Caue, vnder the Earth, vntill maturitie of age, and came suddainely abroade, hee w o u l d haue strange and absurd Imaginations;
> Siquidem si quis ... a prima infantia, in antro aut
> caverna obscura et subterranea ad maturam usque aetatem degeret,
> et tunc derepente in aperta prodiret, et hunc coeli et rerum
> apparatum contueretur, dubium non est, quin animum eius subirent
> et perstringerent quam plurimae mirae et absurdissimae phantasiae.

The difference between the conditional here and 'if a child be continued in a Grot ... he will have' is that the latter seems to propose the experiment, referring it to future trial. Bacon's tenses indicate that the condition is purely speculative.

7.304 [FM 245e] That what we have said, is true, we w o u l d be
       assured of it, h a d we but the confirmation of some oracle,
       to confirme it.
                 Que ce que nous avons dict, soit vrai, nous en
       assurerions, si nous avions sur ce la confirmation d'un oracle;

'We will be assured of it if we have the confirmation of some oracle' would imply the possibility of future provision of confirmation. The preterite tenses used here imply only that there is presently no such confirmation.

C. Where the condition is not fulfilled, and this non-fulfilment

     is an obvious and inherent part of the situation in which the

     conditional sentence is being uttered.

     Non-Negative Protasis

7.305 [B 1.38v] <u>Surely, I w o u l d accept these offers w e r e I
       as Alexander: ... So w o u l d I, w e r e I as Parmenio</u>
                 Ego, inquit, si essem Alexander, acciperem ... et ego
       quidem, si essem Parmenio.

7.306 [LS 18.2] If I h a d thee heere, I w o u l d willingly
       inquire of thee, what ...
                 si te hic haberem, libenter te cum conferrem quo ...

7.307 [M 71E] which rather then he would lose, he w o u l d if
       Christianity and Charity d i d permit, first teare his heart
       out of his breast, with his owne hands.

WOULD is here perhaps part of the construction with RATHER, and the

whole sentence is in the preterite of reported speech, but the actual

words used must surely be 'If Christianity and Charity did permit, I

would tear my heart out of my breast', it being known and accepted that

Christianity and Charity do not permit such behaviour.

7.308 [C VII] Yf he w e r e not at home I know he w o l d send
       you many thancks.

7.309   [C LIV] but that I had a desire to salute Mr Winwod, and tell him what is spoken of his succeding Mr Gilpin: wherin no doubt his presence w o l d carry yt from all the concurrents yf he w e r e here;

        Negative Protasis

7.310   [B 1.37r] W e r e I not Alexander, I w o u l d wish to be Diogenes.
                Nisi essem, inquit, Alexander, optarem esse Diogenes.

7.311   [B 2.2r-v] So this excellent liquor of knowledge, ... w o u l d soone perishe and vanishe to oblyuion, if it w e r e not preserued in Bookes, Traditions, Conferences, and Places appoynted, ...
                Similiter liquor iste scientiae pretiosissimus, ... mox periret omnis atque evanesceret, nisi conservaretur in libris, traditionibus, colloquiis, ac praecipue in locis certis his rebus destinatis.

7.312   [H 95A] Yea, I am perswaded, that of them with whom in this cause we striue there are those whose betters amongst men w o u l d bee hardly found, if they d i d not liue amongest men, but in some wildernesse by themselues.

But of course they do live among men.

        D.   Where the conditional is framed in order to demonstrate the

             non-fulfilment of the protasis, which is not obvious, by

             means of the obvious falseness of the apodosis.

7.313   [LS 15.11] If there w e r e any solid thing in them, they w o u l d sometimes satisfie vs:
                        si quid in illis esset solidi, aliquando & implerent:

7.314   [B 2.29r] And yet if it w e r e but a fault in order, I w o u l d not speake of it.
                Quanquam si ordinis hoc solum vitium esset, non mihi fuerit tanti.

The point that Bacon is making is that this is not as appearances might

suggest merely a fault of order. It is more than a fault of order and

this is why he is speaking of it.

7.315   [FM 129e] If this raie of Divinitie d i d in any sort touch us, it w o u l d everie where appeare:
                Si ce rayon de la divinité nous touchoit aucunement, il y paroistroit par tout:

7.316   [FM 185d] If man w e r e wise he w o u l d value every thing according to it's worth ...
                Si l'home estoit sage, il pranderoit le vrai pris de chaque chose selon qu'elle seroit la plus utile et propre a sa vie.

Montaigne has been elaborately demonstrating how men tend to overvalue

certain things. It is in this context that the apodosis is contrary to

actual circumstances and so indicates that the condition is quite

unfulfilled.

7.317 [H 80E] If the soule of man d i d serue onelye to geue him
       beinge in this life, then thinges appertayning vnto this life
       w o u l d e content him.

Hooker takes it for graated that men are not contented by the things

appertaining to this life.

        SHOULD in Apodosis

        A. Resulting from tense shift in reporting a conditional of

            Present Sequence, Present Subjunctive – SHALL

7.318 [M 62A] If Tyrone drew not to a head, it was concluded these
       garrisons were to infest the Fewes ... If Tyrone d r e w to
       a head, then it was concluded, his owne troopes were like to
       spoile these Countries, and our men sent to Loughfoyle
       s h o u l d plant themselves with more ease, & shortly be able
       to spoil both Tyrone and Odonnels Country.

It was concluded. 'If Tyrone draw not to a head, these garrisons are

to infest the Fewes ... if Tyrone draw to a head, his own troops are

like to spoil these countries and our men sent to Loughfoyle shall

plant themselves with more ease and shortly be able to spoil both

Tyrone and Odonnels country'.

7.319 [M 75E] should ... promise, that for ɑpreyes hee should take of
       the Rebels, if the English assis i s t e d him, he s h o u l d
       haue a third part, and if he t o o k e them without the
       assistance of the English, he s h o u l d haue three parts of
       foure.

The original promise, which to be a promise must have had a future

reference, ran 'for preyes he shall take of the Rebels, if the English

assist him, he shall have a third part etc'.

7.320 [M 103E] Oconnor Sligo to be threatned, that if he d i d not
       submit and declare himselfe against Odonnell before the planting
       of Ballishannon, he s h o u l d haue no hope of mercy.

The threat to run, 'If you do not submit and declare yourself against

Odonnell before the planting of Ballishannon you shall have no hope of mercy.

B. Condition still theoretically open to fulfilment, even though

not fulfilled in the present.

7.321 [H 78B] I nothing doubt but that Christian men s h o u l d
much better frame them selues to those heauenly preceptes ... if
we d i d all concurre in desire to haue the vse of auncient
councels againe renued.

C. The non-fulfilment of the protasis is an obvious and inherent

part of the situation. The conditional sentence is framed to

explore the alternative reality which is precluded by this

non-fulfilment.

7.322 [C XXXVIII] Yt may be there be divers other things I s h o l d
impart to you, yf either I h a d leysure, or that they
c a m e redilie to hand.

7.323 [D 29] but w a r e I at home, trewly, he that ware most
obstenat s h o u l d not tarye but be presently exspelled out
of the towne.

D. Where the conditional sentence has been framed in order to

demonstrate the non-fulfilment of the protasis which is not

obvious, by means of the obvious falseness of the apodosis.

7.324 [FM 129d] H a d we fast-hold on God, by the interposition of a
lively faith; h a d we hold-fast on God by himselfe, and not
by us: h a d we a divine foundation, then s h o u l d not
humane and worldly occasions have the power so to shake and
totter us, as they have.
            Si nous tenions à Dieu par l'entremise d'une foy
vive; si nous tenions à Dieu par luy, non par nous; si nous
avions un pied & un fondement divin, les occasions humaines
n'auroient pas le pouvoir de nous esbranler, comme elles ont;

7.325 [FM 133c] D i d we but receive these large promises of ever-
lasting blessednes with the like authoritie, as we do
philosophicall discourse, we s h o u l d not then haue death
in that horror as we haue:
            Ces grandes promesses de la beatitude eternelle, si
nous les recevions de pareille autorité qu'un discours
philosophique, nous n'aurions pas le mort en telle horreur que
nous avons.

That the apodosis is contrary to the facts is explicitly expressed in

these two examples. There are many other uses of this construction in

the passage which falls between the two examples above, which is largely

a series of conditional sentences of this kind.

7.326 [FM 179d] Of which if there w e r e any naturall or lively
      description, we s h o u l d generally know it, as we doe the
      heat of fire.
               de la quelle s'il y avoit quelque prescription
      naturelle, nous la reconesterions en commun, come la chalur du fu.

7.327 [FM 188c] We rightly vaunt us of vertue, which we s h o u l d
      not doe, if we h a d it of God, not of our selves.
               In virtute vere gloriamur, quod non contingeret, si
      id donum a deo, non a nobis haberemus.

As in 7.324 and 7.325 that the apodosis is contrary to the facts is

explicit. The conditional is framed to make the point that the protasis

is unfulfilled, that we have virtue not of God, but of ourselves.

7.328 [LS 11.6] otherwise nature it selfe s h o u l d be subiect
      thereunto, if wisedome h a d power to raze out those vices
      which she had imprinted in vs
               alioquin haberet rerum naturam sub imperio, si omnia
      eraderet vitia

7.329 [H 50E] Howbeit vndoubtedly a proper and certaine reason there
      is of euery finite worke of God, in as much as there is a law
      imposed vpon it; which if there w e r e not, it s h o u l d
      be infinite euen as the worker himselfe is.

Here the intended point is put first. It is negated in the protasis,

which is shown to be unfulfilled by the absurdity of the apodosis, that

God's works are equal to God.

7.330 [H 81D] For God and man s h o u l d be very neere neighbours,
      if mans cogitations w e r e able to take a suruey of the
      counsels and appointementes of that maiestie euerlasting
               Alioqui nihil inter deum hominemque distaret, si
      consilia & dispositiones illius majestatis aeternae cogitatio
      assequeretur humana [Lactantius, quoted by Hooker in translation]

God and man we know can never be near neighbours. It follows that

man's cogitations are not able to take a survey of God's counsels.

Preterite Form Modals in Protasis

SHOULD in Protasis

A. Resulting from a tense shift in reporting a conditional of

Present Sequence IF + SHALL, (THEN) WILL

With WOULD in Apodosis

7.331 [HL 29B] and that it would be a foule staine ... if ... the
kingdome of Rome s h o u l d be open ... to very bondmen and
slaves
              id ... dedecus fore, si ... servis etiam regnum Romae
pateret

It will be a foul stain if the kingdom if Rome shall lie open ...

7.332 [M 24B] and if the Mores and Conners, for whom he had obtained
protection, s h o u l d violate this peace, that he w o u l d
no way giue aid or assistance to them

If the Mores and Conners shall violate this peace, I will no way give

aid or assistance to them.

7.333 [M 99A] did againe vow ... religiously professing, that if he
s h o u l d break those Articles ... he w o u l d acknowledge
himselfe ... to bee most vnworthy to beare the name of a
Christian ...

7.334 [C XXXVII] which ... made me presume that yf I s h o l d
write, you w o o l d kepe your old wont, and meet yt or misse
it by the way.

My presumption 'if I shall write, he will keep his old wont ...'

With MIGHT in Apodosis

7.335 [M 88B] for if Captaine Tirrel ... s h o u l d draw his force
to the South of the Country, from hence his Lordship m i g h t
easily fall back on him

With Preterite Indicative in Apodosis

7.336 [M 100C] But if Spaine s h o u l d inuade Mounster, then all
the Army w a s to be drawne thither

'If Captain Tirrel shall draw his force to the South of the Country,

from hence his Lordship may easily fall back on him', 'if Spain shall

invade Munster, then all the army is to be drawn thither'.

B. Condition is imaginary or projected.

With WOULD in Apodosis

7.337 [FM 152d] s h o u l d we see her (the Fox) running, alongst
the river side, approach her eare close to the yce ... might
not we lawfully judge, that the same discourse possesseth her
head, as in like case it w o u l d ours?
quand nous le verrions au bord de l'eau approcher
son oreille bien pres de la glace, ... n'aurions nous par raison
de juger qu'il luy passe par la teste ce mesme discours qu'il
feroit en la nostre

7.338 [H 53A] Now if nature s h o u l d intermit her course ... if
those principall & mother elements of the world ... s h o u l d
loose the qualities which now they haue, if the frame of that
heauenly arch erected ouer our heads s h o u l d loosen &
dissolue it selfe: ... what w o u l d become of man himselfe,
whom these things now do all serue?

With MUST in Apodosis

7.339 [H 70D] The Apostle ... giueth vs thereby to vnderstand, ...
that if we s h o u l d be stripped of all those things without
which we might possibly be, yet these m u s t be left,

With SHOULD in Apodosis

7.340 [C XIX] Yf the obstinate and selfwilld fellow s h o l d
persist in his doggednes (as he protests he will) and geve her
nothing, the poore Lord s h o l d have a warme catch.

With Present Tense Indicative in Apodosis

7.341 [HL 29D] and withall, if that s h o u l d faile, she
p·r e p a r e t h other means and remedies
simul, si destituat spes, alia praesidia molitur

7.342 [B 1.39v] And yet if I s h o u l d enumerate diuers of his
speeches, as I did those of **Alexander**, they a r e truely such
as Solomon noteth ...
Attamen si recensere vellem pleraque eius dicta (ut
feci in Alexandro), sunt ea certe huiusmodi, qualia notat
Salomon ...

Where the Latin translator has rendered SHOULD by 'vellem'.

7.343 [FM 233d] If you say, I lye, and that you s h o u l d say
true, you l y e then
Si vous dictes: Je ments, & que vous dissies vray,
vous mentez donc.

Here Florio attempts to reproduce the distinction between 'dictes',

present indicative and 'dissies' imperfect subjunctive by 'say' and

'should say'.

7.344 [C XXIII] and now they h a v e an ymagination of sincking
certain hulkes in the channell yf need s h o l d be.

C and D, the types of conditional sentence in which the non-fulfilment of the protasis is either an accepted part of the situation, or else is indicated by the non-fulfilment of the apodosis as an accepted part of the situation, do not occur with SHOULD in protasis.

This seems to correspond to PE usage, where preterite subjective or SHOULD are possible in

A. tense shift in reporting a present sequence conditional

If I see her, I will ask

He said if he saw her he would ask

He said if he should see her he would ask

B. projected or imaginary condition

If you happened to run into him, he would help

If you should happen to run into him, he would help

If he published his laundry lists, they would be well reviewed

If he should publish his laundry lists, they would be well reviewed.

But SHOULD is not possible in protasis in

C. If he were still alive, he would be the man to consult

(when the fact that he is dead is not open to doubt)

D. If he were at home, there would be a light on

(as you observe, the place is in darkness)

From this evidence in both eModE and PE it would seem that SHOULD can only be used instead of the Preterite Subjunctive in protasis when the condition is viewed from the point of view of the fulfilment, whether real or imaginary. When non-fulfilment is either the logical starting point (Type C) or the logical conclusion (Type D) of the conditional sentence, then SHOULD cannot be used.

WOULD in Protasis

Has full meaning, as suggested by the following examples from

Florio where it translates VOULOIR.

7.345 [FM 159d] But this beast hath in many other effects, such
affinity with mans sufficiency, that w o u l d I particularly
trace out what experience hath taught, I should easily get an
affirmation of what I so ordinarily maintaine ...
          Mais cet animal raporte en tant d'autres effects à
l'humaine suffisance que, si je v o u l o y suivre par le menu
ce que l'experience en a apris, je gaignerois aysément ce que je
maintiens ordinairement ...

7.346 [FM 202e] I should have too much adoe, if I w o u l d consider
man after his owne fashion and in grose:
          J'auroy trop beau jeu si je v o u l o y considerer
l'homme en sa commune facon & en gros.

7.347 [FM 234c] for he cannot kill himselfe if he w o u l d
          car il ne se peut tuer quand il le v o u d r o i t

Though not translated from the Latin, the sense of wishing or wanting

seems clearly present in the following.

7.348 [HL 15M] But if wee w o u l d as wee ought to doe, stand upon
the truth of things ... it is ambition ... that spurreth on two
nations ...
          sed si vera potius, quam dictu speciosa, dicenda sunt,
cupido imperii duos ... populos ad arma stimulat
(The real apodosis must be understood. 'We should admit that it is
ambition ...')

7.349 [HL 35E] Therefore if they w o u l d be ruled by him, they
should depart home evenie man
          Si se audiant domum suam quemque inde abituros

7.350 [HL 36G] for if he w o u l d not obey and giue place unto his
father, he should abide the smart of it with a mischiefe.
          Ni pareat patri, habiturum infortunium esse.

7.351 [HL 36L] I might (quoth he) if I w o u l d, by vertue of
ancient rites alledge and pleàd, that ...
          posse quidem se vetusto iure agere, quod ...

7.352 [HL 37E] And seeming withall in great anger and discontentment,
(if they w o u l d not regard his complaints)
          cum, si nihil mouerentur infensus ira ... videretur

7.353 [HL 37E] if he with them w o u l d set to his helping hand,
they should remoove the warre from the gates of Gabij unto the
verie wals of Rome
          ut, illo adiuvante, a portis Gabinis sub Romana moenia
bellum transferatur

In the following the sense is evidently 'wanted to'.

7.354 [H 70A] imagine ... that we might make as much accompt, if we
       w o u l d, of the contrarie

7.355 [M 38C] which his Lordship refused, answering, that if Tyrone
       w o u l d speak with him, he should find him next day in Armes,
       in the head of the Army

7.356 [M Eliza. 40E] though say we might to you our Generall, if we
       w o u l d Ex Iure proprio iudicare, that all defects by
       Ministers, yea though in neuer so remote Garrisons, haue beene
       affirmed to vs, to deserue to be imputed to the want of care of
       the Generall.

Negative examples, with the sense of wilful refusal.

7.357 [M 18E] he ... desired God to take vengeance on him, if ... he
       w o u l d not continue faithfull ...

7.358 [D 51] and if I w o u l d not then he would sue me

7.359 [D 51] which he said if I w o u l d not let him have that I
       would give him as good.

The following uses of WOULD in protasis are due to a convention of

politeness, being suggestions or requests, either direct or reported.

Here WOULD has the force of 'be willing'.

7.360 [HL 16L] If he w o u l d vouchsafe to conferre, he knew very
       well, that he should alleadge and lay forth such matters, as
       might concerne the weale of the Romanes ...
               si secum congressus sit, satis scire ea se allaturum,
       quae ... ad rem Romanam ... pertineant
(Metius's request to Tullus to confer before battle)

7.361 [M 17C] many of them ... sent a writing signed, to the king of
       Spaine, couenanting, that if he w o u l d send sufficient
       forces, they would ioyne theirs to his, and if he w o u l d at
       all relieue them, in the meane time they would refuse all
       conditions of Peace

7.362 [M 18C] Protesting further, that if her Maiestie w o u l d
       please to accept of him againe as a subiect, and to take such
       course as hee might bee so continued ... then he doubted not but
       to redeeme all his faults past with some notable seruices

7.363 [M 54E] or by the Westward borders of the Pale, where if his
       Lordship w o u l d draw his forces to Athboye ... it was not
       possible for him to escape them

7.364 [M 71D] that he had made a diuorce betwixt himselfe and the
       World, if God and his Souveraigne w o u l d giue him leaue to
       hold it;

7.365 [D 18] Mr Maddison of Newcastle hath a sonne who lives in London, who if my brother w o u l d speake to hime, his sonne would pay me to, to haue it pd: his father.

The following two uses of WOULD ALLEGE are not obvious examples of a full sense but WILL/WOULD is usual in anticipated objections as 'But you will say' translating 'inquis' in Lodge-Seneca.

7.366 [FM 150e] And if against this opinion, a man w o u l d alleage unto me, that such as are naturally deafe speake not at all; I answer ...
        Si on m'allegue, contre cette opinion, que les sourds naturels ne parlent point, je repons ...

7.367 [FM 155e] For, if to depresse them some w o u l d alleadge, it is by the onely instruction and instinct of Nature, they know it; that will not take the name of science, and title of prudence from them;
        Car d'alleguer, pour les deprimer, que c'est par la seule instruction et maistrise de nature qu'elles le scavent, ce n'est pas leur oster le tiltre de science & de prudence:

COULD in Protasis in Non-Negative Clauses

For examples from Lodge-Seneca, see 4.17, 4.18.

7.368 [FM 195c] I am perswaded they will not denie me this, that if they c o u l d possibly adde any order or constancie to a mans life, that it might thereby be still maintained in pleasure and tranquillitie, by, or through any weaknesse or infirmitie of judgement, but they would accept it.
        je croy qu'ils ne me nieront pas cecy que, s'ils p o u v a i e n t adjouster de l'ordre & de la constance en un estat de vie qui se maintint en plaisir & en tranquillité par quelque foiblesse et maladie de jugement, qu'ils ne l'acceptassent.

7.369 [M 39B] he sent the iudgement of the Chiefe Commanders of the Army ... that those Garrisons if they c o u l d bee left there, would more endanger the English ... then annoy the rebels

7.370 [C IX] Here is some speach of sending one thether yf they c o u l d resolve whom.

7.371 [D 36] I am not desireous if I c o u l d otherwise chouse to haue any pt of yt.

    MIGHT in Protasis, only

7.372 [H 76D] Here with notwithstanding we are not satisfied, but we covet (if it m i g h t be) to haue a kind of society & fellowship euen with al mankind.

Compare MAY BE in examples 7.294, 7.295.

3.   PLUPERFECT SEQUENCE

Subjunctive HAD + Past Participle in Protasis

> WOULD HAVE in Apodosis

7.373 [HL 6k] if hee h a d driven the beasts into his owne cave, the
very trackes w o u l d h a v e led the owner of them thither ...
...   Si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset, ipsa
vestigia quaerentem dominum eo deductura erant.

7.374 [HL 21A] They did but follow their leader, as yee likewise
w o u l d h a u e done, if I h a d willed the march to have
turned anie whether from thence
           Ducem secuti sunt: ut & vos, si quo ego inde agmen
declinare voluissem fecissetis

7.375 [FM 183c] they say, that if <u>Circes</u> h a d presented <u>Ulisses</u>
with two kindes of drinke, the one to turne a wiseman into a
foole, the other to change a foole into a wiseman, he w o u l d
rather h a v e accepted that of folly, than have been pleased,
that <u>Circes</u> should transforme his humane shape into a beasts.
And they say, that wisdome her selfe w o u l d thus h a v e
spoken unto him:
           Ils disent que si Circé eust presenté à Ulysses deux
breuvages, l'un pour faire devenir un homme de fol sage, l'autre
de sage fol, qu'Ulysses eust deu plutost accepter celuy de la
folie, que de consentir que Circé eust changé sa figure humaine
en celle d'une beste; & disent que la sagesse mesme eust parlé
à luy en cete maniere:

7.376 [M 8C] And I further protest, that as I shall in the due place
once mention an honorable answer of this L Deputy, to part of
tbhe chief complaints made by the Irish against him, so I
w o u l d most willingly h a u e inserted his full
iustification, if any such memoriall h a d come to my hands.

7.377 [M 10A] Two of them ... were now in the Castle of <u>Dublyn</u>, and
if they h a d beene safely kept ... w o u l d h a u e beene
a strong bridle to keepe the Earle in obedience:

7.378 [M 12A] Hence this barberous Lord taking his aduantage, set
vpon them, and droue them into a Church, where he w o u l d
h a u e put them all to the sword, if the Earle of <u>Tyrone</u> h a d
not interposed his authoritie, and made composition for their
lives, with condition that they should depart the Countrey.

7.379 [M 13A] the above mentioned sonnes of <u>Shane Oneale</u>, who had
escaped out of <u>Dublin</u> Castle, and if they h a d been there
kept, w o u l d h a u e been a sure pledge of his obedience.

7.380 [M Eliz. 39D] Of this resolution to deferre your going into
<u>Vlster</u>, you may well thinke that wee w o u l d h a u e made
<u>you stay</u>, if you h a d giuen vs more time.

7.381 [M 57B] whereas if these things h a d been left to his
discretion, hee w o u l d h a u e deferred the Plantation of
<u>Ballishannon</u> to a time of more safety ...

7.382 [M 64C] for if more h a d knowne it, many thought that the
Earle had such spies, and was so feared among the Rebels, as his
Lordship w o u l d h a u e had notice thereof for feare or
loue.
(Apodosis appears as a Result Clause.)

7.383 [M 81B] and there his Lordship lay ... in such extremitie of
weather as w o u l d h a u e hindered his passage, if the
enemie h a d not withstood him,

7.384 [C XXIV] Yf occasion h a d ben to draw forces to a head or
into campe yt is thought the first proportion w o l d h a v e
risen to 27000 foote and 3000 horse.

7.385 [C XXXVIII] but to haue gotten the Quene to haue signed a
warrant for the noble mens deliverie, wherin yf he h a d found
difficultie he knew not what w o l d h a v e followed.

7.386 [D 20] If I h a d had a horse I w o u l d h a u e come my
selfe.

7.387 [D 28] I vnderstand sence that thay w o l d h a u e called
me into the chancery by proces at the being wth me if they
h a d found my answre otherwyse.

    SHOULD HAVE in Apodosis

7.388 [LS 21.6] [1620] <u>Cicero's</u> Epistles suffer not the name of
<u>Atticus</u> to be extinguished, neither had it profited him to haue
<u>Agrippa</u> for his Sonne in Law, or <u>Tiberius</u> for his Nieces Father,
or <u>Drusus Caesar</u> his Nephewes Sonne, amongst so mightie Names,
he s h o u l d h a u e been obscured, h a d not <u>Cicero</u>
maintained his reputation, and kept him in memorie.
                    Nomen Attici perire Ciceronis epistolae non
sinunt. Nihil illi profuisset gener Agrippa & Tiberius progener,
& Drusus Caesar pronepos: inter tam magna nomina tacerentur,
nisi Cicero illum applicuisset.

This appeared in the earlier 1612 version of the translation as

'... amongst so great names he had bin obscured, had not Cicero

maintayned his reputation, and kept him in memorie': illustrating the

tendency to replace the pluperfect subjunctive in apodosis with a modal

construction while maintaining it in protasis.

7.389 [B 2.34r] insomuch as that which if doubts h a d not preceded,
a man s h o u l d never h a u e aduised, but passed it ouer
without Note, by the suggestion and sollicitation of doubts is
made to be attended and applied.

7.390 [C XXXVIII] his meaning was but to haue gotten the Quene to
have signed a warrant for the noble mens deliverie, wherin yf he
h a d found difficultie he knew not what wold have followed,
and those s h o l d h a v e ben guiltie of any harme might
come to her, that had hindred his attempt.

MIGHT HAVE in Apodosis (always in Non-Negative Clauses)

7.391 [B 2.9v] for if hee h a d looked downe hee m i g h t h a u e
       seen the Starres in the water
                 Nam si oculos demisisset, stellas illico in aqua
       videre p o t u i s s e t;

7.392 [H 92A] It mii g h t peraduenture h a u e beene more popular
       and more plausible to vulgar eares, if this first discourse
       h a d beene spent in extolling the force of lawes.

7.393 [M 26B] If the couenants h a d been kept by them, they of
       themselues m i g h t h a u e made two thousand able men,
       whereas the Lord President could not find aboue two hundred of
       English birth among them.

7.394 [C I] I know you lookt longe ere this time to have heard from
       me, and so m i g h t you well h a u e don, yf Painter the
       post h a d not kept your letter of the eight of May aseasoning
       till the sixt of this present June.

7.395 [C XXVII] The Duke of Savoy is gone from Paris, having gotten
       nothing by his longe jorny and large expence, but that which is
       thought he m i g h t h a v e had better cheape yf he h a d
       staide at home.

7.396 [C LV] for the which I can adde nothing to that I said before
       but rather yf it h a d come sooner m i g h t chaunce h a v e
       said lesse.
(reading 'might perhaps have said less' and not 'might chance to have
said less')

       COULD HAVE in Apodosis (always in Negative Clauses)

7.397 [H 81B] a way which c o u l d neuer h a u e entered into
       the heart of man as much as once to conceiue or immagine, if God
       him selfe h a d not reuealed it extraordinarilie.

7.398 [M 58D] auowing; That if the Earle of Essex h a d brought
       with him a farre greater Army ... there c o u l d no other
       consequence h a u e iustly beene expected in that so short
       time;

7.399 [M 63A] His Lordship further aduertised Master Secretary ...
       That Tyrones confederates were discouraged at his fearefull
       retreat into the North, which c o u l d not h a u e beene
       greater, if he h a d beene broken with an Army.

Preterite Form Modals + HAVE in Protasis

       SHOULD HAVE in Protasis

7.400 [FM 258e] Moreover, that if the soules came from any other
       place, then by a naturall consequence, and that out of the body
       they s h o u l d h a v e beene some other thing, they should
       have some remembrance of their first being:

> Davantage, que, si les ames venoyent d'ailleurs que d'une suite naturelle, & qu'elles eussent este quelque autre chose hors du corps, elles auroyent recordation de leur estre premier.

7.401 [M Eliz. 56A] we haue ... yeelded to the continuance of fourteene thousand foot for some small time, both because we conceiue, according to your reasons, it will giue good assurance to the Plantation of Loughfoyle, and the reduction of Lemster, and preuent the present terror, which this proud attempt of Tyrones, to passe ouer all the Kingdome, hath stricken into the hearts of all our Subiects, and would increase, if we s h o u l d presently h a u e abated our numbers:

These are the only two examples which the corpus yields of SHOULD HAVE in Protasis and neither is part of a pluperfect sequence conditional. 7.400 has IF ... SHOULD HAVE ... THEN ... SHOULD, 7.401, IF ... SHOULD HAVE, THEN ... WOULD ... and neither is equivalent to IF ... HAD.

As we saw in the Preterite Sequence Conditionals, SHOULD is not substituted for the preterite subjunctive in types C and D when the non-fulfilment of the protasis is essential to the meaning of the conditional. If this is because SHOULD does not suggest assured or assumed non-fulfilment in the same way as the preterite subjunctive, it would account for its exclusion from protasis in pluperfect sequence conditionals, where the protasis is always unfulfilled.

In 7.400, SHOULD HAVE BEEN apparently arises from the need to express in protasis the proposition 'They have been some other thing (i.e. before they entered the body)'. In 7.401 the Queen is avoiding 'if we had presently abated our numbers' which might give the impression that there was now no more question of abating them (the context shows only a delay 'for some small time' is intended) and 'if we should presently abate our numbers' which, as an open condition, draws attention to the fact that very soon the numbers will be abated.

WOULD HAVE in Protasis (in the sense of 'If ... had been willing to ...')

7.402 [C VIII] Some ... say ... that yf he w o l d h a v e ben advised he m i g h t h a v e don them all goode.

7.403 [B 2.92r] But takinge them as Instructions for life, they m o u g h t e h a u e receiued large discourse, if I w o u l d e h a u e broken them and illustrated them by diducements and examples.

COULD HAVE in Protasis (in Non-Negative Clauses)

For example from Holland-Livy see 4.19.

7.404 [FM 183b] if Heracletus and Pherecydes c o u l d h a v e changed their wisdome with health ... they w o u l d surely h a v e done it:
                s'ils eussent peu eschanger leur sagesse avecques la santé ... qu'ils eussent bien faict.

7.405 [M Eliz. 39D] of this resolution to deferre your going into Vlster, you may well thinke that wee w o u l d h a u e made stay ... if we c o u l d h a u e imagined by the contents of your owne writings that you\wwould haue spent nine weekes abroad.

7.406 [M Eliz. 40A] to which we c o u l d neuer h a u e assented, if we c o u l d h a u e suspected it should haue beene vndertaken, before we heard it was in action.

There are no examples of MIGHT HAVE in protasis from the corpus and no examples of COULD HAVE in protasis in a negative clause.

MIXED SEQUENCE

Preterite in Protasis, WOULD HAVE in Apodosis

7.407 [FM 128e] which if they w e r e, so many rare and excellent mindes ... w o u l d never by their discourse h a v e mist the attayning of this knowledge
                &, s'ils l'estoient, tant d'ames rares & excellentes ... n'eussent pas failly par leur discours d'arriver à cette connaissance.

7.408 [M 57B] and if he e s c a p e d, w o u l d presently h a u e put himselfe in the head of the Earle of Ormonds Troopes, to prosecute him into the North, and would further haue aduised Sir Henrie Dockwa ... to descend on Carickfergus.

7.409 [C XLIII] I w o u l d h a v e written to him yf I h a d more ease or more matter.

7.410 [C LII] You must excuse my hudling haste and commend me in all kindnes to Mr Winwod: to whom I w o l d h a v e written yf either I h a d more matter or leysure.

7.411 [D 2] I wold haue thought Iff I h a d no right to haue anny
cowble ther ye w o l d not h a u e gruged therwith

7.409, 7.410, 7.411 are perhaps haplographic errors or correspond to a

colloquial habit of using HAD for HAD HAD.

Present in Protasis, WOULD HAVE in Apodosis:

7.412 [D 29] You and your wyffe wold se me come home before myghelmes
... and if it p l e a s e god to send her a sone that you
w o l d h a u e had me to have bene a godfather

This is perhaps a mistake arising when the writer set out to put 'you

would have me to ...' and then restructured 'would have' as an

auxiliary sequence; so in a way the converse error to putting HAD for

HAD HAD.

Preterite in Protasis, SHOULD HAVE in Apodosis:

7.413 [C LI] If I w e r e not now taking my leave of this towne for
the best part of this vacation, I s h o l d h a v e put of
this letter somwhat longer, to see yf any thing wold have risen
worth the flienge at:

Pluperfect Sequence with Protasis in the form of a Relative

Clause:

WOULD HAVE in Apodosis, SHOULD HAVE in effective Protasis:

7.414 [M Eliz. 40C] How w o u l d you h a u e derided any man
else, that s h o u l d h a u e followed your steps?

If any man else had followed in your steps, how would you have derided

him?

HAD in Apodosis, COULD HAVE in effective Protasis:

7.415 [H 74D] No man c o u l d e euer h a u e thought this
reasonable that h a d intended thereby onely to punish the
iniury committed, according to the grauitie of the fact.

'If a man had intended only to pubish the injury committed, he could

never have thought this reasonable.'

Apparently a variant of Pluperfect Sequence in which the

unfulfilled Protasis (IF ... HAD) is replaced by the factual

equivalent of that unfulfilment (with Preterite Indicative,

reversed polarity) introduced by BUT:

WOULD HAVE in Apodosis:

7.416 [C LVI] a cousening prancke of one Venner ... that gave out
bills of a famous play ... The price at comming in was two
shillings or eighteen pence at least and when he had gotten most
part of the mony into his hands, he w o l d   h a v e shewed
them a fayre paire of heeles, but he w a s not so nimble to
get up on horsebacke, but that he was faine to forsake that
course ...

Equivalent to 'If he had been nimble enough to get up on horseback, he

would have showed them a fair pair of heels'.

SHOULD HAVE in Apodosis:

7.417 [C XXXII] yt s h o l d   h a v e ben don by way of a
proclamation, which was signed on Wensday last, but Mr Secretarie
m a d e   great meanes to diswade her Majestie from that course,
by many reasons.

If Mr Secretary had not made great means to dissuade ...

7.418 [C XXXVII] He was feasted by the Lord Burleigh for some favour
shewed to Will: Cecill or his other sonnes at theire being in
Italie: and s h o l d   h a v e ben by the Lord Treasurer ...
but he m a d e such haste away that they were disappointed.

7.419 [C XLV] I s h o l d   h a v e geven you thanckes before this
time for your first letter but that I w a s still in hope of
your comming;

7.420 [C LVII] The Quene s h o l d   h a v e come to the warming of
Mr Secretaries new house on Monday, but the cold h i n d r e d
yt, and on Wensday the fowle weather, and whether yt hold
appointment this day is a question.

7.421 [M 15B] These letters s h o u l d   h a u e been deliuered at
Dundalke but the Marshall Bagnoll intercepting them, stayed the
messenger at Newrye, till the Lord Deputies returne.

The following is perhaps due to a change in construction after the

first clause. BUT is replaced by a relative, and the negative implied

by BUT is lost.

7.422 [C XXXI] The Spaniards s h o l d h a u e geven theyre
resolute aunswer about yt on Tewsday last, which they protracted
two or three dayes and then demaunded 14 dayes more ...

'but they protracted it two or three days' - 'if they had not protracted

it two or three days'

In the next example BUT is followed by the present tense and not

the preterite.

7.423 [C XLIX] I w o l d h a v e written so much to him, but that
I know yt will not be welcome, and I am loth to discourage my
frends.

ELLIPTICAL PROTASES

Protasis represented by OTHERWISE

WOULD HAVE in Apodosis:

7.424 [HL 19C] Publius Horatius the father, crying out and saying,
That he deemed his daughter was justly and worthily killed:
o t h e r w i s e hee w o u l d himselfe h a v e punished
his sonne by his fatherly authoritie.
          P. Horatio patre proclamante, se filiam iure caesam
iudicare: ni ita esset, patrio iure in filium animadversurum
fuisse.

7.425 [H 84B] as a light which o t h e r w i s e w o u l d h a u e
bene buried in darknes, not without the hazard ... of infinite
thousandes of soules.

7.426 [C LII] the first brought with yt much goode companie of
pictures and discourses that intertained a goode part of the
time that o t h e r w i s e w o u l d h a u e ben very
tedious

7.427 [D 52] I have got a hurt of my arme so as I cannot stirr abrode
o t h e r w i s e I w o u l d not h a u e sent but come my
selfe.

MIGHT HAVE in Apodosis:

7.428 [H 53C] Let Phidias haue rude & obstinate stuff to carve, though
his art do that it should, his worke will lacke that bewtie
which o t h e r w i s e in fitter matter it m i g h t h a v e
had.

COULD HAVE in Apodosis (Negative):

7.429 [H 87E] and that God himselfe hath therefore reuealed his will,
because o t h e r w i s e men c o u l d not h a u e knowne
so much as is necessarie.

'Otherwise' may be understood in

7.430 [M 16B] which they spoiled, wanting forces to defend it, and so
      depriued the English souldier of great reliefe he   m i g h t
      h a u e found therein

'Other' may suggest a protasis as in

7.431 [LS 14.8] But some   o t h e r   more skilful,   w o u l d   h a u e
      enquired of those of the countrey
                     At ille cautior peritos locorum rogat

'If he had been more skilful, he would have enquired ...'

WITHOUT WHICH suggesting Protasis

      SHOULD HAVE in Apodosis:

7.432 [FM 160e] we rather admire and consider strange than common
      things: w i t h o u t   w h i c h   I   s h o u l d   never so long
      h a v e ammused my selfe about this tedious catalogue.
                     Nous admirons & poisons mieux les choses estrangeres
      que les ordinaires; et, sans cela, je ne me fusse pas amuse à
      ce long registre:

7.433 [M 25A] w i t h o u t   w h i c h   danger Captaine Williams
      professed, that no want or miserie   s h o u l d   h a u e
      induced him thereunto.

      COULD HAVE in Apodosis (in Negative Clause):

7.434 [M 48D] He kept his word in publike affaires inuiolably,
      w i t h o u t   w h i c h   he   c o u l d   neuer   h a u e   beene
      trusted of the Irish:

Protasis to be understood from Context

      WOULD HAVE in Apodosis:

7.435 [B 2.17r] For as his History, and those few Letters ... excell
      all mens else: So I suppose   w o u l d   his collection of
      APOTHEGMES   h a u e   done;
                     cuius liber utinam extaret

If it had come down to us.

7.436 [B 2.102v] In second place I set downe wealth and meanes, which
      I know most men   w o u l d e   h a u e   placed firste:
                     Secondo loco opes pono, et pecuniam quam summo loco
      plurimi fortasse collocaverint.

If they had been making the decision instead of me ...

7.437 [FM 211c] Epicurus   w o u l d   h a v e   said it of Rethorike ...
                     Epicurus l'eust encore dit de la Rhetorique ...

If he had addressed himself to the matter ...

7.438 [FM 220d] I woo u l d rather h a v e folowed those that
worshipped the Serpent.
        J'eusse encore plutost suivi ceux qui adoraient le
serpent

If I had lived in pagan times.

7.439 [H 77A] againe as those lawes of politie & regiment, which
w o u l d h a u e serued men liuing in publique societie
together with that harmelesse disposition which then they should
haue had, are not able now to serue when mens iniquitie is so
hardly restrained within any tolerable bounds:

If such laws had then existed.

7.440 [H 91C] What paynes w o u l d not they h a v e bestowed in
the study of these bookes?

i.e. The learned among the ancients, if the books of the Christian

revelation had been available to them.

        SHOULD HAVE in Apodosis:

7.441 [FM 217d] as for me, I s h o u l d rather h a v e taken
part with those who worshipped the Sunne.
            je me fusse, ce me semble, plus voluntiers attaché à
ceux qui adoroient le Soleil.

7.442 [C XVIII] I am going the next weeke (God willing) to Knebworth,
in which consideration I am not greatly sory for your stayeng at
Ostend, for I s h o l d h a v e injoyed but litle of your
company.

If you had come across to England from Ostend.

        In the following two examples the protasis is effectively con-

tained in the subject of the apodosis.

7.443 [M 58E] which in most places must haue beene done by an Army,
and they being in seuerall places, and many circumstances
besides required there unto, the effecting thereof w o u l d
h a u e taken vp as much time as he spent here.

'If they had effected it, it would have taken up as much time as he

spent here.'

7.444 [M 78B] he had been most carefull not to increase her Maiesties
charge in any thing, the want whereof w o u l d not h a u e
made the rest of her great expence to be vnprofitable:

'anything, which, if it had been wanting, would not have made ...'

VARIOUS CLAUSES EXPRESSING CONDITION

UNLESS and EXCEPT introduce a negative condition. The verb is in the Subjunctive or with SHOULD.

Present Subjunctive:

7.445 [FM 133a] for what draws us to blaspheming, u n l e s s e it b e at all adventures, the desire it selfe of the offence?
　　　　　　　　Car quel gout nous attire au blasphemer, si non a l'aventure le gout mesme de l'offanse?

7.446 [FM 136d] they have a kind of body, but a shapelesse masse, without light or fashion, u n l e s s e faith and the grace of God b e joyned thereunto.
　　　　　　　　ils ont quelque corps, mais c'est une masse informe, sans facon & sans jour, si la foy et grace de Dieu n'y sont joinctes.

7.447 [FM 175a] It is assuredly beleeved, that the Whale neuer swimmeth, u n l e s s e she h a v e a little fish going before her ...
　　　　　　　　Ils tiennent que la baleine ne marche jamais qu'elle n'ait au devant d'elle un petit poisson ...

7.448 [FM 210d] Why hath not <u>Aristotle</u> alone, but the greatest number of Philosophers affected difficulty, u n l e s s e it b e to make the vanity of the subject to prevaile.
　　　　　　　　Pourquoi non Aristote seulement, mais la plus part des philosophes ont affecté la difficulté, si ce n'est pour faire valoir la vanité du subject ...

7.449 [H 49C] And the ende which it worketh for is not obteined, v n l e s s e the worke b e also fit to obteine it by.

7.450 [FM 129c] E x c e p t it s e i z e upon us, and as it were enter into us by an extraordinarie infusion: And u n l e s s e it also e n t e r into us, not onely by discourse, but also by humane meanes, she is not in her dignitie, nor in her glorie.
　　　　　　　　Si elle n'entre chez nous par une infusion extra-ordinaire; si elle y entre non seulement par discours, mais encore par moyens humains, elle n'y est pas en sa dignité ny en sa splendeur.
(Florio here mistranslates - the second 'si' does not introduce a negative clause and should not be rendered by 'unless'.)

7.451 [M 9C] That he execute no man, e x c e p t it b e by commission from the Lord Deputy.

Preterite Subjunctive in Narrative Sequence of Tenses:

7.452 [M 26C] But more dangerous causes were suspected, and e x c e p t a Royall Force w e r e quickly opposed to the Rebels bold attempts, a generall reuolt was feared.

7.453 [M 27D] To command the Ships already sent, and to be sent into
       <u>Ireland</u>, e x c e p t the Lord Admirall w e r e sent forth to
       Sea, and commandement w e r e giuen of ioyning the said ships
       to his fleete.

SHOULD:

7.454 [B 2.63r] For <u>Aphorismes</u>, e x c e p t they s h o u l d bee
       ridiculous, cannot bee made but of the pyth and heart of Sciences:
                 Aphorismi enim, nisi prorsus forent ridiculi, necesse
       est, ut ex medullis et interioribus scientiarum conficiantur.

7.455 [H 83C] to induce a perswasion of somwhat which were in it
       selfe more hard and darke, v n l e s s e it s h o u l d in
       such sorte bee cleared

7.456 [M 44B] that truce ... which was then concluded ... till the
       Calends of <u>May</u>, e x c e p t either of them s h o u l d giue
       fourteene daies warning ...

7.457 [C VII] for here growes no newes at Knebworth, u n l e s I
       s h o l d tell you how well harvest is come home

7.458 [C IX] I can bethincke me of nothing ells u n l e s I
       s h o l d tell you of certain mad knaves that tooke Tabacco all
       the way to Tiborn as they went to hanging.

7.459 [C XII] and u n l e s there s h o l d be exceding urgent
       need indeed, yt is thought a straunge pollicie to discover our
       want so far to the world.

7.460 [C XXIV] This is all we have u n l e s I s h o l d tell you
       that last weeke at a puppet play in St Johns street, the house
       fell and hurt betwene thirty and forty persons.

7.461 [C XXXVII] For matter of newes I know not where to begin,
       u n l e s I s h o l d continue a pettie chronicle from my
       last.

7.462 [C XLI] I receved yours of the 24th of the last here at Askot
       full of varietie and pretty observations, having nothing to
       requite you and <u>rendre la pareille</u>, u n l e s I s h o l d
       tell you how forward we be in harvest.

7.463 [C LII] This is all the successe of this sommers progres
       u n l e s I s h o l d tell you that I never knew a later, nor
       withall a better or more plentifull harvest.

7.464 [C LV] This is all, u n l e s I s h o l d tell you that a
       prentise pursued by his master to be beaten lept out of a garret
       by Holbourne Bridge and fell upon a porters necks and got away
       without harme.

Florio never uses SHOULD after UNLESS, Chamberlaine never uses the

Subjunctive.

Other Modals after UNLESS

WILL:

7.465 [C LVI] We had lately a proclamation against the Jesuites and
      priests theyre adherents, that they are to avoyde the realme
      within thirty dayes upon theyre perill; and the secular priests
      before the beginning of February at farthest, u n l e s they
      w i l l submit themselves to the Quenes mercy.

Here 'are willing to'.

In all the above the negative conditions are open. There are

only two examples where UNLESS introduces a negative condition now past

and therefore fulfilled or unfulfilled. Since UNLESS itself contains a

negation, the condition after UNLESS is fulfilled if it did not occur

and unfulfilled if it did. From the use of SHOULD and the preterite

subjunctive in protasis we might expect to find SHOULD when the negative

condition is fulfilled and the equivalent of the protasis with HAD when

it is unfulfilled. The two examples seem to conform to this expectation.

SHOULD HAVE:

7.466 [C XLIV] I meant to have saluted you likewise ... but I could
      neither find time nor place, u n l e s I s h o l d h a v e
      crept into some scriveners shop.

The writer indicates that he did not creep into some scrivener's shop;

the equivalent conditional would be 'If I had crept into some

scrivener's shop, I could have found time ...' implying I did not creep

and so did not find time.

UNLESS ... HAD;

7.467 [H 89D] To concerne men as men supernaturallie is to concerne
      them as duties which belong of necessitie to all, and yet could
      not haue bene knowne by any to belong vnto them, v n l e s s e
      God h a d opened them him selfe.

where the equivalent conditional is 'If God had not opened them himself,

they could not have been known' implying, God did open them and this is

why men are able to know them.

IN CASE, introducing a condition and often translating Latin SI, is

followed by SHOULD.

7.468 [LS 13.10] And put c a s e it s h o u l d happen
                        etiam s i futurum est

7.469 [HL 13A] Beside the Nobles began to feare, least peradventure
        i n c a s e the hearts of manie citties thereabout, s h o u l d
        not be well disposed, but provoked against them, some foraine
        power would make invasion ...
                Timor deinde patres incessit, ne ... multarum circa
        civitatium irritatis animis, vis aliqua externa adoriretur

7.470 [HL 18M] for that he would employ them in service, i n
        c a s e hee s h o u l d warre with the Veiantians
                usurum se eorum opera, s i bellum cum Veientibus
        foret

7.471 [HL 29A] began much more to take stomache and indignation i n
        c a s e that after Tarquinius, the kingdome s h o u l d not
        returne to them and their line, but s h o u l d still run on
        end and headlongwise fall unto such base varlets
                s i ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed
        praeceps inde porro ad servitia caderet:

7.472 [M 97E] but he carrying certaine fireworkes prouided i n
        c a s e the boat s h o u l d faile

7.473 [M 100B] his Lordship might easily ioine with the Lord President,
        i n c a s e Spaine s h o u l d inuade Mounster

7.474 [M 24A] he promised ... that i n c a s e they or any of them
        s h o u l d not then appeare, and submit themselues; yet he at
        that time would make his submission.

Clauses introduced by WHEN may be considered as expressing a condition.

In translating future tenses in Latin and French SHALL is used.

        Translating/Translated by Latin Future Tense:

7.475 [LS 18.7] thou shalt leap for ioy, when being satisfied with a
        little, thou s h a l t vnderstand that to satisfie ourselues
        we haue no need of fortune.
                exultabis, dupondio satur, & i n t e l l e g e s ad
        saturitatem non opus esse fortuna

7.476 [HL 3A] But these complaints, which wil be nothing pleasant, no
        not when perhaps they s h a l l be needfull ...
                sed querelae, ne tum quidem gratae futurae, cum
        forsitan & necessariae e r u n t

7.477 [HL 17A] Then wot well this, that when you s h a l l cause
        the trumpet to sound unto batell, these two armies will bee to
        them a faire marke and spectacle to behold: that they may give
        an assault to both at once

Memor esto, iam, cum signum pugnae d a b i s,   has
duas acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos confectosque simul
victorem ac victum adgrediantur.

7.478 [B 2.10r] for it will not onely minister and suggest for the
present, Many ingenious practizes in all trades, by a connexion
and transferring of the obseruations of one Arte, to the vse of
another, when the experiences of seuerall misteries s h a l l
fall vnder consideration of one mans mind:
Neque enim ad praesens tantum iuvabit, nectendo et
transferendo observationes unius artis in usum aliarum, et inde
novas commoditates eliciendo; quod necesse est fieri, cum
experimenta diversarum artium in unius hominis obserationem et
considerationem v e n i e n t.

Translating French Future:

7.479 [FM 190c] As if it were not time enough to endure the sicknesse
when it s h a l l   come.
comme s'il n'estoit point assez à temps pour souffrir
le mal lorqu'il y s e r a.

Translating Latin Future Subjunctive (Future Perfect):

7.480 [LS 3.2] But when thou s h a l t be resolued to accept of his
loue, discouer vnto him readily thy whole hart,
cum p l a c u e r i t fieri, toto illum pectore
admitte.

7.481 [LS 4.2] I expect a farr greater, beyond comparison, when thou
s h a l t cast off thy childish mind, and that Philosophie hath
inrouled thee amongst the number of men:
maius expecta, cum puerilem animum d e p o s u e r i s
et te in viros philosophia transscripserit.

7.482 [LS 11.1] I doubt not but when he s h a l l be best retired,
and despoyled of all his vices, that then this complexion will
accompanie him.
hic illum, quantum suspicor, etiam cum se
c o n f i r m a v e r i t, & omnibus vitiis e x u e r i t,
sapientem quoque sequetur.

7.483 [LS 15.2] When thou s h a l t make thy selfe fleshy and
brawny to the vttermost thou canst imagine, yet neyther in force
or waight shalt thou equall a fat and grown Oxe.
Cum tibi feliciter sagina c e s s e r i t & tori
c r e v e r i n t: nec vires umquam opimi bovis, nec pondus
aequabis.

7.484 [LS 20.12] but when as with mature consideration thou s h a l t
entertaine them, they will be pleasant also:
cum vero multum ante meditatus a c c e s s e r i s,
iucunda quoque.

7.485 [LS 21.10] When they s h a l l approach these Gardens, and
shall see written ouer the gate of them ... The Host ... will be
addressed, and shall entertain thee with a cake ...

                    cum a d i e r i s eius hortulos et inscriptum
hortulis l e g e r i s ... paratus erit istius domicilii
custos ... & te polenta excipiet ...

WHOSOEVER, and the equivalent HE WHO ... are used in a form of condi-

tional sentence, and are followed by SHALL as an equivalent to the

Future Tense in Latin and French.

7.486 [LS 5.6] He that s h a l l enter our houses, let him rather
       looke on vs then on our moueables.
               qui domum i n t r a v e r i t, nos potius miretur
       quam supellectilem nostram.

Equivalent to 'if anyone shall enter our houses, let him rather ...'.

7.487 [FM 160e] For, in my judgement he that s h a l l neerely
       checke, what we ordinarily see in those beasts that liue amongst
       us, shall in them finde ...
               car, selon mon opinion, qui c o n t r e r o l l e r a
       de pres ce que nous voyons ordinairement des animaux qui vivent
       parmy nous, il y a de quoy y trouver ...

7.488 [FM 185e] He that s h a l l number us by our actions and
       proceedings, shall doubtlesse find many more excellent-ones
       amongst the ignorant, than among the wiser sort;
               Qui nous c o n t e r a par nos actions &
       deportemens, il s'en trouvera plus grand nombre d'excellens
       entre les ignorans qu'entre les scavans:

7.489 [FM 207c] Whosoever s h a l l imagine a perpetuall confession
       of ignorance ... That man conceives the true Phyrrhonisme.
               Quiconque i m a g i n e r a une perpetuelle
       confession d'ignorance, ... il concoit le Pyrronisme.

7.490 [FM 209a] It is a white sheete prepared to take from the finger
       of God what form soever it s h a l l please him to imprint
       therin.
               C'est une carte blanche preparée à prendre du doigt
       de Dieu telles formes qu'il luy p l a i r a y graver.

Corresponding to SHOULD in Protasis, we find SHOULD after WHATSOEVER

and HE WHO ...

7.491 [B 2.65r] For h e e had neede be well conducted, t h a t
       s h o u l d designe to make Axiomes Conuertible: If he make
       them not withall Circular.
               Auspicato enim et felicis cuiusdam genii ductu
       procedere oportet, qui axiomata scientiarum convertibilia facere
       attentaverit, et non simul ea reddiderit circularia ...

7.492 [FM 130a] W h a t s o e v e r s h o u l d proceed from us,
       might be seene inlightned with this noble and matchlesse brightnes.
               Tout ce qui partiroit de nous, on le verroit
       illuminé de cette noble clarté.

7.493 [FM 132a] h e t h a t from out this lawfull army s h o u l d
cull out ... such ... whether hee could ever erect a compleat
company of armed men.
        qui trieroit de l'armee, mesmes légitime et moiene,
ceux ... il n'en scauroit bastir une compagnie de gensdarmes
complete.

7.494 [FM 149e] our common mother nature, hath with great plentie
stored us with w h a t s o e v e r s h o u l d be needfull
for us.
        nostre mere nature nous avoit munis à planté de tout
ce qu'il falloit;

7.495 [FM 160e] H e t h a t throughly s h o u l d judge her
present estate, might safely conclude, both what shall happen,
and what is past.
        Qui en aroit suffisemment juge le present estat, en
pourroit seurement conclurre et tout l'advenir et tout le passe.

7.496 [FM 193c] Verily, h e t h a t s h o u l d root out the
knowledge of evill should therewithall extirp the knowledge of
voluptuousnesse.
        De vrai, qui desracineroit la conoissance du mal, il
extirperoit quand et quand la conoissance de la volupte.

7.497 [H 86C] Hee t h a t s h o u l d take vpon him to teach men
how to be eloquent in pleading causes, must needes deliver vnto
them whatsoeuer precepts are requisite vnto that end.

7.498 [M 22C] hee subscribed the following articles ... Secondly,
that hee will presently recall all Vlster men sent by him into
Lemster, leauing those who s h o u l d not obey his directions
to the Lord Lieutenants discretion.

7.499 [M 74A] and h e t h a t s h o u l d take either of these
from her, should take from her the Crowne and Scepter.

7.500 [M 78E] commaunded ... that the Lord Deputy should proclaime
him Traytor, with promise of two thousand pound to a n y
s h o u l d bring him aliue, and one thousand pound to h i m
t h a t s h o u l d bring his head to any of hir Maiesties
Fortes or Garrisons.

7.501 [M 98C] And to yeeld vp to him the Gouvernor a l l the cattle
s h o u l d be found in his Countrey belonging to Odonnell.

In Moryson's text SUCH + NP + AS is used in the same way as WHATSOEVER

+ NP and is followed by SHOULD.

7.502 [M 3C] but were not ashamed to proclaime and promise Heauen for
a reward, to s u c h cut throates a s s h o u l d lay
violent hands on the sacred persons of such Princes, as opposed
their tyranny.

7.503 [M 17A] To dismisse all his Forces, & to pay s u c h reasonable fine to her Maiesties vse, a s s h o u l d be thought   meete by her Maiestie

7.504 [M 23C] to take knowledge of s u c h grieuances, a s the Submitties s h o u l d present vnto them, and to take order for their satisfaction

7.505 [M 52C] they should pay to the Treasurer at warres for Ireland s u c h summes, a s s h o u l d bee signed by sixe of the priuy Counsell of England ... Secondly, aboue the foure thousand pound for extraordinaries therein mentioned, to pay him s u c h sums a s s h o u l d by the same be signed.

7.506 [M 54C] auowing, that as his loue made him interessed in that noble Earles fortunes, so hee would thankefully acknowledge from him s u c h fauour, a s he s h o u l d be pleased to shew that distressed Earle.

7.507 [M 68A] also reseruing lands in Tyrone to reward the seruices of s u c h Gentlemen a s s h o u l d serue vnder Sir Arthur in these warres.

7.508 [M 88E] his Lordship receiued commandement to pardon a l l s u c h in Mounster a s s h o u l d require it, and should be commended by the Lord President.

Conditions in Moryson are sometimes introduced with the word CONDITION

or some derivative, and followed by SHOULD.

7.509 [M 7E] The conditions of this grant were, that the bounds of Tyrone s h o u l d be limited; (etc)

7.510 [M 12A] if the Earle of Tyrone had not interposed his authoritie, and made composition for their liues, with condition that they s h o u l d depart the Countrey

7.511 [M 25E] And now they raised Iames Fitzthomas a Geraldine to be Earl of Desmond, (which title had since the warres of Desmond bin suppressed), with condition, that (forsooth) he s h o u l d be vassall to Oneale.

7.512 [M 74E] to inlarge him, conditionally, that he s h o u l d sweare to doe henceforward no hurt or hinderance to any in action with him.

7.513 [M 88C] he had the grant of three hundred foot, and one hundred horse in her Maiesties pay, on condition he s h o u l d bring the men seruiceable, and maintaine them so, without further charge to her Maiestie.

Exceptionally these occur with WOULD, in the sense of 'be willing'.

7.514 [M 11A] that a pardon was offered to one of the Iury for his son, being in danger of the Law, vpon condition hee w o u l d consent to find his kinsman guilty.

Conditions introduced by the word CONDITION are also followed by the subjunctive.

7.515 [M 23C] her Maiesty ... had beene induced ... to giue him ...
       her gracious pardon vpon conditions following. First, that he
       renew his humble submission ...
       2. That he promise ...
       3. That he dispierce his forces ... [in all 13 subjunctives]

Equivalent to UPON CONDITION THAT is PROVIDED THAT, also with SHOULD and WOULD.

7.516 [M 9A] Prouided that the pledges s h o u l d not lie in the
       Castle, but with some gentlemen in the Pale, or Merchants in
       Dublyn, and might be changed euery three moneths, during her
       Maiesties pleasure.

7.517 [M 24A] To the last he agreeth, prouided that he w o u l d
       deliuer no man to the State, who came to him for cause of
       conscience.

Conditions of this legal kind are also introduced by SO AS.

7.518 [M 14D] their Lordships aduised the Lord Deputy to offer
       Odonnel pardon, s o a s he w o u l d seuer himselfe from
       Tyrone:

7.519 [M 67D] offering to ioyne the Quenes forces vnder his commaund
       ... s o a s he w o u l d after yeeld due tribute and
       obedience to her Maiesty.

SO AS, SO THAT, in the sense 'provided that'.

7.520 [B 1.23r-v] but; s o let great Authors haue theire due, a s
       time, which is the Author of Authors b e not depriued of his
       due.
                 magnis auctoribus suus sic constet honos ut auctori
       auctorum, et veritatis parenti, tempori, non derogetur

7.521 [B 2.34v] Therefore these Kalenders of doubts, I commend as
       excellent things, s o t h a t there b e this caution vsed,
       that when they bee thoroughly sifted & brought to resolution,
       they bee from thence forth omitted, decarded and not continued
       to cherish and encourage men in doubting

7.522 [H 86D] because his profession is to deliuer precepts necessarye
       vnto eloquent speech, yet s o, t h a t they which are to
       receyve them b e taught before hand, so much of that which is
       thereunto necessarye as comprehendeth the skil of speaking.

7.523 [M 73A] with supplying him afterwards with whatsoeuer he could
       aske, s o it w e r e possible to bee giuen him.

ON CONDITION THAT ⎫
⎪
PROVIDED THAT   ⎬ are also found with MAY/MIGHT
⎪
SO (AS)   ⎭

MAY:

7.524 [C XIII] but all he hath don is only a promise of 40000 dollers
to be restored on condition his subjects m a y be satisfied ...

7.525 [B 1.14v-15r] neuer caring in all tempests, what becoms of the
shippe of Estates, s o they m a y saue themselues in the
Cocke-boat of their owne fortune
               De reipublicae navi, licet tempestatibus jactata,
neutiquam soliciti, modo ipsis in scapha rerum suarum receptus
detur et effugium

7.526 [FM 206e] They care not to be beaten, s o they m a y strike
againe
               Il ne leur importe qu'on les frape, pourveu qu'ils
frappent;

7.527 [C XXXVII] but yt seemes he cares not greatly who gets yt s o
Heale m a y misse yt.

7.525, 7.526, 7.527 with the main clause with negative use of verb CARE.

7.528 below is similar in sense.

MIGHT:

7.528 [HL 25D] But forgetting all kind affection to her native
countrey, s o shee m i g h t see her husband raised to high
promotion, shee resolued and plotted to leave Tarquinij and
depart.
               oblitaque ingenitae erga patriam caritatis, dummodo
virum honoratum videret, consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis cepit.

7.529 [FM 214e] and have busied their mindes about inventions that
might at least have a pleasing and wilie apparance,
p r o v i d e d (notwithstanding it were false) it m i g h t
be maintained against contrary oppositions:
               & ont promené leur ame à des inventions qui eussent
au moins une plaisante & subtile apparence: pourveu que, toute
fauce, elle se peut meintenir contre les oppositions contreres:

7.530 [M 9A] Provided that the pledges should not lie in the Castle,
but with some gentlemen in the Pale, or Merchants in Dublyn, and
m i g h t be changed euery three moneths, during her Maiesties
pleasure.
(where both SHOULD and MIGHT after PROVIDED THAT ...)

7.531 [FM 214c] Eudoxus wished, and praid to the Gods that he might
once view the Sunne neere at hand ... o n c o n d i t i o n he
m i g h t immediately be burnt and consumed by it.
               Eudoxus souhetoit & prioit les Dieux qu'il peut une
fois voir le soleil depres ... à peine d'en estre brulé
soudainement

7.532　[M 23E] To the first and second Articles Tyrone agreeth, so as time m i g h t be giuen for the other Lords his associates to assemble, that they might herein lay no imputation on him.

7.533　[M 79A] hee was driuen to let matters goe as they would, so as hee m i g h t saue himselfe

7.534　[C VI] but newes came yesterday ... that Tiron out of his merciles bountie had graunted them leave to bury theyre dead and to go away with all they had, so that the fort m i.;g h t be delivered him.

UNTIL when not followed by the indicative, is most frequently found

with MAY/MIGHT, and a strong sense of purpose is usually present.

MAY:

7.535　[LS 16.1] We must perseuer, and by continuall diligence adde strength, t i l l that which is now only a good will, m a y become a habituall good minde.
　　　　　　Perseverandum est, & adsiduo studio robur addendum donec bona mens sit quod bona voluntas est

7.536　[D 21] And therfor I shalbe glade yo^u would sett it, in some yard at hartley till I m a y send for it the next weake.

7.537　[C VI] he made proclamation ... that the States of Holland might likewise trade, go and come with all securitie, during eight moneths till other order m a y be taken for continuance:
(the order presumably at the time of writing, not yet taken)

MIGHT:

7.538　[M 22B] And t i l l these m i g h t be booked, to be sent ouer with his Submission, most humbly crauing of his Lordship to grant a truce ...

7.539　[M 58E] And though the terrour of the Army did not worke the first effect, being in the choyce of the enemy, vntill by the second course they m i g h t be constrained, that the fault was in their disposition, and not in the Earles endeauours or power.

7.540　[M 99C] Rebels ... whom his Lordship lately receiued to mercy, vnder his Maiesties protection, t i l l their pardons m i g h t be signed.

7.541　[M 101A] his Lordship granted him her Maiesties protection, t i l l he m i g h t sue out his pardon

7.542　[M 101D] That Neale Garue by the keeping of Tirconnell granted him at Dublyn for the time, t i l l her Maiesty m i g h t please to passe the same to him by Letters Pattents, ...

7.543　[C IX] sayes he was ... taken prisoner, and concealed himself t i l l he m i g h t conveniently get away.

7.544 [C XXXII] sent 22 ensignes of Scottes and others to kepe a
       passage about Oldenburgh and so to hinder his comming on t i l l
       they m i g h t consult what were best to be don.

7.545 [C XLV] We had heard a noise and uncertain bruit of something
       don, which made us the more impatient t i l l we m i g h t
       learne the truth.

CAN/COULD

       In Negative Clause:

7.546 [M 65A] his Lordship knowing that they would neuer be faithfull
       to the State, t i l l they c o u l d n o t subsist against
       it, was of opinion , that ...

       And in Non-Negative Clauses:

7.547 [D 28] she maye staye longer or v n t y l l one c a n be
       learned of for that place

7.548 [D 29] now if ther be no way but she wyll away, yett that se
       stay whill martynmes w h i l l one c a n be gott for the
       place

7.549 [C XXXI] The Spaniards shold haue geuen theyre resolute aunswer
       about yt on Tewsday last, which they protracted two or three
       dayes and then demaunded 14 dayes more, t i l l they
       c o u l d send Vereiken to Brussells to know theyre finall
       resolution.

There are only two uses with SHOULD, which are both preterites of SHALL.

7.550 [M 55C] ... the Commissioners ... (who ruled the Prouince after
       the death of Sir Thomas Norreys, v n t i l a Lord President
       s h o u l d be chosen ...

7.551 [M 66E] So as Captain Blany passing the water, made a stand
       there, as he was appointed to doe, t i l l the carriage and
       horse s h o u l d be passed

The subjunctive also occurs:

7.552 [FM 163e] the astonishment is sensibly felt to gaine upward
       u n t i l l it c o m e to the hands.
                on sent cette passion qui gaigne contremont jusques
       à la main.

7.553 [FM 175e] which he continually keepes gaping, u n t i l l he
       s e e some little fish enter in.
                qu'il tient continuellement entrebaillée & ouverte,
       jusques à ce qu'il y v o y e entrer quelque petit poisson ...

7.554 [FM 239c] to leaue her untouch't and unpolluted, u n t i l l
       such time as she w e r e brought a bed
                de la laisser impollue et intacte jusque a ce qu'elle
       f u t acouchee:

7.555 [H 48D] the matters which we handle seeme by reason of newnesse (t i l l the minde g r o w better acquainted with them) dark, intricate, and vnfamiliar.

SECTION 6 - CONCESSIVE CLAUSES

Concessive Clauses are distinct from protases and the other conditional clauses considered in Section 5, in this respect; Conditional Clauses can be generally taken to put forward a necessary condition for the fulfilment of the apodosis; in other words, IF A, (THEN) B, implies IF NOT A, (THEN) NOT B: Concessive Clauses on the other hand are only used when this implication is not present, indeed when the contrary of this implication may be assumed as part of the situation. Thus ALTHOUGH A, (YET) B takes as an assumption IF NOT A, (THEN) B.

Thus Concessive Sentences may be paraphrased 'Whether or not A, still B'. From this it follows that, whereas in conditional sentences, the main clause or apodosis will normally be non-indicative in its modality, the clause which is linked in construction with a concessive clause will normally be indicative in its modality.

Conditional Clauses and Concessive Clauses in eModE show the same forms for the verb, most frequently subjunctive tenses, sometimes SHOULD and occasionally other modal verbs in their full meanings.

Concessive Clauses are introduced by (AL)THOUGH, ALBEIT.

Present Sequence in Concessive Clauses

Present Subjunctive:

7.556 [LS 2.4] t h o u g h for varieties sake thou sometimes c h a n g e, let the others be vnto thee as thy harbour, those as thine ordinarie retreat and house
　　　　et si quando ad alios deverti libuerit, ad priores redi

7.557 [FM 208b] A l t h o u g h he f i n d e not this proper and singular marke of judging in himselfe ... Hee ceaseth not to direct the offices of his life fully and commodiously.
　　　　Encores qu'il ne t r e u v e point en soi cette propre et singuliere marque ... il ne laisse de conduire les offices de sa vie pleinement et commodeement.

7.558 [FM 214b] what our minde drawes from learning leaveth not to be
      voluptuous, a l t h o u g h it neither n o u r i s h nor
      b e wholesome
              ce que nostre esprit tire de la sciance, ne laisse
      pas d'estre voluptueus, encore qu'il ne s o i t ny alimentant
      ny salutere.

7.559 [FM 243e] It is against reason not to give credit unto the
      children of the Gods, a l t h o u g h their sayings b e
      neither grounded upon necessary, nor likely reasons ...
              C'est contre raison de refuser foy aus enfans des
      dieus, encore que leur dire ne s o i t establi par raisons
      necesseres ni vraisamblables ...

7.560 [H 53C] Let Phidias haue rude & obstinate stuff to carue,
      t h o u g h his arte d o that it should, his worke will lacke
      that bewtie which otherwise in fitter matter it might haue had

Here the Concessive Clause like Conditional Clauses with Present

Subjunctive refers to a possibility. In 7.561, 7.562 however the

reference is to a matter of fact, so that the clause is equivalent to

'in spite of the fact that ...'.

7.561 [H 49E] Dangerous it were for the feeble braine of man to wade
      farre into the doings of the most High, whome a l t h o u g h
      to knowe b e life, and ioy to make mention of his name: yet
      our soundest knowledge is to know that we know him not as in
      deed he is, neither can know him.

7.562 [D 29] but I have no doubt of ther paments a l l t h o they
      b e slowe.

      SHOULD:

A single example where SHOULD seems equivalent to the Present Subjunc-

tive, the reference is to a possibility.

7.563 [C XXXVI] Some of the Quenes ships are making redy to looke
      after the Spaniards that are comming for the Lowe Countries, but
      I thincke they will do no more to them t h o u g h they
      s h o l d fall in theyre mouth.

Preterite Sequence in Concessive Clauses

      Preterite Subjunctive:

Whereas the Preterite Subjunctive in Conditional Clauses usually implies

the clause is contrary to fact, the Preterite Subjunctive in Concessive

Clauses, as the examples below suggest, usually implies the clause is

factual.

7.564 [B 1.35v] And the vertue of this Prince ... made the name of
Antoninus so sacred in the world, that t h o u g h it w e r e
extreamely dishonoured in Commodus, Carocalla, and Heliogabalus ...

7.565 [B 2.47v] Manna, which t h o u g h it w e r e celestiall,
yet seemed less nutritiue and comfortable.
            Quae licet cibus fuerit coelestis, minus tamen
sentiebatur almus et sapidus.

7.566 [M 84E] I sensibly heard by reuerberation of the wall, the
sound of the vollies of shot in that skirmish, t h o u g h the
place w e r e at least six miles distant.

7.567 [C LIX] Our Commissioners stay still at Breme, t h o u g h yt
w e r e geven out that the treatie was broken of.

            SHOULD:

When SHOULD is used in Concessive Clauses, with a preterite, either

indicative or subjunctive, in the main clause, it refers to a possi-

bility and not to a fact.

7.568 [H 82B] sith possession of blisse, t h o u g h it s h o u l d
be but for a moment, were an aboundant retribution.

7.569 [H 82B] how gratious and bountifull our good God might still
appeare in so rewarding the sonnes of men, a l b e i t they
s h o u l d exactly performe what soeuer dutie their nature
bindeth them vnto.

7.570 [M 75A] he would ... procure the Earles inlargement without any
condition, t h o u g h by his release all Ireland s h o u l d
be destroied

7.571 [M 101B] because he had no Hauen ... nor could escape from the
English forces, t h o u g h Spaniards s h o u l d land

Pluperfect Sequence in Concessive Clauses

            Pluperfect Subjunctive:

The only example is the following which I take to be a concessive rather

than a conditional in spite of the fact that it has IF rather than

ALTHOUGH.

7.572 [B 2.76v] Thus haue I presumed to alledge this excellent writing
of your Maiesty, as a prime or eminent example of Tractates,
concerning speciall & respectiue dutyes: wherein I s h o u l d
h a u e said as much, if it h a d beene written a thousand
yeares since:
            Quo de libro, quae a me iam dicta sunt dixissem, si
ante annos mille a rege quopiam conscriptus fuisset

IF here must be taken to stand for EVEN IF and not ONLY IF so that

by the criterion set out at the beginning of this section this should

be a Concessive and not a Conditional sentence. However it has the

characteristics of a pluperfect sequence conditional sentence, and the

concessive clause is contrary to fact. The only other example I find

of this is more evidently a concessive sentence but not in pluperfect

sequence.

7.573 [H 63C] Infinite duties there are, the goodnes wherof is by
       this rule sufficiently manifested, a l t h o u g h we h a d
       no other warrant besides to approue them.

It might be possible to explain this as an example of HAD for HAD HAD

(see 7.409, 7.410, 7.411 but these examples are from letter writers

where carelessness is more likely). SHOULD HAVE does not appear in a

concessive clause in the corpus.

MIGHT HAVE:

7.574 [C XXIV] but some say Sir Coniers himself went not souldierlike
       to worke, and when he saw his error, t h o u g h he m i g h t
       h a v e escaped, wold not outlive such a losse.

This concessive clause is not equivalent to a conditional clause for

'If he might have escaped' implies that in fact there had been no

possibility of his escaping. Here the sense is the same as if in a

main clause, a possibility existed in the past which was not realized,

and the whole meaning of this concessive sentence could be given as 'He

might have escaped, but he would not outlive such a loss'. The

following is exactly parallel with the concessive clause introduced by

WHEREAS.

7.575 [HL 4G] yet w h e r e a s he m i g h t well h a v e
       resisted the force of his enemies, and maintained a defensive
       war within his wals, he brought his armie forth into the open
       field.
              Tamen, cum moenibus bellum propulsare posset, in aciem
       copias educit

There is a use of clauses introduced by HOW(SO)EVER, WHAT(SO)EVER

which is related to concessive clauses in the same way as WHO(SO)EVER,

HE WHO ... constructions (see 7.486-7.501) are related to conditional

sentences.

Whereas these constructions when equivalent to conditionals

appear only with SHALL/SHOULD, the concessive equivalents seem

virtually confined to subjunctive tenses.

HOWSOEVER is sometimes apparently equivalent to ALTHOUGH; it is

appropriate to the concessive sense of 'whether or not ...'.

7.576   [M 36A] their foot are so vnwilling to fight in battell or
         grosse, (h o w s o e u e r they b e desirous to skirmish and
         fight loose);

7.577   [M 55C] So as h o w s o e u e r he w e r e fiue thousand
         strong in able men, besides many of baser sort, yet ... his
         vtter confusion was confidently hoped.

7.578   [M 89D] For h o w s o e u e r his Lordship w e r e not
         dangerously ingaged therein, yet hee was ... fully resolued not
         to put his necke vnder the fyle of the Queenes Atturnies tongue.

In these three examples the writer appears to assume the clause after

HOWEVER is factual.

7.579   [C XXXIX] and made me a truant en vostre endroit, for so will I
         acknowledge yt to you, h o w s o e v e r to others I
         c o u l d salve and make all whole with passable and pregnant
         excuses.

Equivalent to 'although to others I were able to ...'.

In the following examples ALTHOUGH cannot replace HOWSOEVER.   In

7.580 the sense of 'whether or not' is explicit.   It is equivalent to

'although the nice humour of some be not therewith pleased'.

7.580   [H 48B] Yet this may not so farre preuaile as to cut off that
         which the matter it selfe requireth, h o w s o e u e r the
         nice humour of some b e therewith pleased or no.

In the following examples the sense could be expressed as 'No matter in

what manner ...'.

7.581 [HL 2L] But these and such like matters, h o w s o e u e r
they shall hereafter b e censured or esteemed, I will not
greatly weigh and regard.
          Sed haec, & his similia, utcumque animadversa aut
existimata erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine.

7.582 [M 64D] H o w e v e r it w e r e, the Rebels did him no hurt
in his person

7.583 [C XII] but h o w s o e v e r yt f a l l out, yea though
they were willing, I hardly thincke yt is to be had.

   WHAT(SO)EVER:

7.584 [FM 151d] and without any prerogative or essentiall
preexcellencie, w h a t e v e r Privilege he a s s u m e
unto himselfe, he is of very meane condition
          & d'une condition fort moyenne, sans aucune
prerogative, praeexcellence vraye & essentielle.

Equivalent to 'although he assume prìvileges to himself, he is of very

mean condition'.

7.585 [LS 17.12] because that into w h a t place s o e u e r he
b e remoued, he beareth alwaies his grief with him.
          Quocumque illum transtuleris, morbum suum secum
transferet.

7.586 [FM 228c] It is injustice to make it miscarie at our pleasure,
as under w h a t pretence s o e v e r it b e to kill
ourselves.
          c'est injustice de l'affoler a nostre esciant come de
nous tuer pour quelque praetexte que ce soit

7.587 [C XIII] We heare the States make huge levies of mony and meane
to be masters of the feild the next sommer w h a t s o e v e r
yt c o s t them.

Holland uses WHATEVER in the translation of QUICUMQUE 'no matter who'.

7.588 [HL 6I] So perish he, w h a t e v e r else he b e, that
shal once dare to leape over my walls.
          Sic deinde, q u i c u m q u e alius transiliet moenia
mea.

7.589 [HL 19A] and so with a mischeefe goe she, w h a t e v e r
she b e, that shall bewaile an enemie of Rome.
          sic eat q u a e c u m q u e Romanum lugebit hostem.

   WHICHSOEVER - 'no matter which' 'whether one or the other ...':

7.590 [H 76A] Wheras now w h i c h s o e u e r be receyued there
is no law of reason transgrest;

SECTION 7 - AS IF CLAUSES

Besides the ordinary conditional (ONLY IF) and concessives (EVEN IF) there is a third kind of condition, usually with AS IF. This gives a speculative or imaginary condition or analogy for a real state of affairs. As in conditionals or concessive sentences there are two clauses, but the AS IF clause is always contrary to fact, and the main clause is always factual.

Conditional - If he were ill, he would not eat

Concessive - Although he were ill, he ate

AS IF   - He does not eat, as if he were ill.

AS IF Clauses occur with the preterite subjunctive or SHOULD. They are introduced by AS IF, AS THOUGH, AS.

Preterite Subjunctive:

7.591 [B 1.24r] a s i f the same obiection w e r e to be made to time, that Lucian maketh to Iupiter
          Ac si illa objectio conveniret erga tempus, qua Lucianus impetit Jovem

7.592 [B 1.24v] a s i f the multitude, ... w e r e not readie to giue passage,
                    quasi vero multitudo ... non illud saepe probarint

7.593 [B 1.26v] A s i f there w e r e sought in knowledge a Cowch, whervpon to rest a searching and restlesse spirite;
                    Plane, quasi in doctrina quaereretur lectulus, in quo tumultuans ingenium et aestuans requiesceret

7.594 [FM 237a] A s t h o u g h any thing w e r e more wretched than man over whom his owne imaginations beare sway and domineere.
                    Quasi quicquam infoelicius sit homine, cui sua figmenta dominantur.

7.595 [FM 131c] Doe but marke if we doe not handle it a s it w e r e a peece of waxe, from out so right and so firme a rule, to drawe so many contrary shapes.
                    Sentez si ce n'est par nos mains que nous la menons, a tirer come de cire tant de figures contreres d'une regle si droite et si ferme.

7.596 [C XIII] and play so round a game a s y f Ireland w e r e to be recovered at Irish.

7.597 [C XXXIII] This towne is as empty a s y f yt w e r e dead vacation ... all is as close and quiet a s y f yt w e r e midnight.

SHOULD:

7.598 [LS 12.8] Therefore ought we to dispose of euery day, in such
sort a s i f it d i d lead vp the rereward of our time, and
s h o u l d consummate our lives.
        Itaque sic ordinandus est dies omnis tanquam cogat
agmen & consumet atque expleat vitam.

'Did lead' (presumably preterite subjunctive), 'should consummate' both

rendering present subjunctives in Latin.

7.599 [LS 10.5] So liue with men a s i f God s a w thee, so
speake with God a s i f men s h o u l d heare thee.
        Sic vive cum hominibus tanquam Deus videat, sic
loquere cum Deo tanquam homines audiant.

So here with 'saw' and 'should hear' both rendering present subjunctive

in Latin.

7.600 [B 1.14v] the corrupter sort of meere Politiques ... thrust
themselues into the Center· of the world, a s i f all lynes
s h o u l d meet in them and their fortunes;
        At politicorum turba ... gerentes se pro centro mundi,
ac si omnes lineae in se suisque fortunis d e b e a n t
concurrere.

It is hard not to feel here that the translators have forced SHOULD

into a fuller meaning than in the context is likely.

7.601 [B 2.5r] to beginne with those Artes (a s i f one s h o u l d
learne to weigh, or to measure, or to painte the Winde.)
        initium ab istis scientiis sumant (ac si quis discere
vellet ponderare, vel metiri vel ornare ventum.)

7.602 [B 2.39r] the ancient opinion that Man was Microcosmus, an
Abstract or Modell of the world, hath been fantastically streyned
by Paracelsus, and the Alchimists, a s i f there w e r e to
be found in mans body certaine correspondences, & parallels,
which s h o l d haue respect to all varieties of things ...
        Neque propterea cum Paracelso et Alchemistis ita
desipimus, ut putemus inveniri in corpore humano, quae singulis
universitatis rerum speciebus ... respondeant.

It seems likely that AS IF accounts for SHOULD here ('as if certain

correspondences and parallels found in man's body should have respect

to all varieties of things').

7.603 [B 2.48r] which seemeth to me to be such a deficience, a s i f
in the making of an Inuentorie ... it s h o u l d be set downe...
        Qui quidem talis mihi videtur esse defectus, ac si
quis in inventario ... ita referat;

7.604 [B 2.52r] <u>They did a s i f one that professed the Art of</u>
<u>Shooe-making, s h o u l d not teach howe to make vp a Shooe,</u>
<u>but only exhibite in a readinesse a number of Shooes.</u>
            Perinde illos facere, ac si quis calcearium professus,
rationem calcei conficiendi non doceret, sed exhiberet tantum
calceos complurimos, ...

Pluperfect Subjunctive:

7.605 [B 2.56v] a s i f he h a d been an <u>Aedilis</u>; One that should
      haue set foorth some magnificent shewes <u>or playes?</u>

SHOULD HAVE:

7.606 [B 2.50r] A s i f <u>Samuell</u> s h o u l d h a u e rested vppon
      those Sonnes of <u>Issay</u>, which were brought before him, and fayled
      of <u>Dauid</u> which was in the field.
            Perinde ac si Samuel acquievisset in illis Isai
      filiis, quos coram adductos videbat in domo.

As the Latin translation shows, not 'OUGHT TO HAVE' but equivalent to

'As if Samuel had rested upon ...'.

There are a number of uses of WOULD after AS IF. Certain

behaviour is explained as suggesting certain intentions or ambitions.

7.607 [FM 134e] Many have beene seene, to have conceived, either
      through vanitie or fiercenesse, strange and seld-knowne opinions,
       a s i f they w o u l d become reformers of the world.
            il s'en est veu asses, par vanite et par fierte de
      concevoir des opinions non vulgueres & reformatrices du monde.

7.608 [FM 144d] What doe we with our hands? Doe we not sue and
      entreat ... With so great variation, and amplifying, a s i f
      they w o u l d contend with the tongue.
            Quoi des mains? nous requerons, nous prometons ...
      d'une variation et multiplication a l'envi de la langue.

'As if they were trying to contend with the tongue'

7.609 [FM 134d] They report of Bion, that being infected with the
      Atheismes of <u>Theodorus</u>, he had for a long time made but a
      mockerie of religious men; but when death did once seize upon
      him, he yeelded unto the extremest superstitions. A s i f the
      Gods w o u l d either be removed, or come againe, according to
      Bions businesse.
            Ils recitent de Bion qu'infaict des atheismes Theodorus,
      il avoit este longtems se moquant des homes relligieus; mais, la
      mort le surprenant, qu'il se rendit aus plus extremes supersti-
      tions, come si les dieus s'ostoint & se remetoint selon
      l'affaire de Bion.

Though not suggested by the French, I think Florio intends 'as if the

Gods were ready or willing to go and come back ...'.

WOULD seems put for SHOULD in

7.610 [M 47A] ... gaue <u>Tyrone</u> occasion ... to ieast at him, a s i f
all occasions of doing seruice w o u l d be past, ere he could
be made ready and haue his breakfast.

SECTION 8 - <u>SHOULD IN NOUN CLAUSES</u>

<u>Protasis as Noun Clause</u>

The transition from various forms of conditional sentence to the

examination of the subordinate noun clause, can conveniently be made

through a certain kind of conditional sentence in which protasis

normally follows apodosis and is introduced by THAT rather than IF,

although IF also occurs. In the examples of this construction, the

apodosis refers to an emotional reaction to the event mentioned in the

protasis.

7.611 [D 26] but I wold be right sorye that the Imaginatyons of the
wycked s h o u l d prove true of me

7.612 [C XIX] I ... wold gladly heare of the safe arrivall of yt,
because yt was accompanied with some other letters, and bookes
that I wold be very loth s h o l d miscarie.

7.613 [D 28] and lothe would I be for any such small matter that m^r
wykleff and I s h o u l d contend in my Lords absenc.

Sometimes the same conditional meaning remains with indicative

modality in apodosis.

7.614 [H 48A] but also to beare such exceptions as minds so auerted
beforehand vsually take against that which they are loath
s h o u l d be powred into them.

This seems to include the meaning 'if that were poured into them, they

would be very loath'.

But sometimes, indicative modality in the apodosis implies that

the protasis although still with SHOULD is fulfilled and factual so

that the construction is no longer strictly a conditional.

7.615 [C XXIII] I am sory and ashamed that this weakenes and nakednes
of ours on all sides s h o l d shew yt self so apparantly as
to be carried far and neere to our disgrace both with friends
and foes.

7.616 [C XXVI] I am sory we s h o l d have any difference with a
commonwealth so generally estemed for justice and wisdome.

On the other hand, much of the structure of a conditional sentence

remains, including the relationship between the two clauses, in which

the SHOULD-Clause refers to a necessary condition of the main clause,

giving what is in effect a kind of fulfilled conditional. Conditions

which are only possibilities occur in the next two examples.

7.617 [C L] The Lord Gray hath not that commaund nor entertainment in
the Lowe Countries that he propounded to himself, the envie
whereof his frends ... are content s h o l d light on Sir Fra:
Vere.

7.618 [FM 183c] he would rather have accepted that of folly, than
have been pleased, that <u>Circes</u> s h o u l d transforme his
humane shape into a beasts
            qu'Ulysse eust deu plutost accepter celuy de la folie,
que de consentir que Circé eust changé sa figure humaine en
celle d'une beste;

The protasis may appear either as the subject or the object in the

apodosis. Sometimes when it appears as subject, it is reduced to TO +

Infinitive:

7.619 [H 50D] That and nothing else is done by God, which to leaue
vndone were not so good.

That is, 'If he should leave it undone, it would not be so good'.

or to FOR + NP + TO + Infinitive:

7.620 [H 66A] The first taketh place where the comparison doth stande
altogether betweene doing and not doing of one thing which in it
selfe is absolutely good or euill; as it had bene for Ioseph to
yeeld or not to yeeld to the impotent desire of his lewd
mistresse, the one euill the other good simply

'If Joseph had yielded it would have been evil, if Joseph had not

yielded it would have been good.'

Sometimes the protasis appears as a clause with a preterite

(presumably subjunctive) verb.

7.621 [C XL] I perceve by him that Sir Edward is not so thoroughly
recovered but that he is in daunger of a relapse, which it were
goode you listened after

'If you listened after it, it would be good.'

SHOULD clauses may appear as object, as in

7.622 [H 86C] Notwithstanding euery man would thinke it ridiculous,
that he which vndertaketh by writing to instruct an Orator,
s h o u l d   therefore deliuer all the precepts of grammar.

'If he which undertaketh by writing to instruct an orator should ...

deliver all the precepts of grammar, every man would think it ridicu-

lous.'

Here too we may find an indicative apodosis, yet a clear

conditional sense in the THAT-Clause with SHOULD

7.623 [H 73D] Notwithstanding euen they which brooke it worst that
men s h o u l d tell them of their duties, when they are told
the same by a lawe, thinke very wel & reasonablie of it.

The two parts of the sentence form parallel conditionals. If men should

tell them of their duties, they brook it worst; When (= if) they are

told the same by law, they think very well ...

A similar conditional interpretation is possible in the following,

when the protasis as a (THAT)-Clause with SHOULD can also be taken as

the object of the verb in the apodosis.

7.624 [FM 233b] I cannot allow a man s h o u l d so bound Gods
heavenly power under the Lawes of our word.
        Je ne trouve pas bon d'enfermer ainsi la puissance
divine soubs les loix de nostre parolle.

Here, as the French indicates, 'allow' is to be taken in the PE sense

of 'approve'. 'If a man should so bound God's power, I cannot approve

(it).'

7.625 [FM 234d] which a Christian ought to abhor, that euer such and
so profane words s h o u l d passe his mouth
        qu'un Chrestien devroit eviter de passer par sa bouche.

7.626 [B 1.23v] while Antiquity enuieth there s h o u l d be new
additions
        Dum Antiquitas novis invideat augmentis.

Such SHOULD-Clauses may also appear as the subject of the apodosis.

7.627 [FM 237d] Were it not a sottish arrogancie, that wee s h o u l d
        thinke our selves to be the perfectest thing of this Universe?
                Ce seroit une sotte arrogance de nous estimer la plus
        parfaicte chose de cet univers:

If we render this rhetorical question as a statement and set the

sentence out as an explicit conditional it becomes

                If we should think ourselves to be the perfectest thing
                in the universe, it were a sottish arrogance.

That the clause 'that we should think ...' functions here like a

protasis appears to be due to the mood of the verb of which it forms

the subject. If this verb were in the indicative the clause would stand

not as a condition of the statement of which it is the grammatical

subject but as a statement itself. Florio provides an example to

illustrate this.

7.628 [FM 182b] Yet it is a wonderful signe of our imbecillitie that
        the use and knowledge s h o u l d so make us to be cloyd one
        of another.
                Si est-ce un merveilleux signe de nostre defaillance,
        que l'usage & la conoissance nous dégoute les uns des autres.

The complex sentence here might be separated into two statements:

1. The use and knowledge makes us to be cloyed one of another; 2. This

is a wonderful sign of our imbecility. SHOULD here does not indicate

mood but grammatical subordination. The following examples have noun

clauses with SHOULD which are to be taken as statements of fact.

7.629 [HL 4L] But it was a fatall thing, and (as I thinke) which God
        would have, that so great a cittie s h o u l d be built for to
        yeeld the ground and beginning of that Empire, which next under
        the gods is most mightie.
                Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis
        maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium.

7.630 [B 2.13r] And now last, this most happie and glorious euent,
        that this Iland of Brittany diuided from all the world,
        s h o u l d bee vnited in it selfe;
                Haec omnia demum excepit eventus iste faustus et
        gloriosus; nimirum huiusce insulae Britanniae, a toto orbe
        divisae, in se unio.

7.631 [FM 236e] It is pity we s h o u l d so deceive our selves
        with our owne foolish divises and apish inventions.
                C'est pitié que nous nous pipons de nos propres
        singeries & inventions.

7.632 [C XXXIV] but yet yt is no small honor to us that nations so far remote and every way different s h o l d meet here to admire the glory and magnificence of our Quene of Saba.

Examples 7.628 - 7.632 link a factual noun clause with a noun phrase.

In the following the noun clause is qualified by an adjective.

7.633 [C XXXVIII] yt is straunge to me that our yll newes s h o l d flie to fast as to overtake you in five dayes

7.634 [M 65B] His Lordship ... onely professed to thinke it strange, that one so full of regard to himselfe in all his proceedings, s h o u l d be so easily ouertaken.
(a reference to the capture of the Earl of Ormond. Mountjoy is sceptical, but not about the fact that Ormond was 'overtaken'.)

7.635 [M 70B] the end of the Conference most shamefull, that the wretched traytor s h o u l d prescribe conditions to his Soueraigne.

7.636 [M 77D] It seemed incredible that by so barbarous inhabitants, the ground s h o u l d be so manured, the fields ..so orderly fenced, the Townes so frequently inhabited, and the high waies and paths so well beaten, as the Lord Deputy here found them.

It <u>seemed</u> incredible, but the ground <u>was</u> so manured.

Yet in what appears to be a similar construction, the noun clause with

SHOULD, though the subject of an indicative verb, is not factual.

7.637 [M 89C] It is not credible that the influence of the Earles malignant star, s h o u l d worke vpon so poore a snake as myselfe ...

Rather, the whole sentence gives the status of the proposition in the

SHOULD-Clause.

7.638 [B 246r] others,... doe conceiue it should likewise be agreeable to Nature, that there s h o u l d be some transmissions and operations from spirit to spirit ...
            Alii ... in eam opinionem devenerunt, quod multo magis a spiritu in spiritum ... impressiones, et delationes, et communicationes fieri poterint

Here, the status of the proposition 'that there should be some trans-

missions ... from spirit to spirit', namely that 'it is agreeable to

nature' is rendered in the Latin as a kind of modality 'fieri poterint'.

The two examples above may serve as transitional to the topic treated

in the next section.

Noun Clauses Expressing Modality

Constructions of this kind, of a noun clause together with a noun phrase or adjective can be used to express the modality of the verb in the noun clause. The noun clause is found with the subjunctive (usually present tense) or with SHOULD.

Expressing forms of Obligation

GOOD, BETTER

Subjunctive:

7.639 [FM 156c] Is it not as good, that the dog k n o w it by himselfe, as by Trapezuntius his logicke?
          vaut il pas autant que le chien le sache de soi que de Trapizonce?

SHOULD:

7.640 [FM 184d] So doe I not know, whether it were better that this swift motion of the thought ... s h o u l d not at all be given to mankind ... than that it should be given so plentifully and so largely.
          Sic haud scio, an metius fuerit humano generi motum istum celerem cogitationis acumen ... non dari omnino quam tam munifice et tam large dari.

7.641 [H 50D] Non est bonum, It is not good man s h o u l d be alone [Genesis Ch.2 v.18]

7.642 [M 65A] his Lordship ... was of opinion, that till they were brought into greater extremities, it would proue better, that they s h o u l d stand out, then come in.

FIT

Subjunctive:

7.643 [B 2.9r] But this I hold fit, that these Narrations, which h a u e mixture with superstition, b e sorted by themselues.
          Caeterum illud monuerim, narrationes istas, cum rebus superstitiosis conjunctas, seorsum componi.

SHOULD:

7.644 [M 38B] many of the best iudgement ... thought fit our men s h o u l d retire to their Garrisons.

7.645 [M 87C] (for it was fit those bordering on the North, s h o u l d be left strong)

7.646 [C X] for yt is thought fit they s h o l d not come too easilie by theyre honor, but that in this case as well as in many others yt s h o u l d be graunted for service don and to be don.

REQUISITE

Present Subjunctive:

7.647 [B 2.4v] And therefore in as much, as most of the vsages and orders of the Vniversities were deriued from more obscure times, it is the more requisite, they b e reexamined.

   quamobrem, quandoquidem academiarum instituta plerunque originem traxerint a temporibus, hisce nostris haud paulo obscurioribus et indoctioribus; eo magis convenit, ut examini denuo subiiciantur.

7.648 [H 77E] So the vrgent necessitie of mutuall communion ... maketh it requisit that the Church of God here on earth h a u e her lawes of spiritual commerce betweene Christian nations.

Preterite Subjunctive:

7.649 [HL 36L] I judge it requisite, that the league w e r e renued.

   caeterum se utilitatis id magis omnium causa censere, ut renouetur id foedus;

SHOULD:

7.650 [H 83D] requisite it cannot but seme the rule of diuine law s h o u l d herein helpe our imbecilitie, that we might the more infalliblie vnderstand what is good & what euill.

REASON

Subjunctive:

7.651 [LS 14.2] Reason it is that it b e kept carefully, yet so, as when reason, honour, and faith requireth it, a man b e ready to cast it in the middest of a fire.

   Agatur eius diligentissime cura: ita tamen, ut cum exiget ratio, cum dignitas, cum fides, mittendum in ignem sit.

SHOULD:

7.652 [FM 248c] Truly there was some reason, this bridle or restraint of our judgements liberty, and this tyranny over our beliefes s h o u l d extend it selfe even to schooles and arts.

   Vrayement c'estoit bien raison que cette bride & contrainte de la liberté de nos jugements, & cette tyrannie de nos creances, s'estandit jusques aux escholes & aux arts.

In the negative, THERE IS NO REASON THAT:

7.653 [LS 17.6] There is no reason that pouerty s h o u l d recall vs from Philosophie.

   Non est quod nos paupertas a philosophia revocet.

7.654 [H 71E] without which consent, there were no reason, that one man s h o u l d take vpon him to be Lord or Iudge ouer another;

7.655 [H 77C] so there is no reason that any one common welth of itself s h o u l d to the preiudice of another annihilate that whereupon the whole world hath agreed.

7.656 [H 65E] there being no reason that others s h o u l d shew greater measure of loue to me, then they haue by me shewed unto them.

7.657 [C XLVI] which seing they know not, there is no reason they s h o l d watch or restrain her.

Also, without apparent change of meaning, after NO REASON the clause may be introduced by WHY or WHEREFORE instead of (THAT).

7.658 [M 64E] seeing no reason, w h y the Counsels of the warre s h o u l d stagger vpon his wel or ill doing

7.659 [H 90D] because there can be no reason w h e r e f o r e the publishing thereof s h o u l d be taken away.

NO REASON BUT THAT

This might be expected to give permission (no obligation not to) as in the similar PE construction 'There is no reason why I should not go'.

In fact the only two examples suggest obligation, so that NO REASON BUT THAT is equivalent to REASON IT IS THAT.

7.660 [H 74A] And what we do by others, no reason but that it s h o u l d stand as our deed.

7.661 [C XLI] my last which I wrote at my comming from London, and see no reason but they s h o l d finde as spedy passage as Mr Gents that were written at the same time:

Expressing Possibility

POSSIBLE

Only with SHOULD:

7.662 [H 68E] And is it possible, that Man being not only the noblest creature in the world, but euen a very world in himselfe, his transgressing the law of his nature s h o u l d draw no maner of harme after it?

7.662a [H 80B] Now if men had not naturally this desire to be happie, how were it possible that all men s h o u l d e haue it?

NOT POSSIBLE

7.663 [B 2.45r] So it is not possible that it s h o u l d be ... subiect to the lawes of Heauen and Earth;
        Quomodo possit cognitio de substantia animae rationalis ex philosophia peti et haberi

7.663a [H 81B] nor is it possible that Nature s h o u l d euer finde any other way to saluation then onely this.

7.664 [H 91A] For that otherwise a multitude s h o u l d with harmony amongest themselues, concurre in the doing of one thing (for this is ciuillie to liue) or that they s h o u l d in any sort menage communitie of life, it is not possible.

UNPOSSIBLE, IMPOSSIBLE

7.665 [FM 239e] and it is unpossible it s h o u l d exceede that, or goe beyond it:
    & est impossible qu'elle sorte de la, et qu'elle passe au dela.

7.666 [H 56C] Impossible it was that euer their will s h o u l d change or incline to remit any part of their dutie.

7.667 [H 72A] impossible it is that any s h o u l d haue complet lawfull power but by consent of men, or immediat appointment of God;

7.668 [H 81D] Which being vtterly impossible, that the eye of man by it selfe s h o u l d looke into the bosome of diuine Reason ...
    Quod quia fieri non potuit ut homini perseipsum ratio divina notesceret [Lactantius]

IMPOSSIBILITY

7.669 [H 82B] We fayling in the one, it were in nature an impossibility that that other s h o u l d e be looked for.

Necessity expressed through Possibility

(NOT) POSSIBLE BUT

7.670 [B 1.18v] And how is it possible, but this s h o u l d haue an operation to discredite learning ...
    iam vero f i e r i n o n p o t e s t, q u i n hoc ipsum multum faciat ad doctrinae existimationem minuendam et elevandum.

IMPOSSIBLE BUT

7.671 [H 89B] Impossible it is but that they s h o u l d fall into a number of grosse errors, who only take such lawes for positiue, as haue bene made or inuented of men.

Expressing Necessity

NECESSARY

   Subjunctive:

7.672 [FM 242e] It is necessary (say they) that man b e altogether ignorant of true things, and beleeve many false.
    Qu'il est besouin que le peuple ignore beaucoup des choses vrayes et en croie beaucoup de fauces;

SHOULD

7.673   [LS 12.7] for if a day be the time of foure and twentie houres, it is necessarie that they s h o u l d be all alike, because the night hath that which the day hath lost:

           nam si dies est tempus viginti et quattuor horarum, necesse est omnes inter se dies pares esse, quia nox habet, quod dies perdidit.

NECESSITY

7.674   [H 80A] nor proceede from any natural necessitie that our soules s h o u l d so exercise them selues for euer in beholding and louing God

Expressing Probability

LIKE

7.675   [HL 34H] and like it was, that the stronger s h o u l d be king

           apparebatque regnaturum, qui vicisset

LIKELIHOOD

7.676   [FM 151e] I say therefore, there is no likelyhood, we s h o u l d imagine, the beasts doe the very same thing by a naturall inclination and forced genuitie, which we doe of our owne freewil and industrie.

           Je dy donc ... qu'il n'y a point d'apparence d'estimer que les bestes facent par inclination naturelle et forcée les mesmes choses que nous faisons par notre choix & industrie.

PROBABLE

7.677   [H 80C] And is it probable that God s h o u l d frame the hartes of all men so desirous of that which no man may obtaine?

IMPROBABLE

7.678   [B 1.8r] And for matter of policie and gouernement, that Learning s h o u l d rather hurt, than inable thereunto, is a thing verie improbable:

           Iam vero, eruditionem politicis, impedimento esse potius quam adiumento nil minus probabile.

Noun Clauses as Subjects and Objects

SHOULD in Subject Noun Clause

The Subjunctive is unusual in such noun clauses.

7.679   [D 25] I persaue you haue giuen Respeth for the pamente of this last XXX wyes, whill the XXVth of august next: which contents me that it b e payed at Seton [than] London.

SHOULD referring to an idea or thought

7.680 [H 82A] yet coulde it neuer hereupon necessarilie be gathered
that such iustice s h o u l d e adde to the nature of that
reward the propertie of euerlasting continuance;

With future sense

7.681 [C X] and yt is looked he s h o l d do other manner of
service then he hath don hitherto now that yt toucheth his
freehold.

7.682 [M 61D] Hauing made distribution of the Forces for the present:
It remains I s h o u l d discend to the briefe narration of
the Lord Deputies particular Counsels ...

Factual

7.683 [FM 178a] Now from what vanitie can it proceed, we s h o u l d
so willfully contemne, and distainfully interpret those effects ...
Or de quelle vanité nous peut-il partir de loger au
dessoubs de nous & d'interpreter desdaigneusement les effects ...

7.684 [M 16E] In the third, interceding for Orelyes pardon, it was
disliked that he s h o u l d capitulate for others, yet giuing
hope of his pardon vpon his owne submission.

7.685 [M Essex 36E] Is it not lamented of your Maiesties faithfullest
subiects both there and here, that a Cobham, or a Raleigh ...
s h o u l d have such credit and fauour with your Maiestie ...

7.686 [C XLVIII] Yt is much spoken of at court that having had his
entertainment so longe time advanced he s h o l d be no more
forward.

7.687 [C XXIV] Yt is much marvayled that this humor s h o l d so
possesse him, that ... he shold thus fall to huddle them up by
halfe hundreds;

SHOULD in Object Noun Clause

When SHOULD appears in a noun clause as object of a verb it may

be from SHALL and have future sense, as

7.688 [C XXIV] for though I alwayes thought him foolish enough, yet
I did not looke he s h o l d prove divelish.

which is a preterite version of 'I do not look he shall prove devilish'

though it should be noticed that in this preterite version '(that) he

should prove devilish' has become factual (I did not expect what has in

fact happened).

The THAT-Clause with SHOULD may be factual and the object of a

verb of mentioning (as above in 7.686 as the subject of such a verb in

the passive).

7.689 [M 78E] hee did expostulate in his next letters to Master
       Secretarie, that hee s h o u l d be taxed for those things,
       for which he expected approbation and thankes.

Where the clause is as it were the product or outcome of the intellec-

tual or imaginative activity referred to in the verb SHOULD is usual.

PRETEND

7.690 [C XLIII] Sir Robert Mansfield and Sir Amias Preston have
       brought in sixe Easterlings into the river that came out of
       Spaine laden with spices and some bullion, which we pretend
       s h o l d belong to certain Portugalles.

SUPPOSE

7.691 [FM 189c] Be it supposed that Learning and Knowledge
       s h o u l d work those effects they speak of ...
              Mais quand la science feroit par effect ce qu'ils
       disent ...

IMAGINE

7.692 [FM 227c] and to imagine that poore Iphigenia, in the port of
       Aulis, s h o u l d by her death and sacrifice discharge and
       expiate ... the Grecian armie of the offences ... And those two
       noble and generous soules of the Decii ... to reconcile, and
       appease the favour of the Gods ... s h o u l d headlong cast
       their bodies athwart the thickest throng of their enemies.
              & que la povre Iphigenia, au port d'Aulide, par sa
       mort & immolation, d e s c h a r g e a s t ... l'armée des
       Grecs des offences ... et ces deus belles et genereuses ames des
       deus Decius ... pour propitier la faveur des Dieus ...
       s ' a l l a s s e n t jeter a corps perdu atravers le plus
       espais des enemis.

CONCEIVE

7.693 [B 2.46r] others ... do conceiue it s h o u l d likewise be
       agreeable to Nature, that ...
              Alii ... in eam opinionem devenerunt quod ... fieri
       poterint

So, after the noun CONCEIT we find clauses expanding it.

7.694 [B 1.6r] And as for the conceite that too much knowledge
       s h o u l d incline a man to Atheisme, and that the ignorance
       of second causes s h o u l d make a more deuoute dependance
       vpon God ...

> Namque eos, qui autumant nimiam scientiam inclinare
> mentem in atheismum, ignorantiamque secundarum causarum pietati
> erga primam obstetricari ...

There are six other clauses in the Bacon corpus with SHOULD after the

noun CONCEIT. In Chamberlaine we find the same construction after

OPINION.

7.695 [C XXIV] You left us here with so faire weather and with so
confident an opinion that all s h o l d go well with my Lord
of Essex, and that we s h o l d see him a cockhorse again,
that ...

OPINION has the subjunctive in Bacon (but in this example means what

ought to happen, not what is going to happen as in 7.695).

7.696 [B 2.8v] Neyther am I of the opinion ... that superstitious
Narrations ... b e altogether excluded
> Neque vero praeceperim, ut ex historia ista mirabilium
superstitiosae narrationes, prorsus excludantur.

Other nouns derived from verbs taking a clause as their object in this

way are DISTRUST

7.697 [B 1.23v] Another Error ... is a distrust that any thing
s h o u l d bee now to bee found out ...
> Alius error ... est suspicio quaedam, et diffidentia,
quae nihil nunc posse inveniri autumat

and HOPE

7.698 [C XXII] Howsoever it be I wold we were well rid of this brunt,
in hope we s h o l d be better provided hereafter not to be
thus taken <u>tarde</u> on the sodain.

though here SHOULD is presumably from SHALL by sequence of tenses.

After verbs which clearly belong to this category the subjunctive

sometimes occurs.

SUSPECT

7.699 [C XLIX] which makes me suspect that either mine b e
miscarried ...

and perhaps the following examples after THINK

7.700 [C III] Your Sister Alice hath lien at your brother Williams in
the country ever since St Georges day, but I thincke she b e
now with her Lady, for so she told me foure days ago when I saw
her last.

7.701 [C XLIII] I looked for your brother yesternight, and I thincke
he b e a burgesse.

At this point, this construction shades into the construction for

reported, hearsay news.

Noun Clauses Reporting News

The subjunctive is unusual. The only example in the corpus is

7.702 [C II] Dr Harbert and his train are not yet come to towne but
I heare they b e in England.

Even here, this may be an indicative use of BE.

SHOULD in Clauses Reporting News:

It is not surprising perhaps since he is writing news-letters,

that almost every example comes from the Chamberlaine corpus.

Such news is often reported in clauses with indicative verbs, but

Chamberlaine uses SHOULD in such clauses commonly. This use of SHOULD

is given in the OED article SHALL.

> 15 Forming with the inf. a substitute for the Pa. t.
> indic. (or, with perf. inf, for the pluperf.) in the
> oblique report of another's statement in order to imply
> that the speaker does not commit himself to the truth
> of the alleged fact. (The perf. inf. was often substi-
> tuted for the pres. inf. merely in order to express the
> notion of past time more unambiguously.) Obs. exc. dial.

The quotations run from Aelfred's Boethius to the eighteenth century

with some nineteenth century dialect examples.

Certainly very unsure news, to which the speaker does not commit

himself is sometimes reported in the indicative.

7.703 [C LVI] Yesterday here was a running report that the Frenche
kinge w a s slaine by a friar ... in lesse then three houres
it was all over the towne; but this day yt cooles again, and we
cannot learne how yt should rise.

See also 7.705, 7.707, 7.718, 7.722.

I here separate out; those uses where the reported news has a

future reference, and may be due to a tense shift of an original report

containing SHALL; those uses where the SHOULD-Clause is present in

reference, but where there appears to be no special contextual sense of

the uncertainty of the report; and finally those uses where such

uncertainty is present contextually.

SHOULD with future reference in the news reported, and in present

sequence of tenses:

7.704 [C V] but that course is altered and now they talke that Sir W.
Raleigh and Sir George Carew s h o l d undertake yt.

7.705 [C XXXIV] There is a speach that the king of Spaine is sickly
and unlike to have children, and that the archduke s h o l d
go into Spaine. The Duke of Savoyes two eldest sonnes are sent
thether already to be brought up.

Here the future reference of 'the Archduke should go into Spaine' seems

clear from the following sentence. It is unlikely that Chamberlaine is

deliberately distinguishing between the credence he gives to 'the king

of Spain is sickly' and the Archduke's going to Spain, since they both

constitute what is essentially a single piece of news.

Similarly with a preterite sequence of tenses:

7.706 [C XXXIX] Your frends have not ben unmindfull of you, for upon
the first bruit that Mr Cecill s h o l d go ambassador ligger
into Fraunce, your cousen Lytton was with him to make your way;

7.707 [C XXIX] There came a large packet this day out of Ireland the
contents whereof are not yet come abrode: but yt was saide
before that the Lord Deputie was gon towards Tiron to kepe him
occupied whiles Sir Harry Docwray s h o l d plant himselfe at
Lough Foile, where Odonell and Ore Orgh are redy with forces to
withstand him.

Since Chamberlaine switches in reporting a connected group of events

from indicative to clauses with SHOULD, in an apparently casual way, it

is not clear that the report put the Lord Deputy's journey in the past

and Sir Harry Docwray's in the future. But the final clause makes it

most likely I think that the report was in the form 'Sir Harry Docwray

shall plant himself ...'.

7.708 [C XLVII] I heard a soverain peece of newes yesterday that wold
mend all yf yt prove true, that when this Lord Deputie comes out
of Ireland, Sir Ed: Norris s h o l d go in his place;

SHOULD with present reference in clauses of reported news,

without contextual suggestions of falsehood:

7.709 [C IX] I heare that Sir Walter Raleigh s h o l d be so deeply discontented because he thrives no better, that he is not far from making that way himself.

7.710 [C XXXIX] I heare that Sir Ed: Norris s h o l d be daungerously sicke.

7.711 [C L] Here is speach that the plague s h o l d be in Ostend.

SHOULD in apparently present perfect reference in a clause of

reported news:

7.712 [C XIX] And this morning I heard there s h o l d a fregate arrive there lately that brought some man of great accaunt (as shold seme by his traine) who took poste from thence to Brussells.

Assuming that the most likely direct form for this news to be 'A

frigate has arrived there lately'. It may be noted that without the

adverb, the time reference in the clause would be obscure.

7.713 [C XXX] Yt is reported underhand that the Lordes of Delvin and Louth are gon into rebellion and carried a great part of the Pale with them, wherupon the Lord Deputie s h o l d be come backe from the Newry towards Dublin.

It seems unlikely that Chamberlaine would here be attempting to mark

distinct degrees of credence to the reports of the rebellion and of the

Lord Deputy's reaction to it.

7.714 [C XXXV] Here is no forrain newes at all, but a sayeng that Ostend s h o l d be besieged, and two forts built upon the water to take away the haven, and that Grave Maurice s h o l d geve great wordes that he will visite Flaunders once more, and venture to relieve yt.

7.715 [C XLIX] We have likewise much talke of one Dethicke ... that s h o l d come thence into Scotland with intent to kill the kinge.

7.716 [C LIV] Here is speach that a Dunkirker s h o l d be cast away on the coast of Norway, as he lay waiting for some straglers of our Moscovie fleet.

SHOULD in preterite reference in a clause of reported news:

7.717 [M 8A] I haue heard that he hauing been formerly Lord Deputy, when he returned and sued for recompence of his seruice, a great Lord s h o u l d answer him, that such imployments were preferments, and not seruices to challenge reward:

This is the only use of SHOULD in reported news in the corpus outside

Chamberlaine.

7.718 [C II] The marchants have newes that the Emperor of Moscovie died in January last and that his wyfes brother that was elected after him s h o l d be murthered before his coronation, whereupon there is great confusion in those parts.

SHOULD in a clause of reported news between two reported clauses

in the indicative, the events to which they refer closely linked:

7.719 [C XXXVI] We heare out of Poland that the chauncellor with an army of 20000 choise men s h o l d be <u>caesus ad internecionem</u> by the Vaivode of Walachia, and not above eight escaped of all that number.

SHOULD HAVE:

7.720 [C 123b] Here hath ben much speach, and among the great ones, that the Mareshall Biron s h o l d h a v e committed a fowle outrage, and slaine a president;

There seems no reason why SHOULD HAVE is used here, since future or

obligatory senses of SHOULD are hardly possible.

SHOULD in clauses of reported news, with contextual indications

that the speaker thinks the news probably false:

7.721 [C XVIII] Some geve out that Sir William Woodhouse s h o l d be likewise hurt in the face and in the hande but I thincke it is rather geven out to move pitie then otherwise.

7.722 [C XXIII] Out of Ireland we have uncertain reportes of divers feates don, as that the Lord Cromwell hath overthrowne 6000 of Tirons companie ...that Captaine Masterson and Sir Fra: Darcy s h o l d be slaine: that there s h o l d be a new supplie of eight or ten knights made.

7.723 [C XXIV] Here was newes a while that Sir Thomas Norris and Sir Harry s h o l d be both dead of theyre hurts.

7.724 [C XXVI] ... whatsoever other errand he may have in secret: some geve out yt s h o l l d be the Duke of Mayen ... but I thincke yt very unlikely.

7.725 [C XXVII] Here is a flieng tale that he s h o l d be dead,
but no man geves eare to yt.

7.726 [C XXXIII] The fable that Sebastian king of Portugall
s h o l d be alive is revived, and as freshly talked and
beleved in the exchaunge as ever it was.

7.727 [C XXXVI] Here is a whispering that Don Sebastian the revived
king of Portugall s h o l d be secretly at the Coort, but
<u>credat Judaeus Apella.</u>

Without verb of hearsay of report:

7.728 [C II] Here be certain apprehended for a conspiracie against
the Quenes person and my Lord of Essex, wherof one s h o l d
be a Scottishman or somwhat that way;

Here a distinction is apparently made between certain information (BE

here cannot be subjunctive but a variant of ARE) - the arrest of the

conspirators, and doubtful report about the identity of one of them

'one should be a Scottishman'.

SHOULD HAVE:

7.729 [C XL] We understand litle of what the campes do at Berke and
at Ostend, only yt is saide Sir Fra: Vere s h o l d h a v e
put himself into Ostend, which I do not easilie beleve, no more
then I did a flienge report was current here awhile, that at a
banquet in the Low Countries the erle of Northumberland had
stroken him.

7.730 [C LI] but our heat is much abated since we heare no more of a
great blow they s h o l d h a v e geven to the Archduke;

In both these examples HAVE is necessary to indicate that the news is

of a supposed past and not of a supposed future event.

SHOULD in Questions

The two following quotations illustrate this use of SHOULD.

7.731 [FM 146c] why s h o u l d wee not thinke as much of them?
Pourquoi n'en estimons nous autant d'eux?

There is nothing in the French to account for SHOULD in the English and

a PE version [Frame, 1948] has 'Why do we not think the same thing of

them?'

7.732 [FM 157a] And how s h o u l d he have the knowledge, that
such a path would be broade inough for him, but not for a blind
man?

& comment avoit il la cognoissance que tel chemin luy estoit bien assez large, qui ne le seroit pas pour un aveugle?

[Frame: And how did he know that a given road was quite broad enough for himself, which would not be so for a blind man?]

The OED describes this use of SHOULD in Meaning 23 of the article on SHALL:

> 23. In special interrogative uses. a. In questions introduced by why (or equivalent word), implying the speaker's inability to conceive any reason or justification for something actual or contemplated, or any ground for believing something to be a fact.
> b. In questions introduced by how, implying that the speaker regards something as impossible or inadmissible.

Other examples of SHOULD in questions with WHY:

7.733   [LS 7.4] And why s h o u l d they not preferre the same?
        Quidni praeferant?

7.734   [LS 10.4] Why s h o u l d e s t thou not oftentimes make these vowes vnto him?
        Quidni tu ista vota saepe facias?

7.735   [LS 15.11] But that which the incertaine fate of future time carrieth with itselfe, why s h o u l d I rather intreat fortune to bestowe vpon me, or my selfe not to demand the same? And why in demanding the same s h o u l d I forget the frailtie of mankinde?
        Quod futuri temporis incerta sors voluit, quare potius a fortuna impetram, ut det, quam a me, ne petam? Quare autem petam, oblitus fragilitatis humanae?

7.736   [B 2.1v] For why s h o u l d a few receiued Authors stand vp like Hercules Columnes,
        Quousque enim tandem pauculos aliquos scriptores statuemus nobis, tanquam Columnas Herculis,

7.737   [B 2.21r] why, in al Diuersities of things, there s h o u l d bee certaine Participles in Nature, which are almost ambiguous, to which kinde they should bee referred?
        Cur, quasi perpetuo inter species diversas, interponantur participia quaedam quae sunt speciei ambiguae.

SHOULD in questions with HOW:

7.738   [H 51B] That law ... how s h o u l d either men or Angels be able perfectly to behold?

7.739   [H 73C] men of common capacity & but ordinary iudgement are not able (for how s h o u l d they?) to discerne what things are fittest for each kind and state of regiment.

7.740   [M Eliz. 40D]   but how   s h o u l d   that be hidden which is so palpable?

Jespersen in <u>A Modern English Grammar</u> treats this usage under the title of 'Emotional SHOULD' which he describes as follows.

> [MEG IV 20 5(1)] <u>Should</u> is very often used in passing a judgement of an emotional character (agreeable or disagreeable surprise, indignation, joy) on some occurrence; whether this is a fact (something which is happening or has happened) is neither indicated nor denied by the form of the expression, but is left to be concluded from the context or situation; as a matter of fact this mode of expression is of frequent occurrence in giving one's opinion of an actual fact (especially with <u>should have done</u>, etc).

He begins with questions such as we have illustrated from the corpus and then passes on to what he calls 'content clauses' where he gives two Shakespearean quotations,

[H42   2 02 42]   it is not meet that I should be sad now my father is sick

[LEA   2 04 1]   'Tis strange that they should so depart from home And not send back by messengers.

and also lists examples for noun clauses with SHOULD that stand alone as exclamations [HAM   1 02 137] That it should come to this. Jespersen's Emotional SHOULD appears then to be .the noun-clause SHOULD, which marks the subordination of the clause in which it appears. The emotional colour comes from the fact that such clauses appear in sentences in which something is said about them, some modality is imposed on them, or they are the condition to which some emotional state is said to be due. Sometimes as with Hamlet's 'That it should come to this' it is enough to mark the subordination; the superordinate clause can be left to be understood. But such usage is bound to be dramatic and it is not surprising that sentences of this sort do not appear in the corpus. The questions in WHY and HOW however can be explained in the same way. Thus 7.731 might appear as

'That we should not think as much of them!'

meaning 'I marvel that' or 'I am appalled that we should not think as much of them!' WHY here stands for the superordinate clause 'What justification can we possibly bring for the fact that ...'

So with 7.732 'That he should have the knowledge!' for 'It is amazing that he should have the knowledge'. With HOW, 'By what means or process could it come about that he should have the knowledge ...' There is one example from the corpus with an indirect question which illustrates how a subordinate SHOULD-clause is embedded in these sentences,

7.741 [HL 41D] and wondering how it came to passe, that <u>Brutus</u>
s h o u l d of a suddaine be so changed ...
stupentibus ... unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium.

from which we might derive, 'and wondering how Brutus should be so changed' or indeed a question in the form 'How should Brutus be so changed?'

In the corpus these indirect questions with SHOULD are more frequent than direct questions, though often as in 7.742, 7.743 below, the indirect question is only a rhetorical elaboration of the direct.

7.742 [LS 3.3] What is the cause therefore, why I s h o u l d
conceale any thing from my friend?
Quid est ergo quare ego ulla verba coram amico meo
retraham?

Lodge follows the Latin, but essentially this is the same as 'Why should I conceal anything from my friend?'

7.743 [FM 248d] I know not why I s h o u l d or might not, as soone, and as easie accept ... <u>Platoes Ideas</u> ... as I should of <u>Aristotles</u> conceit ...
Je ne scay pas pourquoy je n'acceptasse autant volontiers les idées de Platon ... que je feroy l'opinion d'Aristote ...

'Why should I not as soon ...'

7.744 [C XVIII] Here hath ben much descanting about it, why such a stone s h o l d come out at this time.

Indirect Questions with HOW or Equivalent:

7.745 [C XII] Many men muse how the Quene being discharged of the burthen of the Lowe Countries, and having no other charge but Ireland s h o l d be driven to these straights.

7.746 [C LVI] I never knew any newes spread so sodainly; for in lesse then three howres it was all over the towne: but this day it cooles again, and we cannot learne how it s h o l d rise.

7.747 [H 67D] If then it be heere demaunded, by what meanes it s h o u l d come to passe ... that so many thousands of men notwithstanding have bene ignorant ... I denie not ...

'How should it come to pass that ...' and 'how should so many thousands

have been ignorant'.

Also in Indirect Questions not introduced by WHY or HOW:

7.748 [LS 10.5] iudge then if this precept s h o u l d not be profitable;

                 vide ergo, ne hoc praecipi salubriter possit

'Should not this precept be profitable?'

7.749 [C LVI] the Quenes ship that caried them, ... met with a huge number of whales ... here is much descanting what they s h o u l d portend more then the tempest that followed.

'What should it portend?' as a stronger form of 'What does it portend'

although here and in 7.748 there is a possibility that SHOULD includes

SHALL, 'What shall it portend ...?'

In the following examples of SHOULD in Indirect Questions, SHOULD

is derived from SHALL in the underlying question.

7.750 [HL 12L] In this meane while the Senatours fell to strive who s h o u l d be king: and the desire of soveraigntie troubled much and perplexed their minds.

                 Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido versabat.

7.751 [HL 39F] The yong men ... were very desirous and earnest to inquire and learne of the Oracle, which of them s h o u l d be king of Rome.

                 cupido incessit animos iuvenum sciscitandi ad quem eorum regnum Romanorum esset venturum

7.752 [HL 40G] They themselves agreed upon this together, to draw lots whether of them twaine ... s h o u l d first kisse his mother.

                 ipsi inter se uter prior ... matri osculum daret, sorti permittunt

7.753 [FM 150e] But it would be knowen, what language such a child
s h o u l d speake:
            Mais cela est à scavoir quel langage parleroit cet
enfant;

7.754 [M 14A] It was in Councell debated, whether <u>Tyrone</u> s h o u l d
be staied to answere hereunto; and the Lord Deputy was of
opinion he should be staied:

7.755 [M 70A] a question being once made, whether he s h o u l d
haue that authoritie or no, because he had abused it before.

7.756 [C XXIX] Your brother Carleton and I met here the first day of
the terme, but I had no leysure to aske how longe we s h o l d
injoy him.

7.757 [C XXX] but he could not tell when the day s h o l d hold.

Indirect Questions are often found with subjunctive tenses:

      Present Subjunctive:

7.758 [B 1.37r] Obserue then the speech hee vsed of <u>Diogenes</u>, and see
if it t e n d not to the true state of one of the greatest
questions of morall Philosophie;
            observetur primo Alexandri apophthegma circa Diogenem
et adverte (si placet) si forte non unam ex gravissimis
quaesionibus moralis philosophiae constituat.

7.759 [FM 131e] This solemne proposition; <u>Whether it be lawfull for
a subject, for the defence of religion, to rebell and take armes
against his Prince:</u>
            Cete proposition si solemne: S'il est permis au
subjet de se rebeller & armer contre son prince pour la defance
de la relligion.

7.760 [FM 138c] Let us then see whether man hath any other stronger
reasons in his power, then <u>Sebondes</u>, and whether it l i e in
him, by argument or discourse, to come to any certainty.
            Voyons donq si l'homme a en sa puissance d'autres
raisons plus fortes que celles de Sebond, voire s'il est en luy
d'arriver à aucune certitude par argument et par discours.

7.761 [FM 142e] When I am playing with my Cat, who knowes whether she
h a v e more sport in dallying with me, than I have in gaming
with her?
            Quand je me joue a ma chate, qui scait si elle passe
son temps de moi plus que je ne foy d'elle.

7.762 [M Eliz. 41B] and thereupon to send Vs ouer in writing, a true
declaration of the State to which you haue brought our Kingdome,
and what b e the effects which this iourny hath produced.

7.763 [C XVIII] upon which points and some others he is so little
satisfied that many times he makes it a question whether he g o
or not.

Preterite Subjunctive:

7.764 [LS 9.19] He compelled him to doubt, whether he w e r e a
conqueror, or no.
            Dubitare illum coegit, an vicisset.

7.765 [HL 11A] But it is not left in any record ... whether those
that should give the names unto the wards, w e r e chosen by
age.
            Id non traditur ... aetate ... lectae sint, quae
nomina curiis darent.

7.766 [B 1.37v] Obserue again that speech ... & see if it w e r e
not a speech extracted out of the depth of naturall Philsophie
            Quod sane dictum ex intima naturali philosophia
depromptum est.

7.767 [C VI] among the rest the erle of Essex, who (whether yt
w e r e upon consideration of the present occasion or for his
owne disfavours) me thought carried the heaviest countenaunce of
the companie:
(taking the clause introduced by WHETHER as an indirect question,
dependent upon an understood main clause such as 'I do not know')

7.768 [C XIII] but whether yt w e r e this or some other matter all
is turned upside downe.

7.769 [C XXV] I know not whether Mr Edmunds w e r e returned before
you went;

    SHOULD is common in questions which are the apodoses of condi-

tional sentences or the equivalents.

7.770 [LS 14.15] how much more at hand s h o u l d his danger be ...
who cannot assure himselfe, no, not his solitude.
            Quanto huic periculum paratius foret ... cui ne
otium quidem tutum est.

If he cannot assure his solitude, how much more should ...

7.771 [B 2.40r] If it befall to me, as befalleth to the fooles, why
s h o u l d I labour to be more wise?
            Si unus et stulti et meus eventus erit, quid mihi
prodest, quod maiorem sapientiae dedi operam.

7.772 [FM 216a] And if it were not so taken, how s h o u l d we
cloke so great an inconstancie ...?
            Et, si on ne le prenoit ainsi, comme couvririons nous
une si grande inconstance ...?

7.773 [FM 244e] Why will not nature one day be pleased to open her
bosome to us, and make us perfectly see the meanes and conduct
of her motions, and enable our eyes to judge of them? Oh good
God, what abuses, and what distractions s h o u l d we find in
our poore understanding, and weak knowledge!

Que ne plaist-il un jour à nature nous ouvrir son
sein & nous faire voir au propre les moiens & la conduicte de
ses mouvements, et y preparer nos yeus! O Dieu! quels abus,
quels mescontes nous trouverions en nostre pauvre science:

If she did open her bosom, what abuses ... should we find.

7.774 [H 59C] Seeing then that nothing can moue vnlesse there be some
ende, the desire whereof prouoketh vnto motion, how s h o u l d
that diuine power of the soule ... euer stir it selfe vnto
action, vnlesse it haue also the like spurre?

7.775 [H 65D] how s h o u l d I looke to haue any part of my desire
herein satisfyed, vnlesse my selfe be carefull to satisfie the
like desire, which is vndoubtedly in other men.

7.776 [H 80B] It is not in our power not to do the same: how
s h o u l d it then be in our power to doe it coldly or remisly?

If it is not in our power ... how should it be in our power ...

7.777 [H 83E] how s h o u l d our festred sores be cured, but that
God hath deliuered a law as sharpe as the two edged sword ...?

If God had not delivered a law as sharp as the two edged sword, how

should our festered sores be cured?

It is the use of SHOULD in the interrogative apodosis of condi-

tions of this kind, with the equivalent of the protasis introduced by

BUT which may give rise to what the OED classifies as a separate use of

SHALL/SHOULD.

17. In questions introduced by who, whom, what and
followed by BUT, serving to express the unexpectedness
of some past occurrence.

citing a first use from Bishop Hall, 1629 'who should come ruffling by

him, but ... Haman'. The underlying structure is 'who is it that

should come ruffling by him but (it is) Haman' equivalent to the condi-

tional 'If it is not Haman, then who is it that should come ruffling

by'. Compare PE use of the isolated protasis 'If it isn't my old

friend Tom!' to express the unexpectedness of some present encounter.

Noun Clauses introduced by THAN

Clauses introduced by THAN have Preterite Subjunctive or SHOULD.

Preterite Subjunctive:

7.778 [B 2.27v] Noe more t h e n it w e r e either possible or to purpose.

quemadmodum enim nec facile esset, nec ullo modo utile,

7.779 [H 59A] Againe because the curiositie of mans wit, doth many times with perill wade farther in search of thinges, t h e n w‚e r e conuenient:

SHOULD:

7.780 [B 2.32v] For it is a thing more probable, that he ... may superinduce upon some Mettall the Nature, and forme of Gold ... t h e n that some graynes of the Medecine proiected s h o u l d in a fewe Moments of time, turn a Sea of Quicksilver ... into Gold.

Attamen longe verisimilius est ab homine, ... posse aurum ... produci; quam quod pauca elixiris grana, paucis momentis, alia metalla in aurum vertere valeant.

7.781 [FM 183c] leave me rather t h a n thou s h o u l d e s t place me under the shape and bodie of an Asse.

laisse moy là, plutost que de me loger sous la figure & corps d'un asne.

7.782 [D 30] If Yarmoth men come not in the meane tyme for it, and if they do not then it ware not amyss to sende a fortye wayes or more in twoo severall ships rather t h e n it s h o u l d ly and wayst all this wynter and set my people idle.

CHAPTER 8

SOME USES OF THE MODAL VERBS IN SHAKESPEARE

SECTION 1 - INTRODUCTORY

The study of modal verb usage in the eight texts which make up the corpus has been completed in the five chapters from 3 to 7. This work on the modal verbs in English around the year 1600 had its origin in a study of the more frequent modals, WILL/WOULD, SHALL/SHOULD, CAN/COULD, MAY/MIGHT and MUST in Shakespeare's Much Ado About Nothing [Reed 1975] and the present work was originally undertaken as a wider study of modal usage in Shakespeare compared with the more general, especially the non-dramatic, usage of his time. This proved too extensive for the detailed treatment which was required and the plan was eventually changed to that outlined in Chapter 1. However a good deal of Shakespearean material had been gathered and in certain areas it seemed to throw useful light on what was discovered from the corpus. Shakespeare's use of OUGHT in relation to its distribution in the corpus is an example of this. During the course of planning the presentation of material it was decided that the Shakespearean illustrations could most conveniently be arranged as a separate chapter.

The material in this chapter has been set out so as to correspond with the ordering of Chapters 3 to 7. Obviously it is not a corpus study based on the entire works of Shakespeare and it makes no claim to be a general study of the modal verbs in Shakespeare or a fragment of Shakespearean grammar in its own right. Its purpose is to draw attention to places where Shakespearean usage corresponds to or differs from that found in the corpus and so to give an additional dimension to that corpus study.

The corpus, as explained in Chapter 1, was selected to exclude imaginative literature entirely and stands in contrast to the works of Shakespeare as a source of material for the study of the English in use around the year 1600. However the contrast is not a simple one, for the

corpus was selected deliberately to include as wide a range of non-imaginative writing as possible, from highly wrought philosophical texts to hastily composed family business letters; and Shakespeare's work although in one sense a unity and showing certain kinds of linguistic homogeneity, is certainly not all of a piece. For the present purpose it is sufficient to draw attention to two characteristics present in Shakespeare which are absent from the corpus by its very nature. The first is verse, both metre and rhyme; in verse the details of syntactic usage will sometimes be influenced by the requirements of metre and rhyme. In rhyme it may sometimes be possible to determine with some confidence what its influence has been; for example MAY used instead of CAN to furnish a rhyme. But that the poet has used one form rather than another, say SHOULD rather than the subjunctive in a noun clause, for metrical reasons can almost never be confidently asserted, since adjustments to the expression elsewhere in the line could always accommodate the rejected form. However it does seem inherently likely that verse writers keep available a wider range of alternative forms in syntax as well as in lexis, than prose writers. The second characteristic of the Shakespearean text absent from the corpus is mimesis, as this affects usage. The language of the writers in the corpus is their own language in that presumably we can assume that except for slips of the pen we do not find uses, expressions or constructions of which they do not approve or which they regard as improper. In Shakespeare we do find such language sometimes, where the speech of a dramatic person is being satirized. Since such satire in order to work in the play must be based on features recognizable by the audience, it may enable us to reach some areas of usage in eModE from which we are cut off if we base ourselves entirely on writers who are not mimetic in this particular way.

8. Shakespeare   1. Introductory

The present chapter begins with brief sets of quotations to illustrate occasions when the modal verbs feature prominently in the poetic or rhetorical patterning in Shakespeare, and when they are quoted as nouns (Sections 2 and 3). The pleonastical use of modals, something touched on only incidentally in the corpus is treated as it occurs in Shakespeare in Section 4. Section 5 deals with modals taking nouns as direct objects. The discussion of WILL and SHALL, CAN and MAY in Chapters 3 and 4 is illustrated from Shakespeare in Sections 6 to 8. The rarer modals NEED and DARE are given a much fuller treatment in Sections 10 and 11 and although the illustration by examples is selective, a complete picture of the variety of constructions to be found with these two verbs, in their modal and non-modal forms is given. For OUGHT a complete set of Shakespeare examples is presented in Section 12. The remaining sections take up and illustrate from Shakespeare some of the topics treated in Chapter 6 on the modal conjugation and Chapter 7, the modals in subordination.

The abbreviations for the play titles, the act, scene and line references are as in Spevack [1968-70]. The spelling and punctuation of the quotations is that of the First Folio except for Pericles where the First Quarto is used and for those cases where a quarto text is mentioned. Since the quotations are usually short modal words are not italicized.

SECTION 2 - MODAL VERBS IN RHETORICAL PATTERNS AND SERIES

Although Elizabethan grammarians do not place the verbs which more recent grammar designates modal in a separate category, the relationship obtaining between these verbs is sometimes employed in the patterns of repetition and variation which occur in poetic rhetoric. The best example in Shakespeare is

8.1 [JN 3 01 333] BLANCH
Husband, I cannot pray that thou maist winne:
Uncle, I needs must pray that thou maist lose:
Father, I may not wish the fortune thine:
Grandam, I will not wish th.y wishes thrive:
Who-ever wins, on that side shall I lose.

More dramatic and less rhetorical is movement along a modal series, from possibility or ability, to obligation, and from obligation to the guarantee of accomplishment carried by WILL or SHALL

8.2 [ROM 4 01 20] PARIS
Happily met, by Lady and my wife.
                    JULIET
That may be sir, when I may be a wife
                    PARIS
That may be must be, Love, on Thursday next
                    JULIET
What must be shall be
                    FRIAR
That's a certaine text.

Essentially the same sequence, with CAN, MUST and WILL occurs with a much less artificial progression in

8.3 [COR 3 02 97] COMENIUS
I think 'twill serve, if he can thereto frame his spirit
                    VOLUMNIA
He must and will;
Prythee now say you will and goe about it

The latter part of this sequence, the association of MUST and SHALL is common.

8.4 [3H6 1 01 05] K HENRY
And shall I stand, and thou sit on my throne.
                    YORK
It must and shall be so, content thy selfe

Or with MUST and WILL especially in the first person.

8.5 [SHR 2 01 280] PETRUCHIO
     I must, and will have <u>Katherine</u> to my wife.

8.6 [1H4 1 02 95] FALSTAFF
     I must give over this life, and I will give it over.

A different modal sequence is found in

8.7 [LR 2 04 43] LEAR
     They durst not do't:
     They could not, would not do't: 'tis worse then murther.

CANNOT or MAY NOT and MUST sometimes balance a line,

8.8 [WIV 5 05 237] PAGE
     What cannot be eschew'd, must be embrac'd

8.9 [COR 5 02 5] 1 GUARD
     You may not passe, you must returne:

and the relation between MUST and NEED is brought out in

8.10 [COR 1 01 44] 2 CITIZEN
      ... You must in no way say he is covetous
                    1 CITIZEN
      If I must not, I need not be barren in Accusations.

SECTION 3 - <u>MODALS AS NOUNS</u>

Unlike other verbs modal verbs cannot form verbal nouns in -ING;
have no infinitives; apart from WILL and NEED, modal verbs have no
related nouns identical in form. Shakespeare has nonce uses of some
modals as nouns, where the noun refers to the utterance of the modal
verb, and through that to the attitude of mind, the 'inclinatio animi'
that lies behind the utterance.

8.11 [HAM 4 07 118] CLAUDIUS
      that we would doe
      We should doe when we would: for this would changes
      And hath abatements and delayes as many,
      As there are tongues, are hands, are accedents
      ...
      And then this should is like a spend thrifts sigh
      That hurts by easing;

Here 'this would' stands for the uttering of 'I would' and so to the
state of mind that accompanies this utterance, according to Claudius,
essentially unstable. 'This should' is the utterance of 'I should' in

the sense of obligation, when, as often, the statement of the obligation becomes a substitute for carrying it out.

Another example of this quotation of modals in Shakespeare may have its origin in common speech.

8.12 [TRO 1 01 114] AENEAS
        Harke what good sport is out of Towne to day
                TROILUS
        Better at home, if would I might were may:

'Would I might' might itself occur as a complete utterance, the wish that something were possible. 'May' here I take it stands for 'I may' in the sense 'I am permitted to'. So 'If wishing for an opportunity were the same thing as having an opportunity'.

The attitude of mind is summed up in the utterance of the modal word. This association between uttered word and attitude of mind is illustrated in the following quotation, though there is no actual use of the modal as a noun.

8.13 [TIT 1 01 359] MARCUS
        He must be burned with his bretheren
           <u>Titus two sonnes speakes</u>
        And shall, or him we will accompany
                  TITUS
        And shall: What villaine was it spake that word?
           <u>Titus sonne speakes</u>
        He that would vouch'd it in any place but heere.

Unlike WOULD and SHOULD, WOULD I MIGHT and probably MAY (though a second person utterance is possible here) the attitude of mind behind SHALL belongs to utterances in the second and third persons.

8.14 [COR 3 01 87] CORIOLANUS
        Choller? Were I as patient as the midnight sleep,
        By Iove, 'twould be my minde.
                SICINIUS
        It is a minde that shall remain a poison
        Where it is: not poyson any further.
              CORIOLANUS
        Shall remaine?
        Heare you this Triton of the Minnoues? Marke you
        His absolute Shall?
              COMINIUS
        'Twas from the Cannon.

CORIOLANUS
Shall? O God! but most unwise Patricians; why
You grave, but wreaklesse Senators, have you thus
Given Hidra heere to choose an Officer
That with his peremptory Shall, being but
The horne, and noise o' th' Monsters, wants not spirit
To say, hee'l turne your Current in a ditch,
And make your Channell his? If he have power,
Then vale your Ignorance: If none, awake
Your dangerous Lenity: If you are Learn'd,
Be not as common Fooles, if you are not,
Let them have Cushions by you. You are Plebeians,
If they be Senators: and they are no lesse,
When both your voices blended, the great'st taste
Most pallates theirs. They choose their Magistrate,
And such a one as he, who puts his Shall,
His popular Shall, against a graver Bench
That ever frown'd in Greece.

The outrageousness of SHALL, which betokens that mind that ordains, when

uttered by a social inferior or even perhaps among equals, is surely

related to its virtual disappearance from colloquial PE except in the

first person, and its use in the first person as will be suggested in

the concluding chapter, is as much a matter of social tact as its

avoidance in the other persons.

SECTION 4 - <u>MODALS USED PLEONASTICALLY</u>

Modals are used pleonastically when the modal meaning is repeated

in the complement to the modal verb. The most obvious example is the

use of CAN with its paraphrase BE ABLE.

8.15   [WT 5 02 25] GENT 2
Such a deale of wonder is broken out within this houre, that
Ballad-makers cannot be able to express it

8.16   [ANT 1 04 78] LEPIDUS
To morrow <u>Caesar</u>,
I shall be furnish't to informe you rightly
Both what by Sea and Land I can be able
To front this present time.

Here BE ABLE may be used to avoid a transitive use of CAN.

CAN and MAY are also used sometimes in questions with BE POSSIBLE

as a complement.

8.17 [AYL 2 02 1] DUKE
Can it be possible that no man saw them?
It cannot be:

8.18 [H5 2 02 100] KING
May it be possible, that foraigne hyer
Coud out of these extract one sparke of evill
That might annoy my finger?

Here the sense of incredulity is rhetorically heightened by a threefold
repetition of questioned possibility; BE POSSIBLE is also pleonastic,
to strengthen the rhetorical question 'Could foreign hire extract ...?'

8.19 [JN 5 04 21] SALISBURY
May this be possible? May this be true?

Where it might seem that a distinction between the possibility of
possibility and the possibility of realization is intended. It is to
be observed that in all these examples there is no logical problem such
as arises with the similar use of semantic repetition for emphasis in
double negatives; to be able to be able is to be able; the possibility
of a possibility is a possibility.

8.20 [CYM 2 04 115] PHILARIO
It may be probable she lost it; or
Who knowes if one of her women, being corrupted
Hath stolne it from her.

Pleonastic in the sense we have given the term if 'probable' is taken
as equivalent to strong possibility, (It may well be ...) but not if it
has the sense of 'to be believed'.

Also MUST with BE FORCED as complement (Corpus 5.208 - 5.210).

8.21 [SHR 3 02 8] KATE
No shame but mine,
I must, forsooth, be forst
To give my hand oppos'd against my heart
Unto a mad-braine rudesby

In certain contexts 'must be forced' would not be pleonastic, e.g. 'If
he will not do it freely, he must be forced to do it'. But it seems
clear that here the full sense is contained in either 'I must give my
hand' or 'I am forced to give my hand'.

SECTION 5 - MODAL VERBS WITH DIRECT OBJECTS

In Shakespeare almost all uses of modal verbs with a direct

object can be explained as ellipsis of the verb. Thus

8.22 [R3 2 04 46] MESSENGER
      The summe of all I can, I have disclos'd:
      Why, or for what, the Nobles were committed,
      Is all unknowne to me, my gracious Lord.

Where 'all I can' may be read as 'all I know or have skill of' or 'all

I can disclose'. So the ellipsis of DO (or with 8.25, MAKE) would

enable us to interpret the following according to the strict modal

pattern.

8.23 [2H6 3 02 120] QUEEN
      Aye me, I can no more: Dye Elinor
      For Henry weepes, that thou dost live so long

8.24 [TGV 2 04 165] VALENTINE
      Pardon me, (Proteus) all I can is nothing
      To her, whose worth, make other worthies nothing;

8.25 [TMP 4 01 27] FERDINAND
      With such love, as 'tis now the murkiest den,
      The most opportune place, the strongest suggestion,
      Our worser Genius can, shall never melt
      Mine honor into lust.

8.26 [TRO 4 05 117] DIOMEDE
      You must no more.

The use of WOULD with a direct object can be seen as ellipsis of HAVE.

8.27 [2H6 2 03 17] GLOSTER
      Mine eyes are full of teares, my heart of griefe.
      Ah Humfrey, this dishonor in thine age,
      Will bring thy head with sorrow to the ground.
      I beseech your Maiestie give me leave to goe;
      Sorrow would sollace, and mine Age would ease.

It may be noticed here that the nouns following each use of WOULD are

identical with cognate verbs, but if read as verbs give a sense which

is inappropriate in voice, since the line is close in meaning to

'Sorrow would be sol aced and mine Age would be eased'.

SECTION 6 - WILL AND SHALL

There is a detailed analysis of the use of WILL and SHALL in Much Ado About Nothing in Reed [1975, pp. 95-125]. Towards the end of Ehrman [1966] which is concerned with PE, American usage, there is a brief consideration of Shakespeare's use of WILL and SHALL. Below are her remarks on examples of this use.

8.28 [LEA 2 2 155] KENT
    Pray do not Sir, I have watch'd and travail'd hard
    Some time I shall sleepe out, the rest Ile whistle.

Of this example (by her numbered 87) Ehrman writes (p. 91) 'nothing at all can be seen to distinguish shall and will'. My own analysis of the usage of Shakespeare's time would find the distinction in the two lexical verbs: SLEEP is a verb of non-activity, and WHISTLE a verb of activity. Kent sees his immediate future in the stocks under two aspects, what will happen to him, and what he will do. Since in the line before he gives reasons for his fatigue, I think it suits the context to understand SLEEP here not as something he will deliberately induce to pass away the time, but something which will overtake him anyway. When he wakes from this sleep he will pass the time in a deliberate fashion by whistling, though of course this really means he will endure having nothing to do as best he can. The line in fact provides a particularly good example of the future made up of events and activities and of SHALL and WILL being selected in a 'future tense' according to the category of verb which follows them.

8.29, [MSD 1 2 100] QUINCE
    and meet me in the palace wood, a mile without the Towne, by
    Moon-light, there we will rehearse: for if we meete in the Citie,
    we shalbe dog'd with company and our divises knowne.

Ehrman's example [88] p. 92. 'The confusion shows up clearly in [88] where the basic meanings of the two auxiliaries would seem to have been completely reversed'. Ehrman expects 'shall rehearse' as a kind of first

person order and 'will be dogged with company' as purely predictive.

But the analysis of the eModE use suggested in Chapter 3 finds no

difficulty here: 'will rehearse' is an intended activity, 'shall be

dogged with company' an event expected (conditionally in this instance)

to befall us.

8.30 [MAC 2 2 25] MACBETH
       If you shall cleave to my consent, when 'tis, it shall make
       Honour for you.

Ehrman's example [89] 'in which the first shall is almost volitional;

the second is predictive'. There is in the corpus a fairly frequent

use of SHALL in protasis but it is uncommon in Shakespeare (there is no

instance in Much Ado, see Reed [1975, Chapter 2, Section 5]). Probably

it sounded rather formal and stilted here. Macbeth is talking to the

men who are to murder Banquo and is shown as embarrassed by his

dependence on such creatures. SHALL is employed to keep the

phraseology at the furthest remove from the volitional. 'If you will

cleave to my consent' in which WILL has its full volitional sense, 'if

you are willing to' is a polite appeal, which Macbeth cannot bring

himself to make. SHALL is equivalent to the present subjunctive 'If

you cleave to my consent', but perhaps sounded more careful and distant,

as if Macbeth were picking his words. The second SHALL of course,

carries Macbeth's personal guarantee.

The following examples with WILL and SHALL used in close proximity

suggest careful distinction is maintained.

8.31 [1H6 3 01 118] WINCHESTER
       He shall submit, or I will never yeeld.

8.32 [2H6 2 03 24] KING
       Henry will to himselfe Protector be,
       And God shall be my hope, my stay, my guide

The king expresses his own determination to protect himself, and calls

on God to be his hope, stay, guide.

8.33 [2H6 4 02 73] CADE
there shall bee no mony, all shall eate and drinke on my score,
and I will apparrell them in one Livery

8.34 [2H4 5 01 4] SHALLOW
I will not excuse you: you shall not be excused. Excuse shall
not be admitted, there is no excuse shall serve: you shall not
be excus'd.

8.35 [H5 2 01 110] PISTOL
Ile live by Nymme, & Nymme shall live by me, is this not iust?
For I shall Suttler be unto the Campe, and profits will accrue.

We might expect here 'I will Sut ler be ... and profits shall accrue'.

This would express Pistol's determination to become sut ler and that

profits should accrue to him. But Pistol is not here expressing an

ambition but referring to something which is, or which he considers, as

settled. And once he is acting as suttler, well, profits have a way of

accruing.

8.36 [H5 4 03 49] KING
Old men forget; yet all shall be forgot:
But hee'le remember, with advantages,
What feats he did that day.

SHALL before a passive in future sense, WILL before 'remember', here

of course in a deliberate and not involuntary sense.

8.37 [H5 4 04 13] PISTOL
Moy shall not serve, I will have fortie Moyes:

8.38 [JC 3 01 120] CASSIUS
I, every man away
Brutus shall leade, and we will grace his heeles
With the most boldest, and best hearts of Rome.

8.39 [ANT 2 07 110] ENOBARBUS
The while, Ile place you, then the Boy shall sing.

8.40 [TMP 3 02 41] STEPHANO
Kneele and repeate it, I will stand, and so shall Trinculo.

In the following, SHALL appears to be required by the subordinate

clause.

8.41 [3H6 3 02 186] RICHARD
Ile drowne more Saylers then the Mermaid shall.

8.42 [2H4 5 05 79] FALSTAFF
I will be the man yet, that shall make you great.

8.43 [JC 3 01 238] BRUTUS
What Anthony shall speak, I will protest
He speakes by leave, and by permission.

8.44 [OTH 3 03 318] EMILIA
Poore Lady, sheel run mad
When she shall ;lacke it

8.45 [TMP 3 01 22] FERDINAND
O most deere Mistris
The Sun will set before I shall discharge
What I must strive to do.

Conditionals, with WILL in protasis and SHALL in apodosis, both

in the second person, a promise made to someone on condition that they

want or are willing ...

8.46 [3H6 3 02 30] RICHARD
You shall have foure, if you'le be rul'd by him.

8.47 [TIT 4 03 39] PUBLIUS
No my good Lord, but Pluto sends you word
If you will have revenge from hell, you shall.

8.48 [AYL 5 02 73] ROSALIND
For if you will be married to morrow, you shall: and to Rosalind
if you will.

8.49 [WIV 2 02 254]
and last, as I am a gentleman, you shall if you will, enioy Fords
wife.

In the following example, SHALL before a verb of activity

commands rather than promises.

8.50 [LLL 5 02 793] QUEEN
If for my Love (as there is no such cause)
You will do ought, this shall you do for me.

The following have the same conditional sense.

8.51 [MV 3 01 72] SHYLOCK
The villanie you teach me, I will execute, and it shall goe hard
but I will better the instruction.

8.52 [PER 4 02 59] BAWD
He that will give most shal have her first, such a maydenhead
were no cheape thing

If he is willing to give, (then) he shall have her first.

8.53 [TIT 1 01 278] BASSANIUS
    Lord <u>Titus</u> by your leave, this Maide is mine
                TITUS
    How sir? Are you in earnest then my Lord?
             BASSANIUS
    I Noble <u>Titus</u>, and resolv'd withall,
    To doe my selfe this reason, and this right.
          MARCUS ANDRONICUS
    <u>Suum cuiquam</u>, is our Romane Iustice.
    This Prince in Iustice ceazeth but his owne.
             LUCIUS
    And that he will and shall, if Lucius live.

A good illustration of the two words, used here in the same person and with the same complement understood. Lucius backs Bassanius's claim by (a) stating Bassanius's intention to seize Lavinia as guaranteed of fulfilment, (b) giving his personal guarantee for its fulment, conditional on his not losing his life in the attempt.

WILL is also found in Shakespeare, as in Chamberlaine, with verbs of non-activity and passives, where the full volitional sense is impossible.

8.54 [2H6 1 01 163] CARDINAL BEAUFORT
    I feare me Lords, for all this flattering glosse
    He will be found a dangerous Protector.

Perhaps we can account for WILL here as an instance of semantics overriding grammatical considerations. The message Beaufort wishes to convey is that Gloster will be a dangerous Protector, that is will behave dangerously once he is Protector; 'be found' is in a way bracketed '(as we shall find)', and WILL is the appropriate modal for 'He will be a dangerous Protector' because to Beaufort Gloster's future behaviour is part either of his intention or character, not part of his fate.

NEEDS with WILL beings out the full sense of 'be determined' 'insist on'. (Corpus 3.70 - 3.72.)

8.55 [2H6 4 08 22] CADE
    And you base Pezants, do ye beleeve him, will you needs be hang'd
    with your Pardons about your neckes?

8.56 [R3 3 01 141] YORK
      What, will you goe unto the Tower, my Lord:
                             PRINCE
      My Lord protector needs will have it so.

So Q; F omits NEEDS. The full meaning of WILL is in any case expected

here before HAVE.

8.57 [ADO 1 01 200] BENEDICK
      goe to yfaith and thou wilt needs thrust thy necke into a yoke,
      weare the print of it, and sigh away sundaies:

WOULD NEEDS, in Present Sense:

8.58 [WIV 3 03 87] ROBIN
      heere's Mistris Page at the doore, sweating, and blowing, and
      looking wildely and would needs speak with you presently

WOULD NEEDS, in Preterite Sense:

8.59 [H8 2 02 132] WOLSEY
      He was a foole;
      For he would needs be vertuous.

The following example, though it can be read as an extension of the

sense 'insists on' to an inanimate subject, probably follows from the

use of WILL even before a passive as a mere future. Effectively, WILL

NEEDS and MUST NEEDS here fall together in meaning.

8.60 [HAM 4 05 3] GENTLEMAN
      Shee is importunat,
      Indeed distract, her moode will needes be pitied.

WILL/WOULD + BE + -ING, where the modal has the full sense of

'wanting to', usually of a persistant desire.

8.61 [ADO 1 01 116] BEATRICE
      I wonder that you will still be talking, Signior Benedicke, no
      body markes you

8.62 [TGV 1 02 98] JULIA
      Goe, get you gone, and let the papers lye:
      You would be fingring them, to anger me.

8.63 [AYL 3 03 81] CLOWN
      so man hath his desires, and as Pigeons bill, so wedlocke would
      be nibling

8.64 [AYL 4 01 90] ORLANDO
      I take some ioy to say you are, because I would be talking of her.

The sense is close here to WOULD FAIN, which also occurs with BE + -ING.

8.65 [SHR 2 01 74] PETRUCHIO
Oh, Pardon me Signior Gremio,
I would fain be doing.

SECTION 7 - CAN AND MAY

The distinct senses, 'have power, ability' and 'have permission

or opportunity' are found side by side in

8.66 [H8 PR.5] PROLOGUE
Those that can Pitty, heere
May (if they thinke it well) let fall a Teare
The subiect will deserve it.

CANNOT and MAY are found paired, as negative and non-negative in the

same sense in

8.67 [MND 2 01 241] HELENA
We cannot fight for love, as men may doe;

CAN in Pseudo-Negative Clauses:

    HARDLY (Corpus 4.4):

8.68 [2H4 5 05 76] SHALLOW
I mary Sir John, which I beseech you to let me have home with me.
              FALSTAFF
That can hardly be, Master Shallow.

    BUT:

8.69 [1H4 4 01 13] HOTSPUR
Do so, and 'tis well. What Letters hast there?
I can but thanke you.

8.70 [2H4 3 02 234] FEEBLE
I care not. A man can die but once: wee owe God a death.

8.71 [MM 4 01 44] ISABELLA
No, none but onely a repaire ith' darke,
And that I have possessed him my most stay
Can be but brief.

8.72 [ANT 4 14 27] MARDIAN
Death of one person, can be paide but once,

CAN in Clauses after a Comparative and THAN (Corpus 4.14 - 4.16):

8.73 [JN 2 01 446] HUBERT
This Union shall do more than batterie can
To our fast closed gates:

8.74 [MND 1 01 103] LYSANDER
And (which is more than all these boasts can be)
I am belov'd of beauteous Hermia.

8.75 [WT 3 02 36] HERMIONE
As I am now unhappie, which is more
Then Historie can patterne,

8.76 [H8 3 02 274] WOLSEY
You have as little Honestie, as Honor
That in the way of Loyaltie, and Truth.
Towards the King, my ever Roiall Master,
Dare mate a sounder man then Surrey can be,
And all that love his follies.

8.77 [H8 1 03 28] LOVELL
Abusing better men then they can be
Out of a forreigne wisedome.

But the following examples (all from early plays) have MAY:

8.78 [1H6 1 01 40] WINCHESTER
Thy Wife is prowd, she holdeth thee in awe
More then God or Religious Churchmen may.

8.79 [1H6 2 03 69] COUNTESS
I find thou art no lesse then Fame hath bruited
And more then may be gathered by thy shape.

8.80 [TIT 3 01 243] MARCUS
These miseries are more then may be borne.

CAN in Clauses dependant upon a Superlative (Corpus 4.21 - 4.22):

8.81 [3H6 4 01 128] KING EDWARD
Yet am I arm'd against the worst can happen:

8.82 [1H4 5 02 94] HOTSPUR
And heere I draw a Sword
Whose worthy temper I intend to staine
With the best blood that I can meete withal
In the adventure of this perillous day.

CAN in Clauses introduced by AS + Adjective + AS (Corpus 4.24 - 4.28):

8.83 [SHR 4 03 37] HORTENSIO
Mistris, what cheere?
                    KATE
Faith as cold as can be.

8.84 [LLL 4 02 211] BEROWNE
As true we are as flesh and bloud can be,

8.85 [AYL 3 02 257] JACQUES
God buy you, lets meet as little as we can.

But MAY also occurs (Corpus 4.29, 4.30):

8.86 [2H6 4 04 48] LORD SAY
      And therefore in this Cittie will I stay
      And live alone as secret as I may.

CAN in Clauses introduced by ALL + Noun + (THAT) (Corpus 4.36 - 4.38):

8.87 [R3 3 01 187] BUCKINGHAM
      Good Catesby, goe effect this businesse soundly
                     CATESBY
      My good Lords both, with all the heed I can.

But MAY is also found:

8.88 [R3 3 01 60] PRINCE
      Good Lords, make all the speedy haste you may.

Clauses introduced by WHAT(SOEVER), HOW(SOEVER) (Corpus 4.33 - 4.35):

8.89 [2H6 2 04 55] ELINOR
      And flye how thou canst, they'le tangle thee

8.90 [2H6 2 04 109] ELINOR
      My shame will not be shifted with my Sheet:
      No, it will hang upon my richest Robes
      And shew it selfe, attyre me how I can.

8.91 [1H4 5 02 12] WORCESTER
      Looke how we can, or sad, or merrily
      Interpretation will misquote our lookes.

8.92 [MM 2 04 170] ANGELO
      As for you,
      Say what you can; my false ore-weighs your true.

This is related to the AS + Adjective + AS, and ALL + NOUN + THAT

examples; the particular construction illustrated here appears to be

colloquial and is not represented in the corpus.

CAN also in Clause introduced by:

      BEFORE, ERE (Corpus 4.11 - 4.13):

8.93 [MND 2 01 174] OBERON
      Fetch me this hearbe, and be thou heere again
      Ere the Leviathan can swim a league.

      UNLESS:

8.94 [ROM 3 03 57] ROMEO
      Unless Philosophy can make a Juliet
      Displant a town, reverse a Princes doome,
      It helps not.

TILL:

8.95 [ROM 3 03 150] FRIAR
      Where thou shalt live till we can finde a time
      To blaze your marriage, reconcile your friends.

CAN also occurs in questions, where the sense is 'surely ... cannot ...'

and a negative answer is expected.

8.96 [1H6 4 01 61] GLOSTER
      Can this be so?
      That in alliance, amity and oathes
      There should be found such false dissembling guile.

8.97 [MM 3 01 224] ISABELLA
      Can this be so? Did Angelo so leave her?

8.98 [OTH 3 04 134] IAGO
      Can he be angry?

8.99 [MAC 3 04 109] MACBETH
      Can such things be,
      And overcome us like a summers Clowd,
      Without our speciall wonder?

8.100 [ANT 1 03 58] CLEOPATRA
       Though age from folly could not give me freedom
       It does from childishnesse. Can Fulvia die?

8.101 [ANT 3 07 56] ANTONY
       Can he be there in person? 'Tis impossible.
       Strange, that his power should be.

8.102 [PER 2 03 49] KING
       What, are you merry, knights?
                         KNIGHTS
       Who can be other, in this royal presence.

8.103 [WT 1 02 140] LEONTES
       Thou do'st make possible things not so held
       Communicat'st with Dreames (how can this be?)
       With what's unreall.

CAN also appears as in the corpus with LEARN and BE CONTENT (Corpus

4.88 and 4.39):

8.104 [R3 1 01 51] CLARENCE
       But as I can learne,
       He hearkens after Prophesies and Dreames.

8.105 [COR 1 01 37] 1 CITIZEN
       though soft conscienc'd men can be content to say it was for his
       country, he did it to please his Mother, and to be partly proud.

CAN also occurs in clauses expressing Condition (Corpus see 4.17, 4.18 with COULD):

8.106 [MM 3 01 192] ISABELLA
If ever he return, and I can speake to him, I will open my lips in vaine, or discover his government.

8.107 [TGV 2 02 3] PROTHEUS
When possibly I can, I will return.

We may note the variation CAN/MAY between the following parallel passages in 2H6 and The First Part of the Contention.

8.108 [2H6 2 04 51] ELINOR
For Suffolke, he that can doe all in all
With her, that hateth thee and hates us all.

[First Part 2 04 DZV34] For Suffolke he,
The new made Duke, that may do all in all
With her that loves him so, and hates us all.

MAY

As CAN appears in questions without a negative, expecting a negative reply, so MAY appears in questions with a negative, expecting an affirmative reply.

8.109 [ROM 3 05 173] NURSE
May not one speake?

8.110 [WIV 4 02 49] FALSTAFF
No, Ile come no more i'th Basket:
May I not go out ere he come?

8.111 [WIV 4 02 147] FORD
there was one convoy'd out of my house yesterday in this basket: why may not he be there againe, in my house. I am sure he is:

8.112 [HAM 5 01 203] HAMLET
Why may not Imagination trace the Noble dust of Alexander, till he find it stopping a bunghole?

8.113 [LR 1 04 223] FOOL
May not an Asse know when the cart draws the Horse?

8.114 [MAC 3 01 9] MACBETH
Why by the verities on thee made good,
May they not be my Oracles as well,
And set me up in hope.

8.115 [PER 2 05 7] 2 KNIGHT
May we not get access to her (my Lord?)
                    KING
Fayth, by no means, she hath so strictly
Tyed her to her Chamber, that tis impossible:

So, with MIGHT:

8.116 [HAM 5 01 211] HAMLET
       and why of that Lome (whereto he was converted) might they not
       stopp a Beere-barrell?

MAY also occurs in questions without a negative when these

directly request permission.

8.117 [H8 4 01 13] 2 GENTLEMAN
       May I be bold to aske what that containes,
       That Paper in your hand.

Also, with BE in questions seeking identification:

8.118 [OTH 5 01 65] IAGO
       What may you be? Are you of good, or evill
                        LODOVICO
       As you shall prove us, praise us.

8.119 [CYM 1 06 9] IMOGEN
       Who may this be? Fye.
              Enter Pisanio and Iachimo

8.120 [H8 4 01 108] 2 GENTLEMAN
       Who may that be, I pray you
                        3 GENTLEMAN
       Thomas Cromwell
       A man in much esteeme with th' King.

By its nature, this construction does not occur in the corpus. It

survives into a certain colloquial style of PE.

    In the following example, MAY is used in a question expecting a

negative reply, instead of CAN, apparently for variety.

8.121 [H5 PR11] PROLOGUE
       Can this Cock-pit hold
       The vastie fields of France? Or may we cramme
       Within this Woodden O, the very Caskes
       That did affright the Ayre at Agincourt?

MAY occurs in negative clauses with the sense 'is not permitted'

rather than 'is not possible'. The following examples illustrate a

prohibition, either explicitly stated or implied in the context.

(Corpus 4.55, 4.58 - 4.60, 4.62)

8.122 [1H6 1 03 18] WOODVILE
       Have patience, Noble Duke, I may not open
       The Cardinall of Winchester forbids:

8.123   [R3   4 01 16]   BRACKENBURY
Right well, deare Madame: by your patience,
I may not suffer you to visit them,
The King hath strictly charg'd the contrary.

8.124   [1H6   1 03 7]   GLOSTER 1. MAN
It is the Noble Duke of Gloster
                    2 WARDER
Whoere he be, you may not be let in.

8.125   [JN   3 01 66]   SALISBURY
Pardon me Madam
I may not goe without you to the Kings.

8.126   [LLL   2 01 171]   KING
You may not come, fair Princesse, in my gates.

8.127   [ROM   3 02 31]   JULIET
To an impatient child that hath new robes
And may not weare them.

8.128   [MV   1 02 23]   PORTIA
O mee, the word choose, I may neither choose whom I would, nor
refuse whom I dislike.

8.129   [AYL   1 02 86]   ROSALIND
youl be whipt for taxation one of these daies
                    CLOWNE
The more pittie that fooles may not speak wisely, what Wisemen
do foolishly.

8.130   [WIV   1 01 277]   ANNE PAGE
I may not goe in without your worship: they will not sit till
you come.

8.131   [MM   1 04 9]   NUN
It is a mans voice: gentle Isabella
Turne you the key, and know his businesse of him
You may; I may not; you are yet unsworne;
When you have vowd, you must not speake with men,
But in the presence of the Prioresse.

In the following examples the prohibition inheres in the general moral

or legal situation.

8.132   [1H6   2 02 47]   BURGUNDY
When Ladyes crave to be encountered with
You may not, (my Lord), despise her gentle suit.

8.133   [ERR   1 01 97]   DUKE
Nay forward old man, doe not break off so
For we may pitty, though not pardon thee.

8.134 [ERR 1 01 144] DUKE
Now trust me, were it not against our Lawes,
Against my Crowne, my oath, my dignity,
Which Princes would they, may not disannull,
My soule should sue as advocate for thee.
But though thou art adiudged to the death,
And passed sentence may not be recal'd
But to our honours great disparagement:
Yet will I favour thee in what I can.

8.135 [R3 4 01 26] BRAKENBURY
No Madame, no; I may not leave it so;
I am bound by Oath, and therefore pardon me.

8.136 [JN 3 01 269] PANDULPH
O let that vow
First made to heaven, first be to heaven perform'd
That is, to be the Champion of our Church,
What since thou sworst, is sworne against thy selfe
And may not be performed by thy selfe.

8.137 [MND 1 01 120] THESEUS
Or else the Law of Athens yeelds you up
(Which by no meanes we may extenuate)
To death, or to a vow of single life.

8.138 [R2 1 02 40] GAUNT
Let heaven revenge: for I may never lift,
An angry arme against his Minister.

8.139 [WIV 4 05 44] FALSTAFF
What are they? Let us know.
                    HOST
I : come : quicke.
                    SIMPLE
I may not conceal them sir
                    HOST
Conceale them, or thou di'st.

8.140 [MM 2 01 27] ANGELO
You may not so extenuate his offense
For I have had such faults;

8.141 [HAM 1 03 19] LAERTES
He may not, as unvallued persons doe
Carve for himselfe.

8.142 [TRO 2 02 119] TROILUS
Why brother Hector
We may not thinke the iustness of each act
Such, and no other then event doth forme it
Nor once deiect the courage of our mindes;

8.143 [AWW 2 01 115] KING
We thanke you maiden,
But may not be so credulous of cure
When our most learned Doctors leave us, and
The congregated Colledge have concluded,
That labouring Art can never ransome nature
From her inaydible estate. I say we must not
So staine our iudgement.

8.144 [OTH 4 01 270] IAGO
He's that he is: I may not breath my censure
What he might be:

8.145 [LR 3 07 24] CORNWALL
Though well we may not passe upon his life
Without the forme of Iustice: yet our power
Shall do a curt'sie to our wrath.

88.146 [COR 5 03 80] CORIOLANUS
The thing I have forsworne to graunt, may never
Be held by you denials

8.147 [WT 1 02 45] HERMIONE
Nay, but you will?
                    POLIXENES
I may not, verily.

8.148 [WT 1 02 397] POLIXENES
If you know ought which do's behove my knowledge,
Therefore to be inform'd, imprison't not
In ignorant concealment.
                    CAMILLO
I may not answere.

In the following examples the prohibition seems to lie in circumstances

themselves. Often the sense is close to that of impossibility.

8.149 [3H6 1 01 263] QUEEN
Come Sonne away, we may not linger thus

8.150 [R3 5 03 94] DERBY
But on thy side I may not be too forward,
Least being seene, my Brother, tender George
Be executed in his Fathers sight.

8.151 [MND 5 01 2] THESEUS
More strange then true. I never may believe
These anticke fables, nor these Fairy toyes,

8.152 [LLL 5 02 669] BRAGGART
I do adore thy sweet Graces slipper
                    BOYET
Loves her by the foot
                    DUMAIN
He may not by the yard.

8.153 [ROM 2 PR 9] CHORUS
       Being held a foe, he may not have accesse
       To breath such vowes as Lovers use to sweare.

8.154 [ROM 3 03 33] ROMEO
       And little Mouse, every unworthy thing
       Live here in Heaven and may looke on her,
       But <u>Romeo</u> may not ...
       ...
       But <u>Romeo</u> may not, hee is banished.

8.155 [HAM 3 03 5] KING
       The termes of our estate, may not endure
       Hazard so dangerous as doth hourely grow
       Out of his Lunacies

8.156 [MM 1 01 62] ANGELO
       yet give me leave (my Lord)
       That we may bring you something on the way.
                          DUKE
       My haste may not admit it,

8.157 [MAC 3 01 121] MACBETH
       yet I must not,
       For certaine friends that are both his, and mine
       Whose loves I may not drop, but wayle his fall
       Who I my selfe struck downe:

8.158 [ANT 4 14 133] 1 GUARD
       Woe, woe are we,
       Sir, you may not live to weare
       All your true Followers out.

MAY NOT occurs in a few examples in the sense of 'has no power to',

where CANNOT would be expected.

8.159 [ROM 2 02 160] JULIET
       O for a Falkners voice,
       To lure this Tassell gentle backe againe,
       Bondage is hoarse and may not speak aloud,
       Else would I teare the Cave where Eccho lies.

8.160 [ANT 1 05 12] CLEOPATRA
       Not now to heare thee sing. I take no pleasure
       In ought an Eunuch ha's: Tis well for thee,
       That being unseminar'd, thy freer thoughts
       May not flye forth of Egypt.

In the following example MAY is selected for the positive use and

silently carried over to the negative where CANNOT would be expected.

8.161 [LR 3 07 27] CORNWALL
       Yet our power
       Shall do a curt'sie to our wrath, which men
       May blame, but not controll.

The selection of CAN or MAY is also illustrated in the employment

of the constructions

IT MAY BE (THAT) + Clause

IT CAN BE (THAT) + Clause

(Corpus IT MAY BE, 6.288 - 6.299)

IT CANNOT BE

8.162 [ANT 2 02 113] CAESAR
for't cannot be
We shall remaine in friendship, our conditions
So diffring in their acts.

CAN IT BE?

8.163 [MM 2 02 167] ANGELO
Can it be,
That Modesty may more betray our Sence
Then womans lightnesse?

8.164 [TRO 2 02 153] PARIS
Can it be
That so degenerate a strain as this
Should once set ifooting in your generous bosomes?

IT MAY BE

8.165 [JC 4 03 247] BRUTUS
I pray you Sirs, lye in my Tent and sleepe.
It may be I shall raise you by and by
On business to my Brother Cassius

8.166 [MM 2 4 34] ANGELO
Your brother cannot live
            ISABELLA
Even so: heaven keepe your Honor
            ANGELO
Yet may he live a while: and it may be
As long as you, or I: yet he must die.

Where the full construction is apparently 'it may be that he may live

as long as you or I'. See 6.294.

IT CANNOT BUT BE = IT MUST BE ...

8.167 [2H6 3 02 177] WARWICK
It cannot be but he was murdred heere,
The least of all these signes were probable.

8.168 [SHR 3 02 199] TRANIO
       Let us intreat you stay till after ſdinner
                    PETRUCHIO
       It may not be
                    GRUMIO
       Let me intreat you
                    PETRUCHIO
       It cannot be.

Where I take it a transition isᒲintended from 'I am prohibited (by

circumstances) from coming' to 'It is impossible for me to come'.

From IT MAY BE (THAT) + Clause, IT is sometimes omitted (This does not

occur in the corpus).

8.169 [ANT 4 02 25] ANTONY
       Tend me to night;
       May be, it is the period of your duty,
       Haply you shall not see me more.

I take it here we have an abbreviated form of 'It may be that it is the

period of your duty'. But the parallel with the next line suggests

that already 'May be' is felt as a sentence adverb.

8.170 [CYM 2 04 104] POSTHUMUS
       May be, she pluck'd it off
       To send it me.

8.171 [PER 5 01 87] MARINA
       She speakes my Lord
       That, may be hath endur'd a grief, might equal
       Yours, if both were iustly wayde.

The word order makes it likely that MAY BE is here felt as a sentence

adverb.

We may notice the evidently colloquial 'be it as it may'.

8.172 [3H6 1 01 194] K. HENRY
       Not for my selfe Lord Warwick, but my Sonne,
       Whom I unnaturally shall dis-inherite.
       But be it as it may: I here entayle
       The Crowne to thee.

This is a mannerism with Nym.

8.173 [H5 2 01 7] NYM
       For my part I care not: I say little: but when time shall serve
       there shall be smiles - but that shall be as it may.

8.174 [H5 2 01 20] NYM
I cannot tell, Things must be as they may: men may sleepe, and
they may have their throats about them at that time, and some
say, knives have edges: It must be as it may.

8.175 [PER 2 01 113] 1 FISHERMAN
O sir, things must be as they may: and what a man can not get,
he may lawfully deale for his Wives soule?

After the early use in <u>Henry VI</u>, Shakespeare perhaps came to regard

this as a vulgarism. But 'come what may' and variants are found

throughout.

8.176 [2H6 3 02 402] SUFFOLK
Oh let me stay, befall what may befall.

8.177 [TIT 5 01 57] AARON
If thou wilt not, befall what may befall,
Ile speake no more: but vengeance rot you all.

8.178 [TN 2 01 47] ANTONIO
But, come what may, I do adore thee so
That danger shall seeme sport, and I will go.

8.179 [MAC 1 03 146] MACBETH
Come what come may,
Time and the Houre, runs through the roughest Day.

The same grammatical pattern is also found in

8.180 [LLL 5 02 329] BEROWNE
Nay he can sing
A meane most meanly and in Ushering
Mend him who can.

SECTION 8 - <u>CANNOT BUT</u>

This is common in Shakespeare to express necessity (Corpus 4.123 -

4.136).

8.181 [JN 3 04 140] PANDULPHO
That <u>Iohn</u> may stand, then <u>Arthur</u> needs must fall.
So be it, for it cannot be but so.

8.182 [R2 2 02 30] QUEEN
It may be so: but yet my inward soule
Perswades me it is otherwise: how ere it be
I cannot but be sad:

8.183 [TN 2 05 203] MARIA
and hee will smile upon her, which will now be so unsuteable to
her disposition, being addicted to a melancholy, as shee is,
that it cannot but turn him into a notable contempt:

8.184 [MAC 4 03 222] MACDUFF
I cannot but remember such things were
That were most precious to me:

8.185 [MM 5 01 7] DUKE
we heare
Such goodnesse of your Iustice, that our soule
Cannot but yeeld you forth to publique thankes
Forerunning more requitall.

Also, CANNOT CHOOSE BUT, with subjects capable of choice (Corpus 4.137 –

4.143).

8.186 [TGV 4 04 77] JULIA
Alas
                    PROTHEUS
Why dost thou cry alas?
                    JULIA
I cannot choose but pitty her.

8.187 [AWW 1 01 146] PARROLLES
Besides, Virginitie is peevish, proud, ydle, made of selfe-love,
which is the most inhibited sinne in the Cannon. Keepe it not,
you cannot choose but loose by 't.

With subjects not capable of choice,

8.188 [1H4 1 03 279] HOTSPUR
Why, it cannot choose but be a Noble plot.

8.189 [WIV 5 03 17] MISTRESS PAGE
They are all couch'd in a pit hard by Hernes Oake, with obscur'd
Lights; which at the very instant of Falstaffes and our meeting,
they will at once display to the night.
                    MISTRESS FORD
That cannot choose but amaze him.

8.190 [WT 1 01 24] CAMILLO
and there rooted betwixt them then such an affection, which
cannot chuse but braunch now.

The necessity implied by the two negatives in CANNOT and BUT is some-

times also expressed by MUST in the clause after BUT.

8.191 [OTH 4 01 29] IAGO
(as knaves be such abroad
Who having by their owne importunate suit
Or voluntary dotage of some Mistris
Convinced or supply'd them, cannot chuse,
But they must blab.)

8.192 [CYM 1 06 72] IACHIMO
    whiles the jolly Britaine
    (Your Lord I meane) laughes from's free lungs: cries oh,
    Can my sides hold, to think that man who knowes
    By History, Report, or his owne proofe
    What woman is, yea what she cannot choose
    But must be: will's free houres languish
    For assured bondage.

The construction also occurs with SHALL instead of CAN.

8.193 [HAM 4 07 65] KING
    I will worke him
    To an exployt now ripe in my Device
    Under the which he shall not choose but fall;

SECTION 9 - MUST

MUST is often strengthened with adverbs such as NEEDS or OF FORCE,

PERFORCE, occasionally both. (Corpus Chapter 5, Section 3.)

8.194 [TIT 4 03 42] PUBLIUS
    So that perforce you must needs stay a time.

MUST is also found in the sense given in the OED, 3(e) 'As a past

or historical present tense, must is sometimes used satirically or
♦
indignantly with reference to some foolish or annoying action or some

untoward event'. It gives its first quotation from Gower (Conf 11.145)

        Whan that the lord comth hom ayein
        The janglere most somwhat sein

and then,

8.195 [MAC 4 03 212] MACDUFF
    And I must be from thence? My wife kil'd too?

followed by modern made-up colloquial examples. Other Shakespearean

examples of this usage are given below.

8.196 [R3 1 03 61] RICHARD
    His Royall Grace
    (Whom God preserve better then you would wish)
    Cannot be quiet scarse a breathing while
    But you must trouble him with lewd complaints.

8.197 [ROM 1 05 85] CAPULET
    Go too, go too.
    You are a sawcy Boy, 'ist so indeed?
    This tricke may chance to scath you, I know what,
    You must contrary me, marry 'tis time.

8.198 [HAM 2 02 585] HAMLET
      I sure, this is most brave,
      That I, the Sonne of a Deere father murthered,
      Prompted to my Revenge by Heaven, and Hell,
      Must (like a Whore) unpacke my heart with words
      And fall a Cursing like a very Drab,

8.199 [OTH 1 01 32] IAGO
      This Counter-caster
      He, (in good time) must his Lieutenant be
      And I (blesse the marke) his Mooreships Auntient.

8.200 [CYM 2 01 4] CLOTEN
      and then a whorson Jack-an-Apes must take me up for swearing,
      as if I borrowed mine oathes of him, and might not spend them at
      my pleasure.

This sense seems to appear always when MUST is followed by BE + -ING.

8.201 [2H4 2 02 76] POINS
      Come you pernitious Asse you bashfull Foole, must you be
      blushing?

8.202 [COR 2 01 90] MENENIUS
      Yet you must be saying, Martius is proud.

8.203 [WT 4 04 246] CLOWN
      Is there not, milking-time? When you are going to bed? Or
      Kill-hole? To whistle of these secrets, but you must be
      little-tatling before all our guests?

8.204 [H8 5 04 9] PORTER
      Ile scratch your heads; you must be seeing Christenings? Do you
      looke for Ale, and Cakes heere, you rude Raskalls?

SECTION 10 - NEED

The illustration of NEED in Shakespeare follows the arrangement

for the corpus in Chapter 5, Section 2.

1.   Displaying the formal characteristics of a Modal Verb

          a) followed by the infinitive without TO

          b) without ETH/S inflection in the 3rd person singular

             present tense.

      Negative Clauses (Corpus 5.1 - 5.3):

8.205 [2H6 4 02 60] WEAVER
      He neede not fear the sword, for his Coate is of proofe.

ℓ

8.206 [TIM 3 06 73] TIMON
Lend to each man enough, that one need not lend to another:

Interrogative:

8.207 [TGV 3 01 309] LANCE
What neede a man care for a stock with a wench when she can knit
him a stocke?
                    SPEED
Item she can wash and scoure.
                    LANCE
A speciall vertue: for then shee neede not be wash'd, and
scour'd.

8.208 [ERR 3 02 15] JULIANA
Teach sinne the carriage of a holy Saint
Be secret false, what need she be acquainted?

Second Person Singular (Corpus 5.11 - 5.13):

Negative Clauses:

8.209 [TGV 1 03 17] ANTONIO
Nor need'st thou much importune me to that
Whereon, this month I have bin hamering

8.210 [CYM 3 04 13] PISANIO
If 't be Summer Newes
Smile too't before: if Winter, thou need'st
But keepe that count'nance stil.

Interrogative:

8.211 [R3 4 04 460] RICHARD
What need'st hthou run so many miles about,
When thou mayest tell thy Tale the neerest way?

8.212 [SON 139 7]
What needst thou wound with cunning when thy might
Is more then my ore-prest defence can bide?

Second Person Plural:

Negative Clauses:

8.213 [1H4 4 04 21] SIR MIGHEL
Why, my good Lord, you need not feare,
There is Douglas, and Lord Mortimer

8.214 [1H6 5 02 17] BURGUNDY
I trust the Ghost of Talbot is not there:
Now he is gone, my Lord, you neede not feare.

8.215 [HAM 3 01 179] POLONIUS
You neede not tell us what Lord Hamlet said,
We heard it all:

Interrogative:

8.216 [JN 4 01 75] ARTHUR
       Alas, what neede you be so boist'rous-rough?

8.217 [H8 2 04 129] GENT. USHER
       Madam, you are cald backe.
                        QUEEN
       What need you note it? pray you keep your way.

8.218 [TRO 3 02 40] PANDARUS
       Come, come, what neede you blush?

First Person Singular (Corpus 5.14 - 5.19):

Negative Clauses:

8.219 [1H6 5 03 105] MARGARET
       Perhaps I shall be rescu'd by the French
       And then I need not crave his courtesie.

8.220 [3H6 5 04 70] KING EDWARD
       I need not adde more fuell to your fire
       For well I wot, ye blaze, to burne them out:

8.221 [R3 3 01 148] PRINCE
       I feare no Uncles dead.
                        GLOSTER
       Nor none that live I hope.
                        PRINCE
       And if they live, I hope I need not feare.

8.222 [TIM 3 04 39] FLAMINIUS
       I need not tell him that, he knowes you are too diligent.

See also 8.10.

Interrogative:

8.223 [1H4 5 01 128] FALSTAFF
       Tis not due yet, I would be loath to pay him before his day,
       what need I be so forward with him that calls.

8.224 [MAC 4 01 82] MACBETH
       Then live Macduffe: what need I feare of thee.

8.225 [PER 2CH 16] GOWER
       But tidings to the contrarie
       Are brought your eyes, what need speake I?

First Person Plural:

Negative:

8.226 [COR 3 03 76] SICINIUS
       We neede not put new matter to his charge.

8.227 [COR 4 06 1] SICINIUS
We heare not of him, neither need we feare him.

Interrogative:

8.228 [PER 1 04 77] CLEON
But bring they what they will and what they can
What need we leave our grounds the lowest

8.229 [MAC 5 01 37] LADY MACBETH
What need we feare? who knowes it,
When none can call our power to accompt:

8.230 [TIM 1 02 95] TIMON
Oh you Gods (think I) what need we have any freends, if we
should neer have need of em?

There are some examples in Shakespeare with ellipsis of the

infinitive which cannot be assigned to uses without TO or with TO.

Third Person Singular with Zero Inflection:

8.231 [TGV 2 01 152] SPEED
What need she, when she hath made you write to your selfe?

Third Person Singular in NEEDS:

8.232 [TGV 5 02 21] PROTEUS
Oh Sir, she makes no doubt of that.
                    JULIA
She needes not, when she knowes it cowardise.

8.233 [H5 3 07 109] CONSTABLE
Marry hee told me so himselfe, and he sayd hee car'd not who
knew it.
                    ORLEANCE
He needs not, it is no hidden virtue in him.

In the corpus, 3rd Singular Present Tense NEEDETH, NEEDS is always

followed by TO. In Shakespeare the following two uses with infinitive

without TO:

8.234 [ERR 3 02 182] ANTIPOLUS
I see a man heere needs not live by shifts.

8.235 [LLL 4 03 197] BEROWNE
A toy my Liedge, a toy: your grace needs not feare it.

In the corpus 3rd person Singular Present Tense NEED is always without

TO. In Shakespeare the following examples occur:

8.236 [MND 5 01 357] DUKE
Never excuse; for when the plaiers are all dead, there need none
to be blamed.

8.237 [1H4 3 03 15] FALSTAFF
       I was as virtuously given as a gentleman need to be.

8.238 [2H4 4 01 112] MOWBRAY
       What thing, in Honour had my father lost
       That need to be reviv'd and breath'd in me?

8.237, 8.238 may possibly be felt as subjunctives.

8.239 [WIV 2 02 127] QUICKLY
       and in any case have a nay-word, that you may know one anothers
       minde, and the Boy never neede to understand anything

Perhaps MAY also to be understood before NEED here.

8.240 [2H4 1 03 78. Q1600] BISHOP
       That he should draw his severall strengths together,
       And come against us in full puissance
       Need not to be dreaded.

The folio reading is 'Need not be dreaded'.

Followed by TO:

Third Singular NEEDS (Corpus 5.25. NEEDETH, which does not occur in

Shakespeare, 5.20 - 5.24):

    Negative Clause:

8.241 [TN 1 05 6] CLOWN
       Let her hang me: hee that is well hang'de in this world needs
       to fear no colours.

    Interrogative:

8.242 [2H6 1 03 118] QUEEN
       If he be old enough what needs your Grace
       To be protector of his Excellence?

Second Person Singular (Corpus 5.27, 5.28):

    Negative Clauses:

8.243 [ROM 3 05 16] JULIET
       Therefore stay yet, thou need'st not to be gone.

Second Person Plural:

8.244 [MM 2 01 235] POMPEY
       if your worship will take order for the drabs and knaves, you
       need not to feare the bawds

8.245 [AWW 5 02 10] PAROLLES
       Nay, you neede not to stop your nose sir: I spake but by a
       Metaphor.

8.246 [2H4 3 02 114] MOULDY
You need not to have prick't me, there are other men fitter to
go out, then I.

This appears to be the only use of an infinitive with HAVE after NEED

in Shakespeare. Corpus has NEEDED NOT TO HAVE 5.31 - 5.33, not found

in Shakespeare.

First Person Singular, all in Negative Clauses:

8.247 [AWW 3 05 25] MARIA
I hope I neede not to advise you further.

8.248 [AWW 4 03 277] INTERPRETER
His qualities being at this poor price, I need not to ask you
if Gold will corrupt him to revolt.

8.249 [R2 3 04 17] QUEEN
For what I have I need not to repeat
And what I want, it bootes not to complaine.

8.250 [H5 4 07 113] FLUELLEN
I will confesse it to all the Orld. I need not to be ashamed
of your Maiestie.

8.251 [SON 92 5]
Then need I not to feare the worst of wrongs
When in the least of them my life hath end.

HAVE NEED with Infinitive without TO does not occur in Shake-

speare (Corpus 5.34, 5.35).

HAD NEED followed by Infinitive without TO, only without

Preterite Sense (Corpus 5.36 - 5.44). As in corpus, only in

Non-Negative Clauses:

Third Person:

8.252 [PER 2 02 48] 1 LORD
He had need mean better, then his outward shew can any way
speake in his iust commend.

8.253 [ROM 4 05 12vii Q1597] NURSE
Put up, put up this is a wofull case.
                              1 MUSITIAN
I by my troth Mistresse, it had need be mended.

8.254 [2H4 2 04 150] DOLL
therefore Captaines had neede look to't.

Second Person:

8.255 [TN 2 03 182] TOBY
       Let's to bed knight; Thou hadst need sende for more money.

First Person:

8.256 [H8 2 02 44] NORFOLK
       We had need pray,
       And heartily, for our deliverance;
       Or this imperious man will worke us all
       From Princes into Pages:

HAVE/HAD NEED with Ellipsis of Verb:

HAVE NEED. In Non-Negative Clauses:

8.257 [ROM 4 03 13] LADY CAPULET
       Get thee to bed and rest, for thou hast need

(i.e. to rest, or possibly 'of rest')

8.258 [TIT 4 02 15] YOUNG LUCIUS
       And so I do and with his gifts present
       Your Lordships that, when ever you have need
       You may be armed and appointed well.

HAD NEED. Always in non-preterite sense and only in phrase SO

HAD HE/YOU NEED:

8.259 [2H6 4 02 7] BEVIS
       I tell thee, Iacke Cade the Cloathier, meanes to dresse the
       Common-wealth and turne it, and set a new nap upon it.
                       HOLLAND
       So had he need, for 'tis threadbare.

8.260 [AYL 2 07 169] ORLANDO
       I thanke you most for him.
                       ADAM
       So had you neede.
       I scarce can speake to thanke you for my selfe.

8.261 [SHR 1 01 210] LUCENTIO
       But I will charme him first to keepe his tongue
                       TRANIO
       So had you neede:

8.262 [1H6 1 01 157] BEDFORD
       Ten thousand Souldiers with me I will take
       Whose bloody deeds shall make all Europe quake.
                       3 MESSENGER
       So had you need, for Orleance is besieged.

HAVE/HAD NEED followed by the Infinitive with TO:

HAVE NEED. Non-Negative (Corpus 5.34, 5.35):

8.263 [2H6 4 02 3] BEVIS
Come and get thee a sword, though made of a lath, they have been
up these two dayes.
                    HOLLAND
They have the more neede to sleepe now then.

8.264 [R3 2 01 36] BUCKINGHAM
When I have most need to imploy a friend
And most assured that he is a friend,
Deepe, hollow, treacherous and full of guile
Be he unto me.

8.265 [CYM 2 03 62] CYMBELINE
When you have given good morning to your Mistris,
Attend the Queene, and us, we shall have neede
T'employ you towards this Romane.

HAVE NO NEED TO, and other Negative Clauses:

8.266 [R2 4 01 309] RICHARD
I have a King here to my flatterer
Being so great, I have no need to begge.

8.267 [LR 1 02 34] GLOCESTER
the quality of nothing hath not such need to hide itself.

HAD NEED TO without Preterite Sense (Corpus 5.41 - 5.44):

8.268 [2H6 4 02 F3R05 First Pt. of Contention] GEORGE
Come away Nick, and put a long staffe in thy pike, and provide
thy selfe, for I can tell thee, they have been up this two
daies.
                    NICKE
Then they had more need to go to bed now.

HAD NO NEED TO, Preterite Sense:

8.269 [LR 1 04 192] FOOL
Thou wast a pretty fellow when thou hadst no need to care for
her frowning.

The following example perhaps belongs here

8.270 [HAM 2 02 3] KING
The need we have to use you did provoke
Our hastie sending

since the underlying syntax presumably includes 'We have need to use

you'.

NEED used with a Modal Verb (Corpus 5.52 - 5.60, always followed by TO).
All in Negative Clauses.

With Ellipsis of Verb

SHALL:

8.271 [3H6 1 02 65] YORK
The Armie of the Queene meane to besiege us.
                    SIR JOHN MORTIMER
Shee shall not need; wee'll meete her in the field.

8.272 [JN 3 01 320] PANDARUS
I will denounce a curse upon his head.
                    FRANCE
Thou shalt not need. England, I will fall from thee.

SHOULD:

8.273 [JC 2 01 279] BRUTUS
Kneele not gentle Portia
                    PORTIA
I should not neede, if you were gentle Brutus.

Followed by Infinitive with TO:

8.274 [WT 4 01 415] SHEPHERD
Let him (my sonne) he shall not need to grieve
At knowing of thy choice.

8.275 [AWW 3 05 29] DIANA
Youshhall not neede to feare me.

8.276 [SHR 1 01 61] KATE
I'faith sir, you shall never need to fear.

8.277 [CYM 3 04 32] PISANOO
What shall I need to draw my Sword, the Paper
Hath cut her throat alreadie.

8.278 [PER 1 03 10] HELLICANUS
You shall not neede, my fellow-Peers of Tyre
Further to question mee of your kings departure.

Other Constructions with NEED in Shakespeare

The most common of these are given as totals of occurrences.

Figures and examples are arranged according to the Scheme in Chapter 5.

I.   Personal Constructions with Noun Phrase

1. NP_1 + NEEDS OF/TO + NP_2 1
                                          (does not occur in corpus)

8.279 [LR 2 04 238] REGAN
What fifty followers?
Is it not well? What should you need of more?

2. NP_1 + HAS NEED OF NP_2 7
$$\text{(Corpus 5.61 - 5.75)}$$

      NP_1 + HAS NO NEED OF   1
$$\text{(Corpus 5.76 - 5.82)}$$

8.280 [ANT 3 11 10] ANTONY
       I have my selfe resolv'd upon a course
       Which has no need of you.

       NP_1 + HAD NEED OF + NP_2 1
$$\text{(Corpus 5.84 - 5.91)}$$

8.281 [MAC 2 02 29] MACBETH
       I had most need of Blessing and Amen
       Stuck in my throat.

       We may also note STAND IN NEED OF   1
$$\text{(Corpus 5.93)}$$

8.282 [TGV 2 07 84] JULIA
       And presently goe with me to my chamber
       To take note of what I stand in need of
       To furnish me upon my longing journey

3. NP_1 NEED NP_2 51
$$\text{(Corpus 5.94 - 5.124)}$$

       Among these we may note

8.283 [PER 3 03 23] CLEON
       But if to that,
       My nature neede a spurre, the Gods revenge it
       Upon me and mine, to the end of generation.

where 3rd singular present with zero inflection presumably indicates

subjunctive mood in protasis.

Also once, the passive NP_2 IS NEEDED

8.284 [MAC 5 03 33] MACBETH
       Give me my armour.
                      SEYTON
       'Tis not needed yet.

II.   Impersonal Constructions with Noun Phrases

1.   NEED IS + genitive NP. THERE IS NEED OF ...   4
                                           (Not found in the corpus)

8.285 [ADO 3 03 21] DOGBERRY
       and for your writing and reading, let that appear when there is
       no need of such vanity.

8.286 [2H4 4 01 95] WESTMORLAND
       There is no need of any such redress:
       Or if there were, it not belongs to you.

8.287 [R3 3 07 165] RICHARD
       But, God be thank'd, there is no need of me.
       And much I need to help you, were there need:

8.288 [SON 51 4]
       From where thou art, why should I hast me thence,
       Til I return, of posting is noe need.

All in the negative with 'no need'. Is Dogberry's blunder related to

the fact that 'there is need of' was no longer in use?

       2.   NP + NEEDS.   THERE NEEDS   10
                                             (Corpus 5.130 - 5.140)
Of which 3 THERE NEEDS NO. Among these

8.289 [HAM   1 05 125 Q1603] HORATIO
       There need no Ghost come from the grave to tell you this

Q1604-5, F There needes no Ghost my Lord, come from the grave
                 To tell us this.

and 7 WHAT NEEDS. NEEDS is the only form after WHAT whether the noun

which follows is singular or plural,

8.290 [WT 2 03 127] PAULINA
       What needs these hands

except in this variant

8.291 [TRO 5 01 12 Q1609] PATROCLUS
       Well said adversity, and what needs this tricks.

F.   Well said adversity, and what need these tricks.

Once only WHAT NEEDED

8.292 [LR 1 02 32] GLOCESTER
       What paper were you reading?
                       EDMUND
       Nothing, my Lord.
                       GLOCESTER
       No? What needed then that terrible dispatch of it into your pocket?

Possibly here should also be included

8.293 [MAC 5 02 29] LENNOX
       Or so much as it needes
       To dew the Sovereigne Flower, and drowne the Weedes.

interpreting 'so much as there needs in order to dew ...' But the use

of 'it' suggests 'To dew' is felt as the subject of 'needs'.

                                                                       4
       3.   NP + IS NEEDFUL   (Corpus 5.141 - 5.148)

8.294 [MM 2 03 9] PROVOST
       I would do more than that, if more were needful.

8.295 [AWW 4 03 80] SERVANT
       The Duke hath offered him Letters of commendations to the king.
                   CAPTAIN
       They shall be no more than needful there, if they were more then
       they can commend.

8.296 [3H6 4 01 129] KING EDWARD
       Yet am I arm'd against the worst can happen
       And haste is needful in this desperate case.

8.297 [LR 2 01 206] REGAN
       I am now from home and out of provision
       Which shall be needful for your entertainment.

       4.   NP + IS NECESSARY   3
                                        (Corpus 5.149 - 5.151)

8.298 [AYL 3 03 52] CLOWN
       As hornes are odious, they are necessarie

8.299 [TRO 3 03 230] PATROCLUS
       Omission to doe what is necessary
       Seales a commission to a blanke of danger.

8.300 [ANT 5 02 50] CLEOPATRA
       Sir, I will eate no meate, Ile not drinke sir,
       If idle talk will once be necessary
       Ile not sleepe neither.

III.   Impersonal Constructions with Clause or Infinitive

       1. NEED THAT + Clause. IT NEEDETH THAT ...(Corpus 5.152, 5.153)

       The only use in Shakespeare that can be assigned here is

8.301 [SHR 4 03 8] KATHERINE
       But I, who never knew how to intreat
       Nor never needed that I should intreat
       Am starv'd for meate, giddie for lacke of sleepe.

The preterite NEEDED is unusual in Shakespeare, occurring only here and

8.292. It is natural to read this as a personal construction 'I never

needed that I should intreat' but this does not occur elsewhere, and

the reading equivalent to 'and it never needed that I should intreat'

corresponds to the constructions found in the corpus.

       2.   NEED TO + Infinitive. IT NEEDS TO ...   2
                                        (Corpus 5.156 - 5.158)

8.302 [3H6 1 04 125] YORK
       Hath that poore Mona©h taught thee to insult?
       It needs not, nor it bootes thee not, prowd Queene.

SHALL NEED

8.303 [ERR 5 01 391] E. ANTIPOLUS
These Duckets pawne I for my father heere.
                    DUKE
It shall not need, thy father hath his life.

3.   IS NEED THAT. IT IS NEED THAT   1
                                    (Does not occur in corpus)

8.304 [JN 1 01 179] K. JOHN
Come Madam, and come <u>Richard</u>, we must speed
For France, for France, for it is more than need.
(i.e. it is more than need that we speed)

        IS NEED TO. THERE IS NEED TO   3
                                    (Corpus 5.159 - 5.162)

THERE IS NO NEED TO   2

8.305 [H5 2 03 21] HOSTESS
I hop'd there was no need to trouble himselfe with any such
thoughts yet.

8.306 [ROM 3 01 7] MERCUTIO
and by the operation of the second cup draws it on the drawer,
when indeed there is no need.

WHAT IS THE NEED (TO)   1

8.307 [H8 2 04 2] CARDINAL
Whil'st our Commission from Rome is read
Let silence be commanded.
                    KING
What's the need?
It hath already publiquely bene read.

4.   IS NEEDFUL THAT + Clause. IT IS NEEDFUL THAT ...   5
                                    (Corpus 5.165 - 5.169)

8.308 [MM 2 01 282] JUSTICE
Lord Angelo is severe.
                    ESCALUS
It is but needful.
(i.e. 'that he be severe')

8.309 [ADO 1 03 24] CONRADE
It is needful that you frame the season for your owne harvest.

8.310 [WT 1 02 23] POLIXENES
So it should now
Were there necessitie in your request, although
'Twere needful I denied it.

8.311 [2H4 4 04 70] WARWICK
Like a strange Tongue: wherein, to gaine the Language
'Tis needful, that the most immodest word
Be look'd upon, and learn'd:

8.312 [3H6 4 06 53] WARWICK
       And Clarence, now then it is more than needfull
       Forthwith that Edward be pronounc'd a Traytor.

From 8.311, 8.312 it is evident that the clause after IS NEEDFUL (THAT)

has its verb in the subjunctive.

       5.   IS NEEDFUL/LESS TO. IT IS NEEDFUL TO ...   3
                                            (Corpus 5.170 - 5.175)

NEEDFUL

8.313 [AWW 4 04 3] HELLEN
       'fore whose throne 'tis needful
       Ere I can perfect mine intents, to kneele.

8.314 [1H4 4 04 34] ARCHBISHOP OF YORK
       I hope no lesse, yet needfull 'tis to feare

NEEDLESS

8.315 [LLL 2 01 116] ROSALINE
       How needless was it then to ask the question.

       6.   IS NECESSARY TO. IT IS NECESSARY TO (5.178)

       This construction does not appear in Shakespeare.

       IS NECESSARY THAT. IT IS NECESSARY THAT   5
                                            (Corpus 7.672, 7.673)

Clause in Subjunctive

8.316 [H5 4 07 138]   FLUELLEN
       Though he is as good a Ientleman as Lucifer and Belzebub himselfe,
       it is necessary (looke your Grace) that he keepe his vow and his
       oath.

8.317 [2H6 3 02 261] SALISBURY
       Were there a Serpent seene, with forked Tongue
       That slyly glyded towards your Maiesty,
       It were but necessarie you were wak't;

8.318 [HAM 3 02 192] PLAYER KING
       Most necessary tis that we forget
       To pay our selves what to ouselves is debt

Clause with SHOULD

8.319 [TIM 3 05 2] 1 SENATOR
       'Tis necessary he should die.

With Clause Understood

8.320 [WT 4 04 776] AUTOLYCUS
but those that are Iermaine to him (though remov'd fiftie times)
shall all come under the Hangman: which though it be great pitty,
yet it is necessarie.

The only Shakespearean use of the verb NEED in the OED sense III 7b 'To
be in need or want' appears to be

8.321 [ANT 5 02 25] PROCULEIUS

Make you full reference freely to my Lord,
Who is so full of Grace, that it flowes over
On all that neede.

The following forms occur once only.

NEEDER

8.322 [COR 4 01 44] COMINIUS
we shall not send
O'er the vaste world, to seeke a single man,
And loose advantage, which does ever coole
I' th' absence of the needer.

NEEDING

8.323 [SON 118 8]
And sicke of wel-fare found a kind of meetnesse
To be diseas'd ere that there was true needing.

SECTION 11 - DARE

The illustration of DARE in Shakespeare follows the arrangement
for the corpus in Chapter 5, Section 4, save that because of the much
greater frequency of DARE in Shakespeare than in the corpus, it was
possible to restrict the study of the present tense uses of DARE to the
third person singular and so make a complete examination of the varia-
tion between DARE and DARES in this person, taking into account the
possibility that DARE is sometimes not the old preterite-present but
present subjunctive of the re-formed verb.

The Old Preterite-Present DARE/DURST, followed by Infinitive without TO

Third Person Singular Present Tense without Inflection:

In contexts where a subjunctive reading is impossible.

    in Non-Negative Clauses   (Corpus 5.248)

8.324 [H5 3 07 146] ORLEANS
      You may as well say, that's a valiant Flea, that dare eate his
      breakefast on the Lippe of a Lyon.

    in Negative Clauses   (Corpus 5.249 - 5.251)

8.325 [TMP 3 02 55] CALIBAN
      If my Greatnesse will
      Revenge it on him, (for I know thou dar'st)
      But this Thing dare not.

8.326 [ADO 3 02 12] DON PEDRO
      the little hangman dare not shoot at him.

8.327 [MV 3 01 45] SHYLOCK
      There have I another bad match, a bank rout, a prodigall who
      dare scarce shewe his head on the Ryalto

8.328 [1H6 2 04 74] SOMERSET
      Well, Ile find friendes to weare my bleeding Roses,
      That shall maintaine what I have said is true
      Where false Plantagenet dare not be seen.

8.329 [2H6 1 01 229] YORK
      While as the silly Owner of the goods
      Weepes over them, and wrings his haplesse hands,
      And shakes his head, and trembling stands aloofe,
      While all is shar'd, and all is borne away,
      Ready to sterve, and dare not touch his owne.

8.330 [H8 5 02 85] SUFFOLK
      Nay, my Lord,
      That cannot be, you are a Counsellor,
      And, by that virtue, no man dare accuse you.

8.331 [MAC 4 03 33] MALCOLM
      Great Tyrrany, lay thou thy basis sure,
      For goodnesse dare not check thee:

8.332 [MAC 5 03 28] MACBETH
      but in their steed
      Curses, not lowd but deep, Mouth-honor, breath
      Which the poore heart would faine deny, and dare not.

8.333 [HAM Q1604-5 1 01 161] MARCELLUS
      This bird of dawning singeth all night long
      And then they say no spirit dare sturre abroade.

8.334 [ANT 3 01 3] ALEXAS
      Herod of Jury dare not looke upon you
      But when you are well pleased

8.335 [CYM 3 05 85] CLOTEN
Go in and cheere the King, he rages, none
Dare come about him.

in Interrogative Clauses   (Corpus 5.252)

8.336 [ADO 3 01 79] HERO
But who dare tell her so?

8.337 [1H6 2 04 2] RICHARD PLANTAGENET
Dare no man answer in a case of truth?

8.338 [2H6 4 08 4] CADE
Dare any be so bold to sound Retreat or Parley when I command
them kill?

8.339 [3H6 3 03 178] KING LEWIS
Dare he presume to scorne us in this manner?

8.340 [H8 3 02 234] SUFFOLK
Who dare crosse 'em
Bearing the Kings will from his mouth expressly
(possible plural reading here)

8.341 [H8 5 01 38] LOVELL
Th' Archbishop
Is the Kings hand, and tongue, and who dare speak
One syllable against him?

DARE in Contexts where a Subjunctive Reading is Possible

8.342 [MV[Q] 2 04 35] LORENZO
Yf ere the Iewe her father come to heaven
Yt will be for his gentle daughters sake,
And never dare misfortune crosse her foote
Unlesse it doe it under this excuse,
That she is issue to a faithlesse Iewe.

8.343 [H8 3 01 84] QUEEN
But little for my profit can you thinke Lords
That any Englishman dare give me Counsell?

8.344 [TRO 1 03 271] AENEAS
If there be one among'st the fayr'st of Greece,
That holds his Honour higher than his ease ...
And dare avow her Beauty, and her Worth
In other armes than hers: to him his Challenge
(in spite of 'holds' a subjunctive reading just possible here)

Clauses introduced by WHOSOEVER etc or Equivalent Clauses

8.345 [SHR 3 02 233] PETRUCHIO
My horse, my oxe, my asse, my any thing,
And heere she stands, touch her who ever dare,
Ile bring mine action on the proudest he
That stops my way in Padua.

8.346 [ROM   2 05 7] ROMEO
       Do thou but close our hands with holy words,
       Then Love-devouring death do what he dare,
       It is inough.

8.347 [1H6   2 04 32] SOMERSET
       Let him that is no Coward, nor no Flatterer,
       But dare maintain the party of the truth
       Pluck a red Rose from off this Thorne with me.

8.348 [TRO   2 01 126] ACHILLES
       That Hector ...
       Will with a Trumpet, twixt our Tents and Troy
       To morrow morning call some Knight to Armes
       That hath a stomach, and such a one that dare
       Maintain I know not what:

       AS + Adj + AS

8.349 [TRO   5 10 25] TROILUS
       You vile abhominable tents
       Thus proudly pight upon our Phrygian plaines,
       Let Titan rise as early as he dare,
       Ile through, and through you;

       THAN

8.350 [MM   5 01 315] DUKE
       Be not so hot: the Duke dare
       No more stretch this finger of mine, then he
       Dare racke his owne

       ERE

8.351 [ANT   4 15 82] CLEOPATRA
       To rush into the secret house of death
       Ere death dare come to us?

The following examples perhaps leave it unclear whether DARE is intended

as first or third person.

8.352 [AWW   2 01 98] LAFEU
       I am Cresseds Uncle
       That dare leave two together, fare you well

8.353 [MAC   3 04 58] LADY MACBETH
       Are you a Man?
                       MACBETH
       I, and a bold one, that dare look on that
       Which might appall the Divell

DARETH nowhere occurs in Shakespeare (see Corpus 5.292, 5.293, 5.296,

5.297).

DARES:

in Non-Negative Clauses:

8.354 [WIV 2 01 25] MISTRESS PAGE
What an unwaied Behaviour hath this Flemish drunkard pickt (with
the Devills name) out of my conversation that he dares in this
manner assay me?

8.355 [AWW 3 06 88] FIRST LORD
Is not this a strange fellow my Lord, that so confidently seemes
to undertake this businesse, which he knowes is not to be done,
damnes himselfe to do, & dares better be damn'd than to do't?

8.356 [2H4 5 02 109] KING
Happy am I, that have a man so bold,
That dares do Justice on my proper Sonne;

8.357 [ROM 2 02 68] ROMEO
For stony limits cannot hold Love out
And what Love can do, that dares Love attempt.

in Negative Clauses: (Corpus 5.294, 5.295)

8.358 [WIV 2 02 244] FORD
She dwells so securely on the excellency of her honour, that the
folly of my soul dares not present itself:

8.359 [MND 3 01 133] BOTTOM
The Finch, the Sparrow, and the Larke,
The plainsong Cuckow gray,
Whose note full many a man doth marke,
And dares not answere, nay.

8.360 [MND 5 01 249] DEMETRIUS
He dares not come there for the candle for you see, it is
already in snuffe.

8.361 [2H6 3 02 203] WARWICK
What dares not Warwick if false Suffolk dare
                SUFFOLK
He dares not calm his contumelious spirit.

8.362 [ROM 3 05 214] NURSE
Faith here it is,
Romeo is banished, and all the world to nothing
That he dares nere come backe to challenge you:

8.363 [LR 4 02 13] GONERIL
Then shall you go no further
It is the Cowish terror of his spirit
That dares not undertake.

8.364 [CYM 4 01 25] CLOTEN
This is the very description of their meeting place and the
fellow dares not deceive me.

in Interrogative Clauses:

8.365 [LLL 4 03 223] BEROWNE
What peremptory Eagle-sighted eye,
Dares looke upon the heaven of her brow
That is not blinded by her majestie?

8.366 [R2 3 04 74] QUEEN
How dares thy harsh rude tongue sound this unpleasing newes.

8.367 [2H6 3 02 203] WARWICK
What dares not Warwick if false Suffolk dare him?

8.368 [MAC 1 07 77] LADY MACBETH
Who dares receive it other?

8.369 [TIM 4 03 13] TIMON
Who dares? Who dares
In puritie of Manhood stand upright
And say, this mans a Flatterer

8.370 [PER 1 01 104] PERICLES
Kinges are earths Gods, in vice their law's their will;
And if Jove stray, who dares say, Jove doth ill.

8.371 [PER 1 02 55] HELICANUS
How dares the plants looke up to heaven,
From whence they have their nourishment
(usually emended to 'dare' because of the plural subject)

in Subordinate Clause introduced by HOW:

8.372 [ROM 2 04 12] MERCUTIO
Any man that can write, may answere a letter
                    BENVOLIO
Nay he will answer the letters master, how he dares, being dared.

in Protasis:

8.373 [WT 2 02 35] PAULINA
If she dares trust me with her little babe,
I'le shew't the king.

Clauses introduced by WHOSOEVER etc or equivalent clause:

8.374 [LLL 1 01 227] FERDINAND
Peace.
                    CLOWN
Be to me, and everyman that dares not fight.

8.375 [KJ 1 01 172] BASTARD
Who dares not stir by day must walk by night

8.376 [KJ 1 01 271] BASTARD
Who lives and dares but say thou didst not well
When I was got, Ile send his soule to hell.

8.378 [R2   5 05 97]   GROOM
What my tongue dares not, that my heart shall say.

8.379 [TRO   5 02 94]   DIOMEDES
To morrow will I weare it on my Helme
And grieve his spirit that dares not challenge it.

8.380 [MAC   1 07 47]   MACBETH
Prythee peace:
I dare do all that may become a man.
Who dares do more is none.

8.381 [LR   5 03 99]   EDMUND
He that dares approach,
On him, on you, who not, I will maintaine
My truth and honor firmely.

8.382 [CYM   5 03 60]   LORD
Nay, be not angry, Sir.
                    POSTHUMUS
Lacke, to what end
Who dares not stand his foe, Ile be his friend.

BEFORE:

8.383 [WT   4 04 119]   PERDITA
Daffadils
That come before the swallow dares

Third person DARES referring to the speaker:

8.384 [TN   3 04 316]   TOBY
You sir? Why, who are you?
                    ANTONIO
One sir, that for his love dares yet do more
Than you have heard him brag to you he will

8.385 [WT   2 03 55]   PAULINA
Good my Liege I come:
And I beseech you heare me, who professes
Myselfe your loyall Servant, your Physitian,
Your most obedient Counsailor: yet that dares
Lesse appeare so, in comforting your Evilles,
Then such as most seeme yours.

See also 8.325 for DARE referring to speaker.

The following passage, from which citation has already been made, suggests

the DARE/DARES contrast was subjunctive/indicative when it occurred

within a single passage.

8.386 [2H6   3 02 203]   SUFFOLK
Say, if thou dar'st, prowd Lord of Warwickshire,
That I am faultie in Duke Humfreyes death

                        WARWICK
   What dares not Warwick, if false Suffolk dare him
                        QUEEN
   He dares not calme his contumelious spirit
   Nor cease to be an arrogant Controller
   Though Suffolke dare him twentie thousand times.

DURST without Preterite Sense: (Corpus 5.272 - 5.275)

      In Apodosis:

8.387 [WT 2 03 123] LEONTES
       Were I a Tyrant
       Where were her life? She durst not call me so
       If she did know me.

8.388 [1H6 2 04 87] YORK
       He beares him on the places Privilege
       Or durst not for his craven heart say thus.

8.389 [3H6 1 01 63] CLIFFORD
       Patience is for Poultroones, such as he:
       He durst not sit there, had your father liv'd.

8.390 [LR 1 02 63] EDMUND
       If the matter were good, my Lord, I durst swear it were his, but
       in respect of that, I would faine thinke it were not.

8.391 [PER 1 02 54] PERICLES
       If there be such a dart in Princes frownes
       How durst thy tongue move anger to our face.

      In Protasis:

8.392 [H5 4 04 73] BOY
       and they are both hang'd, and so would this be, if he durst
       steal any thing adventurously.

8.393 [LR 4 02 22] GONERIL
       This kiss, if it durst speak
       Would stretch thy spirits up into the ayre

      In Clause introduced by WHEREVER:

8.394 [R2 1 01 66] MOWBRAY
       Even to the frozen ridges of the Alpes,
       Or any other ground inhabitable
       Where ever Englishman durst set his foote.

      With Softened Sense:

8.395 [CYM 1 04 112] IACHIMO
       And to barre your offence heerein to,
       I durst attempt it against any Lady in the world

8.396 [PER 5 01 43] LORD
       Sir we have a maid in Metiline, I durst wager would win some
       words of him.

DURST, Selected Examples of Preterite Sense: (Corpus 5.276 - 5.280)

8.397 [WT 2 02 48] EMILIA
Who, but to day hammered of this designe
But durst not tempt a minister of honour
Least she should be deny'd

8.398 [1H6 1 01 140] MESSENGER
A base Wallon, to win the Dolphins grace
Thrust Talbot with a Speare into the Back
Whom all France, with their chiefe assembled strength
Durst not presume to look once in the face.

8.399 [3H6 2 02 108] WARWICK
'Twas not your valor Clifford drove me thence.
                NORTHUMBERLAND
No nor your manhood that durst make you stay.

8.400 [LR 1 01 169] LEAR
Heare me recreant, on thine allegeance heare me,
That thou hast sought to make us breake our vowes,
Which we durst never yet; and with strain'd pride
To come betwixt our sentence and our power.

        In Interrogative Clauses:

8.401 [3H6 4 01 112] KING EDWARD
Ha? durst the traitor breake out so proud words.
Well, I will arme me, being thus forewarn'd.

8.402 [3H6 5 02 22] WARWICK
For who liv'd King, but I could dig his Grave?
And who durst smile, when Warwick bent his browe.

DURST HAVE: (Not in corpus)

8.403 [ERR 2 02 66] ANTIPHOLUS
Well sir, learne to jest in good time, there's a time for all
things.
            S. DROMIO
I durst have denied that before you were so chollericke.

8.404 [MND 3 02 69] HERMIA
Oh, once tell true, even for my sake
Durst thou a lookt upon him, being awake?
And hast thou kill'd him sleeping

8.405 [1H4 1 03 116] KING HENRY
He durst as well have met the devil alone
As Owen Glendower for an enemy.

8.406 [2H4 2 02 3] PRINCE
Trust me, I am exceeding weary.
            POINS
Is it come to that? I had thought weariness durst not have
attach'd one of so high blood.

8.407 [H8 3 02 253] WOLSEY
Within these forty hours Surrey durst better
Have burnt that Tongue, then saide so.

8.408 [JC 4 03 58] CASSIUS
When Caesar liv'd, he durst not thus have moved me.
                    BRUTUS
Peace, peace, you durst not so have tempted him.
                    CASSIUS
I durst not.
                    BRUTUS
No.
                    CASSIUS
What? durst not tempt him?
                    BRUTUS
For your life you durst not.

8.409 [JC 5 03 48] PINDARUS
So, I am free: yet would not so have been
Durst I have done my will.

Other Forms followed by Infinitive without TO:

Participle DARING: (Not in corpus)

8.410 [Pass. Pilgr. 14 16]
Lord how mine eies throw gazes to the East
My hart doth charge the watch, the morning rise
Doth scite each moving scence from idle rest
Not daring trust the office of mine eyes.

DARE followed by TO:

After 3rd singular present DARE only once (felt as Subjunctive, 'if he

be alive, and if he dare'?)

8.411 [H5 4 07 127] WILLIAMS
And't please you Maiesty, a Rascall that swagger'd with me last
night: who if alive, and ever dare to challenge this Glove, I
have sworne to take him a box o'th ere.

After 3rd Singular Present DARES, only

8.412 [WIV 4 04 60] MISTRESS PAGE
And aske him why that houre of Fairy Revell
In their so sacred paths he dares to tread,
In shape prophane.

8.413 [TIM 4 02 40] STEWARD
Strange unusuall blood
When mans worst sinne is, He do's too much Good
Who then dares to be halfe so kinde agen?

8.414 [CYM 3 03 34] GUIDERIUS
a Debtor that not dares
To stride a limit.

After DURST only

8.415 [OTH 4 02 12] EMILIA
     I durst (my Lord), to wager she is honest.

The presence of a phrase between the verb and the infinitive may be a

condition for this insertion of TO. cf. OUGHT where such an inter-

rupting phrase is usual when TO is omitted.

TO is found after forms absent from the Modal Verb.

     Perfect HAVE DARED: 5
                                                        (Not in corpus)

8.416 [MM 2 02 91] ANGELO
     Those many had not dar'd to doe that evill
     If the first, that did th'Edict infringe
     Had answer'd for his deed.

     DARING:

8.417 [2H6 4 01 80] LIEUTENANT
     And wedded be thou to the Hagges of hell
     For daring to affye a mighty Lord
     Unto the daughter of a worthlesse King

     Infinitive Forms with DO:

8.418 [MAC 3 05 3] HECATE
     Sawcy, and over-bold how did you dare
     To trade and Trafficke with Macbeth

     After Modals:

8.419 [TIM 1 02 12] TIMON
     If our betters play at that game we must not dare
     To imitate them.

DARED as weak preterite does not occur in Shakespeare (corpus 5.298).

DARE is occasionally used absolutely:

8.420 [ADO 5 01 84] LEONTES
     Ile prove it on his body if he dare.

8.421 [3H6 5 01 112] WARWICK
     And bid thee Battaile Edward if thou dar'st
                         EDWARD
     Yes Warwick, Edward dares, and leads the way.

DARE is found with NP as object:

8.422 [MAC 3 01 50] MACBETH
     Tis much he dares

Also with a direct object of what may be expected to daunt. OED gives as sense 4 'To dare or venture to meet or expose oneself to, to run the risk of meeting' and cites 8.423 as first occurrence.

8.423 [HAM 4 05 133] LAERTES
        I dare Damnation

8.424 [H8 3 02 307] WOLSEY
        Speak on, Sir
        I dare your worst Objections:

8.425 [TIM 3 05 93] SENATOR
        Do you dare our anger

DARE in the sense to challenge someone to do something:

8.426 [R2 1 03 109] 1 HAROLD
        And dares him to set forward to the fight

or to challenge someone to something:

8.427 [1H4 5 02 23] VERNON
        No, by my Soule: I never in my life
        Did heare a Challenge urg'd more modestly
        Unlesse a Brother should a Brother dare
        To gentle exercise, and proofe of Armes.

and in the passive:

8.428 [1H6 1 03 45] WINCHESTER
        Doe what thou dar'st, I beard thee to thy face.
                         GLOSTER
        What? am I dared and bearded to my face?

8.429 [HAM 1 01 84] HORATIO
        our last King
        Whose image even now appear'd to us,
        Was as you knowe by Fortinbrasse of Norway
        ... Dar'd to the combat.

SECTION 12 - OUGHT

OUGHT occurs only twenty times in the entire works of Shakespeare, a rough average of once in every two plays. It is therefore by far the least frequent of the modal verbs in Shakespeare and it seems likely that its unusualness in his work is related to the distribution of OUGHT shown in the corpus, namely, that the word though fairly common in philosophical writing is absent from familiar and friendly letters

and virtually absent from plain historical narrative such as Moryson's.
The suggestion made to account for these facts of distribution was that
OUGHT was not considered appropriate in ordinary colloquial speech,
where MUST or SHOULD could always replace it.

The use of OUGHT in Shakespeare may be interpreted to support
this suggestion. It is evident that the language placed in the mouths
of Shakespeare's characters is not confined to the colloquial usage of
the period. Nevertheless we might expect that the use of a word more
particularly associated with philosophical prose would be sparing.
However of the 20 uses of OUGHT in Shakespeare, nine or a little under
half occur in the speeches of characters whose language is being
parodied. The over-representation of OUGHT in this restricted section
of Shakespeare's total text makes it likely I think that Shakespeare
thought or had observed that the use or overuse of the word was typical
of foreign speakers of English (or perhaps specifically of Welshmen)
and of uneducated low class characters, attempting to sound impressive.

All the uses of OUGHT are given below in two lists, the first
containing what seem to be 'straight' uses, the second those where I
suggest the employment of the word is part of the comic characterisation
of the speaker's language.

8.430 [1H6 4 01 28] TALBOT
       My selfe, and divers Gentleman beside,
       Were there surpriz'd, and taken prisoners.
       Then iudge (great Lords) if I have done amisse:
       Or whether that such Cowards ought to weare
       This Ornament of Knighthood, yea or no?

8.431 [3H6 4 07 40] MOUNTGOMERIE
       To help King Edward in his time of storme,
       As every loyall Subiect ought to doe.

8.432 [R3 2 02 131] BUCKINGHAM
       Where every Horse beares his commanding Reine,
       And may direct his course as please himselfe,
       As well the feare of harme, as harme apparent,
       In my opinion ought to be prevented.

8.433 [R2 5 03 110] DUCHESS
Our prayers do out-pray his, then let them have
That mercy, which true prayers ought to have.

8.434 [AYL 2 04 7] ROSALIND
I could finde it in my heart to disgrace my mans apparell, and
to cry like a woman: but I must comfort the weaker vessell, as
doublet and hose ought to show it selfe coragious to a petty-
coate.

Where OUGHT seems used as a deliberate variation of the MUST in the

preceding clause.

8.435 [JC 1 01 3] FLAVIUS
Hence: home you idle Creatures, get you home:
Is this a Holiday? What, know you not
(Being Mechanicall) you ought not walke
Upon a labouring day, without the signe
Of your Profession

The only example in Shakespeare of OUGHT used without TO before the

following infinitive.

8.436 [JC 2 01 270] PORTIA
No my Brutus,
You have some sicke Offence within your minde,
Which by the Right and Vertue of my place
I ought to know of:

8.437 [ADO 2 03 188] LEONATO
If he doe feare God, a must necessarilie keepe the peace: if hee
breake the peace, he ought to enter into a quarrell with feare
and trembling.

As in 8.434 OUGHT may be due to a desire to avoid repeating MUST; here

in addition it would be confusing to use MUST in the sense of obligation

directly after its use in the sense of necessity.

8.438 [TN 5 01 303] CLOWN
No Madam, I do but reade madnesse: and your Ladyship will have
it as it ought to bee, you must allow <u>vox</u>

Feste's language may be touched with deliberate pedantry of style but

it is not distorted for purposes of comic characterization. Again,

MUST in the immediate context may be responsible for the use of OUGHT.

8.439 [LEA 5 03 325] EDGAR
The waight of this sad time we must obey,
Speake what we feele, not what we ought to say:

Again a certain balance between MUST and OUGHT in the two lines is

apparent.

8.440 [COR 3 03 62] SICINIUS
Answer to us.
CORIOLANUS
Say then; 'tis true, I ought so.

Without TO: the construction with SO has not survived so that in PE the

verbal infinitive may be deleted leaving TO, or both verbal infinitive

and TO may be deleted, but SO would require the support verb DO.

OUGHT in speakers of comically distorted English

1.   Welshmen speaking English:

8.441 [1H4 3 03 128] FLUELLEN
Looke you, if you take the matter otherwise then it is meant,
Captaine Mackmorrice, peradventure I shall thinke you doe not
use me with that affabilitie, as in discretion you ought to use
me, looke you, being as good a man as yourselfe.

8.442 [1H4 3 06 56] FLUELLEN
for if, looke you, he were my Brother, I would desire the Duke
to use his good pleasure, and put him to execution, for
discipline ought to be used.

8.443 [WIV 1 01 101] EVANS
It is spoke as a Christians ought to speake

2.   Language-bunglers:

8.444 [ADO 3 03 78] DOGBERRY
for indeed the watch ought to offend no man, and it is an
offence to stay a man against his will.

8.445 [MM 2 01 56] ELBOW
If it please your honour, I know not well what they are: But
precise villaines they are, that I am sure of, and void of all
prophanation in the world, that good Christians ought to have.

There is a similarity of phrase with Evans's use, 8.443, and perhaps

expressions of this sort had some currency. Yet that it should only

come in Shakespeare in such contexts of misuse of language suggests he

found it in some way ludicrous.

3.   Low class characters attempting grave speech:

8.446 [3H6 4 07 54] CADE
Marry, thou ought'st not to let thy horse weare a Cloake, when
honester men then thou go in their Hose and Doublets.

8.447 [MND 3 02 25,29] BOTTOM
Masters, you ought to consider with youselfe: to bring in, God
shield us, a Lyon among Ladies is a most dreadfull thing! For
there is not a more fearefull wilde foule then your Lyon living:
& we ought to looke toote.

8.448 [COR 2 03 1] 1 CITIZEN
       Once if he do require our voyces, wee ought not to deny him.

OUGHT as the past tense of OWE occurs once in Shakespeare

8.449 [1H4 3 03 134] HOSTESS
       So he doth you my Lord, and sayde this other day, You ought him
       a thousand pound.
                          PRINCE
       Sirrah, do I owe you a thousand pound?

The overall infrequency of OUGHT in Shakespeare's text can be seen as confirmation of the conclusion from the corpus that OUGHT is only used with a frequency comparable to that of MUST in philosophical prose. The absence of OUGHT from Chamberlaine and Delaval suggests it was not in ordinary conversational use. The distribution of OUGHT in Shakespeare confirms this. Though it is found in the mouths of serious characters both in prose and verse, it occurs almost as often in the speeches of characters whose manner of speaking is being made fun of. For Shakespeare it appears to be associated with the awkwardness of non-native speakers of English, and of the pedantry of badly educated speakers attempting to sound impressive.

SECTION 13 – <u>PRETERITE FORMS</u>   (Corpus Chapter 6, Section 4)

The use of the preterite form as a softened present is sometimes illustrated by variations in different texts of the same passage as,

8.450 [HAM 5 01 98] HAMLET
       why may not that be the skull of a lawyer?

So Qq. F reads

       why might not that bee the Scull of a Lawyer?

The following example displays a contrast of present and preterite form.

8.451 [TRO 3 03 185] ULYSSES
       the cry went out on thee
       And still it might, and yet it may againe
       If thou would'st not entombe thy selfe alive,
       And case thy reputation in thy Tent;

where MAY refers to a realizable possibility in the future and MIGHT to an unfulfilled possibility in the present.

WOULD in the sense of 'wish' followed by a clause is very frequent in Shakespeare, though only in the first person singular. The pronoun is sometimes omitted. This appears to be a reflection of speech as there is no example of this omission of subject in the corpus, except in the set-phrase WOULD GOD (where 'God' may be felt as subject rather than indirect object) (6.171 - 6.174, 6.175 - 6.188). THAT is rarely expressed after WOULD.

In this construction the verb in the clause is preterite subjunctive,

8.452 [TGV 1 02 33] JULIA
       I would I knew his mind.

8.453 [TGV 2 01 163] VALENTINE
       I would it were no worse.

or a preterite form modal,

8.454 [ADO 1 01 206] BENEDICK
       I would your Grace wouldconstraine mee to tell.

8.455 [ADO 2 01 285] PEDRO
       You have put him downe Lady, you have put him downe.
                        BEATRICE
       So I would not he should do me, my Lord, lest I should proove
       the mother of fooles.

8.456 [MAC 2 02 72] MACBETH
       Wake Duncan with thy knocking:
       I would thou could'st.

8.457 [TMP 1 01 57] ANTHONIO
       This wide-chopt-rascall, would thou mightst lye drowning
       The washing of ten Tides.

Or, for unfulfilled wishes in the past, with HAD + Past Participle:

8.458 [TMP 2 01 108] ALONSO
       Would I had never
       Married my daughter there:

Pronoun 'I' omitted in 8.457, 8.458 and in the following:(8.459 -

8.461).

WOULD I MIGHT NEVER ... is used as a formula of asseveration.

8.459 [2H4 1 02 211] FALSTAFF
       if it bee a hot day, if I ..brandish any thing but my Bottle,
       would I might never spit white againe:

8.460 [JN 1 01 145] BASTARD
       Madam, an if my brother had my shape ...
       And to his shape, were heir to all this land
       Would I might never stirre from off this place,
       Ild give it every foot to have this face

8.461 [ANT 5 02 102] DOLABELLA
       would I might never
       Ore-take pursu'de successe: But I do feele
       By the rebound of yours, a greefe that suites
       My very heart at roote.

The formula calls down a curse on the speaker if he behaves in a certain

way or if what he is asserting is not true. 8.459 is in the form of an

ordinary conditional sentence with WOULD I MIGHT NEVER as apodosis:

8.461 in the form of a conditional sentence with protasis after BUT.

8.460 asseverates what Falconbridge would do in hypothetical circum-

stances. BUT must be understood before 'I'd give it every foot to have

this face'.

WOULD HAVE + NP + TO + Verbal Infinitive: (Corpus 6.189 - 6.216)

8.462 [TGV 3 01 80] VALENTINE
       What would your Grace have me to do in this?

WOULD HAVE + NP + Past Participle: (Corpus 6.217 - 6.226)

8.463 [TGV 4 04 101] JULIA
       And now am I (unhappy Messenger)
       To plead for that, which I would not obtaine;
       To carry that, which I would have refus'd;
       To praise his faith, which I would have disprais'd.

8.464 [WIV 2 02 200] FORD
       I have ... not only bought many presents to give her, but have
       given largely to many, to know what shee would have given:

These constructions, which enable a wish to be expressed after WOULD

with a different subject from the subject of WOULD without recourse to

use of a THAT-Clause, have been noticed in the corpus. In Shakespeare,

though not in the corpus, we also find parallel constructions with MUST

instead of WOULD. All the examples here are first to second person,

much more likely to occur in speech than in written discourse.

MUST HAVE + NP + Infinitive without TO:

8.465 [2H6 2 01 144] GLOSTER
Well, Sir, we must have you find your Legges.

8.466 [ROM 1 04 13] ROMEO
Being but heavy I will beare the light.
                    MERCUTIO
Nay, gentle <u>Romeo</u>, we must have you dance.

equivalent to 'you must dance' but expressing in this form the source

of the obligation, 'we'.

8.467 [1H4 2 03 103] HOTSPUR
But hearke you <u>Kate</u>,
I must not have you henceforth, question me,
Whether I go:

8.468 [COR 1 03 69] VALERIA
Come, lay aside your stitchery, I must have you play the idle
huswife with me this afternoone.

MUST HAVE + NP + Past Participle:

8.469 [PER 4 06 127] BOULT
I must have your maydenhead taken off or the common hang-man
shal execute it.

In the following example GET is employed instead of HAVE in what is

essentially the same construction.

8.470 [PER 4 06 4] BAWD
we must either get her ravished or be rid of her.

SECTION 14 - <u>WOULD HAVE, SHOULD HAVE, COULD HAVE, MIGHT HAVE</u>
                                              (Corpus Chapter 6, Section 5)

WOULD HAVE + Past Particple is used to express WILL in past

time: (Corpus 6.249 - 6.266)

8.471 [AWW 4 03 301] PAROLLES
Yet who would have suspected an ambush where I was taken?

'Who would suspect an ambush' would be appropriate to present time,

before the ambush occurred.

or WOULD (in the sense of 'wish') in past time:

8.472 [TGV 5 04 22] PROTEUS
       Madam, this service I have done for you ...
       To hazard life, and reskew you from him,
       That would have forc'd your honour, and your love.

'that wanted to, tried (unsuccessfully) to.'

8.473 [MND 4 01 156] EGEUS
       They would have stolen away, they would Demetrius
       Thereby to have defeated you and me:

8.474 [AWW 3 02 1] COUNTESS
       It hath happen'd, as I would have had it, save that he comes not
       along with her.

       SHOULD HAVE + Past Participle to express SHALL with future sense,

now considered as past in time because expectation was not fulfilled.

                              (Corpus 6.233 - 6.245)

8.475 [1H6 2 03 19] COUNTESS
       I thought I should have seene some Hercules,
       A second Hector, for his grim aspect.

8.476 [2H4 1 02 43] FALSTAFF
       I look'd hee should have sent me two and twenty yards of Satten
       (as I am a true knight) and he sends me Security.

This use of SHOULD HAVE shades into 'was due to' when what was due to

happen did not take place.

8.477 [ROM 5 03 78] ROMEO
       I thinke
       He told me Paris should have married Juliet.

Romeo remembers hearing 'Paris shall marry Juliet'.

8.478 [2H4 4 02 95] PRINCE JOHN
       let our Traines
       March by us, that wee may peruse the men
       Wee should have coap'd withall

8.479 [MM 3 01 213] DUKE
       Shee should this Angelo have married: was affianced to her oath,
       and the nuptiall appointed:

This in turn shades into obligation, thought of as past because

unfulfilled.

8.480 [2H6 2 02 32] YORK
       For Richard, the first Sonnes Heire, being dead,
       The Issue of the next Sonne should have reign'd.

8.481 [ERR 5 01 57] ABBESS
       You should for that have reprehended him.
                        ADRIANA
       Why so I did.

Adriana takes the Abbess's statement as implying that she did not do so.

8.482 [MND 5 01 240] DEMETRIUS
       He should have worne the hornes on his head:

8.483 [MV 3 02 259] BASSANIO
       How much I was a Braggart, when I told you
       My state was nothing, I should then have told you
       That I was worse then nothing

8.484 [2H4 2 01 67] CHIEF JUSTICE
       You should have bene well on your way to Yorke.

8.485 [TN 3 02 21] FABIAN
       You should then have accosted her, and with some excellent jests,
       fire-new from the mint, you should have bangd the youth into
       dumbnesse; this was look'd for at your hand, and this was
       baulk'd.

8.486 [HAM 3 01 116] OPHELIA
       Indeed my Lord, you made me beleeve so.
                        HAMLET
       You should not have beleeved me, for vertue cannot so innoculate
       our old stocke, but we shall rellish of it.

8.487 [COR 2 03 163] 2 CITIZEN
       He should have shew'd us
       His Marks of Merit, Wounds receiv'd for's Country.

The difficult passage in Macbeth can be assigned to this sense of

obligation, or to the purely future sense of 8.475 and 8.476.

8.488 [MAC 5 05 17] SEYTON
       The Queene (my Lord) is dead.
                        MACBETH
       She should have dy'de heereafter;
       There would have beene a time for such a word:

If the first, the meaning is 'She ought to have died, not now as she

has done, but at some future date: If she had, the message of her death

which you have just brought, would have come at an appropriate time,

compared with its inappropriateness at this moment of impending attack'.

If the second, 'She should have died hereafter' must be taken as an

apodosis to an understood protasis 'If she had not died now'. The next

line continues the apodosis, 'Sooner or later, the time for the message

you have just brought me would have arrived'. This interpretation

seems to me somewhat more forced as the response to Seyton's news but

to provide a better transition to the following line which is

Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow

In PE the two interpretations are distinguished since the second would

be expressed by 'She would have died hereafter'. But comparing with

8.472, 8.473 I assume to audiences of Shakespeare's lifetime 'She would

have died hereafter' had the sense 'She wanted or would have preferred

to die hereafter' suggesting Lady Macbeth herself was concerned not to

die at such an inconvenient moment. Since death is event and not

activity, SHALL with DIE is of course quite appropriate in a purely

future sense.

COULD HAVE + Past Participle. Possibility in the past is

expressed by COULD HAVE in negative, interrogative and some other

clauses which usually take CAN instead of MAY.

8.489 [CYM 4 03 115] GUIDERIUS
Not Hercules,
Could have knock'd out his Braines, for he had none:

8.490 [JC 4 03 143] CASSIUS
I did not thinke you could have bin so angry.

8.491 [COR 2 03 176] BRUTUS
Could you not have told him
As you were lesson'd:

In clause dependant on a superlative:

8.492 [WT 4 04 704] CLOWN
Indeed Brother in Law was the farthest off you could have beene
to him, and then your Blood had beene the dearer, by I know how
much an ounce.

MIGHT HAVE is used for a possibility in the past, unfulfilled,

sometimes emphatically so.   (Corpus 6.267 - 6.276)

8.493 [LR 5 03 271] LEAR
A plague upon you Murderers, Traitors all
I might have sav'd her, now she's gone for ever:

Sometimes closer to a speculative result clause, set in circumstances

now past.

8.494 [WT 4 04 609] AUTOLYCUS
       You might have pinch'd a placket, it was sencelesse, 'twas
       nothing to gueld a Cod-peece of a Purse:

There is also a use of MIGHT, presumably deriving from the sense of

permission rather than possibility which is apparently close to OUGHT

TO HAVE.

8.495 [HAM 3 02 285] HAMLET
       For thou dost know: Oh <u>Damon</u> deer
            This Realm dismantled was
       of Iove himselfe, And now reignes heere
       A verie verie Paiocke.
                                HORATIO
       You might have Rim'd.

8.496 [OTH 4 02 113] DESDEMONA
       those that teach yong Babes
       Do it with gentle meanes, and easie taskes.
       He might have chid me so, for in good faith
       I am a Child to chiding.

       MUST HAVE referring to unfulfilled necessity in the past will

scarcely occur except in conditionals or where some condition is

implied.   (Corpus 6.284, 6.285)

8.497 [ANT 5 01 37] CAESAR
       I must perforce
       Have shewne to thee such a declining day,
       Or looke on thine.

SECTION 15 - EPISTEMIC USES   (Corpus Chapter 6, Section 6)

MAY: (Corpus 6.300, 6.301)

8.498 [TN 1 02 7] VIOLA
       Perchaunce he is not drown'd. What think you, Sailors.
                                CAPTAIN
       It is perchaunce that you yourselfe were saved.
                                VIOLA
       O my poore brother, and so perchaunce may he be.

'Perchance he is not drowned' expresses epistemic possibility by means

of a sentence-adverb, PERCHANCE,'It is possibly the case that he is not

drowned'; 'and so perchance may he be (i.e. saved)' by epistemic use of

MAY, 'It is possibly the case that he is saved'. The context seems to

exclude the future reference of root modality here; by this time

Sebastian has been either drowned or saved. Here the use of PERCHANCE

is pleonastic. In the Captain's speech PERCHANCE is used in a

different sense (equivalent to 'by chance' not to 'perhaps', an

ordinary adverb or adverbial phrase of manner, not a sentence-adverb).

Dramatically, this dialogue depends on the repetition of the word

PERCHANCE though its syntactic function in each speech is different.

8.499 [OTH 3 03 433] IAGO
       Nay yet be wise: yet we see nothing done,
       She may be honest yet

It is still possible that she is honest.

8.500 [OTH 5 01 43] LODOVICO
       Two or three groane. 'Tis heavy night;
       These may be counterfeits: Let's think't unsafe
       To come into the cry, without more helpe.

8.501 [WT 1 02 250] CAMILLO
       My gracious Lord
       I may be negligent, foolish and fearfull:
       In every one of these, no man is free.

8.502 [PER 2 02 52] 2 LORD
       He may well be a Stranger, for he comes
       To an honour'd tryumph, strangly furnisht.

8.503 [PER 2 05 79] KING
       Will you not, having my consent
       Bestow your love and your affections,
       Upon a Stranger? who for ought I know
       May be (nor can I think the contrary)
       As great in blood as I my selfe:

In all these examples of epistemic use the verb following MAY is BE.

MAY HAVE + Past Participle. Forms with the present tense modals

followed by the perfect infinitive do not occur in the corpus, with the

exception of two examples of SHALL HAVE.

Ehrman [1966] discusses the following example from Shakespeare:

8.504 [1H4 3 01 89] MORTIMER
       My Father Glendower is not readie yet;
       Nor shall wee neede his helpe these foureteene dayes:
       Within that space, you may have drawne together
       Your Tenants Friends and neighbouring Gentlemen.

Her comment is (p. 84)

> either the <u>may</u> is permissive and the <u>have</u> lexical, or
> the <u>may</u> is either circumstantial or occurrential and
> the <u>have</u> is either lexical or a marker of phase. Context
> does not clear the ambiguity in this sentence.

I think this must be read as 'Within fourteen days, it is possible for

you to have your tenants, friends and neighbouring gentlemen drawn

together'. MAY here refers to a future possibility. The word order is

explained by the length of the phrase which is the object of HAVE.

However MAY + perfect infinitive does occur in Shakespeare but

both examples collected are epistemic and refer to the possibility that

something has already happened.

8.505 [TIT 4 03 23] TITUS
And leave you not a man of warre unsearcht,
This wicked Emperor may have shipt her hence,
And kinsmen then we may goe pipe for iustice.

8.506 [LR 1 02 159] EDMUND
Bethink your selfe wherein you may have offended him:

MUST, together with CANNOT ... BUT expressing epistemic

necessity: (Corpus 6.309 - 6.326)

8.507 [2H4 3 02 207] SHALLOW
Doth she hold her owne well.
                    FALSTAFF
Old, old M <u>Shallow</u>.
                    SHALLOW
Nay, she must be old, she cannot choose but be old: certaine
she's old:

8.508 [TRO 2 03 252] ULYSSES
here's <u>Nestor</u>
Instructed by the Antiquary times:
He must, he is, he cannot but be wise.

8.509 [HAM 5 01 9] 1 GRAVEDIGGER
It must be, <u>Se offendendo</u>, it cannot bee else:

MUST:

8.510 [H5 1 01 67] B CANTERBURY
It must be so; for Miracles are ceast
And therefore we must needes admit the meanes,
How things are perfected.

8.511 [TRO 1 01 90] TROILUS
       Fooles on both sides, Helen must needs be faire,
       When with your bloud you daily paint her thus.

8.512 [LR 1 01 219] FRANCE
       sure her offense
       Must be of such unnaturall degree,
       That monsters it.

All examples above with BE. But

8.513 [TRO 4 04 141] AENEAS
       How have we spent this morning.
       The Prince must thinke me tardy and remisse,
       That swore to ride before him in the field.

and the following example, with MUST HAVE, and NEEDS (Corpus 6.328):

8.514 [HAM 5 02 229] HAMLET
       This presence knowes
       And you must needs have heard, how I am punisht
       With sore distraction?

SECTION 16 - MAY/MIGHT IN PURPOSE CLAUSES

In purpose clauses, the negative is MAY NOT, MIGHT NOT, instead

of CANNOT, COULD NOT.   (Corpus 7.61 - 7.70)

8.515 [2H6 4 01 133] SUFFOLK
       Come Souldiers, shew what cruelty ye can,
       That this my death may never be forgot:

8.516 [3H6 4 01 122] CLARENCE
       For I will hence to Warwickes other Daughter,
       That though I want a Kingdome, yet in Marriage
       I may not prove inferior to your selfe.

8.517 [JN 4 02 61] PEMBROKE
       and deny his youth
       The rich advantage of good exercise,
       That the times enemies may not have this
       To grace occasions:

8.518 [TIM 4 03 154] TIMON
       Cracke the Lawyers voyce,
       That he may never more false Title pleade,
       Nor sound his Quillets shrilly:

8.519 [ANT 4 09 15] ENOBARBUS
       Oh Soveraigne Mistris of true Melancholly
       The poysonous dampe of night dispunge upon me,
       That Life, a very Rebell to my will
       May hang no longer on me.

8.520 [TMP 4 01 194] CALIBAN
Pray you tread softly, that the blinde Mole may not heare a foot
fall:

8.521 [PER 4 02 55] PANDER
Instruct her what she has to doe that she may not be raw in her
entertainment

MIGHT:

8.522 [2H4 2 04 320] FALSTAFF
No abuse (Ned) in the World; honest Ned none. I disprays'd him
before the Wicked, that the Wicked might not fáll in love with
him:

8.523 [WT 5 02 78] GENT 3
as if she would pin her to her heart, that she might no more be
in danger of loosing.

Yet MAY NOT, MIGHT NOT, also sometimes are found in result clauses:

8.524 [JC 2 01 75] LUCIUS
No, Sir, their Hats are pluckt about their Eares
And halfe their faces buried in their Cloakes,
That by no meanes I may discover them
By any marke of favour

8.525 [HAM 1 02 141] HAMLET
so loving to my Mother
That he might not beteem the windes of heaven
Visit her face too roughly

MAY NOT is also found in Purpose Clauses introduced by a Relative

Pronoun:

8.526 [H5 2 04 118] EXETER
Scorne and defiance, sleight regard, contempt
And any thing that may not misbecome
The mightie Sender, doth he prize you at

8.527 [TN 5 01 169] ORSINO
Farewell, and take her, but direct thy feete
Where thou and I, (henceforth) may never meet.

8.528 [TRO 5 02 5] ULYSSES
Stand where the Torch may not discover us

Result Clauses introduced by a relative pronoun occasionally have MAY

NOT:

8.529 [1H4 1 01 45] WESTMORLAND
Upon whose dead corpses there was such misuse,
Such beastly, shamelesse transformation,
By those Welshwomen done, as may not be
(Without much shame) re-told or spoken of

Here perhaps to indicate that it is impermissible rather than

impossible to recount the atrocities.

After Complementary Purpose Clauses of Begging or Demanding, MAY

NOT, MIGHT NOT is found:

(Corpus 7.211)

8.530 [TN 3 01 90] CONSTANCE
Let wives with childe
Pray that their burthens may not fall this day

8.531 [R3 1 03 75] QUEEN
God grant we never may have neede of you!

8.532 [MM 3 01 246] DUKE
Goe you to <u>Angelo</u>, answere his requiring with a plausible
obedience, agree with his demands to the point: onely referre
your selfe to this advantage; first, that your stay with him may
not be long:

8.533 [WT 4 01 32] TIME
of this allow,
If ever you have spent time worse, ere now:
If never, yet that Time himselfe doth say,
He wishes earnestly you never may.

MIGHT:

8.534 [AYL 1 02 182] ROSALIND
We wil make it our suite to the Duke that the wrastling might
not go forward.

It appears to be these Complementary Purpose Clauses of Begging and

Demanding with MAY that give rise to a use of MAY to express the

content of the speaker's prayer or request. The first person main verb

is omitted and there is inversion between the subject of the comple-

mentary clause and MAY. The construction is new in the language at

this time. The OED gives it from 1586, under 7b 'In exclamatory

expressions of wish, <u>may</u> with the inf. is synonymous with the pres.

subj., which (exc. <u>poet.</u> and <u>rhet.</u>) it has superseded'. It does not

occur at all in the corpus.

Non-Negative:

8.535 [2H6 1 01 124] YORK
For Suffolkes Duke, may he be suffocate

8.536 [2H6 1 02 19] GLOSTER
And may that thought, when I imagine ill
Against my King and Nephew, vertuous Henry
Be my last breathing in this mortall world.

8.537 [3H6 3 02 19] LADY GRAY
Right gracious Lord, I cannot brooke delay:
May it please your Highnesse to resolve me now,
And what your pleasure is, shall satisfie me.

Negative:

8.538 [R2 1 01 82] MOWBRAY
And when I mount, alive may I not light
If I be Traitor, or uniustly fight.

8.539 [TRO 4 05 260] HECTOR
But Ile endevour deeds to match these words
Or may I never --

8.540 [TIM 1 01 149] OLD ATHENIAN
Humbly I thanke your Lordship, never may
That state of Fortune fall into my keeping
Which is not owed to you

SECTION 17 - CONDITIONALS. PLUPERFECT SEQUENCE

The preterite modal forms + HAVE in apodosis are common in

Shakespeare and are briefly exemplified below.

WOULD HAVE in Apodosis with Protasis in HAD: (Corpus 7.373 - 7.387)

8.541 [MND 5 01 359] THESEUS
Marry if hee that writ it had plaid Piramus, and hung himselfe
in Thisbies garter it would have been a fine tragedy.

8.542 [MV 5 01 221] BASSANIO
Had you bene there, I think you would have begg'd
The Ring of me, to give the worthie Doctor?

8.543 [WIV 5 05 185] SLENDER
If it had not bene i'th Church, I would have swing'd him, or hee
should have swing'd me.

8.544 [MM 2 02 65] ISABELLA
If he had bin as you, and you as he,
You would have slipt like him, but he, like you
Would not have been so stern.

8.545 [WT 5 03 58] PAULINA
Indeed my Lord
If I had thought the sight of my poor Image
Would thus have wrought you (for the Stone is mine)
Il'd not have shew'd it.

SHOULD HAVE, Protasis in HAD: (Corpus 7.388 - 7.396)

8.546 [3H6 2 01 4] EDWARD
       Had he been ta'en, we should have heard the newes,
       Had he been slain, we should have heard the newes,
       Or had he scap't, me thinkes we should have heard
       The happy tidings of his good escape.

8.547 [ROM 2 03 158] PETER
       I saw no man use you at his pleasure: if I had, my weapon should
       quickly have beene out, I warrant you.

8.548 [2H4 4 03 67] COLEVILLE
       had they beene rul'd by me
       You should have wonne them dearer then you did.

8.549 [AYL 1 02 238] ROSALIND
       Had I before knowne this yong man his sonne,
       I should have given him teares unto entreaties,
       Ere he should thus have ventur'd.

8.550 [HAM 5 01 24] 2 GRAVEDIGGER
       if this had not beene a Gentlewoman shee should have beene
       buried out of Christian Buriall.

COULD HAVE, Protasis in HAD: (Corpus 7.397 - 7.399)

       Negatives:

8.551 [1H6 2 01 59] JOAN
       Improvident Souldiers, had your Watch been good
       This sudden Mischiefe never could have faln.

8.552 [AWW 3 06 53] FIRST LORD
       That was not to be blam'd in command of the service: it was a
       disaster of warre that Caesar himself could not have prevented,
       if he had beene there to command.

8.553 [AWW 4 05 12] COUNTESS
       If she had pertaken of my flesh and cost mee the deerest groanes
       of a mother, I could not have owed her a more rooted love.

       Non-Negatives: (Not in Corpus)

8.554 [R3 2 04 24] YOUNG YORK
       Now by my troth, if I had been remembred,
       I could have given my Unkles Grace, a flout,
       To touch his growth, neerer then he toucht mine.

8.555 [AYL 1 02 11] CELIA
       If my Uncle thy banished father had banished thy Uncle the Duke
       my Father, so thou hadst beene still with mee, I could have
       taught my love to take thy father for mine.

MIGHT HAVE, Protasis in HAD: (Corpus 7.391 - 7.396)

Only in Non-Negative Clauses.

8.556 [3H6 2 02 153] EDWARD
      And had he match'd according to his State,
      He might have kept that glory to this day.

8.557 [LLL 5 02 17] KATHERINE
      He made her melancholy, sad and heavy, and so she died: had she
      beene light like you, of such a merrie nimble stirring spirit
      she might 'a' bin a Grandam ere she died.

8.558 [TIT 5 01 30] GOTH
      Had nature lent thee, but thy Mothers looke,
      Villaine, thou mightst have bene an Emperour.

8.559 [R2 3 04 62] GARDENER
      Had he done so, to great and growing men,
      They might have liv'd to beare, and he to taste
      Their fruits of dutie.

8.560 [COR 4 05 189] 2 SERVINGMAN
      And hee had bin Cannibally given, hee might have boyled and
      eaten him too

With other Protases:

    WERE:

8.561 [MAC 5 05 6] MACBETH
      Were they not forc'd with those that should be ours,
      We might have met them darefull, beard to beard,
      And beate them backward home.

    COULD HAVE:

8.562 [COR 4 06 16] MENENIUS
      All's well, and might have been much better, if he could have
      temporiz'd.

Protasis Understood:

8.563 [WT 5 03 32] PAULINA
      So much the more our Carvers excellence
      Which lets goe-by some sixteene yeeres, and makes her
      As she liv'd now.
                    LEONTES
      As now she might have done

MUST HAVE, Protasis in HAD:

8.564 [R2 5 02 35] YORK
      But dust was throwne upon his Sacred head,
      Which with such gentle sorrow he shooke off ...
      That had not God (for some strong purpose) steel'd
      The hearts of men, they must perforce have melted,
      And Barbarisme it selfe have pittied him.

8.565 [TN 5 01 211] SEBASTIAN
       I am sorry Madam I have hurt your kinsman
       But had he beene the brother of my blood,
       I must have done no lesse with wit and safety.

Preterite Form Modal Verb + HAVE in Protasis:

WOULD HAVE: (Corpus 7.402, 7.403)

8.566 [R2 1 04 18] AUMERLE
       Marry, would the word Farewell, have lengthen'd houres,
       And added yeeres to his short banishment,
       He should have had a volume of Farewells,
       But since it would not, he had none of me.

SHOULD HAVE: (Corpus 7.400, 7.401)

8.567 [TGV 2 04 82] DUKE
       And heere, he meanes to spend his time a while,
       I thinke 'tis no un-welcome newes to you.
                       VALENTINE
       Should I have wish'd a thing, it had beene he.

8.568 [JN 4 01 68] ARTHUR
       And if an Angell should have come to me
       And told me Hubert should put out mine eyes,
       I would not have beleev'd him:

8.569 [CYM 5 01 8] POSTHUMUS
       Gods: if you
       Should have 'tane vengeance on my faults, I never
       Had liv'd to put on this:

In the corpus the only two examples of SHOULD HAVE in protasis are not

ordinary pluperfect sequences, and appear to be exceptional. The above

Shakespearean examples are in pluperfect sequence. SHOULD HAVE here

seems a purely stylistic variant for HAD.

COULD HAVE: (Corpus 7.404 - 7.406)

8.570 [TRO 2 03 25] THERSITES
       If I could 'a' remembred a guilt conterfeit thou would'st not
       have slipt out of my contemplation, but it is no matter, thy
       selfe upon thy selfe.

8.571 [WT 5 02 91] GENT 3
       if all the World could have seen't, the Woe had beene universall

See also 8.562.

MIGHT HAVE: (No examples in Corpus)

8.572   [JC   5 01 57]   CASSIUS
        Now Brutus thanke your selfe.
        This tongue had not offended so to day,
        If Cassius might have rul'd.

SECTION 18 - SHOULD IN QUESTIONS

The use of SHOULD in questions, in the construction discussed in

Chapter 7, is fairly common in Shakespeare.   (Corpus 7.731 - 7.740)

8.573   [WIV   4 03 4]   BARDOLFE
        Sir, the Germane desires to have three of your horses: the Duke
        himselfe will be to morrow at Court, and they are going to meet
        him.
                        HOST
        What Duke should that be comes so secretly? I heard not of him
        in the Court:

8.574   [WIV   5 05 32]   M PAGE
        Alas, what noise?
                        M FORD
        Heaven forgive our sinnes.
                        FALSTAFF
        What should this be?

8.575   [AYL   2 07 90]   JACQUES
        Of what kinde should this Cocke come of?

8.576   [TIM   4 03 398]   1 BANDIT
        Where should he have this Gold?

8.577   [OTH   5 01 78]   IAGO
        Cassio, may you suspect
        Who they should be, that have thus mangled you?   .

8.578   [COR   3 01 165]   CORIOLANUS
        What should the people do with these bald Tribunes?

8.579   [TMP   1 02 388]   FERDINAND
        Where shold this Musick be? I'th aire, or th'earth?

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

SECTION 1 - GENERAL NATURE OF THE STUDY

At the beginning, in the introductory chapter the project was outlined, the procedures were described and some account given of the methodological assumptions made. Now that the work has been presented, it is appropriate to reconsider the project itself together with the aims proposed, procedures and assumptions in the light of the results obtained.

The title itself and the procedure of corpus analysis have meant that the work has been a study of a set of words. Although these words in the title of the thesis are referred to by category as 'modal verbs' and the words have in fact been selected by formal and syntactic criteria, deriving from recent studies of modality in PE, my own study with the exception of the excursory Chapter 2, is about the use of these words and the relationships existing in the language between them around the year 1600. Because of this concentration on the words themselves, the story of their use - in effect the examination of the sentences and contexts in which they are used - becomes in the study as a whole, an examination of the behaviour of the words in the language at this period, of the alliances they make, of the models they select and form themselves upon, of the ways in which the original sense which they bring from the past is adapted or modified; this is perhaps most marked with those two words whose careers, as it were, have been contrasted, NEED and DARE. But even when the treatment has been in essentials synchronic, the idea of words being drawn into a system, remodelled and accommodated into a new role is almost always present. This means that in spite of the use that has been made of some aspects of generative semantics, the manner and the general image of language adopted in this work are different from those usual in studies of syntax employing a generative theory of grammar.

SECTION 2 - SYSTEM IN LANGUAGE AND ITS PRESENTATION

The actual day to day and month to month involvement in research of the kind here undertaken must present itself to the researcher, both in a practical sense, as he arranges and rearranges his cards, and also in a theoretical sense as he considers the problems of presentation, as the struggle to impose order upon chaos. Yet at the end and in the moment of apparent success he must ask himself whether the order he has achieved is merely an imposition. Does it derive in fact from his own methods and procedures, from his assumptions, above all from his own determination to create an order, rather than from the material itself? Would the same order have emerged from a different procedure, or a different structure or dimension of corpus? Is the apparent untidiness of the evidence a reality which is not to be explained away?

It is inevitable that an extensive corpus study such as the one just completed, if it is conscientiously carried out, raises problems about the unsystematic elements in language which are not raised by studies of the contemporary language conducted according to generative theory and drawing on the competence of certain native speakers, usually of the grammarian himself. On the other hand such corpus studies of the historical language are not committed to producing a 'grammar' which will generate all the possible grammatical sentences and no ungrammatical sentences, but merely an orderly and if possible illuminating exposition of the usage to be found in the corpus.

The orderliness of this exposition in so far as it is successful will reflect the various levels of order which are really to be found in the corpus material, but it will also serve as a framework of display to illustrate the interaction and also interference of these levels of order within the corpus material. These levels of order, though all in a sense manifestations of the same process of

systematization by which language is possible, are nevertheless to be distinguished and the kind of presence which they have in the corpus material ought to be explained.

We may distinguish then the following kinds of order in the exposition, beginning with those that belong to the process of exposition itself and following with those that reflect the material of the corpus and through that the order of the language itself.

1.   First is the arrangement of the material for the purposes of exposition, its organization into chapters, the sequence chosen for those chapters; the movement from simple to more complex, the setting out of paradigms and conjugations as patterns upon the page. Once it has been said, this has all the appearance of something which is too obvious to need saying. Yet it is easy enough to take the organization of the book as being - or as being intended for - the organization of the linguistic reality it attempts to present. In the study just completed, there is the added hazard that the sequence from the beginning of the exposition to the end may be taken in a general way to imply the historical development of the modals, so that their use in subordination may seem to be the last to develop in time - whereas some of the modal uses in Chapter 7 go back to the earliest recorded stages of the language.

2.   Closely connected with ordering for purposes of convenient exposition is logical ordering and the use of logic in setting out grammatical material. Sometimes logical relationship may seem to be clearly present in the language use itself and this is surely apparent in certain features of the modal system of possibility and necessity in English. But as Palmer [1979 p. 7] says

> it would be quite wrong to assume that the English systems or those of any other languages follow any absolute set of logical rules or fit into a rigid

logical framework. For logical systems are idealized
systems, while natural languages are notoriously
untidy. What logic they have is likely to be frag-
mentary and inconsistent.

Nevertheless, in setting out an untidy system it is obviously useful to

employ a logical framework in those areas where a fragmentary logic is

displayed by the usage in the language, and perhaps in others where

usage is not consistent with formalized logic but still that usage can

be best displayed by being set out according to the distinctions made

in the terminology of logic.

3.   There is the point where grammatical formalization, the

formulation of rules and the imposition of logic upon language is

itself reflected back into certain, usually self-conscious types of

usage. An obvious example of this is the acceptance into a level of

usage of the rules for the use of WILL and SHALL formulated by Wallis

[1653] and developed by later grammarians. It is true that these rules

postdate the present corpus and therefore cannot be an influence on the

usage it displays, although their acceptance in the nineteenth century

means that formulations of the Elizabethan and Shakespearean use of WILL

and SHALL devised at that time are usually set out as a series of

divergencies from a usage ultimately based on Wallis.

4.   At a less self-conscious level, there is an ordering and

systematization of usage which comes with an educated or literary or

written standard for the language. This I believe does influence the

corpus studied here, all of it the written word of educated men. The

modal system which the corpus displays is thus a systematization of

colloquial usage, probably mainly by exclusion, reflecting the usage of

the capital, rather than any other locality. Even within this limita-

tion there are clear signs that two systems were in operation, a more

learned and literary, containing OUGHT and a more informal and

colloquial, excluding it. It is evident from the survival of cooccurrence in Scots and the development of BEHOVE into modal form in some Scots dialects, as well as from the localized differences in modal usage to be found in colloquial and substandard English today, that the modal system; which I describe from the corpus should not be equated with the whole of eModE usage but is a systematization of that usage for a written standard.

5. Finally we have the systems of the language itself, the completely unself-conscious usage, on which all the rest is founded and out of which it grows. Yet at this level we seem furthest from the structuralist ideal of language as a single system; rather we glimpse at this level also, in a brief synchronic illumination, a slow imperfect systematizing of material of older systems in disintegration or becoming confused by the interference of one system with another. The exposition shows the eModE modal system as an organization and radical simplification of older systematic usages in the language, and itself already being modified by interference from other systems.

The systematizing tendency which makes language possible is capable of reworking its own results with increasing self-consciousness, producing the kind of standardization which comes first with the development of written forms of language, then with the application of logic to language and finally with the elaboration of grammatical analysis.

The claims I would make for the exposition I have given of the material of my corpus are therefore that it is as sensitive as I can make it to the many levels of systematization that go on in language and that in it the modal system can be seen a development, simplification and specialization of other systems in the language and at the same time that the exposition does provide a framework within which the

proper reading and interpretation of the modals in eModE texts can be
attempted. Though obviously in its present form it could hardly be of
use to literary students or students of the history of thought who need
to read eModE texts accurately, its material could be presented for
such purposes and would represent some advance on the resources
presently available to such readers.

SECTION 3 - ORDER OF WORKING : WORD TO SYNTAGM

The starting point for the exposition, a study of the selection
of WILL or SHALL in the translation of the Latin or French future, was
chosen because it presented an opportunity of making a beginning to the
sorting of examples which would be purely objective. It does not
presuppose the existence of a future tense in English, or that the
future tenses in Latin or French are without complexity in their meaning.
However the idea of a future made from WILL and SHALL in English, which
comes from the recognition that constructions with these modals are
frequently equivalent to what is in many other languages considered a
future tense, together with the study of its actual use, enabled me to
look at the pairing of these two words, with different meanings
etymologically and in much of their use, but in this particular case,
their use in translating Latin or French future tenses, apparently
falling together. From this, I move to look at the internal structure
of the meaning of WILL and SHALL to find if this can account for their
semantic behaviour and then to the syntax of their relationships with
the words with which they are able to enter into syntactical relation-
ships; the kind of lexical verbs which follow them, the kind of subjects
which they follow. This brings me to the consideration of the modal
syntagm, Subject + Modal Verb + Verbal Infinitive. The progress is
thus from meaning of the word to the syntax of the word. Generative

grammar would begin with the syntagm, or rather with the rules for forming it and then turn to the lexicon of words which could occur at the place marked modal. The difference of direction is as we have seen determined by the project itself, the study of the use of certain words, in a corpus. Because the starting point is the word, semantics and syntax are not separated out as they must be in generative grammar which first establishes syntactical patterns abstracted from the actual words which exemplify them. At the same time the semantics of the words which are, as it were, brought together by the language to serve as modal verbs, seems best explained through a terminology which is syntactical.

SECTION 4 - RELATIONSHIP OF MODAL PAIRS

Thus the common element of meaning that WILL and SHALL share, together with the difference we find between the meanings of similar constructions in which they appear makes it possible to compare them to two distinct diatheses of the same verb. SHALL might be seen as a sort of equivalent to the passive voice of WILL. It is as if instead of such a pair of sentences as

Tom expects to win

Tom is expected to win

in the place of the passive form 'is expected' we had a different verb, active in form, but used as a suppletive to supply the missing passive of 'expects'. If we attempt to show this through actual paraphrase of the meaning of WILL, as for example 'determine' or 'resolve' we find that the expressions that would be expected to serve as the passives, 'be determined', 'be resolved' are in fact not passives and are difficult to distinguish in meaning from the active forms. However if WILL is paraphrased as 'intend' then 'be intended' does correspond

roughly to SHALL.

In fact, the relationship between WILL and SHALL as also the parallel relationships between CAN and MAY and NEED and MUST are much better represented by a different diathetic relationship; not that between active voice and passive voice, but between middle voice and passive voice. With WILL and CAN and NEED, the subject of the lexical verb, unexpressed, must have the same reference as the subject of the modal, so that the modal is in a way reflexive; the underlying sense of 'Tom will go' being 'Tom ordains it for himself, that he should go'; cf 'Tom can sing' 'Tom has acquired for himself, the knowledge or power to sing','Tom needs to eat' 'Tom requires for himself, in his own interest, to eat'. On the other hand, SHALL, MAY and MUST are like passives in that their subjects are the sufferers of the actions and the most convenient paraphrases are passive in form: 'is ordained to' for SHALL, 'is permitted to' for MAY, 'is obliged or required to' for MUST.

The active voice forms corresponding to these middle and passive, must by their nature have a subject and object with different reference,

A ordains B to

A permits B to

A obliges or requires B to

and, because of this, cannot be expressed by means of the modal syntagm or by means of the modal verbs (the non-modal TO WILL can of course be used in this active way 'A wills B to ...). Thus a fully active diathesis is absent from the modal system.

SECTION 5 - MODAL IN RELATION TO SUBJECT AND TO LEXICAL VERB

The modal pairs, then, WILL/SHALL, CAN/MAY and NEED/MUST can be seen as displaying a distinction of diathesis, which has a similarity to the distinction between middle and passive. Diathesis however can be defined more broadly than the distinctions between the three voices of traditional grammar to include the way in which the subject of a verb is related to the process of the verb. Benveniste [1966] points out that the Indo-European verb bears reference always to its subject, never to the object; it agrees with its subject in number and person, and the relationship of the subject to the verb is indicated by the diathesis of the verb. Hence 'le champ positionel du su. jet' is determined by these three, 1) person, 2) number, 3) diathesis. Modern Indo-European languages only display two formally distinct diatheses - active and passive, but it is evident that strictly the location of the subject in the 'champs positionel' in relation to its verb is not the same for all verbs which are in the active voice. In some the subject is the source and origin of the process referred to in the verb. In others the subject is rather the seat of the process, in others again the subject is the receptor, modified by the process referred to in the verb. Examples of the first are transitive verbs like KILL or intransitive verbs like RUN; of the second, verbs like ENJOY, of the third the so-called verbs of inert perception, like SEE and HEAR. Although all these verbs are active in form in English, the grammatical subject of the verb is differently placed in relation to the process of the verb, depending on the semantic content of the verb.

However some of the modals are sensitive to these differences; or rather in the modal construction, where the modal verb is interposed between subject and verb, its own diathesis is superimposed upon that of the verb. If they correspond then the meaning and force of the modal

is weakened; in other words the modal word itself has less part in the total meaning because some part of its contribution is already contained in the verb. As argued in Chapter 3 this weakening or overlap occurs when WILL is used with verbs of the first kind, which I have there called verbs of activity, and when SHALL is used with verbs that do not belong to this category. It is this weakening that leaves both these modals with no more force than that of future time. I suggest in Chapter 4 that something similar occurs when CAN is used with transitive verbs of inert perception, where the ability of the subject is super-imposed on the verb phrase in which the existence of the object of perception is that which enables the subject to perceive it.

When WILL and SHALL occur with verbs of a contrary or incompatible diathesis, then their full meaning appears and this imposes the diathesis which belongs to the modal on the whole phrase, so that 3.61, 'I will be dissolved' translating 'Je veul estre dissout', in spite of the diathesis of the passive verb, places the subject in the position of the active, striving agent, and in 'Thou shalt love' the subject, in spite of the verb, is not an agent of an activity but the recipient of a command.

The meanings of the modals are thus modified by the nature of the verbs that follow them. This modification is a weakening which occurs when the modal is associated with a verb which already contains part of its meaning.

The meaning of the modals WILL and CAN is also extended and generalized; both words in their pristine senses must have been confined to animate subjects. When WILL is used with inanimate subjects, it refers to characteristic behaviour, which can be attributed to its subject and thought of as having its origin there, but is no longer associated with volition. This extended meaning can also be found with

animate subjects. CAN, its original meaning of 'knowing how to' already

extended to 'having power to', becomes further extended to possibility.

These two processes then occur in both the WILL/SHALL modal pair

and CAN/MAY. With WILL/SHALL it is the weakening that results from the

overlap with the diathesis of the verb that creates the 'future tense',

formed from WILL with verbs of activity and SHALL with other verbs.

CAN and MAY are weakened into a 'potential mood' expressing possibility

but here, as explained in Chapter 5, MAY is found in non-negative

clauses and CAN in negative or pseudo-negative.

SECTION 6 - THE MODAL SYNTAGM: 1. REDUCTION

The modal syntagm itself links the modal with a noun and a

lexical verb.

$$N - M - V$$

In the corpus modal verbs do appear in other constructions, as CAN with

a direct object, and WOULD followed by a full THAT-Clause. But the

modals followed by a noun as direct object are by the end of the

sixteenth century rare, and the clause construction with WOULD though

still common is already becoming restricted in that it is only found in

the first person singular. The process by which the modal verbs are

excluded from all other constructions except this one is close to

reaching its completion. It is the confinement of the modal verbs to

this construction which is the remarkable thing, hard to parallel

elswhere in English. The construction itself, apart from the absence

of TO before the lexical verb with all modals except OUGHT, is not

remarkable and can be paralleled elsewhere. When used with WILL, CAN,

NEED, DARE the modal syntagm appears to be derived from

$$N_1 - M - (N_1 - V)$$

and when used with SHALL, MAY, MUST and OUGHT

M - (N - V)

N_1 - M - (N_1 - V) > N - M - V is paralleled by such reorderings as 'Tom expects that he will succeed' > 'Tom expects to succeed'; M - (N - V) > N - M - V by 'It seems that Tom is happy' > 'Tom seems to be happy'. But whereas here both of the alternative orderings are possible in the surface grammar, we cannot rephrase the modal syntagm unless we change the modal for some other verb.

We may contrast the usual syntax of English where verbs can enter into a number of different constructions and where syntactical variants are possible for every expression, and the progressive limitation to a single construction for this small set of words as we find it taking place through the period of eModE. We can look at this from two points of view; either as a way of producing a compact and convenient syntactical format for certain double verb clauses, where the embedded clause either is the subject of the main clause, or has the same subject as the main clause, a format therefore to contain one noun phrase subject together with two verbs; or we can look at it as an extension of the conjugation of the verb, with the modal verbs as auxiliaries.

First, the compact and convenient format. As we have seen the modal construction corresponds to syntactical rules found operating elsewhere in the language; for example, an embedded clause can in certain circumstances be reduced to an infinitive. The verb is thus stripped of person and inflectional tense distinctions, though of course compound tenses with the infinitives of BE and HAVE followed by participles are still possible. However in such constructions, the verb in the main clause is unaffected. In the modal construction it is as if, in order to link the two clauses more closely and weld them into one, the main verb - here the modal - is made to undergo a reduction

which is complementary to that undergone by the embedded verb, namely that while retaining the distinctions of person and inflected tense, it is restricted from forming any of the compound tenses requiring participial or infinitive forms.

Since in other European languages the analogues to the modal verbs in English do not undergo a similar impoverishment, it may seem a feature peculiar to English itself and therefore hardly likely to be explicable as a useful syntactic simplification. If it were we might reasonably expect it to occur in other languages.

In fact, strong similarities to what happens with the modal verbs in English are to be found in some non-European languages; I give two examples, the first closest to the interpretation of the English modal system as a compact and convenient syntactical format for certain double verb ٢clauses, the second to the interpretation of it as an incorporation of the modal verbs into the verb phrase or into the conjugation of the verb.

Parallels to the Reduction of the Modal Verbs in the Modal Syntagm

A.   Modern Standard Chinese

I draw here on Yuen Ren Chao [1968 para. 8.1.10], who sets up for Chinese a category of Auxiliary or Modal Auxiliary Verbs which he says 'usually express the semantic modes of the following verbs'. Though this group of verbs is much larger than that of the modal verbs in English it covers the same semantic area. Many of the verbs it contains can however also be used as full verbs.

As an example of a modal auxiliary verb we may take NENG which means 1. can, be able to, 2. may, be permitted to. So 'Ta neng lai' corresponds closely in its range of possible meanings with the PE English 'He can come'.

There is little in Chinese to correspond to the complexities of

verbal conjugation in Indo-European languages. We may list tentative
redpplication, which would give NENG NENG, and two particles, the
progressive, NENG-I and the perfective NENG-LE. Chao says that none of
these can be used with a modal auxiliary in a modal construction. Thus
'he could come' must be translated not *'ta neng-le lai' but 'ta neng
lai-le'. We could say therefore that the lexical verb in a modal
phrase retains all its conjugational possibilities and the modal verb
loses them, or alternatively that the modal phrase is considered as a
unity from the point of view of conjugation. The reduction of the
modal is therefore more thorough-going than in English, where tense
distinction at least is retained. As for the complexities of the
English modal phrase in such forms as 'he might have ...' 'he ought to
have ...' Chinese can express these with elegant simplicity by inserting
between subject and modal phrase, what appears to be a sentence adverb
BEN-LAI, which might be translated 'originally'.

B.   Bantu Languages

In certain Bantu languages there exists a group of deficient
verbs, much wider in semantic range than the group of modal verbs in
English, but usually including equivalents of the modals. My informa-
tion and examples are drawn mainly from Fortune [1955] and from Shona,
the language of the greater part of Zimbabwe. Fortune [para: 740]
explains a deficient verb as one which runs together with a certain
phonetic coalescence with its infinitive complement. Thus Wasvika
kuona, literally 'he-arrived to-see' > Wasvikoona, 'he saw on arrival'.
Since KU- is the prefix for the infinitive, and also KU before nouns is
usually roughly equivalent to the English preposition TO, the dis-
appearance of KU-, (or rather the elision of the k- and the coalescence
of a + u > o) presents a striking analogy to the absence of TO in the
infinitives following modal verbs (except OUGHT) in English. However

the meaning of KUSVIKA is not in any sense modal; also since the conjugation of the Bantu verb is at it were from the beginning, first the personal suffix, then infixes which indicate tense and mood, deficient verbs are not defective.[Fortune, para: 741]. However the reduced form of the infinitive KUONA is not capable of conjugational modification, so that there is only a single conjugation for a verb phrase which contains two verbs. From a semantic point of view KUONA is the most important verb so it is possible to regard the verb phrase WASVIKOONA as part of the conjugation of KUONA with -SVIKO- as one of the many possible tense and mood infixes coming between the subject concord and the verb stem.

In any case, these tense and mood infixes are themselves at least in some cases former full verbs which have become incorporated into the conjugation. The analysis of the conjugation of the Shona verb which Fortune employs contains a set of six moods, including a potential mood. This mood is used when the speaker views the connection between subject and predicate as possible [para: 501]. The potential mood is made by inserting the formative -NGA- between the subject concords and the verb stem. Fortune says

> [para: 548] The formative -nga- is, very probably, a deficient verb meaning 'be able', possibly originally the same as the copulative verb -nga- (be). Thus the potential is, very likely, a compound predicate of form: deficient verb + verb stem.

The usual description of Nyanga, spoken in Malawi and Eastern Zambia, has a similar potential mood made with the same infix -NGA- [Price, 1966 p. 183]. There is also a full verb KUTHA meaning 'to be able' but this verb us usually employed in the potential mood. Thus

1. Ndingatenge

2. Ndingathe kutenga

are both equivalent to 'I can take'. Native speakers of Nyanga who use

English as their second language, when questioned on the distinction usually say the first means 'I can take', the second 'I am able to take'. The parallel of 2. with the eModE pleonastic 'I can be able' is interesting.

Shona also has a full verb meaning to be able, KUGONA. This verb is the source of a deficient verb [Fortune, para: 76;] -GONA + KU- > -GO-. Fortune says 'It is often used in consecutive forms which are represented as sequels, made possible by what has gone before' and he gives as an example:

Makudo   akakumbira kurapiwa   kuti   agofanana   nevanhu.

The-baboons asked to-be-treated so-that they-might-resemble men.

Here we find the verb in a purpose clause in Shona, as in the construction with MAY/MIGHT in English, indicating the nature of the subordination which relates it to the preceding main clause, by means of a form originally a full verb having the sense 'to be able to'.

Enough has here been indicated to show that the reduction of what were once full verbs, and also of verbs which continue to appear in the language as full verbs, to an element in a two verb syntagm which from the point of view of conjugation is a unity occurs in Bantu languages particularly in the semantic area of power and possibility.

SECTION 7 - THE MODAL SYNTAGM: 2. NEGATION

On the face of it there is no reason why the compacted clause with two verbal elements should present particular problems of negation. Since negation may be required for either verb, provided there is a convention for placing the negative particle either before or after the verb to which it applies, no ambiguities are possible. This is what we find in Standard Modern Chinese [Chao 1968, Para 8.1.10].

ta neng lai	he can come
ta bu neng lai	he cannot come
ta neng bu lai	he is able not to come, can not come
ta bu neng bu lai	he cannot but come, cannot help coming.

However the negative particle NOT in eModE is placed after a finite verb to which it applies but in front of an infinitive. Consequently NOT will appear between modal and lexical verb and the negative will from its position be equally applicable backwards to the modal or forwards to the lexical verb. This in itself would make necessary some disambiguating convention to apply to negatives in the modal construction. But in any case negatives can occur at other places in a clause than the verbs, for example at the subject of the first verb and at the object of the lexical verb. The resultant uncertainties about meaning would be extremely inconvenient and consequently, the assignment of any negative within the clause is determined by the modal itself. WILL, SHALL, MUST and OUGHT cannot be negated and any negative must apply to the lexical verb. CAN, MAY, NEED and DARE attract any negative to themselves.

The pattern then is as follows (^{1} negation applies to modal; $_2$ negation applies to lexical verb)

$$\text{DARE}^1 \quad \text{CAN}^1 \qquad \text{WILL}_2 \qquad \qquad \text{SHALL}_2 \qquad \text{MAY}^1$$

$$\text{NEED}^1 \qquad \qquad \text{MUST}_2 \quad \text{OUGHT}_2$$

The members of the modal pairs WILL/SHALL, CAN/MAY correspond in their pattern of negation. The difference in negation between NEED and MUST is an important feature of their being paired together, since NEED has to be used when obligation or necessity is itself negated. The reason for the negative placings in the rest of the modals seems explicable as giving the meanings most likely to be needed in use. Thus non-volition and absence of destiny expressed by SHALL are unlikely to present

themselves for expression and the occasion to refer to the ability or the permission not to do something occurs only infrequently.

We may note that unlike WILL, BE WILLING can be negated, but its distinction in meaning from WILL is such that 'He is unwilling to do it' has the same sense as 'He will not do it' (He is determined not to do it). With CAN as we have seen both modal and lexical verb are often negated to express necessity. In this construction the negative particle for the lexical verb is BUT, which has a negating force which applies only to what follows it.

SECTION 8 - THE MODAL SYNTAGM: 3. EPISTEMIC MODALITY

The radical simplification and running together of the two clauses which we find in the modal construction accounts for an ambiguity which occurs with certain of the modals. The ambiguity arises from the reduction of the verb in the embedded clause to an infinitive. As we have noted, the infinitive in English distinguishes tense, present or past. However it does not distinguish modality, indicative from non-indicative. In many constructions when a clause is the object of a verb in a superordinate clause, the meaning is different according to whether the subordinate clause has a verb in the indicative or not. We may take a pair of contrasted examples, which appear in American text books, though 2. seems unlikely in British English.

1. Tom insists that he goes (Someone has denied that Tom goes)

2. Tom insists that he go (Mary has offered to go)

The non-indicative clause could also be

Tom insists that he should go

It is reasonable here to interpret these examples as two different constructions with the same verb INSIST. If the clause here could be

reduced to the infinitive (since its subject has the same reference as the subject of 'insists' we might expect this to be possible) the resulting

* Tom insists to go

would be ambiguous through the loss of the distinction between indicative and non-indicative in this reduced clause.

In fact, if 'Tom insists that he go' is reduced it has to be to 'Tom insists on going' and the indicative clause 'Tom insists that he goes' cannot be reduced. It seems usual when both indicative and non-indicative clauses occur after the same verb that the non-indicative (that is those which contain the subjunctive or, more usually, a modal) may when the grammatical subject permits be reduced, but the indicative clauses not.

Thus 'I hope that I shall see you' may be reduced to 'I hope to see you', but 'I hope I am in time' cannot be reduced to 'I hope to be in time'. In the free syntax of the ordinary verb where there is the choice of reducing the embedded clause or of not reducing it, it is hard to find an example where an indicative clause is reduced to an infinitive, though a few dooccur, e.g.

Tom claims to be God

The flexibility and richness in alternatives of ordinary syntax mean that with lexical verbs that are followed by clauses, ambiguities rarely occur. But with the modals there is no flexibility. Normally the embedded clause has non-indicative modality. These clauses of course do not appear in their full form for this to be observed, except in eModE with WOULD where we always find non-indicative modality: 'I would I were', 'I would thou couldst'. It is hard to see what sense an indicative clause could have in this position. On the other hand the construction WOULD HAVE + NP + Infinitive which seems a variant of

WOULD (THAT) + Clause does have two constructions which differ only in whether the clause which underlies the infinitive is indicative or not. Usually it is non-indicative as in examples 6.189-6.216 where WOULD HAVE expresses the wish that NP should do so ...   But in a few cases, examples 6.227-6.230, the underlying clause is indicative and the sense of WOULD HAVE, is 'maintain that it is the case that NP does ...' In fact the relationship between the two meanings of WOULD HAVE + NP + Infinitive is exactly that between the two uses of INSIST.

1.   Anaxagoras would have the sun to be a stone

              = insists that the sun is a stone

2.   Metius would have Tullus remember this one point

              = insists that Tullus should remember this one point

These correspond to the two uses of the modals which in eModE are found with epistemic modality

1.   He may do so   = It is possible that he does so

2.   = It is possible that he should do so,
                             It is possible for him to do so

1.   He must do so   = It is necessarily the case that he does so

2.   = It is necessary that he should do so,
                             It is necessary for him to do so

In use, it is the second, deriving from a non-indicative clause underlying the infinitive of lexical verb in the modal phrase, which is overwhelmingly the most frequent and this is considered the ordinary or root modality. The other deriving from an indicative clause underlying the infinitive, as the examples from the corpus show, is comparatively infrequent in the written prose of this period; this has been given the distinguishing name of epistemic modality.

SECTION 9 - THE MODALS PLACED IN A CONJUGATION FOR THE VERB IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH

Having examined the modal construction itself with its own internal structure of one clause embedded in another, we now turn to view the modals as part of the conjugation of the verb, and in relation to the scheme of tenses and moods which the English verb displays in the eModE period.

I suggest that the English verb may be viewed as having a core of inflected tenses and moods which may be conveniently set out thus:

Mood:	Past:	Non-past:
Indicative	⎫ WALKED	⎧ WALKS
Subjunctive	⎭	⎩ WALK
Imperative		WALK

This core is extended by two sets of periphrastic forms, one which provides a further range of tenses, the other a further range of moods. The first makes use of the auxiliaries BE and HAVE which combine with the two participles of the verb.

HAVE ⎫
BE ⎭ + past participle   BE + present participle

Clearly these are not mere alternatives to the inflected preterite and present and might be considered aspects rather than tenses strictly. Yet they may be considered as corresponding in certain ways to the original two tenses; thus although HAVE + past participle can be viewed as a present tense, it is sometimes used, in the infinitive form TO HAVE + past participle as an equivalent to the indicative preterite. BE + present participle shares the same non-past reference, present and future, as the simple present.

We may note that still in eMod E both BE and HAVE are used with the past participle to form the perfect, BE with intransitive verbs, HAVE with transitive verbs, though the levelling of all to HAVE is

already advanced. BE + present participle is around the year 1600

hardly established as a regular tense and is much more frequent in

texts which reflect colloquial usage as plays, than in literary prose and

is virtually absent from such texts as Hooker.

BE and HAVE when used as auxiliaries may appear in any of the

core forms - that is they may appear in the present or preterite, in

the indicative, subjunctive or imperative, and also in the infinitive.

BE has distinct indicative and subjunctive forms through the whole

present tense and the singular of the preterite. This means that the

tenses in which it forms the first element express this mood distinction

better than any other. BE when used as an auxiliary in BE + present

participle can also appear in the perfect form, HAVE BEEN + present

participle, but HAVE, as an auxiliary is not able to form any compound

tenses. Both HAVE and BE continue to be used in many different kinds

of construction as full verbs.

In addition to these periphrastic tenses there is a set of peri-

phrastic moods. These are made up from one of a set of auxiliary verbs

followed by the infinitive, without TO (except in the case of OUGHT).

These in turn can be divided into indicative and non-indicative.

The auxiliary used to provide a periphrastic indicative is DO. As an

auxiliary DO can appear in any of the core forms, although unlike BE

and HAVE, not as an infinitive. It also exists as a full verb with

various constructions. The non-indicative periphrastic moods are those

made with the modal verbs. These verbs show present and preterite

forms, though as discussed in Chapter 6, the interpretation of these

two forms in relation to tense and mood is difficult. Like DO and

unlike the other auxiliaries BE and HAVE they cannot form infinitives,

and with the exception of NEED and DARE they do not exist save in eModE

for one or two vestigial uses as full verbs appearing in various

constructions. The use of the modals in eModE of around 1600 has been described and illustrated in detail in this thesis, and it has been suggested that the pair WILL/SHALL together form a mood of expectation which has been traditionally taken as a future tense, CAN/MAY, a mood of possibility or potential mood, with NEED/MUST together with OUGHT a mood of obligation and necessity. DARE though it shares the formal qualities of the modals, has no place in the system of moods, and may be considered as a survival.

In addition to their function as auxiliaries of tense, BE and HAVE also appear in the construction with the infinitive which is characteristic of the modals. In this construction BE and HAVE have the infinitive with TO, but the meanings of these forms are close to those of the modal verbs, as

> BE TO + infinitive   SHALL

already established in eModE, and

> HAVE TO + infinitive   MUST

at the time of the corpus just beginning to appear.

SECTION 10 – DISRUPTION AND DECAY OF THE EARLY MODERN ENGLISH MODAL SYSTEM

Throughout the preceding pages from time to time explanations have been offered for examples that seemed at variance with the principles of usage here proposed for the modals, and suggestions put forward concerning shifts in the system which may have been taking place. Here some of these points are drawn together to give a picture of the forces which were already at work in the period of the study and have since profoundly changed the details of modal usage. A central feature of the analysis I have proposed is the semantic and structural relationship between the members of the modal pairs, WILL/SHALL, CAN/MAY,

NEED/MUST. The placing and adaptation of these six words by a long process which is finally completed during the fifteenth century is a remarkable instance of the systematizing power of language. At the same time, the almost immediate beginning of the process of disorganization and disruption is also of instructive interest. The image which can be drawn from a reading of Saussure, of language as a single system, constantly developing in order to preserve its systematic perfection from the ravages of phonetic decay is replaced by one in which what is systematic is constantly being lost by the encroachment of system upon system.

Thus the relationship of WILL to SHALL is analogous to, but more complex than that of active voice to passive voice. It means that the passive form of 'He will rescue her' is 'She shall be rescued by him'. This is a relationship of active and passive which is likely to maintain itself while the passive form of 'He has rescued her' is 'She is rescued by him'. But once the active-passive relationship becomes more rigorously systematic, and the passive of 'He has rescued her' is 'She has been rescued by him', then 'She will be rescued by him' will be taken as the passive of 'He will rescue her'. Thus already in the corpus, as in 3.55, 3.61 WILL preserves its full meaning before a passive, in others as 3.73 it is already being used with a merely future sense.

Another force which distorts the system of WILL and SHALL and is at work during the period of this study, is a process of standardization, here, as I think often, associated with fashionable, self-conscious polite speech. This maintains the use of SHALL in the first person, to include not only events that the speaker expects to overtake him but also his intentions, in so far as these are to be presented with due modesty. The speaker out of respect announces his resolutions about his

own future action as if he were recognizing duties to be fulfilled or events that will happen to him. Even in making promises he will prefer to frame these with SHALL, as an obligation undertaken, rather than with WILL as a resolution made. This tendency to shy away from WILL in announcing one's own future may have been helped by the very strong irrational and sometimes sexual sense found with the noun WILL at this period, but a formalized modesty and diffidence on the part of the speaker is a mark of politeness in many sophisticated cultures. The power of mere politeness to overrule grammatical distinction and naturalness can be seen in the loss of the second person singular from the standard language which is already under way at this period, and the survival of the singular forms in many of the spoken dialects of English may offer a parallel to the fact that this extended use of SHALL in the first person has remained foreign to all other forms of English except Standard British. Patricia Moody [1974] gives a good account of the problem with quotations from George Mason [1622], Hume and Archdeacon Hare which suggest that from the seventeenth century onwards there was a conscious awareness that the use of SHALL in the first person was a matter of politeness and refinement. The rules in Wallis [1653] were an attempt to systematize a usage into which this standardized politeness had already entered.

The third process which gradually destroys the distinctive use of WILL and SHALL, CAN and MAY is deeper seated; it has been at work in English for centuries before the period under study, so that in a sense it may be said to have been one of the processes establishing the system which it was later to work against. The same process can be observed at work in other Indo-European languages. It may be described as the tendency to reinterpret the middle voice, or the reflexive verb as a passive. In Proto-Indo-European there was no passive; Greek came

to use the middle voice in order to express passive meaning and in Latin the passive voice is derived, at least largely, from an ancient middle voice which has been lost. In many European languages, reflexive verbs are employed to express a passive sense, though this is not found in English. These facts are conveniently summarized in Meillet [1927 para. 458]. In other words there is a readiness in the development of the IE languages to take a subject and verb which originally refer to an agent which performs some activity to or with itself or on its own behalf and to reinterpret it as if it that activity were performed to or with or on behalf of the subject by some other, unspecified agency. I have argued that we find this middle voice or reflective quality in the modals WILL, CAN and NEED, where the subject of the modal and the subject of the embedded clause which is the object of the verb must have the same reference. If this middle voice or reflexive quality is reinterpreted as a passive, then WILL comes to have the same sense as SHALL and CAN as MAY. NEED does not become taken in the same sense as MUST because as a modal it is confined to negative uses which cannot be expressed by MUST. Thus WILL tends to replace SHALL, not only throughout the expression of the future, except where a conventional standard preserves SHALL in the first person, but also where SHALL ordains or expresses an order, as on army notice boards 'Other ranks will proceed ...'. MAY itself is the outcome of a reinterpretation which took place in the fourteenth century where MOW shifts from the reflexive sense to the passive sense, and so replaces MOTE. In the nineteenth century CAN, which had replaced MAY in the reflexive sense, becomes widely used in the ordinary language in the passive sense of 'being permitted to'. Since it is hard to see how the older meaning of CAN will be taken up by some other word, CAN in the non-literary language covers both senses, not without a certain

inconvenience. The process continues in PE with at least one other verb which shares the reflexive structure of WILL, namely, WANT, so that 'He wants to see a doctor about his leg' is ambiguous between the reflexive 'He is anxious that he should see ...' and the passive 'Others, unspecified but perhaps particularly the speaker, are anxious that he should ...', almost an exact equivalent of the passive modal OUGHT.

Thus a process, which can be observed in different periods and different languages, weakens and eventually destroys that interesting relationship between the modal pairs which this study has explored, seen at its fullest in the literary prose of eModE, although even there the forces of disruption are already at work.

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