

THE PLACE OF THE ADJECTIVE ATTRIBUTE IN ENGLISH PROSE

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FROM THE OLDEST TIMES UP TO OUR DAYS

A SYNTACTIC-HISTORICAL STUDY

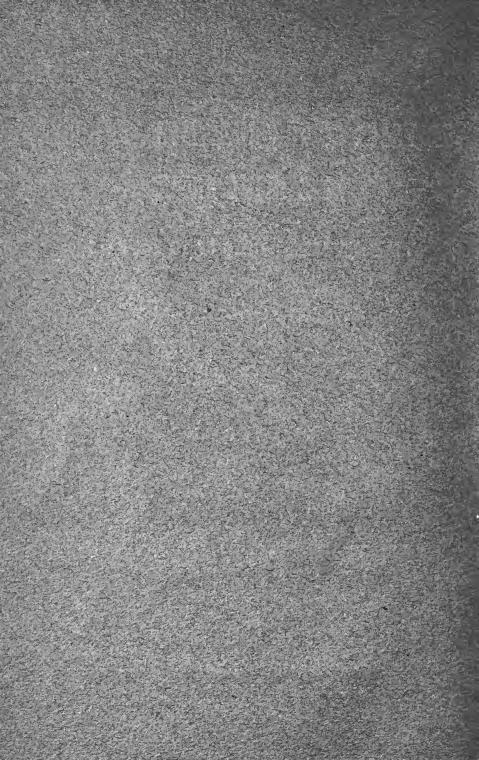
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BIRGER PALM



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A SYNTACTIC-HISTORICAL STUDY

ΒY

BIRGER PALM LIC. PHIL.

BY DUE PERMISSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF LUND TO BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED IN ENGLISH IN LECTURE HALL VI MARCH 22, 1911, AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M. FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY



LUND 1911 PRINTED BY BERLINGSKA BOKTRYCKERIET

PREFACE.

short time after this little treatise appeared in its first rather incomplete form, my attention was called to a work entitled «Die Stellung des Attributiven Adjektivs im Englischen von den ersten Anfängen der englischen Sprache bis zur Früh-Neuenglischen Sprach-Periode», by A. Müllner, and published in 1906¹. I began to fear that much of my labour might have been in vain, but soon found that Müllner was not a very formidable rival. This may sound arrogant, but the fact is that Müllner's work contains hardly anything beyond a very limited collection of quotations in the shortest form possible, one half of them being taken from poetry. – The prose texts examined by my esteemed colleague are: Alfred, Othere and Wulfstan (Kluge, Angels. Leseb.); Alfred, Vorrede zur Cura Pastoralis (Kluge, Leseb.); Alfred, Cura Pastoralis (E. E. T. S. Bd. 45); Ælfric, Homilien (Kluge, Leseb.); Saxon Chronicle (Kluge, Leseb.); Morris, Specimens of Early English, Part I; Dan Michel, Ayenb. of Inw. (pp. 70-76); R. R. de Hampole (Mätzner, Altengl. Sprachproben); Trevisa, Polychronicon (Vol. I, Ch. XXIII-XXV); Maundeville, Voiage and Travaile (Mätzner; pp. 155-182); Chaucer, Tale of Melibeus; Malory, King Arthur (pp. 1-50). Voilà tout!

It is true that Müllner gives a brief résumé after each period, but he restricts himself to stating that the word-

¹ The copy I possess was printed in New York, 1909.

order is such and such in such and such authors. Besides, his book presents not a few peculiarities among which may be mentioned: postposition of a word governing the genitive case (e. g. 'fela' and numerals) is looked upon as an instance of inversion of the adjective attribute (cf. pp. 18, 24); 'foresæd' is counted a participle (cf. p. 27); 'self' and 'ana' are said to be quantitative adjectives (p. 23); such words as 'ælmihtig' and 'hunigswettre' are classed among attributes with an adverbial modifier (p. 27).

It will not be difficult to see that Müllner's dissertation cannot have been of much use either to me or to anybody else wanting to know anything about the rules for English word-order.

Be it far from me to have pronounced this severe sentence in order to exalt my own little book! I know there are many weak points in it and many assertions open to discussion. But at least I have, to the best of my power, tried not only to point out the actual state of things, but also to account for the reason why things are so, and not so.

Many will perhaps blame me for not having sufficiently heeded the fact that English is not a pure Germanic language. Maybe they are right. But I cannot help looking upon the assuming of French influence here and there and everywhere as often a convenient means of escaping difficulties. Where such an assumption can be avoided it should be, it seems to me.

My examples I have arranged chronologically, so far as that has been possible. As to the spelling of M. E. words it ought to be noted that in several texts *th* and poccur alternately. I have thought best in such texts always to write *th* where this is most frequent, and p where this type is the usual one.

Before finishing this Preface, I will not omit to express my sincere thanks to my teacher, Professor E. Ekwall, who

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has always shown the greatest indulgence and has much encouraged me during the preparation of the present syntactical study, besides giving me many valuable pieces of advice. — Mr. Bert Hood of this town has kindly gone through my manuscript and has also helped me with the reading of the proof-sheets.

Malmö, Febr. 1911.

Birger Palm.

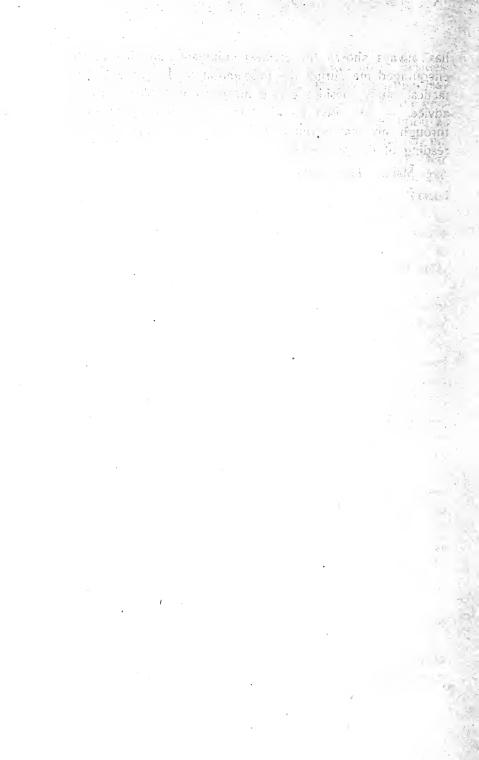


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INTRODUCTION.

(i) What was the Original Word-Order?

ccording to the accepted grammatical definition the ad- 1. A jective attribute is that property of a noun which is added to it without any intermedium, whereas the predicative complement is a property added to it by means of a verb. Looking at the matter from an historical point of view it is certainly true that the predicative complement in its present form is a younger phenomenon than the adjective attribute, as it must of course be taken for granted that the need of such neutral verbs as 'to be', 'to become' was not felt until a great deal later than the necessity of having words denoting things and qualities. But if we leave out of consideration the restriction that the predicative complement requires an auxiliary for its realisation, matters assume another aspect. The little child that has but just learnt to speak gives utterance to its opinions in such a garb as «cake good», «doll nice», long before it is able to form the phrases «a good cake», «the nice doll»¹. And those who lived in the childhood of mankind, when the art of speaking first arose, must have shaped their

¹ Cf. PAUL, Principien der Sprachgeschichte, § 87: «Bei den ersten Sätzen, welche Kinder bilden, dient die blosse Aneinanderreihung von Wörtern zum Ausdruck aller möglichen Beziehungen». (Still in: *Ehestand Wehestand* etc.) — Cf. Lat. *Terra rotunda* = «the earth is round».

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speech in a similar manner. What then does »cake good» mean? No doubt what people of later periods when arrived at a certain stage of development, express thus: »The cake is good». Here we have the modern predicative complement fully developed. But we might in the same case also say: «Here is a cake, it is good», or, if we have reached a still higher degree of linguistic accomplishment: «Here is a cake which is good». The last two sentences may, however, be replaced by «[Here is] a good cake». The «cake good» of the child and of primitive man is, accordingly, exactly the same as the «[a] good cake» of the more advanced human being; and «a good cake» is, in its turn, a contraction of «a cake which is good». Hence it will be clear that the attributive use of the adjective is a later stage of development out of its predicative use; the attributive clause has served as an intermediate link.

But the adjective attribute must also be supposed to 2. have arisen in another way. While we, in ordinary language, speak of «the fretting sorrow», the poet is still allowed to say «sorrow the fretting». 'The fretting' is not necessary for the comprehension of the matter in question, it is simply an embellishing addition. Hellwig (Stellung des attributiven Adjectivs im Deutschen, p. 44) makes mention of such expressions as «Esel, dummer», «Tropf, elender» as still occurring in the living popular language, and he declares the adjective to be only «ein erklärender Zusatz». I should rather consider the attributes here as embellishing additions in a less good sense. On the other hand, in, say, «give me the book, the green [one]» the adjective is certainly meant as an explanation afterwards thought necessary.

3. In none of these cases is the adjective organically and inseparably connected with the noun, and so the phras-

es come nearer to the mode of expression of the child and of primitive man. It is then out of the apposition that the restrictive and the merely supplementary attribute has, to a certain extent at least, developed itself.

From what has here been said it follows that the 4. adjective attribute, whether it originates from the predicative complement or from the apposition, had for these very reasons its place after the noun when it first came to be used. That this is also the word-order most in accordance with primitive thinking is shown by the following quotations from Idelberger, Die Entwicklung der kindlichen Sprache, and HERRLIN, Minnet: «Damit sind auch die Anfänge einer Syntax gegeben, die wir auch in der Verbindung 'mea waia-waiar', «dunkler Pelz» (mea = Katze, Pelz) finden, wobei das Adjektiv dem Substantiv folgt» (Idelberger, p. 59. He is speaking of a girl four and a half years old.), «... sein Zahlwort beifügt und zwar gewöhnlich nachfolgen lässt; z. B. eine. Kuh heisst kurzweg 'muh', zwei oder mehrere Kühe bezeichnet er als 'muh wei'» (ib., p. 79), « lag har ett helt liv i huvudet mitt, lag har hela den Th:ska musiken i huvudet mitt, ... lag är trygg och lugn för talförmågan min» (Herrlin, p. 176. Quoted by H. from A. PETRÉN, En analys av cirka 800 fall av kronisk sinnessjukdom. It is a patient who has written down the above sentences.). The following quotation is also interesting: Den minsta lilla tvååringen upplät sin näbb: «Vatten ... mycke ... tättvatten ... mycke» (much [washing-]water) (S. Siwertz, Sv. Dagbl. 24 Dec. 1910)¹.

Postposition is, as is well known, in most cases the 5. rule in Latin and the modern Romance languages. Postposition is frequent in Slavonic, old and modern, in Greek,

¹ The points are the author's, not mine!

and in Sanscrit¹. As for the Teutonic dialects, inverted word-order is often met with in Gothic even where the original text has the normal arrangement². Postposition is not unknown to Old High German³, Old Norse, and Old Swedish, remnants of which are Germ. *mein Vater selig, Vater unser,* Swed. *bror min*, and the like. In Anglo-Saxon, indefinite quantitative adjectives particularly and also ordinary adjectives, especially in the vocative case, are not seldom placed after the substantive. This is also the case in the poetry of most nations, and does not poetry in every respect exhibit many more archaisms than prose?

6. Lastly, it is not always easy to know what is an attribute and what is a predicative complement in modern advertising or telegraphic style, or curtailed language in general. Where the Englishman says «Terms moderate», we in Sweden say «Moderata priser». The English phrase is undoubtedly short for «Our terms are moderate», but the adjective will surely be taken by many for an attribute, as is proved by the fact that the whole phrase can be inserted in a real sentence (cf. Swed. *Valuta bekommen försäkrades*, Svenska Dagbl. 27 July 1910). — What is 'critical' in «Position critical, come home at once»? In all probability it is meant as a predicative complement, but I do not see any real obstacle to its being looked upon as an attribute.

7. Such foot-notes as *Words deleted*, *Words uncertain* (Coventry Leet Book, Editor) may signify either «These words are deleted, uncertain» (pred.) or «Words that are deleted, uncertain» (attrib.). Of course it comes to the same thing whether we take it to mean the one or the

² HELLWIG.

³ HELLWIG.

¹ HELLWIG, Stellung des attrib. Adj. im Deutschen; DELBRÜCK, Vergl. Syntax; Brugmanns Grundriss.

other, but the example shows the near relation between the attribute and the predicative complement. - Cf. also: Kept in - heat intense - natives all fainted (Pickwick Club).

Now this question arises: Why has the original word- 8. order, i. e. postposition, been given up in our Teutonic languages? Sweet says, New Engl. Gram. I, p. 194, where he is treating of the general arrangement of the different parts of speech: «The natural logical word-order is to put the subject first and the adjunct-word after it. - - - -But there are other principles of word-order, which sometimes contradict this purely logical order. Emphatic wordorder consists in putting first that word which is most prominent in the speaker's mind. Thus in such a sentence as that man is a good man, it is evident that good is a more important word than the accompanying man ... Hence many languages which generally put an assumptive adjective after its noun often put the adjective first when it is emphatic». - Such emphasizing of an adjective we may easily imagine to have taken place long before any adjective attribute - in its present form - was in hand. Also the predicative complement is apt to be put before the noun. Instead of saying «cake good» the speaker may, if the idea 'a cake' plays an inferior rôle, say: «good cake», meaning «it is good, this cake». In far-away times certainly only such qualities as were essential and of importance used to be predicated of a thing. Primitive man was surely anything but a verbose creature. It may then have happened frequently enough that the word denoting the quality was a more important part of the sentence than the noun itself; it may have gone so far that the emphatic order became the more usual one in this case, and there we have our modern arrangement complete and ready.

But when the order of adj. + noun had come to 9.

be the most frequent one, or perhaps the one nearly always employed, it could no more produce the impression of emphasis. To make the word-order emphatic one had to transgress the rule; it proved necessary to return to the original arrangement of the words, and thus noun + adj. became the emphatic order. This shifting must have been an accomplished fact already in the parent language from which the several Indo-European dialects have branched out.

10. The further development in this respect shows a different character according to the natural disposition of the respective tribes. People of a lively temperament use emphasis oftener than the more phlegmatic. This may be the reason why the Greeks and Romans and their descendants are more fond of inverted word-order than Teutons and Sclavonians. — Emphasis has determined the wordorder in many English phrases consisting of a substantive and an adjective when the adjective is modified by an adverb (§§ 124-130).

(ii) Contamination.

11. I have noted down some interesting instances from Modern Swedish in which an attributive adjective has come to be placed after its noun, through **contamination**: Det finns saker hårdare (There are harder things), Det finns fjorton kort mindre [i värde] (There are fourteen smaller cards), Det finns inte två människor lika (There are no two persons alike ¹). – The sentences quoted are evidently the result of the mixing up of two separate constructions: Det finns hårdare saker (There are harder things) and [Somliga] saker äro hårdare (Some things are harder), Det finns fjorton mindre kort (There are fourteen smaller cards) and Fjorton kort äro mindre (Fourteen cards are lower in value), Det finns inte två lika[-dana] män-

¹ Swed. «lika» is an adjective; Engl. »alike» is an adverb!

niskor (There are no two congruent persons) and *Inte två människor äro lika* (No two persons are alike). The confusion of construction has been made the easier by the fact that « det finns» is used as an alternative for « där är».

There are quite şimilar phenomena in English, where an adjective may sometimes be both an attribute and a predicate, although in many cases it must certainly be the former.

Examples: *fer is an ypocrisye voul* an anofre fole (foolish) and be bridde sotil (Ayenbit, 1340). *If there be any man faultless,* bring him forth into public view (The Idler). Connected with this *there is a hypothesis now current* (Carlyle, Essay on Scott). *There is no act more binding* than that which makes the child the property of the father (Fl. Marryat, Her World). – I have no man likeminded, who will naturally care for your state (Auth. Vers., Phil. II: 20). It was difficult to conceive a scene more silent and more desolate (Venetia). He could conceive no sympathy *deeper or more delightful* (ibid.). Sometimes in the same couplet we find one line iambic and the other trochaic (Abbott, A Shakespearian Grammar).

The participle especially is often found in such an 12. ambiguous position. Instances of this kind may have contributed to smoothing the way to the possibility of putting the adjective after its head-word in other cases as well.

Also the following quotations from living Swedish are of great interest: *Medlidande renodladt*, det vill säga i och för sig, är blott ett och någonting ytterst fatalt (Strix, 24 Aug. 1910). Redan i 1:sta tablån märktes ett nytt arrangement, *körens placering synlig*, varigenom effekten väsentligt förhöjdes (Sv. Dagbl. 19 Sept. 1910). They show how easily such transpositions are able to take place when special qualifications are present.

(iii) The Adverb in an Attributive Function.

13. Before I pass to the real subject of this treatise I should like to say a few words on the adverb in an attributive function. Any fundamental difference between an adjective attribute and an adverbial attribute does not exist, so far as I can see. «The present pronunciation» and «The pronunciation nowadays» both confer the same ideas; «no other man» and «no man else» both mean the same thing. And cannot the adverbs almost be said to be adjectives in instances like the following:

Set your affection on *things above*, not on things on the earth (Auth. Vers., Coloss. 3: 2). *My heart alive* (Oliver Twist). *A man apart* (Two Cities). *A boon apart* (Pudd'nhead). *A back street near* (Paul Kelver). *My day out* (Punch).

And what prevents us from regarding 'here' and 'there' in *the man here, the house there* as adjectival pronouns just as well as 'this' and 'that'?

The only real difference lies in the word-order. If the attributive word stands *before* the noun we speak of it as an adjective, if it stands *after* the noun we say that it is an adverb. Now there is a marked tendency, however, towards putting also an attributive adverb before the substantive. In his *Historical Outlines of English Syntax* (pp. 30, 31) KELLNER says on this matter: «The use of an adverb instead of an adjective ¹ may be traced back to Middle English, but then the adverb always follows the noun. — But the adverb preceding the noun is of recent date and probably due to the influence of Greek». It seems to me unnecessary to resort to Greek influence to account for this phenomenon. In English as well as in several other modern languages it is by no means unusual to find the adverb performing the function of a predicate. What won-

¹ Of course he means «as an adjective».

der then if it encroaches on the other territory of the adjective as well, and places itself before the noun by way of an adjective attribute? The less wonder as the difference in meaning between an adjective and an adverb could often be reduced to a minimum. Adverbs that admit of being put before the substantive are for instance: 'then', 'hither', 'above', 'whilom', 'far-away' (*That far-away time;* Lady Audley), 'far-off' (*The far-off snow peaks;* Merriman, The Mule. A far-off time; Mill on the Floss). 'Yonder' is used as an adjectival pronoun in «yonder man» and the like.

That an adjective attribute is apt to be transformed into an adverbial one is exemplified by the expression «all day long», «all his life long», as compared with *They faughte alle the longe day*, in Malory's Morte Darthur (1470).

In at least one instance the position of the adverbial attribute has certainly influenced that of the adjective attribute (see § 137); in other cases such influence is not impossible.

(iiii) Phrases used as Attributes.

It is a well-known fact that in English even whole 14. phrases and sentences are sometimes suffered to stand before a noun by way of an adjective attribute, e. g. A little man with a puffy Say-nothing-to-me-or-I'll-contradict-you sort of countenance (Dickens¹). But this is nothing but an extremely complicated instance of the English freedom in word-coining. The whole phrase is treated as one word, a rather curious sort of an adjective. Matters of this kind do not, therefore, belong to the subject I have to examine.

¹ JESPERSEN, Growth and Structure, p. 15.

Chapter I.

The Past Participle.

15. In dealing with the past participle here, careful distinction must be made between three alternatives: 1) The participle may have turned into a real conventional adjective, 2) It may be used as a[quasi-]adjective for the occasion only, 3) It may, although used attributively, retain the whole of its verbal force.

16. A. If the participle is a real adjective it is more convenient for our purpose to postpone its treatment until later (see Ch. III). But it might not be out of place here to give some instances of this alternative. A real adjective, no longer a verb, is Swed. «given» in *i ett givet ögonblick*, in contradistinction to «den givna tillåtelsen» where 'givna' implies an acting person. Real adjectives in the form of participles are also found in the following English instances:

The secretaries and *employed men* (= servants) of ambassadors (Bacon). *The received* (= traditionary) *revelation* of the divine will (Venetia). The plural inverts, in most cases, *the accepted* (= usual) *signification* of the singular (F. Hall, Modern English). A word which does not resemble the name of *any known drug* (Verity, Macbeth; Notes).

All these «participles» denote some quality of the noun and on that score differ from the verbal participle.

B. Qualities are also expressed by the participles in 17. the following examples, but here their signification is only an occasional one:

A hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remover, but the exercised (in opposition to 'hasty'!) fortune maketh the able man (Bacon, Of Fortune). I undertook to compose his epitaph, which, however, for an alleged (in opposition to 'real'!) defect of Latinity ... still remains unengraven (Sartor Resartus). My supposed voluptiousness in the use of opium (Opium-eater). When a preposition is used in this way we call it a detached preposition. Detached prepositions are liable to be disassociated from their nounwords ; . . . as in «he was thought of», where the detached (no verb!) preposition is no longer able to govern the pronoun in the objective case (Sweet, New Engl: Gram.). Derivation, being a process of forming new words, necessarily alters the meaning of the derived word (ibid.). If the whole group shows a marked falling tendency the inserted words follow it (ibid.).

C. The participle is a real verb.

1. In such a sentence as: Though there be no blow 18. given, or: If there be no fuel prepared (both from Bacon), the participles have, of course, no attributive function. Nor is this the case in: I have a father killed, a mother stained, nor in: He found no thing written, nor, probably, in this quotation either: fu nevre sculdest finden man in tune sittende ne land tiled (Saxon Chronicle). — Ic hæbbe pone fisc gefangenne only shows the origin of the tense called perf. indicative.

2. In the following instances the participles are to 19. be regarded as posterior explanatory additions of rather an adverbial character:

Monsieur de Gabelle was the Postmaster, and some other taxing functionary united (= in one¹; Two Cities). All these impressions united (= together) overcame him (Venetia). Some men kneeled down, made scoops of their two hands joined, and sipped (Two Cities). A tone of humour and pathos mixed (The Christian). The proscenium was surmounted by the German and English flags intertwined (ibid.). Virtue personified. She summed him up as a buccaneer modernized (God in the Car). When two or three ragged peasants emerged from the crowd to take a hurried peep at Monsieur the Marquis petrified, a skinny finger would not have pointed to it for a minute, before they all started away (Two Cities).

20. 3. Although we say in Swedish «efter gjorda undersökningar», «efter skedd omändring», the participles can in no way be said to be attributes in such English expressions as the following:

Incontynent after grace saide (Early Engl. Meals and Manners). After the second course served (ib.). After salutation made, they sat down (Pilgr. Progr.). After consultation had, they resolved to give an answer (Bunyan, Holy War). Upon invasion offered (Bacon).

These phrases are simply contractions of «after grace having been said» etc., «upon invasion having been offered», respectively. — Similarly: *Be-cause of divers condiciones broken* (Coventry Leet Book; 1426). Dick began to whimper feebly, *for childish vanity hurt* (Light that failed).

21. 4. Sometimes a past participle stands in the place of a verbal noun: Already he had been suffering from the vexation of a letter delayed (= the delaying of a letter; Opium-eater). - This is accounted for in this way: «a letter

¹ But: *The combined* (= collective; adj.) *ingenuity* of Messrs. Blathers and Duff (Oliver Twist).

delayed» is an abbreviation of «a letter having been delayed», and this is the same as «[the fact] that a letter had been delayed», which again might be replaced by «the delaying of a letter».

Further instances: They looked as they had heard of a world ransomed or one destroyed (Winter's Tale, V: 2). Integrity used doth the one; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other (Bacon, Of Boldness). Cruel massacres followed by cruel , retribution, provinces wasted, convents plundered, and cities rased to the ground, make up the greater part of the history of those evil days (Macaulay, History). The past has been a dreary waste with you, of youthful energies misspent, and such priceless treasures lavished as the Creator bestows but once (Twist). With the sense of a danger escaped (Mill on the Floss). Such a feeling was a falseness to our true selves, born of some convention, or of a scruple overstrained, or of a fear not warranted (King's Mirror). Plaudits renewed proved that their fame had not slumbered (Evan Harrington). His shrugs at the aspirates transposed and the pronunciation prevalent (ib.). «You shall turn into a cross-road» rather suggests the idea of a case put, an hypothesis made (Molloy, Shall and Will).

5. In the following examples the participles represent 22. conditional clauses:

What is more heavy than evil fame deserved (Bacon, Of Death). Penal laws pressed are a shower of snares upon the people (Bacon, Of Judicature). Good counsel rejected returns to enrich the giver's bosom (Wakefield). An affront handsomely acknowledged becomes an obligation (Sheridan, Rivals). Of all things in the Jungle the wild elephant enraged is the most wantonly destructive (Second Jungle Book). Trouble postponed has to be met with accrued interest (Lorimer, Gorgon Graham).

6. All the above quotations tend to evince that the 23. natural position of the verbal participle is that after the noun. Therefore, when the Englishman says, «This reflects an intimacy with the material handled which is unmistakable»¹, the word-order ought not to make such a strange impression on Swedish or German ears as it really does. That fact alone that 'handled' is a contraction for «which is handled» is no sufficient reason for the inverted word-order, for any adjective attribute may be resolved into an attributive clause, either an indispensable relative clause, as is the case when the attribute implies a restriction, or a parenthetical clause, as is the case when the attribute is only a characteristic addition or an apposition. 'Handled' as in the above sentence is certainly used attributively, but it is not strictly speaking an adjective attribute, because 'handled' is not an adjective, as it does not denote any quality in the noun. A more suitable term would be participle attribute. It is then rather a verbal part of the sentence, and so it seems natural that its given place should be after the word to which it belongs.

24. But how is it then to be explained that this kind of attribute occupies the same position in Swedish and German as the ordinary adjective attribute, whereas the noun comes first in English? Let us look into the matter. – The grammatical construction in question evidently derives its origin from Latin, and has been further developed in French. Now it is well known with what ease English swallows foreign elements raw – as JESPERSEN has it – without any transforming preparation. A mediæval English translator of a French phrase containing a noun followed by a past participle had no need then, in many cases,

¹ G. FUHRKEN, Moderna Språk, VI, 1909.

to change the original expression otherwise than by replacing the French participle ending by that of his own language. The words themselves were transported without further alteration, and any re-arrangement of them was not thought necessary. — If, however, the Romance participle must needs be exchanged for an Anglo-Saxon one, the French word-order was nevertheless kept, as one was in no wise unfamiliar with such inversions in other cases as well (cf. below).

It stands to reason that it was especially in legal 25. style, where one was as anxious as possible to imitate the Gallic spirit, that the construction noun + past part. instead of the old manner of writing a full clause came into favour. And it is still in such language, as well as in official serious style in general, that this mode of expression most occurs. In free-and-easy language, above all in spoken English, it would be quite out of place. On this account, partly by reason of the well-known conservatism of the British people, the English language up to the present day has the same order between noun and participle in this case as it had when the construction in question was first introduced ¹. This statement does not, however, hold good without some restrictions, as will appear later on. If the participle allows of being interpreted as in some measure adjectival it is usually placed before the substantive in Present English. Neither would it perhaps be impossible to point out a slight tendency towards using the same word-order as in other Teutonic languages, even where the import of the participle is decidedly verbal.

POUTSMA says in his Grammar of Late Modern Eng- 26. lish (p. 341): «Participles are placed before the noun they

¹ In Swedish and German, on the other hand, where one was not used to any kind of postpositive attribute, the participle was early placed before the noun.

modify, when the actions or states they express are not associated with any limitation of time. This is their regular place also, when their meaning is that of ordinary adjectives, i. e. when they have stripped off their verbal character and have come to denote permanent attributes. But when the actions or states they express are as distinctly connected in our thoughts with the limitation of time as in the case of finite verbs, they are placed after the nouns they modify, and felt as undeveloped clauses». - The being felt as undeveloped clauses is, however, no characteristic applicable to verbal participles only; as such the Englishman seems to apprehend also ordinary postpositive attributes, as is shown by the following excerpt: »I made a couple of discoveries quite interesting 1 (with an unfortunate suppression of the relative and verb)» (C. S. Fearenside, Moderna Språk, April 1910, p. 43).

- 27. Let us more closely examine POUTSMA's rule. What he means to say is evidently this, that inverted word-order can only be thought of with regard to that which is represented as something done or taking place on a given occasion. What shall we then say to the following example cited by POUTSMA in this same connection: It is a truth universally acknowledged? That a truth is universally acknowledged cannot well be a fact limited to a certain moment! — And how does the word-order in the following quotation tally with POUTSMA's rule: Pecock defends images on the score of the ease with which they recall the stories of the saints represented (Skeat, Specimens of Engl. Lit.)? To be sure the verbal act here predicated implies nothing momentary.
- 28.

We cannot then feel satisfied with the rule that the esteemed grammarian gives us, but must try to find some

¹ A Swedish schoolboy's rendering of »jag ... hade lyckan att göra ett par rätt intressanta fynd».

more reliable criterion of what we are to regard as a real verbal participle, and what as a more or less adjectival participle. — But first, let us hasten to dismiss for the moment those cases where the participle is decidedly adjectival, as it obviously is in the following passages:

It seemeth that death hath no whit discharged the former of his word given, and that the second, without dying, was quit of it (Florio). A goodly leads upon the top railed with statues interposed (Bacon, Of Building. Cf. the independent «with statues interposed»!). His stock consisted of a wooden stool, made out of a broken-backed chair cut down (Two Cities; cf. § 120). A conversation in which I was indirectly a party concerned (Opium-eater. «A party concerned» has passed into a standing expression, where «concerned» is put after the noun although it has now lost its verbal character. Cf. It might be thrown out as a pertinent question for parties concerned; Sartor Res.).

On the other hand, in many cases no such transition 29. from one class to another can be traced, yet the participle may stand before the noun, as in: The young man seated himself in *the indicated seat* at the bottom of the bed (Lady Audley).

What, then, is the difference between this and the aforementioned «This ... reflects an intimacy with *the material handled* which is unmistakable»? The great difference is this: in the latter case one has a definite **acting person** (*operative force*) in view, whereas in the former case one does not think of any such. The presence in one's thoughts of *a certain agent* is then the criterion to be kept in mind. This means in other words that the past participle can be replaced by an **active** attributive clause (thus, in the above instance: *the material which the author handles*). Only in that case is the past participle regularly placed after the noun in Recent English.

2

30. In Anglo-Saxon we find: Se gecyrreda sceaða, þas ongunnenan ðing (Aelfric's Homilies ¹), Fela þara gecorenra engla (Sept. ²). But in these passages the participles are undoubtedly to be looked upon as adjectives, just as 'acenned' is in: Comon to Herode, and hine axodon be pam acennedan cilde (Aelfric's Hom., Nativity of the Innocents; Anglo-Sax. Reader. Cf. «new-born», adj.!).

31. The present construction did not arise, as has been mentioned already, until the French tongue began to gain influence on British soil, and probably has its root in the legal style.

Examples: Be accion atte (at the) suyt of the partie greved (Coventry Leet Book, 1480). To se the partie greved have ryght (ib.). Som of the personez endited remaygnen in prison (Cov. L. B., 1481). Be confession of the partie endited (Cov. L. B., 1493).

32. From here it soon spread wider and wider; yet in every one af the following quotations from older and more recent periods a distinct agent looms behind:

Aftirwarde whan bou removes be emplastre and hap mundified *pe filpe y-fonden* (= which thou hast found), If pou fynde be bone of it blak it behoveb ... be drawen out (Fistula in Ano, ab. 1400). *De oile inzetted* went out by al be holes (ib.). For to garse *pe place y-smyten* and for to draw out blode ber-of (ib.). bus men gobe surely in *pe way begonnen* (De Imit. Christi, 1440). He bat desirib to kepe be grace of god, lete him be kinder for *pe grace zoven*, and pacient whan it is taken awey (ib.). To thentente tencourage them by the redyng of *the holy myracles shewyd* that every man in his partye endevoyre theym (Godfrey of Bologne, 1481; Prologue).

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¹ Cited by MÜLLNER, Stellung des attributiven Adjektivs im Englischen, pp. 26, 27.

² Koch, Hist. Gram., pp. 65, 66.

The goode swerde entred in to the brayne porfended (cleave), and clove his hed (Blanchardyn and Eglantine, 1489). The thing described cannot be evill (Sidney, Apologie; 1593). The one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light (Bacon, Unity in Religion). Durward took the road indicated (Quentin, Durward). Lockit's, the «Greyhound», ... was the house selected (Thackaray, Esmond). To ensure accuracy in the printing of the forms cited (Skeat, Introd. to A Concise Etym. Dict.). The extracts given are too short to represent adequately the style of the author (Skeat, Introd. to Specimens of Engl. Lit.). A heavy blow that tends to smash or beat in the surface struck (New Engl. Dict.). The present will of the person addressed (Molloy, Shall and Will). When the question put is about a simple matter of fact (ib.). The «broad Romic» notation employed would be more acceptable if it were more exact (G. Fuhrken, Mod. Språk, IV, 1908). A tendency to put the governing word after the word governed (Mc Knight, Primitive Teut. Order; cf., however, § 81). The brush used is a broad flat brush (Studio, Nov. 1910).

Especially when the noun is at the same time quali-33. fied by a superlative or an equivalent word ('only', 'all', 'any', and such like) the verbal character of the participle is prominent. Here postposition is all the more indispensable as the meaning often becomes another if the participle is put before the noun. Compare on the one hand:

The first health proposed is that of the newly-married couple (Morén-Harvey, England och Engelsmännen). The chief difficulty experienced is that when . . . (D. Jones, Pronunciation of English). The most notable paintings shown were those belonging to the Sung dynasty (Studio, Nov. 1910). The earliest electric phenomenon observed (Annandale, Concise Engl. Dict.). Yet there are sentences whose only subject expressed is in the singular (Hodgson, Errors in the Use

12.000

of English). She knew that any poison dropped would find good holding-ground in the heart of the Colonel's wife (Plain Tales). The best smoking-mixture ever made;

and on the other hand:

The earliest known edition (Verity, Hamlet; Introd.); The best made smoking-mixture; The only expressed subject, where the superlative qualifies the attribute, not the substantive. — Oscar Wilde even has: The only person unmoved was the girl herself (Dorian Gray); 'unmoved' is of course an adjective, but its form is that of a past participle (compare also below, § 102).

34. Also when the word 'one' (or 'that', pl. 'those') stands for a substantive the same word-order is kept up under the circumstances mentioned. KRUGER says in his Syntax (§ 2283) on 'one' + adj.: «Adjektiv + one klingt nach Umgangssprache. In der höheren Sprache umgeht man es durch Wiederholung des Hauptworts oder durch one + Adj. – Vor P. P. P. ¹, das nicht adjektivisch gemeint ist, ist letzteres durchaus nötig». (Ex. The husband had been evidently *the one first attacked*). – As far as the latter statement is concerned, it is of course correct. 'As for the former, however, it is indeed doubtful whether in ordinary Late Modern English, phrases are coined on the model of such as the following:

Like one distracted (real adj. = 'mad'!), He stood *like* one thunderstruck; Leicester remained *like one stupified* (Kenilworth) (cf. He lay as one dead ²); Certainly they are a proof of the converse of spirits and a secret communica-

¹ Passive past participle.

² Such phrases might have arisen through confusion with a clause with «as if», and this seems all the more plausible as in older English both 'as' and 'like' were used in the sense of «as if». Like a man exhausted means the same as As if he were exhausted.

tion between *those embodied* (adj.!) and *those unembodied* (Crusoe).

Similar expressions with 'like', although containing a substantive instead of 'one', may really be met with in certain modern authors, but they can hardly be considered as anything other than mannerisms:

He sank upon his rustic bench, *like a man exhausted* (Cardinal's Snuff-box). He swayed in his seat *like a man bereft* (J. Haslette, Arundel's Aeroplane; London Magazine, April 1910). When that moment came she was *like a child lost and frightened* (Pemberton, Doctor Xavier). — Also: John Briggs looked *as one astonied* (Kingsley, Two Years Ago).

But with a verbal participle: *The one addressed, Those invited;* There was a similar custom with which *that mentioned* may be confounded (Krüger)¹.

Because the indefinite article mostly implies some-35. thing generalizing, so that an added attribute is in that case more universal, the past participle in an expression with 'a' or 'an' is oftener to be set down as an adjective than as a verb. This of course also applies to an indefinite form without any article and very often to nouns preceded by indefinite pronouns. Therefore normal wordorder is used in:

benne a man hab fully sorowe, whenne hym displesib fordon synne (Wycliff, Of Confession). The commaunder of a besieged place ought never to sallie forth (Florio). An added attribute. A given point. — Meditating on the uncertaintie of some conceived hope (Florio). From the strong principle of inheritance, any selected variety will tend to propagate its new form (Origin of Species, Introd.). Man selects only for his own good; Nature only for that

¹ POUTSMA wrongly classes the attributive words in *like one* fascinated, like a man distracted among the verbal participles (Poutsma, Gramm., Ch. VIII, § 104).

of the being which she tends. *Every selected character* is fully exercised by her (ib., p. 76). The baron got the worst of *some disputed question* (Nickleby). The compound rise expresses doubt of *some implied statement* (Sweet, Primer of Spoken English). *Other suggested interpretations* are ... (Verity, Coriolanus; Notes).

36.

But that such need not always be the case is shown by the following quotations:

And also other peynez forfeted be rered (Coventry Leet Book, 1425). As hit appearith by indentur made (Cov. L. B., 1430). Also y be-quethe ... for oblacions for-etyn (forgotten), XII d. (Early Engl. Wills, R. Yonge; 1413). I be-quebe ... for tipingys and offeringes forgete, XX d. (ib., H. van Sandwyk; 1430). Whether the captaine of a place besieged ought to sallie forth to parlie (Florio; heading). I doe not so much remember injuries received (ib.). Thinking it harder for our mistress to devise imposition enough than for us to undergo any difficulty imposed 1 (Troilus and Cressida, III: 2). No doubt it was for services rendered that Betty Martin was so bribed (Vanity Fair). This ... mark of ... repentance for wrong done (Esmond). 'Your' is used to appropriate an object to a person addressed (Abbott, Shakesp. Gram.). As payment for services performed (Chatto and Windus, Slang Dict.). 'Ladylove', a lady or woman loved (Chambers's Etym. Dict.). In each passage quoted (Molloy, Shall and Will).

37. If the substantive is qualified by a possessive or demonstrative pronoun an acting person is never thought of. The participle is then always adjectival and accordingly has its place before the noun:

The unfolding of *our felt wrongs* (Florio). Some fraction of *his allotted* natural *sleep* (Carlyle). To lose *their*

¹ 'Any' might, however, here have a superlative power; in that case compare § 33.

acquired characters (Darwin). – For want of these required conveniences (Othello, II: 1). This added name (Jespersen – Rhode, Läsebok). These here described phenomena.

How antiquated sounds therefore Milton's: *This whole Discourse propos'd* will be a certaine testimony (Areopagitica, 1644).

Normal word-order is then the rule so often as no 38. distinct agent is borne in mind. If the participle is only a more or less superfluous addition, inversion should in particular be interdicted. Compare the following quotations:

The rebuked Israelite took his bunch of keys (Kenilworth). The remodelled procession started (Two Cities). Amidst the cheers of the assembled throng (Pickwick). Which of the multitude of faces that showed themselves before him was the true face of the buried person, the shadows of the night did not indicate (Two Cities). The young man seated himself in the indicated seat (Lady Audley). A portion of the public ... hurried towards the acquitted man (Times; Poutsma, p. 141). Then they ... levered the released end of the track over so that it met the end of the newly constructed siding (G. Volk, The Train that was Lost; Royal Magazine, July 1910). As a matter of fact the drawn curtain disclosed nothing (Doyle, Adventure of Three Students). The few remaining auxiliary expressions all retain 'to' before the subjoined infinitive (Lloyd, Northern English). The subjoined examples (Hodgson).

It is a little doubtful whether there is any such reason in these two: Mr. Pole took *the extended volume* (Venetia). When treating form in black-and-white, with *the suggested interest of colour* (Studio, Oct. 1910). 39. Some verbs there are which by virtue of their meaning are nearly always put before the noun when used attributively. These are: 'desire', 'want', 'need', 'require', 'expect', 'lose', 'remember', and similar words. Such verbs do not denote an action in the same sense as most transitive verbs; they are more passsive, and no special agent is generally thought of, so that their past participles come very near ordinary adjectives: 'desired' means *desirable*, 'required' means *requisite*, and so on.

Examples: It schal bryng in pe desired effecte (Fistula, ab. 1400). It had not the desired effect (Nickleby). This would have had the desired effect (O. Twist). It produced the desired effect (ib.). Full £ 5 of the desired amount (ib.). A very fixed resolution that the desired result should ensue (Fullerton, Countess de Bonneval). The chief method for attaining the desired end (Bain, Rhetoric and Composition). To Steele belongs the credit of having forged the needed implement (Preface to Sir Roger de Coverly, edited by R. G. Watkin). Fagin beat down the amount of the required advance from \pounds 5 to \pounds 3:4:6 (Twist). In the meantime, his son ... kept the required watch (Two Cities). Pat's Irish eyes were watching Rose, as he lay with ... his fore-paws in the required attitude (Evan Harrington). These were evidently the expected visitors (Denis Duval). To break the pressure of the expected crowd (Twist). As a means of identifying the expected green chariot (Nickleby). When the expected swain arrived (ib.). The expected hour of the visitation (Verity, Hamlet; Notes; cited from Coleridge). Awakening thoughts of the lost girl (Opiumeater). Till they could catch up with the lost year (Second Jungle Book). The reward offered for the lost knife was humbug (Pudd'nhead Wilson). Poor Oliver should, for the contemplated expedition, be ... consigned to Mr. William Sikes (Twist). An alteration in the design of the

contemplated work (Verity, Paradise Lost; Intr.). We can no longer . . . weep over it, as we do over the remembered sufferings of five or ten years ago (Mill on the Floss). A renewal of the remembered joy (Lady Audley). Kingsland, the destined termination of his journey (Essays of Elia). He talked of projected alterations, as if he really had the power immediately to effect them (Venetia). The anticipated meeting excited in her mind rather curiosity the sentiment (ib.).

But it may nevertheless happen that the verbal char- 40. acter of even such participles becomes more prominent; sometimes the verb has then a somewhat different meaning from the usual one. So we do find instances of postposition here.

'Examples: Having a full supply of food for all the guests expected (Crusoe. = all the guests that I expected. «All the expected guests» might be mistaken for the opposite of «all the unexpected guests»; cf. also the only guest expected, the dearest guest expected, and § 33). The secrecy desired (= enjoined) was so far preserved (Kenilworth). Who ... inferred ... that I must be the person wanted (= ordered, sent for. Opium-eater). Where no suggestion is made as to the answer expected (Molloy, Shall and Will). What their joint feelings would be in the event contemplated (ib.). Jacob brought back the salt and other articles required (New Forest. «Other required articles» might stand in opposition to «unrequired articles»). Just sufficient colour to cover the space required (Studio, Nov. 1910). Upon the resistance . . . of an atmosphere, existing in the state of density imagined (namely: by myself), I had, of course, entirely depended (Poe, Hans Pfaal).

Especially the participle 'intended' is thus often found 41. postpositive: Isabell ... had utterly been cast away, had she come unto *the port intended*, being there expected by her enemies (Florio). Adapting the apparatus to *the object*

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intended, and confidently looked forward to its successful application (Poe, Hans Pfaal). 'That' instead of 'who' would clearly express *the meaning intended* (Onions, Syntax). He literally did, but hardly in *the sense intended* (Bartlett). — In the following quotation 'intend' has not the same meaning as in the others; it expresses a considerably higher degree of activity and could not stand before the noun: It is dangerous and misleading to specify the coins without specifying *the particular issues intended* (Swed. «åsyfta». C. S. Fearenside, M. S., VI, 1910).

42. Also when the participle is 'proposed', 'promised', 'offered', or, above all, 'appointed', the notion of an acting person is very often put in the background. Accordingly pre-position is frequent even in the definite form.

Examples: Artificial rules, which still are compassed within the circle of a question, according to *the proposed matter* (Sidney, Apologie; 1595). This done, the draft of *the proposed petition* was read at length (Nickleby). Newman . . . gave way to *the proposed arrangement* (ib.). The benefit derived by this class of students from *the proposed changes* (D. Jones, Maître Phon., Sept. – Oct., 1910) ¹. Where was the quiet, where *the promised rest* (Ess. of Elia). He then again pressed me to receive a letter of *offered protection* from Lady Betty (Clarissa). – Also: *The injured parties* should have a right to . . . (School for Scandals). –

43. The appointed houre (Florio). Bringing home the cravats to the appointed hour (Elia). To the appointed time (ib.). Not . . . until the appointed time (Pickwick). When the

¹ Poe, on the other hand, has: When they had gone, I spoke freely with M. Valdemar on the subject of ... the experiment proposed (Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar). — And, naturally: The first health proposed is that of the newly-married couple (Morén-Harvey, Engl. och Engelsm.; cf. above, § 33). clock struck *the appointed hour* (Fullerton, Bonneval). He persisted in travelling over *the appointed course* (Opium-eater).

But in bygone days 'appointed' was usually placed after the noun. It is only in the course of time that it has lost most of its verbal force.

Examples: And bis knyght mett bis abote at a place apoyntid, wib a grete menaye ... wib hym (Alph. of Tales, 15:th cent.). At the houre apointed they came. (Three Kings' Sons, 1500). [Even: Every man came to his place appointed, and did their devoir (ib.).] At the time appointed the king came to Coventrie (Holinshed, Chron.). At the day appointed, the duke ... (ib.). The better man should ever come first to the place appointed (Florio). At the houre appointed made the sign agreed upon (ib.). Keep times appointed (Bacon, Of Boldness). Look you, this is the place appointed (Merry Wives, III: 1).

The same word-order is only occasionally met with in Modern English:

At the day appointed he turns me at three-score years and ten adrift upon the earth (Ch. Reade, It is never too 44. late to mend. Poutsma, p. 188).

7. The succinct style in advertisements and headings has its own phrases. They need here only be mentioned cursorily, as they do not reflect the real living language, but one highly curtailed. The participle may be supposed to be an attribute or a complement of the predicate, it does not matter which.

Examples: Articles lost, found, stolen, or astrayed. Situations wanted. Reply paid. Woman murdered; Chauffeur sentenced (Daily Mail). Adjectives compounded; Comparative and superlative doubled (Abbott); The Critic, or A Tragedy Rehearsed (Sheridan).

Chapter II.

The Present Participle.

- 45. The present participle is like the past participle. We must distinguish between three special alternatives: 1) The participle has totally lost its original verbal character and has become an ordinary adjective; 2) It is used for the occasion only as a [quasi-]adjective; 3) It is an attribute, but retains the whole of its verbal force.
- 46. A. «In such combinations as *running water, a charm-ing view* the participles are **pure adjectives**», says Sweet, New Engl. Gram. § 335. I shall not deal with those cases here, but reserve them for a special chapter (Ch. IV).
- 47. B. **Quasi-adjectives,** and therefore placed before their nouns, are the participles in:

The greatest living historians (cf. «the greatest historians living», where 'living' is a verb, and: «a living creature», where 'living' is a pure adjective, the opposite of 'dead'). Yet he is *the levyng man* that I most love (Three Kings' Sons, 1500). He would yield to *no living creature*¹ (North, Plutarch). There is not *a burning hearth* or *a standing stone* in all Glen-houlakin (Durward. The participles do not predicate any qualities, only a kind of activity, as when I say: «There is not a hearth burning or a stone standing»).

48. But the participle is often placed after the noun in this position too, on the analogy of the many cases where it is a real verb.

¹ It is quite natural that 'living' here cannot stand in opposition to 'dead'! I also think that it is read with a more fleeting accent than the adj. 'living'. Cf. also *no (the best) creature living*, where it is a verb; \S 53.

Examples: Where is it expressid bi word or bi env persoonys ensaumpling in holi scripture that men schulden make ale or beer (Pecock, Repressor; 1449). Here they do the ceremonies belonging, and make the circle (II, Henry VI, I: 4). Under the dread of mischief impending, a man is not fit for a comforting performance of the duty of praying to God (Crusoe). The great darkling woods with a cloud of rooks returning, and the plain and river (H. Esmond). He would dine then with the Officer Commanding, and insult him (Plain Tales. The capitals indicate that the two words form a set phrase; so 'commanding' cannot here be felt as a verb, as it is when it denotes something more occasional). The Officer Commanding could not well refuse (ib.). His openness to ridicule was that of a man on his legs solus, amid a company sitting, and his sense of the same, acute (E. Harrington).

C. The participle is a real verb.

1. It is obvious that the participle is not an attribute 49. in the following instances:

Without any harm ensuing. He had a fire blazing. I beheld the people dancing. He that rides at high speed and kills a sparrow flying (I, Henry IV, II: 4).

It may be the one or the other in: Aelc beorn *hæfde* on heonde *ane pechene* (torch) *bærninde* (Fr. Koch, Hist. Gram.). There is *no man living*, whom it may lesse beseeme to speake of memorie, than myself (Florio). The remnants of a porch which *the stucco falling* has left exposed (Paul Kelver).

2. In the same manner as the past participle, the 50. present participle may be used in a substantival function, though it looks like an adjective attribute. The origin of this construction is perhaps to be found in cases like the following, where 'hills' can be both the accusative and the genitive case: What else is the awakening his

musical instruments, his telling of the Beastes joyfulness, and *hills leaping*, but a heavenly poesie (Sidney, Apologie; 1595).

Further instances: Groans and convulsions, and *friends* weeping (= the weeping of friends), and the like, show death terrible (Bacon, Of Death). Whence you hear the sound of jingling spinets and women singing (Vanity Fair). The wonderful corner for echoes resounded with the echoes of *footsteps coming and going*, yet not a footstep was there (Two Cities). What a laugh she had! – just like a thrush singing (Dorian Gray). It sounds like a heart beating (Light that failed). One that represents the sound of an animal snarling (Verity, Rich. II; Notes). The murmur of water falling was restful to the ear (Xavier). For a little while [she] heard nothing but the sound of her own heart beating (ib.).

51. 3. In all the above quotations the given place of the present participle is that after the noun. Such is also the case in the standing expression «For three (four etc.) days running», where 'running' is rather an adverb than any-thing else.

52. 4. The attributive present participle is a real verbal form only when it denotes an action distinctly fixed as to the time, not a property or an incidental circumstance. Only when matters stand thus is postposition of an attributive present participle the rule (participle attribute).

Here too¹ we have to deal with a mode of expressing oneself borrowed from a foreign language. It was undoubtedly first used in legal style, as in:

All the billes ... shul-be . .. red before the counsell, and ... declaryd unto *the partie sueyng* (Coventry Leet Book, 1424). And theire indenture to be sealed before

¹ As in the case of the past participle attribute.

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the Maire ... and that he bryng in at every indenture of *eny prentise sealyng* II s. XII d. to the Cite (Cov. Leet B., 1496).

Thence it has been transferred to other solemn style and has there held its ground up to the present time, although inversion does not seem to be quite as indispensable in the case of a present participle as in the case of a past participle, probably on account of the less frequent occurrence of the combination of a noun and a verbal present participle.

Examples: Whan oure inwarde affeccion is muche corrupte, it must nedes be bat *pe worching folowing* be corrupte (De Imit. Christi, 1440). Before the rayne, there came fleying ouer bothe batayls a great nombre of crowes, for feare of the tempest commynge (Lord Berners, Battle of Crecy; 1523). Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head (Auth. Vers., I Cor. XI: 4). In order to find out the persons inhabiting (Crusoe). The Priests and Priestesses attending chant a dirge over the bier (Sheridan, Pizarro; Stage direction). Taking the Parliamentary side in the troubles then commencing (Henry Esmond; cf. also § 96). The ladies listening could not gainsay this favourable claim of universal brotherhood (Evan Harrington). The goal of one proposition may form the initial notion of the proposition following, making a continuous thought-chain (Mc. Knight, Primitive Teutonic Order of Words). The solicitor prosecuting stated during the hearing of the case that there was more in the matter than appeared on the surface (Daily Mail, 2 July 1909). Secondly, we have its use as a formal subject in which «it» represents an infinitive or subordinate clause following . (Onions, Adv. Syntax). The alternative was that someone passing had observed the key in the door (Doyle, Adv. of

Three Students). Old woman knitting (Studio, Nov. 1910. Under a picture).

53.

The present participles of such verbs as do not, as a rule, indicate any action, but only a *state of things*, are not put after the noun unless the latter is qualified by a superlative or a similar word (e. g. 'all', 'only'). In that case alone do these present participles denote a verbal act.

Examples: Truste not ... in he wilyness of eny man livyng (De Im. Christi, 1441). No man living could tell what they said (Pilgr. Progr.) How much more unfortunate than all the women living (North, Plutarch). No man living is more bound to show himself thankful (ib.). Of the Gothic, the only monument remaining is a copy of the gospels (Johnson, Dict.). Kotzebue saw himself the greatest man going (Carlyle, Ess. on Scott). The best men living (Ruskin, Two Paths). The only person sleeping. The worst creature existing.

The following instance is therefore an exception: The poor daub that Evil has painted over it, hating *the sweet-ness underlying* (P. Kelver). — The same is, of course, the case with the following, although there does not exist any verb 'pend' in the living language: Miss Crawley being pleased at the notion of a gossip with her sister-in-law regarding the late Lady Crawley, *the funeral arrangements pending*, and Sir Pitt's abrupt proposal to Rebecca (Vanity Fair).

Otherwise: The sleeping girl was awakened. The living generation. The missing money was not found (Krüger). The few remaining auxiliary expressions all retain 'to' before the subjoined infinitive (Lloyd, Northern English).

54. Normal word-order is always employed when the participle is merely an extra addition of no great consequence, or in general weakly stressed.

Examples: At last one of the advancing bulls stood

still (New Forest). The resulting pe, pat, peo was at first used, as in O. E., both as a dem. and as a def. article (Sweet, New Engl. Gramm.). The resulting sound differs from the corresponding breathed plosive in being pronounced with less force (D. Jones, Pronunc. of Engl.). In such a sentence as «that man is a good man» it is evident that 'good' is a more important word than the accompanying 'man' (Sweet, N. E. Gram.). In some words the e is always written and in such it forms a diphthong with the following vowel (Sweet, Anglos. Reader). Then they tore down the obstructing wall (G. Volk, The Train that was Lost; Royal Mag., July 1910).

Chapter III.

The Past Participle as a pure adjective.

A. Aforesaid. Past. Born.

Among those past participles which have changed into pure adjectives special interest is attached to *aforesaid* (and its equivalents), *past*, and *born*.

1. Aforesaid etc. It is clear that 'afore-said' and 55. 'above-mentioned' as in «The cases above mentioned», «The premises afore said» were at the outset used verbally, just as the participle in «The instances [here] quoted» belongs to the verbal class. But they can hardly be said to be so now. On account of their frequency they have — exactly like our Swedish 'ovannämnd', 'sistnämnd' — lost their verbal meaning and have grown into pure adjectives, or perhaps rather adjectival pronouns. — Thus it has also fared with the simple 'said'; nobody thinks of an agent any more. Therefore: The muslin curtain of *the said door* would get out of order (Two Years Ago).

3

56. In Anglo-Saxon we find the adjectives 'foresprecen' and 'foresæd', and they are placed before the noun: Ond by ylcan gere worhte se foresprecena here geweorc be Lygan (Saxon Chronicle). Se foresprecena hungur (Fr. Koch, Hist. Gram.). Se foresæda halga (ib.). Seo foresæde boc (ib.).

They were pure adjectives coined after the pattern of Lat. «predictus»; for in Anglo-Saxon there was no verbal attribute. But in Middle English, when that novelty was brought in by the French, the new (or resuscitated) words ¹ 'before-said', 'afore-said', etc. were certainly first felt as equivalent to active attributive clauses, and so they were placed *after* the noun (cf. also § 94). Soon, however, they got weakened into adjectives and *could* stand *before* the substantive. Yet in the majority of cases they kept their old place, for they were mostly, or nearly exclusively, used in legal style², and this style was half French. And, as such language is always ultra-conservative, the same word-order is there still retained.

Examples: *pe landys beforenemnyt* («Schott. Schiedspruch», 1385; Kluge, Mittelengl. Leseb.). *pe cause beforesayde* (ib.). *Thise wronges biforesaide* («Lond. Urk.», 1386; Kluge). I Alice West, lady of *Hynton Marcel befornemed* (Early Engl. Wills, Alice West; 1395). Thomas *my sone forseyd* (ib.). With alle... tapites that longeth to *my chapell forsayd* (ib.). For to have the governance of *the II nyghtes beforseid* (Coventry Leet Book, 1421). John Wellford and *his felows above-namyd* (ib.). In *the mater aforenamed* (Cov. Leet B., 1446). *All thes peynyes abovesaid* be reryd to the use of the comyn profet (ib.). *pei schuld* have *pe governaunce of all pis puple forseyd* (Capgrave, St.

¹ The A.-S. words died away; in later A.-S. they were not used, since what was then written was almost exclusively poetry.

² I have there even found this curious passage: Forfatur of *the* said tymbur abovesaid (Coventry Leet Book, 1421).

Gilbert; 1451). The Alderman of the seid Gilde shalbe at *Seynt Katrynis Chapell aforesaid* (Ordinances of the Gild of St. Katherine, Stamford, 1494; E. Toulmin Smith, Engl. Gilds). And also it is ordeynede yat alle... shul comen... to *ye Chirche forsayde*... up *ye peyn forseyde* (Gild of St. Botulph., ib.). That they shal pay VI d. *in forme above-seid* (Ordin. of Worcester; ib.).

Thus also in similar learned style: Huervore *pise* 57. zeve pinges tovore yzed byeb ycleped blyssinges (Ayenb. of Inw., 1340). Wib *pe oyntment of dyvylyn aforeseid* and a clobe wette in water (Fistula in Ano, ab. 1400). In the seconde course for *the metes before sayd* ye shall take for your sauces: wyne, ale, vynegre and poudre. Araye him in *the maner aforesayd* (Boke of Kervynge, 1413; F. J. Furnivall, Early Engl. Meals and Manners). Our righte heritage beforeseyd (Maundeville; Kluge, Mittelengl. Leseb.).

In time, however, these words came to be used in 58. literary language as well, and mostly without any changing of the accustomed word-order. Even in Late Modern English inversion is often met with, yet the result is mostly an impression of archaism or humour.

Examples: Alle the contreyes and Iles abovesaid (Maundeville, Voiage and Travaille, 1366; N. E. D.). Thies thre reaumes aforeseide (Three Kings' Sons, 1500). Everich of the kynges aforesaid (ib.). Making his residence at Glasgow for the caus afoirtold (Hist. of James VI, 1582; N. E. D.). By that command to Peter, and by this to all Ministers abovecited (Milton, Consid. Hirelings, 1653; N. E. D.). For the reasons aforegiven (Richardson, Pamela; N. E. D.). Nor is it sufficient, that a man who sets up for a Judge in Criticism should have perused the Authors above-mentioned (Addison, Spect., Febr. 2, 1712). Upon this my friend with his usual cheerfulness related the particulars above-mentioned (Roger de Coverly). He then ran away with her over the field to *the rivulet above-mentioned* (Fielding, Tom Jones). Owing to *the distemper above-mentioned* (ib.). By some years' daily practice of riding to and fro in *the stage aforesaid* (Elia). *The world aforesaid* (ib.). *The six small boys aforesaid* cheered prodigiously (Pickwick). *The young lady aforesaid* (ib.). *The principal magistrate aforesaid* (ib.). Forthwith appearing before *the coffee-room blinds aforesaid* (ib.). The other half of *the roll of flannel aforesaid* (ib.). To attract the notice of *the gentleman aforesaid* (Twist)¹. One of Dick Boyce's first acts . . . had been to send a contribution to the funds of *the League aforesaid* (Marcella). Since *the year 1882 above-mentioned* (Skeat, Introd. to A Concise Etym. Dict.).

In the following two quotations 'above' + 'mentioned' seems to be really verbal: *The man above mentioned* (New Forest). *The valuables above mentioned* (Merriman, In a crooked Way).

59. When the substantive is a proper noun postposition may still be said to be the rule, probably because the adjectives are then appositional addenda, rather than real attributes.

Examples: When young Lord Egham, before mentioned, got the erysipelas (Thackaray, Philip). Who ... accompanied him to his lawyer, Mr. Bond, before mentioned (ib.). In default of which issue the ranks and dignities were to pass to Francis aforesaid (H. Esmond). Punch, in the hands of George Powell afore-mentioned, had set himself up as a censor of manners (Roger de Coverly, Notes; R. G. Watkin).
60. As will have been noticed, inverted word-order also occurs very often after a possessive or demonstrative pronoun ² in older English. I have found a few instances of postposition after a poss. pron. in 18:th century English, but none in Present English:

¹ Otherwise DICKENS mostly places this word before the noun, most probably always when he is earnest.

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² Compare § 37.

In open war with his Majesty aforesaid (Gulliver). As I observed in my letters above-mentioned (Richardson, Clarissa). One word more from my noble and venerable lord aforesaid (Scott, Qu. Durward).

After a dem. pronoun I have not met with any instance of postposition in Modern English.

I subjoin some examples of pre-position ¹ in the ear- 61. lier idiom: The frontels of *the forsayd auter* (Early Engl. Wills, Alice West; 1395). Summe of *the bifore seid men* (Pecock, Repressor). *The afore-rehersede wurthy-men* (Coventry Leet Book, 1455). *Our aforesaid King* (Florio). As in *the afore-named dialogue* is apparent (Sidney, Apologie; 1595). *The afore-mentioned battle* (Pilgr. Prog.). *The abovementioned particulars* (Addison, Spect., Febr. 2, 1712). *The before-mentioned opinions* (T. Jones).

Darwin treats «above specified» as an adjective in: 62. *The above-specified breeds, The above-specified marks* (Origin of Species).

Otherwise, when the collocations have not been so frequently used as to have grown into adjectives: *The awful locality last named* (Twist). *The monosyllable just recorded* (ib.). *The three little boys before noticed* (Nickleby). *A handkerchief before noticed* (Pickwick).

This is, of course, the order also when the adverb follows the participle: *The charter cited above* (Saxon Chron.; Earle and Plummer, Notes). — And, for reasons easily understood: *In the manner as above mentioned* (Crusoe).

2. **Past.** The participle 'past' has come to be used 63. not only as an adjective, but also as an adverb and a preposition. When it was a real verbal participle, it was natural

¹ Also in Anglo-French this word-order occurs: Les susditz Eveqe et countte, Nostre dit counsaill (Cov. Leet Book; letter from Henry VI). Whether this order was the usual one, I do not know. to let it follow the substantive. Hence its use as a preposition developed itself (cf. 'ago'):

As his predecessours *many yeres past* have ben (Cov. Leet Book, 1480). He had nearly lost the use of his legs *for a few years past* (Irving, Sketchbook). In consequence of having worn the regimentals *for six weeks past* (O. Twist). *For years past* English sailors had been exploring the universe (Verity, Tempest; Introd.). The robbers are expert diamond-thieves who have been following Mr. Gold-smith *for days past*, watching their opportunity (Daily Mail, July 3, 1909).

In the following quotation one does not quite know whether 'past' is an adjective or a preposition, which shows how easily the transition is apt to take place: Dick was in the Park, walking round and round a tree that he had chosen as his confidante *for many Sundays past* (Kipling, Light that failed).

64. 'Past' was often associated with 'last' and then naturally placed after its noun (cf. § 94).

Examples: The X day of December last past (Cov. Leet B., 1430). In the tyme off John Michell last past (ib., 1439). By Michelmasse day last passed (ib., 1464). The XIIII day of Jule last passed (ib.). The even last past, had [he] spoken wyth hym (Blanch. and Egl., 1489). I have not been out of the saddle for six days last past (Rog. de Coverly). Even the Cock-lane ghost had been laid only a round dozen of years after rapping out its messages, as the spirits of this very year last past rapped out theirs (Two Cities).

65. Hence its rather adverbial use in connection with a dem. pron. in expressions of time:

Pontanus and other recount the like metamorphosies to have hapned in Italy *these ages past* (Florio). You don't know what I have suffered within *these few weeks past* (Clarissa H.). He has scarce done an earthly thing for *this month past* (Wakefield). I have read it in his eye for this hour past (Durward). These few months past ... have proved that you and Humphrey can (New Forest).

On the analogy of such phrases, 'past' was always 66. put behind in the adverbial expression «in time(s) past». Still it may be possible that this is partly due to the near resemblance to the corresponding French expression.

Examples: Ordenaunce made *in tyme past* (Cov. Leet B., 1440). *In tymes past* men were ful of pytie and compassion (Hugh Latimer, Sermon on the Ploughers; 1549). I my-selfe know none so ill as my-selfe, who *in times past* have bene ... (Euphues, 1579). He which persecuted us *in times past* (Auth. Vers., Gal. I: 23; 1611). Though they *in time past* had offered great affronts to his person (Pilgr. Progr.). His insolence *in times past* to them ... he'd got to look to (Mill on the Floss).

Also «in days past»: Oure progenitours in dayes past (Cov. Leet B., 1474).

By further analogy we often find adj. 'past' after its 67. head-word in other cases as well:

bere shal be no remembraunce of *he ioys passed* (De Imit. Christi, 1440). In recompense of *their service past* (North, Plutarch). In regard of *our deliverance past*, and our dangers present and to come (Bacon, New Atlantis). Both *dangers past* and fears to come (ib.). As if fames were the relics of *seditions past* (Bacon, Seditions). I had terrible reflections upon my mind on the account of *my wicked and hardened life past* (Crusoe). *The times past* are said to have been a nation of Amazons (Adventurer).

Of this I have not hit upon any instance in Present English. 'Past' is there used prepositively:

The great men of *past centuries* (Nickleby). *Past years* recurred to him like a faint . . . dream (Venetia). It seemed impossible that *past events* should be so obstinate (Mill on the Floss).

It may perhaps not be too daring to ascribe many of the instances of postposition of the adj. 'past' to the fear of confusion with the prep. 'past'.

68.

3. **Born.** The primary word-order in «He was born a lord» was another, namely, «He was a lord born». For in Anglo-Saxon, and also in Middle English, a non-attributive participle was usually placed at the end of the sentence, as in German »Ich bin ein Protestant geboren»¹. Compare:

Herodes from him selfum ofsticod (Sax. Chron.; Kube, Wortstellung in der Sachsenchronik). Sie hi mid stanum ofworpod (Alfred's Laws; Mc Knight). To Westseaxena kyninge, Cynegyls gehaten (Aelfric, Life of King Oswald). And earme menn sindon sare beswicene and hreowlice besyrwde and ut of disan earde wide gesealde (Wulfstan, Address to the English; Anglos. Reader). This have I by credible informacion learned (Th. More, Rich. III). A boy of no high blood borne (Malory, Arthur). In a cedule yn this closed (Cov. L. B., 1461)².

Still in Modern English in: As in duty bound, Ernest called on Diana (Winds. Mag., July 1910).

'Born' in »He was a lord born» in the meaning of «He was born a lord» is, of course, no attribute, but it is easily understood that it might have been taken for one. Who could, therefore, determine whether we have to deal with an attribute or a predicative complement in instances like the following:

By nature *they were beggars born* (1. Sam., II: 8; Pilgr. Progr.). Duke: What is that Barnadine who is to be executed in the afternoon? Provost: *A Bohemian born*, but

69.

¹ German has, it is well known, preserved most of the old Teutonic word-order.

² Cf. also: For certaine consideracions us moevyng (Cov. L. B., 1461). Honestly thame-self behaveynge (F. of L., 1435).

here nursed up and bred (Measure, IV: 2). Sarah Battle was a gentlewoman born (Ess. of Elia).

So 'born' has kept this place also when used attrib- 70. utively, in those cases where its character of a verb is not quite obscured: Howe should than *a Frenche man borne* soche termes con (Chaucer, Test. of Love). Come, boy; I am past moe children, but thy sons and daughters will be all *gentlemen born* (Winter's Tale, V: 2). Yet I live like *a poor gentleman born* (Merry Wives, I: 1)¹.

And finally the same word-order is often preserved 71. even when 'born' is a pure adjective in the sense of Swed. «boren», i. e. «endowed with the qualities that belong to the idea».

Examples: In his person ... every body distinguishes the gentleman born and educated (Clarissa). Your dress, as I consider, is a sort of disgrace to a cavalier born, and the heir of Arnwood (New Forest). Edward appeared as he was -a gentleman born (ib.). The authority of any writer but an Englishman born and bred (Molloy, Shall and Will. This phrase has grown into a standing expression).

As a rule the real adj. 'born' is not, however, placed 72. after the noun in normal Mod. English: He was a prince, *a born prince* (Verity, Hamlet; Introd.).

This is the necessary construction when the word in question cannot be interpreted in any other way: And me bound, too, to *a born devil* (O. Twist). The first vanity of *your born eccentric* is that he shall be taken for infallible (Meredith, E. Harrington). The Countess was *a born general* (ib.).

¹ In the following it looks as if we had to deal with compound words: Stalwort men and old, *gentle born* and *peasant born* (Two Cities).

B. Postposition of adjectival past participles in general.

We have already seen how frequently postposition 73. of participles does occur in English. We have seen that the truly verbal past and present participles are nearly always placed after the noun they modify. We have also seen that such is often the case with past participles that were originally verbal, but have come to be adjectives. And we shall see that inverted word-order is not at all rare even when no such reasons can be descried. It would indeed be surprising if analogy should not have exerted its levelling influence. Why should one not be permitted to put an ordinary attributive past participle after its head-word when in so many cases the participle could, or must, stand. behind? Instances are exceedingly frequent in Middle English, but they diminish considerably towards the more recent periods. In Anglo-Saxon there are only a few, and those are to be set down as Latinisms.

74. Several categories can be discriminated ¹: **Direct French influence** is apparent in phrases that belong to the arts of cookery, dressing, medicine ², workmanship. Sometimes it is the **Anglo-Norman legal style** that reappears; sometimes it is the language of the **Latin Bible**; in some cases the substantive is of very little importance, but the attribute all the more significant (emphasis); again, in other cases there are two participles which outbalance the weight of the noun.

75.

1. Culinary art.

'Garlic stampid, salt fisch ... and amptyn I-stampid

¹ I leave out such cases as: *Da geseah ic swelce ic gesawe* sume duru onlocene (Cura Past.), He shall show to you a great supping place arrayed (Wycliff's Bible, Mark. XIV), He will show you a large supper room furnished (Auth. Vers., Mark. XIV), where the participles may be predicative.

² Imitation of Latin is here, of course, also possible.

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(Science of Cirurgie, 1380). Fyrste sette ve forthe mustarde and brawne, potage, befe, motton stewed (Book of Carving; 1413). With vinegre and percely theron and a tansye fried and other bake metes (ib.). Vele, porke, pygyons, or chekvns rosted (ib.). Pike boyled, Lamprons ybake, Vele rosted, Pertrich stewyde (Two 15th Century Cookery-Books, edit. by Th. Austin. Headings). How she longed to eat adders' heads and toads carbonadoed (Winter's Tale, IV: 4). In stead of bread, they use a certain white composition, like unto corianders confected (Florio). L. has recorded the repugnance of the school to «gags», or the fat of fresh beef boiled (Ess. of Elia). A name for hake-fish dried and salted (Verity, Tempest; Notes; cf. also § 117). «Burnt sack» was wine heated or mulled (Verity, Tw. Night; Notes; cf. also § 82). «Hungbeef»: beef spiced or salted (Watkin, Rog. de Coverly; Notes; cf. also § 82).

2. Dressing and weapons.

Ring ne broche ..., ne gurdel imembred ne gloven ne no swuch bing (Ancren Riwle, ab. 1200). A swerd harnesed, a wodeknyf harnesed, and a Dagger (Early Engl. Wills, J. Credy; 1426). A gowne of scarlet with slyt slyves y-furred (E. E. W., R. Dixton; 1438). I had on a broad belt of goat's skin dried, which 1 ... (Crusoe). Richly trapped in blue velvet embroidered (New Atlantis). A rich cloth of state of blue satin embroidered (ib.).

3. Workmanship.

Hare unirude duntes wip *melles istelet* (Sawles Warde, ab. 1200). Silver sponys with *acharnus* (acorns) *overguld* (E. E. W., Th. Bathe; 1420). I marc and *a cuppe overgilte* (Cov. Leet B., 1426). *A litell basyn knopped*, and III candelstikes (E. E. W., R. Elmesby; 1434). *A litill coverkull* for his coppe *ygilt* (ib.). *A litill panne* of brasse *y-ered* (ib.). *An couvered cuppe gilt* (E. E. Wills, R. Dixton; 1438). *Silver gilt* (ib.). With handsome windows, some of glass,

77.

76.

some of a kind of *cambric oiled* (New Atlantis). *Metal* vitrified (ib.). Its weight in gold — ay, gold well-refined, I will say six times (Scott, Kenilworth). Arm-chair in wood carved and gilt (Placard in Wallace Coll., London; cf., how-ever, § 117). Detached high relief in gilt copper chased and engraved (ib.). — Cf. also: Silver repoussé (Studio).

78.

4. Medicine.

Take be pouder of *crabbis brent* VI parties, gencian III parties (Science of Cirurgie, 1380). Off *woundes Impostemede* (tumorous) (ib.; heading). Þat is to sai *litarge nurschid* (ib.). A good quantite of *tow I-tosid* (ib.). Flour of *bras brent*, *vitriol leed brent* (ib.). Þis is a medicyn *compouuned* (sic! ib.). After þe sleyng of *flessh putred*¹ (Fistula in Ano, ab. 1400). Pulver of *hennes feperez y-brent*, of an old *lyn clope y-brynt*, asshen of *heres of hares y-brent*² (ib.). A mitigative of akyng to *emeroidez bolned* (ib.). Ladanum, storax calamita, *anyse rosted*, and sich ope (ib.). *Ane herbe y-brissed* pat is called pede lyon (ib.).

79.

5. Legal style.

Vifte is mid wyfman ymarissed (Ayenbit, 1340). Man y-spoused (ib.). If so be he be a Notary sworen and admyttyd and may not refuse hit (Cov. Leet B., 1423). And that they seale with measures insealyd (ib. 1421). That no man delyver no werk but be weyghtes ensealed (ib., 1450). Oure Manoir of Cheylesmore is . . . a place franchesied (ib., 1464). There is no power in Venice can alter a decree established (Shakesp.). The supplanting or the opposing of authority established (Bacon). According to all precedents in disputes of matrimony established (Twist). — The victorious conqueror met with the body of his enemie deceased, mourned very grievously for him (Florio). Mr. Ham-

¹ Latin text: Post mortificationem putridæ carnis!

² But, where the style is less «learned»: Ful of blak filp in maner of *brent flesch* (Fistula).

merdown will sell by the orders of Diogenes's assignees ... the library, furniture, plate, wardrobe, and choice cellar of wines of *Epicurus deceased* (Van. Fair). The beautiful *Lady Tollimglower, deceased* (Pickwick). — *Authority limited* (Kipling). *Ticket limited* (in the United States)¹.

6. Bible style.

Oyle owtzettede es bi name ² (Rich. Hampole, ab. 1350). It smellys oyle outzetted (ib.). In syngne of Cryste crucifiede (ib.; Müllner). From be levacioun of cristis body sacrid in til bat . . . (Guild of St. Mary, Norwich; Toulmin Smith, Engl. Gilds). be whiche shal be reveled in us in tyme ordeined (De Imit. Christi, 1440). A true king anoynted (Malory, Arthur; Müllner). Knowing, brethren beloved, your election of God (I. Thessal; I: 4; A. V.; cf. also § 148).

7. The noun is unstressed, but the participle em- 81. phatic.

bei bat might not wel suffre temptacion were made men repreved and failed in her way (De Imit. Christi 1441). I count it but time lost to hear such a foolish song (As you like it, V: 3). For their second nobles, there is not much danger from them, being a body dispersed (Bacon, Of Empire). Like the bleeding of men murdered (Naunton, Fragmenta Regalia; 1630). What is then this narrow selfishness that reigns in us, but relationship remembered against relationship forgot (Clarissa). A thousand carriages come tumbling in with food and other raw produce inanimate or animate, and go tumbling out again with produce manufactured (Sartor. Cf., however, § 142 ff.). The invariable principle of political action in searches for articles concealed (Poe, The purloined letter). One of a family of tyrants, one of a race proscribed (Two Cities). I tried to find my way out of this chamber -a chamber accursed

² Latin Text: Oleum effusum nomen tuum.

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¹ Langenscheidt, Land und Leute in Amerika, p. 116.

(Ouida, Pipistrello). There is no such separation heard between *words spoken* as is between *words printed* (Lloyd, North. Engl.).

82.

83.

8. Two participles outbalancing the weight of the noun 1 .

Zuiche clepe] oure lhord: berieles (sepulchres) ypeynt and y-gelt (Ayenb., 1340). Y bequeth ... my wrecchid body to the erthe sanctified and halowed (E. E. Wills, 1454; cf. also § 117). If ye continue in the faith grounded and settled, and be not ... (Auth. Vers., Col. I: 23). To gratify their curiosity with knowledge, which, like treasures buried and forgotten, is of no use to others or themselves (Rambler). Those ... who have seen death untimely strike down persons revered and beloved (Esmond). To take the place of their betters killed or invalided (Light that failed). 9. In the following quotations there do not seem to be any special reasons for the inverted word-order, other than those of analogy.

be tende is of wyfmen to *clerkes yhoded* (Ayenb., 1340). Maki of one mete vele *mes desgysed* (ib.). To kepe a lyme (limb) woundid fro swellynge (Science of Cir., 1380). A boon to-broken (ib.). Every festre . . . is heelid wib *pis medicyn 1-preved* (ib.). And cover it wib a lynne clothe *y-wette* (Fistula in Ano, ab. 1400). De schappe of a fist *y-closed* (ib.). He bare opon hym an evangell wretten (Alph. of Tales; 15th cent.). Cled all in parchemyn writyn, wib smale letters wretten peron (ib.). A thousand knyghtes armed (Caxton, Historyes of Troye; 1477). Here endeth the table of the content and *chapytres nombred* of this present book (Godfr. of Bol., 1481). For to shewe hit to the knyght wounded, that he shulde take the more comfort (Blanch. and Egl., 1489). Or other person diffamed (Cov.

¹ Cf. § 121.

Leet B., 1492). A man which can rede in bokis stories writun (Pecock, Repressor). A beard neglected, which you have not (As you like it, III: 2). Third Apparition: a Child crowned, with a tree in his hand (Macbeth, IV: 1). Masque of the Gipsies Metamorphosed (Ben Jonson). For he saith, I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee ¹ (Auth. Vers., II. Corinth. VI: 2). And was delivered of Pallas armed, out of his head (Bacon, Of Counsel). I remember an Irish rebel condemned put up a petition that he might be ... (Bacon, Custom and Education). Making provision for the relief of strangers distressed (New Atlantis). Mansoul has weapons proved, and garments white as snow (Bunyan, Holy War, Rhythmical reasons?). I observed somewhat that looked like a boat overturned (Gulliver. Cf. «Like a man exhausted» etc.). Note the eyes slightly askance, the lips compressed, and the right hand nervously grasping the left arm (Two Paths. The reason is here probably a desire of conformity). When the sight of some shop-goods ticketed freshened him up (Elia). They looked curiously small, moreover - the garden circumscribed, the two-storied house, with its striped sun-blinds (Cardinal's Snuff-box). They could see the shimmer of bronze armour ... and the friendly flash of the great shield uplifted (Kipling, Puck of Pook's Hill). The hard road goes on and on past altars to Legions and Generals forgotten, and broken statues of Gods (ib.). Behold, there were the Eagles of two strong Legions encamped (ib.; cf., however, § 120).

10. I insert here the following quotations also in 84. which the participle in connection with another word forms a compound adjective:

¹ Immediately after this comes: *Behold, now is the accepted time,* probably because «now is the time accepted» might be misunderstood.

Ostlers trade-fallen (I, Henry IV, IV: 3). Nothing but the granite *cliffs ruddy-tinged* (Sartor). The feeling of Heavenly Behest, of *Duty god-commanded* (Carlyle, Ess. on Scott). To pace alone in the cloisters or side aisles of *some cathedral, time-stricken*, is but a vulgar luxury (Elia).

Chapter IV.

The Present Participle as a pure adjective.

A. Being. Coming. Adjoining. Following and Ensuing.

It will be necessary to devote a special section to the adjectival participles *being*, *coming*, *adjoining*, *following* (and its synonym *ensuing*).

85.

1. Being.

The participle in «for the time being» may, it is true, be said to have a pregnant signification («going on», or something like that), so as to express a weak degree of activity. It might then be looked upon as a verb, but certain it is that nobody is sensible of that when he uses the expression, which has passed into a set phrase equivalent to «for the present time», or «on that occasion». It is not quite improbable that we have here to deal with an inheritance from the Anglo-Norman time.

Examples: And that the Stuarde off the Gilde for the tyme being shall truly controulle them (Gild of St. Katherine, Stamford; Toulmin Smith, Engl. Gilds). Aldermen of this City for the time being shall be ordered and appointed (An Act on the Election of Sheriffs, 1748; Gray Birch, Hist. Charters of London). The light deprived her, for the time being, both of the power to rise and of the wit to think (Dr. Xavier).

2. Coming.

'Coming' is also a pure adjective, in spite of its position after the noun, in «[the] time coming». But it is not necessary that it should have been so from the very beginning; it might have been a verbal participle then. I am not aware of any French analogue.

Examples: In tyme comynge (Chaucer, Melibeus; Müllner). Allso we command that no Bocher ne vitaler in tyme comyng mak non ordynaunce but ... (Cov. Leet Book, 1421). Who shal be besy for be in tyme comyng (De Imit. Christi, 1440). For to be hald in mor reverens in tyme comand (Capgrave, St. Gilbert; 1450). He that hopes or depends upon time coming, dreams waking (Bacon, Of Death). It shall and may be lawful in all time coming for the English people to communicate with each other (Opium-eater).

3. Adjoining.

'Adjoin' does not express so much activity, as rather a state of things (= «be near»). Nevertheless the participle 'adjoining' is often found after the noun it modifies. This may partly be due to its somewhat adverbial character, nothing preventing us from regarding it as an adverb adjunct, just like 'near' or 'close by' in a similar position.

Examples: The first that came to him were the lords of Lincolnshire and *other countries adjoining* (Holinshed). A private house in *the town adjoining* (Gulliver). I broke my way from the ball-room into a small ante-chamber adjoining (Poe, Wilson). Sikes dragged her into a small room adjoining, where he sat himself on a bench (Twist). They began to search narrowly the ditch and hedge adjoining (ib.).

4. Following, Ensuing.

In, say, «The preceding word is but a dim image of *the clause following*», «The article belongs more properly to *the noun following* than to the genitive», 'following' is,

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88.

of course, a verb, not an adjective. So it was originally in temporal expressions too, but there it stands already on the border line between a verbal participle and an adjective, or it has just passed over to the latter category. Comparison with French *suivant* easily suggests itself, all the more because «ensuing» is used alternatively. But direct French influence should only be thought of as a means of establishing the word-order.

Examples with 'following': In pe day, forsobe, folowyng (= the day following the one last mentioned, but also: on the next day!) I ... perceyved ., . (Fistula, ab. 1400). To chose kepers for the yer folowyng (Cov. Leet B., 1495). And the night following the Lord stood by him (Acts, 23: 11; A. V.). I took shipping for Lisbon where arrived in April following (Crusoe). I arrived at the country town at twilight, in order to be ready for the stage-coach the day following (R. de Coverly). On the fifth night following¹ he was seen for the last time (Sartor Res.). He arrived at his destination in the October following (Macaulay, Warren Hastings; Poutsma). On the day following Oliver and Mr. Maylie repaired to the market-town (Twist).

In normal Present English 'following' precedes its noun in expressions of time. Yet, necessarily: At noon *on the second day following*¹ he did not feel that the campaign had been in vain (Winds. Mag., July, 1910; cf. above).

Examples with 'ensuing': Sullen looks and short answers *the whole day ensuing* (Wakefield). I trust you remember we mean to taste the good cheer of your Castle of Kenilworth *on this week ensuing* (Kenilworth). Would you not prefer, sir, to have the items added on to *the month ensuing* (Ev. Harrington)².

all without weiters and the second

- ¹ It seems to be rather adverbial here, but may be verbal.
- ² Cf. also: On the day succeeding (Esmond).

Variants are «next following», «next ensuing», which 89. belong to the older idiom only.

Examples: Also it is ordeynede yat alle ye bretheren and sisteren of yis fraternitee shul comen, on ye monday next folowande, to ye Chirche forsayde (Gild of St. Botulph; T. Smith, Engl. Gilds). Within a quarter of a yere next folowynge (Ordinances of Worcester; T. Smith, Engl. Gilds). – On the morrow next ensuing (Holinshed). And crown her Queen of England, ere the thirtieth of May next ensuing (II, Henry VI, I: 1)¹. – Also «then next ensuing»: The Seturday then next suyng (Cov. Leet B., 1457). The XV day of Feveryere then next suyng (ib.).

Sometimes 'next' is placed before, and the part. after: 90. In *the next weke suying* the kyng came to Coventre (Cov. L. B., 1464). If thou *the next night following* enjoy not Desdemona, take me from this world with treachery (Othello, IV: 2).

Even when distinctly a pure adjective, or, if preferred, 91. a pronoun (= 'this'), 'following' ('suing') is very frequently, by analogy, put after the substantive in older English.

Examples: bise byeb be capiteles of *pe boc volginde* (Ayenbit, 1340). As it schal be told in *pe VIII chapitle folowynge*² (Science of Cirurgie, 1380). In *pe pridde tretis folowynge*² (ib.). I ... make my testament in the maner *suyng*³ (E. E. Wills, J. Credy; 1426). They have made *this ordynaunce folowyng* (Cov. L. B., 1421). Wherupon the Meir lett make of *thies wurthy men folowyng* (ib., 1424). In the forme and maner folowyng (ib., 1444). All

¹ «Next coming» is used in the same way, in close imitation of Anglo-Fr. *prochein venant* (e. g. En le mois davrell prochein venaunt, En Iverne prochein venant [Cov. Leet B., 1430]): At Esture next comyng (Cov. L. B., 1421). At Mydsomer next comyng (ib.).

² In these two quotations 'following' may, however, be a verbal participle. Cf. also p. 50, foot-note 1.

⁸ In legal style this word-order is not surprising.

pese transumpciones folowing. rehersib our auctour (Capgrave, St. Gilbert; 1451). Pay to the seid Craft of Cardmakers XIII s. IIII d. *in the forme suying* (Cov. L. B., 1495). Also that no seriaunt take of eny citezen for servynge of a capias eny thynge but *in maner folowynge* (Ord. of Worcester; T. Smith, Engl. Gilds). *In form and manner folowing* (Gild of St. Katherine, Stamford; T. Smith). In which is plainly to be seen, what wit can and will doe, if it be well imployed, *which discourse following*, although it bring lesse pleasure to your youthful mindes, then the first discourse, yet will it bring more profite (Euphues). In what manner? *In manner and form following*, sir (Love's Labour, I: 1). Let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury, at a higher rate, and let it be with *the cautions following:* ... (Bacon, Of Usury).

In Modern English 'following' always stands before the noun in the above sense. Yet Dickens has, in evident imitation of the Middle English style: The arbour in which Mr. Tupman had already signalized himself, *in form and manner following:* first the fat boy ... (Pickwick).

In this instance: And they went forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word *with signs following* (S. Mark, 16: 20), the part. is most probably verbal. Compare, however, also below, Ch. XIII, C.

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B. Postposition of adjectival present participles in general.

Postposition of a pres. part. is by no means rare in *Anglo-Saxon* prose. This may be due to Latin influence, but I would rather make no distinction, in this early period of the language, between participles and ordinary adjectives. It will be pointed out further on that also the latter are often placed after the noun in Old English. So I refer to § 207 below.

In Middle English postposition is very frequent, as

in the case of a past participle. I suppose the reason to be not so much direct French influence – although in some translations it is often undeniable – as rather analogy ¹.

Examples: And swa swa clæne neten eodorcende in bæt sweteste leoð gehwyrfde (Alfred, Cædmon; Anglo-S. Reader). An hrider dugunde (Kentish Charter; ib.). Growende gærs and sæd wircende (Gen.; Mätzner, Gram.). Fur beorninde (Old Engl. Homilies; Müllner). Snow sleðrende (ib.). Panne cumb be hali gast be is all fier barnende (Vices and Virtues, 1200). A huyt zech vol of donge stynkinde (Ayenbit, 1340). De clerk zyinde ne yzyzh nazt (ib.). Der byeb leazinges helpinde, and leazinges likynde, and leazinges derivnde (hurting) (ib.). And her was a pyler of yrn byrnand, sett full of sharpe rasurs (Alph. of Tales; 15th cent.). And ban he send unto hym his wyfe and his childre wepand, bat besoght hym to forgiff hym (ib.). Atte porte descendeth a fressh water rennyng whiche is lytil in the somer (Godfrey of Bol., 1481). The londe is ful of depe waters rennyng and large mareyses (ib.). She mounted anon upon her whyte palfray amblyng², and sayde ... (Blanch. and Egl., 1489). Ladyes for whome I have foughten whanne I was man livinge (Morte Darthur).

The following instance is uncertain, inasmuch as the participle may be verbal: burch hwam bieð alle wittes and alle wisdomes and *alle tungen spekinde* (cf. «the only man speaking». Vices and Virtues, 1200).

The following is an instance from Modern English, but the word-order may be due to special reasons: The handbill had the usual rude woodcut of *a turbaned negro*

¹ But we cannot say with MATZNER (Engl. Sprachproben I, 2, p. 62): «Part. auf -inde stehen *natürlich* häufig nach».

² French text: *la haguenee* («whyte palfray amblyng»).

*woman running*¹, with the customary bundle on a stick (Twain, Pudd'nhead Wilson).

Chapter V.

Participles preceded by adverbs.

A. Participles preceded by modal adverbs.

93.

In case a participle is modified by a modal adverb its verbal character becomes more prominent than usual, as it is almost exceptional for an ordinary adjective to be accompanied by an adverb of that kind. Accordingly there are numerous instances of postposition under these circumstances. In the oldest language this is the only occurring word-order, in Middle English it is the rule. An attribute preceded by a modal adverb seems to have been a too heavy combination to be placed before the noun. Indeed, it was not until modern times that this began to be thought feasible. In Wycliff's: Restitucioun of extorcions and *evyl geten goodis* (Leaven of Pharisees), we are therefore bound to presume a compound adjective (cf. «wiþ outen» [ib.] in two words!).

Examples: Ac monige *scylda openlice witene* beob to forberanne (Cura Past.). Þonne he ongiet be sumum þingum oððe *peawum utone ætiewdum* eall þæt hie innan benceað (ib.). Nedeful it is þat a surgian be of *a complexioun weel proporciound* (Science of Cir., 1380). A surgian muste have *handis weel schape* (ib.). Brynge a σ en þe rondness of þilke ulcus wib *a knyf hoot brennynge* (ib.). He comeb of *a wounde yvel heelid* (ib.). Fretyng with *a threde strengely yfestned* (Fistula in Ano; ab. 1400). *A wounde*

¹ Cf. § 120, and perhaps also § 174.

vvel v-cured (ib.). Coton wele v-tesed (ib.). To him and to hys heirs of ys body lawfully be-goten (E. E. Wills, Sir W. Langeford; 1411). *fis man pus hurt* herd telle of be grete myracles (Capgrave, St. Gilbert; 1451). Obir necessaries of his rentys and of obir good lefully goten (ib.). A pagent right well arayed (Cov. Leet B., 1456). As in a ship, wares well stowed and closely piled¹ take up least roome (Florio). O, knowledge ill-inhabited (As you like it, Ill: 3). Suit ill spent, and labour ill bestowed (Much Ado, III: 2). A message well sympathized (Love's Labour, III: 1). The great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined¹ (Bacon, Custom and Education). They were like horses well managed and disciplined¹ (Bacon, Simulation and Dissimulation). Some fine banqueting-house with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass (Bacon, Of Gardens). A Queen at Chesse of gold richely enameled (Naunton, Fragm. Reg.; 1630). This is the benefit which may be had of books promiscuously read (Milton, Areopagitica). Having a head mechanically turned, I had made for myself a table and chair (Gulliver). As the slipper ill executed was censured by a shoemaker . (Rambler). An expanse of waters violently agitated (ib.). Sentiments generally received (ib.). Some means of happiness really existing (ib.). By efforts successfully repeated (Wake-Two young ladies richly dressed (ib.; cf. § 120). There field). were household officers, indeed, richly attired; there were guards gallantly armed (Durward). Ere his adversary could extricate his rapier thus entangled, he closed with him (Kenilworth). A fine rider perfectly mounted (Philip; cf. also § 120). Such delicate complexions artificially preserved and mended¹ (Two Cities). A beadle properly constituted (Twist). No doubt, had I been a man well born, I should have fallen

¹ Compare, however, § 82.

at her feet (Pipistrello). That pleasant content which follows rest properly employed (Xavier). This... adds a charm to out-door exercise that older folks in districts better policed enjoy not (P. Kelver). She... had given him a book of nursery rhymes brilliantly illustrated, which he greatly enjoyed (Mrs. Alexander, Brown, V. C.). The subtle monotony of their music, so full as it was of complex refrains and movements elaborately repeated, produced in the lad a form of reverie (D. Gray).

B. Participles preceded by temporal adverbs.

94.

What has been said above (p. 54) also applies to the case of a participle modified by a temporal adverb. It stands to reason that the verbal character, i. e. possibility of expressing different shades of time, must here stand forth with great distinctness ¹. In fact, it is not easy, many a time, to decide whether the participle thus qualified is a verb or an adjective. It may, however, with full certainty be set down as a verb in such cases as these: When the religion formerly received is rent by discords (Bacon). Some system of building already understood (Ruskin). – Such may be the case also in: There existed proofs – proofs long suppressed – of his birth (Twist), although the inversion in this quotation is more probably due to the total want of stress of the noun (Cf. §§ 130, 132).

It will be good to compare: Cured of a canker by the sign of the Crosse, which *a female newly baptized* (= who had been baptized only a short while ago) made unto her (Florio), and: *A newly-baptized woman* (Swed. «nydöpt», not «nyss döpt»; one idea).

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It is particularly when the participle is in the present tense that the verbal element is predominant, as witness:

¹ Cf. Our view into *long past* geological ages (Darwin, Origin). 'Past' is otherwise usually an adj., but here it must be verbal. My Lord of Essex death in Ireland and the marriage of his Lady yet living (Naunton, Fragm. Reg.; 1630). A time which is within the memory of men still living (Macaulay, Hist.). He was uncle to the fine old whig still living (Elia). Taking the Parliamentary side in the troubles then commencing (Esmond). There were the two beds and the fire still burning (Pickwick). There is no need for anyone to add to the thousands of pictures already existing (Studio, Nov., 1910).

More or less verbal, adjectives or verbs at discretion, 96. are the participles in the following quotations:

bis witnessib he in pat sermone often alleggid (Capgrave, Augustine; 1450). And broght haim owder a swyne or a schepe new slayn (Alphabet of Tales; 15th cent.). A pair of old breeches thrice turned (Shrew, III: 2). This is a piece of prudence lately discover'd (Milton, Areopagitica). She was the sole daughter of the only sister of my mother long departed (Poe, Eleonora). I trust I shall be found to have little, if at all, trespassed upon ground previously occupied (Bulwer, Rienzi; Preface). In the name of that sharp female newly-born, and called La Guillotine, why did you come to France? (Two Cities). A face habitually suppressed and quieted, was still ... (ib.; cf. also § 82). The honest keeper's wife brought her patient a handkerchief fresh washed and ironed (Esmond)¹. A standard of perfection comparable with that given to the plants in countries anciently civilized (Darwin, Species). He wanted energies for combating evils now forgotten (Opium-eater). The scarlet dew that spotted the hand seemed brighter, and more like blood newly spilt (D. Gray). - Compare also: Our existing chronicles, and many others now lost (Earle and Plummer, Sax. Chron.; Vol. II, Pref.).

¹ Compare, however, also § 117.

97. C. Participles preceded by quantitative adverbs

are not more verbal than they are when standing alone. Therefore postposition is rare under ordinary circumstances¹. I have only three instances to cite:

Whyning like a Pigge halfe rosted (Euphues). He found the body of a lad half-clothed lying there (New Forest). A crowd in those times stopped at nothing, and was a monster much dreaded (Two Cities).

D. Pre-position of participles modified by a modal or temporal adverb.

98. With what hesitation a participle preceded by a modal or temporal adverb is placed attributively before a noun, is shown by the fact that many authors up to our days tack the adverb to the participle by means of a hyphen, notwithstanding the two words do not in reality constitute one idea only.

a. Examples with modal adverbs:

The gaily-equipped Cavalier cavalry (New Forest). By means of those *illegibly-written*, *incorrectly-spelt*, but incomparably agreeable letters (Fullerton, De Bonneval). A pair of *crookedly-hung* pictures (Hodgson, Errors in the Use of Engl.). His *fondly-loved* wife (Lady Audley). Lamp and fire-light showed a *finely-carried* head (Marcella). A neatlykept, respectable-looking house (Brown, V. C.).

b. Examples with a temporal adverb:

The consolation of the *never-leaving* goodnesse (Sidney, Apologie; 1595). Our *often-assaulted* bodies (ib.). The *never-fading* fruits thereof (Pilgr. Progr.). That fair and *always-remembered* scene (Esmond). The *last-built* institution (Two Paths). This *long-neglected* art (Ruskin,

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¹ Otherwise see Ch. XI.

Architecture and Painting). Long-continued self-fertilisation (Darwin, Origin). The now-vanished pomp (Rienzi). The long-sealed door (Venetia). The oft-quoted classical examples (Verity, Tempest; Notes). An ever-swelling chorus (Verity, Hamlet; Introd.). That recently-despised but now welcome article of costume (Mill on the Floss. Cf. «now welcome» without any hyphen! 'Welcome' is an adj.). The oft-repeated wail (Light that failed). Long-neglected canvasses (ib.). The long-pent-up delirium (ib.). The ever-felt contrast (Verity, Coriolanus; Notes).

c. With other kinds of adverbs this is rare:

The neere-following prosperitie (Sidney, Apologie). That muchadmired spot (Durward). Its arched and far-receding path (Marcella; possibly a comp. adj.). Half-clothed (Marryat; certainly a comp. adj.). Half-frightened (B. Harte, By Shore and Sedge).

Instances of a participle preceded by a temporal 100. adverb being placed before the noun without any hyphen do not, as a matter of fact, occur until modern times with very few exceptions at least.

Examples: The ever whirling mills (Macaulay, Hist.). Long hoarded spleen (Sheridan, Rivals). All hitherto discovered Universities (Sartor). My as yet sealed eyes (ib.). The complex and sometimes varying conditions of life (Darwin, Origin). Long past geological ages (ib.). The still smoking ruins (New Forest). Their now increased Sunday dinner (Venetia). The once gilt (adj.?) frame (P. Kelver). His hitherto envied young devil of an heir (Pudd'nhead Wilson)¹.

With and without a hyphen side by side: *The recently* 101. *discarded favourite* and the *long-banished* minister (Fullerton, De Bonneval).

The following are from older times, but in most of them we seem to have to deal with a compound adjective, rather than two separate notions: Se *ar gefarena brodor* getacnad Crist (Cura Past.).

¹ Compare also: *Tom's hitherto unforgiven offences* (Mill on the Floss). *Some as yet unidentified source* (Verity, Hamlet).

99.

bu aa iblescet laverd (Life of St. Juliana; Müllner). be first be-goten child hite ludas (Capgrave, Sermon; 1422). Thei please to remember the longe continued and hertly love betwixt them (Cov. Leet B., 1480). His untrue and long purpensed malice (ib., 1481).

Chapter VI.

Adjectives made up of un- and a past participle.

102. The possibility or necessity of placing a participle after its head-word has come to influence those adjectives in particular that are made up of *un*- and a past participle. They have been felt as equivalent in meaning to a participle negatived by 'not', all the more as *un*- is not unstressed.

That the words in question are not always wholly destitute of verbality appears from such instances as the following, where they are used predicatively: *There be no evyll unpunyshed, nor no good unrewarded* (Lever, A Sermon; 1550). *There live not three good men unhanged in England* (I, Henry IV, II: 4). – These mean: «There is no evil [that is] not punished», «There live (or: are) not three good men [that are] not hanged», or, turned into a positive form: «Every evil is punished», «All good men – no three excepted – are (or: have been) hanged in England». – An ordinary adjective could not be used in that way.

Thus also: *He hæfde* hagyt, da he hone cyningc solite, *tamra deora unbebolitra syx hund* (Voyages of Othere and Wulfstan; Anglos. Reader).

Still more conspicuous is the verbal character in the following instance from Modern English: A case, which should prove a warning to those paper—sellers who fail to return *the papers unsold*, was heard at Dunstable (The People, 11 July 1909). The word 'unsold' may indeed here

be said to be a verb just as much as is 'sold' in «The papers sold»; it corresponds to an *active* sentence. — Similarly: *The only person unmoved* was the girl herself (Dorian Gray. Cf. «The only person moved, not moved»).

Collocations of these kinds may, therefore, have 103. greatly contributed to the propagating — if they are not the origin — of the word-order which is exemplified by the following quotations and appears to be, and to have been, common enough:

Ober also bat before men lyfe in fleschly penance unsene (Fire of Love, 1435). be flaume unmesurde of lufe (ib.). It happenib som tyme bat a persone unknowen shineb by bright fame (De Imit. Christi, 1441). Be reasonable cause unfayned (Cov. Leet B., 1444). be coveryng wib which a wommanys heed $ou_{\overline{x}}$ to be covered was oonli be heer of wommenys heed unschorn (Pecock, Repressor; 1449). If env mysdoers, or persones undisposed, shuld be ... (Cov. Leet B., 1472). As on holy body undivided (ib., 1480). Muche better myghten the people of the Citie resorte to defende on parte unwalled then to defende many partes unwalled (ib.). Diverse ben fledde ... to partes unknowen (ib., 1481). In nombre undesired (ib., 1495). Yf ... env persone unassigned take uppon hym to ... (ib.). For othir wise might he never accomplissh his desire unknowen (Three Kings' Sons, 1500). Charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned (Auth. Vers., I Tim., I: 15). By the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned (Auth. Vers., II Cor., VI: 6). Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them (Acts, 11: 3). He stood up, holding forth his hand ungloved (New Atl.). Seeds unplaced (Bacon, Of Atheism). A hundred pieces of gold uncoined (Crusoe). Mimicking distresses unfelt (Rambler). By facts uncontested (ib.). His heart ... throbbing with desires undefined (Esmond). Colour ungradated is wholly valueless

(Two Paths, Appendix V). The prisoner went down, with some fellow-plotter untracked, in the Dover mail (Two Cities). No extras, no vacations, and diet unparallelled (Nickleby). A creed unchanged (Xavier). Latin unaltered (Abbott, Shakesp. Gram.). Latch-keys and license unlimited (Light that failed). They will continue to the end of time a constellation undivided, a literary Gemini (Watkin, Pref. to R. de Coverly). Appealing to gods or devils unseen (Winds. Mag., June, 1910). With some words formed of un- and a past participle

postposition seems to have become the nearly settled rule in Mod. Engl., at least in certain combinations:

The well of *English undefiled* (Morris, Introd. to Chaucer). I am as innocent as *the babe unborn* (Floss). As helpless as *the babe unborn* (Two Years Ago). You are guiltless as *the child unborn*, and I love you (Ouida, Umiltà). «Of noble touch», i. e. of *true metal unalloyed* (Warburton; Verity, Corilanus; Notes). *Fear unalloyed* is a a painful passion (Bain, Rhetoric and Compos.). For we here are in God's bosom, *a land unknown* (New Atlantis). I signed it *«your friend unknown»* (Sheridan, Rivals, I: 1). M:lle L'Espanaye had been throttled to death by *some person or persons'unknown* (Poe, Murder in the Rue Morgue). A young forester, *a youth unknown* (New Forest). Keneu introduced to Dick *some man unknown* who would be employed as war artist (Light that failed).

Chapter VII.

Adjectives ending in -ible, -able, -ant, -ent.

105. I now proceed to a group of adjectives which on account of their form or signification bear great resemblance

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to verbal participles. Such are, on the one hand those in -*ible* and -*able*, on the other hand those in -*ant* and -*ent*.

Just as we can say: «There is no evil unpunished», in 106. the sense of: *Every evil is punished*, in like manner we can say: «There are no people visible» = *No people are[to be] seen.* So it will be justifiable to maintain that 'visible' partakes of a verbal character. Moreover, this word, as well as others in *-ible*, *-able*, is formed from a verbal stem.

In the same way, «There are strange customs prevalent» can be changed into: *Strange customs prevail*. Thus also, I, Henry IV, II: 4: *Is there no virtue extant?*, which means: «Does no virtue exist?».

It is also well-known that words like 'prevalent', 'extant' are at bottom nothing but present participles.

It is obvious that these are the reasons why adjectives in *-ible*, *-able*, *-ant*, and *-ent* are so frequently placed after their head-words.

A. Adjectives in -able or -ible.

1. Instances with adj. in *-able, -ible* in a [semi-] 107. verbal function:

The Meyre ... at all tyme covenable dud his due parte (Cov. Leet B., 1451). Emended or otherwise reformed at eny tyme behovabull (ib., 1480). — He practised it with the easiest address imaginable (Wakefield). At these words Barnabas fell a-ringing with all the violence imaginable (Fielding, Andrews). The prettiest distress imaginable (Rivals). The smallest thing imaginable (Verity, Mids. Night; Notes)¹.

¹ But 'conceivable' usually precedes: With every conceivable nostrum (Esmond). This duty to which the strongest conceivable promptings call (Verity, Hamlet; Intr.). The rudest conceivable attempts at history (Earle and Plummer, Sax. Chron.; Introd.). He never seems to have a moment's doubt on any conceivable question (M:c Carthy, Own Times; N. E. D.).

- The only people visible were one or two University students (Westm. Gaz., Aug. 5, 1902). In the most pleasant form practicable (Kath. Laud; Poutsma). I've shot and hunted every beast, I think, shootable and huntable (Kingsley, Two Years Ago). The most primitive language accessible. - In all hast possibull (Cov. Leet B., 1435, and passim). In all haste possible (Malory, Arthur; 1480). He and his feliship in alle Haste possible entrid ther-yn (Three Kings' Sons; 1500. This phrase was evidently a standing expression.). The first remedy is to remove, by all means possible, the material cause of sedition (Bacon, Of Seditions and Troubles). In the fullest and firmest manner possible 1 (Crusoe). Mr. Esmond ... chose to depart in the most private manner possible (Esmond). The most perfect representation possible of colour, light, and shade (Two Not with the most composed countenance possible; Paths). (Nickleby). The most emphatic tone of amazement possible (Pickwick). In those days respectability fed at home, but one resort possible there was - an eating-house ... behind St. Clement Danes (P. Kelver).²

As the reader will have noticed, the substantive in every one of the above quotations is at the same time qualified by a superlative or an equivalent word ('only', 'all', 'any', 'one'), and it is exactly in such cases that the verbal character is most predominant. ³ The meaning would

¹ MÄTZNER says (p. 295): »Das Adjektiv *possible* ist eigentlich eine Satzverkürzung», which is a convenient explanation, but hardly anything more.

² But. when 'possible' is more adverbial and unstressed: The brightest possible little fire (Pickwick). The worst possible port-wine at the highest possible price (ib.). With blue wandering eyes under the blackest possible eyebrows and hair (Marcella). The utmost possible distance (Shaw, Candida). With the smallest possible stretch of fancy (Chatto and Windus, Slang Dict.; Preface).

⁸ Cf. § 53: The best man living, The only person sleeping, etc..

indeed often be another if the adj. were put before the noun.

But it is not necessary that the substantive should 108. be qualified by a superlative word, for an adjective in *-ible* (*-able*) to have a verbal import, as appears from the following quotations:

Payments which should be used to increase *the stock* of books available (C. S. Fearenside, Mod. Språk, VII, 1909; = to be used). The conclusions attainable (= to be attained) are generally too vague (Sir H. Holland, Recollections of Past Life).

2. In older English, however, a postpositive adjective 109. in *-able* without any verbal force is not rarely met with. Still such phrases are generally to be considered as direct borrowings from the French.

Examples: Withouten any *entent decevable* (Chaucer, Test. of Love). The residue of all my *goodes mevable* y yeve and be-quethe to Alice Whitman my wif (E. E. Wills, R. Whyteman; 1428). All his other *godes and stuffes mevable* (E. E. Wills, Sir R. Rochefort; 1439).¹ At prys resonable (Godfrey of Bol., 1481). Orlesse he knowe cause resonable of his resorte hider (Cov. L. B., 1495). Without he can shewe *cause resonable* (ib.). Withoute *cause or matier resonable* (ib., 1481).² There is but lytil *londe gaynable* (Godfrey of Bol., 1481. Fr. gaingnables, capable of being cultivated). Comien of pasture to their bestes cominable (ib.). She sholde purveye therto of a remedy covenable (Blanch. and Egl., 1489).

The following are probably solely imitations of these:

¹ Cf. Ses biens meubles et immeubles (Balzac, Femme de 30 Ans).

² On the other hand: A reasonable somme of money (C. L. B.). Ye shall have a reasonable censure (ib.).

The preiudyce of *her pryde dampnable* (Blanch. and Egl., 1489). A sacrifice acceptable, well-pleasing to God (Auth. Vers., Phil. IV: 18). There are no *terms negotiable* as between Government and Government (Times; Poutsma). – In Scott I find: I think thy modesty might suppose that were a case possible (Kenilworth).

110. 3. Adjectives in *-able* or *-ible* and negatived by *un*or *in-* are also very often placed after the noun. They are never verbally tinged, so we must here resort to analogy — where the phrase is not a direct borrowing ¹. But there is another reason too: the adjectives in question are always heavily stressed; and it has been held forth already that emphasis has something to say in respect of wordorder. The substantive is here always in the indefinite form.

Examples: But chaffis he shal brenne wib für unquenchable (Wycliff's Bible, Math. III: 2). O weight unmeasurable, o see intransnatable (De Imit. Christi, 1440). Hit shal be occasyon of a love inseparable betwyx her and you (Blanch. and Egl., 1489). Colde caused thrughe a hete intollerabyll (ib.). And the chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable (Auth. Vers., Luke 3: 17; cf above!). Sick of the Philosophers stone, a disease uncurable (Earle, Microcosmographie; 1628). She spoke the last words with a smile, and a softness inexpressible (T. Jones). With a sensibility inexpressible (Andrews). Who ... finds difficulties insuperable for want of ardour sufficient to encounter them (Adventurer). It is often occasioned by accidents irreparable (Rambler). It will give me joy infallible to find Sir Lucius worthy (Sheridan, Rivals). With awe unspeakable (Sartor). Consider ... what benefits unspeakable all ages and sexes derive from clothes (ib.). There is a power irresistible

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¹ As in: A fistula is... ane ulcus undesiccable (Fistula).

impelling all of us (Duval). Filling his mind with alarm undefinable (Esmond). Proofs of love and kindness inestimable (ib.). Which are in fact mines inexhaustible of eloquence (Opium-eater). Wars and revolutions innumerable (R. Haggard, Dr. Therne). Then followed a scene of horror indescribable (R. Haggard, Jess.). Only through the curious processes of my own mind did it raise an obstacle insurmountable (King's Mirror). Since Torpenhow used..... contempt untranslatable, it will never ... (Light that failed). Shame unspeakable (Two Years Ago).

B. Adjectives in -ant, -ent.

Where an adjective in *-ant* or *-ent* is postpositive 111. it is always [semi-] verbal, ¹ 'present' occupying a place of its own. As to 'adjacent' I refer, however, to § 87.

1. Other adjectives than 'present'.

Examples: As hit appearith the V leffe precedent (= which precedes this, cf. p. 50; Cov. L. B., 1430). Wilp all opir houses pertinent (= that belong here; Capgrave, St. Gilbert; 1451). In the contrees adiacent (Godfrey of Bol., 1481; cf. adjoining!). Upon payne of every Brother absent a li. of wax (Ordin. of the Gild of St. Katherine, 1494; T. Smith, English Gilds). Such matter as must here be revealed and treated of might endanger the circulation of any Journal extant (Sartor; cf. existing!). The earliest English play extant.² You have heard, of course, the many

¹ Of course not in: Every man that is in *the Roule defendant* (Cov. L. B., 1534), where the italicized expression is obviously a direct French borrowing.

² But also, when less stressed: *The only extant translation* dates from 1608 (Verity, Hamlet; Introd.). — And without any verbal import: The Court of Love... *the extant Romaunt of the Rose*, are also... ascribed to Chaucer (Morris, Chaucer; Intr.).

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stories current, about money buried (Poe, Gold-bug). By this time Edward's continual calls had aroused the people of the house, and also of *the cottages adjacent* (New Forest). One whose peregrinations had been confined to the New Forest and *the town adjacent* (ib.). Some squireen of *the parts adjacent* (Two Years Ago)¹. His shrugs at ... *the pronunciation prevalent* had almost ... (E. Harrington). – We seem, however, to have 'no verbality in: Emmanuel resolved to make at *a time convenient* (cf. the only time convenient!) a war (Bunyan, Holy War).

2. Present.

113.

As to the word 'present', usage prescribes, for the sake of clearness, that it should always be placed after the noun when not denoting time, except in the one expression «Present company always excepted»², where it is more universal, more indefinite, and, consequently, less verbal than ever.

Examples: If you speak as you thinke, *these gentlewomen present* have little cause to thank you (Euphues). Looking round at *the strangers present* (Nickleby). At those times they quietly spoke of Lucie, and of *her father then present* Two Cities). He had felt it . . ., though as strong as *any man present* (Meredith, Belloni). Rose now intimated her wish to perform the ceremony of introduction between *her aunt and uncle present* and the visitors to Beckly Court (E. Harrington).

In Middle English it may occasionally be found after its substantive also when it has a *temporal* sense: Forced

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¹ Therefore, when KRÜGER, Syntax § 2283, declares: »Adjektiv + one klingt nach Umgangssprache. In der höheren Sprache umgeht man es durch... one + Adj.», and in support of this cites inter alia: Many of these rooms had doors which led into *the one adjacent*, he is, of course, making an unhappy mistake.

² KRÜGER, Syntax § 287.

I am at this houre present, syth . . . (Blanch. and Egl., 1489).

Appendix. Adjectives in -ate.

In older English, inversion is sometimes used also 114. with adjectives in *-ate*. These adjectives are not verbal in meaning, but certainly in form.

Examples: Som-tyme he sperme goh oute by he hole of *pe* $_{3}$ *erde infistulate* (Fistula; ab. 1400). Unlike is he savour... of *light increate* and *light illuminate* (De Im. Christi, 1440). It wol he late or hou he *a man illuminate* (ib.).

The postposition in the following is due to special reasons to be dealt with in § 119: A thousand carriages come tumbling in with food and other raw *produce inani-mate or animate,* and go tumbling out again with produce manufactured (Sartor).

Chapter VIII.

Due.

The word 'due' is, properly speaking, a past parti- 115. ciple. It is therefore still put after the noun in cases where it reminds us of its verbal origin, i. e. in the signification of «falling to be paid» ¹, as in: *Payment for money due*, *Debts due and owing*.

In the signification of «appropriate», on the other hand, where its verbal character has been totally obscured, 'due' is always placed before the noun: *In due time*, *To behave with due gravity, With all due respect*.

¹ ANNANDALE, Concise Engl. Dict.

Chapter IX.

'Necessary' and 'needful'.

116. We have seen that the participle «needed» – among others – is not usually placed after its head-word because it does not denote an action in the same sense as most transitive verbs; it rather implies passivity than the contrary. Thus it comes very near to an ordinary adjective, i. e. it expresses something more permanent or universal. But it may happen – as has been indicated in § 40 – that such participles do express something more limited. This is the case above all when the substantive is qualified by a superlative or 'all', 'only', etc. Compare: *The needed implement*, and: *The first implement needed*, *the only implement needed*.

The adjectives 'necessary' and 'needful' are of a similar meaning to 'needed', so there may be cases where they have something verbal in them, namely under the circumstances just mentioned. By consequence it is not so very astonishing that postposition is met with now and then, especially after 'one' ('only').

Examples: As afore this tyme have be used at *all* tymes nedefull (Cov. Leet B., 1480). He was... endoctryned of the names and usages for the moost parte of *thabylymentes necessary* (Blanch. and Egl., 1489). For man's well-being, Faith is properly *the one thing needful* (= that man needs; Sartor). I do not possess *the kind of information necessary*, I do not possess the kind of intelligence (Two Cities). My mother praised me when I was good, which was to her *the one thing needful* (P. Kelver).

'Requisite' as in the following quotations might perhaps be said to form a parallel: To open the gate *at tymes and season requysite* (Cov. L. B., 1470). At *eny tyme requisite* (ib., 1480).

Chapter X.

Postposition of two attributes connected with each other by means of 'and', or 'or'.

A. If two (or more) adj. attr. connected with each 117. other by means of 'and', or 'or', are placed after a noun, the motive is very often that they are, or were originally, added as an afterthought. I insert «were originally» because in some cases a standing expression has arisen, so that the attributes are now integral parts of the utterance.

As a rule, the substantive is in the indefinite form. A comma is sometimes put in after the substantive; this only makes the parenthetic character of the attributes still more marked. «Both ... and» («either ... or») could often be added without any change of meaning.

1. General examples:

Onweg aworpenum Cristes geoce tam leohtan and pam swetan (Bede). Many paleys real and noble (Trevisa; Müllner). In a prison voul and stinkinde (Ayenb., 1340). bis byeb gaveleres (usurers) kueade and voule (ib.). In the name of God glorious and almyghty (Maundeville; Mätzner, p. 569). And witte bou bat if he forseid pacient sende out blode blak and pikke and stynkyng, bat bis flowyng is no₇t to be restreyned (Fistula; ab. 1400). Þat made a feste grete and costios unto be weddyng of a son of his (Alph. of Tales; 15th cent.). A benefactour holy and gode, of whom we have received all good binges (De Imit. Christi, 1440). After this lyf short and transytorye all we may atteyne to come to the everlastyng lyf in heven (Godfrey of Bol., 1481; Prol.). Without a cause goode or raysonable (Blanch. and Egl., 1489). But I my-self have seen and can shew you bybles fayre and old writen in englishe (Th. More, Dial. concernynge Heresy; 1528). They hunted

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lions, liberdes, and suche bestis, fierce and savage (Th. Elyot, Governor). It never could be that Agnes the pure and gentle was privy to this conspiracy (Thackaray, Philip). Six horses to her carriage, and servants armed and mounted following it (Esmond). The dawning Republic one and indivisible 1 (Two Cities). Pain, new-born and insistent, for her mother, her father, and herself (Marcella). The candystriped pole which indicates nobility proud and ancient (Puddn'head Wilson). Eternal youth, infinite passion, pleasures subtle and secret (D. Gray). Arts feminine and irresistible encompassed him (E. Harrington). Sort of lake green and winding, with nice quiet swims all about (Punch). Particular notice should be given to the case 2. where two adjectives of opposite meanings are added to one substantive.

Examples: God delyvere us from alle evyl of synne prevy and apert² (Wycliff, Paternoster). First, table-clothis, towelles longe and shorte, covertours and napkyns (Early Engl. Meals and Manners). Ewers with water hote or colde, as tyme of the yere requirith (ib.). She proceeded to praise Mr. Lovelace's person, and his qualifications, natural and acquired (Clarissa). Publications periodical and stationary (Carlyle, Ess. on Scott). With food and other raw produce inanimate or animate (Sartor). Every one of her Ladyship's remedies spiritual or temporal³ (Vanity Fair). Whom neither . . . nor voices plebeian or patrician favoured (Esmond). English Rational and Irrational (Fitzedward Hall. Book title). Don't quote from «Anecdotes, New and Old», interrupted Adela unkindly (God in the Car). It surrounded him with friends new and old (Robertson, Hist. of Engl.

³ Cf., however, Lords spiritual, Lords temporal.

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¹ Possibly a direct imitation of the French.

² Thus also in 15th century German, e. g. Wiser lüten gelerter und ungelerter (Hellwig, p. 113).

Lit.). The greatest of all writers ancient or modern (ib.). The constant mention or introduction of ballads old and new is a marked feature of the Elizabethan drama (Verity, Tw. Night; Notes). Playgoers young and old will learn with regret that Mr. Ch. Groves has utterly broken down in health (The People, 4 July, 1909). Forgetfulness of troubles past and imminent (E. Harrington). In fashions original or imitative (ib.). Birds black and white (Sweet, N. E. Gr.). A collection of wax figures of celebrities past and present (Morén-Harvey). An English Grammar Past and Present (Nesfield). A New English Grammar Logical and Historical (Sweet). The recent numbers of various economical journals, English and foreign (Marcella).

B. In the last three quotations the postposition may 120. also be due to the averseness to accumulating too many qualifiers before one noun. This seems to have been the reason in the following:

Your trewe frendes olde and wise (Chaucer, Melibeus; Müllner). Every conseil honeste and profitable (ib.). Many sekenez aduste and corrupte (Fistula; ab. 1400). And there-in were all maner of serpentes and wylde bestes foul and horryble (Morte Darthur, 1469). Thies letters writen, he called a messangere right wise and discrete and delyvered them unto hym (Three Kings' Sons, 1500). Their peculiar manners and customs, with other matters very curious and useful (Gulliver). An elderly butler, English and well-trained, took his master's hat (Xavier). A forlorn blue ribbon, soiled and frayed (Cardinal's Snuff-box). Second Edition revised and enlarged.

Thus I also account for the word-order in the following quotations, which do not, however, strictly belong here:

Lyft is *lichamlich gesceaft swyde pynne* (Wright, Pop. Treat.; Mätzner). *Many other barons moche worshipful*

(Godfr. of Bol., 1481). We that have so many things truly natural that induce admiration (New Atl. Cf. also § 190 ff). Eight tall men likewise armed ¹ (Scott). Twenty other gentlemen . . . in Lincoln green a little coarser ² (Nickleby).

121. C. It may also happen that two (or more) attributes united have much more weight in the sentence than the noun itself, whereas the latter is hardly anything — from a logical point of view — but an almost superfluous frame on which the attributes must rest (cf. «you silly creature», where 'creature' adds nothing to the meaning!). That such is really the case is proved by the fact that the noun can often be replaced by «something», or can simply be left out, so that the adjectives become predicative. Sometimes the subst. has been mentioned immediately before.

The attributes here are then emphatic and frequently equivalent to a phrase with «both . . . and» (»either . . . or»), and postposition is therefore used.³ It is very easy for anybody to ascertain that the emphasis will be considerably lessened, one might say totally annihilated, if the wordorder is altered in the following numerous instances:

God is juge stalwor pe, rygtful and suffrand (the same as: God is stalworth etc.; Early Engl. Psalter; Anglos. Reader). Cneoris dweoru and forcerredu (Merc. Hymns, A. S. Reader). A venym ulcus is in whom aboundib venym sutil and liquid (Science of Cir., 1380). The duchemen,

¹ The postpositive attribute may, however, be appositional here.

² The phrase «a little» may, of course, often be awkward if the attribute qualified by it is placed before the substantive. Hence the transposition in: I shall know to recompense a devotion a little importunate, my lord (Esmond).

³ Thus sometimes even in Swedish: Ett verk skapadt för århundraden, ett verk stort, hänförande, ägnadt att ... (Sv. Dagbl., 17 Jan. 1911. Ett större antal personer — och personer, mera olika, mera naturtrogna (Sydsv. D., 11 Febr. 1911). Notice the rep. of the subst.!

whiche ben a peple rude and hardy, sawe this glorye (= who are rude and hardy; Godfrey of Bol., 1481). I knowe you to be a man wyse, resonable, and of good wille (ib.). They might unnethes opyn their mowthes, but as folkes ded and transitory (Three Kings' Sons, 1500). Although one be al, have that one ben most disobedient to me in a request lawful and reasonable (Euphues). And vit is it holde for a dede allowable and vertuose that wommen were coverchefis (Pecock, Repressor). The King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God (Auth. Vers., I, Tim. I: 17). And now was it a day gloomy and dark (Bunyan, H. War). Fuel . . . to flames insatiate and devouring (Clarissa). There is more pleasure in an innocent and virtuous life, than in one debauched and vicious (Tom Jones). A man uneducated and unlettered ¹ (Adventurer). A style clear, pure, nervous, and expressive (ib.). He that is carried forward by a motion equable and easy perceives not ... (Idler). Establishing their authority over minds ductile and unresting (Rambler). The new development of those powers, though a development natural, inevitable, and to be prevented (Macaulay, Hist.). I, for my part, only remember a lady weak, and thin, and faded, who ... (Philip). Its use for purposes vain or vile (Two Paths). What could be seen was of a nature singular and exciting (Poe, Hans Piaal). The whole character of that bold address became invested with a something preternatural and inspired (Rienzi). The easy humour had changed into a vein ironical, cynical, and severe (ib.). In the humblest grades of art there were men younger, or more fortunate, or more preferred (Ouida, Fame). Musical bells chimed softly from the hall below, an octave deep and sonorous and pleasing, like the chimes from an Italian

¹ Cf., however, Ch. VI.

campanile (Xavier). It had been a death swift, silent, violent, terrible (Ouida, Pipistrello). I led a life noisy and joyous, and for ever in movement (ib.). «Snakes?» says Mary. - - - «Yes, Mary; but these were snakes spiritual and metaphorical» (Kingsley, Two Years Ago). «Forgive me, Glory!» he was saying, in a voice tremulous and intense (Christian). In other words, a purse long and liberal (Meredith, E. Harrington).

We cannot, however, class among these such expressions as: «It is *cheating pure and simple*»¹, where the two adjectives united form an adverbial adjunct, or: The sticklers for *English pure and undefiled* (P. Kelver), which has come to be a set phrase.

122. D. What has been said above applies with still more reason to the case of an unstressed noun being modified by two weighty attributes, one or both of which preceded by an adverb. It would indeed be impossible not to lay some stress on the substantive if it were put after the adjectives; so these would thereby lose most of their emphasis.

Examples: Yet would I not have parents altogether precise, or too severe (Euphues). Socrates, who refused to save his life by disobeying the magistrate, yea a magistrate most wicked and unjust (Florio). Characters extremely good, or extremely bad, are seldom justly given (Clarissa). Symptoms of a spirit singularly open, thoughtful, almost poetical (Sartor Res.). To which they added an expression almost corpse-like and unearthly (Qu. Durward). «Nay», said Adeline, in a voice singularly sweet and clear (Rienzi). A tract of country excessively wild and desolate (Poe, Gold-bug). The impulses of a heart originally just and good (Opiumeater). The stars shone out, though with a light unusually dim and distant (ib.). She was a woman very pure and

¹ This mode of expression is a direct borrowing from the French. Cf. Qu'est-ce que tout cela, si ce n'est *de la chimie pure et simple* (Flaubert, M:me Bovary). very honest (Pipistrello). All the warm expressions of a heart naturally kind and generous (Venetia). He or she will end in believing evil of folk very near and dear (Plain Tales). It is in the domain of mezzo-tint that he holds a place quite unique and commanding (Studio, Oct. 1910). Also when the adverb is 'most' or 'less': I cannot 123. call to mind where I have heard words more mild and peacefull (Milton, Areopagitica). Of a size more large and robust (Gulliver). With miseries more dreadful and afflictive (Johnson, Rambler). In terms less acrimonious and unfair (Thackaray, Philip).

Chapter XI.

Postposition of a single attribute preceded by a quantitative adverb.

When an emphatic attribute is preceded by a 124. ponderous quantitative adverb it seems to be almost the rule to use inversion when the noun is in the indefinite form. Otherwise the emphasis becomes considerably less than it should be. Two cases are to be kept apart:

A. The adjective is more strongly stressed than the adverb.

The adverbs here used are most often 'almost', 'well- 125. nigh', 'quite', 'truly', 'full', and some others.

Examples: An obre bet is *zenne wel grat*, bet is felhede (fierceness) of herte (Ayenb.; 1340). This bataylle endured wel *an houre al hoole* (Godf. of Bol., 1481). The palays and the cyte were ... replenyssed wyth *sorowe ful byttir* (Blanch. and Egl., 1489). With a contenaunce full

sadde, more than ever she was byfore (ib.). He entre herde the cryes ful piteouse of a mayden (ib.). All your scruples, you see, have met with an indulgence truly maternal from me (Clarissa). The Comfort he draws from ... is a sentiment truly Diabolical (Addison, Spectator, Febr. 23, 1712). A barrier almost impassable 1 separates him from the commissioned officer (Macaulay, Hist.). The multitude . . . attributed to him a prescience almost miraculous (ib.). He was surrounded by pomp almost regal (ib.). With a strength quite surprising (Durward). Long-drawn chirpings and activity almost superhirundine (Sartor). Here also we have a Symbol well-nigh superannuated (ib.). A coolness from . business, an indolence almost cloistral (Elia). Turned towards Byronism with an interest altogether peculiar (Carlyle, Ess. on Scott). I perceived that it had grown to a pallor truly fearful (Poe, W. Wilson). This one has ... a weight altogether irresistible 1 (Poe, Mystery of Marie Rogêt). With a rolling gait altogether indescribable¹ (Twist). An expression of villainy perfectly demoniacal (ib.). A fidelity which he returned with an ingratitude quite Royal (Esmond). Turner appears as a man of sympathy absolutely infinite (Ruskin, Pre-raphaelitism). As the synonym for rectitude in dealing quite old-fashioned (P. Kelver). But do not despise a virtue purely Pagan (E. Harrington). Without a title or money he was under eclipse almost total (ib.). A bill was presented . . . for a sum quite preposterous (Wide World Mag., Sept. 1910).

126. Also the adverb 'most' belongs to this section. LOUISE POUND says (Comp. of Adj. in Engl. in the XV and the XVI cent., § 88; Anglistische Forschungen) — without any restriction or explanation! — as to the postposition of an attribute preceded by 'most': «The order exemplified by

Cf., however, Ch. VII, A.

Ascham's a virtue most noble... is common in both the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, especially in the latter part of the 16th». This word-order is not, however, unusual in Modern English either, in case the attribute is emphatic and the noun in the indefinite form, that is.

Examples: Danaus whome they report to be the father of fiftie children, had among them all but one that disobeyed him in a thing most dishonest 1 (Euphues). He multiplieth in brother-hood, a thing most singular¹, and a lonely one (Florio). There are certaine by-wayes and deepflows most profitable, which we should do well to leave (ib.). What is heaven? A place and state most blessed, because God dwelleth there (Pilgr. Progr.). Accusation was formally preferred and retribution most signal was looked for (Elia). O outcast of all outcasts most abandoned (Poe, W. Wilson). It was a stain that can never be effaced a deed most diabolical, and what we thought would call down the vengeance of Heaven (New Forest). What if the Cogglesby Brewery proved a basis most unsound (E. Harrington). A man most enviable (ib.). My thanks to you most sincere (ib.). - Also: That is the term most suitable, inasmuch as ... (Pearson's Mag., Jan. 1910).

Where 'most' is preceded by the def. art. one would 127. feel inclined to take the whole for a direct imitation of the French. This seems to me quite unnecessary, firstly because a real superlative in this case requires 'the' if it is not to be misunderstood as a weaker form ('most' = Swed. «högst»), secondly because the same construction can be used in Swedish (e. g. «Ett förhållande det mest egendomliga, man kan tänka sig»), and thirdly because French influence would not very likely have. stopped there.

Examples: A resolution the most momentous of his

¹ Cf., however, Ch. XIII, L.

whole life (Macaulay, Hist.). Under *circumstances the most* pathetic (Kenilworth). From *circumstances the most singular* dragged on to a precipice (ib.). Born in an age the most prosaic... in a condition the most disadvantageous (Carlyle, Ess. on Burns). Cowardice the most abject and selfish¹ (Opium-eater). Friendship the most delicate and love the most pure (Disraeli, Venetia). The extraordinary interest ... for minds the most diverse (Verity, Tempest; Introd.).

B. The adjective and the adverb are both equally emphatic.

Examples: For bon he was se monn swide afast 128. (pious) (Cædmon; A. S. Reader). Þis porcion turnyd in-to a little fynger all bludy (Alph. of Tales; 15th cent.) Wise men clepid he men gretly lerned, and onwise, simple ydiotis. (Capgrave, St. Augustine; Prol.; ab. 1450). A gentilman, a knyght right noble, named Gaultier (Godfrey of Bol., 1481). The knyght... is of byrth right hyghe (Blanch. and Egl., 1489). They ... made unmeasurable sorow, as. folkes utterly dispeired (Three Kings' Sons; 1500). Courage, constancie, and resolution, means altogether opposite (Florio). To forswear the full stream of the world, and to live in. a nook merely monastic (As you, III: 2). In a hand scarce legible (Milton, Areopagitica). Like a man perfectly confused and out of myself, I came home (Crusoe). He had made me several offers very advantageous, which, however, I refused (Gulliver). I came from countries very remote of which they never heard (ib.). He, I say, formed a conjecture equally absurd (Wakefield). They have not, perhaps, expected events equally strange, or by means equally inadequate (Rambler). Had they not happened to wound a part

¹ Cf., however, Ch. X, D.

remarkably tender (ib.). Such fears argued a diffidence and despondence very criminal (Andrews). It had infinitely a stronger effect on him ... an effect, however, widely different (T. Jones). The militia was an institution eminently popular (Macaulay, Hist.). Some passages, which, to minds strongly prepossessed, might seem to confirm the evidence of Oates (ib.). Your passion transports you into a language utterly unworthy. The hand of no gentlewoman can be disposed of by force (Durward). The moon shed a full sea of glorious light upon a landscape equally glorious (ib.). I am not mad - I am but a creature unutterably miserable (Kenilworth). Yet it is a difference literally immense (Carlyle, Ess. on Scott). He makes a bow to the doctor who replied by a salutation equally stiff (Duval). A scholar who ... bore the same Christian and surname as myself, a circumstance, in fact, little remarkable (Poe, W. Wilson). A man thoroughly great has a certain contempt for his kind while he aids them (Rienzi). The printed report gave «excellent» design (that is to say, design excellently good), which I did not mean (Two Paths). With a foresight and prudence highly commendable (Nickleby). Many exotic plants have pollen utterly worthless (Darwin, Origin). This incident I look back upon with feelings inexpressively profound (Opium-eater). Those years had been steeped in the sense of a lot irremediably hard (Floss). When a temporary gust of feeling carried her into an emotion unexpectedly strong (King's Mirror). The glass showed her a rosy face, and arms and shoulders superbly white (Xavier). Some of them ... proffered an assistance entirely unnecessary with an emphasis absolutely unnecessary (ib.). He was roused from his reverie by an altercation unmistakably fierce (E. Harrington). We have privileges equally enviable (ib.). The Critic has been once or twice revived in days comparatively recent (Introd. to Plays of Sheridan; World's

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Classics). There might be *rejoinders equally subtle* (Molloy, Shall and Will). ¹

129.

This also applies to an adjective preceded by 'more' or 'less', as these are quantitative adverbs as good as any and can be emphasized.

Examples with 'more': That he shold enclose them in a place more strayt, that they shold not renne in to the contre (Godf. of Bol., 1481). Here's metal more attractive (Hamlet, III: 2). Other societies possess written Constitutions more symmetrical² (Macaulay, Hist.). You cannot derive it from a source more worthy, answered Toison d'Or (Durward). Some of lower education, or a nature more brutal, saw only . . . (ib.). Aid more seasonable (Opium-eater). If I were you, I should feel myself in a danger more delightful (King's Mirror). Perhaps it would support an interpretation more subtle (ib.). No scene of contrasts more picturesque could have been discovered or imagined (Xavier). Prince Arthur had no friend more enthusiastic (ib.). An influence more potent refrained her (ib.). Rest more absolute could not have been ... (ib.). No salon of Paris had shown her a figure more distinguished (ib.). Rome surely contained no slum more fetid, none more perilous (Cardinal's Snuff-box). They retreated ... and went to other listeners more facile² (Ouida, Umiltà). Another trouble awaited me, one more tangible (P. Kelver).

Examples with 'less': If it had come from a person less prejudiced (Clarissa). If it be detained by occupations less pleasing it returns again to study (Rambler). Which, in souls less enlightened, may be guiltless (ib.). A century earlier, *irritation less serious* would have produced a general rising (Macaulay, Hist.). The vacant seats were generally

¹ Cf. also: He commended the services of *somebody pretty high* (E. Harrington). We could not say «somebody high».

² Cf., however, § 120.

filled with persons less tractable (ib.). Though with emotions less stormy (Rienzi). Wearing a character less offensive (Opium-eater). There were other functionaries less fortunate¹, that night and other nights (Two Cities). Out of other hands less scrupulous (New Forest).

With both 'more' and 'less': In a manner more or less satisfactory (Durward; Introd.).

Appendix 1.

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The same word-order is sometimes observed also where other kinds of adverbs are concerned, under the circumstances mentioned.

Examples: To an extent elsewhere unknown (Macaulay, Hist.). The understanding of a man naturally sanguine may, indeed . . . (Rambler). A skin transparently pure (Durward). Who sometimes has with some . . . little nook of literature an acquaintance critically minute (Opium-eater). Authorities notoriously neutral (ib.). A case of the hybrid offspring of two animals clearly distinct², being themselves perfectly fertile (Darwin, Origin). With expressions subtly various (King's Mirror). Complexions otherwise flawless are often ruined . . . (Cosmopol. Mag., Oct. 1910).

As for attributes preceded by adverbs of time, see the following chapter.

Appendix 2.

In the older language postposition of an attribute preceded by 'somewhat' was not uncommon. In ordinary Present English this is not found, as 'somewhat' is never emphatic.

Examples: It ought to bee *a voluptuousnesse somewhat* circumspect and conscientious³ (Florio). A counsel somewhat rash (ib.). You were better take for business *a man*

⁸ Compare also § 122 and § 120.

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¹ Cf., however, Introduction, §§ 11, 12, and § 120.

² «Clearly distinct» italicized by Darwin!

somewhat absurd than over-formal (Bacon, Of Seeming Wise). Rubb the neck well with a linnen napking somewhat course ¹ (E. E. Meals and Man., 1624). He came at a place somewhat ascending, and upon that place stood a cross (Pilgr. Prog.). Domestics of a kind somewhat unusual (Gulliver). A copy of the gospels somewhat mutilated, which ... (Johnson, Dict.).

The following is from Late Mod. Engl., but sounds decidedly archaic: Wales... breeds a population somewhat *litigious* (Opium-eater).

There was also another arrangement frequently used, namely: It hath somewhat a sharp taste (Florio). Brick of somewhat a bluer colour (New Atl.). In somewhat a humbler style (Sheridan, School for Sc.). My gossip has somewhat an ugly favour to look upon (Durward).

Chapter XII.

Adjectives preceded by temporal adverbs.

132.

It has been pointed out above (§ 98) that some hesitation prevails with a view to placing a participle modified by a temporal adverb before the noun. Also when the attribute is an adjective proper we frequently meet with postposition in this case. The motive is, of course, another, as adjectives in general cannot be said to be in the slightest degree verbal, even if the notion of time is strong.

I have already hinted at the fact that the only category of adverbs that did not entail inversion of noun and attribute in older English was the quantitative. So we naturally expect postposition there. But postposition is also the rule in Modern English as soon as the adjective and its temporal qualifier are to be emphasized at the

¹ Compare also § 120.

cost of the substantive. Otherwise the latter deprives the other two parts of speech of a great portion of their stress. This rule may, by the way, also be applied to many of the instances of the order noun + temp. adv. + part. given in a previous chapter.

Examples: It is a quality ever hurtfull, ever sottish (Florio). An insolent man is a fellow newly great, and newly proud (Earle, Micro-cosm.; 1628). Unfurnished with knowledge previously necessary (Adventurer). That Elizabeth might enter the Castle by a path hitherto untrodden¹ (Kenilworth). With a precision before unexampled¹ (Ruskin). The remembrance of a home long desolate (Two Cities). A boy living at the time then present (Mill on the Floss). A yesterday already remote (Cardinal's Snuff-box).

Other motives (§ 120) may account for the transposition in the following: Some fair lady hitherto unknown (P. Kelver). A harmonising attractiveness continually delightful (Daily Mail, July 6, 1909). An eminent English man of letters now dead (King's Mirror).

When no emphasis is aimed at, postposition is not 133. used in Mod. English:

He walked moodily some paces up the once populous avenue (Poe, The Man of the Crowd). The hitherto irreproachable firm of Stillschweigen (Sartor). My once bright prospects (D. Duval). A once predominant order (Darwin, Origin). A new and sometimes very different character (ib.). Costly and sometimes unhallowed sacrifices (Fullerton, Bonneval). That recently-despised but now welcome article of costume (Floss). The yet green grapes (Ouida, Umiltà). The always cold, bleak North (Ouida, Birds in the Snow). The then favourite game of tennis (Verity, Tempest; Notes). The still active use (Chatto and Windus, Slang Dict.). An ever fresh pleasure (Light that failed).

¹ Cf., however, Ch. VI.

A hyphen between a prepositive adjective and its adverb is occasionally found in the older language. This method may be looked upon as an intermediate stage 1 .

Examples: You ever-gentle gods (Lear, IV: 6). The ever-praiseworthy poesie (Sidney, Apologie). — Cf. also: Any directly-constant... judgement (Florio).

Even as late as Dickens and Disraeli: The *once-peaceful* streets (Two Cities). The *still-distant* huntsman (Venetia).

Chapter XIII.

Postposition of ordinary adjectives not qualified by any adverb.

A. I begin this section with some doubtful cases, namely those touching *previous*, *next*, *last*, and *sufficient*.
134. 1. Previous. It is indeed rather uncertain whether 'previous' is an adjective, and not an adverb, when it is placed after a noun denoting time. In Middle English in

placed after a noun denoting time. In Middle English, in Elizabethan English, and also in the living vulgar language, there are numerous instances of an adjective being used as an adverb without the ending *-ly*. It is then not impossible that we have to deal with a remnant of the older idiom in the case of 'previous' put after its head-word. 'Previous' following a substantive of time means exactly the same as the adverb 'before', just as 'previous to' is equivalent to the preposition 'before'. — There is an interesting parallel tending to corroborate this view in the following examples:

¹ A hyphen is still often used in Modern Engl. with some quantitative adverbs: That *half-pleasurable...* sentiment (Poe). A *halfpolite, half-tender* glance (Floss). With a *half-angry* gesture (Lady Audley). The *thrice-guilty* principal (ib.). A half-frightened, *halfvacant* sorrow (Harte, By Sedge and Shore).

A poor little wretch who had been awake half the night before and many nights previous (D. Duval). The pamphlet of yesterday, or the poem of the day previous, or the scandal of the week before (Thackaray, Philip).

Further instances:

Mrs. B. had told him of the accident at supper on *the night previous* (Duval). My little white dimity bed was as smooth and trim as on *the day previous* (Van. Fair). In 1812..., as well as for *some years previous*, I had been chiefly studying German metaphysics (Opium-eater).

Perhaps the likeness in use to postpositive 'following', 'coming' may also count for something.

2. Last and next. As regards 'last' and 'next', they 135. might very well be dismissed as adverbs when placed behind in expressions of time. So they are too in the collocations *last past*, *next coming (following, ensuing)*, as in:

This very year last past (Two Cities). And crown her Queen of England, ere the thirtieth of May next ensuing (II, Henry VI, I: 1). At Esture next comyng (Cov. L. Book, 1421)¹.

Even if we need not look upon postpositive 'last' and 'next' as short for «last past», «next coming (following, ensuing)», it is at any rate possible that the analogy of these as well as of the simple postpositive 'past', 'coming', etc. has at least contributed to the rise and propagation of the word-order in modern *Saturday last, Saturday next*, etc.

One might also imagine, if 'last' and 'next' are not adverbs here, that Saturday last (next) stands for Saturday last (next) week, and that The 30th of May last (next) stands for The 30th of May last (next) year (spring). Com-

¹ For further instances, see § 89.

pare Latin proximo, ultimo. It looks as if that were the case in: On Thursday evening last (Twist).

136. Postposition is frequent as early as the Middle English period.

Examples: XV li. at Esteren next, and X li. at Esteren come twelmonthe (E. E. Wills, 1417). To be yeven be Michelmas day next (Cov. L. B., 1464). The matier shuld be continied till Estur next (ib., 1493). On Wednesday next (Rich. II). — Why did you not lend it to Alice Shortcake upon All-hallowmas last (Merry Wives, l: 1). You spit on me on Wednesday last (Merch. of Ven., I: 3). On Black-Monday last at six o'clock (ib., II: 5). On Good-Friday last (I, Henry IV, I: 2).

137. 3. Sufficient. It is quite apparent that 'sufficient' is often at bottom an adverb when it has its place after its head-word, a phenomenon frequently met with in older and modern English, from the 15th century down to our days ¹.

Examples: I had both scissors and razors sufficient (Crusoe). There are already books sufficient in the world (Johnson, Adventurer). He may find real crimes sufficient to give full employment to caution or repentance (Rambler). The gazetteers and writers . . . have given accounts sufficient of that bloody battle (Esmond). Juliana at least had hints sufficient (E. Harrington).

138. But it is nowise necessary always to have recourse to such an explanation. 'Sufficient' may very well be an adjective also when postpositive, having received its place on the analogy of 'enough', which is not an adjective, but an adverb (originally a noun probably). Since *enough company* is the same as *sufficient company, company sufficient* ought easily to be substituted for *company enough*, one would think.

 $^{^1}$ We cannot refer 'sufficient' to § 111 above, because it has never anything verbal in it.

Thus 'sufficient' may be a real adjective, though it is uncertain, in:

Then we shall have *work sufficient*, without any more accrease (Florio). For want of *ardour sufficient* to encounter them (Adventurer). He had *salary sufficient* of the state (New Atlantis). Any illness which left the patient *strength sufficient* to walk about (Opium-eater). That will be *explanation sufficient* (New Forest).

On the other hand it cannot well be an adverb in 139. the following quotations:

bou shalt finde *tyme sufficient and covenable*... (Imit. Christi, 1440). If the Vintners nose be at the doore, it is *a signe sufficient* (Earle, Micro-cosm., 1628). Nor were the rocks in the island *of hardness sufficient*, but all were ... (Crusoe). Sufficient indication, if *no proof sufficient*, remains for us in his works (Carlyle, Ess. on Burns).

B. Square and Sterling.

1. Square is often placed after 'foot'. KRÜGER says 140. (Syntax § 289): «Unterscheide six feet square = 6 Fuss im Quadrat, 6 Fuss lang und 6 Fuss breit, von six square feet, 6 Quadratfuss». This in other words means that 'square' is put after the noun only when used adverbially (Swed. «i kvadrat»), not in an attributive function.

Postposition is not, however, used solely when the expression is a predicative complement, as in: Each is about forty *feet square* (Gulliver), but also in other combinations, e. g. A space of eight *feet square* (Ruskin), In the space of a *foot and a half square* (Ruskin), The little parlour, of some 12 *feet square* (Irving, Sketchbook).

Strictly speaking, «foot square» does not fall within the compass of this treatise.

2. Pound sterling is short for *Pound Easterling*; so 141. 'sterling' is not, properly speaking, an adjective in this

collocation, although it has later on been apprehended as, and has passed into, an adjective.

As a real adjective it does not, however, stand after its substantive.

C. Postposition after 'with'.

142. In a phrase like *He returned with his mind unchanged* 'unchanged' is not, of course, an attribute, but predicative in the same way as the participles in: *Then Jack Hunter, without a word said, sped across the marshes* (H. Sutcliffe, The Jolly Smugglers; Winds. Mag., May 1910), *It was not the first time he had borrowed a neighbour's horse without leave asked* (ib.); thus = *He returned*, *his mind being unchanged*, or: *having his mind unchanged*¹. – In like manner, *With prices affixed* (where 'prices' stands for «the prices», in accordance with the principles of the advertising style) may be transcribed: *The prices being affixed*.

Compare also: That is victorie indeed, which shall be attained *with credit unimpeached*, and dignitie untainted (= without impeachment of credit etc. Florio). I come *with no fame won*, and no young vision realised (Twist).

143. In the following quotation the part. should be understood as a substantive (cf. § 50): With drums beating and music sounding (= with beating of drums etc.). There must be a battle, a brave, boisterous battle, with pendants waving and cannon roaring (Audley).

144. Under the influence of such combinations the same word-order is kept up also when the adj. or part. after 'with' is used attributively.

¹ Such expressions are, of course, renderings of the Latin ablative absolute, «without a word said» being equivalent to «with no word said».

a) Very often it will be possible to explain the matter simply by assuming omission of a poss. pron., so that the adjective becomes properly speaking a predicative part of the sentence. That the pronoun can be omitted is clear from the following quotations:

With eyes fixed upon the spot where the carriage had disappeared (Twist). My mother sat quite still, with eyes intent on the floor (King's Mirror). With blood aflame (adv.!) and face hot with anger, Sherlock strode from his hiding-place (F. M. White, The Salmon Poachers; Winds. Mag. July 1910).

No doubt it was so at first; French Les yeux fermés was rendered by With eyes shut, where 'with' was thought to correspond to 'les'. But it is hardly probable that the adj. (or part.) is felt to be predicative now; otherwise one would not combine the two different constructions, as in:

This good angel..., stood before him with keen words and aspect malign (Esmond). With folded arms and bodies half doubled (Twist). For nearly ten minutes he stood there, motionless, with parted lips, and eyes strangely bright (D. Gray).

At any rate, where a poss. pron. may be supposed 145. to be omitted postposition is considered the best construction. In Moderna Språk VI, 1910, Mr. Fearenside corrects a Swedish learner's *A ship with set sails* into «[better:] *sails set*».

Examples: This yonge Davyd, with visage assured, as he that abode the dethe ..., seide to the Soudan yn this wise ... (Three Kings' Sons, 1500). Toothless, with eies dropping, or crooked and stooping (Florio). Meagre looking, with eies trilling, flegmatick, squalid, and spauling (ib.). A small cherub of gold with wings displayed (New Atlantis). He marched into Liège as a conqueror, with visor closed (Durward). I think they wear helmets with visors lowered (ib.). He turned toward Durward with mace uplifted (ib.). As if he were asleep with eyes open (Sartor). While they waited with stomachs faint and empty, they beguiled the time by embracing one another (Two Cities). He walked to and fro with thoughts very busy until it was time to return (ib.). Who, with prospects blighted, lingered on at home (Twist). You gentle reader, with brain fully grown, trained by years ... (P. Kelver). 'Winking', with eyes shut (Verity, Henry V; Notes). Placid like a statue, with cheeks a little hollower, and lips a little whiter (Merriman, •On the Rocks). «I should be proud of it», she said, with head erect. (King's Mirror).

b) On the other hand there can be no doubt as to the attributive character of the adjective (or participle) in the following quotations:

If he smyte with a swerd or a knyfe drawyn he schall pay half a marke (Cov. L. B., 1421). Whereas he should return with a mind full-fraught, he returns with a windpuft conceit (Florio). He is sent to the University, and with great heart burning takes upon him the Ministry (Earle, Micro-cosm.; 1628). I stored my boat with the carcasses of 100 oxen and 300 sheep, with bread and drink proportionable¹ (Gulliver). My aunt was there and looked upon me as if with kindness restrained, bending coldly to my compliment (Clarissa). We are, therefore, not to wonder that most fail . . . with a mind unbiassed and with liberty unobstructed (Rambler)².

147. Inversion in this case cannot, however, be said to be in accordance with modern usage. In the following examples from more recent times other motives have, I think, determined the word-order:

A forked radish with a head fantastically carved

146.

¹ Cf., however, in proportion, and also § 109.

² Participles are, of course, most liable to transposition.

(Sartor)¹. With a hope ever darkening², and with ... (Two Cities). I heard him descending with steps slow and steady³ (Opium-eater). The Doctor, with a countenance unusually serious³, offered her his arm (Venetia).

In the following quotations 'with' is omitted: She paused, mouth open, eyes wide, listening (C. Carr, Votes for Women; Winds. Mag. June 1910). At all events, eyebrows raised, face unsmiling, it was a glance that... (Cardinal's Snuff-box).

D. Dear. Just as 'child' in: «A rich husband, *Polly*, 148. *child*! and you are a lady ready made» (E. Harrington), is a term of endearment or word to attract attention added after wards, in the same way 'dear' in «Come, Annie (,) dear!» is a posterior supplement thought necessary for the sake of better effect. DICKENS has: «*Oliver, my dear*, come to the gentleman» (Twist), where 'dear' comes pretty near to a noun. The similarity between the two modes of expression is thence obvious.

Postposition in such cases was the rule as early as 149. the Anglo-Saxon period: *Hroðgar leofa* (Sweet). *Men þa leofestan* (Blickl. Hom.; Müllner. «Anrede»). *Hæleð min se leofa* (Elene; Kellner, Hist. Outlines). *Mine gebroðra þa leofostan* (Aelfric's Hom.; Müllner). *Broðer min se leofosta* (ib.). *Dohtor min seo dyreste* (Juliana; Kellner).

Examples from later times: *Thisby dear* (Mids. Night). 150. «My father!» she called to him. *«Father dear»* (Two Cities). *Maisie, dear*, it sounds absurd (Light that failed). *«Grace dear»*, interposed her mother (Two Years Ago). I won't leave you, *uncle dear* (G. P. Hawtrey, Pickpocket).

It is not in accordance with the modern idiom to use 151. inversion also when the substantive is preceded by a possessive pronoun. But Shakespear has: Ah, Pyramus, *my lover dear* (Mids. Night). Thisby dear, *my lady dear* (ib.).

¹ Cf. Ch. V.

² Cf. § 121.

⁸ Cf. § 130.

The following quotations should also be compared as parallels: A! traytour untrewe (= traitor, you untrue dog), sayd kyng Arthur (Morte Darthur). — You're tied up in a sack and made to run about blind, *Binkie-wee* (= Binkie, my little dog. Light that failed).

E. Pliny the Elder, Charles the Great, and the like.

152. Phrases like *Pliny the Elder*, *Charles the Great* are no special characteristics of English. They are common to both ancient and modern languages, and the reason of the postposition is simply that the adjectives were originally appositions, i. e. explanatory additions, just as are the nouns in: The difference between one the numeral and one the pronoun is ... (Sweet, Gram.).

In older English nearly all appositions are placed after the headword, e. g. Ignatius bisc., Eoppa mæssepreost, Cometa se steorra, On Hii pam ealonde (Kube, § 29). Honorius casere (Bede's Eccl. Hist.). Fram Agusto pam casere (ib.).

- 153. In Anglo-Saxon such appositional adjectives could even be separated from the noun by other parts of the sentence, as in: Ond pær wearð *Sidroc eorl* ofslægen *se alda*, and Sidroc eorl se gioncga etc. (Sax. Chron.).
- 154. Direct borrowings from the Latin are Asia Minor and proper nouns + senior, junior, major (e. g. Fowler major told me the yarn one day; J. Pope, Pym's Sister; Winds.
 Mag., June, 1910).

Other instances from older and more recent times: Sidroc eorl se gioncga (Sax. Chron.). Bi þam cuæð Salomonn se snottra (Cura Past.). Oswald se eadiga (Aelfr. Hom., Müllner). Libye the hye, and Libye the lowe (Maundev., Mätzner). Ynde the lesse (ib.). Ermonye the litylle and the grete (ib., Müllner). Peris Smyth the yongar (E. E. Wills, 1411). A contre named danemarche the moyen¹ (Godfrey of Bol., 1481). Thence into Little Saffron Hill, and so

¹ Fr. Danemarche la Maienne, Lat. Dacia mediterranea.

into Saffron Hill the Great (Twist). Amomma the outcast – because she might blow up at any moment – browsed_in the background (Light that failed).

F. Phrases borrowed or copied from the Latin.

1. Grammatical phrases.

It can hardly be doubted that *nominative absolute* and 155. *ablative absolute* are descendants in a direct line of Latin *nominativus absolutus*, *ablativus absolutus*.

And all other grammatical terms with a postpositive adjective naturally go back to the same source. They have passed into standing expressions and might therefore, from a modern point of view, be regarded as compound words.

Examples: The *persons plural* keep the termination of the first person singular (Ben Jonson). Nouns signifying a multitude require a *verb plural* (ib.). The formation of a *participle passive* from a noun is a licence . . . (Colleridge, Table Talk). 'Strucken', the old *participle passive* (Johnson, Dict.¹). We might take two years in getting through the *verbs deponent* (Elia). It is separated from the *participle passive* (Abbott, Sh. Gram.). «Progress», the *verb neuter* (Fitzedw. Hall, Mod. Engl.). His *verb active* «pleasure», and several similar forms, are archaisms (ib.). English *Imperfects Passive* (ib.). Mostly after *verbs intransitive* (Abbott). *e mute*, *-ed sonant*, *h mute* (ib.). Omission of the *subject relative* (Verity, As you; Notes). *m final*.

In Late Modern English this word-order is not gen- 156. erally used, except perhaps in the language of conservative latinizing grammarians.

It is somewhat uncertain whether we are to look upon the fol- 157. lowing as imitations of the above: i short is decidedly secondary

¹ Cited by G. LANNERT, An Investigation into the Lang. of R. Crusoe, Uppsala 1910.

(Lloyd, North. Engl.). *e short* is the normal short printed e (ib.). *e long* is not found quite pure in N.-Engl. (ib.). — We might indeed be entitled to regard *«*i short*»* etc. as an abbreviation of *«*i, when it is short*»*, or *«*i, the short*»*, so that the adjectives were either predicative or appositional.

2. Biblical phrases.

158.

God Omnipotent derives its origin direct from Lat. Deus Omnipotens. The more frequent form is, however, the anglicized God Almighty (cf. Swed. »Gud allsmäktig»).

Examples from older English: Gode allmehtgum ond here halgon gesomnuncgæ (Kent. Chart., Oswulf; A. S. Reader). Gif ðæt ðonne God ællmæhtig geteod habbe (Kentish Charters, Aelfred; ib.). Heora heortan . . . Gode ælmihtegum clæne healden (Bede, Eccl. Hist.).

Normal word-order also occurs, according to Косн (*Hist. Gram.*) only in the vocative case; e.g. *Almichte God* (Ancr. Riwle).

159. After «God almighty» had become practically a compound word, people would say: Laverd godalmihtin (O. E. Hom.; Müllner), and thence: Hlaford almihti (ib.); Saith the Lord Almighty (Auth. Vers., II. Cor. VI: 18).

160. Imitations of the Latin are also to be seen in expressions with a postpositive 'everlasting'.

Examples: Hi ssel become a welle bet him ssel do lheape (jump) in-to *pe lyve everelestynde* (Ayenb., 1340). Gretyng in *God aylestand* tyt yhure (to your) universite («Schott. Schiedspr.», 1385: Kluge, Leseb.). Hayle berfore, o lufly *lufe everlastynge* (Fire of Love; 1435). When pore to *pes everlastyng* sal be borne (ib.). A crovne everlasting (De Imit. Christi, 1440). Into the *fire everlasting* (ib.). Into *lyf everlasting* (ib.). Go to the *fest everlastinge* (ib.). ¹ He belonged now to the *world everlasting* (John Hal.; Poutsma). All Marsh folk have been smugglers since *time everlasting* (Kipling, Puck).

¹ But also (ib.): Everlastinge dampnacion, Everlastinge lif.

That the same word-order was kept also when A. 161. S. 'everlasting' had been exchanged for Rom. 'eternal', is still more intelligible.

Examples: And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into *life eternal* (Matthew, 25: 46).¹ And this is *life eternal*, that they might know thee the only true God (John, 17: 3).¹ That he might know Christ Jesus, to know whom is *life eternal* (Crusoe).

Other biblical phrases: O Father Beneficent! strength- 162. en our hearts (Thackaray, Philip). I know one that prays... that the Eye all-seeing shall find you in the humble place (Esmond). — Thus also: My goodness gracious (Brown, V. C.), where 'goodness' stands for 'God'.

He chose the *church militant* (T. Jones). A visible Communion and *Church Militant* (Sartor). This... revealed it as a *Church militant and crusading* (Opium-eater). *Church triumphant*.² – Yes, that 'a did, and said they were *devils incarnate* (Henry V, II: 1). «O, *devils incarnate!*» he yelled (Ouida, A Hero's Reward). Also: A very light-ray incarnate (Sartor).³ – The First Epistle General of John (Auth. Vers.). The Second Epistle General of Peter (ib.).

3. Titles.

Vicar-Apostolic (Lat. Vicarius Apostolicus). ⁴ Poet Laur- 163. eate (Lat. Poeta Laureatus). Notary-public (Lat. Notarius publicus). – Professor Emeritus also has the form «Emeritus Professor» (Bain, Rhet. and Comp.).

4. Possibly also such as these:

Toward the parties septemtrionales (Maundeville). 164.

¹ But also, passim: Eternal life.

² Meredith has in imitation of this: Thither *Tailordom Triumphant* was bearing its victim (E. Harrington).

⁸ But (ib.): Some incarnate Mefistopheles. — The one incarnate hero of a life's imaginings (Cosmop. Mag., Oct. 1910).

⁴ But: Apostolic See, Apostolic Fathers, Apostolic Succession.

Toward the *parte meridionalle* (ib.). No man may see the *sterre transmontane* (ib.).

G. Phrases borrowed from the French.

- 165. As is well known, the French language for a long time reigned supreme in England, as far as certain departments were concerned. Above all, this was the case among the clergy and accordingly in public education, in court proceedings — from which it did not quite disappear until 1731 — and in parliament. Furthermore, every branch of higher social life wore a French guise, and there are even evidences of French having held a position in the commercial world as well.¹
- 166. The consequence of all this was that, when the foreign language was at length replaced by English, not only separate words, but also a great many stationary expressions which had taken root deeply, remained, in the same way as the inundating flood always leaves several things behind, both good and evil. Some of these phrases later on took a partly anglicized form, whereas others were kept unchanged.
- 167. Thus English up to this day exhibits a long file of traditional phrases consisting of a noun with a postpositive attribute, either so, that both subst. and adj. are of Romance extraction, or so, that only the adjective more rarely the substantive only originally belonged to the French vocabulary. Many of the Anglo-Norman expressions in question have become extinct, but it appears from the collection of examples that I have gathered how frequent they were in Middle and Early Modern English.

As a matter of course, they are chiefly found within

¹ Cf. VISING, Franska Språket i England (Göteborg, 1900); BEHRENS, Franz. Elemente im Engl.; Pauls Grundriss.

the provinces where French had most influence. They are, then, to be met with in the language of *heraldry*, in *ecclesiastic* language and *learned* language in general, in the *titles* of the highest society, in the *legal* style, where *chivalrous life* is referred to, etc.

1. Middle English phrases.

a. Legal style:

Allso hai orden hat no bocher ... sle no booll but 168. gif he be baityd a-fore at a *place consuet* (Cov. L. B., 1423). Myn executrice principall (E. E. Wills, 1433). They ordeyne that ... such maner upholders ... be pursewed as they were persones sole (Cov. L. B., 1439). Your tables matrimonial hat wer made betwixt you and your husbandis (Capgrave, Augustine; 1450). In eny Court spirituell (C. L. B., 1457). He that hit wereth be servaunt menyal to us (ib., 1461). Whoos names apperen in a letter testymoneall (ib., 1472). Both in plee riall and personell (ib., 1464). Our dute roiall (ib., 1472). Astate Royall (ib.). A successoure legytyme (Blanch. and Egl., 1489). His resolucion fynall was that ... (ib.).

b. Ecclesiastic language:

Ase he dede to Even and to Adam in *paradys ter-* 169. estre (Ayenb., 1340). God glorious, God victorious (Maundev. Müllner). More þai lufe gudes temporall þen eternall (Fire of Love, 1435). In paynes perpetuall þat þai have synned... (ib.). Þe psalme, transfourmed in-to þe persone of man contemplatyve, sayes... (ib.). O þou light perpetual, passynge all lightes create (Imit. Christi, 1440). Gadre riches immortal (ib.). Be veraye permyssion devyne (Blanch. and Egl.; 1489). Never... she sholde wedde paynem nor noo man infydele¹ (ib.). There are also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial (Auth. Vers., I. Cor., 15: 40).

¹ French text: Ung Infidele aovrant les ydoles dyaboliques.

c. Learned style in general:

Mars rectograde, Mars direct. The excellence of the spere 170. (= sphere) solid (Chaucer, Astrolabe).¹ Cause accidental, cause material, cause formal, cause final (Chaucer, Melibeus; Müllner). Sulphur vif (Maundev.; Müllner). A medicyn defensif (Science of Cir., 1380). Medicyne mundificatif (ib.). Medicyns mollificatyves (ib.). A plastre maturatijf (ib.). Alle bese ... ben but techinge of *medicyns speculatiif* (ib.). A medicyn caustik (ib.). Heelynge by him-silf in fisik medicinal (ib.). Veynis miserak ben smale veynes (ib.). Veynes capillares (ib.). De oon cause is clepid cause coniuncte: and be toper cause antecedent (ib.). De medicyne restrictive, forsobe (Fistula, 1400). A medicyne laxatyve (ib.). A medicyne cauterizative (ib.). Vertue retentyve is feble, and vertu expulsyve strong (ib.). A poudre bat is called Pulver greke (ib.). After be pyttyng of be poudre greke (ib.).

d. Titles:

171.

. Sende hem to be *mynystris provyncials* (Wyclif, Rule of St. Francis). A *frere minour* (Fistula). De *frere mynours* of Yorke (ib.). I cured 4 *frerez prechours* (ib.). Dis Ruben is referred on-to *chanones secular* (Capgrave, Sermon; 1422). Dis may be applied in be best maner to *chanones regular* (ib.). Whethur he be *Notary impereall*, or he be not (Cov. L. B., 1423). Certeyn *maydenes secular* (Capgrave, St. Gilbert; 1451). My most dradde lorde and *ffadirs roiall* ioureney into Scotland (C. L. B., 1481). His *lady soverayne* (Blanch. and Egl., 1489).

172. 2. The still remaining collocations are, however, also numerous enough. To give a complete list of them would neither be feasible nor of any particular interest. For that reason I content myself with citing the most com-

¹ STORM, Engl. Philologie. — These may also have been formed on Latin models.

mon among them, and perhaps some more which have happened to fall into my hands.

a. To the legal style belong:

Malice prepense (I felt sure she had played this card 173. of malice prepense; Allen, Hilda Wade), and the half anglicized Malice aforethought. - Fee-simple, and the like (Fee is divided into two sorts: fee-absolute, otherwise called fee-simple, and fee-conditional . . .; Cowell; Latham, Dict.). Court Martial (Courts Martial; Macaulay, Hist.). Lords Appellant (Verity, Rich. II; Notes). Seal manual, Sign manual (Therto I point my signet and my syne manuell; E. E. Wills, 1428. That we undir our prive seal or signet or signe manuell commande you to doo; C. L. B., 1469. The master's final sign-manual; Ruskin). Letter patent (Letters patents; Rich. II, II: 1), Letters commendatory (Therefore it ... is ... like perpetual letters commendatory to have good forms; Bacon, Of Ceremonies), Letters dismissory (The Bishop of London gave letters dismissory to the Bishop of Sodor and Man; H. Caine, Christian). Proof positive (And that she loves him I have proof positive; E. Harrington), Proof demonstrative (cf. Oration demonstrative; Wilson, Art of Rhet.; Latham, Dict.). Body politic¹, Body corporate (We ... ordain that the said body politic and corporate shall consist of ...; Charter of Univ. of Lond.). Heir female, Heir male (To him and to his heires males; E. E. Wills, 1426. Sole heir male; Henry V, I: 2), Heir-apparent (Esmond. – POUTSMA: «Formerly also apparent heir»), Heir-presumptive (Poutsma: «Also occasionally presumptive heir»). Line male, Line female, Issue male (Gef the same William dye withoute issue male; E. E. Wills, 1426. For want of issue male; Naunton, Fragm. Reg.; 1630).

¹ But BACON has, for reasons easily understood: As there are mountebanks for *the natural body*, so are there mountebanks for *the politic body* (Of Boldness).

102

Right divine ¹ (Esmond. – POUTSMA: «It seems to be quite as usual to place 'divine' before 'right'»). Blood royal (There was no prince of the blood royal in the parliamentary party; Macaulay. – From the outset «sank royal»: Saunke realle; Morte Darthur. Sank royall; J. Skelton, 1522). Signet royal (Producing his credentials under the signet royal; Gulliver). Patent royal (Esmond).

b. To heraldry belong:

174.

Lion couchant, Lion dormant, Lion seiant, Lion reg(u)ardant, Lion passant; ² Luces haurient (Three pikes or luces haurient). Bar sinister (My bar sinister may never be surmounted by the coronet of Croye; Durward). Ensign armorial (An escutcheon or ensign armorial, granted in memory of some distinguished feat; N. E. D., i. v. 'hatchment'). ³

c. Titles and terms of chivalrous life:

175.

Prince[-ss] Royal⁴, Prince Imperial, Crown Imperial (Verity, Henry V; Notes). Ambassador Extraordinary, Envoy Extraordinary, Physician Extraordinary. County Palatine. (Opium-eater), Count[-ess] Palatine, Elector-Palatine (Esmond). Queen Dowager (Esmond: Viscountess Dowager), Queen Regnant; Queen Elect (Esmond; ib. also: My Lady Duchess elect), Bride[-groom] elect (Esm.), Bishop elect (The bishop elect takes the oaths of supremacy; Ayliffe, Parergon Juris Canonici; Latham, Dict.). Lord paramount⁵ (He was also feudal lord paramount of the whole soil of his kingdom; Macaulay. A great vassal entering the presence of his Lord Paramount; Durward). Governor General, Attorney General, Solicitor General, Vicar General, Inspector General (Latham, Dict.). Minister

- ⁴ KOCH mentions also: Astronomer royal, Chaplan royal.
- ⁵ Also: Traitor paramount.

¹ Cf. *Right conferred*.

² These do not belong to § 111, as there is no verbality.

³ Cf. also, in heraldry: An eagle displayed.

Plenipotentiary. Premier Apparent. Bishop Designate, Viceroy Designate, Bishop Suffragan. Lords spiritual, Lords temporal (POUTSMA: «Occasionally Spiritual Lords, Temporal Lords»). Knight errant ¹, Knight Templar. Table round (Arthur helde a Royal feeste and table rounde with his alyes; Morte Darthur), Table dormant ² («table with a board attached to a frame, instead of lying loose upon threstles»; Morris, Chaucer).

d. The following fall within different provinces:

Gumme arabic (Fistula). Sal volatile (Nickleby). Ac- 176. count-current (Crusoe). Sum total (The sternest sum-total of all worldly misfortunes is Death; Carlyle, Ess. on Burns), Net-total (Carlyle, Ess. on Scott). Point-device, Point-blank (As it were point-blancke before them; Florio). Sister German³, Brother German³ (bis childe stale ane halpeny from his bruper-german; Alph. of Tales, 15:th cent.), Cousin german³ (They were cosyn germyns; Three Kings' Sons, 1500. This... seemeth in my opinion cosen-german to this; Florio. They knew it was their cousin german; Ph. Sidney). A knave complete (Wenstr.-Lindgr.). From times remote (Krüger), From time immemorial⁴ (From time immemorial a fundamental law of England; Macaulay). Quantity neglectable (KRÜGER: «Üblicher a negligible quantity»).

Younger: Goblet in old silver repoussé (Studio, June, 1910).

H. Proper (Improper).

'Proper' deserves to be treated apart. 'Proper' is, 177. says Krüger, always placed behind in the sense of »eigent-

¹ Also *Bailiff errant, Justice errant* (Our judges of assize are called *justices errant*. Called a *bailiff errant;* Butler; Latham, Dict.).

² But, Naunton, Fragm. Reg.: She held a *dormant Table* in her own Princely breast.

³ Possibly originating in the legal language.

⁴ Cf. Depuis un temps immémorial (Balzac, Femme de 30 Ans).

lich». This is not quite correct, inasmuch as we say in a proper sense, the proper type, proper (improper) fraction. The matter is better formulated by POUTSMA: »Proper [is placed after the noun] in the sense of 'exclusive of ac-

cessories'» (e. g. Food proper, Egypt proper, the Dictionary proper). 3. The origin of the inverted word-order is certainly to

The origin of the inverted word-order is certainly to be looked for in the Anglo-Norman legal language. The first combinations with 'proper' probably were such as *London proper, The City proper, Seamen proper*. At first, then, it might have been a question of set phrases only, similar to those above dealt with. But on account of the emphasis of the adjective, and possibly also as a means of avoiding misinterpretation, since 'proper' had other meanings too, ¹ it became by and by the rule always to use postposition when 'proper' meant «exclusive of accessories». Nowadays one does not any more say: *Proper Arabia* is divided into five provinces (Sale, Koran; 1734; N. E. D.); but one does not either say: *Noun proper* (N. E. D., 1551), where 'proper' has another meaning ('peculiar'). — 'Improper' agrees with 'proper'.

Examples: It contains the *Fin proper* of Finland, the Estonian etc. (Latham, Dict.). The *seamen proper* form but a portion of the crew of a ship (Escott, England, its People, Polity, and Pursuits). Thus 'will' has to do duty both as 'will' proper and also as 'will' improper (Abbott, Sh. Gram.). The author's views on phonetics proper are expressed in the vaguest and most abstract way (Sweet). Novels proper and novels improper (Sweet).

More freely used: The dingiest of windows which ...

¹ Cf. With *his own propre swerd* he was slayn (Maundev.; N. E. D.). For to sytte in dome *in proper parsoun* (Hampole; N. E. D.). Of the King of England's *own proper cost* (II, Henry VI, I: 1).

were made the dingier by their own *iron bars proper*, and the heavy shadow of Temple Bar (Two Cities).

For the sake of variety or euphony the longer «prop- 179. erly so called» is sometimes used:

In so splendid ... a manner did *the English people, prop*erly so called, ¹ first take place among the nations of the world (Macaulay, Hist.). It was not till 1740 that *the first English* novel, properly so called, Richardson's Pamela, made its appearance (Robertson, Hist. of Engl. Lit.).

In heraldry 'proper' means «in the natural colouring». 180. Of course it is here also put after the noun: *Ivy proper* (N. E. D., i. v. 'proper').

I. Pseudo-Anglo-French terms.

After the pattern of the above-mentioned fixed phras- 181. es a great many collocations resembling these have been coined by different authors, some of which have come to be more commonly used. Several of the expressions in question might be styled pseudo-Anglo-French terms, being direct imitations of real Anglo-French terms and containing either the same substantive or the same adjective.

Examples: The crowns and garlands personal (Bacon, Of Health). Malice domestic (Macbeth, III: 2). And that not only as a town corporate (Bunyan, H. War). Besides, our times have seen enough to make men loathe the Crown Matrimonial (Kenilworth). A free coronet of England is worth a crown matrimonial held at the humour of a woman (ib.). Damosels-errant (Durward).² (Cf. also: The trade of a damsel adventurous; ib.). Benevolence prepense (Carlyle, Ess. on Scott). The master-organ and true pineal gland of the Body Social (Sartor). The tax for the lord, tax local and

¹ Cf. Fr. La grammaire proprement dite.

² Also: Damsel-erranting (Durward).

tax general (Two Cities). *Tribune-Elect* (Rienzi). Such is man, though a *Deucalion elect*; such is woman though a Pyrrha (Opium-eater). *Fool Errant* (Hewlett, Book title). – Compare also: This is the *Father Superior*, sir (Christian).¹

182.

Particularly such with 'royal' are very common:

Rime roial (Seven-lined stanzas used first by James I, 1424). Draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the *line royal* (Bacon, Of Nobility). The *tent royal* of their emperor (Henry V, I: 2). It is against the law, government, and the *prerogative royal* of our king (Holy War). A comedy as performed at the *Theatres-Royal* in Drury Lane and Covent Garden (Sheridan, Rivals).² The clump of large oaks, which they call the *Clump Royal* (New Forest).

J. Humorous phrases.

183.

A rather extensive group of imitative expressions with a postpositive adjective is formed by such as seem to have been coined by the several authors in a moment of good humour and tend to give a comical colouring to what is being said. Such formations are naturally of an ephemeric character, as a rule, but some there are nevertheless that prove to have been more tenacious of life. Similar humorous phrases have been common ever since Shakespear's days. Some of them are exclusively satirical.

Examples: Sport Royal, I warrant you (Tw. Night, II: 3). And yet he will not stick to say his face is a face royal (II, Henry IV, I: 2). Thou buckram lord, now art thou within point-blank of our jurisdiction regal (II, Henry VI, IV: 7). Bully Sir John! Speak from thy lungs military: art thou there (Merry Wives, IV: 5). He is a motion generative, that's infallible (Measure, III: 2). Scene individable,

¹ This might also be an imitation of a Latin expression.

² Theatre Royal occurs, however, not only in Sheridan.

or poem unlimited (Hamlet, II: 2. But cf. § 110). From the inwards to the parts extreme (II, Henry IV, IV: 3). Have you been a sectary astronomical (Lear, I: 2). That sprightly Scot of Scots, Douglas, that runs o' horseback up a hill perpendicular (I, Henry IV, II: 4). This we call the oath referential, or sentimental swearing (Rivals). Puffing is of various sorts: the puff direct, the puff preliminary, the puff collateral, the puff collusive, and the puff oblique (Sheridan, The Critic). Mr. Dangle [reading newspapers]: »Theatrical intelligence extraordinary »(ib.). Whilst the battle roval was going on between me and Tom Caffin (Duval). He stood on the other side of the gulf impassable 1 (Van. Fair). Until November should come with its fogs atmospheric and fogs legal and bring grist to the mill again (Two Cities). The life-matrimonial (Nickleby). He had allied ... himself ... with a Farmer-General (Two Cities). As to finances public, because ...; as to finances private, because ... (ib.). The postillion would rather have had to do with the gentleman royal, who is above base computation (Ev. Harrington). Superior by grace divine (ib.). Eyebrows as black and as straight as the borders of a Gazette Extraordinary, when a big man dies (Plain Tales). That wonder, the human heart female (Meredith, S. Belloni). Failing to find the growth spontaneous she returned (E. Harrington). The burial alive of woman intellectual (S. Bel-The we matrimonial must be as universal as the we loni). editorial (Hope, Quistanté). Proceeding from jokes linguistic to jokes practical (R. Haggard, Jess.). That was his title ecclesiastical (Cardinal's Snuff-box). Peter was sufficiently versed in fashions canonical (ib.). Sent to a place unmentionable ten times in an hour (Two Years Ago. But cf. § 110). He rose as high as he conveniently could in the Navy

¹ Cf., however, § 110. This expression is, besides, imitated by KINGSLEY: That... looked to him a gulf impassable (Two Years Ago).

active, and turned his attention to the Navy passive¹ (Merriman, In a Crooked Way). The powers that are in the world journalistic (Punch, Aug. 19, 1893). Mrs. Melville... gave her the glance intelligible (E. Harrington. Cf. next §).

184.

It is chiefly those with 'lie' and 'retort' that seem to have been more durable; they appear indeed to have grown into what may be called slang expressions. (Always def. art.).

Examples: The first, the Retort Courteous; the second, the Quip Modest; the third, the Reply Churlish; the seventh, the Lie Direct (As you, V: 4). Give the lie direct (Merc. of Ven.; Q. Durward). He cannot, however, give the lie direct to Guildenstern (Verity, Hamlet; Notes). Thus in As you like it ... «the lie circumstantial» is «the lie indirect» (ib.). 'Twill be but the retort courteous on both sides (Sheridan, Scarborough). That is the retort discourteous (Molly Bacon). Dropping for the first and last time ... into the retort direct (P. Kelver). The Retort Sarcastic. She: Hullo, John ... (Winds. Mag., April, 1910). The Countess, an adept in the lie implied, deeply smiled (E. Harrington). To turn it from the lie extensive and inappreciable to the lie minute and absolute (S. Belloni).

K. Postposition of Romance adjectives in general.

185. During the Middle English and the Early Modern English periods people did not restrict themselves to using postposition of Romance adjectives in set phrases and imitations of such. On the contrary, all those being so frequent, it was indeed thought necessary or at least admissible to use inverted word-order in other cases as well, wherever a French adjective was concerned — even if

¹ These are perhaps rather imitations of the grammar style: *Participle passive* etc. (§ 155).

nothing was attained but a more «dignified» tone.¹ And down to our days occasional echoes of this, strictly speaking, licentious practice are to be found.

Examples: De oper is to wyfmanne commune, be bridde is of man sengle mid wodewe (Ayenb. Legal style?). Do byeb ypocrites sotyls bet ... (ib.). Pri manere wordes venimoùses (ib.). Dise byeb be bri bozes principales (ib.). He lyeseb pane time pecious (ib.). De folk of be mercerye of London . . . compleyen . . . of many wronges subtiles and also open oppressions (Note the different ways of treating the foreign adj. and the native one! Petition from the «folk of Mercerye» of London, 1386; Kluge). Now wol I pray mekely every person discrete, that ... (Chaucer, Astrolabe; 1391). The morwe is a day uncertayn (Imit. Christi, 1440). To lyve in remembraunce perpetuel (Godfrey of Bol., 1481. Prologue. The prologue is written by Caxton himself!). By his blessyd presence humayne (ib., Prol.). To thende that ther may be given to them name Inmortal (ib., Prol.). For tempryse and accomplysshe enterpryses honnestes (ib., Prol.). In which wordes generall «and other thynges» ys understanden thornes, firres etc. (Cov. L. B., 1480). Her lover and frende specyall (Blanch. and Egl., 1489). There nys no tonge humayn that coude ... (ib.). Her right sleve, whiche was of riche clothe of golde crymosyn (ib.; cf. «riche clothe»!) A sleve that was of satyn vyolet (ib.). Andreas Goveanus, our Rector principall (Florio). To enter their City as a place confederate² (ib.). Finally me thynketh that the constitucion provincial ... hath determyned this question (Legal style? Th. More, Concerning Heresy).

¹ In some M. E. translations, e. g. the *Fire of Love*, the *Mend-ign of Life*, the *Ayenbite of Inwit*, postpositive attributes are nearly as frequent as prepositive. This does not even touch Romance adj. only.

² Cf., however, § 114.

The confederate had leagues defensive with divers other states (Bacon). His chamber ... is a kind of Charnelhouse of bones extraordinary (Earle, Micro-cosm.; 1628). If hee be qualified in gaming extraordinary (ib.). His taculties extraordinary (ib.). He was a great master of the Art Military¹ (Naunton, Fragm. Reg.; 1630). Behold a man gluttonous,² and a wine-bibber (Matth., XI: 19). Duty implicit is her cry (Clarissa). By art-magic she has spellbound thee (Sartor). Gorgon, and Hydras, and Chimæras dire (Lamb, Elia). His coat dark rappee, tinctured by dye original (ib.). Goddesses have youth perpetual (Esmond). In a little *dust quiescent* (ib.).³ We have gone so far as to combine the ideas of an agility astounding, a strength superhuman, a ferocity brutal, a butchery without motive (Poe, Murders in the Rue Morgue). Rest is force resistant, and motion is force triumphant³ (Lewes, Hist. of Phil.; Poutsma). No doubt to the wise it seems a fool's life, to the holy a life impure (Ouida, Pipistrello). The Dish Delicious that gratifies every taste (Royal Mag., July 1910; cf. § 184). Tree-training extraordinary (ib.).

«Ears polite» has become a standing expression:

The improper application of the wrong term at the wrong time makes all the difference in the world to *ears polite* (Coleridge, Society Small Talk). To say that she is inclined to embonpoint, will, however, sound less shocking to *ears polite* (Mrs. Hungerford, Phyllis). A horror to *ears polite* (Jespersen, Growth).

186.

In the following quotation there seems to be analogy with 'deceased', and also influence from the short

³ There is no verbality in the adj., so they do not belong to Ch. VII. But of course there might be analogy.

¹ Thus also Lamb, in a humorous way: Studying *the art military* over that laudable game «French and English» (Elia).

² But Luke, VII: 34: A gluttonous man.

annotation style: Some half-forgotten humours of some old clerks defunct (Lamb, Elia; cf. § 79).

The word-order in the following, again, is apparently 187. due to contamination with such modes of expression as «with [his] head erect»: If *necks unelastic* and *heads erect* may be taken as the sign of a proud soul . . ., my artist has the major for his model (Harrington).

I think we have to deal with an apposition in: 188. But then Philip drunk with jealousy is not a reasonable being like *Philip sober* (cf. «Philip senior». Thackaray, Philip).

The adjectives are most likely predicative in the 189. following:

We are in a state of sad confusion - officers quarelling, men disobedient, much talking and little doing (New Forest). - This may also be the case in: Colour ungradated is wholly valueless; colour unmysterious is wholly barbarous (= to have the c. unmysterious? Two Paths).¹

L. Postposition with 'thing', 'matter'.

FR. KOCH (*Hist. Gram. II*, § 241) assumes French in- 190. fluence for «*All things secular*», «*Things spiritual*», «*Matters ecclesiastic*», etc. — ABBOTT says (*Sh. Gram.*, § 419): «The adjective is placed after the noun (1) in legal expressions . . . (2) where a relative clause, or some conjunctional clause, is understood between the noun and adjective. Hence, where the noun is unemphatic as 'thing', 'creature', this transposition may be expected». — POUTSMA remarks (*Gram. of Late Mod. Engl.* I, p. 333): «Even adjectives standing by themselves and not accompanied by any modifier, when placed after the noun they modify, are sometimes felt as

¹ Compare: What profitip *a body clene* and a hert defouled (= to keep one's body clean. Capgrave, St. Gilbert; 1451). We should simply combine a noun which implies *a glottis wide open* with an adjective which implies *a glottis nearly shut* (Lloyd, North. Engl.).

undeveloped clauses. This is especially the case with many when qualifying the nouns 'matters' or 'things', or the indefinite pronoun 'one'».

- 191. The talk about an undeveloped clause is totally valueless, for any adjective attribute can be resolved into a relative clause. Besides, as I have tried to make plain, the adjective attribute derives its origin from the predicative use of the adjective. Compare, moreover, § 26.
- 192. As for assuming French influence in expressions consisting of 'thing(s)' or 'matter(s)' + adj., this theory seems plausible only as far as 'matters' is concerned. 'Matters' is nearly always followed by an adjective of Romance extraction, mostly one in *-al* or *-tic*. But 'things' + adj. does not occur in set phrases only, there is rather a tendency almost always to place the attribute after this word in an abstract sense, and postposition is even often met with when 'things' has a concrete meaning. And, indeed, why should French influence, be more likely in the case of 'things' than in the case of any other noun, whenever a French equivalent of the expression might be fancied?

193.

With regard to instances like the following, where there is a sing. 'thing' without any article, one would feel much tempted to subscribe to the above theory:

be proude zekh *ping worpssipvol*, he covaytous *ping vremvol* (Ayenb.). Vor *ping gostlich* (ib.). Of *pinge ypased* (ib.). ¹

But in the first place the *Ayenbite* follows its French original, in other cases too, so slavishly that no heed need be taken to this ²; secondly, omission of the indefinite article is rather common even in older Middle English; cf. for instance:

² Cf. Müllner p. 53.

¹ Cf. Le mariage a paru chose si excellente (Balzac, Femme de 30 Ans).

Du bethlem eorðu unðærfe ðing lyttel arð (North. Transl. of Matth.). It is more blissid condicioun for to $_{3}$ yve betere ping þan to take ping lesse worp (Wycliff, De Off. Pastorali).

I will try to give an explanation that is exclusively 194. based on the inherent possibilities of the language. Still, let me premise the admission that the fact that there is no obstacle to using inversion in several other cases, mostly owing to the influence of French really, and in particular the phrases with 'matters' – though they are not numerous – may have been one of the reasons for the propagating of the now very common word-order 'things' + adj.

First, however, an illustration of postposition in con- 195. nection with 'matters':

Maters dyvers for the wele of this cite (Cov. L. B., 1451). With penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical (Macaulay, Hist.). Nay, even in matters spiritual is it not well that there should be what we call professions preappointed to us (Sartor). France, less favoured on the whole as to matters spiritual than her sister (Two Cities). The recent interference of Parliament in matters ecclesiastical had fluttered the dove-cotes of the Church (Oliphant, Victorian Age). [He] was lenient in matters scholastic (Boothby, Woman of Death). [He] had suddenly lost all interest in matters aquatic (ib.). Concerning the administration of matters parochial (Merriman, On the Rocks). His Majesty is still a good way behind the times in matters artistic (Westm. Gaz., Aug. 5, 1902).

All these combinations make decidedly the impression of set phrases, the oldest of them no doubt originally belonging to juridical phraseology.

The following is of course only an imitation in which 'matters' stands for the more common 'things': No one... could hold a candle

to Cartoner in *matters Spanish* (Merriman, Tale of a Scorpion). — Thus also 'matter' instead of 'thing' in: This is a thing may seem to many a *matter trivial* (Bacon, Unity in Religion).

In the following quotation 'matter' is concrete, meaning 'stuff' (cf. Fr. matière). The postposition is probably due to the quality of the attribute: To greet aboundaunce of *mater corrumpinge* (part.! Science of Cir., 1380).

196. What has been said about 'matters' also applies to 'causes': His Majesties Commissioners for *causes Ecclesi-astical* in the high Commission Court (A decree of the Star-Chamber, Concerning Printing; 1637).

197. I now proceed to 'things' + adj. - In a sentence like *I have seen something horrible* 'horrible' is at bottom a partitive genitive. Cf. Lat. *aliquid pulchri*, Fr. *quelque chose de beau*, Germ. *etwas Schönes*, Goth. *hva ubilis* (Mark., 15: 14), A. S. *hwætvugu ryhtices* (Cura Past.).

In course of time, however, such an attribute has, just as in German, come to be taken for an ordinary independent adjective in the same grammatical relation as the substantive word. Naturally this was not possible in English until the adjective flexion had disappeared.¹ Therefore in Anglo-Saxon on the one hand: Mid ðære gewilnunge ð*ara ungesewenlicra* ð*inga* (Cura Past.), on the other: *Sum þing niwes, Nan þing grenes, Ænig þing godes* (Mätzner, p. 284).

198.

As then the connection between 'some' ('any', 'no', 'every') and 'thing' was not so close in olden times as it is now - as is shown by the two words being written separately - a phrase consisting of 'some' etc. + 'thing' + adj. got every outward appearance of being a case of postposition of an adjective attribute.

Compare: Her-of comeb it bat in every ping general ... ber mot ben some ping bat is perfit (Chaucer, Boëthius). No thinge wretyn (R. Hampolle). The hearing of any thing

¹ In German the reason is another.

good (II, Henry IV, I: 2). If afterwards I should see any thing objectionable in his conduct (Clarissa). Without any thing remarkable (Andrews). Every thing great or excellent (Rambler). — Even as late as Irving: A home destitute of every thing elegant (Sketchbook).

There is something very similar in the case of 'all' + 199. 'things' + adj., where «all things» is identical with the pronoun 'everything'; the former may be said to stand in the same relation to 'all' as the latter does to 'every'.

Examples: Ther was all things necessary (= »everything necessary»; Euphues, 1579). Sir, I thank you for all things courteous and civil (Bunyan, H. War). Leaving out verbs and particles, because in reality all things imaginable are but nouns (Gulliver). In those last days all things false and meaningless they laid aside (P. Kelver). The great brick monster had crept closer round about us year by year, devouring in his progress all things fair (ib.). His enthusiasm for all things microscopical (ib). Virtue could not change her appearance even if all things base chose to assume the appearance of Virtue (Verity, Macb.; Notes).

In like manner «a thing» in the following quotations 200. is to be looked upon as simply an impersonal pronoun very much the same as 'something' ¹, in the place of which it stands in order that ambiguity may be avoided, since 'something' was in older English used also in the sense of modern 'somewhat'.

Examples: Herein I do not profess myself a Stoic, to hold grief no evil, but ... a thing indifferent (Bacon, Of Death). It must absolutely be received as a thing grave and sober (Bacon, Pref. to Wisdom of the Ancients). It

¹ Cf. Of *a thing known*, something new, unknown, is predicated. *This something known*... naturally comes first (Mc Knight, Prim. Teut. Order of Words).

is a thing rare and hard to keep (Bacon, Of Empire). Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you that God should raise the dead (Acts, 26: 8). To which I return that, as it was a thing slight and obvious to think on . . . (Milton, Areopagitica). I looked now upon the world as a thing remote (Crusoe). It is a thing perilous in war and must be amended (Durward). It is a thing remarkable, a thing substantial (Carlyle, Ess. on Scott). He affects to regard it as a thing natural (Sartor).

201.

In Late Modern English there are few instances of «a thing» being followed by an adjective, probably because 'something' has not now the meaning of «a little», «a bit».

I have found these: A drum in these hills was *a* thing unknown (Cf., however, 'unknown', § 104. Poe, Ragged Mountains). Those who conceive the Ego in man as *a thing simple, permanent, reliable,* and of one essence (Cf. § 121! D. Gray). Of *a thing known* something new, unknown, is predicated (No doubt in order to avoid two something's. Mc Knight, Prim. Teut. Order of Words). To her excited fancy Macbeth's attainment of the crown seems almost *a thing accomplished* (This is a participle! Perhaps the author has also had in mind Fr. «un fait accompli». Verity).

The inverted word-order in the following quotations is due to other reasons which apply to any unemphatic noun: To prove that it was a thing very convenient, and fitting a man of his quality (Florio; \S 128). A thing most singular (ib.; \S 126). To which Jenny ... replied that it was a thing quite impossible (E. Harrington; \S 125).

In instances like the following the participle is verbal: 'Additament', addition, or *thing added* (Latham, Dict.). 'Dictatum', *a thing dictated* (Verity, As You; Glossary).

202. On the other hand, it is very common even in Present English to find an adj. attr. placed after an abstract unemphatic *plur*. 'things'. Also in this case 'things' may be said to be a kind of indefinite pronoun, one might indeed often be justified in saying that it has sunk to be simply an article, just as the original dem. pron. has become an article. «Things divine» is precisely the same as «The divine» («Det gudomliga», «Das Göttliche»). Where participles are concerned other circumstances may, of course, have played a rôle, but not, generally, when the attribute is an ordinary adjective. Emphasis alone is no sufficient reason, as that would make us expect the same word-order with other unemphatic substantives as well.

Examples with participles: The nature of thinges ne token nat her bigynnyng of *thinges amenused and imperfit* (Chaucer, Boethius). And answere he sleigly to *pingis y-asked*¹ (Fistula, 1400). It is grevous to leve *pinges acust-ummed* (Imit. Christi, 1440). Sithen *thynges passed* cannot be gaine called (Th. More, Rich. III; 1513). Although their lips sound of *things done*¹, and verity be written in their foreheads (Sidney, Apologie; 1595). Old men are dangerous who have onely the memorie of *things past* left them (Florio). Knowledge of *things forbidden* (Bacon, Pref. to Wisdom of the Ancients). The law makes a difference between *things stolen* and *things found*² (Andrews). I come... to speak of *things forgotten* or *things disputed* (Ruskin, Pre-raph.).

Examples with adjectives: Studie berfore to wibdrawe bin herte fro be love of *pinges visible*, and translate hem to *pinges invisible* (Imit. Christi, 1440). So bei put to *pingis coeterne*, and called bei good (Capgrave, Augustine; 1450). The reporte of them contayneth *thinges impossible* and is not written by any approved author (Th. Elyot, Governour). *Things unknown* are the true scope of imposture (Florio). If thou be capable of *things serious*, thou must know the king is full of grief (Winter's Tale, IV: 4).

¹ Here the part. may, of course, be quite verbal.

² I do not take 'things' to be concrete here.

What else is all that rank of *things indifferent*, wherein Truth may be on this side or on the other (Milton, Areop.). I will talk of *things Heavenly*, or *things Earthly*; *things more essential*, or *things circumstantial* (Pilgr. Progr.). His mind was on *things divine* (ib.). Many felt a strong repugnance even to *things indifferent* which had formed part of the polity (Macaulay, Hist.). I do not mean the assertion to extend to *things moral* (Ruskin, Pre-raphael.). In the world of *things enjoyable* (Opium-eater). He would soon grow reconciled to *things monstrous* (E. Harrington). In the imputation of *things evil*, and in the putting the worst construction on *things innocent* (Plain Tales). Joy in *things physical* (Cardinal's Snuff-box). *Things good* and *things bad* may be concealed (King's Mirror).

203.

The following examples belong, strictly speaking, to a previous chapter (Ch. X), but may be cited here.

To wybdrawe us bi be same comaundement fro *pynges nedeful and lefful* (Petition from «the folk of Mercerye» of London, 1386; Kluge). All commerce between *things divine and human* (Bacon, Pref. to Wisdom of the Ancients). *Things necessary and certain* often surprise us (Idler). I had dreamed so many foolish gracious things; *things heroical, fantastical*, woven from the legends of saints (Ouida, Pipistrello). Not open wide to embrace the universe of *things beautiful and ugly* (King's Mirror). Hecate is essentially the goddess of *things supernatural and magical* (Verity, Hamlet; Notes). — None of the beautiful things of the world were to be seen here, but only *the things coarse and ugly* (P. Kelver).

204.

The following belong more appropriately to Ch. XI: At least *things more absurd* have surely happened (King's Mirror). To be compared to Ganymede in private by a lady and in public by a scoffer are *things very different* (God in the Car). Even a concrete 'things' is sometimes followed by 205. its attribute, by analogy, I suppose. Of this I have not found any instance in modern English, excepting such cases where the word-order depends on other circumstances.

In the following quotations 'things' is pronominal: Aye (against) bise heste senezeb bo, bet to moche lovieb hire guod, gold ober zelver, ober obre binges erbliche (Swed. «annat jordiskt». Ayenb.). They shold lede vytaylle ynowe unto the hooste and other thynges necessarye¹ (Godfr. of Bol., 1481). Perished for want of food and other things necessary¹ (Bacon, New Atlantis). Wherein . . . I have had glimpses of buried treasure and other things submerged (Part.! Two Cities). [«Other things» is in the same relation to 'other' as is 'something' to 'some'.] – With many mo thynges profitable whiche are commonly knowen by every man (W. Bulleyn, Booke of Compounds; 1562. E. E. Meals and Manners). Many things necessary¹ are omitted (Rambler).

In the following two ex. a concrete sing. 'thing' is followed by its attribute, but it should be noticed that the attributes are, in the first instance an adj. in *-able* (cf. § 109), in the other instance a participle: Wilp smytynge of staf or stoon ... or wilp *ony opir ping semblable* (Science of Cir., 1380). He passes on with no recognition, or, being stopped, starts like *a thing surprised* (Elia; cf. § 34).

The following also contain special kinds of attributive words: Now bless thyself: Thou mettest with *things dying*, I with *things newborn* (Winter's Tale, III: 3). We write unto them that they abstain from pollution of idols and from fornication, and from *things strangled*, and from blood (Acts, 15: 20). The regulating of prices of *things vendible* (Bacon, Seditions).

Other motives may lie at the bottom of these instances: ² 206. Which bringeth forth out of his treasure *things new and* old (Matth., 13: 52). It was a breath ... hinting of *things* exquisite, intimate — of things intimately feminine, exquis-

¹ Cf., however, § 116.

² Cf. Chapters X and XI.

itely personal (Harland, Cardinal's Snuff-box). The ingredients of the Witches' caldron naturally consist of *things venomous or loathsome* (Verity, Macb.; Notes). A world which is so corrupt that the very sun produces *things foul and offensive* (Verity, Hamlet; Notes).

The following is unique: The thing Visible, nay the thing Imagined, what is it but a garment (Sartor). Usually: «Things visible», or: «The visible».

M. Postposition of native adjectives not preceded by any adverb in Old and Middle English.

207. In Anglo-Saxon and Middle English it is nowise uncommon for a single attributive native adjective not preceded by any adverb to stand after the noun. In the first place word-order was then in all respects freer than it is in Modern English. The older idiom naturally stands on a lower stage of development and is more like the parent language. Also in the oldest German and Scandinavian, and in Gothic, postpositive adj. attr. are met with: *Moysise dodemu* (Lat. text: *defuncto Moyse!*), *Fater einemu* (Isidor; Hellwig); *Rikr hofdingi ok malafylgjumaðr mikill*¹ (Hellwig, p. 20); *Bi hveila niundon* (In disagreement with the Greek order! Mc KNIGHT).

208.

Moreover, much of what is classed among A. S. and M. E. prose is in reality nothing but disguised poetry; and it is a well-known fact that poetry is prior to prose. A great many of the Anglo-Saxon and mediæval sermons, religious tracts, and legends of saints — and they formed the bulk of the prose literature of those times — were written in a kind of rhythmic prose which may perhaps

¹ Mc KNIGHT, *Prim. Teut. Order of Words*, of Old Norse: «In case of two nouns, each with an adj., the order is, adj., noun, noun, adj.». — Similarly HELLWIG, p. 20.

sometimes have been imitated by authors of chronicles and other secular works.

Under these circumstances it is not so very difficult to account for the fact that inverted word-order is met with to such an extent as proves to be the case. As regards M. E., French models may, of course, often have had something to do with the matter. But I do not attach much importance to this, for would postposition have been possible, if there had not been any basis for it in the language itself?

In the following instances the adjectives seem most 209. probably to be used appositionally:

Þis is min sunu se leofa (Rushw. Gloss.). Cyle þone grimmestan (Blickl. Hom.; Müllner). Sethes eafora se yldeste wæs Enos haten (Cædmon; Mätzner). Bisenctum swe swe lead in wetre ðæm strengestan (Merc. Hymns; A. S. Reader). Aet ea þære halgan (Sax. Chron.). Smeche forcuðest (Sawles Warde). While fortune unfaithfull favoured me with light godes (Chaucer, Boethius). Þis odyr solitary in contemplacion hiest onely givyn to godly Þingis (Mending of Life, 1434).¹

In cases like the following the word-order is best explained by the added complements: Cethegrande is a fis de moste dat in water is (Rel. Ant.; Mätzner, p. 287). It is a lake the grettest of the world (Maundev.; ib).

Examples in which the attribute is not appositional: 210. ba gemette he gebeoras blide² æt þam huse (Aelfric, Oswald; A. S. Reader). Her synd on earde apostatan abrodene and cyrichatan hetole, and leodhatan grimme (Wulfstan, Address to the Engl.; ib.). Tobrocene sind muntas swidlice, and tofleowun hyllas ecelice (Merc. Hymns; ib.). And þær sint swide micle meras fersce geond þa moras (Voy. of Othere;

¹ Imitations of these in Modern Engl.: From *peace the deepest* (Opium-eater). Under the mere coercion of *pain the severest* (ib.).

² MÜLLNER (p. 30) declares the adj. to be predicative here, which I do not think to be the case.

ib.). Condel beorht (Sax. Chron.; Kube). Eorlas arhwate (ib.). Cild unweaxen (ib.). Her brote ys a graue open (E. E. Psalter). Felazrede flesslich (Ayenb.). Det' is zenne dyadlich (ib.). Vor some skele kueade (ib.). Oure vaderes gostliche (ib.).¹ Wordes ydele (ib.). Manye obre kueade roten² (ib.). Of ane zuetnesse wondervol (ib.). Hare eawles gledreade (Sawles Warde). De middelwei guldene (ib.). Dis writ open (Procl. of Henry III, 1258). These thinges ... moche bringen us to the ful knowleginge sothe² (Chaucer, Test. of Love). To make festis huge to lordis and ladies (Wycliff, Leaven of Phar.). Aboute temperal almes nedles (ib.). Recipe: malvez tame M. I or II (Fistula). Wib oile or butter fressh, or suche oper (ib.). Prede of silk white (ib.). A pare of glovys of plate blacke (E. E. Wills, 1411). Glovis of plate white (ib.). I hafe bene broght up in his abbay of barn littil (Alph. of Tales). A yong preste bat sho had broght up of barn little hur self (ib.). Large shetes goode (E. E. Wills, 1434). Be eny suche ordenaunce unlafull (Cov. L. B., 1476). As a man madde (Blanch. and Egl.; cf. also § 34). That was of damask blake (ib.). Two holtes hore (Arthur).

211.

2

When a poss. pron. follows the noun in Anglo-Saxon the adjective does so too.

Examples: Dis is sunu min leof in dem me woel gelicade (North. Transl. of Matth.). Schde in sibbe bitternis min sie bittreste (Merc. Hymns, A. S. Reader). To donne mildheortnisse mid fedrum urum, ond gemunan cydnisse his haligre (ib.). Det he ... ofdrysce pa lustas his undeawa (Cura Past.). – Thus also with a dem. pron.: Se be toslittes enne of bebodum pissum læsestum (North. Matth.).

212.

Words denoting the points of the compass and

¹ According to MÄTZNER, Engl. Sprachproben, I, II, p. 62, it is particularly adj. in *-lich* that are placed behind in the Ayenbite.

² Co-ordination of two attributes before a noun is rare in the oldest language. This is one way of avoiding it.

others in *-weard* seem always to have had their given place after the noun in Anglo-Saxon. It looks as though they were even at that early date, in spite of their adjectival flexion, felt as adverbs, rather than real adjectives. In case they were put before the subst. the word-order was this: preo stodon æt *ufeweardum pœm muðan* on drygum (Sax. Chron., 897). On *midde-weardum hyre ryne* (Pop. Treat., Wright; Mätzner, p. 568).

Otherwise: Æt þæm muðan uteweardum (Saxon Chron., 897). IV mila fram þæm muðan uteweardum (ib., 893). Þonne is toemnes þæm lande suðeweardum, Sweoland, oþ þæt land norðeweard; and toemnes þæm lande norðeweardum, Cwena land (Voyages of Othere; A. S. Reader). Æt þam lea ufeweardan (A. S. Charters, Eadmund; A. S. R.). On þa lytlan dune middewearde (ib.). On foxhylle easteweardre (ib.). Þa eagan bioþ on þam lichoman foreweardum and ufeweardum (Cura Past.). On þysse dune ufanweardre (Bede). – þone storm towardne foreseah (Bede; Mätzner). Gehalde hine heofones cyning in þissum life ondwardum (Kentish Charters, Ælfred; A. S. R.). – Cf. also: Signes owtward (Capgrave, Augustine).

N. Postposition in isolated cases of native adjectives in Modern English.

Remembering all the many cases of inverted word- 213. order that have been brought forward in this treatise we ought not to be surprised if we were to find some author or other in Modern English time using inversion of an attributive adjective that is not of French origin and is not qualified by an adverb nor co-ordinated with any other attribute — whether the reason be an attempt at gaining the strongest possible emphasis, an affectation for the satirical turn, a desire of deviating from the every-day language, or whatever it be. On the contrary, it is, it seems to me, rather a matter of surprise that such instances are not more frequent than they really are. The fact is that they are very rare, and most of the cases that do occur can be reduced to certain prototypes.

The following are the only instances I have found:

My implement, hight Joseph Leman, has procured me the opportunity of getting two keys made to the garden door (one of which I have given him, for *reasons good*); which door opens to the haunted coppice (Clarissa). So sunken and depressed it was, that it was like a *voice underground* (Two Cities. Cf. cases where 'underground' is an adverb!). My father's death . . . meant no more to me than a week of *rooms gloomy* and games forbidden (King's Mirror. «Games forbidden» is correct, = «inhibation of games»; cf. § 21. This has no doubt influenced the other phrase). «Ah, so it is», muttered Evan, eyeing a print. «The Douglas and the Percy: 'he took the dead man by the hand'» And looking wistfully at the Percy lifting the hand of *Douglas dead*, Evan's eyes filled with tears (E. Harrington. Cf. «Douglas, deceased»; § 79).

214.

In instances like the following the adjectives are perhaps rather used adverbially than attributively:

Inland and along the Thames there were battles endless between them and the revenue people (= without end, without any intermission, continually ¹. Thackaray, D. Duval). Knights and squires numberless will thank you (= without number, at all places and in all times. Meredith, S. Belloni). The Prince had friends numberless in the army (Esmond). – Compare with these: For 65 pounds additional you can get that music at any time (= in addition,

¹ 'Endless' is found postpositive also in Middle English: Desire it to be lyghtynd with *wysdome endles* (Fire of Love, 1435). Into *dyrknes endles* that sall be kest (ib.). But compare § 207.

more, extra. Ill. Lond. News; Poutsma. Cf. also: pre or foure dayes continued; Fistula, 1400; and § 51).

Chapter XIV.

Adjective attributes qualified by 'how', or 'too', and analogues.

Attributes qualified by 'how' or 'too' are placed be-215. fore the indefinite article, according to Abbott because «we regard too great as a quasi-adverb», and because we look upon how poor «as an adverbialized expression» ¹. — STOFFEL (Studies in Engl., p. 98) takes how just a man and too just a man to be imitations of so just a man. — However this be, certain it is that the same word-order is used in Danish: Altfor ømt et Følelseliv, Hvor fager en pande. Scandinavian influence is perhaps therefore not impossible.

That the said word-order is old appears from such quotations as these: *How gret a sorwe* suffreth now Arcite (Chaucer, C. T.; Mätzner). Than sholde I make *to longe a tale* (Maundev.; Mätzner). It was *to importable a losse* (Three Kings' Sons, 1500).

1. Too.

There is, however, no obstacle to putting an adjec- 216. tive qualified by 'too' between the indefinite article and the substantive. At first the adverb and the adjective may have been regarded as a compound adjective (Cf. A *toolong* withered flower [Rich: II, II: 1], and also 'overfull', 'overfond', etc.).

Examples: A too ready consent (Clarissa). She had given a too easy admission to ... (Macaulay, Hist.). A too

¹ Shakesp. Gram. § 422.

thankful heart (Sheridan, Rivals, III: 2). A too sagacious observer (Eliot, Floss). A too frequent use of prepositions (Hodgson, Errors in Engl.).

217. Thus always when 'too' is qualified by 'not': Perhaps some apprehension might be felt even by *a not too impatient reader* (Times; Poutsma, p. 346), and when the noun has the def. article: *The not too gracious* bounty of moneyed relatives (Sartor). *The too hasty conclusion* (Floss). *The too rigid insistance* on a duty (Hodgson, Errors). *The already too long tale* (Krüger).

218.

Where emphasis is aimed at, postposition is used. Examples: be ober is gaveling (usury) to grat, ase negen for tuelf (Ayenb.). Lest my zeal . . . might drive me into times too remote, and crowd my book with words no longer understood (Johnson, Dict.). Fears that were uncertain, and creditors too certain (Opium-eater). A freezing arrest upon the motions of hope too sanguine that haunted me (ib.). He was still sufficiently youthful not to be accused of wearing a flower too artificial (E. Harrington).

219.

2. How.

Postposition is much less frequent with 'how', although it does occur: If any, then by *a title how special* could my own mother invoke such a co-operation (Opium-eater).

In the following there is good reason for the inversion: With *sensations how different* from . . . (Kenilworth). 220. 'However' has the same effect as 'how': *However large a fortune* his father may have left him (Poutsma).

221.

3. Analogues.

By analogy of «too just a man» it was not uncommon in older English to say for instance: *Overgret a wit* (Chaucer; Abbott, § 422). They are purchased at *over-high a rate* (Florio).

Hence through further analogy the same word-order was, and is sometimes still, used in other collocations too:

The honour of *seld-seene an amity* (Florio). Big a *puzzle* as it was, it had not got the better of Riley (Eliot, Floss. Cf. «As big a puzzle as ...»!).

In the following instance 'poor' is best looked upon as an adverb: It was upon this fashion bequeathed me by will but poor a thousand crowns (= only. As you).

As for less just a man, what poor an instrument, etc. 222. I refer to Abbott, Sh. Gram., § 85, KRÜGER, Synt., § 733, and Stoffel, Studies, p. 94, where this matter is dealt with in detail.

Chapter XV.

Adj. attributes qualified by 'so' ('as').

If an adj. attr. is qualified by 'so', the modern Eng- 223. lish idiom allows this attribute to precede the noun only on condition that an indef. art. separates the substantive and its modifier. Otherwise 'such' is substituted for 'so', or else inverted word-order is used ¹. Thus: So strong a power, Such cold weather, Such nice girls, People so uneducated. A declaration of affection so conditional (King's Mirror). – Kingsley has: In such strange a way (T. Y.).

Why the substantive will not tolerate 'so' + adj. immediately before it, it is not easy to tell ². The same arrangement is, however, met with in at least one more Teutonic language, e. g. Dan. (Norw.) *Elskog er så stærk en magt* (Ibsen, Hærmendene). Cf. also 16th cent. Germ. So ein geringes gelt (Hellwig, p. 127).

¹ Not when the attribute is a pronoun, however: So few people, so many books, so much money.

² SWEET simply declares (N. E. Gr., § 1793) that in a constr. like so long a time «the order is the result of avoiding the awkward collocation a so long time». Why is this colloc. more awkward in Engl. than in German or Swedish? 224. The Anglo-Saxons expressed themselves in the following way: Hie ... cwædon þet hit gemalic (disgraceful) wære and unryhtlic þæt swa oferwlenced cyning sceolde winnan on swa earm folc (Alfr., Orosius; A. S. Read). Swa heane lariowdom (Cura Past.). – Thus in Middle English after 'one' and 'none': þer ne ys non zuo guod man (Ayenb.). One so gentil and hye prynce (Godf. of Bol., 1481).

As late as the transitional period between M. E. and Mod. Engl. it was possible to say: A so new robe (Abbott, § 422).

225.

The original construction was apparently that without any article; and when it was inserted at last, one did not quite know where to put it. Where no article was employed the normal word-order was the regular order in M. E. and is also frequent enough in older Modern English.

Examples: boug bei ben getyn bi nevere so fals title (Wycliff, Of Clerks' Poss.). So mervelos and so spirituall affeccion (Alph. of Tales). Never after ware so costios hose nor shone (ib.). So grete and horrybyll strokes (Blanch. and Egl.; 1489). We have taken soo greate hurte (Th. More, Rich. III). So hard terms (North, Plut.). Arrius and Leo his Pope died both at several times of so semblable deaths (Florio). Encircled with so horrible and great quantitie of snow (ib). So apparent cowardize (ib.). With so full soul (Tempest, III: 1). Our haste is of so quick condition (Measure, I: 1). Nature never set forth the earth in so rich tapistry (Sidney, Apol.; 1595). I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel (Auth. Vers., Luke, 7: 9). - Even as late as Poe I find this construction: Should I avoid claiming a property of so great value (Murder in the Rue Morgue).

226.

It was not until Queen Elizabeth's time that the present usage became settled, but then it was already old enough, instances of it being found both in Chaucer and Wycliff: In so smal an instrument (Chaucer, Astrolabe). With so benigne a cheere (Cant. T.; Mätzner). So long a time (Wycl., Hebrews IV: 7; Abbott, § 67).

After a dem. or poss. pron. and the def. art. the old 227. construction held its ground much longer:

These so strong bonds (Florio). These so frequent and ordinary examples (ib.). The so presentient auscultator (Sartor). The so passionate Teufelsdröck (ib.). These his seemingly so aimless rambles (ib.). These seemingly so disobedient times (Carlyle, Ess. on Scott). These otherwise so powerful pieces (Carlyle, Ess. on Burns).

Through confusion of «This so pleasant path» and 228. «So pleasant a path» a curious construction developed itself in the 17th century:

This so pleasant a path (Pilgr. Progr. ¹). Deliverance from this so dangerous an enemy (ib.). What will be the end of this so dreadful and so ireful a beginning (Bunyan, H. War). This so weighty a matter (ib.).

In Present English 'so' + adj. is usually placed after a 229. substantive preceded by a pronoun:

For that preparation so necessary (Xavier). My God! and for my degradation so tremendous (Light that failed). There is no passion so cruel and selfish as love (Merriman, Sister). - Or else: You shall stay in no such dull place (Esmond).

Postposition is sometimes also used when the subst. 230. is preceded by the indef. article. At the outset postposition in this case was no doubt simply caused by analogy; in Late Modern English it is only employed for the purpose of emphasis or for similar reasons, e. g. in order to avoid too many attributes before a (short) substantive. Examples: The pulling of a knot so hard, so fast, so durable (Florio). Happy am I that have a man so bold

¹ WIDHOLM, Notes on the lang. of Bunyan.

(II, Henry IV, V: 2). Therefore it is good to take knowledge of the errors of a habit so excellent (Bacon, Goodness of Nature). He will not disgrace himself with a comparison so odious (Clarissa). A superiority so visible (ib.). At a juncture so unexpected (Wakefield). To pursue a track so smooth, and so flowery (Rambler). A monarch so great, so ambitious, and so unscrupulous (Macaulay, Hist.). In a manner so despotic (ib.). Gaiety was not foreign to a countenance so expressive (Durward). It were extravagant waste of a commodity so rare (ib.). A being so unfortunate (ib.). In a way so new and so admirable (Two Paths). To strengthen an impression so desirable and useful (Twist). A phenomenon so low and unaccountable (Two Cities). In a voice so trumpet-tongued (Opium-eater). A notice so gratifying (Venetia). The excitement of an experience so new (Pemberton, Xavier). With a smile so sweet, so benign, so sunny-bright (Cardinal's Snuff-box). Out of a friendship so unequal sprang . . . (Reid, Introd. to Ess. of Johnson).

281. At times we come across rather curious constructions with 'so':

So mild a relenting and gentle kindnesse (Florio). So new a fashion'd robe (King John, IV: 2)¹. No so hard a hearted one (Butl., Hud.; Mätzner, p. 567). — Thus with 'as': I have known as honest a faced fellow have art enough to do that (Kenilworth).

Nor is the word-order in the following quotation to be recommended: Warning me not to trifle with an engine so awful of consolation and support (Opium-eater).

232. Where a participle is concerned it should be remembered that in *A statesman so trained* 'so' usually means «in that way», «thus», but in *So trained a statesman* it means «in that degree».

¹ For other similar constructions in Shakesp. see Abbort, § 422.

Thus also: A Smithfield means a cattle or meat market, originally a market after the pattern of *the London one so called*. But: A *so-called* «*Rhyme-Booke*». 'So-called' is a compound adjective.

When an attribute is preceded by **as**, the same rules 233. are observed as where the adverb is 'so'. An abstract or plural substantive stands before the attribute:

The great dignity that his valour hath here acquired for him shall at home be encountered with a shame as ample (All's well, IV: 3.). Other leaders have inspired their followers with zeal as ardent (Macaulay, Hist.). Cruelty as fierce may indeed have been wreaked and brutality as abominable been practised before (Two Paths). Work done by hands quite as rude and by minds as uninformed (ib.). Was it certain that ever again I should enjoy hours as happy (Opium-eater).

Thus also in the case of emphasis: He loved to dream of the past and conjure up *a future as glorious* (Venetia). Compare: She found herself the centre of *a circle alike powerful, brilliant, and refined* (ib.).

Otherwise: As straunge a man¹ (Chaucer, Melibeus; Müllner). Then Britain should have had as rigorous a climate as Labrador (Poutsma). I do not think he was as good a scholar (ib.). He is as pleasant a man as any.

Thus if 'as' does not modify an adj., but another adverb: Matters of *as little practical importance* (Macaulay).

¹ In M. E. one could, however, say: Yet should the realme alway finde kinges and paradventure as good kinges (Th. More, Rich. III). Thus even as late as Thackaray: There were as brave men on that field (Esmond). — With a pronoun as attribute this word-order is still used: As many people as ... In as few words as possible. Cf. So many people, So much gold. Here 'such' cannot, of course, be used.

Chapter XVI.

Such.

'Such' is etymologically = «so like». For this reason 234. it cannot be placed between the article and the noun in Modern English: Such a man. Thus also in other Germanic languages: Slig en mand, saadan en man; Sicken en dumbom; Solch eine Verbindung. Similarly in older English also: Swillc an mann Alls Adam haffde strenedd (Orm.; Mätzner, p. 187). War-to liveth selke a wrecche (Wright, Anecd.; Mätzner). Suche a yong man (Alph. of Tales).

But before the construction 'so' + adj. + art. + noun 235. became settled, 'such' could be treated like ordinary adjectives:

Er we an such kyng han y-founde (Wright, Pol. S.; Mätzner). A swuch bale bute bote (Sawles Warde).

If 'such' is completed by 'as', it may stand after the 236. noun, next to 'as' 1:

He graunted him a day, such as him leste (Chaucer; Einenkel). Suerte suche as shall be thought convenient (Cov. L. B., 1427). He gave his wife a look such as his countenance could wear when angered (Van. Fair). I listened with a pleasure such as that with which ... ² (Opium-eater). Conversation such as has been described (Fullerton, Bonneval). Cases such as these (Molloy). Word-connecting adverbs such as 'than' (Sweet; N. E. G.). An independent sentence such as «it is true» (ib.).³

¹ Cf. Swed. Att just nu högt prisa en handling, sådan som Charlotte Corday utfört, var brottsligt (G. Janson).

² Here 'such' is emphatic, and the word-order should be compared with Swed. En osäkerhet sådan, att hon knappt visste, med vilken fot hon skulle stiga över en tröskel (P. Hallström, G. Sparfvert).

⁸ Cf. also Fr. C'est le cas pour des verbes tels que ...

POUTSMA cites further instances on page 427 and remarks: «Such is sometimes placed after the noun it qualifies, with the result that it makes a kind of unit with the conj. as». Cf. also EINENKEL, Pauls Grundriss, p. 1143, who says: »Im Ne. ist dies such as zu einer relativartigen Partikel zusammengeschmolzen.»

But, of course, also:

237.

Such a combination as . . . (Sweet; N. E. G.). In such a sentence as . . . (ib.). Such differences as those presented (ib.).

Chapter XVII.

Pronouns.

Certain pronouns are of great interest as regards their place in the sentence.

1. All and both. The very word-order in all the 238. gentlemen¹, both the gentlemen, as compared to the old gentlemen, indicates clearly enough that 'all' and 'both' cannot be adjectives in the same sense as 'old'. — Thus also: These fine books, the boy's fine books, my fine books, but: all these books, all the boy's books, all my books, both these books, both the boy's books, both my books.

'All' and 'both' should rather be considered as adverbs of some kind. POUTSMA, p. 340: «They partake of an adverbial character». — Hence also their free position in: *The boys all* (= «with one voice», «unanimously») consented. The soldiers were all (= «collectively») angry. The two girls both began to cry. The gentlemen had both been

¹ In Chaucer also: Al a yer (Einenkel, Pauls Grundriss). In Fistula in Ano: al a nyzt. officers¹. – Thus in Anglo-Saxon: Eall wifa cynn (Einenkel). Begen ofslegene wæron þa ealdormen (Sax. Chron.; Mätzner).

239.

In Old English these words were mostly put after the noun, which SwEET (§ 1781) ascribes to their want of emphasis. Whether they were unemphatic or not, I leave to further discussion. I feel, however, inclined to look upon 'all' and 'both' (or rather the old word *ba* to which the def. art. has been added) as originally substantive words, as is the case with several ofher pronouns, with at least certain numerals, and probably also with some quantitative adverbs. This explains both the fact that they cannot be inserted between the article and the noun, or between this and another pronoun (which is not impossible with many ordinary adverbs), and also their generally rather free position in the sentence.

Compare: A. S. *Ealle pæt flæsc* pæt wilddeor læfan (Alfred; Mätzner), þa sende se cyng æfter *eallum his witum* (Sax. Chron.), *Begen þa beornas* (Mätzner); Goth. *Alla so hairda* (Matth.; Mätzner), *Ba þo skipa* (ib.).

240. They must have governed a partitive genitive at first, as for instance also in Beowulf: Sona hæfde *unlifigendes eal* gefeormod (Mätzner, p. 282). This is the case with 'gehwa' in Anglo-Saxon (before or after the noun; Kube, § 35), and with several pronouns in Gothic: *all manageins, all gaskaftais* (Mätzner); *filu manageins, leitil beistis* (Streitberg, Got. El. Buch, § 262)².

241.

The genitive could always be placed before or after ³:

⁸ Certainly its original place was that after the other noun.

¹ Cf. also the following German sentence in which 'alle' looks very much like a real ordinary attribute: Ist das langweilig *die Vokabeln hier alle* zu lernen (E. A. Meyer, Deutsche Gespräche).

² That a noun taking a part. gen. is apt to pass into a kind of adj. is illustrated also by Germ. *Eine Art Fisch*, M. E. Know ye *whatkyn a token* bis is (Alph. of Tales).

Skatte fimf hunda, Manne sums (Streitberg). — The word 'enough' will be good as a parallel: Water enough, as well as Enough water. With a genitive: Þonne gife ic him pasleohtes genog (Gen., 1000; N. E. D.); Enough of impudence (T. Jones); Just enough of learning (Byron; Mätzner). Cf. also Germ. Genug der Tränen, Des Weins genug. — Instead of all these tribes, both these plans we sometimes find all of these tribes, both of these plans (Poutsma p. 217). Construction with 'of' is indeed the rule when the noun is qualified by a relative: All of which letters, Both of whose husbands (Poutsma).

As has already been stated, 'all' and 'both' were 242. mostly placed after their head-words in A. S. This is also sometimes the case, with 'all' at least, in older German: *Die ding alle, Die frawen alle* (Hellwig, pp. 114, 115), *Die* gliedmass des corpers alle (Luther; Hellwig, p. 126).

Postposition of 'all' occurs as late as Present English, although it does not, of course, agree with the living idiom, dialects possibly excepted.

a. Examples af postpos. of 'all': *fas land eall* (Alfr., 243. Orosius; Müllner). Se he *pæt ingedonc eall* wat (Cura Past.; ib.). *Rice men alle* (Sax. Chr.; ib.). *Verod eall æras* (Cædm.; Mätzner). Þa dyde he on his byrnan and *his ge-feran ealle* (Sax. Chron., 1048). To *pam witum eallum* he ... (ib.). *Sumorsæte alle* (Sax. Chron.; Kube). *fa scipu alle* (ib.). *My lordes alle* that here be (Three Kings' Sons; 1500). My lord and you *gentlemen all*, this fellow I have known of a long time (Pilgr. Prog.). Hear me, William de la Marck and *good men all* (Scott, Durward). «Listen to this, *gentlemen all*», said he (Norman Innes, Uncle Jabez; Winds. Mag., Xmas 1909).

b. Examples with 'both' Der wæs ungemetlic wæl 244. geslægen... and *pa cyningas beg en* ofslægene (Sax. Chron.).

The parties booth (Chaucer, Melibeus; Müllner). Fare you well, gentlemen both (II, Henry IV, III: 2).

245. 2. Many. 'Many' also originally took a part. gen.; cf. Goth. *managai pize siponje* (Streitberg). Hence its free position in: *Manige Cristes cyrcan* (Einenkel, Grundriss).

246.

Postposition is occasionally met with in Modern English, when 'many' is modified by an adverb. But postposition is very frequent in A. S. and occurs here and there in M. E. and Eliz. Engl. as well.

Examples: *Hlafordswican manege* (Wulfstan's Address; A. S. Reader). Her syndan . . . fule forlegene *horingas manege* (ib.). To hefegum *byrðenum manegum* (Cura Past.). *Dagas well manege* (Blickl. Hom.; Müllner). Þa sealdon hi him *bysne monige* (Bede's Eccl. Hist.).¹ *Martires ful many* (Trevisa; Müllner). *Good people verye manye* have deserved the revengaunce of God (Th. Lever, A Sermon; 1550). As there be *gods many* and *lords many* (Auth. Vers., I Cor., VIII: 5). It sheared off *heads so many* that it and the ground . . . were a rotten red (Two Cities). *Friends enough and too many* among his fellow book-wrights (Two Years Ago).

247. As for many a man cf. MÄTZNER, p. 258, and EINENKEL, Grundriss, p. 1144. – Anal.: Lyke as other a tygre (Bl. and E.).
248. 3. More and much may be placed on a level with 'many'. Cf. gen. pæs folces mycel ofsloh (Sax. Chron., 626; Mätzner).

Examples of postposition: And other murthes mo (Mätzner, p. 262). Her father and other knyghttes mo (ib.). And many things more (Latimer, Sermon on the Ploughers; 1549). There is Christian, thy husband that was, with legions more, his companions (Pilgr. Progr.). — Φ y us is pearf micel² þæt we ... (Wulfstan's Address, A. S. R.).

¹ Cf. also: Swylce eac ober monig (Cædmon).

² According to MÜLLNER, p. 39, «aufs Conto des lateinischen Einflusses zu setzen», which is not probable.

Here is hunger and ... oðre *wowe muchel* (Rel. Ant.; Mätzner, p. 272).

4. Other is sometimes placed after the noun when 249. emphasized and completed by 'than' ¹:

But what if eyes other than his spied behind (D. Gray). It is evident that the clauses having order other than «First» or invested, are the exceptions (Mc Knight, Prim. Order). When preceded by consonants other than dentals (Jones, Pron. of Engl.). Some syllable other than that which is normally stressed (ib.). The acquisition of works by artists other than Scottish (Studio, Nov. 1910). — In the following quotation 'other than . . .' is appositional: He had no means other than his salary (Winds. Mag., Aug. 1910).

5. Same. I have come across two instances of em- 250. phatic postposition of «the same»:

On my passage I should meet with *atmosphere essentially the same* as at the surface of the earth (Poe, Hans Pfaal). Keats has the phrase «the winnowing wind» — a threefold iteration of *syllables nearly the same* (Bain, Rhet. and Compos.).

6. Whatever precedes the noun if this is not qual-251. ified by another pronoun as well: We must make greater progress with the dictionary *at whatever sacrifice* (Murray).

In other cases the noun comes first, owing to 'what- 252. ever' not being an attribute, but the the pred. complement of an abbreviated clause which it introduces itself: I felt no anxiety whatever (= whatever it be). Without any knowledge whatever.

7. Whatsoever was formerly as a rule, and is some- 253. times still, divided in this manner that 'what' stands be-fore the noun, and 'soever' behind.

Examples: It shall be lawfull for any man . . . to use

¹ Cf. § 308.

what advantage soever (Florio). Of what degree or dignity soever (New Atlantis). Will be stragling abroad at what perill soever (Earle, Micro-cosm.; 1628). Power of what sort soever (Carlyle, Ess. on Scott).

Compare also German: Diese können sich nun in einzelnen Sprachen, aus was für Gründen immer, verändern (Delbrück, Brugmanns Grundriss).

254. 8. **Possessives.** In the oldest English the poss. pron. often followed the substantive. This is not to be wondered at, any more than the fact that other genitives can have this place. A. S. 'his', 'heara' are real genitives: He sende *engel his* (Merc. Hymns, A. S. R.), In *hergum heara* (ib.).

Postposition is frequent in other Teutonic languages as well: Scand. *Hus fodur sins, Rað mitt* (Hellwig, p. 20); Goth. *Leik mein, Naseins unsara*¹ (Hellwig, p. 18); O. H. Germ. *Druthin got dhin, Gote unseremu* (Hellwig, p. 54.)

Instances of postposition in O. E.: Lytel ic wæs betwih *broður mine* and iungra in huse *feadur mines* (Merc. Hymns). *Fingras mine* wyrctun hearpan (ib.). Gecerred is *hatheortnis ðin* (ib.). To donne mildheortnisse mid *fedrum urum* (ib.). Þis is *sunu min* leof (North. Matth.). *Bread oure* eche dayes yef ous (Rel. Ant., Mätzner). – M. E.: And agreid wiþ hym þat he sulde gett hym *þe lyff hur* (her love. Alph. of Tales).

255. Inverted word-order was particularly frequent in the vocative case²:

Sunu min, ne todæl ðu on to fela ðin mod (cf. the difference! Cura Past.). Vader oure (Rel. Ant., Mätzner). Dryhten min (Andr., ib.). – This usage was also kept up by Shakespear, at least in poetry. FRANZ (Shakesp. Gram.):

¹ HELLWIG, p. 18: «Wie... erwiesen wird, stehen die Poss. *meins* etc. eher nach als vor dem Nomen, auch wo das Griechische umgekehrt stellt».

² Cf. Germ. Lieben frawen min (15th cent.), Vater unser (Hellwig, p. 115). Cf. also Father dear etc., § 148 ff.

«Mine in der Stellung nach dem zugehörigen Subst. *(lady mine, brother mine)* begegnet gelegentlich als die Form feierlicher and gefühlvoller Anrede». I have not found any instance of this in Shakespear's prose.

Even certain modern authors sometimes use this 256. archaic word-order in exclamations and in address:

Nay, sweet *lady mine* (Rienzi). In truth, *lady mine*, I rejoice (ib.). Oh! *mother mine*! (Westward Ho! Poutsma). *Reader mine*, if ever you go to Harrow ... (A. Besant, Autob.; Poutsma). Oh, if thou shouldst ever be like that, *Berthold mine*! (Ouida, Fame).

9. A. S. ana ('alone') may also be classed among 257. the pronouns. This word was usually put after its noun, which is evidently due to its appositional character. Cf. A. S. 'sylf', Germ. 'selbst'.

Examples: Monige þe fleoþ for *eaðmodnesse anre* (Cura Past.). Godes *wisdomes anes* (ib.). *Þa þing ana* (ib.; Müllner).

10. A. S. sylf, self is placed after for the same rea- 258. son as 'ana': From d*ære dura selfre* (Cura Past.; Müllner). Ge eac swylce *dead sylfne* to prowianne (Bede).

Chapter XVIII.

Numerals.

1. Cardinals.

I take all cardinal numerals to have been originally substantives, not only 'hundred', 'thousand', 'twenty', etc., but also the smaller numbers. In the quality of substantives they were at the outset accompanied by a part. genitive. Thus it will be possible to account for the word-

259.

order in: Theves he schal herberon never won (one; Hall., Freemas.; Mätzner). Souls and bodies hath he divorced three (Tw. Night, III: 4). Also: On pe fairest toun, pre pe beste yles (Einenkel, p. 1143). — Compare, moreover, the following sentences with 'none' (= not one): Hayir wered he non, ne lynand wold he non were (Capgrave, St. Gilbert; 1451). Other of the apostles saw I none (Auth. Vers., Gal. I: 19). Satisfaction can be none (Tw. Night, III: 4). Other count of time there was none (Two Cities).

The transition from a noun into an adjectival numeral is illustrated by: $De \ pridde \ del \ mi \ kinedom^{1}$ (Rob. of Glo.; Einenkel, Anglia XVIII).

260. By reason of their origin, cardinal numerals could stand before or after in the older language (cf. *para scipa* [gen.] *tu;* Sax. Chron.). Postposition is not uncommon in A. S.; in Modern English this is only met with in poetry or poetic style.

Examples: Mid his *eaforum prim* (Cædmon; Mätzner). Ond þa fengon Æþelwulfes *suna twegen* to rice (Sax. Chron., 855). Comon þær *scipu six* to Wiht (ib., 897). Hiera *pegn an* (ib.; Kube). Smale *bollen preo* (Pop. Treat.; Mätzner). Ge neschulen habben no best bute *kat one* (Ancr. Riwle). *Spearmen 200* (Acts, 23: 23). – Myself and *children three* (Cowper, Gilpin; Kellner, Hist. Outlines).

261.

In the same way: Make ready 200 soldiers and horsemen threescore and ten (Acts, 23: 23). Nobody doubts but that 'threescore' is a noun, not an adjective. Nevertheless it can be employed attributively like other cardinals, getting its place before the substantive by way of an ordinary adjective: Wretched old sinner of more than threescore years and ten (Two Cities). — Thus also 'fourscore': Even though I lived for fourscore years and ten (Ouida, Pipist-

¹ According to EINENKEL »angeglichen an *half*», which I do not believe.

rello). — Even: *Threescore and ten miles* (Franz). She was a widow of about *fourscore and four years* (Auth. Vers., Luke, 2: 37).

In like manner: Ten miles and a half, but also: 262.

Zebra is about *four and a half feet* high (Just so Stories). The barometer gave a present altitude of *three and three-quarter miles* (Poe, Hans Pfaal). It is *five and a quarter miles* in length (Daily Mail, July 6, 1909).

We see how nouns pass into adjectival numerals. Cf. also: One of *the hundred or so deadly sins* (P. Kelver).

2. Half, double, etc.

'Half' stands on a level with 'all' and 'both': it was originally a substantive ¹ only and could not stand between the article (or pronoun) and its noun.

Heo healfne forcearf pone sweoran him (Judith; Mätzner). Halfe a man (Chaucer, Test. of Love). He schall pay half a marke (Cov. L. B., 1421). Half the sum, half a day, half my work. You have told me only half this lady's story (Audley). I have half a mind to do it (More correctly an adverb here: Swed. «till hälften»).

Distinctly a substantive is 'half' in such cases as: Fox beat *half the lawyers* in the House (Clive; Poutsma). You might turn the heads of *half the girls* in town (Don.; ib.).

Where 'half' stands immediately before the noun it 264. has either lost its primary meaning, or else we must speak of a compound:

A half loaf (Sweet, N. E. Gr.). A long half minute; a half-hour; a half-measure; a half-crown; only a half truth. His half brother (Esmond). He invented a half-dozen of speeches in reply (ib.). The half-memory falsely called imagination (Kipling, Many Inv.)².

263.

¹ For the transition into an adj. compare: Mare then *halfendele* a myle (Mätzner, p. 218).

² Cited from LEEB-LUNDBERG, Word-formation in Kipling. Lund 1909.

265. The Romance double, treble, and quadruple have partaken of the construction of 'half': double the deficiency, double his income; treble the number. At least quadruple its usual duration (Kenilworth).

When they stand after the article or pronoun, they form a compound with the substantive or have another signification: A double game, the double windows, this double journey.

Note. Also Dutch half and dubbel can have the same position as Engl. half, double (Poutsma, p. 216).

3. Ordinals.

266.

The ordinal numerals in *Henry the Fourth, Edward* the Seventh, etc. follow their head-words because they are explanatory appositions added afterwards, just like the adjectives in *Pliny the Elder, Charles the Great* (§ 152). That is of course the reason why the ordinal can be placed as it is in this quotation: Be pe commaundment of *Innocent Pope te pird* (Capgrave, St. Gilbert; 1451).

Normal word-order is occasionally made use of when the author wishes to make his style more dignified: The trying reigns of *the second Charles* and *the second James* (Opium-eater).

267. In A. S. postposition could be used in ordinary collocations too, as with other adjectives: Ymb *wucan priddan* (Cædmon; Mätzner).

268. Note especially the following construction in M. E.: *The reyne* of the kynge Richard the Secund after the conquest *the X* (E. E. Wills, R. Corn; 1387). In *the yere* of our kyng Henry the VI:te *the second* (Cov. L. B., 1424). *The yere* of Kyng Herri the VI *the IX* (ib., 1431).

This construction is evidently due to analogy with «in the year» + card. and has certainly also been influenced by the Latin. Cf. Anno domini Millesimo CCCC:mo (E. E. Wills). Anno regni Regis Henrici sexti post conquestum Anglie decimo septimo (ib.).

In Chapter the first, Page three, etc. French influence 269. is generally assumed (Sweet, N. E. G. § 1782. POUTSMA, p. 336). As the same word-order is often used in Swedish and German, it seems to me that this explanation is somewhat arbitrary. The origin of this mode of expression is doubtless simply this, that, when people had become accustomed to writing — after the Latin pattern, that is true — *Chapter I, Page 3*, they also took to reading the words in the same order, and thus the numeral was kept behind the substantive.

Instances without any article: In Conto Twelfth (Byron, D. Juan; Mätzner). Chapter twenty-fifth (Scott, Rob Roy; ib).

Thus it has also fared with the pronouncing of the 270. date of the month. *The fifth of February* is usually written *February(,) 5:th,* and so it has come to pass that one can say and write:

Boys who on *November the ninth*... were suffering from a severe toothache, told me on *November the tenth* the glories of Lord Mayor's show (Paul Kelver).

Chapter XIX.

Attributes qualified by 'not'.

An attribute preceded by 'not' can stand before the 271. noun¹, and this is the usual order when the adjective is negated by *un*- or *in*-. That pre-position is more freely used in that case must be seen through the medium of

¹ POUTSMA simply states (p. 332): »Adjectives may stand before their head-words although modified by adverbs of time, adverbs in *-ly*, or the word-modifying *not*».

the fact that 'not' and *un- (in-)* neutralize each other, so that the negation and the adjective form only one positive idea. Postposition is therefore in that case exclusively employed for the sake of emphasis.

Examples of pre-position: The perhaps not unwilful slights of those whose approbation we wish to engage (Clarissa). A not unintelligent officer (Macaulay,Hist.). A not unworthy rival (ib.). The Countess had a not unfeminine weakness for champagne (E. Harrington). Lying at his door in a not unwonted way (ib.).

Examples of postposition: [He] remembered this part of his life as a period not unhappy (Esmond). An event not unfrequent, for in those days . . . (P. Kelver). The man . . . was of a mighty nature not unheroical, a man of the active grappling modern brain (Meredith, Tragic Com., Pref.).

272. In the case of other adjectives normal word-order does not seem to be much favoured, exception being made for the combination 'not' + 'very' ('quite', 'altogether') + adj., which group is felt to be equivalent to a single word ¹, e. g.:

The ardent and not altogether disinterested zeal with which ... (Macaulay, Hist.). The not too gracious bounty of moneyed relatives (Sartor). This nagging and not very courteous chaff (Pudd'nhead Wilson). He plays a not very conspicuous part in the story (Sweet, N. E. Gr., § 1788).

Otherwise postposition is preferred:

Many have an opinion not wise that ... (Bacon, Of Faction). With *features not dissimilar* (Esmond).² The

¹ It might be objected that 'not' does not here belong to the adj., but that is only a half truth.

 $^{^2}$ Such an adjective might, however, be put on a level with those in *un-*, *in-*. It is therefore possible that the word-order is emphatic here.

grace of God working in *a heart not ill-disposed* (Fullerton, Bonneval). *Verbs not auxiliary*, except 'be' and 'have', are resumed by 'do' (Lloyd, North. Engl.).

But there is an expedient frequently resorted to of 273. getting rid of this often rather unwieldy arrangement, namely that of substituting 'no' for 'not' (or 'a not'). According to STOFFEL (*Stud. in Engl.*, p. 106) this is «very rarely met with in modern English». I doubt very much whether this statement is correct, but I am unfortunately not able to disprove it by a sufficient number of quotations. I cite those that I have come across:

To my no small pleasure (Florio). Looking forward with no small anxiety to his fate (Esmond). He ... thought of it with no small feeling of shame (ib.). With no very well-pleased air (ib.). Standing in no common need of rest (Nickleby). To the no small delight of a group of diminutive boys (Pickwick). Peter Ruff returned ... in no very jubilant state of mind (Pearson's Weekly, Jan. 1910). For no very disinterested end (Two Years).

Also with adjectives in *in-:* Situated at *no inconsider-able distance* from the place (Rienzi). Saying which in *no inaudible tones* (Fl. Marryat, Her World).

Another expedient of avoiding art. + 'not' + adj. + noun is to place 'not' before the article, as in: I myself, *not the least afflicted person* on the roll (Opium-eater). A liberal-minded man, and *not a very rigid ecclesiastic* (Christian).¹

As to constructions such as *No easie an apprentiship* 274. (Florio), *Upon no better a ground* (Coriolanus), I refer to STOFFEL, *Studies in Engl.*, p. 95 ff.

¹ Compare with this: It had *infinitely a stronger effect* on him (T. Jones). The stars intimate yet a prouder title (Kenilworth). Mr. Torpenhow's ten times a better man than you (Light that failed). — This word-order is, it is well known, very frequent with 'rather' and 'quite'.

Chapter XX.

Attributes preceded by more than one adverb.

275.

An adjective attribute may be preceded by two adverbs, one of which qualifies the other, and it may nevertheless stand between the article (pron.) and the substantive. Sweet (N. E. G., § 1788) lays down the following general rule for this case: «Groups precede when pre-order involves no awkwardness of construction, especially when the group is felt to be equivalent to a single word, or when the group may be regarded as a compound».

Above all, of course, this applies to the case of one adverb being qualified by 'more' or 'most'; here we might be authorized to say that only one compound adverb precedes the adjective. But many other combinations occur.

Examples: These now before rehercid thingis (Pecock, Repressor). The never-yet beaten horse (Ant. and Cleop.; Abbott). The almost equally unimaginable volume (Sartor). That pretty-densely populated quarter (Pickwick). Her scarcely less dear namesake (Two Cities). More easily broken shells (Darwin). With not less disastrous consequences (Venetia). The no longer mysterious door (ib.). The most widely read book ever written (Editor's Pref. to Pilgr. Progr.; People's Library). — Thus also: In a clear, bell-like, for ever memorable tone (Sartor). Our as yet miniature philosopher's achievements (ib.).

276.

In instances like the following the first adverb belongs to the second adv. + the adj., which two thus form one idea, i. e. a kind of compound:

The perhaps not unwilful slights (Clarissa). His seemingly so aimless rambles (Sartor). These otherwise so powerful pieces (Carlyle, Ess. on Burns). An otherwise studiously inexpressive countenance (Merriman, A small World). The demon's really rather cogent intervention (Cardinal's Snuffbox). Respectably ill dressed or disreputably poorly dressed people (Shaw, Candida). – Thus also: So utterly sad a scene (Carlyle, Ess. on Burns). So thoroughly judicious a manner (Floss).

Even three adverbs may be allowed to stand before 277. a prepositive attribute:

That perhaps not ill-written «Program» (Sartor). Much more highly-instructed persons (Floss). Our Arabian Nights and fairy tales seemed at last not altogether cunningly wrought deceptions (King's Mirror).

Postposition in accordance with the common rules: 278.

I have known sons much more confidential (Thackeray, Philip). An effect not less disproportionate followed out of that one accident (Opium-eater). A value not otherwise attainable (ib.). With an unconscious equanimity not less diverting (Venetia). There was in his air just now a hint of amusement most decorously suppressed (King's Mirror).

The group «more than usually (ordinarily, commonly)» 279. does not prevent pre-position, which is all the more natural as it only expresses one idea.- It is then in full accordance with Sweet's rule that the whole long attribute is placed before the noun.

Examples: When there were some more than usually interesting inquests (Twist). A more than commonly good thing (Nickleby). A more than usually unpronounceable name (Plain Tales). A more than ordinarily friendly soul blocked the procession (Twain, Wilson).

Similarly, if the adjective is preceded by «more than», pre-order is kept: With a more than ordinary vehemence (Rog. de Coverly). One of those more than mad English girls (Light that failed). The rays of the sun were reflected in more-than-oriental (sic!) splendour (Just so Stories).

Cf. The man knew more than enough English for that (D-Gray). The more than favour with which she accosted him (Kenilworth).

Chapter XXI.

Adjective attributes in adversative relation to each other.

280. He made a manly but, at first, a vain effort (Scott); A natural, although a very deep sigh escaped him (Poe). — There is nothing remarkable in these sentences. But what would be the word-order in case the article were not repeated? POUTSMA (p. 332) answers thus: «When an adjective or a group of adjectives is in adversative relation to another, or to an adnominal clause, they are often found after their head-words. Instances of the alternative case are not unfrequent».

Examples: bas Dryhten geedleanades, swe folc dysic (foolish) and nales snottur (wise. Merc. Hymns; A. S. R.). A person small and emaciated, yet deriving dignity from ...; a brow pensive but not gloomy; a face, pale and worn but serene (Macaulay, Hastings; Poutsma). A mind intelligent, if not brilliant (Venetia). In a language eloquent though rude (P. Kelver). Manikins grotesque but pitiful crept across the star-lit curtain (ib.). He has ... a mouth resolute, but not particulary well cut (Shaw, Candida). A «fake» is a story invented, not founded on fact (Harper's Monthly, July 1893). He looked at her averted face, a profile soft and lovable, yet full of ... (Cosmop. Mag., Oct. 1910).

281. In reality, however, the matter certainly stands thus, that this word-order is in Modern English only observed when the substantive has a great deal less importance than the attributes. Otherwise — not merely «not un-frequently», in consequence, but rather in most cases — both the attributes precede the noun.

Examples: This low but not unuseful subject (Clarissa). Those few, simple and familiar, yet whispered syllables (Poe, Wilson). With an objectless yet intolerable horror
(ib.). A neighbouring though still somewhat distant parish
(Venetia). Like a faint, yet pleasing dream (ib.). With a brief but ineffectual radiance (B. Harte, By Shore and Sedge). A fierce though unequal conflict (Bain, Rhet. and Comp.). With equal, yet different, effect (Studio, Oct. 1910).
– Even: An integral but in many respects distinct part of the United Kingdom (C. S. Fearenside, Mod. Spr. VI, 1910.)

In case of an adjective not compounded with un- negatived by 'not' repetition of the article is the best construction: A good but not a gay horse (Kenilworth).

Appendix 1. To this section I also refer such rather 282. rare combinations as the following:

In vain, because unguided, attempts (Poe, Gold-bug). That half-pleasurable, because poetic, sentiment (Poe, House of Usher). It exhibits no lofty and almost useless, because unimitable, example of excellence (Irving, Sketchbook).

Appendix 2. It is by far the most usual to say: 283. With features rather strong than pleasing (Kenilworth).¹ In a manner practical rather than academic (Fearenside, M. S., Jan. 1911). Elsley had a dread more nervous than really coward of infectious diseases (Two Years). Dick established himself in quarters more riotous than respectable (Light that failed). – But Dickens has: That not more populous than popular thoroughfare (Pickwick).

A rare construction is also the following: My as fair 284. as noble ladies (Coriolanus II: 1). I have made a short as well as early dinner (Clarissa). Having made this act of prudent as well as just restitution (Kenilworth). He runs great personal as well as political risks (Winds. Mag., July 1910).

I cannot produce any striking instance of pre-position of an expression with «both ... and». Instead of *A both pretty and rich girl we say either: Both a rich and a pretty girl, or: A girl both rich and pretty.

¹ Thus also: With indulgence as unbounded as injudicious (ib.).

Chapter XXII.

Attributes preceded by an adverbial phrase of some length.

285. In English there exists, as is well known (cf. § 14), rather great freedom as to the «attributizing» of whole phrases, in one way at least. Thus:

A good-for-nothing husband (Her World). Well-to-do professional men (Kelver). One of those hundred and sixteen piece five-dollar-ninety-eight-marked-down-from-six sets of china (Lorimer, Graham). A this-is-very-sad-but-I-need-themoney tone (ib.). A Leeds to Hull goods train (D. Mail).

But here the whole of the more or less longish phrase constitutes a simple idea and forms only one complicated adjective.

286. On the other hand, placing an attribute preceded by an adverbial adjunct of some length before the noun is decidedly at variance with the principles of English syntax. Notwithstanding instances do occur in Late Modern English.

287. To meet with «by no means» preceding a prepositive attribute is common enough and is, of course, quite comprehensible, as the said expression has lost its original meaning and has sunk to be a negative adverb, only more emphatic than 'not'.

Examples: Her by means affectionate brother (Two Cities). A by no means unusual circumstance (Slang Dict.). A by no means pre-Raphaelite conclusion (Two Years).

In the same way «anything but» is equivalent to a single adverb: *The anything but settled use*.¹

¹ Compare, however, also: With anything but an assured countenance (Her World). In anything but an enviable position (ib.).

But the following quotations are more interesting: 288. This, I fear, cannot be said of *our happily in all other respects cleaner island* (Ch. Weld, Vacation in Brittany; Poutsma). Marcella was no longer a clever little imp, *but a fastmaturing and in some ways remarkable girl* (Marcella). An *integral but in many respects distinct part of the United Kingdom* (Fearenside, Mod. Spr. VI, 1910).

POUTSMA declares the first of these to make «a ludicrous effect». I cannot agree with him in this. When the subst. has a poss. pronoun, it is always more natural to place the attribute in front, as it usually mentions a wellknown fact. In the last two quotations the word-order may be due to the long distance between the article and the attribute in question. It would have been grammatically more correct to have repeated the article after 'ways' and 'respects', respectively.

The same applies to such cases where a whole sent- 289. ence is the qualifier of the adjective, as in:

A silent, as it were unconscious, strength ¹ (Sartor). Then in a smooth, even, and what I may call reasonable voice, she remarked . . . (King's Mirror).

Again, a combination like the following makes the impression of being quite a free-and-easy mode of expression: *For I forget how many days*, Peter and the Duchessa did not meet (Cardinal's Snuff-box).

Concerning the attributive participle there are not a 290. few cases of such preceding the head-word although accompanied by an adverbial phrase. In most of these, however, we must look upon the long attribute as a compound adjective. Cf. ABBOTT, Sh. Gr., § 434: «Short phrases, mostly containing participles, are often compounded into

¹ Of course the adjective was here originally pred., but «as it were» is now no longer felt as «as *if* it were».

epithets», e. g. *The to-and-fro-conflicting wind* (Lear). – Further instances:

Yet my mind ceased not ... to have peculiar unto it selfe well setled motions (Florio). I chanced to stumble upon an high, rich, and even to the clouds-raised piece (ib.). A twenty-years-removed thing (Tw. Night). A withoutpain-delivered jest (Lamb, Elia). Sheridan's brilliant, though in its day much condemned, alteration (Introd. to Sheridan's Plays, World's Classics).

291.

Pre-position is particularly frequent when the adverbial phrase contains the word 'times'. In the quotations from more recent times we can hardly speak of a compound any more in this case.

Examples: A jewel in a ten times barred up chest (Rich. II). The most illustrious, six-or-seven-times-honoured captain-general of the Grecian Army (Tr. and Cress., III: 3). To pay a fifty-times repeated visit (Elia). Like a manytimes-repeated kiss¹ (Light that failed). A many-timestold tale (Kipling, Kim; Leeb-Lundberg). A several times repeated percussion (Lloyd, North. Engl.).

292. A passive infinitive can, when preceded by another word, stand attributively before a substantive. We are bound to regard the whole group as a compound adjective.

Examples: My ever to be revered mamma (Clarissa). Your lordship's most beautiful and all-to-be-unmatched² Castle of Kenilworth (Kenilworth). The never-to-be-forgotten whisper (Poe, Wilson). The never-enough-to-be-esteemed General Post-office (Opium-eater). The not-every-day-of-the-weekto-be-attained benefit (Poutsma, p.' 341. «Can hardly be taken quite seriously»).

293.

The only adverbial adjunct of some length that could

¹ Kipling's hyphens do not count for much!

² This is not of course, properly speaking, a passive inf. But the likeness is obvious.

precede a prepositive attribute in Anglo-Saxon was one denoting measure: Ond wiðutan þæm dice is geworht *twegea elne heah weall* (Orosius; A. S. R.). Suilc it ware *pre niht ald mone* (Sax. Chron., 1132). – Thus also in M. E.: To robbe a riche man of *an hundrid markis worp godis* (Wycliff, De Off. Past.).

But in Modern English this word order is impossible, except in stating a person's age: A ten-year-old boy, A two-hundred-year-old grammar. In the case of a numeral + 'year' (uninflected plural!) the old word-order has survived up to our days, but the whole combination is now looked upon as a compound word (Cf. A five-and-twentymile walk. Pickwick).

If, however, the plural -s is added to 'year' the received tradition is deviated from, and the attribute should be placed after the noun. Notwithstanding, in opposition to the rule: I looked across the terrace and saw *Victoria's three-years-old* ¹ *girl* playing about (King's Mirror).

Postposition may in other cases be avoided by omission of the quantit. noun, as in: *The hundred-strong* («hundra man stark») guard packed before the obstruction in the tunnel (Royal Mag., July 1910).

Chapter XXIII.

Attributes preceded by an object.

The fact that pre-order is sometimes used even if 294. the adjective is accompanied by a dative must be regarded as a noteworthy omen, showing the direction of development in this respect. Instances are, of course, as yet comparatively rare.

¹ The hyphens are of no real importance!

Examples: On that to me memorable evening (Wordsworth; Poutsma). Under the to me unmeaning title (Carlyle; Einenkel, Grundriss). After this remarkable and to Scotland most disgraceful transaction (W. S. Tal., 4; Koch, Hist. Gram., p. 174). She contrived still to speak on the, to her, ever-interesting subject (Venetia). The mighty men of old who had penetrated into these, to them, remote regions (Brown, V. C.). Many of their (to us) peculiar usages (Verity, Coriolanus; Notes). He exhibited such a faculty for apt, but to the brothers totally incomprehensible quotation (E. Harrington). The accidental charm of his graceful, though to him only half-serious, fopperies (D. Gray). By which term Heale indicated the, to him, astounding fact that ... (Two Years Ago).

295. I have even noted down a few cases where an attributive present participle has an accusative object and nevertheless precedes the noun. As yet we must, I think, set such phenomena down as specimens of word-formation.

Examples: To an ambitious and fame aspiring mind a man must yeeld little (Florio). Olive-branch-bearing doves (Audley). The last sketch representing that much enduring man (Light that failed). The all-surpassing interest (Verity, Hamlet; Introd.).

296. The same is applicable to the case of a prepositive participle accompanied by a predicative complement, as in: I will . . . pluck the borrowed veil from *the so seeming* (cf. «so-called») *Mistress Page* (M. Wives, III: 2). *The dark-growing moor* (Sartor). ¹

¹ Cf. Swed. Skjutit den oegennyttiga kärleken i bakgrunden och på *dess tom-blivna tron* satt upp några klumpiga avgudar (Fr. Hedberg, Hero och Leander).

Chapter XXIV.

Attributes followed by a qualifier.

If an adjective or participle is followed, not preceded, 297. by some qualifier, it cannot stand attributively before a noun. That one can, and could, nevertheless say: *They call* him a babishe and ill brought up thyng (Ascham, Scholemaster), *She is a well-brought-up and religious young woman* (Thackeray, Philip), is of course owing to the fact that the participle and the adverb make up a unit so as to form a compound adjective. — Such is naturally also the case when a preposition which is necessary to the verb is tacked on to the participle. It appears from the very pronunciation that a composition is present.

Examples: That little booke of unheard of wonders (Florio). This unhoped for victory (ib.). I love not this relative and begd-for sufficiencie (ib.). He mangles poore foules with unheard of tortures (Earle, Micro-cosm.). Overrefining and overdefining can seldom reach their wishedfor end (Clarke, Gram. of the Engl. Tongue). A small but much-sought-after school for young ladies (Marcella). The talked-of tutor had not yet arrived (King's Mirror).

There is, however, one case in which an attribute 298. followed by its adverb is placed before the noun. This is when the adverb is **'enough'**.

Three different arrangements are possible when the attribute is qualified by 'enough': 1) The word-order most in accordance with the English idiom: I have reason good enough (Tw. Night, II: 3). Answers satisfactory enough (Hope, God in the Car). With a natural merriment about her attractive enough (King's Mirror). [Cf. Some system more corrupt still. Macaulay]. -2) With the adj. before

and the adv. after the noun: An honest fellow enough (Shakesp.; Mätzner). A snub-nosed, common-faced boy enough (Twist). A well-meaning woman enough (Nickleby). It was a becoming robe enough (Two Cities). A shabby, dirtylooking box enough (Audley). She was a pious maiden enough (Ouida, Umiltà). A doleful hole enough (Two Years Ago).¹ [Cf. It would have been a stranger contrast still. Nickleby]. — 3) With both the adjective and the enclitic adverb before the subst. This arrangement is comparatively new and is not mentioned by Mätzner. Ellinger, Engl. Stud. XXIV, gives some instances of it. I will add some myself, all belonging to Modern English:

The natural enough excuse of his lady's insanity (Kenilworth). In dreary enough humour (Sartor). You're a good enough fellow in yourself (Fl. Marryat, Her World). Pleasant enough fellows (Merriman, Goloss-aal). A willing enough beast (Merriman, The Mule). This here's a strange enough world (E. Harrington). For most of us life is a tolerable enough business (King's Mirror). [A better still book?]

299. In all these quotations 'enough' has its weaker sense of 'rather', and the strange-looking word-order is evidently made possible by the fact that the adj. and the adv. are pronounced in one breath (Cf. «nice-and-warm»!).

The word-order in question has, however, also spread to cases where 'enough' has a more independent, i. e. its primary, meaning ('sufficiently'):

I was a meek enough wife to endure it without flinching (Fr. Moore, Rosamund's Lady; Winds. Mag., May 1910).

¹ In the foll. quot. 'enough' belongs with all probability to the noun: And per he sulde hafe gude wyne enogh, and clarett (Alph. of Tales).

Quite a large enough village to be called a town (ib.). You have not heavy enough rains for a flood 1 .

The phenomenon here illustrated is very interesting, as it proves that the resources of English in the matter of an easy arrangement of the words are as yet far from being exhausted.

In such constructions as *Six more persons, In one* 300. *more respect* it looks as if we had another instance of the above word-order. This is, however, only seemingly.

MATZNER says on page 260: «Schwer ist es für das moderne Sprachbewusstsein in manchen Fällen zu entscheiden, ob *more* als Adverb oder als Adjektiv anzusehen ist. Englische Lexikographen nehmen *more* in der Verbindung mit bestimmten und unbestimmten Zahlwörtern für ein Adjektiv in der Bedeutung von *additional*».

Whether 'more' is here to be looked upon as an adverb or not is totally immaterial. At any rate, if it is not an adjective here, it is not an adjective in *More persons, More money* either. But thus much is certain: it cannot possibly belong to the numeral in *Six more persons, because a numeral cannot be modified by such an adverb.*

I quote some of Mätzner's examples:

That he might have one more look at the day (Macaulay, Hist.). There might be one more motive (Byron, D. Juan). Twelve more tragedies (Taylor a. Reade, Masks). Many more stories (Andrew). – I add one from M. E.: Monie mo hweolpes (Ancr. Riwle).

¹ Uttered by an Australian-English lady.

Chapter XXV.

Crosswise word-order.

301.

1. If an attribute is completed by a following adjunct, it must according to general rules be placed after the noun. We have, however, seen the cross-arrangement possible when the adjunct is 'enough' or 'still'. But a similar arrangement considerably more daring was used by authors of older times ¹:

If he fynde wibin be lure ane hard bing as a stone (Fistula). That a swift blessing may soon return to this our suffering country under a hand accursed (Macbeth; verse). With declining head into his bosom (Shrew, III). A long parted mother with her child (Sh.; Einenkel, Grundr.). I found Friday had still a hankering stomach after some of the flesh (Crusoe).

Such word-order is all but inconceivable in Late Modern English. Therefore the following is a striking case: That will *be an accepted type by everybody* (Two Paths).

302.

On the other hand, it is - and was - rather common for an ordinary adjective and its prepositional complement to be separated by the noun, as soon as the prepositional phrase may be said to belong just as much to the noun + adj. as to the adjective alone, or whenever the prepositional phrase might be felt as an afterthought.

Examples: Two weren grete men of name and havynge (Wycliff, Leaven of Phar.). Able men af kunnynge and lif (ib.). Syzile ... was ... the next Reaume unto the mysbilevers (3 Kings' Sons). The chiefest noble man of blood

¹ Not only in the case of an adj. attr., but also for instance: *The kynges sone of Ireland* (Morte Darthur; Einenkel, Grundriss). *The archbishop's grace of York* (Sh.; ib.).

(North, Plut.). A stout man of nature (ib.). A common custom among us (Florio). A dear manakin to you (Tw. Night). A happy gentleman in blood (Rich. II). Your lordship is the most patient man in loss (Cymbeline, II: 3). I am a far weaker man by nature than thou art (Pilgr. Progr.). My mind seemed to be in a suitable frame for so outrageous an execution (Crusoe). The most pernicious thing to my health (ib.). It became a fit mantle for a prince (Kenilworth). Father Holt was a very kind man to him (Esmond). In the next pew to her (ib.). A pretty useless thing for him (Pickwick). An unsatisfactory sort of things under any circumstances (ib.). The most popular personages in his own circle (ib.). A reasonable assumption at the close of November (Opium-eater). That was by no means a new idea to Maggie (Floss). This is a common story among the vulgar in Gloucestershire (Verity, Hamlet; Notes). He was a fairly humane man towards slaves and other animals (Twain, Wilson). The old Cant is a common language to the vagrants of many descriptions (Slang Dict.). Your Cohort's the next tower to us (Kipling, Puck).

Such is the only possible word-order with «last (next) but one»: The last (next) syllable but one; and in such cases as: The second house from the corner.

The same peculiarity is found in older High German: Ein... starker mann von kreften. Ein grosser, gerader mann von lib und person (Hellwig, p. 114).

In one case the above word-order seems by and by 303. to become the only one used, namely in the case of adjectives of *similitude* and *dissimilitude*. That the crosswise arrangement is preferred with such a word as 'different' is probably to be accounted for by the fact that «different from» is equivalent in meaning to «other ... than». 'Than' introduces a clause (which may be curtailed) and is not, therefore, so closely connected with 'other' as is the preposition with the adjective that takes this preposition. This theory is, it seems to me, confirmed by instances like the following: *A far different cause than the real one* (Venetia).

Besides, the preposition after the said category of adjectives has a more general sense («compared to», «in relation to»), i. e. it comes very near a conjunction ¹. Compare 'to' (which is also used after 'different') in:

A person of very superior capacity to my own (= «higher cap. than..»; Elia). A very superior stamp of man to himself (Two Years Ago). That noble Earl... had found himself in a subordinate situation to Leicester (= «a less high sit. than...»; Kenilw.). An inferior poem to ... (Krüger).

The preposition may then here, on still better grounds than above, be said to belong to both the adjective and the noun, or, in other words, to the whole expression adj. + noun.

Examples: They are of a far different disposition from the Jews in other parts (New Atlantis). A quite different kind from our European cats (Crusoe). Is your duke made of a different metal from other princes (Durward). People who have different tastes from his (Thackaray, Ess. on Whitebait). Quite a different bearing to that of the Cambridge student (Esmond). A being of different order from the bustling race about him (Sketchbook). A very different man from the prisoner (Two Cities). «Come», said the leader in a very different tone to the one in which... (Venetia). She is altogether a different being to the wretched helpless creature who... (Audley).

But, of course: A function different from and vaguer than that of the same conjunctions (Sweet, N. E. G.). -

¹ Cf. She had taken the illness on the same day with Esmond (H. Esmond). 'With' here stands for the conj. 'as'.

And, when the adjective has more emphasis: In a tone so different from his own (Kenilworth).

Other adjectives denoting dissimilitude and such 304. as denote similitude have followed the example set by 'different'.

Examples: Davyd was... of *like age to* Surnome (Three Kings' Sons).¹ Let us take a cleane contrary way from the common (Florio). In the opposite extremity to the place where thou art known (Kenilworth). They seemed to entertain similar opinions with the syndic¹ (Q. Durward). He had seen similar lists to these (Two Cities). The opposite direction to the natural current of the river (Opiumeater). They advanced to the opposite declivity to that which they had descended (Venetia). In the opposite direction to the imprisoned offenders (Ouida, Umiltà). A Cognate Object because it is of kindred meaning with the verb (Onions, Syntax). A similar case to mine (Daily Mail).

Examples with the adj. 'superior', 'inferior', and 'subordinate' have been given in § 303.

2. Crosswise word-order is also the most common 305. when the adjective is supplemented by an infinitive.

Examples: Then was it a mervailous thinge to se, and a faire (Three Kings' Sons). A likely plot to succeed (Sheridan, Scarborough). What a pleasant thing filial piety is, to contemplate (Nickleby). A very desirable person to know (ib.). The correct thing to do (P. Kelver). It seems an absurd question to ask, but the fact is ... (Light that failed).

The verbal supplement is here best regarded as a 306. posterior explanatory (often superfluous) addition which does not belong to the adjective only. When this is not

¹ Here it is quite clear that the prep. does not belong to the adj. only. Cf. The same opinions as the syndic.

the case, postposition is used, as in: It was an invitation too tempting to resist (= an invit. so tempting that it could not be resisted). A charm too sweet to withstand.

308.

307. 3. The natural continuation of a comparative is a clause with 'than'. As this clause is necessary to the context, the comparative and the conjunction are in very near relation to each other.¹ Hence one would expect inverted word-order when a comparative followed up by a 'than'clause is used attributively. In most cases, however, the conjunction may be looked upon as belonging to the unity of adj. + noun, and by consequence normal word-order is made use of, just as in «A subordinate situation to Leicester», «An absurd question to ask».

Examples: Ane wurse man pane bu art (Vices and Virtues; 1200). A better nature than his own (Bacon). For a much longer space of time than 3 minutes (Twist). Even a shorter allowance than was originally provided for them (ib.). Within a less distance of the ground than his own height (ib.). To these pursuits . . . the little Doctor added a more important one than any (Pickwick). The worse fate than being blind yourselves (Ruskin). Far greater poets than Burns (ib.). A much more substantial man than he really was (Floss). - Always: In more ways than one (Snuff-box). Again, if 'than' belongs to the adjective alone - and this is the case when the attribute is emphatic and thus outbalances the noun - then inversion is in its place.

Examples: An amyse (amice) mor precious pan I am wone to were (Capgrave, Augustine; 1450). The English government was ... regarded by foreign powers with respect scarcely less than that which ... (Macaulay, Hist.). An interest deeper than aught concerning earth only could

¹ 'Than' is not so indispensable after 'other' as it is after an ordinary comp., 'other' having passed into an absolute comp. Hence, what is said here is not at variance with what has been said in § 303. create (Kenilworth). And don't young men always begin by falling in love with *ladies older than* themselves (Philip). When he unexpectedly made his appearance, in *health no worse than* usual (Poe, Ragged Mountains). They use *phrases much stronger than* naturally belong to their thoughts (Opium-eater). The attention of *people wiser than* myself (ib.). It seemed to me ... to have *roots deeper than* any accidental occurence (King's Mirror). In *a voice lower than* her usual tones (ib.). A swindle more energetic and less skilful *than* the rest (Marcella). The big drops pelted the river like bullets, sending up *splashes bigger than themselves* (Snuff-box). The voice reaches *notes much higher than* the upper limit of ... (Savory a. Jones, Sounds of the Fr. lang.).

Appendix.

Before leaving this section, I will take the opportunity of mentioning one more kind of remarkable word-order, namely that of a prepositional phrase, or the like, being inserted between the substantive and a postpos. attribute.

Examples: *III quisshonus* of the same colour *unstopped* (E. E. Wills, 1434). A litill panne of brasse y-ered (ib.). In *pe day*, forsope, *folowyng* (Fistula). *Tuo knottis* or pre *unlouseable* (ib.). He . . . did *things*, as it is written, *wonderful and incredible* (North, Plut.). There are some *laws and customs* in this empire *very peculiar* (Gulliver).¹ With *a triumph* over her passion *highly commendable* (Andrews). *An effect*, however, *widely different* (T. Jones). There are several other *strokes* in the First Book *wonderfully poetical* (Addison, Spect; Febr. 16, 1712).¹ There were household *officers*, indeed, *richly attired* (Q. Durward). *A circumstance*, in fact, *little remarkable* (Poe, Wilson). A . . . kindness that left *an impression* upon my heart *not yet impaired* (Opiumeater). With *a natural merriment* about her *attractive enough*

¹ But compare also § 11.

309.

(King's Mirror). *My thanks* to you *most sincere* (Harrington). Her voice had *a running sob* in it *pitiful to hear* (Plain Tales). I've shot and hunted *every beast*, I think, *shootable and huntable* (Two Years Ago).

Thus formerly also with 'something': A shudder that had *something* in it *ominous* (Q. Durward). This solitude has *something* in it *weird and awful* (Rienzi).

Chapter XXVI.

«Umschliessung». 1

310. «Some way or other» is a well-known phrase. The two pronouns exclude each other, and so this arrangement of the words is the logically correct one; 'some' and 'other' belong each to one 'way', 'other' standing for 'another', which also occurs, e. g. At some hour or another (Rambler). Who ... hath ... not worshipped some idol or another (H. Esmond). All of them bearing, in some way or another, the name of Boyce (Marcella); also «the other»: In one sense or the other (Carlyle, Ess. on Scott).

The matter stands in exactly the same way whenever two adjectival words, one of which is the contrary of the other, are co-ordinated by means of 'and' or 'or'.

Examples: Aegõer ge godcundra hade ge woruldcundra (Cura Past.; Müllner). Berenne kyrtel oõõe yterenne (Voy. of Othere; A. S. R.). Ne rice men ne heanne (Sax. Chron.; Müllner). Assoylinge of suche confessours hab lytel vertu or non (Wycliff, Of Confession). Bringib furbe litel frute

311.

¹ The expression is borrowed from MULLNER, although he takes it to mean something more than I do.

or noon (Imit. Christi; 1441). Ye make ... little countenaunce, or noon (Three Kings' Sons; 1500). Suche wordes and semblable (ib.). A nonne in whyte clothes and blacke (Morte Darthur). The hunting of redde dere and fallowe (Elyot, Governour). Merry faces and sad, fair faces and foul, they ride upon the wind (P. Kelver). In the literal sense and figurative (Verity, Henry V; Notes).¹ By fair means or foul.²

Numerals always exclude each other; therefore: 312. *pe pridde article and pe vifte* (Ayenb.). I putte in *tuo tentes or pre* (Fistula). *Fyve tymes or seven* (ib.). Wiþin ane *howr or II* after (Alph. of Tales). Where might not come past *II horses or III* (Three Kings' Sons). A pinnacle or *two* shining in the sun (Esmond). The third article and the *fifth* (Ayenb.; marginal note by the editor). A day or two³.

Thus also: For *three hours and more* (Kingsley; Mätz- 313. ner). *Forty bodies and more* (Two Years Ago). During *the past year or two* I have been ... (C. S. Fearenside, Mod. Spr., VIII, 1909).

Thus likewise with poss. pronouns: *My father and* 314. *yours*. ⁴

In many languages standing on a less elevated plat- 315. form in general the word-order above exemplified is a characteristic trait, however, and is indeed the rule not only where two attributes excluding each other are concerned,

¹ Cf. Swed. Svarta hjärtan och röda (D. Fallström). Danska bekymmer och svenska (Sv. Dagbl.).

² In the case of ordinary adj. this mode of expression is in Present Engl. chiefly limited to that standing phrase, although anybody might say, for instance: *In fine weather and (or) bad*. Compare also: It was *a chivalrous boast but vain* (Xavier).

⁸ In mod. Engl. usually: Two or three days, The third and (the) fifth articles. Only one or two doubtful cases (Two Years).

⁴ EINENKEL, Anglia XVIII: «Höchst selten stehen beide vor dem Subst.; n. e. In defence of *our and your enemies* (Flügels Leseb.).» — Thackeray has: Yours and her very humble servant (Esmond). but also wherever two or more attributes, or in fact any kind of sentence-elements, are co-ordinated. Compare for instance:

Old Norse **Kynstorr** maðr ok rikr (Hellwig, p. 19); ¹ Old High Germ. **Guoter** dinge unde nützer (Hellwig, p. 109); Old French Se Deu plest et Saint Esperite (Einenkel, Anglia XVIII, p. 153). A. S. Forþon heo neowe syndon and uncuðe (Bede); Ongiett þæt hit self dysig sie and synfull (Cura Past.); þa het se cyning his heafod of aslean and his swiðran earm (Ælfric); Ines broþur and Healfdenes (Sax. Chron.; Kube); And ræsp (rushes) suiðe dollice on ælc weorc and hrædlice (Cura P.); Geðence hu he gehwelcne læran scyle and hwonne (ib.). M. E. Godes luve and mannes (Vices and Virtues, 1200); To clepie god to wytnesse, and his moder (Ayenb., 1340); That right wyse was and subtyll (Blanch. and Egl., 1489).

316.

Examples with two or more adj. attributes in A. S. and M. E.:

Seo burg wæs getimbred an *fildum landa ond* on *swide* emnum (Orosius; A. S. R.). *Hwittra manna and fægerra* (Bede). God man and clæne and swiðe æðele (Sax. Chron.). Becume to godum men and to wisum (Boethius; Kellner's Introd. to Blanch. and Egl., p. CV). As a voide stomake and a lere worchiþ in hitself (Trevisa).² To zygge vayre wordes and y-slyked (Ayenb.). Olde rotid woundis and stynkynge (Science of Cir.; 1380). In a foul stynkynge stable and cold (Wycliff, Leaven of Phar.). It is a gret vertue and an happy (Fistula, 1400). A mervolos maner, and a wrichid

¹ «Von zwei Adj. steht das eine gewöhnlich nach mit *ok*» ('and'; Hellwig, p. 19).

² The modern arrangement occurs, though very rarely, also in the oldest lang., e. g. Mid myclum and hefegum gefeohtum (Bede). Se wisa and fæstræda Cato (Boeth.; Mätzner). Manige foremære and gemyndwyrðe weras (ib.). — Cf. Mätzner, Gramm., p. 292.

(Alph. of Tales). A moche fayr cyte and good (Godfr. of Bol.; 1481). Ye have, dyverse tymes and many, herde speke of ... (Three Kings' Sons, 1500). She was called a right fair lady, and a passing wise (Morte Darthur).

As late as Early Modern English this construction 317. is not uncommon:

To ryde suerly and clene on a great horse and a roughe (Elyot, Governour; 1531). A blue eye and sunken (As you, III: 2). Are you good men and true (Much Ado, III: 3). Good sparks and lustrous (All's well, II: 1). An honest gentleman, and a courteous, and a kind, and a hand-some (Romeo, II: 5). They were young men and strong (Pilgr. Progr.). With melodious noises and loud (ib.). They being a simple people and innocent (Holy War; Widholm). He would shew me a better way and short (= shorter? P. P.; Widholm).

Even in 18th and 19th century English the same ar- 318. rangement of the attributes is occasionally found without any contrast being expressed, but then intentional imitation of the older style is certainly underlying.

Examples: »A good sentence and a true», said Varney (Kenilworth. The scene is the time of Queen Elizabeth!). She is a good Queen and a generous (ib.). Now Mr. Bumble was a fat man and a choleric (Twist). Mr. Stryver was a glib man, and an unscrupulous, and a ready and a bold (Two Cities). Rudolf of Saxony, a brave man and a true (Rienzi). A tedious race perhaps and pig-headed (Marcella).¹

In older English such word-order was likewise em- 319. ployed with composite numerals:

Ymb tu hund wintra and syx and hundeahtatig æfter pære Drihtenlican mennyscnysse (Bede). II pusend Wala ond LXV (Sax. Chron.). pritty yere and pre (Trevisa;

¹ Compare also: It's *a long story and a sad one* (Kingsley, Two Years Ago), which is a more modern way of putting it.

Müllner). Two hondred feet and sixty (ib.). Twenty degress and oon (Chaucer; Einenkel, Anglia XVIII). A hundred zer and fifty (Capgrave, Aug.; 1450).

Imitated in more recent language: *Ninety years* old *and nine* (Gen., 17: 24; Einenkel, Anglia XVIII). *Three hund-red spears and three* (Scott, L. Minstr.; ib.).

Always: A thousand nights and one (Einenkel).

320. Thus also up to this very day with 'half', 'quarter', 'threescore', etc.: *prie and prihti wintre and an half* (Vices and Virtues, 1200). 5 degrees and an half (Maundev.). – *pre score myle and sixtene* (Trevisa; Müllner). He turns me at *three-score years and ten* adrift upon the earth (Ch. Reade; Poutsma, p. 188). Cf. §§ 261, 262.

Chapter XXVII.

The reciprocal order between two prepositive attributes.

321. As to the reciprocal order between two or more attributes belonging to the same noun and not connected by 'and' ('or') or separated by a comma, Sweet (N. E. G., §§ 1789, 1791) lays down the following rules: «When a noun has more than one modifier, the general principle is that the one most closely connected with it in meaning comes next to it. — Qualifiers come before such groups, the one that is the most special in meaning coming next to it: A tall black man, The three wise men, Bright blue sky. — When the modifiers are about equally balanced, the order may vary as in the two first weeks, the first two weeks.» — That the adjective and the noun are «closely connected in meaning» is here evidently as much as to say that they

constitute one idea and may be regarded as a compound substantive.

Compare the following quotations:

A worthy honest man (Swed. «hedersman». Florio). Good sweet sir; (Winter's Tale, IV: 3). My dear young man (Nickleby). Any cautious worldly advice (ib.). A saucy upturned nose and a pair of changeful grey eyes (Brown, V. C.). Some vague mental distress (B. Harte). Mutual logic dependence (Sweet). A voiced pure fricative (Jones, Pron. of Engl.).

It is for this reason that 'old', 'young', and 'little' are 322. mostly placed next to the substantive, since they have usually no real meaning of their own, but are rather nearly superfluous when the noun has other attributive modifiers as well.

Examples: *fis seli olde man* (R. of Glo.; Mätzner). Wise old men (Chaucer, Melibeus; Müllner). A low litylle dore (Maundev.; Mätzner). A blak litel cruste (Fistula). II fayr yong men (Alph. of Tales). A gude holie alde man (ib.). Davyd was a goodly yonge man (3 Kings' Sons). As beautiful a little gipsy as eyes ever gazed on (Esmond).

But: The olde good loos (Melibeus). A lytylle round 323. hole (Maundev.). He had done him a litle sober trispas (Alph. of Tales). So her was a noder yong strong fellow (ib.). A young English doctor, Old French wine, A little white cat. To swallow up all young fair life (Two Years).

Here the adjectives 'little', 'old', and 'young' are not merely used as terms of affection.

As far as 'little' is concerned, usage seems, however, 324. to be unsettled. RICHARDSON, for instance, most frequently places this adjective before the other ¹: Here I am, at *a little poor village;* We could not reach further than *this little poor place;* Like *a little proud hussy;* I came up towards

¹ UHRSTRÖM, Studies on the lang. of Sam. Richardson.

the little pretty altar-piece; They were shown another little neat apartment (Pamela; Uhrström). – Other instances: Even in the little quiet village of Castlewood (H. Esmond). The disease dealt very kindly with her little modest face (Thackeray, Philip). The little old gentleman was suddenly seized with a fit of trepidation (Poe, Hans Pfaal). Her little white hands are fluttering like doves ¹ (Shaw, Salome).

I do not quite know what to make of the following: I long to talk with the young noble soldier (All's well, IV: 5).

325. Speaking of the order between 'such' and 'another' POUTSMA states: «Usage is divided as to the placing of 'such' and 'another', either of which may precede the other. The arrangement «such another», however, is the usual one. Murray, *another*, 1, c.». (Poutsma, p. 346).

It seems at least to be the oldest.

Compare: Oile or butter fressh, or *suche oper* (Fistula). *G* if pacientes pleyne hat her medicynes bene bitter or sharp or *sich oper*, han shal... (ib.). There was not *such another* ragged family in the parish (Fielding, Andrews).

326.

When one of the attributes is a numeral, this usually comes first. Yet there are exceptions: Her syndon inne *unwemme twa dohtor mine*² (Cædm.; Mätzner). *Bisie two wummen* (Ancren Riwle).

Thus still with 'past': The past three weeks (Cf. During the past few months. Roy. Mag., June, 1910); — with 'said' and 'following'³: The seid IIII arbitrours (Cov. L. B., 1464), The said two persons, The following three quotations; — with 'other' when the def. art. precedes: On pæm oðrum prim dagum (Alfr., Othere; Müllner), pe oðer pre

¹ It is possible that the author wishes to emphasize also the littleness of the hands.

² The numeral is unstressed, just like 'little', 'old', etc. Cf. Germ. *Heilige drei Könige;* Swed. Det var *fruktansvärda 36 timmar*, vi haft att utstå (Sydsv. Dagbl., Oct. 8, 1910).

³ When pronominal. But: The three following days (Sweet).

pinges (A. Riwle), *The other three wise men;* — and with 'next': *The next two years*. Similarly: *The second two notions* (Fearenside, M. S., Jan. 1911). — But also: *The two follow-ing lines:* ... (Abbott). With 'last' and 'first', cf. § 328.

Thus formerly usually, and sometimes also in Modern 327. English, in connection with 'other' without any art.: ¹

He... gesægh opre twegen gebroper (Rushw. Gloss.). My Cosyn schel have other X marces (E. E. Wills, 1417). He and opir pre felawis (Capgrave, Aug.; 1450). The Lord appointed other seventy also (Auth. Vers., Luke, 10: 1). Other seven days (Gen., 8: 12; Mätzner). [He] would have ... sworn to other nine-and-thirty [sc. Articles] with entire obedience (Esmond). Other seven faces there were, carried higher, seven dead faces (Two Cities).

Compare with these: A wretched 200 pounds (= only \pounds 200).² There was silence in the room for *full* (= fully) *three minutes* (God in the Car). For *full five minutes* (Two Years).³

Whether it is more correct to say *The first (last) two* 328. or to say *The two first (last)*, is a question that has been a subject for much debate. I have already cited Sweet's opinion (§ 321). According to the N. E. D. the latter arrangement seems to have been the more common up to the 17th century.

I annex some quotations of my own: De ne σ ende article and *pe pri laste* (Ayenb.). The Turke liked best *the two first waies* (Three Kings' Sons, 1500). *The four first acts* (Sheridan, Critic, I: 1). — The word-order may be a matter of taste, in most cases, but when the cardinal is only an extra addition, it would receive too much

¹ 'Other' here looks very much like an adverb (= 'additionally', 'further'). Cf. however: *Opir certeyn women* (Capgrave, St. Gilbert).

² The indef. art. makes it clear that «200 pounds» is treated as a compound subst. Cf. *That five minutes* on the shore had told her that (Two Years Ago). Cf. also: *Another two minutes*.

³ But also: It is six full months since ... (Two Years).

stress if it were not placed next to the noun; thus: *The* first six [or seven] weeks. For the last three days (2 Years). *The last few days* (ib.). Cf. «a nice little girl» (§ 322 ff.).¹

329.

b. Otherwise the same principles are observed in the case of ordinals as in the case of other adjectives. Thus: *The third pretty woman* was Miss A.; but: The action would have been almost imperceptible to *an observant third person* (Twist).

330.

In older English the rule pronounced by SwEET also applies to poss. pronouns. FRANZ says on this matter (*Sh. Gram.* § 166): «Ein Adjektiv kann in der älteren Sprache vor das poss. Pron. treten, wenn letzteres mit dem folgenden Substantiv eng verwachsen ist, wie in *good my lord*, *dear my liege*, *sweet my child*». — In A. S. and M. E. this word-order was used also when one of the attributes was a pronominal or numeral word.

Examples: Twegen his æftergengan² (Ælfr., Hom.; Müllner). The sayd our soveraign lorde (Cov. L. B., 1430). Thurgh the same our lande (ib., 1472). Dyvers myn olde frendes (Flügels Leseb.; Einenkel, Anglia XVIII). Do, good my friend (Othello, III: 1). Good my liege (K. John, I: 1. Imitated by Addison and Bulwer; Mätzner). Do so, good mine host (M. Wives, I: 3). Imitated by Scorr: True, good mine host, the day was long talked of (Kenilworth).

Conclusion.

331. It has been shown in this treatise how considerably English differs from other Teutonic languages as to the

¹ Note also the difference between *The twenty-first years*, and *The first twenty years*!

² Cf. Swed. Straffarbete för hustrudråp och sedlighetsbrott mot tre sina döttrar (Sydsv. Dagbl.).

place of the adjective attribute. In numerous cases the attribute must or may follow its head-word. Similar grammatical principles are, upon the whole, unknown to modern German, Dutch, Swedish, or Danish prose. Nevertheless I have tried in most cases to explain the inverted word-order out of the language itself, leaving out of consideration - where that was possible - the influence that French has in several other departments exercised on the English tongue. English is in so many other respects unlike its cognates. Why should it not then have followed its own course also as regards word-order? One must, of course, partially agree with H. WEIL¹ in saying that «l'anglais ... en raison de son origine même, occupe naturellement une place intermédiaire entre l'allemand et le français». But certainly it is not owing to French influence that Swedes and Germans are allowed without further circumstances to place an attributive adjective after its noun in poetry! Moreover, in the case of English it must be remembered that the adjectives in this language have been inflexible for many hundred years past, so that the attribute does not differ from the predicative complement, any more than the participle does from the supine.

We have also seen that development goes in the di- 332. rection of pre-position: Even a verbal participle can sometimes be put before the noun, in more conformity with the word-order in German and Swedish. And concerning adjectives we are able to perceive a tendency not to suffer an adverbial modifier of some length imperatively to entail postposition of the attribute, a constraint which the other Teutonic dialects have long ago shaken off.

¹ De l'ordre des mots dans les langues anciennes. Paris 1869.

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