THE MODAL VERBS
WILL/WOULD, SHALL/SHOULD, CAN/COULD, MAY/MIGHT
NEED, MUST, OUGHT AND DARE/DURST
IN THE ENGLISH OF THE TIME OF SHAKESPEARE

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The thesis is a corpus study of the modal verbs using eight non-imaginative prose texts written in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Two are translations from Latin, one from French; there is an English text from Bacon with its Latin version, a text from Hooker, from Moryson's Itinerary and two texts which are collections of letters. Each text contains from 400 to 700 uses of the modal verbs. Preliminary to the corpus study is a consideration of the analyses of mood found in the grammars of English of the period, together with the sources of these analyses in Renaissance Latin grammar and in the ancient grammarians. The corpus study is conducted by means of sets of quotations, accompanied in the case of those from translated texts by the parallel Latin or French passages. Starting from the translated texts the selection, first of WILL or SHALL in translating the future, then of CAN or MAY in translating POSSUM/POUVOIR is studied. The idea of the modal pair and its behaviour in early Modern English is elaborated. An account is given of the adaptation of NEED to constitute a third modal pair with MUST. The use of MUST and OUGHT in the expression of obligation and necessity is considered and DARE is fully exemplified. A chapter is devoted to the operation of tense and mood in the modal phrase and there is an extensive exemplification and analysis of the modals in purpose and result clauses, in conditional sentences and in subordinate noun clauses. A chapter draws on the works of Shakespeare to illustrate, modify and extend the account of modal usage found in the corpus.
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SECTION 1 - THE PROJECT

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

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

SECTION 2 - HISTORICAL SYNTAX

The work is therefore intended as a contribution to the historical study of English syntax, assuming with Ryden [1979 p.9] that historical linguistics is made up of diachronic studies and synchronic studies of historical material and that synchronic description must precede diachronic explanation. This study attempts a synchronic description and does not attempt diachronic explanation. It does not however adopt a synchronic approach with the (surely mistaken) methodological rigour which would deliberately exclude from the interpretation of the facts of usage around 1600, all knowledge of the earlier stages of the language or of its subsequent development. My interest in the modal verbs in English derives from my reading of the work of linguists analysing this system in PE, particularly Halliday [1970] and although it came to my notice after I had begun my work I have been sustained in my belief that the topic deserved detailed study by the significance D. W. Lightfoot attaches to the changes that occurred in the syntax of the modal verbs during the sixteenth century which he sees as a 'paradigm case for the study of diachronic syntax' [Lightfoot 1979 pp.81-115]. I have also included in this study a summary account of the earlier history of the two 'semi-modal' verbs DARE and NEED in
order to explain the peculiarities of their syntax and their relationship to the other modal verbs. At the same time, I have tried to see the modal usage of the period, in so far as it is reflected in the chosen corpus, as a coherent whole and not as a set of differences from the usage of PE. It is not, any more than PE usage is, a systematic unity. In many places, eModE and PE have identical usage. I have tried to survey eModE usage from the data and to describe and illustrate it by bringing out its internal consistencies and inconsistencies and not, except incidentally, its similarities with or differences from the usage of today.

SECTION 3 - EARLY MODERN ENGLISH

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

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

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

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

SECTION 4 - RESOURCES AVAILABLE

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

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

The works fall into two categories:
1. Introduction 4. Resources Available

a) Works covering all periods of English or works covering modern English in its historical depth
b) Works dealing with the language of Shakespeare

a) Works Covering All Periods

The Oxford English Dictionary

The articles on the modal verbs are still a starting point for the study of the words in eModE. The limitations of these articles for this purpose are discussed below in the section on 'Corpus study'.

Visser. An Historical Syntax of the English Language Part Three, First Half [1969]

Since the whole work is really a syntax of the verb phrase, the modal verbs are very fully treated, each construction illustrated by quotations over the whole historical range of its use. However in his analysis of the various uses of each modal, Visser seems to me to depend very heavily on the articles in the OED.

Sweet. A New English Grammar Logical and Historical. Part II.
Syntax [1898]

This is very brief and summary. For the most part Sweet contrasts Old-English with Modern English. Middle English and early Modern English are usually unmentioned. The account of WILL and SHALL though it does not distinguish an early Modern use, is of interest.


This contains embedded in its eight volumes perhaps the most detailed grammar of eModE that we possess. Yet inevitably the over­whelming emphasis is on the later period. Furthermore, Jespersen's reading as reflected in his quotations for the eModE period is largely restricted to Shakespeare, the Bible and the main literary figures.


This book is concerned with the principles of syntactic change as
these can be illustrated from the development of English. It does not attempt a general history of English syntax. It has interesting material on the modals especially the development of the use of SHOULD in certain kinds of subordinate clause and it gives a good account of the changing meanings of CAN and MAY from OE to the present.

b) Works Dealing with the Language of Shakespeare

The comprehensive works dealing with Shakespeare's language are none of them recent.


This is independent of the OED, and the articles on the modal verbs are not without interest.

Abbott. A Shakespearean Grammar. An Attempt to illustrate some of the differences between Elizabethan and Modern English. For the Use of Schools [1870]

Abbott is concerned, as he says in the preface to the first edition, 'to furnish students of Shakespeare and Bacon with a short systematic account of some points of difference between Elizabethan syntax and our own' and, as the title states, he has in mind study in school. The model, naturally enough for his time, is the way in which Latin and Greek authors are studied. He writes: 'Our native tongue should either not be studied critically at all, or be studied as thoroughly as the languages of antiquity.'

Franz. Shakespeare-Grammatik [Third Revised Edition 1924]

Die Sprache Shakespeares in Verse und Prosa [a further revision of the same work 1939]

The work was originally published in 1899 and the contents of this first version are condensed in Die Grundzüge der Sprache
Shakespeares [1902]. Both Abbott and Franz deal in some detail with differences between Shakespeare's use of WILL and SHALL, WOULD and SHOULD, CAN and MAY and those found in the contemporary English of their time.

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

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

Among the books not restricted to Shakespeare but dealing
1. Introduction 4. Resources Available

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


SECTION 5 - CORPUS STUDY

The method adopted in this work has been to collect on cards a full quotation for every use of the eight modal verbs, whether the use itself was modal or non-modal; all uses of the verbs DARE and NEED were collected and all expressions containing the noun NEED or the adjectives NEEDFUL or NEEDLESS. In addition I collected the modal paraphrases BE ABLE and BE WILLING, uses of the non-modal verb TO WILL,
phrases expressing possibility or necessity, BE POSSIBLE TO or (THAT)
BE NECESSARY TO or (THAT) and other expressions which have some
similarity to modals;

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

Finally, all uses of the subjunctive which were formally apparent were
also collected on the cards. There seem to be important advantages in
a corpus study in which all the examples of a particular form from a
text or series of texts are studied and classified, over

1) statistical studies, as that of Charles C. Fries The Periphrastic
Future with SHALL and WILL in Modern English [1925]. I comment
on the limitations of this method in the opening pages of Reed
[1975].

2) studies based on selected examples. The problem is how the
text examples should be selected. Since modal verbs occur in the
prose of the eModE period at the rate of one every 40 or 50 words
the reader must either select examples at random, or the cate-
gories that he wishes to illustrate must be already, even if only
vaguely, in his mind. But if this is so, his collection of
text examples is likely to fit the preconceived categories and little
new knowledge will be obtained.

The research undertaken in this thesis is indebted to the articles
on the modals in the OED and to the historical exemplification of modal
constructions in Visser. But the corpus study method has made it
possible to avoid a direct dependence on their categorizations of the
meaning and use of the modal verbs by working through a large number of
unselected examples and, by methods described later in the present
chapter and demonstrated in the chapters which follows, to devise a
categorization to account for them.

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

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

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

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

Make a quotation for every word that strikes you as rare,
obsolete, old-fashioned, new, peculiar, or used in a
peculiar way.
was bound to draw into the net a number of eccentric uses, which then had to be accommodated in the articles. Thus there is a good chance that very strange uses will feature in the article and also that frequent and commonplace uses may escape attention.

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

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

SECTION 6 - SELECTION OF A CORPUS

In a study based on examples collected for the purpose, a wide selection of texts can be read extensively. Statistics on usage can be drawn from comparatively short passages, at least for frequently occurring words like the modals (with the exception of OUGHT, NEED and DARE) and to some extent statistical means can be used to discover at what point it becomes unrewarding to extend the text any further. But for a corpus study in which every use must be considered and classified, fairly extensive texts seemed necessary. The work done with Shakespeare's Much Ado About Nothing in Reed [1975] suggested that a suitable length would be a text yielding about the same number of modal verbs as this play - some 650. In the end, while this figure was used with some texts, so that the cut off point for the text was made when this quota of
modals had been collected, some texts were left shorter when a convenient break occurred, as at the end of the first book of Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* and others, for example Chamberlaine's letters, were read to include all those written in the reign of Elizabeth, even though the number of modals rose higher than 650. It was found that in sets of modals of about this size, WILL/WOULD, SHALL/SHOULD, CAN/COULD, MAY/MIGHT and MUST were all represented in sufficient numbers, although the present tense modals tended to be sparse in narrative texts like Holland's *Livy*. OUGHT either appeared in a particular text in numbers of the same order as those of MUST, or it was absent. DARE and NEED, even if uses not modal in form or construction were included, were found to occur so rarely comparatively, that where possible each text was extended to two or three times its length for the purpose of gathering further examples of these words. The two texts made up of letters were not extended in this way, and in the case of Holland's *Livy*, instead of extending the text from Book the First, to include the following books, a different translation of Holland's, one of the essays from his version of Plutarch's *Moralia* has been added to gather more examples of DARE, NEED and OUGHT.

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

The original intention to include a text of about 650 modal verbs from every main kind of writing at the period turned out to be too ambitious. It seemed impossible to find a sufficient number of substantial texts which could be known to reflect the spoken language of the period, and there appeared to be disadvantages in a corpus composed of a range of texts from the imaginative literature of the period. Certain poets of the period, for example Spenser, we know used an archaic and artificial language, so that any piece of verse might
contain strange rather than normal use as a deliberate effect of the poet. Rhyme and metre might sometimes be responsible for a usage otherwise unlikely, and even in the imaginative prose of some writers of the period such as John Lily or his imitators we would at times be dealing with both syntax and word selection deliberately distorted for stylistic purposes. Of course no written text could be expected to be without any elements of deliberate style at all and in any case, a complete study of eModE would have to deal also with stylistic variation as well as normative syntax. However since this study was to be merely syntactic, it seemed worth attempting to find a corpus which would show the ordinary written use of the language and to choose texts concerned with conveying ideas or arguments, recording historical events or conveying news and personal messages; in other words, philosophy, history and letters.

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

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

SECTION 7 - THE MODAL VERBS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Modal Verbs Viewed by Early Grammarians

Thus, although it is possible to adapt the formal criteria by which grammarians of PE distinguished the modal verbs as a separate group to suit the somewhat different conditions of EModE, in fact the contemporary grammarians of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century do not consider the modal verbs in this way, or group them all
together in a separate category. On the other hand, many of their
features are noticed at this time, as we may illustrate by the
following quotations:

Greaves *Grammatica Anglicana* [1594]

[p.16] (Praesens) ••• Will, Shall, May, Can, Must neque
numerus aut personam variant, nisi forte in secunda
persona Singulari. Wilt, Shalt, Mayest, Canst.
Must, vero hoc solo tempore contentum videtur nec
possunt haec explicari per periphrasin.

[p.20] (Praeteritum) ••• Defectiva sunt, Can, could:
will, would: shall, should: may, might: quia carent
reliquis a praesenti, & praeterito infecto temporibus.

Alexander Gil in *Logonomia Anglica* [1621] pp. 64-5, under 'Defectiva'
associates certain of the modal verbs according to formal character-
istics with certain non-modal verbs. Thus MUST, TROW and QUOTH are
grouped as verbs lacking all moods and tenses except the present, and
QUOTH indeed

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

CAN, MAY, WILL and SHALL are listed together with GO as verbs lacking
certain tenses which are supplied from elsewhere:

[p.65] Defectiva illa may, and can possum; & wil volo
(quae signa diximus, reliqua tempora & modos supplent
per anomalum to be & adjectiva cognatae significationis;
ut I can aut I may, possum, aut possim. I could, aut
might, poteram, aut possem. Indicat:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perf.</th>
<th>I have been able</th>
<th>potui</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indef.</td>
<td>I had been able</td>
<td>potueram</td>
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<tr>
<td>Futurum.</td>
<td>I shall be able</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Potentialis Perf. I might have been able, potuerim,
Futurum, I maybi able hereafter potuero. Infinitivi
praesens, to be able, posse. Sic I wil, volo, aut
volam, I would volebam aut vellem. Indic. Perfectum
I have been willing volui; I had been willing volueram
&c. Hinc compositum unum I nil nolo, & I nould, nolebam,
veteribus frequens erat. Sed quemadmodum hoc Verbum
nil, sic etiam illa quae usitata sunt, per adjectiva
circumoquimur: ut, I am unwilling nolo, I am willing
volo, I am able, possum, I am more willing, malo; quorum
omnia una forma est in reliquis Modis, & Temporibus,
quam modo diximus. Shal, ultra should nullo modo
variatur, do, and have, a verbis perfectis desumuntur.
Ben Jonson in his *English Grammar* [1640] does not draw attention to the irregular present tense forms of the modal verbs though he lists all three persons singular. All but NEED and MUST appear in his fourth conjugation in Chapter XX. Jonson's fourth conjugation is made up of those verbs that 'convey the Time past for the present by the change both of Vowells and Consonants,' and 'following the terminations of the first Conjugation, end in d. or t.' Of course this includes non-modal verbs like SELL, SOLD or TEACH, TAUGHT, yet it is remarkable that if we make this a separate conjugation, then it is the conjugation of all the modal verbs (for MUST belongs if we think of it as a preterite of NOTE, and as we shall see DURST appears to be modal but DARED and NEEDED are not (these would fall in Jonson's first conjugation). The presentation of those verbs we now consider modal is as follows, in Jonson's twentieth chapter;

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

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

Thus we may summarise the observations of these grammarians by saying that the present tense anomalies are recorded for WILL, SHALL, CAN, MAY and MUST. (Only Jonson records DARE, as third person singular present. He makes no comment, but he does not set out three persons for the
present, unless there is some irregularity.) OUGHT appears to be taken as a past tense of OWE, without any irregularity. The use of third person present NEED without the inflection is not noticed. The absence of tenses except the present and preterite is noticed for WILL, SHALL, CAN, MAY and by Jonson, perhaps surprisingly, also for DARE. All notice the invariability of MUST.

Absence of TO after Modals

Gil [1621] has only;

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

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

[p.78] When two Verbes meet together, whereof one is governed by the other, the latter is put in the infinite, and that with this signe to, comming betweene: as Good men ought to joyne together in good things.

But, will, doe, may, can, shall, dare, (when it is intransitive), must, and lett, when it signifieth a sufferance, receive not the signe: Gower. To God no man may be fellow.

From the point of view of the grammar of the period, the set of modal verbs, with the exception of DARE and NEED, could all be included together with BE, HAVE and DO, in a category that appears in Gil [1621] as 'Signa ... Temporum & Modorum'.

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

Later [p.55] Gil lists 'let, may, might, can, could, should and would' as signa of moods. This idea of signa has its immediate source in the sixteenth century method of teaching Latin where the signa are the words in the vernacular which signal the grammatical forms which will be required in the Latin rendering. Thus in the grammar book which Gil
must have used at school, Lily's A Short Introduction of Grammar [1549 Bii.v] we find MAY, CAN, MIGHT, WOULD, SHOULD and OUGHT, all given as signs for a single Latin mood.

The Modal Construction

The eight modals can conveniently be divided into three groups

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

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

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

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

/subject/ /modal verb/ /verbal infinitive/

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

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

a) with WILL, CAN, MAY

/subject/ /modal verb/ /direct object/

b) with WOULD

/subject/ /modal verb/ /(THAT) clause/
1. Introduction

7. The Modal Verbs

1.1 [LS 21.5] You both are fortunate if ought my verses can
Fortunati ambo, siquid mea carmina possunt
(Aeneid 9.446 quoted by Seneca)

1.2 [LS 26.3] and diligently to discuss what things I cannot do,
and what things I would not do, and whether I can anything
that I will not: for if I cannot anything, I am glad I cannot.
& diligenter excutere quae non possim facere, quae
nolim: possim ne aliquid, quod nolim; Nam si quid
non possum, non posse me gaudeo.

1.3 [LS 13.12] dreameth not how much he is incensed, but how much
he may if so be he be provoked
cogitat non quantum iratus ille sit, sed quantum
liceat irato.

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

All these examples can of course be reduced to the construction

/subject/ /modal verb/ /verbal infinitive/

by supplying a verb: the verb DO for 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, the verb HAVE for
1.4. It has been usual to explain the use of modals without an infini-
tive but followed by an adverbial postposition as resulting from the
omission of a verb of motion.

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

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

But in some examples a verb of motion is not suitable and it is diffi-
cult to suggest what the omitted verb may be

1.7 [HP 95.6] I can away with no labour and travell in the
world

[AMYOT] ie ne p u i s durer au travail

[ERASMUS] a laboribus abhorreo

pros tous ponous apagoreuo

There seems no objection to accepting the use of modals with an
adverbial postposition as well as modals with direct objects as construc-
tions still permissible in the English of about 1600, but due soon to
disappear at least in the standard language. However such constructions seem even at the period we are considering to have been somewhat colloquial and are so poorly represented in the corpus, that no more can be said here.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b) The absence of all non-finite forms of the verb, infinitive or participial. This means the modal verbs cannot form any compound tense with BE or HAVE, since this requires a participle, or
combine with DO or occur after another modal verb, since this requires an infinitive. (TO-form infinitives with CAN and MAY are still possible though extremely rare except as a way of citing the verbs, as in dictionaries.)

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

/subject/ /modal verb/ /verbal infinitive/

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

1) WILL, CAN and MAY still appear with nouns as direct objects
2) WOULD appears with a following (THAT)-clause.

SECTION 8 - PROCEDURE

A quotation was copied for each use of one of the modal verbs in the list and the use was classified according to the following features of its syntax

1. Person and number of the subject of the modal.
2. Construction following the modal verb
   a) direct object
   b) clause
   c) infinitive i) present ii) perfect
3. Clause containing modal verb
   a) negative or not
   b) interrogative or not
   c) main clause or subordinate clause and if subordinate, the nature of the subordination

This syntactic classification was straightforward. But a semantic classification was also needed and it was not obvious how this should be undertaken. A set of meanings such as 'futurity' 'intention' 'possibility' could be set up and each modal use classified as carrying one or more of these meanings. This is the method adopted by Ehrman
[1966]; but her concern is with present-day American English, where presumably she has native speaker intuitions about the force of the modals in each quotation. It seemed to me that it would be unsatisfactory to apply this method to eModE. Even if by the study of context I could tell that sometimes my intuitions brought from PE must be adjusted, I could not always be sure that context would be clear and in any case, even if I could be sure of sensing whenever a modal use in the texts has a meaning different from the one that I would assign if I were depending entirely on PE intuitions I would still be treating the usage of modal verbs in my texts as a set of differences from PE usage, rather than making the attempt to uncover any systematic use that might be found in the language at this point in its development.

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

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

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

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

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

Nevertheless since I had decided to use translation methodically, so that half the corpus was made up of translations, though one of the four making up this half was an original English text, Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* with its translation into Latin, it seemed
sensible to make some study of the grammatical training current at the period, that is the grammatical analysis of Latin presented in the schools, so that I would be able to follow the analysis of a Latin sentence which would be likely to present itself to Lodge or Holland as they made their English versions. I found that this analysis would differ most from that which would be made by Latinists today in the moods of the verb. I was led to examine the development of thinking about mood during the sixteenth century and how this influences the earliest grammars of the English language, which begin to appear in the period of my study, around 1600.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LS</th>
<th>HL</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>FM</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WILL</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>124</td>
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<td>WOULD</td>
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<td>67</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>72</td>
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<td>66</td>
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<td>SHALL</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>32</td>
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<td>154</td>
<td>78</td>
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<tr>
<td>SHOULD</td>
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<td>82</td>
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<td>CAN</td>
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<td>MUST</td>
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<td>DURST</td>
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The aim has been to illustrate the material on which the study is based but not to reproduce it. That there are disadvantages in selecting is not disputed. But for the particular study undertaken here they seem less grave than the disadvantages of the alternatives which are

1) to rely mainly on statistical tables
2) to present in its entirety the set of examples from a much more restricted corpus.

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

The presentation in this study is as follows:

1. Statistical tables or figures for number of occurrences are given usually at the beginning of a discussion.
2. Complete sets of examples are given. These are of two kinds:
   a) when the categorization of the list involves a sufficiently small number of examples for all to be included.
   b) when the nature of the argument makes it necessary to treat every case the corpus itself may be limited, as in Chapter 3
1. Introduction 9. Presentation
10. Texts

when the examination of WILL and SHALL translating the future is restricted to the Lodge-Seneca corpus.

3. Illustrative sets of examples are given where the total number of examples is very great, and where there appears to be no useful break-down or sub-categorization to be made or no significant variation among the examples which cannot be illustrated by selection.

Except where two examples may be juxtaposed for purposes of comparison, always pointed out in a comment, the examples in each set are arranged according to the following order of texts.

1. Lodge-Seneca 2. Holland-Livy/Plutarch
5. Hooker 6. Moryson
7. Chamberlaine 8. Delaval

Examples from the same text are arranged in textual order.

Normally in an illustrative set of examples, at least one example will be taken from each text, but the need to produce the clearest and most interestingly varied group of examples sometimes overrides this consideration.

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

The corpus is made up of eight texts, four translated (two from Latin, one from French into English, one from English into Latin) and four original. They may be arranged as follows:
1. Introduction 10. Texts: Lodge-Seneca

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translated</th>
<th>Original</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Philosophical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florio's Montaigne</td>
<td>Hooker's Laws of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon's Advancement of</td>
<td>Ecclesiastical Polity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>Holland's Livy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moryson's Itinerary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistolary</td>
<td>Seneca's Epistles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamberlaine's Letters</td>
<td>Delaval Letters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

**LODGE-SENECA**

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

with title page thus, bound up in

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

being the second item in the list of contents:

2. His Epistles.

Extent of Corpus:


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

Reference for examples: [LS 11.2] Number of the Epistle followed by the number of the paragraph of the Latin as given in modern editions of the Epistles e.g. Loeb, Budé.
Lodge published a revised edition of his translation of Seneca in 1620, including the Epistles, which again appear with their own title page. This revised edition has been consulted, and examples marked [1620] are taken from it.

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

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

Lodge is translating from the text of Lipsius and his translation occasionally incorporates parts of Lipsius's explanatory notes. He translates the Latin summary which Lipsius gives of each epistle though I have not included these translated headings in the corpus. I used the second edition of Lipsius of 1615 though Lodge must have made the translation published in 1613 from the first edition, of 1605. Lodge's
translation has never been reprinted as a whole since 1620, though his translation of the De Beneficiis appears in the Temple Classics in 1899. Lodge's translation is painstaking, and attempts to follow Seneca closely. On the whole he avoids expansion and paraphrase, striving to reproduce in English the brief 'Senecan' style, if not very successfully. The translation is on the whole hard to read and only occasionally impressive. The thoughts, especially the connections and transitions in the original are difficult and, to judge by more recent scholarship, Lodge sometimes mistakes Seneca's meaning.

HOLLAND-LIVY

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

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

LONDON 1600

Extent of Corpus:
1. Booke one.
2. Extended corpus for OUGHT, DARE, NEED, MUST.

HOLLAND-PLUTARCH

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

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

AT LONDON 1603

Reference for Examples from Holland-Livy: [HL 35G] Page number in the volume of 1600, followed by the page section letter printed in this edition, the odd numbered pages being divided down the inner margin A to F, the even numbered pages G to M.

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

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

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

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

I have for Livy used the Latin text from the Aldini edition [Venice 1555]. For Plutarch I have used the Greek text given in the Loeb edition [Plutarch's *Moralia*, Volume I, 1927]. As Holland mentions consulting French and Latin versions of Plutarch I have occasionally given for quotations the rendering to be found in Amyot's translation, using the third edition of *Les Oeuvres Morales et Meslees de Plutarque* [Paris 1575], from Guilielmus Xylander's Latin translation of the
Moralia [Basle 1570] and from the version of this particular essay, 'Libellum Plutarchi de discrimine adulatoris & amici' which Erasmus dedicated to Henry VIII and published as a kind of appendix to the Institutio Principis Christiani [Basle 1516].

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

BACON

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

Extent of corpus:
1. The Advancement of Learning, the whole of Book I and Book II up to page 2.66r.
2. The whole of the Advancement Books I and II for OUGHT, DARE, NEED.

Reference for Examples from Bacon: [B 1.7r] Numbering according to the system of pagination in the first edition Part 1 or 2, leaf number, r (recto) v (verso).
Examples from *The Advancement of Learning* are paired with the Latin translations of the English passages from the *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum*, which appeared as Tomus Primus of the works of Bacon in 1623. This is a Latin translation and expansion of *The Advancement of Learning*, in which the thought has been in some places much developed, the contents rearranged, and certain adaptations made for a European readership (for example the removal of anti-Catholic passages). However it seems clear that the Latin is directly based on the English version. The relationship between the two books may be given in the words of the introductory note to the *De Dignitate* by William Rawley, its editor

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

When an example from Bacon stands without a Latin version it is because I have not been able to find a parallel to it in the *De Dignitate*.

When the Latin is given it seems reasonable to take it as a translation of the English, made by a professional Latinist but checked and approved by Bacon himself.

Francis Bacon (1561-1626), son of Lord Keeper Nicholas Bacon, educated at Trinity College, Cambridge and Grays Inn. *The Advancement of Learning* is a work of exposition rather than of philosophical thinking, intended to inform. It is therefore composed in a full, easy and uncompacted style which has little in common with the deliberate
1. Introduction

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

FLORIO-MONTAIGNE

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

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

Les Essaies de Michel Seigneur de Montaigne. Edition
donne, trouvée apres deces de l'Auteur, revue &
augmentée par luy d'un tiers plus qu'aux precedentes
impressions Paris 1595

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

Extent of Corpus:

1. Part of Book II Chapter XII, An Apologie of Raymond Sebond, from
   the beginning (Everyman Volume 2, p.125) to page 251.

2. For OUGHT, DARE, NEED, the remainder of Chapter XII (Everyman
   Volume 2, pages 251-326).

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

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

Reference for examples: [FM 217e] page number in the Everyman volume
2, with lower case letters a-e to indicate place on page.
John Florio (1553?-1625), son of an Italian protestant exile, was born in London, but his father removed the family to the continent on the accession of Mary, so that John's early education was presumably not in English. However the family returned and he attended Oxford. Earlier works include Italian-English dialogues and the first Italian English dictionary. He was a private language tutor at Oxford and later a tutor of Magdalen College, teaching French and Italian.

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

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

HOOKER

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

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

Extent of corpus:
1. Book I
2. For DATE, NEED add Books II and III.
1. Introduction

Reference for examples: [H 64D] Page number and letter indicating place on page as in the first edition.

Book I was reissued in the editions of 1648, 1651 and 1662, which was the first to contain all eight books. There were many reprints of Hooker in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and scholarly editions in the nineteenth. Book I was edited separately by R. W. Church in 1876.

Richard Hooker (1554?–1600) was born in Exeter and educated at Exeter Grammar School. His parents were poor but through the influence of his uncle John Hooker who edited and revised Holinshed's Chronicles and was a friend of Bishop Jewell he was able to go to Corpus Christi College Oxford where he obtained a fellowship in 1577. In 1581 he entered holy orders. He obtained a country benefice in 1591 so that he could write his book, and he worked, first at Boscombe later at Bishopsbourne, near Canterbury.

Hooker makes greater use of very complex sentences than any other writer within the corpus, and his ordering of clauses often seems unnatural. However, his meaning is almost never obscure after a careful reading. The strength and dignity of his style seem to have been highly regarded in all periods since the appearance of his book.

MORYSON

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

Extent of Corpus:
1. Part II Booke I Chapter I pages 1-100.
2. For OUGHT, DARE, NEED, add also pages 101-202.
1. Introduction

Reference for Examples: [M 73B] Page number in Part II of the
Itinerary followed by letters A–E to indicate place on page
(these letters are not in the edition of 1617). When the example
comes from a letter of Queen Elizabeth or of the Earl of Essex
this is indicated [M Eliz 36A] [M Essex 34B].

There were no further editions in the seventeenth century. Part
II was reprinted in Dublin in 1735 as An History of Ireland, from the
year 1599 to 1603 and the whole of the Itinerary was edited and
republished in Glasgow in 1907.

Fynes Moryson (1566–1630) was the son of a lawyer who became
M.P. for Grimsby. He attended Peterhouse, Cambridge where he
became a fellow in 1584. In 1589 he was given leave to travel and he
set out on a long journey through Europe in 1591. A second journey in
1595 undertaken with his brother Henry took him to Jerusalem. In 1600
he went to Dublin where his brother Richard held a post. Fynes became
Chief Secretary to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, accompanied him on
his campaigns which put down Tyrone's rebellion and served him until
Mountjoy's death in 1606. He then occupied himself in preparing an
account of his travels, first in Latin and then, for publication, in
English. The Itinerary consists of three parts

1. An account of Moryson's European Travels
2. A History of the Rebellion of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone
3. General Essays on travel, the national characteristics
   of the European nations etc.

The Latin version of Part I of the Itinerary survives as Harleian
MS 8133. Sidney Lee, author of the Life of Moryson in the DNB says
'Moryson is a sober and truthful writer without imagination or much
literary skill.' In Part II though Moryson is fond of military statistics,
lists of captains etc, he writes in a plain but natural style.
which is well suited to a detailed historical account and which enables him to move from descriptions of the campaign to character studies of the protagonists and discussion of the general political issues of the rebellion and its suppression. At the same time Moryson’s own personal experience when it comes into his story is vividly presented.

CHAMBERLAINE

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

The Letters of John Chamberlaine, edited with an Introduction by Norman Egbert McClure

Extent of Corpus:

1. Letters I to LXII, being all the letters of Elizabeth's reign, the contents of the Camden Society edition (1598-1603).

Reference to Examples: [C XXIV] Roman numeral refers to the letter as numbered in the Camden Society edition of 1861. McClure's edition has arabic numerals. These correspond to the numbers in the Camden Society edition up to 20. Camden's XXI is in McClure 'Enclosure in Letter 20' and thereafter McClure's numbering is one behind Camden's. The originals of the letters are in the Public Records Office. Chamberlaine's surviving correspondence runs from 1598 to 1626.

John Chamberlaine (1553-1627). Son of Alderman Richard Chamberlain who was Sheriff of London in 1561. He attended Trinity College Cambridge, but seems not to have undertaken any career. The letters in the reign of Elizabeth are almost all addressed to Dudley Carleton, not yet knighted, first while he travelled in Europe, and later when he became secretary to the English Ambassador in Paris. Though the letters reveal a good deal about Chamberlaine's social life and are written in
a tone of friendliness which is sometimes humorous and playful, they are not gossip letters or letters merely intended to maintain contact and friendship but serious newsletters to help keep Carleton abreast of events at the English court and in London, and pass on news and reports from other parts which had reached Chamberlaine. The extent to which Chamberlaine's letters are concerned with reporting information is clearly reflected in the comparative frequency of certain constructions in the prose.

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

DE LAVAL

A set of some fifty-two letters of the Delaval family of Seaton (now Seaton Delaval) in Northumberland, sent between 1585 and 1622 (there is one much later letter, not used here, probably from the 1660s). The chief recipient is Sir Ralph Delaval (1576 or 1577-1628) and it is presumably his collection of letters which has been preserved. There are letters from his father, Robert Delaval (1541-1606/7) and after his father's death, when Sir Ralph became head of the family, from his brothers, together with letters to other members of the Delaval family and letters to Sir Ralph from servants.

The family tree in so far as it can be put together is as follows:
The original letters are in the Northumberland County Archives and the examples were taken directly from these. I have kept the numbering system for the letters as in the Archives although it does not run chronologically or follow any principle I can perceive.

Extent of Corpus:

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

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

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

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

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

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

The letters to Sir Ralph as head of the family are often carefully composed, by the 1620s frequently in an italic hand, and look like fair copies. On the other land, Robert Delaval's letters from London to his son at Seaton, appear hastily written in the press of business or with a carrier waiting to leave, in a careless secretary
Apart from the use of 'bigg' for barley and one or two other agricultural words there is no trace of northern dialect in this Northumberland family (the boys received their education at Oxford or at the Inns of Court in London). 'While' in the sense 'until' is not confined to the north at this period and its appearance in the Delaval letters and not elsewhere in the corpus may be due to their more colloquial quality.
CHAPTER 2

MOOD

Section 1 - Interpreting the Moods of the English Verb

Bellot
Lily
Granger
Hewes
Gil

Section 2 - The English Verb without Moods

Greaves
Jonson

Section 3 - The Two Doctrines. Ramus and Linacre

Ramus
The Inflected Subjunctive
Linacre

Section 4 - The Potential Mood

Section 5 - The Moods before Linacre

Note: I use the spelling 'mood' in my own text though the grammarians writing in English whom I quote often use 'mode'. The Latin modus is first borrowed into English as 'mode'. The change in spelling is apparently due to association with the native English word 'mood' but since it also occurs in other borrowings of Latin modus with technical meanings in music and logic it cannot be attributed directly to the interpretation of grammatical mood as 'inclinatio animæ'.
SECTION 1 - INTERPRETING THE MOODS OF THE ENGLISH VERB

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

I take as my starting point the earliest exposition of the system of moods in English which I have been able to find. This is in *Le Maistre d'Escole Anglois* or *The English Scholemaister* by Jacques Bellot, published in 1580. Although this book has the appearance of a phrase book or vocabulary, being printed throughout in two columns with the French on the left (in Roman type) and the English translation on the right (in black letter), it is intended as a general manual of instruction for 'the naturall borne french men, and other straungers that have their French tongue to attayne the true pronouncing of the Englishe tongue', to quote from the English column of the title page.

'Pronouncing' here must be intended to cover learning to speak the language for besides an initial discussion of the letters and sounds of English the book contains a summary grammar of English set out in the bilingual format described above. The book seems curiously inept for its purpose, and only possesses an accidental importance in being the earliest printed grammar of English we possess. It survives in a single copy. (An earlier grammar of English in French, Gabriel Meurier's *Traicté pour apprendre a parler francoys et anglois* [1553] has been completely lost.)

Bellot's book contains a systematic analysis of the English verb which appears in the English column as:
The Englishmen have in the conjugation of their verbs, six moods, To know, The Indicative, The Imperative, The Optative, The Subjunctive, The Potential, and the Infinitive: And have also five Tenses, That is to wit, The present, The imperfect, The Perfect, The Plusperfect, and the future. They have also some signs in their moods and tenses, To know. For the present Indicative, Doe, Doest, Doeth in the singular number, and in their plural, throughout all their persons have Doe. For the imperfect, have in the singular, Did, Diddest, Did: And in the plural, throughout all their persons have Dide. For the perfect have, Have, Haste, Hath, in their singular: And have in their plural throughout all their persons Have. For the Plusperfect, have in their singular number, Hadde, Haddeste, Hadde: And have in their plural throughout all their persons Hadde. For the future, they have in the singular, Shall or will, Shalt or wilt, Shall or Will: And in their plural, throughout all their persons, Shall or Will. For the Imperative, They have in the singular, Let him: And in their Plural, in the first, and third persons, they have, Let us. Let they. They have in the Optative, throughout all the tenses of the same, The selfe same signs they have in the Indicative. In the Subjunctive They have also, the same signs as in the Indicative. In the potential they have for the present, May or can. Mayst or canst. May or Can in the singular, and in their plural, they have for each person, May or Can. For the imperfect they have in the singular, Might or could. Mightest or couldest. Might or could. And for the plural, they have in all their persons, Might or Could. For the perfect, they have in their singular, Might, Would, Should, or ought to have. Mightest, Wouldest, Shouldest, or oughtest. Might, Would, Should, or ought, &c. in each person, of the plural they have, Might, Would, Should or ought to have. For the Plusperfect, they have the same signs of the Perfect, and therein does only change Have into Hadde. For the future, they have the same signs of the Present in this same mode, there adding only, Hereafter. In the Infinitive, they have this signe, To.

The elements of this analysis, the six moods, the five tenses and the identification of these by means of 'signes', all appear to derive directly from Lily's Grammar, that is the work published in 1548-9 with William Lily's name, its full title being A Short Introduction of Grammar generally to be used in the Kings Majesties Dominions for the bringing up of all those that intende to atteyne to the knowledge of the Latin Tongue. The book is put together from a Latin Accidence, Aeditio, published by John Colet in 1510 and a syntax
by Lily himself, apparently revised by Erasmus. By 1580, when Bellot's manual appeared, Lily's textbook had been used in grammar schools for a generation and so provided the grammatical framework with which all educated Englishmen would be familiar. Thus it is not surprising that the analysis of the Latin verb which appears in Lily's grammar, should be taken over as the analysis of the English verb, in a book intended to teach the English language and that the signes, which in Lily are the words in the English text which indicate that a particular conjugational form will be required in a Latin version, should be used as a means of explaining and organizing the forms of the English verb for foreign learners.

Lily's account of the moods runs as follows:

There be sixe modes, the Indicatiue, the Imperatiue, the Optatiue, the Potencial, the Subiunctiue, and the Infinitiue.

The Indicatiue mode sheweth a reason true or false: as Ego amo, I loue; or els asketh a question: as, Amas tu? Doest thou loue?

The Imperatiue byddeth or commandeth: as, Ama, Loue thou.

The Optatiue wyssheth or desyreth, with these signes, woulde god, I praie god, or god graunt: as Vtinam amem, I praie god I loue, and hath euermore an adverbe of wishyng joyned with hym.

The Potenciall mode is knowen by these signes, maie, can, might, would, shoulde or ought: as, Amem, I can or male loue, without an adverbe ioyned with hym.

The Subiunctiue mode hath euermore some coniunction ioyned with hym: as Cum amarem, when I loued. And it is called the Subiunctiue mode, because it dependeth of an other verbe in the same sentence, eyther goyng afore, or commyng after: as, Cum amarem eram miser, when I loued, I was a wretche.

The Infinitiue signifieth to dooe, to suffre, or to bee, and hathe neyther number nor person, nor nominatiue case before hym, and is known commonly by this signe to: Amare, to loue. Also whan two verbes come together without any nominatyue case betwene them, then the latter shall be the infinitiue mode: as Cupio discere, I desyre to learne.

The tenses in Lily are as in Bellot, five, with three past tenses, the preterimperfect, the preterperfect and the preterpluperfect tense, a
Present tense and a future tense. Lily sets out the six modes as follows:

**Indicative mode, pres tens**  
Amo  I loue

**Preterimperfect tens**  
Amabam  I loued or dyd loue

**Preterperfect tens**  
Amaui  I haue loued

**Preterpluperfect tens**  
Amaueram  I had loued

**Future tens**  
Amabo  I shall or wyll loue

For the imperative, Lily gives only one tense,

**Imperatiue mode pres. tens. Ama  Loue thou**

The next three moods, the optative, the potential and the subjunctive are conjugated through all five tenses. The Latin forms are identical for these three moods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present tense</th>
<th>Preterimperfect tens</th>
<th>Preterperfect tens</th>
<th>Preterpluperfect tens</th>
<th>Future tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amem</td>
<td>Amarem</td>
<td>Amauerim</td>
<td>Amauissem</td>
<td>Amauero</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, amavero, the tense which the analysis of the Latin verb now usually accepted takes as an indicative tense, the future perfect, is for Lily the form of the future in all three of the non-indicative moods that run through all five tenses.

The English translations for the Optative are:

- Present tense
  - God graunt I loue
  - Woulde god I loued
  - I praie god I haue loued
  - Woulde god I had loued
  - God graunt I loue hereafter

For the Potential Mood:

- Present tense
  - I maie or can Loue
  - I might or coulde Loue
  - I myght, shoulde, or ought to haue loued
  - I myght, should or ought to had loued
  - I maie or can Loue hereafter

The form for the pluperfect, 'I might had loved', gains a grammar book currency from Lily's use and infinitives which are preterite in form continue to appear in English grammars until the end of the eighteenth
2. Mood  1. Lily

century. These forms are discussed under the name of 'pluperfect Latinisms' in Michael [1970, p. 493].

For the Subjunctive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present tens</td>
<td>Whan I loue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preterimperfect tens</td>
<td>Whan I loued or dyd loue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preterperfect tens</td>
<td>Whan I haue loued</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preterpluperfect tens</td>
<td>Whan I had loued</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future tens</td>
<td>Whan I shall or wyl loue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the Infinitive Mood:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present and</td>
<td>Amare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterimperfect tens</td>
<td>To Loue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterperfect and</td>
<td>Amauisse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preterpluperfect tens</td>
<td>To haue or had loued</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future tens</td>
<td>Amaturum esse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To loue hereafter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lily's analysis which is of course that of the Latin, not the English verb, thus has four moods conjugated through the five tenses which he recognizes; the indicative has its own forms, the optative, potential and subjunctive share the same forms. The infinitive expresses the five tenses with only three forms, while the imperative has only the present, though with two sets of forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ama</td>
<td>amet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amato</td>
<td>amatus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because of its status as the nationally prescribed school Latin grammar, many of the teaching grammars of the early seventeenth century are in the form of explanations or commentaries for Lily. For its interesting further systematization of Lily's analysis of mood, it is worth noticing Thomas Granger's Syntagma Grammaticum of 1616. This book is subtitled

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

Granger's treatment of mood arranges the six moods of Lily as a series of choices, so that the result is strikingly like a Hallidayan
The Infinite mood
is not determinate
with number, and
person

Finite
determinate by
number and
person

like tenses
are alike in all
numbers and persons

unlike tenses

imperative
indicative

subiunctive
dependeth on another
verbe in the same sentence
to perfect his signification
And it hath ever some
conjunction joined with it

absolute
can absolute, or perfect
a tense by itself

Optative
wisheth or desireth, & is
known by these signes,
would God, I pray or
God grant, & hath always
an adverb of wishing
joined with it.

Potential
is known by these signes,
may, might, would, should
or ought ... And it may
stand without an adverb
joined to it.
'system'. In fact Granger does not use a diagrammatic presentation but his system might be set out as in Figure 1.

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

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

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

The way in which Lily's analysis of the Latin verb becomes at the same time the analysis of the verb in English is well illustrated by John Hewes' book, published in 1624, A Perfect Survey of the English Tongue, taken according to the use and analogie of the Latin. Indeed this is a book which might be classified as a grammar which is unsure which of the two languages, Latin or English, it is discussing. Its subtitle runs 'And serueth for the more plaine exposition of the Grammaticall Rules and Precepts, collected by LILLIE, and for the more certaine Translations of the English tongue into Latine'. For Hewes in 'A Brief note of the Moodes according to the English tongue' the moods are six as in Lily and are distinguished by their 'signes'. For the Potential, Hewes has;
May, might, would should, Signes of the Potentiall.  
Note yet that those wordes, especially the word (may)
where they haue no precedent Coniunction or a Relative,
may be no lesse translated by their owne Verbes. Possum,
Volo, Nolo, Debeo.

Logonomia Anglica by Alexander Gil [1619 and 1621], the most
important early grammar of English which belongs to the Lilian tradition
does not reproduce for English the same analysis of the verb which Lily
gives for the Latin verb. It is true that his tenses do not differ
greatly from Lily's, since they are;

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

and Indefinitium is given as 'I had loved' and so corresponds to the
Praeterpluperfectum of Lily. The mood system is however simplified;

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

The three moods which in Lily's system share the same forms in Latin
(though not in fact in their English equivalents as given by Lily),
namely, the optative, subjunctive and potential, are thus reduced to
one, the potential. Gil gives the signs of the moods as follows;

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

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

[p.58]

| Indicatiuus | Praesens | I loue |
| Futur. | I shall aut will loue |
| Imperf | I loued |
| Perf | I have loued |
| Indefinitum | I had loued |

| Imperatiuus | Praesens | Let me loue, loue thou, let him loue |
| Futur | Let us loue, loue ye, let them loue. |

| Potentialis | Praesens | I may loue |
| Futur | I may loue herafter |
| Imperf. | I might loue |
| Perf. | I might have loued |
2. Mood

1. Gil

(The Indefinitum is apparently absent from this mood.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitum</th>
<th>Praesens to loue</th>
<th>Futurum to loue herafter</th>
<th>Perfectum to haue loued</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

There is some evidence that Gil realized that such forms as SHOULD and WOULD could be viewed not only as preterite (imperfect in Gil's terminology) but also as non-indicative (potential mood). Thus he sets out 'I will';

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicatiui futurum</th>
<th>Potentialis imperfectum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>volam, voles, volet</td>
<td>Vellem, velles, vellet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wil, thou he wil</td>
<td>I would, though wouldst, he would</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wilt,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. we</td>
<td>Plur. we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voletis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(they)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>volemus</td>
<td>mus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(they)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wouldent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though there seems some confusion in the reference to I wil as a future tense.

SECTION 2 - THE ENGLISH VERB WITHOUT MOODS

A generation earlier than Gil's Logonomia, there is in Paul Greaves's Grammatica Anglicana [1594] a treatment of the verb in English which seems to owe nothing to Lily. There is no mention of moods at all, and no use of signa. The tenses are;

[p.15] Praesens - I hate
[p.16] Praeteritum primum - I hated
[p.21] Praeteritum secundum - I have hated

Praeteritum tertium - I had hated

Futurum primum idem est cum themate, postposita persona expressa, aut intellecta ut Hate though hate he. plur. Hate vve, hate ye, hate they

Futurum secundum circumscribitur syntaxi infiniti & praesentis verbi Will vel Shal vt I shall vel will hate etc.

It can be seen that what has been traditionally regarded as the Imperative mood is here classified as a future tense. We also find this treatment of the imperative in Ben Jonson's English Grammar [1640].
In Chapter XVI, Of a Verbe, Jonson sets out the tenses, using Latin to illustrate, as follows:

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

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

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

Jonson's Grammar is divided into the two parts

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

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

In Jonson's scheme then, there are three 'Tymes', present, past and future. To each time, there may be several tenses, and these tenses may be imperfect, or perfect. In English there is a present, past and future tense which is simple. There are three more imperfect tenses, corresponding to the Latin tenses, amem, amarem, amabo, present and imperfect subjunctive and future simple, which are compound or syntactical tenses. Also, all the perfect tenses in English are compound.
We must turn to the 'Second Booke, of the English Grammar, Of Syntaxe' and to the sixth chapter, 'Of the Syntaxe of a Verbe, with a Verbe', to find these compound tenses described.

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

SECTION 3 - THE TWO DOCTRINES: RAMUS AND LINACRE

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

Both Greaves and Jonson derive their approach to English grammar from the Latin grammar of Pierre de la Ramée which was published in 1559. Greaves's title in fact characterizes his grammar as 'ad unicam P. Rami methodum concinnata'. De la Ramée or Ramus wrote grammars both of Greek and Latin, with revolutionary features. He abandoned the concept of mood, employing instead a tense system of past, present and future, and of imperfect and perfect, with several tenses in each category, distinguished by number. His Latin grammar appeared in an
English translation in 1585 and from this version I give part of his account of the Latin verb.

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

as the first present tense, amo, amor
the second, amem, amer;
the third, amarem, amarer;

the first preter-tense, amabam, amabar:
the second also, amarem, amarer:

The first future, amabo, amabor:
the second, ama, amare, amato, amator.
Yet amem, and amer, may also be of the future tense, as well as amarem, and amarer.

The tenses fully past

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

It will be noted that Ramus makes the Latin future simple, the first future and the imperative, the second future (with the present subjunctive as a possible third future). Both Greaves and Jonson make the imperative the first future, in Jonson's treatment with considerable advantage, since it gives him a first past, present and future as the set of uncompounded tenses for the English verb. In the above translation 'not past' and 'fully past' correspond to Jonson's 'imperfect' and 'perfect', and 'preter' to Jonson's 'past time'.

We have then at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century two schools of grammar, sharply divided in their treatment of mood. One, the immediate source of which for English grammarians is evidently Lily's grammar, makes mood an important element in the analysis of the verb; every verbal form is assigned to one or
2. Mood

3. The Inflected Subjunctive

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

It is perhaps not surprising that, between the Lilian tendency to found mood on semantic criteria in Latin and to look for clear signs in English, and the Ramist rejection of mood, the already limited traces of the inflected subjunctive in English should have escaped all notice at this time. But it is surprising that so little attention is paid to the use of BE as the present tense of the verb TO BE and of WERE in the singular of the preterite. The only passage I have found which shows
that these subjunctive forms have been noticed at all is in Greaves, in his final chapter, *De Syntaxi coniunctionis cum verbo*.

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

The 'iners' at vulgaris solaecismus' or at least the use of BE for the indicative is fairly well evidenced in the corpus, as the following examples show:

2.1 [B I.33r] And Senators, or Counsellours likewise, which be learned, doe proceede upon more safe and substantiall principles; then Counsellors which are onely men of experience;

Quin senatores ipsi et consiliarii, qui literis exculti sunt, solidioribus innituntur principiis, quam qui ab experientia tantum edocti sunt

(Where a clause containing BE is followed by an apparently exactly parallel clause containing ARE and both words are translated by the Latin indicative SUNT.)

2.2 [B I.42v] Nay further in generall and in sum; certain it is, that Veritas and Bonitas differ but as the Seale and the Print; for Truth prints Goodnesse, and they be cloudes of Error, which descend in the stormes of passions and perturbations.

Imo ut in summa dicam, pro certo est veritatem et bonitatem distingui tantum, sicut sigillum et impressionem, nam veritas bonitatem signat. Et contra, vitiorum ac perturbationum procellae ex erroribus et falsitatis nubibus erumpunt.

2.3 [HP 94.36] Other flatterers there be, who...

Heteroi toinun, hosper...

2.4 [FM 204] Observe what glorious and noble words these be:

Voyla des paroles tresmagnifiques et belles;

2.5 [H 89E] The Church being a supernaturall societie, doth differ from naturall societies in this, that the persons vnto whom we associate our selues in the one are men simplye considered as men,
but they whome wee be ioyned in the other are God, Angels and holie men.
(A subjunctive is not ruled out here, but it seems unlikely.)

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

The great freedom permitted in Elizabethan English as to agreement in number between subject and verb no doubt made the uninflected third person singular of the present subjunctive and the subjunctive use of WERE in the singular less obvious than they are in the literary standard of PE.

Even so the correct understanding of the subjunctive in English had still not been reached in the late eighteenth century and indeed seems to become available only when versions of the modal analysis deriving from Lily are finally abandoned with the historical study of English in the nineteenth century (see Michael [1970 pp.426-427] for late eighteenth century uncertainties about whether the inflected subjunctive existed in English).

The grammar of Ramus is original, the work of a man of iconoclastic intellect whose main contribution to the development of thought was his attack on Aristotelian logic. Himself a protestant, his influence in the protestant north of Europe both in logical and linguistic studies was powerful but short lived. Lily's grammar was anything but original and the sense that the book was in some ways a distillation of the grammatical learning of the great Latinists of humanism was present throughout the seventeenth century, so that in the anonymous Reflections upon Learning [1700] we read:

[pp.19-20] In our times the Common Grammar that goes under the name of Mr. Lily was done by some of the most considerable men of the Age. The English Rudiments by Dr Colet Deano of St Pauls, with a Preface to the first Editions, directing its use by no less Man than Cardinal Wolsey; The most Rational part, the Syntax, was writ or corrected by Erasmus, and the other parts by other
hands: so that tho' Mr. Lily now bears the name, which while living, he always modestly refus'd, yet it was carri'd on by the joynet endeavours of several Learned men, and he perhaps had not the largest share in the work.

From the point of view of the search for the origin of Lily's analysis of the moods, the most important name is missing from this account. That name, even if it could be overlooked in 1700, would certainly in the sixteenth century have been placed among the most considerable of the age. The name is Thomas Linacre.

Linacre in the early years of the sixteenth century wrote a short introductory grammar of Latin in English. This appeared in two versions, one entitled Progymnasmata Grammatices Vulgaria, the other Rudimenta Grammatices, neither volume with a date. In the Progymnasmata there is the following account of the moods of the Latin verb.

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

In the Rudimenta Grammatices, the declensions and conjugations are given in the first part and here we find
The verb is declined with modes, tenses, persons, and nombres.

Modes. Modes be. v. the indicatyue, the imperatyue, the optatyue, the subiunctyue, the infinityue.

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

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

SECTION 4 - THE POTENTIAL MOOD

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

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

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

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

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

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

Expectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta
pro potes expectare

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

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

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

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

pro volueram vel debueram ferre, implere, extinguere, dare

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

Linacre then continues,

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

'Quem novamus modum' - the Latin could cover the meaning of reviving something from the past, but there can be no doubt that Linacre thinks that the potential mood is his own invention and that he means 'this new mood which I have introduced'. There is no trace of this mood in any earlier writers, and Linacre who discusses for example, Grocinus's new division of the tenses very favourably though he does not adopt it, would surely mention earlier authorities in favour of a potential mood, if these existed. From Linacre the potential mood, a radical innovation in the traditional grammatical analysis of Latin passes directly to Lily who is to be the official and authorized version of Latin grammar in England for two centuries, and therefore, since Latin was during this period the only language widely learned grammatically by Englishmen, the authorized version of grammar itself. The potential mood which Linacre himself excluded from Greek eventually finds its way there for in Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon under AN we read 'hence the Indicative with an represents a potential mood' and further on in the same article 'hence the optative with an becomes a potential mood'. The potential mood is in Lindley Murray, and as late as 1893 the OED article on CAN has the following acerb comment at the beginning of its treatment of the word as 'an auxiliary of predication'.

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

But Linacre himself takes a rather more relaxed attitude towards his theoretical innovation.
Though to some extent Linacre's arguments are theoretical, as the final phrases in the quotation above show, his real concern as a linguist is practical - directly related to teaching, to improving the standard of Latin in his day. Certainly his hope, that the student of his book 'Latinius loqui incipiatur' appears to belong to applied rather than theoretical linguistics, however different we may feel the intellectual atmosphere in the great humanists is from that found in today's TESL. The disfavour with which the humanists are regarded by literary medievalists as having destroyed the living language of Medieval Latin and replaced it by a sterile simulacrum of classical literary Latin and the fact that Chomsky has directed admiration at a later Renaissance grammarian like Sanctius who tended to dismiss the works of the humanists, has made it easy to ignore the particular value of their achievement. No one would wish to defend the excesses of Ciceronianism or indeed most aspects of the classical education system which was founded in the sixteenth century. But what is often forgotten is that the best work of the humanists, in attempting to write and encouraging others to write in what they called better Latin, drew attention to the individuality of the Latin language, its genius and distinction from, on the one hand, Greek and on the other the European vernaculars. Because many of the humanists were also Hellenists they were able to some extent, for the first time since Latin ceased to be a genuine first language, to deal with the unsuitable framework of Greek grammar clamped down upon Latin by the derivative grammarians of earlier
centuries. At the same time their concern for the purity of Latin was an awareness of the profound differences of idiom and syntactical structure between Latin and the various European vernaculars, even, or perhaps particularly, those actually deriving from Latin. It is this work - against the grain of general or philosophical grammar - which I find exemplified in Linacre's thought by the proposal of the potential mood.

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

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

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

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

On the other side, Linacre in proposing the potential mood is drawing attention to what he calls 'latini sermonis lepos'; he is attempting to show that Latin frequently uses the subjunctive where modern vernaculars use an auxiliary verb - the equivalent of volo, possum or debere. Latin after all has to be written by men who speak modern vernaculars,
and there would be a natural tendency to carry over this segmentation of the subjunctive into Latin. When Linacre cites Quintilian’s

non expectes, ut statim gratias agat qui sanatur invitus

and says 'pro debo expectare' it is surely because anyone thinking in a modern European vernacular might be tempted to translate the idiom of his own language into Latin in this way.

It is perhaps not a coincidence that the formulation of this distinction between the vernaculars and Latin through the institution of the potential mood was the work of an Englishman, since English of all the European languages, even by the beginning of the sixteenth century, had gone furthest in the development of special modal verbs operating, at least in certain ways, to form mood and tense.

SECTION 5 - THE MOODS BEFORE LINACRE

The five-fold scheme for the Latin moods which Linacre inherits is found generally in the earlier humanist grammarians, as Perottus, Rudimenta Grammatices [1474]

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

and Sulpicius [1495] who gives as alternative titles to the same five moods: diffinitivus, precativus, desiderativus, coniunctivus, infinitus. The medieval tradition however, deriving from Donatus, has six moods. In addition to the five mentioned above, Donatus gives Impersonalis - a mood displayed by Latin verbs used impersonally [Keil IV, p.359, 1.9]. Donatus also mentions though he rejects a promissive mood.

One of the commentaries on Donatus, the Sergii Explanatio in Donatum argues that impersonal verbs do not constitute a separate mood of the verb, and discusses the promissive mood. This is of interest as it raises the question which the study of the modal verbs in early
modern English also suggests, whether the future is not to be grouped
with the moods rather than with the tenses.

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

Even more interesting is the following, from Servius's Commentarius in
Donatum, calling in question the very possibility of a future indicative
tense.

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

Linacre himself speaks [1525 Fol.11] of

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

In fact the earlier humanists in their five mood system restore the
five enkliseis of Dionysius Thrax, namely [Uhlig I.1, pp.47-53]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>moods</th>
<th>form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>horistikē</td>
<td>(indicativus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prostaktikē</td>
<td>(imperativus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>euktikē</td>
<td>(optativus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hypotaktikē</td>
<td>(subjunctivus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aparemphatos</td>
<td>(infinitivus)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 'enkliseis' or moods are one of the eight ways in which the verb is
modified,
In the *Ars Minor*, Donatus reduces this list to seven by grouping *modi* and *formae* together as subdivisions of a category *Qualitas* [Keil IV, p.359, *De Verbo*]. He gives four *formae*:

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

The close association of mood with forma has some influence on the understanding of mood in the grammatical tradition; the forms more obviously than the moods suggest that what is expressed in a single verb could be given in two verbs or a verb with an adverb. Thus *lectito* can be expressed as 'solo legere' and *calesco* as 'incipio calere'. Now in Linacre we find the following:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Indicativus} & \text{ut scribis - aio vel iudico scribere} \\
\text{Imperativus} & \text{ut salve - iubeo te salvere} \\
\text{Optativus} & \text{ut utinam valeas - opto te valere} \\
\text{Potentialis} & \text{ut implevissem - potueram, debueram, vel volueram implere} \\
\end{array}
\]

Linacre calls this 'Solutio reliquorum modorum in infinitum' and it corresponds with what might be called 'Solutio reliquarum formarum in perfectam' suggested above.

The distinction between moods and forms is explained thus by Sergius [Keil IV, p.503, p.505]

> *Qualitas verborum dividitur in modos et in formas ... Accidunt etiam formae, quae sensum habet, non declinationem, ut modi. Nam modi declinationem habent et ideo quasi casus verborum sunt; in formis autem significations sunt: nam ostendunt quo modo loquamur.*

and by Cledionus Pompeius Iulianus [Keil V, p.54]
2. Mood 5. Moods before Linacre

Modi sunt proprie casus verborum, formae intellectus.
which I understand to mean the same thing, namely that moods belong to
the conjugation of a verb, but formae are distinct verbs with different
meanings.

The idea that the moods are cases of the verb has a certain
plausibility - for example there are conjunctions which take a particu-
cular mood in the verb following them in the same way that prepositions
govern a particular case in the noun. But I am not aware who
originated this idea or whether it was worked out in detail. Dionysius
Thrax defines the verb as a word without case, showing tense, person,
number, describing something done or suffered [Uhlig Vol. 1.1, p.46].
Enklisis or Mood is only mentioned in the list of the eight ways in
which the verb is affected. Priscian says the verb is without case,
showing tense and mood, signifying something done or suffered. This
emphasis on mood to make it one of the defining features of the verb is
followed by the humanist grammarians and in Linacre we find these
alternative definitions;

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

The tendency to ignore mood and see the verb entirely in terms of tense
as Ramus and also Sanctius, conforms more with Greek than Latin views
of the verb. Scaliger, although he is not among those who abandon mood
is interesting in this connection.

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

The word used in Greek grammar for mood is enklisis. The meaning
of this word is usually expressed in Latin by inclinatio, though the
Latin grammarians use modus as the technical equivalent, a much wider
term, as Linacre observes:

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

Linacre goes on to suggest that it was because the Latins adopted the
term in a wider sense that they sometimes took even participles as a
separate mode or manner of the verb. His intention, he says, is to use
the word modus but in the more restricted manner corresponding to
enklisis in Greek. However Latin grammar had always preserved the
narrower meaning of enklisis in the definition of mood, as in Priscian
\[\text{Keil II, p.421}\]

Modi sunt diversae inclinationes animi, varios eius
affectus demonstrantes.

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

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

Here both inclinatio and declinatio seem to be attempts to render the
underlying idea of enklisis. In Suplicius \[1495\]

Modus est diversa inclinatio animi varios eius
affectus demonstrans.

This understanding of mood as reflecting an inclination in the mind of
the speaker works well for the imperative and optative. Scaliger
relates imperative and optative as directed to inferiors and superiors
respectively.

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

But it does not work well for the subjunctive in Latin which is
frequently no more than a mark of subordination, or for the infinitive.

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

\[1540, p.237\] \textit{INFINITIVUS autem Modus non est, nul\l am animi inclinationem ostendit: sed omnes ipse sequitur modos, atque cum ipsis coalescit ad significandum, quae fuit causa eius nominis: non, ut dixere, propterea quod neque personas, neque numeros finiat.}

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

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

With Linacre's potential mood, the 'voluntas vel affectio' must surely lie with the subject of the verb; whereas with the optative and imperative, any 'inclinatio animi' to use the older term must lie in the mind of the speaker who employs the mood, not in the subject of the verb. Still even with these other moods there is sometimes a tendency to assume the inclination lies in the subject as is revealed in the following passage from Scaliger where he justifies the change of name from enklisis to modus because the moods sometimes have inanimate subjects incapable of conditions of mind.

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

As our discussion of the modal verbs in English will show, the modality expressed in these verbs is sometimes closely related to the subject of the verb and might be considered as an 'inclinatio animi', even when the subject is inanimate. But sometimes the 'inclinatio' lies elsewhere, and often in the mind of the speaker.

This review of sixteenth and early seventeenth century grammatical thought about mood suggests that what recent linguistic scholarship on the development of the English language has seen as the integration of
the modal verbs into the verb phrase as part of the conjugation of the verb, a development taking place in the course of the sixteenth century, is reflected in the linguistic thought of the time, in that during this period there arose, the work of an Englishman and quickly established as grammatical orthodoxy in England, a new view of the modal structure of the Latin verb, which would strongly encourage the interpretation of the modal verbs MAY/MIGHT and CAN/COULD, WOULD, SHOULD and OUGHT as parts of the verb phrase and indicators of mood. There was it is true also a reaction, setting aside the concept of mood altogether, much less influential generally, although attractive to some of the few minds concerned to formulate a grammar proper to the English language. However, as this new analysis of the Latin verb replaced mood by tense, it did not in fact encourage an interpretation of these English words as full verbs, but as forming alternative tenses, to be grouped with those formed by the auxiliaries BE and HAVE. So that in their assumption that what were later to become called the modal verbs formed part of the conjugation of the verb, Gil's Logonomia and Jonson's English Grammar are in agreement.
CHAPTER 3

WILL AND SHALL

Section 1 - Forms

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

  Lodge-Seneca
  Holland-Livy
  Florio-Montaigne
  Bacon

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

Section 4 - An Analysis of the choice of WILL or SHALL in translating the future in main clauses in the Lodge-Seneca text
SECTION 1 - FORMS

WILL appears as will, wil (wilt)

SHALL appears as shall, shal (shalt)

There is no appearance of wol, wolle, and the written forms combining will, wol with other words as wont, woont, ile, heele, sheele, weele, youle, twil which are frequent in the printed texts of plays at this time are completely absent from the corpus, though wilbe and shalbe occur.
### Lodge-Seneca

Latin words, tenses etc, translated by WILL and SHALL

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>IUBEO</td>
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Holland-Livy

Latin words, tenses etc, translated by WILL and SHALL

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<td>b) Future Tenses</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uses impossible to match in Latin</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total uses of WILL</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Total uses of SHALL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. WILL and SHALL

2. Tables for Translated Texts

Florio-Montaigne

French words, tenses etc, translated by WILL and SHALL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>WILL</th>
<th>SHALL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) VOULOIR</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALLER</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VENIR A</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POUVOIR</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Future Tenses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Tenses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No finite verb in French</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total uses of WILL</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Total uses of SHALL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bacon: Advancement of Learning and De Augmentis Scientiarum

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>WILL</th>
<th>SHALL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) VOLO, NOLO</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSSUM</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPORTET</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN ANIMO ESSE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Future Tenses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>-URUS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-UM IRI</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Tenses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of translated uses of WILL</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>Total of translated uses of SHALL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above tables set out the words or conjugational forms in the original language which give rise in the three translated texts, to the modal verbs WILL and SHALL. These are followed by a table for the corpus from Bacon's Advancement of Learning showing how WILL and SHALL are rendered in the Latin version of that text. The analysis of Latin conjugation employed is that of Donatus, still current at the time the translations were made, in which the tense -ero, -eris, -erit, -erimus, -eritis, -erint is called the future subjunctive rather than an indicative tense, the future perfect, as in more recent Latin grammars. However the point is not of great significance here since by both analyses these endings are considered to constitute a future tense.

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

The present chapter tries to find if there is any principle of selection which determines whether a future tense appears in one of these translations as WILL or SHALL.
SECTION 3 - WILL AND SHALL AS A FUTURE TENSE IN CONTEMPORARY GRAMMARS

The grammars of the time all take WILL and SHALL as formatives for a future tense (or tenses) in English.

In the tradition of Latin grammar for speakers of English, SHALL and WILL are alternative signs of the future and for the purposes of this grammar no distinction between them is required.

Thus Linacre, Rudimenta Grammatices [1523?] under tenses

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

and in Lily and Colet, A Short Introduction of Grammar

\[[Biili]\] The future tense speketh of the tyme to come, with this signe shall or wyll: as Amabo, I shall or wyll love.

The future in the tabular conjugations in this work is always given in the English column in the form 'I shall or wyll love'. This passes into those grammars which are intended to explain Lily and Colet, as Granger, Syntagma Grammaticum [1616] Of Tense:

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

The Latin Grammar of Ramus which makes the imperative a second future is followed by Greaves Grammatica Anglicana, though he places the imperative first.

\[[p.21]\] De futuro primo.
Futurum primum idem est cum Themate, postposita persona expressa, aut intellecta. ut Hate thou, hate he. plur. Hate we, hate ye, hate they

De futuro secundo.
Futurum secundum circumscribitur syntaxi infiniti & praesentis verbi Will vel Shal: ut I shall vel will hate, Thou shalt vel will hate. He shall vel will hate. Plur. Wee shall vel will hate &c.

The first grammarian of English to use the Ramist idea of more than one future tense to make SHALL and WILL form separate future tenses seems
3. WILL and SHALL

3. As a Future Tense in Contemporary Grammars

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

[p.52] Futurum formatur a Praesenti, per signa shal, aut wil in Indicativo; shal in Imperatiuo; hereafter, in Potentiali, & Infinitivo.

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

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

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

[p.106] Shall & will indiquent Futurum. Uret, It shall burn, it will burn. Quoniam autem extraneis satis est cognitum difficile, quando hoc vel illud dicendum est (non enim promiscue
An analysis was made of the translated texts to discover what determined whether a future tense would be rendered by WILL or SHALL. Because of the importance attached to person in this matter by Wallis and subsequent grammarians the analysis was made person by person. The future in interrogative and subordinate clauses was not included. The analysis for Lodge-Seneca is here given and discussed in detail.

First Person uses of WILL

Singular

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

3.1 [LS 1.4] I will ingeniously [1620 ingenuously] confess unto thee, ...
   Fat e b o r ingenu e : quod ...

3.2 [LS 6.3] I will reckon vp unto thee divers men ... multos tibi d a b o ...

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

3.4 [LS 7.10] But lest I should reserve unto my selfe the profit I have gotten this day, I will communicate with thee three most worthy sentences to one sense;
Sed ne soli mihi hodie didicerim communicabo
tecum quae occurrerunt mihi egregie dicta circa eundem fere
sensum tria.

3.5 [LS 8.9] I will repeat one of his verses, which
appertaineth to Philosophie,
  uhum versum, qui ad philosophiam pertinet ...
  referam

3.6 [LS 8.10] Nayther will I let slip that likewise which was
farre better set downe by thee:
  Illud etiamnum melius dictum a te non praeteriboo

3.7 [LS 9.6] I will tell thee, if ...
  Dicam si ...

3.8 [LS 9.6] I will shew thee, saith HECATON, a means to
increase loue without medicine, hearb, or enchantments
  Hecaton ait: ego tibi monstrabo amatorium
  sine medicamento, sine herba, sine ullius veneficae carmine.

3.9 [LS 16.2] yet will I tell thee freely mine opinion.
  Dicam tamen quid sentiam.

3.10 [LS 17.11] I will therefore borrow of Epicurus to pay thee:
  Ab Epicuro mutuum sumam

3.11 [LS 18.14] I will send Epicurus to pay thee my debt:
  Delegabo tibi Epicurum. Ab illo fiet
  numeratio.

3.12 [LS 20.4] Moreover I will tell thee whence this inconstancie
of affaires and counsailes doth proceed.
  Etiamnunc dicam unde sit ista inconstantia, &
  dissimilitudo rerum consiliorumque.

3.13 [LS 21.1] But what it is that hindereth thee, because thou
thyselfe doeth little conceive or prie into [1620 into it] I will tell thee
  Quid sit, autem quod te impediat, quia parum ipse
dispicis, dicam.

3.14 [LS 21.3] I will relate an example of Epicurus
  Exemplum Epicuri referam

3.15 [LS 21.11] I will aduertise thee of one thing
  Hoc commonefaciam

3.16 The following also express the author's intention, to be
fulfilled in the text, though not immediately.

3.16 [LS 12.11] I will perseuer to vrge Epicurus vnto thee
  Perseverabo Epicurum tibi ingerere

3.17 [LS 14.17] I will pay thee in golde:
  Aureate stipemimplebo
3. WILL and SHALL

3.18 [LS 15.9] now will I adde a gratefull office to these benefits mercedula, & munus gratum ad hoc beneficia accedet

3.19 [LS 19.2] For neuer will I so much condemne the furie of mankinde, that ... I would haue thee locke thy selfe vp in an hermitage, Numquam enim usque eo te a big a m generis humani furore damnato, ut latebram tibi aliquam parari ... velim (Negative use, and somewhat indirect translation.)

The following passage expresses extra-textual intentions.

3.20 [LS 6.5] I will send thee therefore the bookes themselues; and lest thou shouldest take too much paines in following those things which profit publicitly, I will put certaine markes to find those things quickly, which I proove and admire; Mitteram itaque ipsos tibi libros, et ne multum operae impedas, dum passim profutura sectaris, impone notas, ut ad ipsa protinus quae probo et miror, accedas

The only first person plural example of WILL is

3.21 [LS 6.6] But I call thee not onely vnto me, to the intent thou shouldest receiue profit, but to the end thou shouldest profit others: for we will continually assist one another; Noc in hoc te accerso tantum, ut proficias sed ut prosis aliis plurimum enim alteri con fer e m us. ('aliis' is not in the best MSS so that 'prosis' would be understood as 'prosis mihi' and lead naturally to the following clause. With 'aliis' the connection in the sense is not apparent and Lodge's rendering of 'plurimum' is forced.)

First Person uses of SHALL

Singular

3.22 [LS 21.5] I shall haue fauour with posteritie Habebo apud posteros gratiam

Plural

SHALL SEE translating 'videbimus'

3.23 [LS 13.5] We afterwards shall see whether these things are to be valued by their owne forces or our weaknesse Postea videbimus, utrum ista suis viribus valeant an imbecillitate nostra.

3.24 [LS 13.7] We shall see what shall happen hereafter, Videbimus quid futurum sit

3.25 [LS 14.14] But we shall see hereafter, whether ... Sed postea videbimus, an ...
Other uses of WE SHALL

3.26 [LS 5.4] societie, from which we shall become separated by this dissimilitude of profession
  congregacionem: a qua professionis dissimilitudo
  separat

3.27 [LS 13.10] We shall partake the pain too ouetimely when it commeth
  (1620) Thou shalt partake the paine time enough when it commeth
  Satis cito dolabis, cum venerit
  ('venerit' for Lodge a future subjunctive translated into English by the present)

3.28 [LS 18.8] we shall be more assuredly rich, if we know that it is no grieuous matter to be poore.
  securius divites erimus si scierimus quam non sit graue pauperes esse.

Second Person uses of WILL

Singular

The intention of the person addressed to interrupt with a question is assumed and stated.

3.29 [LS 1.4] Happily thou wilt ask me what I doe,
  Interrogabis fortasse quid ego faciam.

3.30 [LS 5.7] But thou wilt say, How can these things being so divers, be together?
  Dices quomodo ista tam diversa pariter eunt.

Negative use, anticipating the refusal of the addressee to comply with the author's wishes.

3.31 [LS 19.10] but I feare me thou wilt not receive it for good payment in this sort, but wilt cauill (if I know thee well)
  sed movebis mihi controversiam, si novi te.

In the apodosis of conditional sentences.

3.32 [LS 3.3] if thou supposeth him to be faithfull, thou wilt doe no lesse.
  Fidelem si putaveris, facies.
  (Lodge hardly conveys the meaning of the Latin.)

3.33 [LS 5.7] Thou wilt giue ouer, saith he, to feare, if thou ceassest to hope.
  Desines, inquit, timere, si sperare desieris.
Second Person uses of SHALL

Singular

3.34 [LS 4.1] And in reforming and moderating the same thou shalt enjoy it
frueris quidem etiam dum emendas, etiam dum componis

3.35 [LS 9.21] thou shalt find that in the Cynique Poet,
Apud poetam comicum invenies

3.36 [LS 16.8] Thou shalt learn from those to covet always more.
Maiora cupere ab his discis

THOU SHALT is twice followed by UNDERSTAND

3.37 [LS 13.16] thou shalt understand how loathsome mens leuitie is
intelliges quam foeda sit hominum levitas

3.38 [LS 20.7] or that which thou canst not know by thy merits, thou
understand by the meanes of pouertie aut quod tu beneficiuo tuo non potes scire, paupertatis

THOU SHALT in the apodosis of conditional sentences

3.39 [LS 4.3] If thou wilt well bethinke thy selfe, thou shalt understand that ...
Profice modo: intellige...

3.40 [LS 13.16] If thou cast thine eye on every man, thou shalt meete with olde men ...
Circumspice tecum singulos: occurrent tibi senes

3.41 [LS 16.7] If thou liuest according to nature, thou shalt never be poore; if according to opinion, thou shalt never be rich:
Si as naturam vives, numquam eris pauper; si ad opiniones, numquam eris dives

3.42 [LS 19.11] This shall not happen to thee, except thou retire thyselfe, & separate thee from the multitude; otherwise thou shalt haue at thy table, not thy friends, but such as thy remembrancer hath chosen among the multitude of thy saluters.
Hoc non continget tibi, nisi secesseris: alioquin habebis convivas, quos ex turba saluantium nomenclator digesserit.

Construction: Imperative + AND THOU SHALT

3.43 [LS 4.8] Take account of those that are dead, by the complots of their servants ... and thou shalt see that ...
Recognosc exempla eorum qui domesticis insidiis perierunt: intelliges...
3. WILL and SHALL

4. SHALL in 2nd Person
Selection of WILL or SHALL

3.44  [LS 13.14] Wrest from Cato the sword that assured his libertie, and thou shalt (sic) detract from him the greatest part of his glorie  
Catoni gladium adsertorem libertatis extorque: magnam partem detraxeris gloriae

3.45  [LS 20.6] Pursue then that which thou hast begun, and thou shalt happily attaine eyther to the height, or at least-wise to that thou alone shalt understand that as yet it is not compleat  
Preme ergo quod coepisti et fortasse perduceris aut ad summum aut eo quod summum nondum esse solus intelligas.

In these three examples, the use of SHALL seems due to the strong sense of guarantee which the construction implies. Carrying out the order ensures the fulfilment of the following clause. If we leave this to one side as having more in common with the appearance of SHALL in certain subordinate clauses and examine the rest of the first and second person examples, I suggest that the most striking feature which distinguishes the contexts in which WILL is selected to render the Latin future from those in which SHALL is selected lies in the lexical verbs which follow these modal verbs.

The examples yield the following lists:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WILL</th>
<th>SHALL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>confess</td>
<td>have favour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reckon</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tell</td>
<td>become separated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communicate</td>
<td>partake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repeat</td>
<td>be rich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let slip</td>
<td>enjoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shew</td>
<td>find</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>borrow</td>
<td>learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>send</td>
<td>understand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relate</td>
<td>meet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 89 -
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>WILL</strong></th>
<th><strong>SHALL</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>advertise</td>
<td>be poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>persever</td>
<td>have at table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>condemne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>add</td>
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<tr>
<td>condemn</td>
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<td>put</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>assist</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ask</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>say</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>receive</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>cavill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give over</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.15

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3.33

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

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

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

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

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

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

The only other verb in the SHALL list which can also have this component in its meaning is PARTAKE, but in context in 3.27 it is
evident that the component must be absent from this particular use.

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

Use WILL before all verbs of activity
Use SHALL before all other verbs.

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

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

4. Selection of WILL or SHALL

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wallis's analysis has formed the basis for all subsequent sets of 'rules' for the proper use of WILL and SHALL, although it has always been acknowledged that writers and speakers frequently offend against these rules, or as we would now tend to say, that the rules do not accurately reflect natural spoken or even literary usage. Yet it is
also accepted that Elizabethan usage, as exemplified in the works of Shakespeare, and in the Authorized Version of the Bible, the two texts of the period that have been most extensively studied, does not correspond with the eighteenth and nineteenth century formulations deriving from Wallis.

In the further testing of the theory of the use of WILL and SHALL to form a future tense which has been suggested, the examination of translations offers an opportunity to study the use of WILL outside the formation of a future. If the theory is correct whenever WILL appears with a verb which is not a verb of activity it is not forming part of a future tense and we should expect it to correspond to a lexical item, a verb meaning to want or to wish in the original text.

A list follows of the examples from the Lodge-Seneca corpus where a conjugational form of the Latin VOLO is rendered by WILL in the modal construction. Such uses in conditional clauses have been omitted here for consideration later. Non-negative uses are here listed first, followed by negative uses.

3.46 [LS 9.14] I will shew thee how Crysippus distinguisheth them: *Vol 0 tibi Chrysippi quoque distinctionem indicare*

3.47 [LS 17.1] I will take such a course that my revenue may maintain me, without doing any thing; *Sic illam disponere vol 0 ut sufficere nihil agenti possit.*

3.48 [LS 17.5] I will, sayest thou, recouer whereupon to liue: *Parare, inquis, unde vivam v o l 0.*

3.49 [LS 19.9] I will recount vnto thee in this place the saying of *Mecaenas,* *Vol 0 tibi hoc loco referre dictum Maecenatis*

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

3.51 [LS 9.8] the wise-man although he be content with himselfe, *w i l l notwithstanding have a friend, sapiens etiam si contentus est se tamen habere amicum v u l t.*
3.52 [LS 17.8] thou wilt attaine thereunto after all other things
Cum omnia habueris, tunc habere et supentiam vel es

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

3.54 [LS 20.4] No man proposeth vnto himselfe an end wherevnto he
will tend, neyther if he haue proposed it doth he perseuer in
the same, but over-shooteth himselfe;
Nemo proponit sibi, quid velit, nec si proposuit,
perseuerat in eo, sed transiliet.

Negative

3.55 [LS 14.10] lest whilst we will not be trod vpon we seeme
able to be trod on
dum calcari non lumus, videamur posse calcari

3.56 [LS 4.3] they will not liue, and they know not how to die
Vivere nonunt, mori nesciunt

3.57 [LS 15.11] Prefix thy selfe certaine bounds which thou wilt
not exceede or breake although thou mightest.
Finem constitue, quem transite ne velit si possis.

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

This set of examples suggests that WILL even when used with verbs
of activity is still often felt to have its full meaning. This is
perhaps especially to be expected in the first person singular, where
in most contexts – certainly in that of the writer explaining his plans
for the text – there can be little distinction between wish and firm
intention.

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

3.59 [FM 159a] I will not omit to alleage another example ... 
je ne vous pas obmettre & alleger aussi cet
autre exemple ...

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

When WILL is used with any verb of activity, if the subject is animate, the full meaning of WILL remains present. But since this meaning is in a way also implied in the verb of activity itself through the deliberate and intentional nature of the activity, WILL can as it were be taken for granted and the phrase WILL + verb becomes equivalent to a future tense. When however anything in the context makes against the direct transition from wish and intention to the guaranteed future accomplishment, then WILL tends to retain its full meaning.

The general context may provide reason for not treating WILL merely as a sign of the future, as in 3.54. The negation of WILL itself usually seems to bring out a fuller meaning in the word. But of course it is the use of WILL with a verb which is not a verb of activity according to the analysis suggested above which prohibits our reading WILL as a sign of the future and compels us to take it in the sense of wishing or wanting, without this guarantee of accomplishment that belongs to the future.

It seems likely that Lodge was able to assume that his readers would take his renderings in 3.50, 3.51, 3.53 and also in 3.55 and 3.56, not as futures, but as uses of WILL in its full sense of want or wish.

There is a good example of WILL in its fullest meaning before a passive verb in Florio-Montaigne:

3.61 [FM 133d2] I will be dissolved should we say, and be with Jesus Christ.

Je v e u l estre dissout, dirions nous, et estre aveques Jesus-Christ.

(The reference is to Philippians Ch.1 v.23, for which the Vulgate text runs 'desiderium habens dissolvi et esse cum Christo.)

Another example from the same corpus:

3.62 [FM 193b] I am well pleased not to be sicke, but if I be, I will know that I am so; and if I be cauterized or cut, I will feel it.
3. WILL and SHALL

Je suis contant de n'etre pas malade; mais, si je le suis, je veux savoir que je le suis; et, si on me cauterise ou incise, je le veux sentir.

Both 'know' and 'feel' are here verbs of inert perception (in PE these verbs must be grouped with verbs of inert perception with regard to the BE + -ING construction).

Another example from Holland-Livy. In this, Lucrece is telling her husband and father of her essential innocence after her rape.

3.63 [HL 41C] howsoever I quit and assoile myselfe of sinne, yet I will not be freed from punishment.
   Ego me etsi peccato absolvo, supplicio non liber o.

It seems to me that Holland was a sensitive enough translator not to have put ('I will not be freed from punishment' unless he was sure it would not be read as if Lucrece was merely saying that she expected to be punished rather than that she was determined not to escape punishment.

These three examples, all in the first person are I recognize plausibly explained by Wallis's rules, though it seems to me that the PE reader of these translations will be misled about the sense of the originals.

From the non-translated texts, the examples of WILL with full meaning before a verb of non-activity are all negative. In all these it is clear that present refusal or unwillingness is indicated and not future non-accomplishment.

3.64 [H 49A] We are accused as men that will not haue Christ Iesus to rule over them.

3.65 [C XI] The seventh of this moneth the Quenes: attourney married the Lady Hatton to the great admiration of all men ... and the world will not beleve that yt was without a mysterie.

3.66 [C L] Mr Secretarie and his other frends wold have him sent again; but the father will in no wise heare of yt because he is such a jewell and the staffe of theyre house.

3.67 [C XXXVI] His miserie and ambition is much disliked of all, and the Clergie will in no wise be well perswaded of him.
3. WILL and SHALL

3.68 [C XLVIII] the gentlewoman you wot of followes still the old haunt and will not be beaten from yt by fayre meanes nor fowle.

(Chamberlaine refers to the lady's Catholic views. The sense is her obstinate refusal to listen to argument.)

3.69 [C XLVI] and there she is whole dayes and nights, and will not be spoken to by brother nor sister, and more foolishly obstinate in her aounselers then I ever knew her.

In all these examples WILL refers to a psychological state in the subject and not to the future event.

If we then refer to the full sense and the future sense for WILL, the pattern being proposed to account for the examples so far adduced may be set out as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>with verbs of ACTIVITY</th>
<th>with verbs of NON-ACTIVITY</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-negative</td>
<td>FULL or FUTURE</td>
<td>FULL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>FULL or FUTURE</td>
<td>FULL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In PE,

He will agree means 'he is going to agree' and not 'he wants to and is willing to agree'

He will be beaten means 'he is going to be beaten' and not 'he wants or is willing to be beaten'

While:

He won't agree means either 'he is not going to agree'

or 'he refuses or is unwilling to agree'

and: He won't be beaten means either 'he is not going to be beaten'

or 'he refuses or is unwilling to be beaten'.

The table for PE therefore should be:

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3. WILL and SHALL

4. WILL in full or future sense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-negative</th>
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<tr>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>FULL or FUTURE</th>
<th>FULL or FUTURE</th>
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This suggests that a system in which WILL could have its full meaning in all contexts and weakened, future meaning only before verbs of activity preceded a system where WILL can have a future meaning in all contexts and the possibility of retaining its full meaning in negative contexts only.

However it is not here proposed that the suggested system at 1600 has changed into the system in PE through the intervening centuries. Both systems might have existed side by side; the PE system may derive from some earlier colloquial system not represented in our Elizabethan documents. The sharpest difference between the two systems lies in the top right hand quarter, non-negatives with verbs of non-activity, which in the proposed system of 1600 must be read will full meaning and in the PE system must be read as future. We have seen that some translators appear to assume that WILL + verb of non-activity will not be read as a future, but have been unable to produce clear examples to illustrate this assumption from the untranslated texts. There are in fact indications that WILL in this context was ambiguous.

Thus we find in Florio-Montaigne:

3.70 [FM 139a] But these will needs be whipt to their owne cost, and cannot abide their reason to be combated, but by it selfe.

Mais ceux cy veulent estre foitez a leurs propres depens et ne veulent souffrir qu‘on combeate leur raison que par elle mesme.

Here Florio had added the abverb NEEDS, apparently to mark that WILL must be taken in its full sense. This does not in itself prove that it would be strictly ambiguous otherwise since a translator may attempt to
bring out the meaning of his original as clearly as he can. Yet in the non-translated texts we do find, in non-negative contexts similar to those negative contexts already quoted where WILL has its full meaning, that NEEDS is added.

3.71 The negociation is kept very close, yet some will needs believe that he hath stood only yet upon the time, place, and the commissioners for the treatie. (That is to say 'insist on believing'. The verb 'believe' is a verb of non-activity, so that 'will believe' implies an active will or wish to believe, instead of the condition of being persuaded or convinced by the evidence.)

NEEDS is also used with WILL before verbs of activity where it resolves the ambiguity between present wish or insistence and future intention.

3.72 Ortelius his Thesaurus Geographicus is too bigg to be sent ••• Your cousin Lytton will needs bestow yt on you, wherin I made no long strife.

This use of NEEDS to resolve ambiguities suggests that the use of WILL + verb of non-activity could be given a future interpretation, and there are examples in which there is no possibility of interpreting WILL as anything but an indicator of future tense.

3.73 but yt will by no meanes sinkke down with me, but that still I feare he will be cousened and trussed up in the end.

WILL then can be thought of within the system proposed for the English of this period, as always retaining its full sense of wanting or intending. With verbs of activity, WILL is used as an equivalent of the future tenses in other languages not because the full sense of WILL is weakened but because this sense is already implied in the verb itself, a verb of activity being defined as a verb requiring an agentive subject and an agentive subject in turn implying deliberate and willed activity. Because of this, the force of the word WILL in this context no longer lies in the psychological condition of its subject, in the state of willing, wanting or being determined, but in the implication of this, namely that the activity of the verb is not yet accomplished but that its accomplishment is guaranteed. This also
explains why when WILL is negated this overlapping of its psychological meaning with the implications of a verb of activity as to its subject is lost.

For whereas

'John runs'
contains the implication that John deliberately and intentionally chooses or wills to run,

'John does not run'
does not imply that he deliberately and intentionally chooses not to.
The ambiguity of 'John won't run' comes from its use both as the negative of 'John will run' in the full sense, and also as the grammatical negation of 'the future tense'.

When WILL is followed by a verb of non-activity which by definition excludes the implication that an activity is intentional or deliberately performed, then the full psychological meaning is brought out. It does not form a future tense because intention and determination are only valid to bring about the activities of agents. The experiences and events which are referred to by verbs of non-activity can be willed, in the sense of desired and striven for but this is strictly no guarantee of their accomplishment. On the other hand, the negative of WILL before experiential verbs, at least in many contexts, does guarantee the non-accomplishment of the event, and in this case the negative guarantee against the future accomplishment is contained as it were within the assertion of present negative volition.

It is proposed that SHALL is like WILL in having a full sense which is always present but that when SHALL is used with verbs of non-activity this full meaning, like the full meaning of WILL when this is used with verbs of activity, coincides with an implication in the meaning of the verb of non-activity and so is neutralized, leaving
behind nothing more than the guarantee of the eventual actualizing of the event referred to by the verb. This forms effectively an equivalent to a future tense. Thus, since all verbs or verbal phrases must be either verbs of activity or of non-activity, WILL and SHALL together provide the language with a way of referring to the guaranteed future accomplishment of all verbs and therefore can be considered to constitute a future tense.

Whereas the full meaning of WILL is fairly easy to specify, and WILL is used regularly in the language of this time to translate VOLO in Latin and VOULOIR in French, the full meaning of SHALL is much more difficult to paraphrase and there is no word in Latin or French that SHALL is regularly used to translate.

The etymological origins of the word SHALL in a verb meaning 'to owe', suggest a makeshift paraphrase in

- is due to -

which might be elaborated to

- is ordained to -

Just as verbs of activity, used in the present affirmative indicative, contain as part of their meaning the will of an agent, which appears as the subject to the verb, so verbs of non-activity may be said to contain as part of their meaning when they are used in the present indicative - negative as well as affirmative in this case - the implication that the cause, the effective agent, the source of the event or experience is precisely not indicated by the grammatical subject and that in the immediate grammatical context of subject and verb this agent remains unspecified.

A verb of activity is accomplished by the WILL of its agent-subject. Therefore to assert this will of the agent subject guarantees its accomplishment.
A verb of non-activity is accomplished upon its specifically non-agentive subject by an unspecified actuating cause. To assert the presence of this cause is to guarantee its accomplishment. SHALL performs this, asserting a totally unspecified actuating compulsion or pressure. Just as WILL asserts what is already a part of the meaning of a verb of activity and so is in the context of such a verb neutralized into a mere guarantee of future accomplishment, that is, the necessary present condition for future accomplishment, so SHALL asserts what is already implicit in any verb of non-activity, namely that it is brought about by compulsion or pressure unspecified except that it is not exerted by the grammatical subject, so that it too is reduced in this context to a mere guarantee of future eventuality. However, WILL when followed by a verb of non-activity does not guarantee accomplishment, since WILL is only effective to the activities of the agent-subject and not to its experience or the events which befall it, and in this context its full sense, the psychological 'will towards', the mere wish or intention, is brought out. In the same way SHALL used with a verb of activity comes into its full meaning, an outside pressure upon an agent towards the accomplishment of an activity. But this does not constitute a future tense because there can be no guarantee of the accomplishment of the activity through this pressure.

That SHALL around 1600 is used with verbs of activity in a way quite different from the guarantee of future accomplishment is evident.

3.74 [H 650] Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.

This is Hooker's citation of Deuteronomy Ch.6 v.5. In the preceding chapter of Deuteronomy come the Ten Commandments also expressed by SHALL. These are perhaps still the most familiar occurrences of SHALL used in this way to form what is practically equivalent to an imperative.
3. WILL and SHALL

(The form with SHALL is kept by the translators of the New English Bible.) The texts used in this study do not contain examples of SHALL in this quasi-imperative use, though SHALL is regularly used to report orders or commands as

3.75 [H 90A] a lawe supernaturall, which God himselfe hath revealed concerning that kinde of worship which his people s h a l l doe vnto him.

3.76 [C L] Once here is order taken that no goldsmiths or jewellers s h a l l go into the west countrie.

Sometimes instead of a command, we have an offer or suggestion:

3.77 [C IV] together with an offer from the Spaniard (as they say) that, come peace or war with the States, the Queene s h a l l hold the cautionarie townes fowre yeares.

As in this quotation, the source of the command or offer may be explicit in a superordinate clause. Or, as in the next example, the sense that what is reported is to be taken as a command or ordinance is derived from the use of SHALL itself.

3.78 [C XXXVIII] for yt is thought my Lord himself s h a l l first lead the way; and then they shall follow thicke and threfold. (This refers to the expected executions after Essex's downfall.) It may seem that examples like this are in fact future uses of SHALL, and they may be so considered unless the verbs LEAD and FOLLOW are understood in their strictest sense as verbs of activity. If they are, then Essex's leading and the following of the rest are activities presently ordained. What is reported is the order 'Essex shall lead the way'. If however LEAD and FOLLOW are taken as verbs of non-activity, stative verbs equivalent to 'be in place or be placed first in order' 'be in consequent place or be placed sequently' then the clause becomes an expression of the future. By either reading, Essex's leading is not a willed act on his own part. The writer reports (as it is rumoured) either the decree ordering Essex to perform a certain activity, or else, a guaranteed future event, guaranteed because ordained or due to take
place. If we substitute WILL for SHALL,

'It is thought my Lord himself will lead the way'

this could equally well be taken in two senses: either a future, with

LEAD as a verb of activity; or a statement of the Lord's insistence

that he be placed first (which in certain contexts might be a virtual
guarantee that he would be so placed). However to bring out this sense

clearly it would probably have to be

'It is thought my Lord himself will needs lead the way'.

It can be seen that the two futures, 'he shall lead' and 'he will lead'

are in fact different in meaning corresponding to the difference between

the guarantee of future accomplishment which derives from what is

ordained to happen and what is willed or determined by the agent of

that action.

Another example where the interpretation can be either the SHALL

of authority or of the future, occurs in the Delaval letters:

3.79 [D 10] and besides this is two masques more, all being a means

to make the Chequer pore, but at last the pore subject s h a I l l

pay for all

'the authority of the state ordains that in the end, the taxpayer

settles the bill' or as an event of guaranteed future accomplishment

'the taxpayer in the end is going to be charged for all this'.

In these examples SHALL is used for orders which seem to emanate

from the speaker, or refer to the authority of God or the state. But

the source of the causation, the authority for the decrees implied by

SHALL can only be gathered contextually. All that SHALL itself indicates

is that its grammatical subject is not that source or that authority,

that the grammatical subject is not in this matter the agent. Who is

or is not the agent in certain events may be entirely determined by

social convention.
3.80 [C L] and on Wensday next ... our Mr Trot shall marry one Mr Perins daughter of Hartfordshire, a lusty tall wench able to beat two of him.

Evidently (for Chamberlaine normally reports forthcoming marriages with SHALL) to marry was felt to be the undergoing of a rite in some sense a submitting and not a self-willed activity. The interplay between event and activity in this matter is brought out in

3.81 [C XXV] The Lord Cobham is contracted to the Countesse of Kildare before the Quene, but it is thought will not marry till he be a counsaillor.

In philosophical writing and divinity, it is a future ordained in the general sense by God, rather than by human or other agents which appears to call for the employment of SHALL. So Hooker, comparing the race of Angels with men

3.82 [H 58A] That which agreeth to the one now, the other shall attain unto in the ende;

So it is ordained. Or, if we read this as a future tense, to attain here is not to be understood in the sense of 'succeeding in reaching' but of 'being brought to', a divine bestowal. Again

3.83 [H 79E] Whereas wee now loue the thing that is good, but good especially in respect of benefit unto vs; we shall then loue the thing that is good, only or principally for the goodnes of beautie in it self.

There seems no doubt, in view of the use of 'now' and 'then' that this should be read as a future guaranteed of accomplishment. But the verb 'love' here is not the willed activity of 'Thou shalt love' but refers to a state of feelings, a spiritual condition. This love will happen to us, we are not proposing it to ourselves as an activity.

Since SHALL indicates that its subject is not the agent of its verb, there is no expectation that its subjects should be animate.

3.84 [H 79E] As the will doth now worke vpon that object by desire, which is as it were a motion towards the end as yet vnobtained, so likewise vpon the same hereafter received it shall worke also by loue.

Here the future seems indicated by 'hereafter'.

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By an analogy with the full meaning of the word WILL as indicating intended and determined activity, WILL with inanimate subjects indicates activity which has its origin in the nature of the subject, is in fact its characteristic behaviour. In this sense, much of its strictly future meaning disappears, unless it is indicated contextually. The characteristic behaviour of an inanimate belongs to a general present, or extends from the past through the present into the future. On the other hand, there seems some natural association of this sense of characteristic behaviour with the future, perhaps through the concept of 'expectation'. Just as the guaranteed accomplishment of an action or event in the future might be called 'expected', so characteristic behaviour is also 'expected' behaviour, or rather, it is characteristic because it is expected. It is because we can foretell how an inanimate will behave in certain future circumstances that we can call this behaviour characteristic. This perhaps explains why this sense of 'characteristic behaviour' is found expressed by the future tense in other languages, for example, Latin. Although this sense of characteristic behaviour must be the only one with inanimate subjects until WILL is no longer associated with its basic meaning of intention or determination, it is also extended to animates although this use is confined to the third person in the texts.

We now consider the use of SHALL and WILL in the third person, translating Latin future tenses, from the corpus taken from Lodge's translation of Seneca. Here we begin with animate or personal subjects, leaving the inanimate to be dealt with at the end.

3.85 [LS 14.7] A wise-man therefore will never provoke the displeasure of the mighty, but rather will decline the same, Itaque sapiens numquam potentium iras provocabit immo declinabit ...
3. WILL and SHALL 4. WILL in 3rd Person

3.86 [LS 16.5] ... Philosophie must be our retreat. She will exhort us to obey God willingly, and to resist fortune constantly: she will teach us to follow God, and to bear with casualties.

philosophia nos tueri debet. Haec a d h o r t a b i t u r ut deo libenter pareamus, ut fortunae contumaciter: haec d o c e b i t ut deum sequaris, feras casum

3.87 [LS 17.2] [Philosophie] she will counsell thee not to busie thy selfe about thine accounts.

s u a d e b i t t i b i , n e a d c a l c u l o s s e d e a s

3.88 [LS 17.9] [The wise man] he will bestow that on his bellie and his backe which appertaineth unto them and being content with himselfe, shall laugh at the occupations of the rich, ventri et scapulis suum reddet et occupationes divitum ... securus laetusque r i d e b i t ...

3.89 [LS 20.7] [Poverty] She will retaine thy true and certain friends, and whosoeuer shall leave, followed not thee but another thing.

I l l a v e r o s c e r t o s q u e a m i c o s r e t i n e b a t ; d i s c e d e t q u i s q u e n o n t e s e d a l i u d s e q u e b a t u r .

WILL in Apodosis

3.90 [LS 4.9] And if by chance thou fallest into the hands of thine enemies, the conqueror will command that thou be ledde ... At si forte in manus hostium incideris, victor te duci

i u b e b i t

3.91 [LS 17.9] [The wise man] And if he haue wherewith to weare out and prolong the same, he will take it in good part, and will no further endeuer himselfe, but for those things that are necessarie

S i v e r o e x i g u u m e r i t e n t a g u s t u m q u o p o s s i t v i t a p r o d u c i , i d b o n i c o n s u l e t n e c u l t r a n e c s a r i a s o l l i c i t u s a u t a n x i u s

3.92 [LS 20.11] I know not, sayest thou, how this man will beare his pouertie, if he fall into the same;

Nescio, inquis, quomodo paupertatem iste l a t u r u s s i t , s i i n i l l a m i n c i d e r i t

3.93 [LS 20.11] neyther know I, saith Epicurus, if this poore man will contemne his riches if he fall on them.

Nec scio ego, Epicure, an gloriosus iste pauper c o n t e m p t u r u s s i t d i v i t i a s s i i n i l l a s i n c i d e r i t .

WILL in clauses analogous to Apodosis

3.94 [LS 9.8] He ... will take his flight as soone as he feeleth himselfe deliuered from his bonds.

c u m p r i m u m c r e p u e n t c a t e n a d i s c e d e t
3.95 [LS 20.7] All this troope when thou desistest to feed them
\[\text{will feede themselves}\]
\[\text{Turba ista cum a te pasci desierit, ipsa se pascet}\]

The following uses of WILL require explanation.

3.96 [LS 6.7] Asketh thou, saith he, wherein I have profited? I have
\[\text{begun to be a friend to myselfe}\]
\[\text{He hath gotten much : he will never be alone.}\]
\[\text{Quaeris, inquit, quid profecerim? Amicus esse mihi coepi. Multum profecit : numquam erit solus.}\]

The strict future here would be 'he shall never be alone'. I think that Lodge rejects this because it would mean that Hecaton is guaranteed never to be alone by some causal influence other than himself. The whole point of the passage is that Hecaton's escape from aloneness is a matter of his own self-discipline and self-determination. For this, the appropriate modal is WILL. Of course this use of WILL would be impossible here if there were a real danger of its being read as a translation of

\[\text{'numquam vult esse solus'}\]

(Even in PE 'he won't be alone' can be read as 'he refuses to be left alone'.) The context certainly makes so strongly against this reading that it would be excluded even if there were in theory a possible ambiguity. It is clear that, at least in non-negative contexts, WILL was often employed in a weakened or merely future sense before verbs of non-activity. But in fact the extraordinary context here demands that we take 'BE ALONE' as a verb of activity, that is to say, in the special Stoic sense that it is within a man's own will to find supporters and advisers within himself, 'not to be alone' becomes a kind of deliberate and determined act.

3.97 [LS 11.1] he left me a taste, whereunto I assure myselfe he
\[\text{will answer.}\]
\[\text{Dedit nobis gustum, ad quem respondebit}\]

'Answer' here must obviously be taken in the sense of 'correspond, be equivalent or matching' which would normally be a verb of non-activity.
The reason why we have WILL here and not SHALL is, I suspect, because Lodge has added 'I assure myself' to the strict word for word rendering of the Latin.

'I assure myself he shall answer' makes the SHALL derive from the superordinate 'assure' giving a sense 'I guarantee (and I will see to it) that he corresponds ...' This is clearly not the sense intended. Even without ASSURE 'he shall answer' might have sounded inconveniently similar to the common threat in the language of the time 'He shall answer for it'.

WILL used with Inanimate Subject

3.98 [LS 6.5] yet our speaking and liuing together will profit thee more, then onely reading.
   Plus tamen tibi et viva vox et convictus quam oratio proderit

3.99 [LS 21.2] Thy studies will make thee famous and noble
   studia te tua clarum et nobilem efficiens

3.100 [LS 14.16] yet will it (fortune) bring some vexation and adversitie
   at (Fortuna) aliquid vexationis affert, aliquid adversi

3.101 [LS 11.1] I doubt not but when he shall be best retired, and despoyled of all his vices, that then this complexion will accompanie him.
   Hic illum, quantum suspicor, etiam cum se confirmaverit et omnibus vitiis exuerit, sapientem quoque sequetur.

The verbs in the above examples may all perhaps be read as verbs of activity. In each example it is the inherent quality or nature of the subject and not something other than this subject which guarantees future accomplishment. In 3.100 the relation of this sense of WILL (which might be paraphrased as 'has it in itself to') to the full sense can be seen, since fortune could be read as a personification or the goddess and so a personal subject. Here no guarantee from outside, either from the speaker or elsewhere is required; indeed those are specifically excluded. So in 3.98 'our speaking and living together'
in itself, by the very fact of our speaking and living together, profit will accrue - not because Seneca himself will so conduct himself towards Lucillus that this results. In 3.101, the complexion, (which is the tendency to blush) is inherently of such a nature that it remains with the Stoic sage, even at the height of his discipline and self-control.

3.102 [LS 11.6] That which attendeth vs thorow the condition of our birth ... will remain continually. Quaecomque attribuit condicio nascendi ...

3.103 [LS 21.2] This because it is reflected vpon by an externall light will presently yeeld a thicke shadow to whomsoever setteth himself before the same; Haec fulgore extrinsecus veniente perfusa est, crassam illi statim umbram faciet quisquis obstiterit

3.104 [LS 13.1] a true mind, and such as will not subject it selfe to other mens wils, approueth it selfe. Verus ille animus et in alienum non venturus arbitrium probatur.

These three examples may be read as uses of WILL to express characteristic or expected behaviour. It is possible to read a future sense in 3.102 though I take it as 'It is the nature of that which attendeth us through the condition of our birth to remain ...' 3.104 can easily be read with a full sense of WILL in the English translation though nothing in the Latin would justify this.

3.105 [LS 13.4] things ... which happily will never befall thee Fortasse numquam ventura sint.

I am unable to find any explanation for the use of WILL here except this: with SHALL the sentence would be taken to mean something quite different, namely an assurance that fortunately these things would not happen. It is true this appears to depend on an ambiguity in the word 'happily' which would not be present if 'fortasse' were translated by 'perhaps'. Yet the possibility, which is never completely absent with SHALL, that its accomplishment is guaranteed by the speaker,
may have been one of the reasons why WILL gained ground in contexts where it was important to exclude this.

3.106 [LS 15.2] which will not cost thee much, if thou behaue thy selfe wisely

Quae non magno tibi constabit si volueris bene valere

The subject here is bodily health. Lodge seems to mistake the sense of 'si volueris bene valere' and this makes it hard to measure his meaning against the Latin. I take it that again, the speaker's assurance is being excluded.'It is inherent in the nature of bodily health to be easily maintained'.

3.107 [LS 19.7] If thou withdraw thy selfe to a private life, all things will be lesser, but they will fill thee more;

si te ad privata retuleris, minora erunt omnia, sed adfatim impiebunt

3.108 [LS 13.10] Is it likely some mischance will happen?

Verisimile est aliquid futurum mali

In neither of these examples does the avoidance of SHALL seem to be due to the wish to exclude any sense of promise or guarantee on the part of the speaker and I can only attribute them to the spread of WILL as a uniform neutralized future indicator.

SHALL in the Third Person

The following are the expected uses of SHALL before the verb TO BE in various contructions.

SHALL before Passives

3.109 [LS 9.18] yet shall all his good be inclosed and bounded within himself

Omne intra se bonum terminabit.

3.110 [LS 11.9] who can respect in that sort shall suddenly be made worthwhile to be respected himselfe.

Qui sic aliquem vereri potest, cito erit verendus.

3.111 [LS 13.11] at the least wise it shall be so much good time gotten.

Quid facies lucri? Tempus.

3.112 [LS 20.9] for it shall not onely be said but approved.

Non enim dicentur tantum illa, sed probantur.
3. WILL and SHALL

3.113 [LS 14.1] He shall be slave to many that will be slave to his own body, shall too much fear for the same, and refer all things unto that.

Multis enim serviet qui corpori servit, qui pro illo nimium timet, qui ad illud omnia refert.

An excellent example of the operation of the WILL/SHALL system of Elizabethan English, the two words contrasted, both appearing before the same verbal phrase, and corresponding to a different, purely tense contrast in Latin.

3.114 [LS 20.1] For it shall be my glory

Mea enim erit gloria

3.115 [LS 8.7] It shall not be at mine owne expence

Id non de meo fiet

3.116 [LS 9.4] And as joyfull shall he be in his maimed and mangled body, as he could be were it whole

Et erit imminuto corpore et amputato tam laetus quam integro fuit

3.117 [LS 9.5] Without a friend shall he never be

Sine amico quidem numquam erit

3.118 [LS 18.8] It shall be as easie for thee to endure it always, as to attempt it sometimes.

Quod tam facile erit tibi illud pati semper quam aliquando experiri.

3.119 [LS 7.10] Of which the one shall be to acquit this Epistle of that which it oweth to thee;

Ex quibus unum haec epistula in debitum solvet

3.120 [LS 9.4] If any accident hath bereft him of his eye that which remaineth with him shall suffice him

Si quis oculum vel oculos casus excusserit, reliquiae illi suae sat is faci ent.

3.121 [LS 9.9] He that is made a friend for profit sake shall please as long as he may be profitable

Qui utilitatis causa assumptus est, tam diu placebit, quamdiu utilis fuerit
3. WILL and SHALL 4. SHALL in 3rd Person

3.122 [LS 19.3] and then SHALL they who have libertie to liue according to their own good liking, perceive whether...

Deinde videbunt de isto, quibus integra sunt, an...

3.123 [LS 19.6] Thinkest thou thy contents and honours shall be so affluent that nothing shall remaine for thee to desire? That time SHALL never happen.

Donec desinas habere quod cupias, numquam erit tempus.

3.124 [LS 19.11] This SHALL not happen to thee,

Hoc non continget tibi

3.125 [LS 20.9] Believe me, this thy discourse SHALL have more lustre and magnificence in a lowe bedde and vnder a ragged coate; Magnificentior, mihi credas, sermo tuus in grabato videbitur et in panno

SHALL followed by verbs of activity to be given the sense of non-activity

3.126 [LS 9.18] notwithstanding although he (the wise man) be most affectionate to his friends... yet shall all his good be inclosed and bounded within himselfe, and he SHALL speake as Stilbon did...

Nihilominus, cum sit amicorum amantissimus... omne intra se bonum terminabit et dicit quod Stilbon ille dixit

The two verbs, 'be inclosed' and 'speake' would appear to require different modals to translate Latin futures. But 'speak' here does not refer to the activity but to the situation of the wise man. He will be in a position to say, truly of himself, what Stilbon said, "Omnia bona mea mecum sunt". Alternatively we can take this situation (that all his good is inclosed and bounded in himself) as the cause, the ordaining circumstance that guarantees the activity of declaration.

3.127 [LS 14.11] Neuer SHALL vice obtaine so great force, neuer SHALL any conspire so much against vertue, but that the name of Philosophie shall alwaies remaie holy and venerable.

Numquam in tantum convalescet nequitia, numquam sic contra virtutes consurbitur, ut non philosophiae nomen venerabile et sacrum maneat.

The underlying sense of the verbs is not of activity, as a closer rendering of that Latin shows: 'Never shall vice become so strong, never shall there be such a conspiracy against virtue'. Yet
I think Lodge's translation is deliberate and by the employment of these verbs of activity he brings out a vehement sense of personal guarantee on the part of the writer.

3.128 [LS 19.6] Into that life art thou demised which shall neyther end thy miserie nor servitude.

In eam demissus es vitam quae numquam tibi terminum miseriarum ac servitutis ipsa factura sit. ('not be an end to, perpetuate' in a stative sense)

SHALL followed by Verbs of Activity, with the sense that the accomplishment is ordained

3.129 [LS 19.5] And greater things besides these shall sease thee hereafter, and the one shall beget the other.

Maiora deinde officia te ex cipiente et ex aliis alia.

In the following, the writer's own guarantee seems involved in the accomplishment of what is ordained.

3.130 [LS 21.5] No day shall you exempt from memorie of man

Nulla dies umquam memor vos eximiet aevo (Virgil's line quoted by Seneca. The poet himself can guarantee an undying memory.)

3.131 [LS 20.9] Although thou enuie it, yet shall Epicurus, even at this present voluntarilie defray the duetie for me.

Invideas licet, etiam nunc pro me dependet Epicurus.

This depends on the playful language in which Seneca speaks of his frequent use of quotations from the classic Stoic and Epicurean writers. These are referred to as if the sages themselves were personally involved. The use of SHALL here is therefore appropriate 'I have arranged with Epicurus for him to ...' The same explanation accounts for the next example:

3.132 [LS 21.7] And to the end that Idomeneus be not gratis inclosed in my Epistle, he shall redeem the same at his owne charge.

Ne gratis Idomeneus in epistulam meam venerit, ipse eam de suo redimet.

3.133 [LS 21.3] If (saith he) thou art touched with glorie, my Epistles shall make thee more famous then all those things ...

Si gloria, inquit, tangeris, notiorem te epistulae meae faceint quam omnia ista ...
Contrast 3.99, Lucilus's own studies 'have it in them' to make him famous. The fame in store for him from Seneca's letters, Seneca himself can guarantee.

Discussions of Other Uses of WILL and SHALL in Lodge-Seneca

3.134 [LS 9.8] So \( \text{ SHALL } \) end his friendship even as he began the same

\[ \text{Quemadmodum coepit, sic desinett} \]

The Latin seems to mean 'it will end the way it started'. Lodge's translation of the whole passage differs from that of modern scholars though it has its own internal coherence. WILL used here would give the sense 'He will decide to terminate his friendship for the same reasons that he decided to start being your friend'. Lodge's actual translation is rather 'For him the end of friendship will come in the same kind of circumstances (of self-seeking) as those in which he established his friendship'.

3.135 [LS 17.9] he \( \text{ WILL } \) bestow that on his belly and his backe which appertaineth unto them and being content with himselfe, \( \text{ SHALL } \) laugh at the occupations of the rich, and the goings and comings of those who sweat to get riches, and \( \text{ SHALL } \) say ...

\[ \text{ventri et scapulis redde et occupationes divitum concursationesque ad divitias euntium, securus laetusque dicit} \]

The apparently random use of WILL and SHALL in this passage in fact seems to reflect the distinction between the activities of the Stoic sage, and his reactions; what he does out of choice and decision, and what he finds himself in a position to do. 'To laugh' here means to be amused by, to find amusing, 'To say', to be so placed that it is true for him to say. Indeed there is in the passage a sense that the accomplishment of the later verbs, 'laugh' and 'say' is guaranteed by the earlier clauses, 'he bestows etc, he is content with himself, and this ensures that ...'

3.136 [LS 17.9] and if happily extreme necessitie doe surcharge him, \( \text{ SHALL } \) escape from this life, and \( \text{ SHALL } \) cease to be troublesome to himselfe.
3. WILL and SHALL

Sed si necessitates ultimae inciderunt iamdudum
exiliet evita et molestus sibi esse desinet

ESCAPE is one of the verbs like FIND and LEARN which can be read as verbs of activity ('he escaped by knotting his sheets') or of non-activity ('he escaped serious illness in childhood'). 'Will escape' here would make the English refer unequivocally to suicide, which is surely what the Latin must mean if 'necessitates ultimae' is taken as Lodge takes it, to mean 'extreme necessity'. 'Ultima necessitas' in Latin can refer to death itself, so Seneca's sentence could be read 'If he dies in the end from the harshness of his poverty he is free from a weary life'. I think Lodge would be bound to tone down or avoid references to suicide [see at the end of the 1614 Workes of Seneca, "A Table wherein Seneca's Paradoxes and other Stoical Vanities are set downe, to the end that such as are of weakest judgement and apprehension, may both know and be more circumspect in judging of them", under which is included as number 18 "Death is in the power and will of a man to kill himselfe, and to depart out of this world when hee thinketh fit ...] 'Exiliet' would seem to suggest activity more strongly than the word 'escape' in English. The Latin future in itself does not distinguish between what the wise man will do (commit suicide) and what will happen to him (die). The English of this period cannot altogether avoid making the distinction.

3.137 [LS 21.5] After vs there shall come a long and hidden tract of time, some few wits shall lift up their beads, and ... shall resist oblivion, and shall keep themselves long time in reputation.

Profunda supra nos altitudo temporis veniet, paucis ingeniosis e x s e r e n t, & in idem ... oblivioni resistent, ac se diu vindicabunt.

Lodge has here to choose between the modals appropriate to the meaning of the Latin he is translating and those appropriate to the metaphor through which that meaning is expressed. Seneca is talking about the future in terms of what is to happen to literary and
philosophic reputations. Just as he refers to his use of quotations from Epicurus and Hecaton as if he were conducting personal and monetary transactions with these persons, so here he refers to these future happenings in literary history as if they were activities of the authors concerned. In Latin the nature of the future tense presents no problems. In the English of this time the form of the future cannot be accommodated equally well to both sides of the metaphorical equation.

3.138 [LS 21.10] The Host of his house courteous vnto his guests, full of hospitalitie and humanitie, w ill be addressed, and s h a l l entertain thee with a cake and present thee with water as much as will suffice thee and in the end w ill say vnto thee: Paratus e r i t istius domicilii custos, hospitalis, humanus, & te polenta e x c i p i e t, & aquam quoque large ministrabit, & d i c e t:

The passage describes the Garden of Epicurus. The tenses therefore refer to the expected activities of the custos or Host in the Garden. 'Be addressed' is not here a passive. In Lodge's usage, I think the use of WILL prevents a passive reading. But in any case the meaning in PE is 'will be ready' not in the sense that you will find him in a state of readiness but that he will have got ready to welcome you. In this way, 'be addressed' is equivalent to a verb of activity, 'will prepare (to welcome you)'. This is the characteristic activity of the Host, as is the message which 'in the end (he) will say unto thee'. The use of SHALL with 'entertain' and 'present', also evidently verbs of activity, is I think because these verbs though not grammatically dependent on 'be addressed' are felt as expressing the purpose of, and so the result and outcome of the readiness or preparations referred to in that expression. The sentence is thus equivalent to 'He will be addressed to entertain thee with a cake and present thee with water' but Lodge follows the Latin closely in rendering its future tenses by what he considered futures in English; the effective subordination of the later verbs is indicated (not I suspect consciously on Lodge's part) by the use of SHALL.
CHAPTER 4

CAN AND MAY

Section 1 - Forms

Section 2 - Method of Study Proposed

Section 3 - Tables for CAN/COULD, MAY/MIGHT in the Translated Texts

Section 4 - Analysis

CAN in Non-negative Clauses

MAY in Negative Clauses

CAN and MAY Expressing Characteristic Behaviour

CAN and MAY Weakened before Certain Classes of Verbs

1) Verbs of Perception
2) Verbs of Intellectual Perception
3) Verbs of Assertion
4) Verbs of Emotional Reaction

CAN and MAY in Questions

Section 5 - CAN/COULD and the Expression of Obligation and Necessity

Section 6 - The Expression of Possibility and Necessity, Permission and Obligation
4. CAN and MAY
1. Forms
2. Method of Study

SECTION 1 - FORMS

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<td>MAY</td>
<td>may maie</td>
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Cannot is the typographical convention though can not in two words occurs in the written corpuses Chamberlaine and Delaval. There are no abbreviated forms as can't, mayn't in the corpus.

(Forms for COULD and MIGHT are given in Chapter 6, Section 1.)

SECTION 2 - METHOD OF STUDY PROPOSED

In Chapter 3 by studying closely in a few texts the way in which Elizabethan translators rendered the future tenses in Latin and French, it was possible to make some suggestions about

1) the nature of the semantic relationship between WILL and SHALL which seems to be the reason why they are 'paired' in the language.

2) the way in which the full meanings of these two words are in certain contexts modified or, to make use of the term we have adopted, 'weakened' so that WILL and SHALL are used to form what at the period of our study and long after was universally considered to be 'the future tense' and certainly served as an equivalent for the translators to the inflected future tenses of Latin and French.

3) the nature of the contexts in which this weakening took place, relating it to certain semantic features in the verbs following WILL and SHALL.

In this chapter it is intended to see whether by a similar close study of the usage of the same translators in the same texts, suggestions can be made about the semantic relationship of CAN and MAY, and whether the full meanings of these words are 'weakened' in the same way. Like WILL
and SHALL, CAN and MAY seem to be paired. In the sixteenth century they appear together in the Latin-English dictionaries and grammars as the English equivalents of the Latin word POSSUM, and indeed it is this association which provides the starting point for our analysis of the translators' usage. It is true that CAN and MAY are not usually considered to share in the forming of a tense in the way that WILL and SHALL may be said to form the future tense, but as we have seen, in the sixteenth century, CAN and MAY were associated with the then newly proposed potential mood, though they were not considered the only signa for this mood, as WILL and SHALL were considered for the future tense. For this reason, and also because the potential mood in Latin as analysed by Linacre is not formally distinct from the subjunctive it has not been possible to work out for CAN and MAY a direct parallel to the method used in Chapter 3 for WILL and SHALL. Like WILL and SHALL, CAN and MAY occurring in translations from Latin and French sometimes reflect lexical items in the original, sometimes conjugational forms. Tables showing these for the three translated texts and for Bacon follow. In these tables COULD and MIGHT have also been included.
### SECTION 3 - TABLES OF CAN/COULD AND MAY/MIGHT FROM THE TRANSLATED TEXTS

**Lodge-Seneca**

Latin words, tenses etc, translated by CAN/COULD and MAY/MIGHT

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b) Indicative Tenses

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Totals

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Uses impossible to match

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### 3. Tables

**Holland-Livy**

Latin words, tenses etc, translated by **CAN/COULD** and **MAY/MIGHT**

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**b) Indicative Tenses**

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**Totals**

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**Uses impossible to match**

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Florio-Montaigne

French words, tenses etc, translated by CAN/COULD and MAY/MIGHT

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### 4. CAN and MAY 3. Tables

**Bacon**

Latin words, tenses etc, used to translate CAN/COULD and MAY/MIGHT

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**Total translated occurrences**

|              | 70 | 12 | 123 | 20 |
SECTION 4 - ANALYSIS

It will be seen that in every column of every table, the number of occurrences related to POSSUM in Latin and POUVOIR in French, is substantial in comparison with total occurrences, and it is to these that attention is first directed in order to discover what are the syntactic, semantic or contextual conditions which led a translator when faced with POSSUM or POUVOIR to select on the one hand, CAN/COULD, on the other MAY/MIGHT as his rendering. It was assumed that the material from Bacon, although representing a translation from English into Latin could also be used in this study. Certain examples from this corpus contain both CAN and MAY, each separately translated by POSSUM and so are suggestive of the pattern of their use.

4.1 [B 2.36r] the opinion of Copernicus ... which Astronomie itself cannot correct, ... yet Naturall Philosophy may correct. sententiam Copernici ... ab astronomicis principiis non poss e revinci, a naturalis tamen philosophiae principiis, recte positis pos s e.

4.2 [B 2.6r] but as an Image in a crosse way; that may point at a way, but cannot goe it. ut Mercurius in bivio: qui digitum pot est in viam intendere, pedem inferre non pot est.

4.3 [B 2.9v] for if hee had looked downe hee might haue seene the Starres in the water, but looking aloft hee could e not see the water in the Starres: nam si ocules demisisset, stellas illico in acque videre pot u i s e t ; verum suspiciens in coelum, aquam in stellis videre non pot u i t.

From these examples, since except for the negative the semantic and syntactical circumstances for each pair of uses appear the same in all ways likely to be relevant, it would seem that CAN is used in negative clauses while MAY is used in non-negative clauses. However since not every use of CAN is in a negative clause, nor every use of MAY in a non-negative clause, it is evident that this will not serve in itself as an explanation of the selection between the two words. Nevertheless in the whole set of examples from the four corpuses, two out of
every three uses of CAN/COULD are in negative clauses, and only one use in fifteen of MAY/MIGHT is in a negative clause. It would therefore seem useful at this stage to examine the two sets of less usual uses, that is to say, uses of CAN/COULD in non-negative clauses and the use of MAY/MIGHT in negative clauses. Negative clauses are here taken to be clauses containing one of the negative words NOT, NEITHER, NOR, NEVER, NONE, NO, NOWHERE. Examples from the translated texts, except where noted, are confined to equivalents of POSSUM/POUVOIR but further examples are added here from the non-translated texts.

**CAN/COULD in Non-Negative Clauses**

Certain kinds of clause, although non-negative by the definition given regularly have CAN/COULD in place of MAY/MIGHT.

a) Clauses containing HARDLY and ONLY

4.4 [HL 19D] So unseemely and foule a sight as which, the Albanes themselves can hardly suffer. quod vix Albanorum oculi tam deforme spectaculum ferre possent.

4.5 [M 55E] one ly three of the whole Company with their Armes could be found, to be so transmitted.

HARDLY is sometimes referred to as a pseudo-negative by grammarians of PE. In PE it behaves like a negative in requiring the use of ANY in place of SOME. ONLY often seems to give the clause in which it appears the characteristics of a general negative to which an exception is made; in 4.5 it is equivalent to NONE BUT. Clauses containing NONE BUT are negative by the definition given above, and occur with CAN/COULD.

4.6 [H 95D] which use none but divine lawe could institute

b) Noun clauses which are the objects of verbs in negative clauses, though not themselves negative, take CAN/COULD

4.7 [B 1.6v] let no man ... thinke or maintaine, that a man can
4. CAN and MAY

search too farre, or bee too well studied in the Booke of Gods word, or in the Booke of Gods workes; Diuinitie or Philosophie;
Nemo ... p o s s e nos nimium progradi, in libris sive Scripturarum, sive creaturarum, theologia aut philosophia existimet:

4.8 [B 1.14v] so that it is impossible for them to esteeme that any greatnesse of their owne fortune c a n bee, a true or worthy end of their being and ordainment;
Nullo modo sibi persuadere p o s s u n t fortunae propriae amplitudinem tanquam praecipuum sibi bonorum finem statui posse.

4.9 [B 1.43r] And therefore wee see the detestable and extreame pleasure, that Arch-heretiques and false Prophets and Imposters are transported with, ... so great, as if they haue once tasted of it, it is seldom seene, that any torture or persecution c a n make them relinquish or abandone it.
Ac idcicrco videmus detestabilem illam, et immensam delectationem, qua haeresiarchae falsi prophetae, et impostores magni perfunduntur, et rapiuntur ... tantum certe, ut qui eam semel degustavit, nullis fere persecutionibus aut tormentis adigi p o s s i t , ut hoc regno se abdicet.
(where 'it is seldom seen' is in effect negative, and the sense is that usually torture and persecution cannot make heretics relinquish their pleasure)

When two negatives give a non-negative sense, MAY not CAN is used.

4.10 [H 66E] Again there is nothing in it but anie man ... m a y by labour and travayl finde out.

4.11 [HL 18k] And b e f o r e that the third, who was not far off, c o u l d get to the other, he had slaine the second @uriatius prius itaque, quam alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi p o s s e t , & alterum Curiatium conficit

4.12 [HL 27A] This came so sodainly upon him, that the enemies were passed over the river Anio, before the power of the Romanes c o u l d meet them, and make head against them.
Adeoque ea subita res fuit, ut prius Anienem transient hostes, quam obviam ire ac prohibere exercitus Romanos p o s s e t.

4.13 [HL 27E] Whose armour and weapons floting downe the Tyber, were knowne at Rome, and brought newes thither of this victorie, in manner before word c o u l d be brought thereof by land.
Quorum fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi, prius pene quam nunciari p o s s e t, insignem victoriam fecere.
4. CAN and MAY

4. CAN in Non-Negative Clauses

So also in clauses after a comparative and THAN.

4.14 [B 2.17v] a more absolute varietie, then can bee found in the Nature of things.

et varietatem magis pulchram, animae humanae complacere, quam in natura ipsa, post lapsum, reperire ullo modo possit.

4.15 [B 2.33r] So it is more probable that he ... shall ... prolong life ... then that it can be done with the use of a few drops, or scruples of a liquor or receite.

longe verisimilius est ab homine ... posse ... vitam prolongari ... quam quod hoc fieri possit per guttas pauculas, aut scrupulos alicuius pretiosi liquoris, aut quintessentiae.

4.16 [FM 135b] Oh men most braine-sicke and miserable, that endevour to be worse than they can!

Homes bien miserables et escervelez, qui tachent d'estre pires qu'ils ne peuvent!

(The negative particle NE in the French may be noted.)

d) Also COULD occurs after IF apparently to stress the impossibility of the condition being fulfilled.

COULD

4.17 [LS 3.4] if they could, they would scarcely trust themselves, but inwardly oppresse theirselves with their owne secrets

si possent, ne sibi quidem credituri interius premunt omne secretum.

4.18 [LS 4.3] We might feare death, if it could abide alwayes with vs:

Mors ... timenda erat, si tecum esse possent.

COULD HAVE

4.19 [HL 21C] If thou could'est have learned to keepe allegiance, promise, and convenants, thou mightest have been taught it at my hands with life.

Si ipse discere posses fidem ac foedera servare, vivo tibi ea disciplina a me adhibita esset.

The way in which the use of CAN often suggests a negative which is not otherwise expressed can be seen in:

4.20 [B 1.24r] wherein contrariwise, we see commonly the leuitie and vnconstancie of mens judgements, which till a matter bee done, wonder that it can be done; and assoone as it is done, woonder againe that it was no sooner done.

Quin potius levitas hominum atque inconstantia, hinc optime perspici potest, qui, donec res aliqua perfecta sit, eam
4. CAN and MAY  4. CAN in Non-Negative Clauses

mirantur fieri possere; postquam facta semel est, iterum
mirantur eam iam pridem factam nonuisse.
(Where 'wonder that it can be done' must from the context mean that
they suppose that it cannot be done.)

e) In Comparative Clauses

In clauses after THAN the implied negation is evident. Such a
negation is not semantically present in clauses depending on a phrase
containing a superlative or in clauses introduced by AS + Adjective/
Adverb + AS, yet these appear usually with CAN/COULD though MAY/MIGHT
is also found.

Superlative followed by CAN/COULD

4.21 [FM 192d] To have no infirmitie at all is the chiefest
possession of health that man can hope-for
Le n'avoir point de mal, c'est le plus avoir de
bien que l'homme puiisse esperer;

4.22 [B 1.32r] that which the Grecians call Apotheosis ... was the
supreme honour, which man could attribute unto man;
quem Graeci Apotheosin ... vocarunt, supremus honor
fuit, qui homini ab homine tribui possent
(where 'supreme' seems to have the force of a superlative)

Superlative followed by MAY

4.23 [FM 203c] and have brought and strained unto the highest
pitch of wisdome, it may possibly reach unto.
et l'ont monte au plus haut point de sagesse ou
elle puiisse atteindre.

AS + Adjective + AS followed by CAN/COULD

4.24 [HL 16L] Who led forth his armie and marched on as neere
to his enemies as hee could...
Is ducit quam proxime ad hostem potest.

4.25 [FM 127d] I camere long as well as I could to an
end of it;
j'en vins a bout comme je peux;

4.26 [FM 173c] as gently as for my heart I could, I
cleansed, wiped, and dried the same.
l'essuyay et nettoyay le plus proprement que je peux.

4.27 [FM 207c] I expound this fantazye as plaine as I can.
J'exprime cette fantasie autant que je puis.
4. CAN and MAY

4.28 [FM 232b] For us to go according to Nature, is but to follow according to our understanding, as far as it can follow, and as much as we can perceive in it.

Car, aller selon nature, pour nous, ce n'est qu'aller selon nostre intelligence, autant qu'elle peut suyvre et autant que nous y voyons:

AS + Adjective + AS followed by MAY

4.29 [LS 13.12] there is no end of misery, if a man feare as much as he may feare

nullus miseriarum modus, si timetur quantum potest.

4.30 [B 1.27v] the attributes and acts of God as farre as they are revealed to man, and may be observed with sobriety,

in attributis atque actis Dei, quaternus revelantur homini, et sobrie indagari possunt.

The following two examples from Bacon with MAY after AS + Adverb + AS are similar and share the same Latin rendering.

4.31 [B 2.5v] and it is ever a true rule of exercises, that they bee framed as nere as may be to the life of practice.

Illud autem in exercitiis perpetuo tenendum est, ut omnia (quam fieri potest) maxime representent ea, quae in vita agi solent.

4.32 [B 2.24v] I am otherwise zealous and affectionate to recede as little from Antiquitie either in tearms or opinions, as may stand with truth, & the proficience of knowledge;

In caeteris omnino avemus (quatenus sine veritatis ac scientiarum dispendio fieri possit) vel minimum ab anti quorum aut opinionibus, aut loquendi more deflectere.

f) Perhaps related to these comparative clauses, in that they can usually be paraphrased with the words AS MANY AS or AS MUCH AS, are clauses introduced by WHAT(SOEVER)

4.33 [C LV] No doubte but he will informe you of whatsoever he can come by.

From the collection of examples translating POSSUM/POUVoir

4.34 [HL 21E] then everie man catching up hastily, and carrying forth what he could Raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis.

('whatsoever he could')

4.35 [HL 26G] and by making what friends he could by gifts, favours and good turnes. Beneficiisque quos poterat sibi conciliando.

('whatsoever friends he could' or 'as many friends as he could')

A similar sense is also expressed by ALL + Noun + (THAT)
4. CAN and MAY

4. CAN in Non-Negative Clauses

4.36 [C XXVI] but then he had yt with a l l the ceremonies and compliments that c o u l d be devised, to crie quittance for the honor don to Mr Edmunds ('with whatsoever ceremonies ... could be devised' with a slight weakening of the sense. 'With as many ceremonies ... as could be devised' seems almost exactly equivalent.)

4.37 [FM 222e] and my soule possessed with a l l the contents and delights, it c o u l d possibly desire or hope for.

4.38 [FM 248b] patcheth up and comforteth this received beliefe, with a l l the meanes his reason c a n afford him,

If we then count as negative clauses all those containing CAN/COULD which fall into the categories above, we are left with a small residue of clearly non-negative clauses with CAN. A complete set of examples from the translated corpuses follows, where POSSUM renders or is rendered CAN/COULD in a non-negative clause.

1. Lodge-Seneca

4.39 [LS 20.5] That I may therefore leaue the olde definitions of wisedome, and comprehend the whole manner of humane life, I c a n be content with this.

4.40 [LS 21.5] I shall haue fauour with posteritie, and c a n beare away with me the names of such as shall liue in memorie.

4.41 [LS 7.8] admit those whom thou c a n s t better; illos admitte, quos tu p o t e s facere meliores

4.42 [LS 17.10] Wherefore expectest thou the gain of thy vsurie, or the succession of some olde man, or the profit of merchandize, if thou c a n s t become rich suddenly.

4.43 [LS 9.5] Thus is a wise-man so farre content with himselfe, not that he will be without a friend, but that he c a n be;

Ita sapiens se contentus est, non ut velit esse sine amico, sed ut p o s s i t.
4. CAN in Non-Negative Clauses

4.44 [IS 11.9] Happie is he that can respect one of that sort, that by the onely remembrance of him he can reforme his minde; who can respect in that sort shall suddenly be made worthie to be respected himselfe.

O felicem, qui sic aliquem vereri potest, ut ad memoriam quoque eius componat atque ordinet. Qui sic aliquem vereri potest, cito erit verendus.

4.45 [IS 21.5] That which Epicurus could promise his friend, that I promise thee, Lucilius.

Quod Epicurus amico suo potuit promittere, hoc tibi promitto, Lucili.

2. Holland-Livy

4.46 [HL 33D] she herselvse for her part, could be at no repose, for thinking that Tanaquil, an alien and stranger borne, could contrive in her head, and effect so great a matter, nec conquiescere ipsa potest si, cum Tanaquil peregrina mulier, tantum moliri potisset animo.

3. Bacon


4.48 [B 2.30r] For as in ciwll actions he is the greater and deeper pollutique, that can make other men the Instruments of his will and endes.

Nam sicut in rebus civilibus prodentia politica fuerit multo altior et mirabilior si quis opera aliorum ad suos fines et desideris abuti posset.

4.49 [B 2.40r-v] Nay, a Painter with a few shelles of colors, and the benefite of his Eye, and habite of his imagination can imitate them all (i.e. faces) that euer haue ben, ar, or may be, if they were brought before him.

imo pictus ex pauculis colorum testis acie oculi usus, et vi phantasiae, et manus constantia, omnium facies, qui sunt, fuerunt, atque etiam (si coram repraesentarentur) qui futuri sunt, penicillo imitari ac describere posset.

4.50 [B 1.38r] It was easie to be eloquent, vpon so good a subiect; But saith hee, Turne your stile, and let vs heare what you can say against vs;

In bona causa, facile est cuilibet esse eloquenti, quin verte, inquit, stylum, et quid contra nos possis, audiamus.

4.51 [B 1.62v-63r] The pretence whereof is to remooue the vulgar Capacities from being admitted to the secrets of Knowledges, and to reserue them to selected Auditors; or wittes of such sharpnesse as can perceive the veyle.

Intentio autem eius ea esse videtur, ut traditionis involueris vulgus (profanum scilicet) a Secretis Scientiarum

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4. CAN and MAY

4. CAN in Non-Negative Clauses

summoveator: atque ille tantum admittantur, qui aut per manus magistrorum parabolorum interpretationem nacti sunt, aut proprio ingenii acumine et subtillitete intra velum penetrare possint.

4.52 [B 1.16r] He could not fiddle, but he could make a small Towne a great state.
Se quidem fidium rudem esse, sed quo pacto oppidum parvum in civitatem magnum evadere possit, satis nosse.

4.53 [B 1.45r] that whatsoever motions the spirite of man could act, and perforce without the Organs of the bodie, they thought might remaine after death;
quoscumque motus et actus anima humana absque corporis organo praestare possit, eos etiam post mortem permanere probable esse;

4.54 [B 1.39v] As first, it is reason hee be thought a Master of words, that could with one word appease a mutinie in his Armie;
Primo igitur, magister sit oportet loquendi, qui unico verbo seditionem in exercitu comprimere potuit.

In most of these examples, the sense of power, either skill or strength (usually here of a moral or spiritual kind) to accomplish the action referred to by the verb following, is the evident sense of CAN/COULD. Examples 4.41, 4.44, 4.47, 4.48, 4.49, 4.50, 4.51, 4.52 require no commentary. In 4.40 the metaphor, at least in the English, is of having the physical strength to lift and carry something. In 4.42, 'if thou canst become rich suddenly' to make sense of the Stoic paradox here being propounded must mean 'if you have it in your own power to become rich at once'. Seneca is not referring to the possibility of becoming rich, but of the ability of the wiseman, by the act of will that cuts off desire, to achieve genuine riches. So again, in 4.43 within the Stoic framework of thought, 'he can be without a friend' - 'he has the psychological and spiritual abilities to sustain solitude'.

In 4.45 'that which Epicurus could promise his friend'. He had in himself the power and authority to promise - what is promised is a literary immortality through being the recipient of the philosopher's letters. It is important here to go beyond the idea that it was possible for Epicurus to make the promise and that he did indeed make
the promise, to the fact that the promise has been fulfilled; Epicurus's correspondents have been immortalized by their association with him.

In 4.39, in spite of the literalness of the translation from Latin 'I can be content' is fairly common colloquial English of this time. It occurs frequently in Chamberlaine for example. The sense is apparently 'I am able to bring myself to accept' or 'I am willing, although with a certain natural reluctance overcome'. Not therefore merely that it is possible for me to be content but that certain qualities in me make it possible for me.

MAY/MIGHT in Negative Clauses

The following are the examples from the Latin translated texts of MAY/MIGHT corresponding to POSSUM in negative clauses.

Lodge-Seneca

4.55 [LS 17.11] A man may not salute the Kings of Parthia without a present:
Reges Parthorum non potest quisquam salutare sine munero.

Holland-Livy

4.56 [HL 11c] (for so nigh a warre might beare no delay)
Neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum bellum poterat

4.57 [HL 14H] Whereunto, he seeing that they might not be brought and framed in time of warre, whose hearts were alreadie by continuall warfare growne wild and savage:
quibus cum inter bella assuescere videret non possse, (quippe efferatis militia animis)

4.58 [HL 19C] By vertue of this law were the Duumvirs created, who by the rigour of that law thought they might not quit so much as a guiltlesse person:
Hac lege duumviri creati, qui se absolvere non rebantur ea lege ne innoxium quidem possese ...

4.59 [HL 27B] Accius Navius ... gave out plainly, that there might be nothing changed or newly ordained in that behalfe, unlesse the birds first approoved and allowed the same.
Negare Accius Navius ... neque mutari neque novum constitui nisi aves addixisset possese.
There are no examples in Florio-Montaigne or the Bacon corpus. Since the tendency to use CAN/COULD in negative clauses and MAY/MIGHT in non-negative clauses is not restricted to those cases where POSSUM/POUVOIR are being rendered, in order to extend the set of examples of MAY/MIGHT in negative clauses we add the following examples being all the remaining uses of MAY/MIGHT in negative clauses to be found in the Holland-Livy corpus.

4.60 [HL 7B] whereupon the custome held, that so long as the familie of the Pinarij continued, they might not feed of the sacred inwards.

Inde institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne extis sollennibus vesterentur.

4.61 [HL 12M-13A] The old Romanes againe might not abide an alien or forrainer to be king.

Romani veteres peregrinum regem asperrerantur.

4.62 [HL 16H] but being commanded by authoritie, they might not will nor chuse:

Sed imperio subigil

4.63 [HL 39E] resolved under the cloake of base contempt to save himselfe, since that in right or justice he might repose small or no safeguard at all

Statuit contemtus tutus esse, ubi in iure parum praesidii esset

Of these examples, 4.55, 4.58, 4.59, 4.60 and 4.62 contain MAY/MIGHT NOT in the clear sense of 'is/was not permitted to'. However in the rest, 4.56, 4.57, 4.61, 4.63, this sense is not found and it is hard to see what difference is made to the sense if COULD is substituted for MIGHT.

In the development of the language, MAY/MIGHT originally held almost all the area now occupied by CAN/COULD and therefore these uses may perhaps be considered archaisms. Certainly the infrequency of occurrence of MAY/MIGHT in negative clauses, as compared with CAN/COULD is more striking than the proportion of these occurrences which show the meaning, proper to MAY/MIGHT, but not to CAN/COULD, of permission; although the majority of uses of MAY/MIGHT in negative clauses have the
sense of 'it is not permitted to', rather than of 'it is not possible to'.

As we have seen from 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 in one area of their use at least, CANNOT occurs as the negative of MAY. We may now suggest that in rendering the Latin POSSUM or the French POUVOIR, CAN is used in negative and a range of quasi-negative clauses and when it occurs in a non-negative clause it implies knowledge, skill, ability or power in whatever is the reference of the subject of CAN. MAY translates POSSUM/POUVOIR in all non-negative clauses; it is uncommon in negative clauses and when it occurs it tends to mean that the reference of its subject is prohibited from acting by some person or set of rules not directly expressed in the syntax though usually evident from the context.

The parallel between this pair of meanings characteristic of CAN in non-negative clauses and MAY in non-negative clauses to the pair of meanings we have assigned to WILL and SHALL is striking.

Like WILL, CAN makes the reference of its grammatical subject the source of movement towards the accomplishment of the activity or process referred to by the verb which follows.

Like SHALL, MAY (NOT) implies that the reference of its subject is itself impelled or constrained from without, in relation to the accomplishment of the activity or process referred to by the verb.

If we take the modality of WILL and SHALL as 'expectation', then

\[ N \text{ will } V \]

can be set out as

\[ \text{[that } N \text{ V] is expected, for reasons connected with } N \]

and

\[ N \text{ shall } V \]

as

\[ \text{[that } N \text{ V] is expected, for reasons not connected with } N \]

If we take the modality of CAN and MAY as 'possibility', then
4. CAN and MAY

N can V

can be set out as

[that N V] is possible, for reasons connected with N

and

N may V

as

[that N V] is possible for reasons not connected with N

The diagrammatic presentations of the relationships in semantic structure between WILL and SHALL also fit these for CAN and MAY. Thus if we present the structure of the meaning of WILL as

\[ S \rightarrow \text{M} \rightarrow V \]

to indicate the relationship here between subject and modal and modal and verb, and the structure of SHALL as

\[ S \rightarrow \text{M} \rightarrow V \]

to indicate that the modal operates as a kind of superordinate clause, then this diagrammatic presentation will serve for CAN and MAY in the senses we have adduced.

If we present 'Tom will go' as

![Diagram of 'Tom will go']

and 'Tom shall go' as

![Diagram of 'Tom shall go']
Then these trees will serve for 'Tom can go' and 'Tom may go' and the unexpressed subject of the modal (shown as NP.X) has the same range of possible senses, with MAY, as it has with SHALL, and the actual sense in any clause will tend to be determined in the same way. For example, in the second person there is a similar presumption that the speaker is the subject X.

Thou shalt [I ordain that thou ...]
Thou mayest [I permit that thou ...]

However it is necessary to note here that the trees for 'Tom shall not go' and 'Tom may not go' do not match because the negative is differently placed.

Tom shall not go
Tom may not go

This difference in the placing of the negative in the underlying syntax, helps to explain other differences from WILL and SHALL which CAN and MAY display as a modal pair, differences to be set out in the present chapter. However at this point the parallels between the two pairs which we have established deserve some further consideration.
It is possible to see in the meanings of CAN and MAY another aspect of the fundamental distinction which was suggested in the discussion of WILL and SHALL - between activity and event. As the future can be viewed as made up of the intentions, or characteristic and thus predictable processes of agents on the one hand, and on the other, events which are destined to occur, so universal contingency can be viewed as made up of the powers within the agents and the opportunities offered or the constraints imposed on those agents from outside. If WILL stands for the drive of the agents that act in the world, and SHALL for the drive of the world itself imposed on the agents, CAN and MAY stand for the scope of the agents, and the scope and constraint of the world around them. Diagrammatically

```
          Activity                     Event
          SELF                      WORLD

DRIVE    WILL       \     \    
         WOULD     SHOULD
         COULD     MIGHT
SCOPE    CAN        \     \    
            COULD     MAY
```

The process by which systems of this kind are produced in the language is outside the subject of this essay, although the serial organization of the material for exposition is in danger of implying a possible process by which the system was gradually elaborated in the language. Since this exposition started with WILL and SHALL the suggestion is perhaps given that the roles of CAN and MAY have as it were been modelled on those of WILL and SHALL. Certainly the re-forming of the past tense COUTH(E) or COUD(E) as COULD (the OED says 'L began to be inserted about 1525, app. in mechanical imitation of would') suggests that CAN/COULD at least came to be seen as having some kind of relationship with WILL/WOULD and SHALL/SHOULD. The WILL-SHALL pairing is certainly much older in the language than that of CAN-MAY. Yet the CAN-MAY pairing replaced a similar pairing between
4. CAN and MAY

magan — motan

in which the relationship between the meaning of the two words is roughly the same; and in most ways the distinction between CAN and MAY and the relationship between them is more transparent than that of WILL and SHALL. It is perhaps for this reason they did not attract the same attention from grammarians as WILL and SHALL. No one appears to have attempted a formulation of the way they were used. Wallis [1653] merely distinguishes their meanings,

[p. 95] may & might vel de Jure vel saltem de rei possibilitate dicuntur; at can & could de viribus agentis.

Neither he nor any earlier grammarian that I have seen makes any reference to the role played by negation in the selection of one or the other.

Like WILL and SHALL, CAN and MAY are associated together because in certain grammatical contexts their full and quite distinct meanings are weakened, and fall together. Thus both WILL and SHALL indicate future time. However WILL and SHALL do not then become alternatives in free variation to form a future tense, because the grammatical contexts in which their full meanings are weakened, are complementary. With WILL and SHALL the context which determines whether the modal will have the weakened sense is whether the following verb is a verb of activity or of non-activity, and the weakening is really the result of what might be called a semantic overlap between the modal and the full verb. Thus verbs of activity already contain as part of their meaning the sense of action deliberately undertaken which is also part of the meaning of WILL. So with such verbs, WILL is weakened until all that remains is the element of futurity. In the same way, verbs of non-activity by the structure of their meaning already contain the idea of a process which is caused or brought about and so before such verbs,
SHALL loses that part of its meaning. A similar weakening of CAN and MAY also occurs before certain verbs which already contain the idea of permitting or enabling in their semantic structure, and this will be studied later in the present chapter. But this weakening does not give rise to a quasi-tense as with WILL and SHALL it gives rise to the so-called future, though in a way, as we shall see, it could be said to modify the conjugation of certain verbs.

At the same time, CAN and MAY do form together something which whether we call it a tense or, as sixteenth century grammarians usually called it, a mood, is in some ways analogous to the so-called future, formed by WILL and SHALL. If, following the terminology of the sixteenth century we refer to this as the potential, we can say it is the mood of possibility as what is formed by WILL and SHALL is the mood of expectation, and that the rule for its formation is that in negative clauses it is formed with CAN and in non-negative clauses by MAY. The meaning is thus

\[
\text{N MAY V} \quad \text{It is possible for N to V}
\]

\[
\text{N CANNOT V} \quad \text{It is impossible for N to V}
\]

These meanings are not weakened meanings of MAY and CAN as we have defined their full meanings and as we have defined weakening in the account above of WILL and SHALL. They are rather generalized meanings.

The full meaning of 'N MAY V' is paraphrasable as 'someone or something permits that N V'. But the someone or something that permits, is not expressed as part of the construction. This absence from the expression of the authority granting permission enables it to be generalized, until no permitting agency is implied and permission becomes possibility.

Now this generalization can only take place with a word having a semantic structure like MAY, where the source of power or permission is
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not specified. It cannot develop from a word with the semantic structure of CAN, where the source or enabling power is specifically referred to in the grammatical subject and this subject must always be expressed. This provides a reason why the mood of possibility should be formed with MAY and CANNOT. It is natural for MAY to develop this sense of possibility in non-negative clauses and impossible for CAN to develop it. On the other hand, the negative of CAN, except where the word still retains its older meaning of 'know how to', will usually be a matter of external circumstances which render the thing impossible rather than a failure or inadequacy of powers in the self; indeed even the failure or absence of these powers becomes a part of the outward circumstances. In other words, what is permitted and was possible for a subject are easily associated and contrasted with what a subject is able to do. What a subject is unable to do and what is impossible for him are associated and are in contrast to what he is forbidden to do. Thus instead of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAN</th>
<th>MAY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Negative</td>
<td>power in self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>no power in self</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

we have

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAN</th>
<th>MAY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Negative</td>
<td>power in self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>impossibility</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The negative in this tabulation is for both CAN and MAY the negation of the modal and not of the verb. There is no example in the texts analyzed of N MAY NOT V in the sense 'it is possible that N not V' although the use is already to be found. In the summaries prefixed to each Epistle by Lipsius in his edition of Seneca's Epistles to Lucilius and translated by Lodge (but not included in the analysis for this
4. CAN and MAY

4. Expressing Characteristic Behaviour

There is

EPIST XIII ... he aduiseth vs not to be tormented with the feare of things to come; he auoweth them to be vncertaine, and such as may not fall out.

The development of this usage is an important modification of the pattern for CAN and MAY described here though the corpus under examination does not provide material for its study. Its place in the expression of possibility and necessity is shown in Section 6 of the present chapter and there is further consideration in Chapter 6, Section 6, Epistemic uses.

CAN and MAY Expressing Characteristic Behaviour

Before we consider the weakening of CAN and MAY when used with certain verbs, we may notice a use which seems to correspond with the use of WILL to express characteristic or expected action or behaviour. There are two examples where Bacon's translators have rendered this use of MAY by SOLEO.

4.64 [B 1.10v] but rather it will keepe and defend the possession of the mind against idlenesse and pleasure, which otherwise, at vnawares, m a y enter to the preiudice of both.

Quin potius vindicant animum ab otio et voluptate, quae alias sensim ad utriusque damnum, et negotiorum et literarum, subintrare s o l e n t.

4.65 [B 2.17v] which beeing not tyed to the Lawes of Matter; m a y at pleasure ioyne that which Nature hath seuered: & seuer that which Nature hath iOYned, and so make vnlawfull Matches & diuorses of things:

Quae iniqua et illicita prorsus rerum conjugia et divorcia comminisci et machinari s o l e n t.

Elsewhere we find the Latin indicative rendered by MAY

4.66 [IS 11.1] That which is borne with vs m a y be sweetned and corrected by arte, but neyther mastered or rooted out.

Quicquid infixum & ingenitum est l e n i t u r arte, non vincitur.

There are many examples of CAN rendering the indicative in negative clauses:
4.67 [LS 11.2] Neithy discipline n o r v s e c a n wholly take from them these imperfections:
Haec nec disciplina nec usus umquam executit.

4.68 [LS 11.6] No wisedome, as I haue said, c a n take away this infirmity.
Haec, ut dixi, nulla sapientia abigit.

4.69 [LS 13.14] we feare the incertaine as certaine, neyther c a n we keep any measure. A doubt doth incontinently become feare.
Expavescimus dubia pro certis. Non servamus modum rerum. Statim in timorem vestit scrupulus.

4.70 [B 1.4r] neither is it any quantitie of knowledge, how great soever, that can make the minde of man to swell;
Neque certe vis ulla scientiae, quanta quanta sit, inflat mentem.

In negative clauses with a passive verb, the use seems particularly natural.

4.71 [LS 2.3] The wound c a n hardly be cured, that is couered with diuers sorts of medicines.
Non venit volnus ad cicatricem, in quo crebro medicamenta temptantur.

4.72 [LS 11.1] For those vices which are connaturall eyther in minde or bodie, c a n not be wholly defaced by any industrie.
nulla enim sapientia, naturalia corporis aut animi vitia ponuntur.

CAN/MAY also occur where the main meaning is future time.

4.73 [B 2.40v] all that euer haue ben, ar, or may be, omnium facies, qui sunt, fuerunt, atque etiam ... qui futuri sunt.

and appear as translations of the Latin future

4.74 [LS 13.11] And againe, many things may fall out Multa intervenient

4.75 [IS 16.4] But som one may say Dicet aliquis:

4.76 [LS 4.4] Thinkest thou that vertue c a n not inforce as much as excessiue feare could?
Non putas virtutem hoc effecturam, quod efficit nimia formido.

4.77 [LS 9.5] As Phidias hauing lost one statue, c a n suddenly fashion another;
quomodo si perdiderit Phidias statuam, protinus alteram faciet;
4. CAN and MAY 4. In Weakened Sense

4.78 [LS 9.15] for he can liue happily without his friends
V i v e t enim etiam sine amicis beate

4.79 [LS 14.10] Wisedome onely can shew vs how this may be
Quomodo hoc fiat, sapientia sola m o n s t r a b i t.

CAN and MAY Weakened Before Some Classes of Verbs

CAN and MAY are weakened, in the sense we have used this word in
the discussion of WILL and SHALL, when they occur with verbal expressions
which already contain, as part of their own meaning, a sense of
enablement. Just as verbs of activity contain a sense of deliberate or
willed action which weakens the modal WILL when it is used with such
verbs, so certain verbs of non-activity, from which this sense of
deliberate or willed activity is of course absent, contain the idea
that the process referred to by the verb is itself an enablement of the
subject. The subjects of such verbs are not, like the subjects of
passive verbs, mere receptors. They do engage in activity, but the
validity of that activity lies in the subject's reaction to or reflection
of circumstances which are referred to in the verbal predicate. It is
as if the subject is only able to perform the activity because he is
enabled to by the activity itself. The verbs that belong to this
category have in common a kind of transitivity in which what is in one
manner the object or goal of the action is in another manner its origin.

1) The most obvious group of words in this category are the verbs of
perception, or rather since the transitivity is essential to the
characteristic which weakens the modals CAN and MAY, verbs of perception
followed by the object perceived. As has been noticed in PE, CAN before
such verbs as SEE and HEAR seems to lose its usual force and to become
no more than the marker of a tense indicating a present continuous
process, equivalent to the BE + -ING tense which is not used in this
way with these words. However this only occurs when some object of
sight or hearing is mentioned. When the blindman whose sight has been
restored cries 'I can see again', CAN has its full sense. But 'I can
hear music' is equivalent to 'I hear music' and indeed might be
considered responsible for the failure of the form 'I am hearing music'
to develop in sentences of this kind in PE. 'I can hear music'
contains the idea that there is music, and it is because the music is
there that I am able to hear it. We find MAY/MIGHT in non-negative
clauses, CAN/COULD in negative.

4.80 [HL 22L] therefore certaine men were sent of purpose to see this
strange and prodigious sight: who might plainly behold
stones to fall thicke out of the skie,
missis ad id visendum prodigium, in conspectu ...
crebri cecidere caelo lapides.

4.81 [M 82D] In the meane time wee might see the rebels forces
draw ouer the mountaines towards the pace of Carlingford.

4.82 [HL 20K] By which meanes, a great part of the footmen could
not see the Albanes as they departed and went their waies.
Id factum, magnae partis peditum Romanorum prospectum
abeuntis Albani exercitus intersepsit.

4.83 [B 2.27r] As for the possibilitie, they are ill discouerers,
that thinke there is no land when they cannot see nothing but Sea.

Ad inventionis possibilitatem vero quod attinet, sunt
certe ignavi regionum exploratores, qui ubi nil nisi coelum et
pontum vidents, terras ultra esse prorsus negant.

2) In addition to verbs of perception, we can make a second category,
verbs of intellectual perception, of learning, knowing and believing.
All the examples here are negative and there seems to be a noticeable
difference of idiom from PE which makes it in some cases difficult to
be sure of the intended sense. However the following examples exhibit
the introduction of CAN or COULD in translation of the indicative.

4.84 [FM 126a] which I cannot beleeeve
ce que je ne croy pas

4.85 [FM 214d] I cannot easily be persuaded that ...
Je ne me persuade pas aysement que ...
4.86 [FM 235a] our tongue speaks it, but our understanding can no whit apprehend it.

nostre parole Ie dict, mais nostre intelligence ne 1' apprehende point.

4.87 [FM 185a] we could never learne, they had any speciall excellencie in their life.

nous n' avons pas pourtant apris qu'ils ayent eu aucune particuliere excellence en leur vie;

So, in the Delaval Letters,

4.88 [D 26] I can no way learne of Sir edward fytton to be at London

and the expression 'I cannot learn' or some variant occurs a dozen times in the Chamberlaine corpus.

Also in Chamberlaine

4.89 [C LVIII] The litle gentlewoman without Creplegate sends you word that her mother marvayles she cannot heare of you.

4.90 [C XLVII] which ... wrought so with him, that I heare he hath made his peace, but on what conditions I cannot learne.

4.91 [C XLIX] for my part, I cannot yet beleve all that is reported, though I make no doubt but he is in great daunger; but I cannot perswade myself that so fowle a canker could breed in an open soldierlike breast.

3) A third category of expressions with which CAN/MAY occurs in a weakened sense is in first person uses of verbs of saying. The speaker is enabled to make the statement because the statement is true (or is unable to make it because it is not true). Thus:

4.92 [M 51C] So as at this time, I may boldly say, the rebellion was at the greatest strength.

4.93 [M 48C] I cannot say that he was bountiful to them.

'I may say' is established as an idiom, which persists in PE.

4.94 [HL 41C] a deadly pleasure, I may say, to me & to himselfe also no lesse, if yee be men of courage.

Mihi sibique si vos viri estis, pestiferum ... gaudium

This use of MAY is extremely common in Bacon

4.94a [B 2.33r] the true NATVRALL MAGICKE ... I may reporte deficient

In Chamberlaine
4. CAN and MAY

4.95 [C VII] wherefore I can only add that this day sevenight the earle of Essex went to the court but with what successse, or how matters stand since, I know not.

and with CAN in a non-negative clause

4.96 [C LX] I can assure you now that neither Mrs Faringdon nor her sister are so far gon as they're Valentine wisht and reported:

In this example the verb is a performative, and it may be noticed that in PE certain other performative verbs retain performative force in the form I CAN + verb whereas this force is absent from the form I AM + -ENG. Thus 'I can assure you', 'I can promise you', 'I can state', perform the actions of assuring, promising and stating just as well as 'I assure you', 'I promise you', 'I state' whereas 'I am assuring you', 'I am promising you', 'I am stating', merely refer to these actions. Perhaps the performative function in 4.96 accounts for the use of CAN here instead of MAY; see also 4.45 for discussion of force of CAN/COULD with the verb 'promise'.

4) The fourth category of verbs before which CAN and MAY are weakened are those which refer to a moral or emotional reaction to a state of affairs, real or supposed. Here again the subject is in one sense an agent, in another is reacting to the state of affairs which is mentioned as the object of the verb. I give four translated examples (all negative for I can find no clear non-negative examples). In each, CAN seems to me to not retain its full meaning, and is not reflected in the other language.

4.97 [HL 19E] The people could no longer endure, either the teares of the old father, or the constant resolution of the youth his son, who shewed himselfe still the same, & not to change for any danger

Non tu lit populus nec patris lacrymas, nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum.

4.98 [B 1.16v] Not that I can taxe or condemne the morigeration or application of learned men to men in fortune.

Neque hoc dico, quasi literatos culpem si ad beatos et potentes vires quandoque se applicent.
4. CAN and MAY

4.99 [B 2,4Or] And therefore I cannot much blame Phisitians, that they use commonly to intend some other Art or practise. Equidem medicis minus successisse si saepe numero vacent alcius alteri studio

4.100 [FM 233b] I cannot allow a man should so bound Gods heavenly power under the Lawes of our word. Je ne trouve pas bon d'enfermer ainsi la puissance divine soubs les loix de nostre parolle.

CAN and MAY in Questions

The selection of CAN or MAY in questions is appropriate to the expected answer. Thus questions not containing a negative particle and expecting a negative answer, select CAN/COULD. Questions containing a negative particle and expecting a non-negative reply select MAY/MIGHT.

Questions with CAN/COULD expecting a negative reply. These are fairly common in the texts and a selection is given here:

4.101 [LS 19.1] for what better thing can I intreat at my friends hand, then that for which I should implore God in his behalfe? quid enim habeo melius, quod amicum Rogem, quam quod pro ipso rogaturus sum? (Expecting the answer 'I cannot entreat for anything better ...')

4.102 [HL 4H] (for who can certainly avouch a thing so long agoe?) quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo affirmet?

4.103 [FM 157a] Can all this be conceived without reason? Tout cela se peut il comprendre sans ratiocination et sans discours?

4.104 [H 71B] Can a mother forget her child? [Isaiah Ch.49 v.15]

4.105 [H 81B] Since the firste foundation of the world what one can say, My wayes are pure?

4.106 [H 93A] What can be more immediate to our salvation then our perswasion concerning the lawe of Christ towards his Church?

4.107 [HL 35D] For could there be (quoth he) a prowder part plaid, than thus to mock, delude, & abuse the whole state of Latium. An quicquam superius esse, quam ludificare sic omne nomen Latinum.

4.108 [FM 184e] Could they ever draw any ease for the gout from Logike? ont-ils tire de la Logique quelque consolation à la goute?
However, the two following examples contain CANNOT and expect non-negative answers.

4.109 [M 71C] CANNOT Princes erre: CANNOT Subjects suffer wrong?

4.110 [FM 181c] And what qualities of our corporall constitution, both in Plato and Cicero cannot fit and serve a thousand beasts?

Et quelles qualités de nostre corporelle constitution en Platon et en Ciceron ne peuvent servir à milles sortes de bestes?

Rhetorical questions with MAY NOT/MIGHT NOT, expecting a non-negative answer are much less common in the texts than questions with CAN/COULD expecting a negative answer and the following list is complete:

4.111 [FM 143b] That defect which hindreth the communication betwenee them and us, why may it not as well be in us, as in them?

Ce defaut qui empesche la communication d'entre elles et nous, pourquoy n'est il aussi bien à nous qu'à elles?

4.112 [FM 240b] For, why may not a Goose say thus?

Car pourquoi ne dira un oison ainsii:

4.113 [FM 152d] Should we see her running amongst the river side, approach her eare close to the yce ... might not we lawfully judge, that the same discourse possesseth her head, as in the like case it would ours?

Quand nous le verrions au bord de l'eau approcher son oreille bien pres de la glace, ... n'aurions-nous par raison de juger qu'il luy passe par la teste ce mesme discours qu'il feroit en la nostre.

4.114 [FM 225b] Might not Epicurus with some shew of humane reason object that unto Plato, if he did not often shrowd himselfe under this sentence;

Epicure opposeroit -il pas cela à Platon avec grande apparence de l'humaine raison, s'il ne se couvroit souvent par cette sentence:

4.115 [M 73D] This I thought with myselfe, ... if Leicester were pardoned, ... why might not Essex be pardoned.

However the following three examples with MAY all expect negative answers.

4.116 [LS 16.4] and against those that are uncertaine what prouision may be made ...?

& nihil praeparari potest adversus incerta

(Where a negative Latin statement is rendered as a rhetorical question.)
4. CAN and MAY 5. Expressing Obligation and Necessity

4.117 [HL 35E] What better dealings may the Latines hope and looke for?
Quid spei melioris Latinis portendi?

4.118 [FM 184d] What good or commoditie may we imagine this far understanding of so many things brought ever unto Varro, and to Aristotle?
De quel fruit avons nous estimer avoir esté à Varron et Aristotle cette intelligence de tant de choses?

All are in the form WHAT + Noun + MAY. See 4.101 for a question in similar form with CAN.

SECTION 5 - CAN/COULD AND THE EXPRESSION OF OBLIGATION AND NECESSITY

This study in the two previous chapters has pointed out certain parallels between WILL and SHALL on the one hand and CAN and MAY on the other, as these are used in the written language around 1600. These may be summarized:

i) the semantic structure of SHALL is related to that of WILL in precisely the same way as the semantic structure of MAY is related to that of CAN

ii) both pairs, besides their full meanings, also together form something which might be and indeed is in the grammarians of the period referred to as a tense or mood.

The study has also shown certain differences between the two pairs which in the light of these striking parallels may be overlooked. These may be summarized:

i) in the similar semantic structures of the two pairs it should be noticed that with WILL and SHALL the negative belongs to the lexical verb; with CAN and MAY the negative belongs with the modal

ii) the process by which WILL and SHALL lose their full meanings and so function as indicators of future time is one of weakening due to a kind of semantic overlap with the verbs that follow them.
This process also occurs with CAN and MAY and leads to the use of CAN and MAY with verbs of perception to form a kind of substitute for the present tense in BE + -ING. But the process by which CAN and MAY come to form a potential mood, is not that of weakening, but one that we have called generalization, by which the expression of permission in a syntactic structure which does not admit specification of the source of permission becomes the expression of possibility.

This process of generalization from permission to possibility is apparently common to many languages, though philosophically the concepts are distinct. The concepts of obligation and necessity which philosophically can be derived from permission and possibility are, as we might expect, provided with separate terms in language, but the close connections between possibility and necessity at least, though this is less true of permission and obligation, remain perceptible in language. Indeed the logic of the relationship between possibility and necessity is reflected faithfully in the English usage of this time, and is perhaps the point at which to begin the study of the modal uses concerned with necessity and obligation. In this way, it will be easier to bear in mind that though, as we shall show, by the eModE period, the language had evolved a pair of modals, apparently after the pattern of WILL/SHALL and CAN/MAY, for the expression of obligation and necessity, this does not in fact constitute a third system of equal standing with the other two, but remains always closely involved and indeed a part of the CAN/MAY system.

There are two striking connections between these systems, which distinguish their relationship from that between WILL/SHALL and CAN/MAY. The first is historical, the fact that MUST in the period before eModE occupied the semantic territory now belonging to MAY, and indeed held
in relationship to MAY in ME something of the relationship which MAY now holds to CAN. This semantic shift presumably turned on MUST NOT. Because being under an obligation not to do something is equivalent to not being permitted to do it, and what is impossible, necessarily does not occur, MUST NOT kept the same meaning while MUST moved from permission to obligation and necessity.

The second connection between the two systems is that the expression of necessity by means of CAN/COULD remains a normal part of the language at this time. The logical relationship between possibility and necessity,

$$\neg P(a) \equiv N(a)$$

also applies to permission and obligation. Whatever it is not possible not to do, it is necessary to do, and what it is forbidden not to do, it is obligatory to do. This is directly reflected in the ordinary language. A negative particle in the clause with CAN or MAY negates the modal. If the lexical verb which follows the modal is also negated, then the sense will become that of obligation or necessity. MAY NOT is not used to express obligation except in so far as it is used with a verb which contains a negative semantic component, as 'I may not omit' or 'I may not deny' which appear to be equivalent to 'I must say'.

Necessity is also expressed in this way with CANNOT and verbs containing a negating component.

4.119 [B 2.31v] I may onely make this prediction that there cannot f a i l e to bee more kindes of them, as Nature growes furder disclosed.

4.120 [B 2.39r] and it cannot be denied, but that the bodie of Man of all other things, is of the most compounded Masse. Usque adeo verum est unam, inter res caeteras, corporis humani massam maxime fermentatem et ex plurimis coagmentatum esse.

4.121 [M Eliz 40c] We know you cannot so much f a y l e in judgement, as not to understand, that all the World seeth, how time is dallied.
4. CAN and MAY  5. Expressing Obligation and Necessity

4.122 [C XLVI] I am glad you had so short and safe a passage, which I made account you could not want, carieng so many goode wishes alonge with you.

But there is also a special negative particle, BUT, which can be used to negate the lexical verb following CANNOT. NOT as a negative particle is placed after the finite verb it negates but when used with infinitives, or indeed any other phrase, its negation applies to what follows it. However it appears that CANNOT BUT is not a modification for the sake of clarity and elegance of CANNOT NOT but an adaptation of the use of BUT after negative words, of the kind NONE BUT, to a particular syntactic need.

Besides CANNOT BUT we also find CANNOT CHOOSE BUT usually, but not always (see 4.140, 4.141) with a personal subject. In the examples of this expression CHOOSE BUT is always followed by an infinitive, not a clause, but the two passive examples (4.144, 4.145) have clauses after BUT as their postponed subjects. In 4.144 the interrogative takes the place of the negative with COULD, and we notice that the necessity which is expressed by 'how could it be chosen but' is reexpressed in the clause to which this necessity applies by the use of the modal MUST.

In the first example below, the order 'it cannot be but ...' occurs instead of the expected 'it cannot but be ...' but that it was read implying necessity seems clear from the Latin translation.

4.123 [B 1.8r] so by like reason it cannot be but a matter of doubtfull consequence, if States bee managed by Emperic Statesmen.

consimiliter non pot est non esse periculosissimum, quoties summa rerum empiricis consiliariis praecipue mandatur.

(Not I think 'it cannot be a matter of consequence merely doubtful ...' though strictly BUT after the verb should lose its negative force. See 4.151-155 and discussions.)
4. CAN and MAY  5. CANNOT BUT

CANNOT BUT + Verb

4.124 [B 1.24v] men haue abandoned vniuersalitie, or Philosophia prima; which cannot but cease, and stoppe all progression.

Mox a plerisque universali rerum cognitioni et philosophiae primae renunciatur, quod quidem profectui doctrinarum inimicissum est.

4.125 [B 1.44v] for the originals cannot last; and the copies cannot but leese of the life and truth.

Archetypa enim ipsa, iamdudum confecta vetustate, perierunt; exampla autem indies primagenia similitudine multcantur.

4.126 [B 2.6r] So in like manner there cannot but bee a fraternitie in learning and illumination.

Eodem modo fieri non potest, quin intercedat fraternitas illustris et generaosa, inter homines, per doctrinas et illuminationes.

4.127 [B 2.11v] So againe Narrations, and Relations of actions ... cannot but be more purely and exactly true, then HISTORIES of TIMES,

At relationes actionum speciales ... omnino puriore et magis sincero veritatis candore vestiri par est, quam historias justas temporum.

4.128 [B 2.11v] whereas he that vndertaketh the story of a time ... cannot but meet with many blankes, and spaces,

cum contra historia temporis ... veluti spatia vacua contineat.

4.129 [B 2.14r] which possession I cannot but note, that in our times it lieth much wast.

quam quidem possessionem non possum non notare nostro aevo incultam ut plurimum et neglectam jaceere.

4.130 [B 2.34v] yet to those that seeke truth and not Magistralitie, it cannot but seeme a Matter of great profit, to see before them the seueral opinions touching the foundations of Nature;

4.131 [H 68D] Now the due observation of this Law, which reason teacheth vs, cannot but be effectuall vnto their great good that obserue the same.

4.132 [H 83D] requisite it cannot but seme the rule of diuine law should herein helpe our imbecilitie.

4.133 [M 8C] But howsoever I cannot but mention these imputations, yet I advise the Reader to iudge of them, as objections of the Rebels ...

4.134 [M 20B] And it was thought ... that besides the superiour command of this Lord, ... could not but be vnsupportable to him.
4. CAN and MAY

4.135 [M 102A] Lastly, that between these submitties were factions and heart-burnings, which discreetly measured, could not but advantage the service.

4.136 [D 14] as I trust you cannot but remember

CANNOT CHOOSE BUT + Verb

4.137 [HP 100.42] in such sort, that if we be not altogether ignorant of ourselves, and willfully blinde, not seeing that we be covetous, shamelesse, timorous and base minded, we cannot choose but start and finde out a flatterer; neither is it possible that he should escape us.

4.138 [HP 104.40] Being compared with true, sound and grave friendship, which (as they say) will endure the hammer, he cannot choose but finde himselfe to be but light, falsified and deceitful.

4.139 [HP 112.8] whiles he cannot choose but be modestly disposed, who is so modestly and gently entreated.

4.140 [H 56D] whereupon their adoration, loue, and imitation of God could not choose but be also interrupted.

4.141 [H 60B] Affections ... can nether rise at the concept of a thing indifferent, nor yet choose but rise at the sight of some things.
4. CAN and MAY

4.142 [H 62B] Our felicitie therefore being the object and accomplishment of our desire, we cannot choose but wish and couet it

4.143 [C I] This is all I can bethinke me of for the present, neither can you choose but be reasonable satisfied, for what you want in weight you have in measure.

IT COULD NOT BE CHOSEN BUT THAT

4.144 [H 71C] If therefore when there was but as yet one only family in the world, no means of instruction humane or divine could preuent effusion of bloud; how could it been chosen but that when families were multiplied ... violence must grow among them?

4.145 [M 175E] that hee had advised Tyrone to set upon our Camps, telling him that it could not been chosen, but our men were much decayed by the winters siege, and so, that we should hardly bee able to maintaine so much ground as wee had taken when our strength was greater.

CAN/COULD ... NO OTHER THAN ...

Sometimes expressions of this kind seem to imply necessity, as

4.146 [B 1.28r] which worke so appointed to him, could be no other than worke of contemplation, quod quidem opus a i u d e s e n o n p o t e r a t, q u a m q u a l e p e r t i n e t a d c o n t e m p l a n d u m

Here the 'no' appears to negate 'could' and 'be other than a work of contemplation' is equivalent to 'not be a work of contemplation', so that the sense is 'must be a work of contemplation'.

4.147 [FM 226d] Man can be no other than he is, nor imagine but according to his capacity;

L'homme ne peut estre que ce qu'il est, ny imaginer que selon sa portée.

This seems similar, though the French suggests 'Man can only be what he is'.

The two examples which follow are possibly capable of an interpretation implying necessity.

4.148 [H 50C] Being the first, it can haue no other then it selfe to be the author of that law which it willingly worketh by.

4.149 [H 68B] The benefit whereof as oft as we cause God in his justice to withdraw, there cannot other thing follow, then that which the Apostle noteth,
In the following, it is possible to take 'a little' as a quasi-negative adverb.

4.150 [B 2.24v] And herein I cannot a little maruaile of the Philosopher Aristotle:
Qua in re Aristotelis confidentiam proinde subit mirari.

**CANNOT ... BUT** without the implication of necessity

If BUT is not placed before the infinitive it does not negate the clause, and instead of being a negative particle it has the more complex sense of 'if not'. Thus

4.151 [FM 243a] Mans eye cannot perceive things, but by the formes of his knowledge.

Les yeux humains ne peuvent apercevoir les choses que par les formes de leur cognoissance.

where the sense is 'Man can only perceive things through the forms of his knowledge'. Thus the logical structure is not

\[ \neg P(\neg a) \]

(Man's eye cannot but perceive things by the forms of his knowledge)

but

\[ \text{if } \neg b, \text{ then } \neg P(a) \]

(If not by the forms of his knowledge, man's eye cannot perceive things).

So also

4.152 [M 36B] Fourthly, since no warre can be made without Munition, and munition this Rebell cannot have, but from Spain, Scotland, or your owne Townes here

4.153 [M 55A] so as if his Lordship forgaue him this fault, he was not like to catch him againe in the like, neither could any thing but want of intelligence make his Lordship faile in stopping the returne of Tyrone, and his forces into the North.

It is true that 4.152 could be paraphrased 'munition this rebel must have from Spain, Scotland, or your own towns here' but this would be with 'if he have any munition at all' understood. It seems likely that MUST was sometimes used in this way, with an unexpressed condition understood. However, in 4.153 the sense is that want of intelligence 'could', not that it 'must' make his Lordship fail.
4. CAN and MAY  5. Other Uses of CANNOT BUT

4.154 [B 2.63r] For Aphorismes, except they should bee ridiculous, cannot be made but of the pyth and heart of Sciences:

Aphorismi enim, nisi prorsus forent ridiculi, necesse est, ut ex medullis et interioribus scientiarum conficiantur.

The Latin translates by 'necesse est', and here the expressed conditional clause, 'except they should be ridiculous' appears to make 'must be made of the pith and heart of sciences' a possible paraphrase.

4.155 [FM 240a] No man can be happy without vertue, nor can vertue be without reason; And no reason can lodge but in a humane shape:

Nul ne peut estre hureus sans vertu, ny la vertu estre sans raison, et nulle raison loger ailleurs qu'en l'humaine figure.

Here I think that the sense is not that reason must lodge in a human shape, but that if reason lodge anywhere the shape it takes must be human. But this example well illustrates the kind of problem which interpreting these expressions in philosophical contexts may present.

BUT THAT may introduce a negative conditional clause, with CANNOT/COULD NOT in apodosis as,

4.156 [H 64B] surely this could never stand with reason, but that wisdome thus prescribing, groundeth her lawes vpon an infallible rule of comparison.

Since wisdom does so ground her laws, then it can (not must) stand with reason. The pattern is the same as the following, with 'except' instead of 'but that'.

4.157 [FM 249e] There can be no principles in men, except divinitie hath revealed them unto them:

Or n'y peut -il avoir des principes aux hommes, si la divinité ne les leur a revelez:

'There can only be principles in men, if divinity hath revealed them...'

4.158 [H 56D] Thinges beneath them could not in such sort be presented vnto their eyes, but that therein they must needs see always how those things did depend on God.

BUT THAT introduces a negative result clause, Here COULD NOT ... BUT THAT does imply necessity; if it is not possible to act so that a result does not follow, then that result is necessary. The necessity
**SECTION 6 - THE EXPRESSION OF POSSIBILITY AND NECESSITY, PERMISSION AND OBLIGATION**

We can now set out a table of the uses of CAN/MAY to express permission and possibility. Since in each, both modal and lexical verb can be negative or non-negative, there will be four possibilities in each.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P(a)</th>
<th>~P(a)</th>
<th>P(~a)</th>
<th>~P(~a)</th>
<th>Possible for N to V</th>
<th>Not possible for N to V</th>
<th>Possible for N not to V</th>
<th>Not possible for N not to V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N permitted to V</td>
<td>N not permitted to V</td>
<td>N permitted not to V</td>
<td>N not permitted not to V</td>
<td>N MAY V</td>
<td>N MAY NOT V</td>
<td>(N MAY NOT V)*</td>
<td>N CANNOT BUT V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* occurring at this time, but uncommon

In order to consolidate this with the expressions of obligation and necessity we may for convenience set the material out according to the modal square of traditional logic, superimposing permission/obligation on possibility/necessity. The modal square is arranged thus:
4. CAN and MAY  6. Possibility, Necessity, Permission, Obligation

N obliged to
Necessary for N to V
N permitted to V
Possible for N to V

N must V
N must V
N may V
N may V

Thus on the level of possibility-necessity, MUST/NEED NOT corresponds closely with MAY/CANNOT in that a different modal word is used when the modal is negated, while on the level of permission/obligation, MUST/NEED NOT also occurs, contrasting with the unchanged modal in MAY/MAY NOT.

In order to set out the forms when the lexical verb is negated we can replace the corners of the modal square by the appropriate negatives. When this is done in logic, the square remains in its relationships except that the right hand corners appear on the left and the left hand corners on the right. Thus

N obliged not to V
Necessary for N not to V
(= N not permitted to V)
(= Impossible for N to V)

N permitted not to V
Possible for N not to V
(= N not obliged to V)
(= Not necessary for N to V)

In the language of this period we find:

N must not V
N cannot V
N need not V
N may not V

* occurring at this time, but uncommon

The idiom of the language does not permit 'N may not not V'

'N need not not V'
4. CAN and MAY 6. Possibility, Necessity, Permission, Obligation

We may compare the square above with the earlier square, repeated below with the left-hand corners on the right and the right-hand corners on the left.

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
N & N \\
\text{may not V} & \text{must V} \\
N & N \\
\text{cannot V} & \text{must V} \\
N & N \\
\text{need not V} & \text{may V} \\
N & N \\
\text{need not V} & \text{may V} \\
\end{array}
\]

This provides expressions which are logically equivalent to 'N may not not V' 'N need not not V' namely 'N must V', 'N may V'; though on the level of possibility, 'not necessary for N not to V' would perhaps be expressed as 'N can V' and not as 'N may V'. We may also notice:

Top left-hand:

N must not V (N obliged not to V) is logically equivalent to
N may not V (N not permitted to V)
N cannot V (Impossible for N to V) is used for the expression of necessity (Necessary for N not to V) because MUST NOT is apparently confined to obligation (though some dialects of FE certainly permit the extension to necessity).

Bottom left-hand:

The use of 'N MAY NOT V' as (Possible for N not to V) instead of the logical equivalent N NEED NOT V (Not necessary for N to V) provides a precise parallel to the top left hand corner, but introduces a serious overloading of MAY NOT which now is ambiguous between

N not permitted to V
Possible for N not to V

Top right-hand:

Shows logical equivalent of 'N cannot but V' with 'N must V'.

It can be seen from this that NEED and MUST serve to express obligation and necessity in the same way that CAN and MAY serve to express
permission and possibility, although the logical complexities which arise from the possibility of negation of the modal or of the lexical verb or of both, lead in the language to a system of expressions deploying all four modals; CAN sometimes occurring in expressions of necessity, NEED in expressions of permission and possibility. Whereas MAY and MAY NOT, MUST and MUST NOT appear in these tables, we find CANNOT and NEED NOT but not CAN and NEED (at least unless the suggestion about the expression of NEED NOT NOT by CAN, in the bottom right-hand corner of the last square given above, is accepted.)
CHAPTER 5

NEED, MUST, OUGHT, DARE

Section 1 - Forms

Section 2 - NEED

NEED as Part of the Modal System

History and Development of NEED

NEED as Verb and Noun in Other Constructions

Section 3 - MUST, OUGHT and Other Expressions of Obligation and Necessity

Selection of MUST or OUGHT in Translation

Distribution of OUGHT

OUGHT not followed by TO

BEHOVE

BE TO

Section 4 - DARE

Meaning of DARE

The Old Preterite-present DARE/DURST

The New Weak Verb DARE/DARED
### SECTION 1 - FORMS

**NEED**

- need, neede, nede
- 2nd Person Singular: needest
- 3rd Person Singular: neede, needs, needeth
- Preterite: needed

**MUST**

- must

**ought**

- 2nd Person Singular: oughtest

**DARE**

- dare
- 2nd Person Singular: darest
- 3rd Person Singular: dare, dares, dareth
- Preterite: 1. durst
  2. dared
Although NEED occurs as part of the system for the expression of possibility and necessity together with CAN, MAY and MUST, it does not occur in the texts studied with comparable frequency. In order to collect a set of examples of the use of NEED large enough to be useful it was necessary to extend the texts drawn on, as explained in Chapter 1. All the occurrences of NEED as a verb, and the verbal phrases HAVE NEED, BE NEED are listed in this section.

1. NEED displaying the formal characteristics of a modal verb:
   a) followed by the infinitive without TO
   b) without -ETH/S inflection in the 3rd person singular, present tense.

Third Person Singular:

5.1 [B 1.10v] so as no man neede doubt, that learning will expulse businesse.
   quare neutiquam m e t u e n d u m ne literae
   eliminent negotia

5.2 [B 2.21r] Now that there are manie of that kinde neede not bee doubted:
   Plurima autem id genus axiomata esse nemo ambigat

5.3 [FM 182a] and that to coole the longing and aswage the heat of friendship, one neede but perfectly view and thoroughly consider what he loveth
   que, pour refroidir l'amitié, il ne f a i l l e que
   voir librement ce qu'on ayme.

5.4 [H 59A] the same is thereby restrayned vnto such generalities as everywhere offering themselues, are apparent vnto men of the weakest concept that neede be.

This I interpret as a strictly modal use of NEED parallel to 'the weakest concept that can be' or 'may be' but viewing this extremity of weakness not as a possibility but an (unfortunate) necessity. This is certainly awkward but the difficulty is not removed by reading as 'the weakest concept that is need'. No doubt NEED BE had a familiar sound from the use of IF NEED BE as in:

- 168 -
5. NEED  2. Strictly Modal Uses

5.5  [LS 28.6] Can there bee anything more turbulent then the Pallace, yet if need be, a man may liue peaceably even there.
    Num quid tam turbidum fieri potest, quam forum? ibi quoque licet quiete vivere.
    though the proper analysis of this phrase is clear from the next example:

5.6  [C XXIII] and now they have an ymagination of sincking certain hulkes in the channel of need shold be.

5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 are the only examples of the fully modal use of NEED in the third person singular present tense displaying the absence of ETH/S inflection. 5.1 and 5.2 are related as active to passive, and 5.4 is somewhat puzzling. 5.1, 5.2 are in negative clauses, 5.3 in a clause with BUT, 5.4 in a clause dependent on a phrase containing a superlative.

See 5.96 for an isolated example of NEED without third person inflection in the construction with a direct object.

Third Person Plural:

5.7  [B 2.19r] expounded, that Monarchies neede not feare any courbing of their absolutenesse by Mightie Subjects, as long as by wisedome they keepe the hearts of the people.

5.8  [H 121E] many things being howerly done by men, wherein they need not vse with them selues any manner of consultation at all;

5.9  [M 107E] Neither neede these little Castles bee workes of any great charge, for they may be easily made such, as this people will hardly force them.

5.10  [M 204E] and finde the men, to fill up other Companies, by disposing them to such as we know will best preserue them, so as they neede not reinforce their Companies with the Irish.

Second Person:

5.11  [LS 16.7] Peruse it well, and thou shalt find it, thou needest not maruaile at me.
    Excute illam & invenies. Non est quod mireris animum meum.

5.12  [LS 27.6] That he bought them so mgely deare, thou needest not wonder, he found them not so, but put them forth to be trained.
    Magno emisse illum non est quod mireris. Non invenerat faciendos locavit.
5. NEED  

2. Strictly Modal Uses

5.13 [HL 33C] You need not go so far as to Corinth or Tarquinii for to seeke and compass forraigne kingdomes, as your father did.
Non tibi ab Corintho nec ab Tarquiniis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri nesse est.
('You need not' translating 'Non tibi necesse est')

First Person

5.14 [C XLII] the more for that yt is thought she is prettily forward with child, though I need not bragge nor boast of yt.

5.15 [C LII] I need not relate our sports of hawking and hunting.

5.16 [FM 138d] to convince the weaknesse of their reason, we need not goe far to cull out rare examples.
pour conveincrire la foiblesse de leur raison, il n'est besoin d'aller triant des rares exemples.

5.17 [FM 285d] And in our daies Copernicus hath so well grounded this doctrine, that hee doth very orderly fit it to all Astrologickal consequences. What shall we reape by it, but only that wee need not care, which of the two it be?
et, de nostre temps, Copernicus a si bien fond~ cette doctrine qu'il s'en sert tres-reglement ~ toutes les consequences Astronomiques. Que prendrons-nous de là, sinon qu'il ne nous do i t chalor le quel ce soit des deus?
('wee neede not care' translating 'il ne nous doit chaloir')

5.18 [H 165C] these on the contrarie side, as being of a farre other nature and qualitie, not so strictly nor everlastingly commanded in scripture, but that unto the complete forme of Church-politic much may be requisite which the scripture teacheth not, and much which it hath taught become vnrequisite, sometime because we need not care, which of the two it be, sometime also because we cannot.
(meanes need not, cannot - because no necessity, because no possibility)

Examples 5.7 - 5.18 all show NEED in negative clauses. There is also the following interrogative clause:

5.19 [C XLII] but what need I trouble you with these thinges when your brother was there in person.

where the meaning is 'I need not trouble you ...'

2. NEED in the Modal Construction but followed by the Infinitive with TO.

Third Person Singular NEEDETH;

5.20 [B 1.3Or] considering the great commaundement of wits and meanes whereby nothing needeth to be hidden from them.
praesertim cum tot ingenii imperent, tantasque opes praesto habeant, quibus omnis secreti investigation absolvi possit.
(The Latin translation of 'nothing needeth to be hidden' i.e. there is no necessity for anything not to be known, is 'omnis secreti investigatio absolvit possit', 'the investigation of every secret could be completed', i.e. it is possible for every thing to be known.)

5.21 [B 1.39r] As for Iulius Caesar, the excellencie of his learning needeth not to be argued from his education, Quantum ad Iulium Caesarum, non est opus ut de praestantia eruditionis eius, aut ex educatione ... conjecturam faciamus.

5.22 [B 2.88v] Neither needeth it at all to be doubted, that this knowledge should bee so variable as it falleth not vnnder precept; Neque vero est cur vereamur, ne scientiae huius tam varia sit materia, ut sub praecptionibus non cadat; (Compare 5.2)

5.23 [H 121E] I do rather incline to thinke, that seing all the vnforced actions of men are voluntary; & al voluntary actions tending to the end haue choice, & al choice presupposeth the knowledge of some cause wherefore we make it ; when the reasonable cause of such actions so readily offereth it self, that it needeth not to be sought for;  

5.24 [H 152D] But such as do not sticke at this pointe, such as graunt that what hath bene instituted vpon any special cause needeth not to be observed, that cause ceasing, do not withstanding herein faile;  

Third Person Singular NEEDS:  

5.25 [H 72E] If things be simplie good or euill, and withall vniversallie so acknowledged, there needeth no new law to be made for such things;  

Third person singular NEED - always without TO; NEEDETH, NEEDS, always with TO. All the examples here are with passive infinitives - and most of the examples in the preceding section without TO, are active. But see 5.2.  

Third Person Plural with TO:  

5.26 [B 2.64v] For those, whose conceites are seated in popular opinions, neede onely but to proove or dispute; At illi, quorum documenta in opinionibus popularibus iam sedes suas collocarunt, non aliud habent, quod agant, nisi ut disputent et probent. (A quasi-negative clause in which both 'only' and 'but' appear.)  

Second Person:  

5.27 [LS 4.10] Thou needest not for the same to attempt the fortune of the Sea and of armes. non est necesse maria tentare, nec sequi castra. ('non est necesse' translated by 'Thou needest not'.)
5. NEED 2. Followed by TO

5.28 [LS 16.2] Thou needest not therefore to court me with many affirmative and long discourses;

Itaque tibi apud me pluribus verbis opus non est ut affirmatis.

No First Person uses.

All uses in negative or pseudo-negative (as 5.26) clauses.

3. Preterite NEEDED, followed by the Infinitive without TO

5.29 [B 2.85r] And therefore we may see what Celsitud of honor Plinius secundus attributeth to Traiane in his funerall oration, where he said. That men needed make no other prayers to the Gods, but that they woulde Continue as good Lords to them, as Trajaine had beeene;

Opus non esse hominibus, alias ad Deos preces fundere, quam ut benignos aequae et propitios se dominos mortalibus praestarent, ac Trajanus praestitisset.

The preterite is here due to the sequence of tenses after 'said'.

Reported speech accounts for NEEDED also in the following example.

Preterite NEEDED, followed by the Infinitive with TO:

5.30 [M 72E] My Lord Keeper told him againe, that if thereby he meant the crime of disloyalty, it was that which he needed not to feare.

NEEDED + Negative + TO HAVE + Past Participle

5.31 [B 2.41v] yet in regard of the great use of this observation, the inquiry needed not by him so sleightly to have ben relinquished altogether,

Itaque, ut et usui consulatur simul et humanitati, non est omnino rejecienda anatomia vivorum.

5.32 [B 2.56v] And therefore Velleius the Epicurean needed not to have asked, why God should have adorned the Heauens with Starres.

At non opus fuit Velleio Epicureo interrogare...

5.33 [B 2.71r] Neyther needed men of so excellent parts to have despaires of a Fortune, (which the Poet Virgill promised himselfe, and indeed obtained)

Neque tamen debuerant viri tam eximi desperasse de fortuna, simili ei, quam poeta Virgilius, et sibi spondere ausus et revera consequutus est;

('needed' translated by a gerundive, 'opus fuit' 'debuerant')

These examples are considered as to their meaning with other Preterite Modal + HAVE uses in Chapter 6, Section 5.
NEEDED occurs only once without TO. All uses are in negative clauses. The evidence of examples from these texts suggests that when NEED is required in a non-negative clause, the form HAVE/HAD NEED is employed.

HAVE NEED followed by the Infinitive with TO:

5.34 [LS 9.16] It beginneth to be subject unto fortune, if it have needed to seeke any part of it selfe out of it selfe.

5.35 [LS 24.24] Which of these sentences thou shalt keepe in memory, it will confirme thee in the sufferance eyther of life or death for we have both to be admonished and confirmed in both of these, to the end we neyther too much loue, nor too much loath our life.

HAD NEED is found consistently in non-negative clauses frequently with a present rather than a preterite sense. Further it approximates more closely to the modal pattern than HAVE NEED in that it is often (here in six out of the twelve examples) followed by an infinitive without TO.

HAD NEED without Preterite Sense; + Infinitive without TO:

5.36 [B 1.41v] Scilicet ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes, / Emollit mores nec sinit esse fero. It taketh away the wildnesse and barbarisme and fiercenesse of mens minds: but indeed the accent had need be upon, fideliter.

5.37 [B 2.65r] For hee had need be well conducted, that should designe to make Axiomes Convertible:

5.38 [B 2.114r] From the former of these two have been drawne certaine senses and expositions of Scriptures, which had need be contained within the bounds of sobrietie; The one Anagogicall, the other Philosophicall.

5.39 [FM 322c] To judge of the apparences that we receive of subjects, we had need have a judicatorie instrument:
5.40 [M 134C] two thousand more [i.e. footsoldiers] at the least had need come soone after vnto Corke, if it be not invested before their comming, but if it bee, their landing must then be at Waterford or Yoghall.

HAD NEED without Preterite Sense + TO + Infinitive:

5.41 [LS 38.1] No man giueth counsell with clamour yet must we sometimes (as I should say) vse these declamations, when he that doubteth had need to be enforced consilium nemoclare dat. Aliquando utendum est & illis ut ita dicam contionibus; ubi qui dubitat, impellendus est:
(The same Latin construction in 'utendum est' and 'impellendus est' is translated first as 'must' then as 'had need to'.)

5.42 [HP 94.6] And therefore we had most need to beware of a flatterer in the praises which he giveth
[AMYOT] Et pourtant se f a u t -il principalement donner de garde du flateur en ses louanges;
[XYLANDER] Qua propter maxime ubi laudat cavendum est ab adulatorre
[ERASMUS] Quapropter potissimum, in laudibus cavendum est assentator

Dio ph'uil a kteon esti malista ton kolaka per tous epainous

5.43 [HP 107.49] For like as a Chirurgian, when he maketh incision and cutteth the flesh of his patient, had need to use great dexterity, to have a nimble hand and an even;
[AMYOT] pouce que tout ainsiquand le Chirurgien incise la chair d'un homme, il faut qu'il y vse d'une grande dextericet, netteté, & propriété en son fait
[XYLANDER] Quemadmodum enim medicus carnem secans, agilitatem aliquam d e b e t ac mundiciem operi adhibere hosper gar iatrou sarka temnontas euruthmian tina
d e i kai kathariommeteta tois ergo epischein

5.44 [HP 112.39] even so it may be said to every one that will seem freely to reprehend another, that he had need himself to be in manners well reformed
[AMYOT] aussi pourroit on dire à tout homme qui se mesle de parler librement pour reprendre autruiy, qu'il a b e s o i n
de meurs bien reformees
[XYLANDER] sed profecto libertas dicentis morum probitate ut commendetur requirit;
parresia de pantos andros ethomisos de itai

HAD NEED with Preterite Sense + Infinitive without TO:

5.45 [C XLVII] I know not whether I shold more commend your bountie or your judgement in foreseing I shold meet with beggers and therefore had need be double stored
(The occasion for this is to report the fulfilment of the 'foreseeing' which is therefore in the past. 'Had need' is equivalent in tense to 'should meet'.)
5. NEED  2. HAD NEED TO / HAVE NO NEED TO

HAD NEED with Preterite Sense + TO + Infinitive:

5.46 [FM 303c] and that to powre forth what shame had forced and bashfullnesse restrained, they had also afterward need to seeke some secret place

et que, pour eslancer ce que la honte avoit contreint et retiré, il leur e t o i t encore aprè s b e s o u i n d e chercher l'ombre

5.47 [HP 113.5] Thus Socrates mildly and gently would seeme to reprove yoong men, making semblance as if himselfe were not void of ignorance, but had need also to be instructed in virtue, and professing that he had need with them to search for the knowledge of truth.

[AMYOT]  Et Socrates arguoit ainsi tout bellement les ieunes gens, comme n'estant pas luy-mesme deliuré d'ignorance, ains a i a n t b e s o i n d'estre aec eux instruict de la vertu, & de rechercher la cognoissance de la verité;

[XYLANDER] Et Socrates ita paulatim adolescentes redarguit seipsum quoque non vacare inscritia simulans, sed vna cum ills is de e b e r e virtuti operam dare & verum quaerere profitens

(kai ho SOkrates houtos atrema tous neous elench En med'auto apellamagnenos amathias, alla met'ekinon oiomenos de e i n aretes epimeleithai kai zetein t'alethes

(Present infinitives in Greek and Latin, a present participle in French but Holland's construction makes it necessary to read 'had need' as preterite.)

HAVE NO NEED TO:

Although HAVE/HAD NEED (TO) seems to be employed to avoid the use of the verb NEED in non-negative clauses it has its own negative form in HAVE NO NEED TO.

5.48 [IS 4.10] But to the end to driue away this hunger and thirst, thou hast no need to wait or attend on these proude and great gates . . .

ut famem sitimque depellas, n o n e s t n e c e s s e superbis assidere liminis

(See 5.13 where 'Non ... necesse est' is translated 'you need not'.)

5.49 [IS 13.7] to day thou hast no neede too complaine hodie nihil negotii habet

5.50 [IS 13.15] True it is, that I am too tedious in exhorting thee, who hast no need to bee exhorted, but instructed and admonished onely.

Nimium diu te cohortor, cum tibi admonitione magis, quam exhortatione o p u s e s t.

A participle form of HAVE NEED TO occurs once.

HAVING NEED TO:

5.51 [HP 84.42] but the perswasion is it, that is dangerous and slipperie, h a v i n g n e e d t o be restrained with great
5. NEED 2. Preceded by Modal Verb

In order to complete the examples in which NEED is followed by an infinitive, there follows a list in which NEED is preceded by a modal. All the examples are in negative clauses except for 5.60 with WILL and all are followed by TO.

SHALL:

5.52 [B 2.41r] I shall not need to alledge an example forraine, Minime opus erit exemplum aliquod forinsecum ab alienis artibus petere.

5.53 [FM 250e] They shall not need to tell me, ...
Il ne faut pas qu'ils me dient;

5.54 [H 134C] In which case our apologie shall not need to be very long;

5.55 [C LXI] and I can gather there at first hand to serve my turne sufficiently (saving for certain particulars) so that I shall not need to put you to trouble or paines.

5.56 [C LXII] I shall not need to write you what favorable accesse and audience Mr Winwood found at her Majesties hands;

SHOULD:

5.57 [H 95E] Which lawes, sauing onely that we are members of the common wealth where they are of force, we should not need to respect as rules of action, ...

5.58 [H 98D] About which point there should not need any question to growe, and that which is growne might presently ende, if they did yeelde but to these two restraints:

CAN:

5.59 [H 165B] For so perfectly are those things taught, that nothing can ever need to be added, nothing ever cease to be necessary;

(Holland alone of these translations carries over the participle construction found in the Greek.)

NEED used with a Modal Verb

heed and carefulnesse
[AMYOT] mais la persuasion en est dangereuse, & a besoin d'estre bien retenue
[XYLANDER] opinari autem se iis praeditum, periculosum est, multamque requirit cautionem
[ERASMUS] caeterum opinio, periculosa est, quaeque multam desyderet cautionem
hé d'oiesis episphalos kai deomenē pollēs eulabeias

(Holland alone of these translations carries over the participle construction found in the Greek.)
WILL:

5.60 [H 153A] Theft will be alwaies and will alwaies need to be bridled

The use of SHALL with NEED in the examples above does not appear to modify the sense, which is any case turned towards the future. In 5.53, the present 'Il ne faut pas' is translated 'they shall not need'. (The future 'opus erit' in the Latin of 5.52 is of course a reflection of the 'shall' in the English). The two uses of SHOULD seem due to the conditional nature of the sentences in which they occur. In 5.59 'nothing can ... need' has the full sense of the impossibility of something being necessary. In 5.60, there is a clear emphasis on future time so that 'will always need to be bridled' is different in sense from 'always needs to be bridled'.

The examples so far adduced may be tabulated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>followed by infinitive</th>
<th>followed by infinitive</th>
<th>in non-negative clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>without TO</td>
<td>with TO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEED</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEEDED</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modal + NEED</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAVE NEED</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAD NEED</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The characteristics of the usage may be summarized,

1) Variation in the use or omission of TO after all the forms, although
   a) third person singular without inflection is not followed by TO
   third person singular with -ETH/S always followed by TO
   b) when NEED is preceded by a modal, TO is always used.

2) A strong tendency to avoid the verb NEED in non-negative clauses and to prefer for such clauses the form built from the noun NEED
The reason why NEED does not share with any regularity the features of the other modal verbs which we have so far considered seems to be because it has been drawn into the system to fill a place to which it was not already adapted by the constructions in which it appeared during its earlier existence in the language. Before we look at this earlier existence in more detail, it will be useful to state the nature of the role required of NEED in that part of the modal system expressing permission and obligation, possibility and necessity.

With the establishment of MUST with a structure:

```
S_1
   NP
  /   VP
 X  /     S_2
   NP  |     V  NP
      |     |
      |     -
      |     V  Neg
      |
      NP  V
```

giving a surface expression of the form 'He must not do so' there was no convenient way of expressing the negative of the obligation or necessity, that is in negating S_1, 'There is no necessity/obligation for him to do so'.

```
S_1
   NP
  /   VP  Neg
 X  /     S_2
   NP  |     V
      |
      NP  V
```

It is true that MUST could have developed the ambiguity subsequently developed in MAY, by which the form 'he may not do so' besides reflecting the above structure on the level of permission, also reflected
5. NEED  2. Place in the Modal System

That NEED was drawn into the system to provide a modal expressing obligation/necessity in which the negative would apply always to the modal and never to the lexical verb accounts for the overwhelming predominance of its negative uses - indeed as the examples adduced show, when it is formally a modal, it is always in a negative clause.

But the word that was to provide the means of expressing negative obligation and necessity would be paired with MUST, in a way parallel to the way CAN pairs MAY and WILL pairs SHALL. That would give it the same structure as WILL and CAN,

And 'N need V' would be paraphraseable as 'There is a necessity that N V and this necessity stems from N', beside, 'N must V' paraphraseable as 'There is a necessity that N V and this necessity stems from some source other than N'.

WILL and SHALL both negate the S₂ clause, CAN and MAY both negate the modal (though MAY also comes to negate the S₂ clause) but NEED and
MUST negate differently, NEED in the modal, MUST in the \( S_2 \) clause. For this reason the difference between WILL NOT and SHALL NOT, and between CANNOT and MAY NOT which is related to their full meaning is unlike the difference between NEED NOT and MUST NOT which is merely a difference of the place negated - between 'no obligation or necessity to' and 'obligation, necessity not to'.

Just as with CAN in negative clauses there is no distinction between inability and impossibility so with NEED in negative clauses there is no distinction between the absence of an inner need in the subject or the absence of a necessity imposed from without. When however NEED is used in a non-negative clause we would expect it to refer to the compulsion that comes from a lack in the self rather than as an imposed compulsion from without. It seems to me that this distinction is maintained in PE where

'The machine needs to be cleaned'
is distinct in meaning from

'The machine must be cleaned'
in that the first refers to a necessity which belongs to or springs from the machine itself and the second to a necessity which has its source elsewhere, often in the speaker.

The present extended corpus gives no examples of the verb NEED followed by an infinitive in a clause which is neither negative or quasi-negative but the use of HAVE NEED instead seems particularly suited by employing the noun NEED with its basic sense of something lacking to bring out the necessity from within. This is I think marked in 5.34, 5.35, 5.37, 5.39, 5.42, 5.43, 5.44, 5.45, 5.46, 5.47, the last a particularly good example bringing out the implications of the passage it seems to me, better than the original Greek or the Latin version. In 5.38 Bacon is perhaps emphasizing that the anagogical and
5. NEED  2. Development of NEED

philosophical expositions of scripture by their inherent nature require restraint. In 5.40 the construction appears to be used for 'There is need that two thousand soldiers come'. 5.36 cannot be squared with this view of inner necessity and in 5.41 'had need to' appears to be employed for stylistic reasons to balance 'must' in the earlier clause.

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEED

Although some of the modal verbs, as we have already discussed, still at this period occur in constructions other than the modal construction

Subject + Modal Verb + Infinitive without TO

for example, WOULD followed by a clause, or CAN with a noun as object, these constructions are vestiges of wider pre-modal use and are destined to disappear in the course of the development of ModE. NEED on the other hand exists in a wide variety of constructions. None of the modal restrictions or forms is always observed. It occurs with other modals. In the third person singular it sometimes has no inflection, sometimes -S or -ETH. It is sometimes followed by TO, sometimes not. Further, in the later development of English there has been no tendency for these non-modal constructions to disappear or become rarer, although it is also true to say that the negative modal construction in the form 'He need not come' shows no sign of disappearing either. The difference between NEED and the other modals is this; the others were verbs which took on the characteristics of modals by a process of elimination; the non-finite forms where these existed dropped out of use; the verbs ceased to appear in any construction other than Subject + Modal Verb + Infinitive without TO. But this construction had always been a common one with these verbs. NEED however until late Middle English did not appear in this construction at all. Modalization for
NEED must be seen not as a process in which all non-modal constructions are lost, but one in which the single modal construction is acquired. In a similar way the uninflected third person singular forms are in the other modals a characteristic which comes to them from their history as preterite-present verbs. For NEED this uninflected form is a creation of the sixteenth century, part of the process of giving NEED the outward marks of a modal verb.

We can best understand the range of sixteenth century uses of NEED by seeing the development of the constructions in which the word is used during the Old and Middle English periods. In OE the verb NEED is used only absolutely with a clausal subject. The expression IS NEED may be used with clauses and also with nouns. The only personal construction is with HAVE NEED, at first with a clausal complement, and later with an infinitive. The constructions with NEED noun and verb, current in OE as shown in the OED are tabulated below together with the date attached there to the earliest example.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMPERSONAL</th>
<th>PERSONAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>With Clause</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. NEED IS (THAT) + Clause [950]</td>
<td>1. NP + HAS NEED (THAT) + Clause [950]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. NEEDS (THAT) + Clause [960]</td>
<td>2. NP + HAS NEED (TO) + Infinitive [1000]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>With Noun Phrase</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. NEED IS + Genitive NP [908]</td>
<td>NP HAS NEED [950]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Absolutely</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Personal constructions with a NP expressing the thing needed are introduced early in ME thus filling the empty box in the grid above.
This completes the early system of constructions with NEED. The verb NEED is never used transitively with clause, infinitive or noun as object, and for all constructions in which the verb NEED can be used, there are equivalents employing NEED IS or HAS NEED.

During the course of the fourteenth century there is a remarkable extension of the constructions possible with the verb NEED. These may be set out on the same grid as used for the OE uses above as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMPERSONAL</th>
<th>PERSONAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With Clause</td>
<td>3. NP + NEEDS TO + Infinitive (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Noun Phrase</td>
<td>2. NP + NEEDS (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolutely</td>
<td>3. NP + NEEDS + NP₂ (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. NP + NEEDS (B)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The concern of this essay is chiefly with NP + NEEDS TO + Infinitive since this eventually gives the modal use of NEED, but as this is part of a more general extension of the constructions with the verb NEED in the period immediately before the emergence of eModE, these other uses are also briefly discussed.

(A) NP + NEEDS corresponding to older NEED IS + Genitive NP: In the MED under neden (v.2) this is meaning 1 a(a) 'To be necessary, needed, required, or essential', and the earliest example is a 1398 Trevisa Bartholemew 'To the sight ... neduth ten thinges principaliche'. The OED treats this construction under 'There needs' and gives first 1440 Paston Letters 'I hope ther shal nede no gret trete be twyx hym'. This quotation is also included in MED under I a (a).

(B) NP + NEEDS, corresponding to older NP + HAS NEED: This is MED neden 1 a (b) 'to be poor, needy or in want', OED Need v. 7b and both dictionaries have as the earliest example the Wyclifite Bible,
5. NEED

2. Development of NEED

Ecclesiasticus Ch. 40 v. 29 'betere is to dien than to neden'.

(C) NP₁ + NEEDS + NP₂, corresponding to older NP₁ + NEEDS OF/TO + NP₂ or NP₁ + HAS NEED OF/UNTO + NP₂: This is OED 7(a) transitive 'To stand in need of, to require', which corresponds generally to MED 2(a) 'To need (sth), want, lack, require', though this includes uses without an object, and the first example cited is of this kind 1300 'He was swythe of-longed to his fader blysse, Nought for than that he nedde in his godcunnesse'. Its second citation coincides with the first of the OED for 7(a) being again the Wyclifite Bible, Genesis Ch. 33 v. 15 'This one onelich I nede'.

(D) NP + NEEDS TO + Infinitive corresponding to the older construction NP + HAS NEED TO + Infinitive: This is MED 2(c) 'to need (to do sth), be required, obliged or well-advised (to do sth)' and OED 8 'To be under a necessity or obligation to do something'. The OED but not the MED separates the quotations with TO before the infinitive from those without. The earliest citation in the MED is from Trevor's translation of Higden's Polychronicon, a.1387 and in the OED from Wyclif's Select Works c.1380. The OED's first quotation under 8(b) 'With omission of TO' is from Henry Wallace 1470 'The woman ... Cawkit ilk yett that thai neid nocht gang by'. The earliest example in the MED list which displays an infinitive without TO is a.1500 from a translation of Alain Chartier's Quadrilogue Invectif 'Nede nat thei putte away their felliship to live sengelly for their profight'.

We may notice also that it is in the late fourteenth century that the word NECESSARY enters the language, the evidence suggests mainly through the Wyclifite writings and translations and although NEEDFUL is in use throughout the ME period and indeed occurs in Late OE, the citations of the OED indicate that its use in the construction IT IS NEEDFUL (THAT) + Clause (corresponding to the older (IT) NEEDS (THAT) +
 NEED AS VERB AND NOUN IN OTHER CONSTRUCTIONS

We have so far listed all the examples of the verb NEED which belong to the structure

\[ \text{NP} + (\text{Modal}) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{HAVE} \\ \text{HAD} \end{array} \right\} \text{NEED} + (\text{TO}) + \text{Infinitive} \]

and derive from the two basic constructions

- \[ \text{NP} + \text{HAS NEED} + \text{Infinitive} \quad [1000] \]
- \[ \text{NP} + \text{NEED} + \text{Infinitive} \quad [1380] \]
5. NEED   2. Other Constructions

In order to display the full range of constructions used to express necessity in the English of Shakespeare's time, the lists which follow give all the examples from the extended corpus of other constructions with NEED verb and noun, and also IS NEEDFUL and IS NECESSARY. The arrangement of the examples is as follows:

I. Personal Constructions with Noun Phrase:
   1. NP₂ + NEEDS OF/TO + NP₂ has left no trace
   2. NP₁ + HAS/HAD NEED OF + NP₂
   3. NP₁ + HAVE NO NEED OF + NP₂ and other negative and interrogative uses
   4. NP₁ + NEEDS + NP₂, mostly in negative or pseudo-negative clauses

II. Impersonal Constructions with Noun Phrase:
   1. NEED IS + gen. NP (THERE IS NEED OF ...) No examples
   2. NP + NEEDS (THERE NEED) Mostly in negative or pseudo-negative clauses, except one.
   3. NP + IS NEEDFUL
   4. NP + IS NECESSARY

III. Impersonal Constructions with Clause or Infinitive:
   1. NEED THAT + Clause (IT NEEDETH THAT) All in negative clauses or after THAN
   2. NEED TO + :Infinitive (IT NEEDETH TO) All in negative or interrogative clauses
   3. NEED IS TO + Infinitive (THERE IS NEED TO)
   4. IS NEEDFUL THAT + Clause (IT IS NEEDFUL THAT)
   5. IS NEEDFUL/LESS TO (IT IS NEEDFUL TO)
   6. IS NECESSARY TO (IT IS NECESSARY TO)
5. NEED  2. HAVE NEED OF

I. Personal Constructions with Noun Phrase

HAVE NEED OF:

5.61 [LS 9.14] He saith that a wise-man wanteth nothing, and yet hath need of many things; a fool hath need of nothing, because he can make use of nothing, but wanteth all things. The wise-man hath need of hands and eyes and divers other parts of him for the ordinarie uses of life, yet neuerthelesse he wanteth nothing:

Ait sapientem nulla re indigere, & tamen multis illis rebus opus esse; contra, stulto nulla re opus est; nulla enim re scit uti, sed omnibus egent. Sapienti & manibus, & oculis, & multis ad quotidiam necessariis opus est, sed egent nulla re.

(An interesting philosophical passage where Lodge uses WANT and HAVE NEED OF to render in English INDIGERE/EGERE and OPUS ESSE. In fact NEED does not contain the underlying sense of 'capacity to make use of' which Seneca is bringing out in OPUS EST though this does belong etymologically to BEHOVE. See White [1975 pp.108-116] for a recent discussion of the difference in meaning between WANTS and NEEDS.)

5.62 [LS 9.15] desireth to have more, but not in regard that hee hath need of them to liue happily, for he can liue happily without his friends.

hos cupit habere quam plutimos, non ut beate vivat, sed enim etiam sine amicis beate.

5.63 [LS 16.8] nature hath need but of a little, opinion of infinite

Exiguum natura desiderat, opinio immensum.

5.64 [LS 17.5] Lay then apart all these excuses; Say not that thou hast not as yet all that which thou hast need of,

Tolle itaque istas excusationes; Quantum sat est, nondum habeo.

5.65 [LS 26.1] I Tolde thee not long since that I am in view of olde age, but now I feare me I haue left olde age behinde me; vndoubtedly my yeares and bodie at this time haue need of another word;

Modo dicebam tibi, in conspectu esse me senectutis; iam vereor, ne senectutem post me reliquerim. Aliud iam hic annis certe huic corpori vocabulum convenit.

5.66 [LS 36.5] To pay this debt of anothers; hee that trafficketh hath need of a good and happie navigation

Ad illud aes alienum solvendum, opus est negotianti navigatione prospera

5.67 [HP 95.5] we ingram men ... that have need of advice

AMYOT  nous ... qui auons besoing de conseil

XYLANDER  consilio indigenes

ERASMUS  cuibus opus est consilio

hoi gnômes de omenoi

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5. NEED 2. HAVE NEED OF / HAVE NO NEED OF

5.68 [HP 110.11] But foolish sots in all their actions have need of sharpe corrections.
agan de morainonti nouthetemata

5.69 [HP 114.22] and if himselfe afterwards chance to offend and have need of the like reprehension...
[AMYOT] car s'il aduent puis après qu'il faille luy-mesme, & qu'il ait besoin de remonstrance...
[XYLANDER] qui si ipse postmodo peccet, ac opus habeat castigationes;
an gar husteron autos hamartanel kai de etai nouthesias...
(Note how 'have need of' reflects literally the French 'ait besoing de' and Latin 'opus habeat'.)

5.70 [FM 238a] We have need of nourishment, then so have the Gods
Nous avons besoin de nourriture, aussi ont donc les Dieux

5.71 [FM 294c] So much are heavenly opinions different from ours, concerning what we have need of
tant les opinions celestes sur ce qu'il nous faut, sont diverses aus nostres

HAVE GREAT NEED OF:

5.72 [M 190B] Onely of one thousand thereof we have great need e, for the reinforcing of the Companies which are weake.
SHALL/SHOULD HAVE NEED OF:

5.73 [LS 27.5] If thou wilt be assisted, thou shalt have need of another forme of letters
Aliud litterarum genus adiutorium admittit

5.74 [M 132A] The best place for the greatest quantity will be Dublin, for from thence we may find meanes to transport what other places shall have need e of, except the warre be in Connaght, for then onely from Lymrick and Galloway all our provisions must come.

5.75 [M 152D] Since the returne of Master Marshall and other Officers and Commanders, sent ... to draw the forces thereabouts the more speedily hither to vs, and to hasten such other provisions as giue vs leaue here we should have need off.

HAVE NO NEED OF:

As HAVE NEED TO has a negative form in HAVE NO NEED TO, so we find HAVE NO NEED OF as a negative of HAVE NEED OF.

5.76 [LS 9.1] reprehendeth those that say, that hee that is perfectly wise is content with himselfe, and that for this cause he hath no need e of a friend:
reprehendat ... qui dicunt sapientem se ipso esse
contentum, & propert hoc amico non indigere.
(Where 'have no need of' translates 'non indigere'. But see 5.74 where
'indigere' is translated 'want' and contrasted with 'have need'
rendering 'opus esse'.)

5.77 [LS 18.7] thou shalt understand that to satisfie our selues we
have no need of fortune.
& intelliges ad saturitatem non opus esse fortuna.

5.78 [HP 89.37] I have no neede of such a friend, that
will alter as I doe
[AMYOT] le n'ay que faire d'amy qui se change ainsi quand &
moi
[XYLANDER] non mihi opus est amico mecum sese mutante
ERASMUS Nhi lo p us est amico, qui mecum mutet
locum
ou de omain philou summethistamenou

5.79 [HP 109.45] I have no need of them now, nor of such
friends as you.
(This is an expansion of Holland's, not found in the Greek or any of
the other translations.)

5.80 [HP 109.48] They have no need as the case now stands
of free reprehensions
[AMYOT] Ils ne recoiuent point d'aspers remonstrances
[XYLANDER] non sententiarum recitationem requirunt
- houto toinun kai ta pragmata ton dustuchoun ton ou
parresian ennochetai kai gnomologia

Other negative forms of HAVE NEED OF:

5.81 [FM 185d] We have not much more need of offices,
of rules, and lawes how to live in our commonwealth, than the
Cranes and Ants have in theirs
Il ne nous faut guiere non plus d'offices, de
regles et loix de vivre, en nostre communaut%, qu'il en faut
aus grues et aus formis en la leur.

5.82 [M 124B] to enjoy a quiet priuate life, and that her Maiestie
may never more have need of men of our profession.

Interrogative of HAVE NEED OF:

5.83 [HP 109.9] When fortune doth upon men smile
What need have they of friends the while?
[AMYOT] Quand Ion est bien, qu'a ion besoing d'amis?
[XYLANDER] Cum res secundae sunt, quid amicis est opus?
hotan d'ho daimon eu didoi, ti dei philon;

HAD NEED OF without Preterite Sense:

5.84 [LS 40.14] Besides, thou hast neede of daily
exercise and thy studie is to be transferred from matters to
words
Praeterea exercitacione opus est quotidiana,
& a rebus studium transferendum est ad verba.
5.85 [FM 233e] I see the Pyrhonian Philosopher, who can by no manner of speech express their General conceit: for, they had need of a new language.

Je voy les philosophes Pyrroniens qui ne peuvent exprimer leur générale conception en aucune manière de parler: car il leur faut un nouveau langage.

5.86 [FM 322b] We had need of some body void and exempted from all these qualities, that without any preoccupation of judgement might judge of these propositions as indifferent unto him:

Il nous faut quelqu'un exempt de toutes ces qualités, afin que, sans præoccupation de jugement, il jugeast de ces propositions comme à luy indifferentes;

5.87 [C XVI] The unkindnes twixt him and others is not yet reconciled, which no doubt will much hinder this action that had need of all furtheraunce

5.88 [C LVII] At the end of the terme here was a speach of a call of Sergeants, but many lawiers complain, and say they had more need of a call of clients.

HAD NEED OF + NP, with Preterite Sense:

5.89 [B 1.16v] Because the one sort knew what they had need of & the other did not;

Hoc ideo fieri, quod philosophi, quibus rebus indigent, probe intelligant, divites non item (Present tense in the Latin translation, but preterite in English by sequence of tenses from a preterite verb of saying.)

5.90 [M 199C] your prouidence and care of vs was such, as things necessary were in readinesse for our supplies, before you had notice from vs that we had need of them.

5.91 [C XLVI] his patience was not proofe to beare out such a triall, but that many times yt failed him when he had most need e.

HAVE NEED OF + NP + TO BE + Past Participle:

5.92 [HP 109,14] yea & many there are who have need of wit, discretion and reason to be put into them from without

[AMYOT] & la plus part ont besoin de sagesse emprunte, & de raison venant d'ailleurs

[XYLANDER] plerique indigent aliorum externis consiliis, rationibusque foris

[ERASMUS] At plerique mortales, opus habent aliena prudentia, consilioque aliunde accedente

- hoi de polloi phrenon epeisaktōn de ontai kai logismōn piezontōn exōthen

The addition of an infinitive after the NP here forms the equivalent of a clause, 'Many have need that wit, discretion and reason should be put into them from without'. Yet the construction seems to
remain essentially still HAVE NEED OF NP with a participial extension of the NP as in the other languages.

Construction STAND IN NEED OF:

5.93 [FM 293b] that not by enjoying or possession, but by imagination and full wishing, we cannot all agree in one, that we most stand in need of, and would best content us.

Que, non par jouissance, mais par imagination et par sonhait nous ne puissions estre d'accord de ce quoy nous avons pour nous contenter.

NP1 NEEDS NP2:

This construction enters the language towards the end of the fourteenth century, at the same time as NP + NEED TO + Infinitive, which becomes the modal use. The two constructions are related and in certain elliptical contexts it is impossible to tell in which of the two constructions the verb NEED is intended;

5.94 [FM 214a] It is better to learne more than wee need, than nothing at all

Satus est supervacua discere, quam nihil

5.95 [D 51] of whome to borrow so much as I shall need,

'More than we need to learn', or 'more than we have need of', 'so much as I shall need to borrow' or 'so much as I shall have need of'.

Both NP + NEED TO + Infinitive and NP1 NEEDS NP2 are introduced into areas where constructions with HAVE NEED are long established; and both seem to be used first in negative clauses, leaving the HAVE NEED constructions in non-negative clauses though these constructions also continue to be common in negative clauses. All the examples of NP1 NEEDS NP2 from the extended corpus are here arranged so as to demonstrate the preference for negative and pseudo-negative clauses.

An isolated example suggests the influence of the modal construction on NP1 NEEDS NP2 since we find the uninflected third person singular form in a context where there is no likelihood of subjunctive mood or ellipsis of a verb.
5. NEED  2. With NP as Object

5.96 [FM 155a] Touching strength, there is no Creature in the world, open to so many wrongs and injuries as a man: He need not a Whale, an Elephant, nor a Crocodile, nor any such other wilde beast, of which one alone is of power to defeat a great number of men: seely lice are able to make Silla give over his Dictatorship:

Quant à la force, il n'est animal au monde en bute de tant d'offences que l'homme: il ne nous faut point une balaine, un elephant & un crocodile, ny tels autre animaux, desquels un seul est capable de defaire un grand nombre d'hommes; les poux sont suffisans pour faire vacquer la dictature de Sylla;

(or did Florio write or mean to write, following the French more closely, 'We need not a Whale ...?')

Further examples in negative clauses:

5.97 [IS 12.5] thus succeedeth in place of pleasure that he need eth none.

hoc ipsum succedit in locum voluptatem, nullus e g e r e.

5.98 [IS 21.8] This sentence is so plaine that it need eth no interpretation, and so expresse as it need eth no helpe.

et apertior ista sententia est quam inter pretanda est sit, & disertior quam a di u v a n d a.

5.99 [H 64C] Axiomes lesse generall, yet so manifest that they need eth no further profe, are such as these,

5.100 [H 105A] Let this be graunted, and it shall hereupon plainly ensue, either that the light of scripture once shining in the world, all other light of nature is therewith in such sort drowned, that now we need it not, neither may we longer vse it;

5.101 [H 163E] First so farre forth as the Church is the mysticall body of Christ and his invisiable spouse, it need eth no externall politie

To these we may add the following examples in clauses which are negative in that they contain one of the negative words although the sense is not strictly negative.

5.102 [H 87E] wee need eth no other meanes for our full instruction, then God hath alreadye furnished vs withall.

5.103 [H 88D] It sufficeth therefore that nature and scripture doe serue in such full sort, that they both ioynently and not severally eyther of them be so complete, that vnto euerlasting felicitie wee need eth not the knowledge of any thing more then these two.

5.104 [H 95C] What thinges are food, and what are not we iudge naturally by sense, neyther need we any other law to be our director in that behalfe then the selfe same which is common vnto vs with beasts.
These three can be read as negatives to which an exception is made.

The following is not negative in meaning at all, but contains negative words.

5.105 [B 2.80] They need medicine not only to assuage the disease but to awake the sense.

Medicina illis hominibus opus est, non solum ad curandum morbum, sed ad sensum expergefaciendum.

(They need medicine, in order to assuage ...)

We may add here a single example of the participle NEEDING:

5.106 [FM 301a] Touching the libertie of Philosophicall opinions, concerning vice and virtue, it is thing needing no great extension.

Quant à la liberté des opinions philosophiques touchant le vice et la vertu, c'est chose où il n'est besoin de s'estendre.

The following two examples show a negative sense:

5.107 [LS 14.17] He most of all possesseth riches, that least needeth them

Is maxime divitiis fruitur, qui minime divitiis indiget

5.108 [B 1.15r] Yet it will receive an open allowance, and therefore needes the less disproofe or excusation.

Tamen palam scilicet apud omnes laudem referent, ut, in hac re, longa defensione non sit opus.

NEED also appears in certain kinds of clause which as we saw in Chapter 4 prefer CAN rather than MAY: as clauses of comparison after AS + Adj + AS:

5.109 [FM 249c] For our masters preoccupate and gaine afore-hand as much place in our beleefe, as they need to conclude afterwards what they please ...

Car nos maistres praeoccupent et gaignent avant main autant de lieu en nostre creance qu'il leur en faut pour conclure apres ce qu'ils veulent.

('They need ... place - in order to conclude'. So in French 'pour conclurre'.)

and clauses equivalent to those introduced by WHOSOEVER or ALL THAT:

5.110 [FM 145a] I omit that, which necessitie in time of need doth particularly instruct and suddenly teach such as need it;

Je laisse a part ce que particulierement la necessite en aprant soubdein a ceus qui en ont besouin

NEED is also found in questions, and though there are no examples of
this in the present corpus, a reported question may account for NEED in

5.111 [IS 22.12] But if for this cause thou recoilest, that thou
mayest looke about thee, how much thou shalt carried with thee,
and what great riches thou needest to live in repose,
and thou shalt never finde an issue.
Sed si propter hoc tergiversaris, ut circumspicias,
quantum feras tecum, & quam magna pecunia instruas otium:
umquam exitum invenies.
(i.e. thou needest riches, in order to live in repose.)

NEED like CAN also appears in IF clauses which are not themselves
negative:

5.112 [N 185A] but rather they shall shew them favour, and helpe them
if they need any thing

and the single appearance of the preterite NEEDED in this construction:

5.113 [M98] That if for his defence he needed forces, he
shall levy none out of his Country without special licence of
the State, in which case he might have English bands.

However NEED is not excluded from non-negative clauses, though its
comparative rarity must lend it a particular emphasis:

5.114 [B 2.38r] But the inquisition of this part is of great use,
though it needed, as Socrates sayd, A Delian pluer,
being difficult & profound.
Atque haec inquisitio nobilis profecto esset usus;
verum (ut ait Socrates) natatore Delio indiget quia
mergitur in profundo.

There is perhaps a tendency to weaken the concentrated verbal force in
NEED when used without a negative by using the auxiliary DO or the
modal SHALL with NEED. Since the sense of NEED is usually turned
towards the future, SHALL often seems not to change the meaning.

5.115 [H 91D] Wherefore seeing that God hath indued vs with sense to
the end that wee might perceiue such things as this present life
doth need...

although it may be noted that the clause in which NEED appears is
equivalent to one introduced by WHATSOEVER.

5.116 [B 2.102v] For he that dooth so, leeseth infinite occasions
which entereine, and are many times more proper and propitious
for somewhat, that he shall need afterwards; then for
that which he vrgeth for the present.
Qui enim hoc facit, occasionum innumerarum iactura
mulctabitur; quae rebus agendis ex obliquo intervenire solent,
quaeque fortasse magis fuerint propitiae et commodae ad alia quae postea usui futura sint, quam ea, quae in manibus habeamus.

5.117 [H 168B] much the Church of God shall alwayes need which the scripture teacheth not.

5.118 [M 184E] and haue moreover things which they shall need, to furnish them to their voyage

5.119 [D 48] to helpe to by such cattell there as I shall need for Streatham

5.120 [B 2.4r] Another defect I note, wherein I shall need some Alchimist to helpe me
Defectum nunc notabo alium, in quo alchemista quispiam in auxilium a d v o c a n d u s foret
(Here we must take 'alchemist' as the subject of 'to help me' so that there is a kind of accusative and infinitive clause after 'I shall need'. 5.105 and 5.118 might possibly be taken in the same way, though in these I read the infinitive as expressing the purpose of the subject of HAVE NEED OF, or NEED.)

There is one example where NEED is used with MIGHT:

5.121 [FM 147a] whereas Nature hath clad and mantled all other creatures, some with sheles, some with huskes ... according as their quality might need, or their condition require.
(là où toutes les autres creatures, nature les a revestues de coquilles, de gousse ... selon le b e s o i n de leur estre;
(The expansion of this last phrase into 'as their quality might need or their condition require' may be considered with examples 5.163, 5.164 where we find 'as need requires' apparently as an expansion of 'as need is'. 'Require' is often taken as equivalent in meaning to the verb NEED when construed with a direct object. See also 5.44, 5.51, 5.80 where NEED or HAVE NEED corresponds to Latin REQUIRO.)

SHALL and SHOULD also occur with NEED in negative clauses and clauses of comparison.

5.122 [FM 148d] The earth without labour or tilling doth sufficiently produce and offer him as much as he shall need.
Et la terre en produit et luy offre assez pour sa need s i t é, sans autre culture et artifice.

5.123 [H 155E] Which argument shall need no touchstone to trye it by but some other of the like making

5.123a [LS 32.5] My desire is ... that [thy spirit] should please it selfe, and understanding true goods, which are possessed as soon as they are known, should need no adiction

Opto tibi ... ut placeat sibi, & intellectis veris bonis, quae simul intellecta sunt, possidentur, aetatis adictione non e g e a t
5. NEEDS  2. With NP as Object

5.124 [FM 139a] These sentences of the Holy Ghost, doe so lively and manifestly expresse, what I would maintaine, as I should neede no other proofe against such ... as would yeeld to his authority.

Ces sentiments du sainct esprit expriment si clairement et si vivement ce que je veux maintenir, qu'il ne me faudroit aucune preuve contre des gens qui se rendroient ... à son autorité.

The following is I think best taken as an example of this construction of NEED with a clausal subject

5.125 [H 147D] and that as it were altogether bootles to alledge against them, what the spirit hath taught vs; so likewise that euen to our ownselfes it needeth caution and explication how the testimony of the spirit may be discerned

I read as 'how the testimony of the spirit may be discerned needeth caution and explication' (the discerning of the spirit requires caution and explication) rather than 'caution and explication how the testimony of the spirit may be discerned needeth, that is, is necessary, even in our own case'. I suggest that if Hooker had intended this, he would have written 'there needeth caution and explication'. See examples 5.138, 5.139, 5.140, all with THERE NEEDETH, which I have taken as belonging to the absolute construction. In 5.139 in parallel clauses 'there needeth' 'it must'.

With this we conclude the exemplification of the verb NEED and HAVE NEED in personal constructions with infinitival and nominal objects and turn to the impersonal verbs BE NEED, and NEED, with clausal or nominal subjects. On the oldest level of the language there is the construction NEED IS + Genitive NP, 'There is need of ...'. The late ME NP + NEEDS 'There needeth ...' is represented by the following set of fifteen examples, all except one in negative, interrogative clauses or clauses of comparison.
II. Impersonal Constructions with Noun Phrase

THERE NEEDETH:

5.126 [LS 9.13] to that there needeth no more than an entire and erected minde, and such as dispiseth fortune. ad illud tantum animo sano et erecto & despiciente fortunam.


5.128 [B 2.26v] whereof there needeth noe enumeration;

5.129 [H 90E] albeit about things easie and manifest unto all men by common sense there needeth no higher consultation.

THERE NEEDS:

5.130 [B 1.36v] of whose vertues and Acts in warre there needes no note or recitall. Horum virtutes militares et res in bello gestas, supervacaneum esset notare,

THERE NEED (Plural):

5.131 [LS 38.1] it is good to use these more submissive speeches. They enter more sweetly; but they continue, for there neede not many, but such as are effectuall. ad haec submissiora verba veniendum est. Facilius intrant, sed & haerant. nec enim multis opus est, sed efficacibus.

5.132 [HL 40I] There need not many words for this matter, quoth Collatinus Collatinus negat verbis opus esse

5.133 [M Eliz 40E] We answere ... that we are ill serued; and that there need not so frequent demands of full pay;

WHAT NEED THERE?

5.134 [LS 31.5] What need there any vowes? Quid votis opus est?

THERE DOTH NEED:

5.135 [H 80D] That there is somewhat higher then either of these two no other proofe doth need, then the verie processe of mans desire.

5.136 [H 122C] The unsufficiencie of the light of nature is by the light of scripture so fully and so perfectly herein supplied, that further light then this hath added there doth not need unto that ende.
SHE WILL NEED:

5.137 \[H 53E\] from thence we must borrow so much as \( \text{shall need} \) for briefe resolution in this point.

(Clause of comparison)

In the following examples this construction occurs with an infinitive, representing a purpose clause, so that sense is 'N is not necessary in order to V'.

5.138 \[H 62B\] Neither must we suppose that there \( \text{needeth} \) rule to knowe the good, and another the euill by

(Clause dependent on a negative clause)

5.139 \[H 141E\] If I believe the Gospell, there \( \text{needeth} \) no reasoning about it to perswade me; If I doe not believe, it must be the spirit of God and not the reason of man that shall convert my hart vnto him.

In the next example, the infinitive 'despise' is used without TO and the whole construction seems broken and exclamatory.

5.140 \[LS 30.8\] But despise her that giueth vs leisure to see her approach, and is vpon the point to lay hands on vs, there \( \text{needeth} \) more settled and maturely established constancie

At illa quae in propinquo est, utique Ventura, desiderat lentam animi firmitatem;

This last example is the only one where NEED does not occur in a clause that is negative or pseudo-negative or a clause of comparison.

THERE NEEDS + NP can be expressed by using adjectives NP IS NEEDFUL, NP IS NECESSARY.

IS NEEDFUL:

5.141 \[B 2.180v\] For the Appeale is lawful (though it may be it shall not \( \text{be needful} \))

Appellatio sane legitima fuerit (licet res fortasse minus ea indigebit)

5.142 \[H 48D\] Which because wee are not oftentimes accustomed to doe, when we doe it the paines wee take are more \( \text{needful} \) a great deale, then acceptable.

5.143 \[M 143E\] and although so great a masse of victuals, as is \( \text{needful} \) cannot bee sent at an instant, wee desire it may be sent as it can be prouided.

5.144 \[M 199C\] and may besides prosecute those that haue shewed themselves worst affected, while such places as are \( \text{needful} \) may be fortified
5. NEED

5.145 [FM 148e] our common mother nature, hath with great plentie stored us with whatsoever should be needfull for us.

et que ... nostre mere nature nous avoit munis à planté de tout ce qu'il nous fallait.

5.146 [M 143c] And although (grieued with her Maiesties huge expence) we are loth to propound for so many men as are conceiued to be needfull and profitable for the present prosecution of this dangerous warre,

5.147 [M 159d] what could there be more done ... but ... to inuest them from succours or relieve, not omitting in the meane time to prouide whatsoever might be needfull, for the businesse in hand.

5.148 [H 86b] there is not in the world any Arte or Science, which proposing vnto it selfe an ende ... hath bene therefore thought defectiue, if it haue not deliuered simplie whatsoever is needfull to the same ende:

Use of NECESSARY for NEEDFUL is illustrated by the following.

IS NECESSARY:

5.149 [FM 148c] The bandles and swathes about our children are no more necessary.

Les liaisons et emmaillotements des enfans ne sont non plus nécessaires

5.149a [H 94d] For although euven here likewise the lawes of nature and reason be of necessary vse, yet somewhat ouer and besides them is necessary, namely humaine and positive law.

IS NECESSARY FOR/UNTO:

5.150 [H 62b] Seeing therefore that for the framing of mens actions the knowledge of good from euill is necessarie

5.151 [H 70e] Vn tilo' life many implements are necessarie
III. Impersonal Constructions, with Clause or Infinitive

IT NEEDETH THAT:

5.152 [LS 39.1] It n e e d e t h n o t n o w t h a t thou exact at my hands, either this or that authoritie
Tu a me, non est quod illum aut illum exigas

5.153 [H 151B] Surely if we haue vnto those lawes that dutifull regard which their dignitie doth require; i t w i l l n o t greatly n e e d, t h a t we should be exhorted to liue in obedience vnto them.

THAN NEEDS:

5.154 [FM 210c] They that would know what we conceit of every thing, use more curiosity t h a n n e e d s
Qui requirunt, quid de quaque re ipsi sentiamus;
curiosius id faciunt, quam n e c e s s e s t
(supposing this to be in full 'than it needs that they should use')

5.155 [C XLVIII] yt hath vexed your frends where she is, more t h e n n e e d e s

IT NEEDETH TO ... / WHAT NEEDETH IT TO ...

5.156 [LS 24.1] For w h a t n e e d e t h v s t o c a l l o n and anticipate our calamities, which will befall vs too soone, and lose the present good for feare of the euill to come?
Quid enim n e c e s s e s t mala accensere, & satis cito patienda, cum venerit, praesumere, ac praesens tempus futuri metu perdere?
(Impersonal use with oblique case of person experiencing need, frequent in ME, but by this time unusual.)

5.157 [H 60c] For as the authoritie of higher powers hath force euen in those things which are done without their priuitie, and are of so meane reckoning that t o acquaint them therewith i t n e e d e t h n o t:

5.158 [H 113D] In like sort Leo saith, W h a t n e e d e t h i t t o beleeue that thing that neither the Lawe hath taught, nor the Prophets haue spoken ... Quid o p u s e s t in cor admittere quod lex non docuit, quod Prophetica non cecinit ...

THERE IS NEED TO:

5.159 [HP 86.13] For surely t h e r e w a s n o g r e a t n e e d t o detect and convince the flatterie of Melanthius the Parasite and Lester of Alexander Phereaeus the Tyrant ...

[AMYOT] Car il n'y auroit pas grande affaire à descouvrir vn tel truant escornifleur qu'estoit Melanthius, le plaisant d'Alexandre tyran de Pheres.

[XYLANDER] Non enim puto, n e c e s s e e r a t Melanthium Alexandri Pheraei parasitum adsentationis convincere.
5.60 Also if he see him not disposed to take a journey by land or voyage by sea, or to go about any enterprise, whatsoever it be, slowly and with an ill will, he will say unto him; either that there is no such great need, or the time is not so convenient, but it may be put off to a farther daie.

5.61 Sir Thomas Norris is thought to have taken the alarme too soone and left his station before there was need.

5.62 and unles there shold be exceeding urgent need indeed, yt is thought a straunge pollicie to discover our want so far to the world. ('unless there should be need to do so')

To this construction belong 5.5 and 5.6 where the full sense is 'Can there be anything more turbulant than a palace, yet if there is need to live even there peaceably, a man may do so' and 'and now they have an imagination of sinking certain hulks in the channel, if there should be need to do so'.

This construction appears to underlie NEED REQUIRE + [THAT] + Clause / + (object) + Infinitive.

5.63 No man learneth to haue power, if need so required, to lye sweetly and softly amongst the roses.

5.64 For my selfe, I thinke it fittest to stay hereabouts, for from hence I may aptly draw towards Mounster or Connaght as need requires (as need requires me to, as need requires I should).
5. NEED

2. IT IS NEEDFUL THAT

**IT IS NEEDFUL (THAT) + Clause:**

5.165 [H 166D] But as in all other matters concerning the kingdom of heaven, so principally in this which concerneth the very government of that kingdom, it is needful that we should be taught of God

(Should in THAT-Clause)

5.165a [H 168E] When we do otherwise, surely we exceed our bounds, who & where we are we forget, & therefore it is that our pride in such cases be controid.

(Subjunctive BE in THAT-Clause)

5.166 [M 175B] It is needful that we all be on horsebacke at once and the greater haste the better

(Subjunctive BE in THAT-Clause)

**IT IS NOT NEEDFUL (THAT) + Clause:**

5.167 [B 2.114r] Neither was it needful that any should beare witnesse to him of Man, for he knewe well what was in Man

(Refers to John 2.25. But 1611 reads: (He) needed not that any should testify of man kai hoti ou chreian eichen hina tis marturesei peri tou anthropou)

(Should in THAT-Clause)

5.168 [LS 29.2] It is not alwayes needfull that a good Archer hit the white, sometimes he may misse

Sagittarius non aliquando ferire debet, sed aliquando deerrare

(Subjunctive in clause. 'not be needful' translates 'non debet'.

The Latin is expressed by means of necessity.

Debet non aliquando ferire - It is necessary sometimes not to hit
Debet aliquando deerrare - It is necessary sometimes to miss

The English by means of negative necessity and possibility

It is not necessary always to hit
It is possible sometimes to miss)

The following examples may also be considered under this construction.

5.169 [B 1.45r] But it must be remembered, both in this last point, and so it may like be needful in other places.

Sed enim meminerint homines, et nunc et alias ubi opus fuerit

(i.e. (that it should be remembered) is needful)

**IT IS NEEDFUL TO + Infinitive:**

5.170 [HP 86.23] What kinde of flatterer then is it so hard and yet needful to beware of?

[AMYOT] De quel flatteur doncques est-il difficile, & neantmoins

[XYLANDER] Quem igitur oportet cauere?

[ERASMUS] A quo nam igitur cauendum est?

Tina oun dei phulattesthai;
NEED

2. IT IS NEEDFUL FOR / IT IS NEEDLESS TO

5.171 [H 73A] therefore vnnto laws that men do make for the benefit of men it hath seemed alwaies needfull to ad rewards which may more allure vnnto good then any hardnes deterreth from it.

IT IS NEEDFUL FOR + NP + TO + Infinitive;

(Where FOR + NP with TO + Infinitive form subject and verb of a clause, subject of IS NEEDFUL.)

5.172 [LS 36.8] neither also should it be needfull for him to addresse and accustome himselfe to that whereunto our natural inclination sufficiently disposeth vs, as is the desire to conserve a mans selfe.

This appears to be the only example of this construction in the extended corpus. FOR + Noun evidently does not provide a subject to the Infinitive in

5.173 [M 202B] And because it will be also needfull for the furtherance of our resolutions here, to haue good understanding of the ciuill parts of that gounernement

NEEDLESS

This word serves as a negative of NEEDFUL. In this corpus it occurs twice in the construction

IT IS NEEDLESS TO;

5.174 [HL 17E] which to rehearse, as they were in a long prescript forme pronounced, were verie needlesse quae longo effata carmine non opera esse referre

5.175 [HP 108.54] And now of this point, needlesse it is to discourse any longer

[AMYOT] pourtant n'est-il a b e s o i n d'allonger ce propos d'avantage
[XYLANDER] Itaque hac de re nihil attinet prolixius disserere
[ERASMUS] Nihil igitur opus est de his sermonem in longum producere

ouden oude i peri touton legonta mękunei

NEEDLESS occurs once as an adjective;

5.176 [H 83B] When supernaturall duties are necessarily exacted, naturall are not rejected as needlesse.

There is a single example of IS NEEDFUL in the construction NP + IS NEEDFUL TO + Infinitive.
5. MUST, OUGHT 3. Selection in Translation

5.177 [LS 22.2] A man may in general giue aduice eyther by speech, or writing of that which hath beene accustomed, or of that which is needfuil to be done
Quid fieri soleat, quid oporteat, in universum & mandari potest, & scribi

where IS NEEDFUL functions like NEED TO or HAD NEED. 'That which needs to be done', 'that which had need be done' seem to give the meaning, though Lodge's translation does not really suit the Latin.

IT IS NECESSARY FOR + NP + TO + Infinitive:

5.178 [H 88E] For they only pleade, that whatsoever God reuеaleth as necessarie for all Christian men to doe or believe, the same we ought to embrace

SECTION 3 - MUST, OUGHT AND OTHER EXPRESSIONS OF OBLIGATION AND NECESSITY

Selection of MUST or OUGHT in Translation

The method which was used in Chapter 3 and 4 to study the modal pairs WILL/SHALL and CAN/MAY makes use of the fact that both WILL and SHALL occur as translations of the future tense in Latin and French and both CAN and MAY occur as translations of POSSUM in Latin and POUVOIR in French. By studying the grammatical circumstances in which one or other of each pair was selected we were able to say something about their relationship and the usage of the period around 1600. However this method is quite inappropriate for the study of NEED and MUST, although as has been shown, in some ways these two words constitute a pair parallel to WILL and SHALL, CAN and MAY. In the first place, although words and conjugational forms in Latin and French which are frequently translated by MUST, are occasionally translated by NEED, there are separate expressions, such as AVOIR BESOIN in French, corresponding to HAVE NEED in English and OPUS ESSE in Latin, corresponding to IS NEED, at least in certain of its English constructions, which are not normally translated by MUST. But in any case, the study of WILL
and SHALL, and of CAN and MAY, was directed at finding out what governed, in the English of this time, the use of WILL instead of SHALL, of CAN instead of MAY. The relationship between NEED and MUST leaves nothing to be discovered in this way, because MUST can only be used positively - when used in a negative clause, it is always the infinitive of the lexical verb which is negated, never the obligation or necessity that are the meaning of MUST itself. To express the non-existence of obligation/necessity, NEED NOT must be employed. As we have seen, in its strictly modal form and construction, NEED seems never to be used except negatively and therefore, in the modal system itself we may take NEED and MUST as constituting a pair related in this simple way; MUST expresses necessity or obligation; NEED NOT expresses the non-existence of necessity or obligation.

Yet it so happens that the particular method which offered a way to begin the study of both WILL and SHALL and CAN and MAY, the method that is of examining which of the two alternatives is in each case selected as the appropriate translation of a single item in another language, can also be used with MUST, not in relation with its paired modal NEED, but with another modal, so far unmentioned, OUGHT. In the three languages from which the translated texts are taken - for we have for the purposes of the study of MUST and OUGHT added a corpus from a text translated by Holland from Greek - the conjugational forms and the words which are frequently translated by MUST can be set out as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugational Form</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Impersonal Verb</td>
<td>gerundive</td>
<td>verbal adjective</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPORTET</td>
<td>DEI</td>
<td>OPHEILÔ</td>
<td>IL FAUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Verb</td>
<td>DEBEO</td>
<td></td>
<td>DEVOIR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 205 -
DEBEO, OPHEIŁO and DEVOIR have as their basic sense, ‘to owe’. OPHEIŁO occurs in fact only once (when it is translated MUST) but in the texts under consideration taken as a whole all the others are translated by (or are used to translate) both MUST and OUGHT. The table is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gerundive</th>
<th>DEBEO</th>
<th>OPORTET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lodge's</td>
<td>MUST</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seneca</td>
<td>OUGHT</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland's</td>
<td>MUST</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livy</td>
<td>OUGHT</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon (English to Latin)</td>
<td>MUST</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OUGHT</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>OPHEIŁO</th>
<th>DEI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Holland's</td>
<td>MUST</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plutarch</td>
<td>OUGHT</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DEVOIR</th>
<th>IL FAUT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Florio's</td>
<td>MUST</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montaigne</td>
<td>OUGHT</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A study of the selection between MUST and OUGHT made by the translators revealed no obvious syntactical reasons for one word rather than the other. On the assumption that in some cases at least the translators were making merely a stylistic choice, the following experiment was tried. In each example with MUST occurring, OUGHT was substituted; in each example with OUGHT, MUST was substituted, and the resulting sentences considered. Of course all that could be brought into play was the language feeling of a native speaker of PE, not eModE. However, the distinction between the majority of cases where the substitution produced a sentence which seemed both acceptable and to convey essentially the same meaning as the first version, and a minority
of the sentences where the substitution produced a sentence that clearly had a different meaning or was puzzling or unacceptable, was so sharp that it seemed worth pursuing.

The distinction may be illustrated by the following set of examples, taken from Florio-Montaigne in which MUST translates IL FAUT.

5.179 [FM 132a] And we burne those men, which say, that truth must be made to abide the yoke of our need:

Et nous bruslons les gens qui disent qu'il faut faire souffrir à la vérité le joug de nostre besouin

Substituting OUGHT for MUST

And we burn those men, which say, that truth ought to be made to abide the yoke of our need.

This substitution appears to leave the meaning essentially unchanged.

Since elsewhere Florio translates IL FAUT by OUGHT, it seems likely that here we have what is fundamentally a stylistic choice. Although there may be reasons of style or semantic nuance for the selection of MUST, there is here no syntactical reason for the use of one modal rather than the other.

5.180 [FM 137c] Such fellows must somewhat more roughly be handled: for they are more dangerous, and more malicious than the first.

Il faut secouer ceux cy un peu plus rudement, car ils font plus dangereux & plus malitieux que les premiers.

Substituting OUGHT for MUST

Such fellows ought somewhat more roughly to be handled: for they are more dangerous, and more malicious than the first.

Again this seems to be both acceptable and to have the same meaning.

5.181 [FM 188d] But we must tread this foolish vanitie under foot...So long as man shall be persuaded to have meanes of power of himself, so long wil he denie, and never acknowledge what he oweth unto his Master... He must be stripped into his shirt.

Mais il faut mettre aux pieds cette sotte vanité... Tant qu'il pensera avoir quelque moyen & quelque force de soy, jamais l'homme ne reconnoistra ce qu'il doit à son maistre... il le faut mettre en chemise.

Substituting OUGHT for MUST
5. MUST, OUGHT  3. Selection in Translation

But we ought to tread this foolish vanity under foot ... He ought to be stripped into his shirt.

Again no fundamental difference is made.

5.182 [FM 192a] We must be besotted ere we can become wise, and dazled before we can be led.
I l nous f a u t abestir pour nous assagir, et nous esblouir pour nous guider.

Substituting OUGHT for MUST

We ought to be besotted ere we can become wise, and dazzled before we can be led.

This is evidently not an equivalent to the original and its meaning is not at all clear.

In order to illustrate the substitution in the opposite direction, let us leave the translations and take the entire set of uses of OUGHT from Book I of Hooker's Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. These are:

5.183 [H 65A] The soule then ought to conduct the bodie and the spirite of our mindes the soule.

5.184 [H 88E] For they only pleaide, that whatsoever God reualeth as necessarie for all Christian men to doe or believe, the same we ought to embrace.

5.185 [H 92C] Easiest a great deale it is for men by law to be taught what they ought to doe, then instructed how to judge as they should do of law;

5.186 [H 95A] for that they discerne not aright what place and force these seuerall kindes of lawes ought to haue in all their actions.

5.187 [H 62A] whereby rules haue beene found out concerning that natural goodnes wherwith the will of man ought to be moued in humaine actions

5.188 [H 83D] which cause men of sundrie wits to be also of sundry judgements concerning that which ought to be done.

5.189 [H 47E] He that goeth about to perswade a multitude, that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall neuer want attentive & fauourable hearers;

5.190 [H 52A] All things therefore, which are as they ought to be, are conformed vnto this second law eternall.

The first six of this set permit the substitution of MUST for OUGHT with no more than a slight stylistic change. Hooker is a writer fairly
sparing in his use of the word OUGHT, and in all these examples it has a certain emphasis, partly perhaps because of the TO which always follows it and ensures that a stress falls both on OUGHT and on the following infinitive. When MUST is substituted, not being followed by TO, it forms a single stress group with its infinitive and so is itself relatively unstressed. For this reason MUST seems less strong then NEED. However in 5.189 and 5.190 the substitution of MUST produces unacceptable sentences.

From these two sets of examples it would be reasonable to assume that MUST and OUGHT are usually interchangeable, but that MUST sometimes has a meaning, or appears in some syntactical situation, where it is not replaceable by OUGHT, and likewise with OUGHT.

To discover precisely in what sense or situation MUST cannot be replaced by OUGHT, we take more examples where the change is impossible to make and consider these together with the example 5.182 already noted.

5.191 [LS 19.8] or in this solicitude of procuration, and afterwards of ciuill offices, thou m u s t waxe old in trauell and be alwayes tossed with new waves.

aut in ista sollicitudine procurementum et deinde urbanorum officiorum s e n e s c e n d u m, in tumultu ac semper novis fluctibus.

5.192 [B 2.3c] For if you will haue a tree beare more fruit then it hath vsed to do; ... it is the styring of the earth, and putting newe mould about the rootes, that m u s t worke it.

Nam si arborem solito fructuosiorem fieri cupias terra ipsa circa radicem subigenda et gleba laetior admovenda, aut nihil egeris.

5.193 [FM 130b] Compare but our manners unto a Turke, or a Pagan, and we m u s t needs yeeld unto them;

comparez nos meurs à un Mahometan, à un Payen; vous demeurez tousjours au dessous;

5.194 [FM 242a] Some there are so seely and popular ... that five or six of them m u s t be shufled up together to produce an eare of corne.

Il en est de si chetifs et populaires ... qu'ils en faut entasser bien cinq ou six à produire un espic de bled.
5.195 [HP 104.41] seeing then that he must needs be detected and known for such an one as he is, what doth he, thinke you? [AMYOT] il ne la peut endurer, pource qu'il scait bien qu'il sera descouuert pour tel qu'il est: ouk anapheron all'exelenchomenos tauto poiei

5.196 [H 94C] and in this case there is no remedie but we must adde yet a further law.

5.197 [M Essex 36D] and that your Victorie will be certaine, though many of vs your honest seruants must sacrifice our selues in the quarrell ... 

5.198 [C V] yet being to go out of towne to morrow towards Askot, me thinckes I must needs bid you farewell.

5.199 [D 47] which remainder of money I must in treat that favour of you to send me up so soone as convenient you may.

If we look at these examples, together with 5.182, we find that in each of them the writer is referring to what is inevitable and unavoidable if certain conditions obtain or if a certain end is to be achieved. If the replacement of MUST by OUGHT yields a plausible sense then that new sense shows the writer himself involved, no longer merely setting out an inevitable state of affairs, but by his utterance, involving himself in it. Thus 5.182

We must be besotted ere we can become wise states what is necessary if an end is to be achieved. In

We ought to be besotted ere we can become wise

Montaigne would have to be advocating becoming besotted before we had a chance to grow wise – the French shows this cannot be intended. In 5.193 'we ought to yield unto them' would make perfectly good sense, though not that of the example as it stands with MUST and it would involve us in understanding the word 'yield' in a different sense. The French indicates we are concerned with the fact of inferiority, not with the need for an honest recognition of it – though it is true that without the 'needs' in Florio's translation it would be possible here to read MUST in a way which would be replaceable by OUGHT.
5. MUST, OUGHT  3. Selection in Translation

MUST NEEDS

So with the other first person examples. 5.196 is stating as a consequence that there is another law to be added. It is not advocating a further act of legislation; 5.198 finds no alternative to bidding farewell - though here again, it is only the presence of 'needs' that compels this reading. In 5.199 the whole rhetoric of politeness is destroyed if 'I must intreat you' is replaced by 'I ought to intreat you'. The writer is proclaiming that he can do no other, given his circumstances.

In the second person, 5.191 Seneca is telling Lucilius what will inevitably happen to him unless he escapes from public life: OUGHT would here lay an obligation upon Lucilius to endure this fate, reversing Seneca's intention. 5.194 as it stands, tells what would be necessary to produce a certain result. With OUGHT it would advocate doing this.

In 5.192 'that ought to work it' though it is true that this might occur in PE, certainly does not give an acceptable meaning here.

In 5.195, we have a reported state of mind. The flatterer sees the inevitability of his exposure, not its moral (or any other kind) of appropriateness. Again here we find the adverb NEEDS.

From these examples, it seems clear that when MUST has the sense of what in our general discussion of the system CAN-MAY-NEED-MUST we referred to as obligation (corresponding to permission) then it is replaceable by OUGHT. When the sense is of necessity (corresponding to possibility), then OUGHT cannot replace MUST.

MUST

Where the context requires, MUST is disambiguated by the use of an adverb which indicates that MUST is to be taken in the sense of necessity, not obligation. The most frequent adverb used is NEEDS though we also find OF NECESSITY, NECESSARILY, and OF FORCE. In the
present corpus about one in every ten uses of MUST has necessity indicated adverbially in this way.

We refer here to Chapter 3, Section 4, pp. 100-101 where WILL NEEDS is mentioned. WILL NEEDS is used to indicate that WILL is to be taken in its full sense of 'insists, is determined to', and not in a weakened sense. In the terminology which we have employed in this study, MUST has its original meaning in obligation which is in some contexts generalized into necessity. NEEDS is also sometimes used to mark this sense and its appropriateness in both cases is evident, in terms of the two poles of self and world. On the one hand the inevitability that comes from self in WILL NEEDS, on the other, the inevitability of the world in MUST NEEDS.

Yet the distinction between obligation and necessity as these apply to MUST is best made without attempting to establish a kind of philosophical definition of what is necessary by seeing it as a cosmic obligation. It is true that language starts from obligation, as it starts from permission, and derives necessity and possibility from these. This is surely because to permit and, in the sense we are here using the word, to oblige, are in themselves verbal actions. There is a verbal form for giving permission and permission cannot be given except by pronouncing this form or some equivalent to it. In the same way the obligation which corresponds to permission can only exist as a pronouncement. The word OUGHT cannot be uttered (except in quotation) without involving the speaker as the originator or promulgator of an obligation. It is this participation by the speaker in the obligation which distinguishes it from the expression of necessity. Here the speaker is no longer involved in a speech act which promulgates the obligation, but uses language to refer to the existence of the obligation, which by this verbal stance becomes from the point of view of the
5. MUST . 3. Obligation, Necessity

sentence in which he does so, necessity. Thus

5.200 [C LIII] therefore you must not succumbere oneri, but go on cherefully to the journies end

is an utterance which establishes an obligation. It is equivalent to 'you ought not to ...' The obligation has its origin with the writer and its existence in the utterance.

But in

5.201 [C LV] but the more I thincke the lesse I am satisfied, to see ... that I have none other meanes to acknowledge your kindnes: so that you must even put me in the number of your doubtfull or rather desperate debters.

the writer is stating an obligation for which he has no responsibility at all. His correspondent is informed not what he ought to do but what he has no choice except to do. The sentence reports a situation and records the necessity that it imposes on the correspondent.

In such second person examples the distinction is perhaps clearest, since here, the expression of obligation with MUST is close to a command or request, while as an expression of necessity it may refer to the fate of the interlocutor which the speaker is helplessly bewailing. Yet the use of the same word for these two purposes is a kind of irony built into the language itself. In the first person, this irony becomes a resource of rhetoric. 'I must' can be the obligation that I impose on myself or the recognition of a necessity from which I have no escape.

5.202 [C LVI] And now we are in mirth, I must not forget to tell you of a cousening prancke of one Venner ...

where the sense is I suppose 'I ought not to forget' and

5.203 [C XXXVIII] but I cannot be so easilie led to beleve protestations (though never so deep) against manifest prooфе, yet I must needs say that one thing stickes much in many mens mindes, that ...

5.204 [D 29] You say you haue lett elwyk tyth for vij years. I must be content when no more can be got.
where the speaker is stating the necessity and not imposing an obligation upon himself. Further, utterances of 'I must' or 'You must' may be quoted or referred to in other utterances. Thus

5.205 [C LI] mary matters are caried more close, and I m u s t not be acquainted with theyre proceedings, which doth nothing displease me: forI see she m u s t have her swinge.

Here, 'I must not be acquainted' seems to be a quotation of an obligation the speaker feels has been laid upon him, 'you must not be acquainted' but now repeated it reports a necessity. Again the observation of what is inevitable, 'she must have her swinge', derives from the lady's own 'I must' which is presumably an obligation which she lays upon (or claims for) herself.

Again from Chamberlaine we may take:

5.206 [C XII] And for horsemen to that service the justices of peace throughout England m u s t be intreated to furnish them.

In another context this could be the command that application for horses be made to the justices of the peace, or it could stand in Chamberlaine's letter as a quotation of that command. But I suspect MUST is here being used of strict necessity with ironical effect. 'Such is now the state of public finance, that there is no alternative but that justices of the peace have to be entreated to supply horses.'

There seem no traces of the older sense of MOTE, expressing possibility still surviving in the use of MUST at this time with the possible exception of the following example from the Delaval letters.

5.207 [D 18] I have beene a houskeeper since the beginnig of March, and to want the meanes wherby we m u s t subsist and live ... would much redound to my hurt.

Taking 'wherby we must subsist and live' as a purpose clause introduced by a relative, this might be considered as falling under MUST 1b in the OED

Past subjunctive (i.e. of MOTE) in petitions, final clauses, wishes and the like = might, should, might be permitted to.
5. OUGHT  3. Not Replaceable by MUST

But the last example given in the dictionary is c.1400. MAY or MIGHT would certainly seem more appropriate, but MUST may arise from the contextual sense of necessity - 'means which are necessary to our subsistence'.

There are the following pleonastic uses of MUST:

5.208 [D 18] and if it be not spedily returned me, I must be forced to come downe which will be a great charge to me besides I am a newly maryed man.

5.209 [D 51] my ground hear requires a gretter then I have yet so as I must be for st ether to take vp sum monney to stok my ground with all ...

5.210 [B 2.11v] whereas he that undertaketh the story of a time, specially of any length, cannot but meet with many blankes, and spaces, which he must be forced to fill vp out of his own wit and conjecture.

cum contra historia temporis ... necessario in memoria rerum saepius fatiscat, et veluti spatioa vacua contineat; quae ingenio et conjectura occupari, et suppleri sat is licenter consueWerunt.

OUGHT

Further examples of uses of OUGHT where the word cannot be replaced by MUST.

5.211 [LS 12.2] this would not happen if any man had digged about them, and watred them as they ought to be.

Hoc non accideret, si quis has circumfoderet, si irrigaret.

5.212 [LS 13.4] Somethings therefore doe more afflicted vs then they ought, some before they ought, othtersome torment vs when they should not at all.

Quaedam ergo nos magis torment quam debent; quaedam ante torment quam, debent; quaedam torment cum omnino non debent.

5.213 [B 2.51r] But heere was their cheefe Errour; They charged the deceite vpon THE SENSES; ... But they ought to have charged the deceit vpon the weaknesses of the intellectual powers ...

Verum in hoc maxime ab illis peccatum est; quod sensum perceptiones calumniabantur ... De buerant autem potius defectum hac in parte imputasse mentis tum erroribus.

5.214 [FM 131b] Men are but directors unto it and use religion for a shew; It ought to be cleane contrarie.

Les hommes y sont conducteurs et s'y servent de la religion; ce devroit estre tout le contraire.
5.215 [FM 169a] causes, which ought not to move two scolding fish-wives to scratch one another ...
causes qui ne devraient pas esmouvoir deux harengeres a s'esgratigner ...

5.214 and 5.215 suggest that MUST cannot replace OUGHT in contexts where the obligation expressed by OUGHT runs counter to the actual situation. This is explicit in 5.214. The actual situation is described; the writer pronounces that he requires it to be 'clean contrary'. It is of course the way in which, within the sentence itself, the situation is given as the background to the counter-obligation that makes it necessary to select OUGHT and reject MUST. Thus 'Men must not be directors unto religion and use it for a show', taken by itself, is acceptable for here the fact that this runs counter to their actual practice is not specifically brought into the sentence. We may note that in the French, the conditional tense, 'ce devroit' is employed. In 5.215 OUGHT NOT cannot be replaced by MUST NOT because the point is that such causes as are here under consideration create much greater conflicts than the fighting of fishwives.

In 5.213 'they charged deceit upon the senses', Bacon expresses an obligation now in the past - an obligation unfulfilled. OUGHT TO HAVE can never be replaced by MUST HAVE; a discussion of the way these and other modal forms followed by HAVE behave is to be found in Chapter 6, Section 5.

In 5.211 the whole sentence provides a context which makes it clear that 'as they ought to be', a phrase added for clarification and not found in the Latin, refers to an obligation unfulfilled. No one had digged about the trees and watered them, yet there was the obligation to do this.

In 5.212, and also, to return to the examples from Hooker, 5.189, involve obligations which are not properly fulfilled. We may note that
OUGHT then like MUST is used to express obligation. Unlike MUST is cannot also be used to express necessity. On the other hand, MUST is not used to express obligation in contexts which involve the non-fulfilment of the obligation, where only OUGHT can be used. This may be set out diagrammatically as

To reflect frequency of occurrences in the corpus the area of overlap should be very much larger in relation to the two areas of no overlap. The overlapping of the two circles represents all those cases in the translations when the rendering of the Latin gerundive, of DEBEO, of IL FAUT and DEVOIR as MUST or OUGHT is apparently due to stylistic
rather than to semantic considerations and in the untranslated texts where the substitution of OUGHT for MUST, or of MUST for OUGHT gave an acceptable sentence with the meaning essentially unchanged.

The left-hand crescent where the MUST circle does not overlap represents uses of MUST where OUGHT cannot be substituted. This includes all uses of MUST NEEDS, MUST OF FORCE, etc. In the right-hand crescent come uses such as 5.189, 5.190 and 5.211-215 where MUST cannot be substituted for OUGHT.

The three areas defined by the two circles are labelled here to suggest how the English language on a more self-conscious level deals with the semantic questions involved. Thus we are able to distinguish between logical and moral obligation, but the word obligation itself embraces both. Again the phrase 'not permitted not' would be appropriate in all three areas, 'not possible not' only indicates necessity and I have suggested 'not allowed not' in the right-hand area of OUGHT, because in Elizabethan English 'allow' still embraced the sense of approval as well as permission and in PE it is less likely than 'permit' to appear in purely logical contexts.

Thus although much reliance has had to be placed on judgements made from the language sense of a native speaker of PE the system which emerges from this examination is plausible enough. It suggests that the language has not changed greatly in this area since 1600. There are certainly some features of change, the most notable being the disappearance of MUST NEEDS from use.

DISTRIBUTION OF OUGHT

A more detailed study of the materials presented here would go into the principles of the stylistic choice between MUST and OUGHT in the area of obligation. This is omitted here, but there is one outstanding feature in the stylistic distribution of OUGHT which must be
5. OUGHT  3. Distribution

considered as it throws what is perhaps a new light on the relationship between MUST and OUGHT as discussed so far.

MUST and OUGHT occur in the texts as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>MUST</th>
<th>OUGHT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lodge-Seneca</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland-Livy</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland-Plutarch</td>
<td>17</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florio-Montaigne</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooker</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moryson</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamberlaine</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaval</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The marked difference between the translated texts and the untranslated is to be noted, though of course in the case of Bacon, the English is the original. But the high frequency of OUGHT in Lodge and Florio is not due to any mechanical rendering of DEBEO and DEVOIR, as can be seen by referring to the table on p. 206 which shows that OUGHT in these texts is not overwhelmingly derived from these words in the originals. The complete absence of OUGHT from both the letter corpuses suggests the word was not felt appropriate for informal written style. This in turn may suggest it was not in colloquial use, being replaced by SHOULD. See 5.212 where 'debent' occurs three times and is twice translated by OUGHT, and once by SHOULD.

The single occurrence of OUGHT in the extended text from Moryson's Itinerarie is

5.216 [M 72C] he alleaged ... that he thought his service **ought** not to be any bar against them, for the receiving the reward of their deserts.

SHOULD here would give the sense that he did not expect his service to be any bar against them. The very large number of constructions which make use of SHOULD means that its use is often ambiguous, especially
in complex philosophical prose. In conversation this would hardly apply. This may explain the frequency of OUGHT in Bacon. The very high frequency in Lodge's Seneca and Holland's Plutarch may derive from habits of translation, but the infrequency of OUGHT in so complex a stylist as Hooker, and in a subject so concerned with obligation, is remarkable. A further discussion of the stylistics of the use of OUGHT at this time is to be found below in Chapter 8 on Shakespeare's Language, where the subject is resumed and the discussion summarized and concluded in the light of the evidence from the corpus and from Shakespeare.

**OUGHT WITHOUT TO**

OUGHT like MUST is a modal with a single tense form. Historically a past tense of OWE (the form OUGHT is used by Chamberlaine for OWED but not as a modal) it does not show distinct present and preterite forms.

It is distinguished from MUST in its modal characteristics and indeed from all the other modals in that it is regularly followed by TO. A complete list of the exceptions to this, where TO is omitted, is given below.

5.217 [LS 17.6] We o u g h t in her behalfe endure hunger

5.218 [FM 222d] He o u g h t in the behalfe of humane reason be answered:

5.219 [FM 130b] Whereas in respect of our religious superioritie, we o u g h t by much, yea by an incomparable distance, out-shine them in excellencies:

In all three examples, there is a phrase interposed between OUGHT and the infinitive.
BEHOVES

Side by side with the development of NEED as it draws, if only partially, into the modal system, we may note here another word, with a development very similar to that of NEED, which acquires about the same time as NEED the modal construction, Subject + Modal Verb + Infinitive. It is the verb BEHOVE. Through the ME period it is used with a clausal subject

BEHOVES + (THAT) Clause

BEHOVES + Accusative Noun + Infinitive.

These are both impersonal constructions similar to those in early use with NEED. The basic meaning is close to that of NEED being 'to require' though whereas with NEED what is required is what is lacked, with BEHOVE what is required is what can be made use of.

The OED attributes the development of the personal construction to a misreading of the accusative noun used as the object after the impersonal verb BEHOVES as a nominative, and gives two examples.

Richard Rolle: The Nam of Ihesu es helefull and nedys by-houys be lufed of all.

Chaucer: A Servant of God behoveth nought to chi de.

This construction is soon lost in Southern English, though it continues in Scotland, side by side with the impersonal use, and in the preterite with the form BUIT or BUDE becomes a substitute for MUST/ought.

With the impersonal constructions it remains in the written standard of this period as a subsidiary means of expressing obligation and necessity. Examples are listed below.

IT BEHOVES + (THAT) Clause:

5.220 [HP 105.48] In which regard it behooveth that this libertie in fault finding, be tempered with a certain amiable affection.

[AMYOT] Parquoy il faut que ceste liberté de reprendre soit temperée d'vne affection amiable.
5. MUST, OUGHT  3. BEHOVE

[XYLANDER]  Itaque lenitate oportet temperatam esse libertatem
[ERASMUS]  Quapropter libertas iucunditate morum erit condenda
dio dei ten parresian ethei keknashai

IT BEHOVES + Accusative NP + (THAT) Clause:

5.221  [LS 5.5]  It behooves that our life be balanced betwixt good and publike maners
Hic modus placet. Temperetur vita inter bonos mores & publicos.

IT BEHOVES + TO + Infinitive:

5.222  [LS 13.12]  It behooves, contrariwise, to reject and contenme the feare it selfe, which is attended euerie way with apparent occasions.
  evidentem quoque metum respue.

IT BEHOVES + Accusative NP + TO + Infinitive:

5.223  [LS 6.5]  It therefore behooves thee to transport thy selfe hither:
In rem praesentem venias oportet

5.224  [LS 14.10]  Afterwards it behooves thee, according to the auent precept, to endeuour thy selfe to auoyde three things;
  Tria deinde ex praeceptione veteri praestanda sunt, ut vitentur.

5.225  [LS 16.1]  It behooves thee also to imprint it in thy soule
  sed hoc ••• fir man dum ••• est

5.226  [H 48D]  for better examination of their qualitie, it behooves the very foundation and root, the highest welspring and fountaine of them to be discouered.

5.227  [M 199C]  For since ... there is great likelihood, that a new supply from Spaine will come speedily & strongly if at all, it behooves vs to be in readinesse to intertaine them ...

Preterite:

5.228  [LS 14.2]  So ought we to behaue our selues, not as though it behoued vs to liue for our bodie; but as if we might not liue without the same.
  sic gerere nos debemus, non tamquam propter corpus vivere debeamus, sed tamquam non possimus sine corpore.

5.229  [H 84D]  by often putting them in minde of that whereof it behoued them to be specially mindefull
In the examples above BEHOVE expresses obligation. In 5.230 and 5.231 it is used to express necessity.

5.230 [LS 14.18] He that wanteth riches, feareth for them: but no man envieth a good that breedeth feare: whilst he thinketh to encrease the same, he forgettesth the use of them: it behooveth him alwaies to haue the counter in his hand, to assist at the bursse time, and visit his bookes of account: briefly, of a Master he becommeth a Factor.

Qui eget divitiis, temet pro illis. Nemo autem sollicito bono fruitur; dum de incremento cogitat, oblitus est usus; rationes accipit, forum conterit, Kalendarium versat; fit ex domino procurator.

(translating present indicative tenses in Latin. The necessity is logical rather than moral 'he must always have the counters in his hand' but not 'he ought always to have the counters in his hand'.)

5.231 [LS 17.5] If thou desierest to enioy the freedome of thy minde, eyther it behooveth thee to be poore, or like a poore man.

Si vis vacare animo, aut pauper sis oportet aut pauperi similis.

There is no use of the modal construction Subject + BEHOVE TO + Infinitive. All uses are in non-negative clauses. The word is rarely used by any of the writers in the corpus except Lodge.

BE TO + Infinitive:

The expression of necessity in the English of this period is perhaps most sharply different from PE in that the employment of HAVE TO + Infinitive is virtually absent. In fact the use of HAVE TO + Infinitive to express necessity is at this time just beginning and the use which the OED gives as the first occurrence falls within the corpus on which this study is based.

5.232 [H 48A] Whereas on the other side, if we maintaine thinges that are established, we haue not onely to striue with a number of heauie preiudices deepely rooted in the hearts of men ... but also to beare such exceptions as minds so auerted beforehand usuallly take ...

but no other example of the expression occurs anywhere in the texts studied. On the other hand, the expression BE TO + Infinitive in a range of senses is often employed to express obligation and necessity.

A set of examples is given, illustrating the use of BE TO +
Infinitive, used to translate the main expressions in Latin and French, more usually rendered by MUST and OUGHT, and also to illustrate the employment of this expression in the original texts, where the sense either of obligation or necessity seems clear.

BE TO + Infinitive is not confined to this meaning but its uses when it is not expressing obligation and necessity are not considered here.

BE TO + Infinitive used to Express Obligation/Necessity in Translation:

Latin gerundive

5.233 LS 24.1: Beleeue me Lucillius, so little ought death to be feared that nothing is to be preferred before the benefit thereof. Mihi crede, Lucili, adeo mors timenda non est, ut beneficiuo eius nihil anteferendum sit. (where the first gerundive is rendered by OUGHT and the second by BE TO)

Greek DEI (corresponding to French IL FAUT and Latin gerundive)

5.234 [HP 92.38]: so we are to thinke well of friendship when it is pleasant, delightsome and cheereful, if otherwhiles also it can displease and crosse againe; 

[AMYOT] aussi faut - i l estimer que celuy-la resiout & complaist en amy, qui peult aussi quelquefois contrister & contredire. 

[ERASMUS] ita put andus est amice iucundus & blandus esse, qui quandque possit contristare amicum ac resistere. houto de e i to euphrainon kai charizomenon hegeisthai philikon ...

French DEVOIR

5.235 [FM 149d]: when the Ichneumon is to grapple with the Crocodile, he walloweth his body in the mire, then lets the same drie, and harden upon him. 

& l'ichneaumon, quand il dooit venir aux prises avec le crocodile, munit son corps, l'enduit & le crouste tout & l'entour de limon bien serré & bien pestry ...

French IL FAUT

5.236 [FM 157b]: Amongst other things, he was for a long while to counterfeit and faine himselle dead ... 

Il falloit entre autre choses qu'il contrefit pour un temps le mort ...

The translation of Bacon frequently renders BE TO + Passive Infinitive by DEBEO.
5. MUST, OUGHT 3. BE TO

5.237 [B 1.44v] how much more are letters to be magnified, which as Shippes, pass through the vast Seas of time ... quanto rectius literae celebrari d e b e n t, quae, tanquam naves sulcantes oceanum temporis ...

5.238 [B 2.45v] So as these predictions a r e now impertinent, t o be referred ouer. 

Huiusmodi igitur praedictiones praesentis non sunt instituti, verum ad artes proprias remitti d e b e n t.

5.239 [B 2.64r] For that knowledge, which is newe and forreine from opinions received, i s t 0 bee deliuered in another fourme, than that that is agreeable and familiar; Aliter enim tradi d e b e n t scientia, quae ad animos hominum nova et peregrina prorsus accedit; aliter ea, quae opinionibus iam prædem imbribitis et receptis est affinis et familiaris.

In the Texts which are Not Translated:

BE TO + Passive Infinitive is common in Hooker to express obligation:

5.240 [H 64A] That the greater good i s t o be chosen before the lesse.

5.241 [H 64B] and on the other side momentanie benefites, when the hurt which they drawe after them is vnspeakable, a r e not at all t o be respected.

5.242 [H 75B] Now as the learned in the lawes of this land obserue, ... so heere it i s not t o be omitted that ...

5.243 [H 77E] But as the iust authoritie of ciuill courtes and Parliaments i s not therefore t o bee abolished, because sometime there is cunning used to frame them ... and sometimes necessity, in 5.245 with an adverb to indicate the sense:

5.244 [H 59C] It resteth therfore that we search how man attaineth vnto the knowledge of such things vnsensible as a r e t o be knowne that they may be done.

5.245 [H 88E] that which they should confirme, ... is, that the same traditions a r e n e c e s s a r i l y t o be acknowledged diuine and holye.

The following uses are found in Delaval and Moryson:

5.246 [D 13] that you would be pleased that I might haue my XX\(^{11}\) for my halfe yeares Annuety due at this Martinmas next coming, to be returned against ye\(^{6}\) begining of Michaelmas tearme, because I a m the first weake in Tearme t o pay it vpon bond.

5.247 [M 34D] the Lord Bourgh, if he had not bee prevented by sudden death, had contracted with these Scots, promising 4000. men for the first moneths pay ... After which moneth, their Septs w e r e t o be cessed for their victuals ... All which Septs w e r e t o put in pledges to the Lord Bourgh, not to prey any vnder the Queens protection.
5. DARE 4. Meaning

SECTION 4 - DARE

Meaning of DARE

Like NEED, DARE occurs very thinly in the texts. In order to find enough examples to study, the corpus was extended as for NEED. A complete set of the occurrences in this extended corpus is given.

Although NEED and DARE are at this period similar to each other, and in contrast with the other modal verbs in displaying a mixture of modal and non-modal forms (both verbs have third person present singular with and without -ETH/-s inflection, both verbs are sometimes followed, sometimes not followed by TO) historically they present a contrast, DARE showing a development which is the converse of NEED's.

NEED as we have seen is originally an ordinary weak verb with no formal similarities to the true modals. It is not used in the construction Subject + NEED + TO + Infinitive until the late ME period and TO begins to be dropped only towards the end of the fifteenth century. The third person singular present tense form without inflection does not appear until the sixteenth century. DARE on the other hand belongs, like SHALL, CAN, MAY, and MUST to the group of preterite-present verbs. Its present tense was originally a preterite and so did not have the third person -ETH inflection. It appears from the beginning mainly in the construction Subject + DARE + Infinitive without TO. It has a monosyllabic preterite, DURST.

According to the OED the following developments all take place during the sixteenth century

1) appearance of the third person singular present tense form DARETH, DARES
2) appearance of preterite and past participle form DARED
3) use of TO with the following infinitive
4) development of transitive uses of DARE.
Thus NEED is a verb having historically none of the formal qualities of the other modal verbs but which, from the late fourteenth to the sixteenth century, acquires a structural place in the modal system, expressing the absence of necessity or obligation. At the same time it retains its non-modal forms and its ability to appear in other kinds of construction. DARE on the other hand brings from its past all the formal marks of a modal verb. It is largely restricted to the construction Subject + DARE + Infinitive (The MED says it is sometimes followed by (THAT) clause but from the meaning of DARE this is a construction not likely to be frequently required. Until the fourteenth century the infinitive is rare). During the course of the sixteenth century DARE acquires the forms of a regular weak verb and begins to occur in transitive constructions.

Changes in the pattern of constructions possible with NEED which occurred in the late ME period enabled it to take a place in the system of modals which formed in the sixteenth century, a place left vacant by the disappearance of the old preterite present verb THORVEN. There was however no place in the system for DARE in spite of its formal suitability and the similarity of its semantic structure to that of CAN and NEED.

DARE may be seen as occupying a position between WILL and CAN.

- WILL - have the determination to act
- DARE - have the courage to act
- CAN - have the skill, strength to act
Because in DARE NOT the negative applies to $S_1$, the modal itself, and not to $S_2$, the infinitive lexical verb, DARE might have come to stand in the same relation to WILL as NEED stands to MUST. As 'N WILL NOT V' means 'N has the determination [that N not V]', so 'N DARE NOT V' means 'N lacks the determination [that N V]'. Sometimes as in 5.254 WILL NOT and DARE NOT are found together to give the combined sense

N has determination (that N not V)

+ N lacks determination (that N V).

Again, DARE NOT has the same semantic structure as CANNOT and is no more unsuited by its full meaning than CANNOT to express impossibility. Indeed the MED gives as meaning 3 for DURREN 'To be able to' with two quotations both in negative clauses. c.1350 Southern Legendary

'Wrecchedore gost then he was ne domte nomon fynde' and 1423 Rotuli Parliamentorum 'For other grete charges ... they dur not, nor they suffice not, to bey Wolles nor other Merchandises wyth inne the Roialme'. It would do as well to say 'The scissors daren't be found' as 'The scissors can't be found' for the scissors do not lack the skill or strength to be found any more than they lack the courage. But the obsession with personal courage which is perhaps particularly marked in the cultures which have moulded the Indo-European languages makes speakers reluctant to say 'I dare not find the scissors' and that weakening or generalizing of the basic sense which must take place if a word is to operate in a closely knit system like that of the modals never becomes usual with DARE. The MED it is true documents a use almost throughout the ME period with the meaning 'To be under necessity or obligation' where DARE has the sense of MUST, OUGHT, NEEDS, SHOULD. However this sense seems entirely due to what the dictionary at the head of the article refers to as 'much confusion in meaning and form with thurven'. Indeed some of the quotations given as examples of DARE.
with the meaning NEED (all but one of the examples are in negative clauses) occur in the OED under THARF.

The OED gives a single sense for DARE (apart from the sixteenth century developments with direct object),

To have boldness or courage (to do something), to be so bold as.

This covers two meanings which for convenience may be numbered

1. to have daring enough (to do something)
2. to be so bold as to, i.e. daringly to do something

The first sense is parallel to that of some other modals, implying the conditions for an action rather than the action itself. Thus

WILL - to have the determination (to do something)
CAN - to have skill or strength enough (to do something)

Sense 2 is rather parallel to such expressions as TO CHANCE (to do something) which means, 'By chance, to do something'. Sense 1 does not imply that the action is performed though a condition for its performance is present. Sense 2 says the action is performed in a certain way (daringly). It is sense 1 which is more properly modal.

We may note that whereas COULD DO rarely implies DID, WAS ABLE TO DO, usually implies DID and the perfect, a tense absent from the modals, HAS BEEN ABLE TO DO always implies HAS DONE.

In the negative of course the distinction is lost, as it is lost between COULD NOT and WAS NOT/HAS NOT BEEN ABLE. Unfortunately the only comment on the difference between the historical and the refashioned forms of DARE in meaning given in the OED takes a negative example, suggesting 'none dared to speak', is more emphatic than 'none durst speak'. The question is whether 'They dared to speak' means that they were bold enough to speak, and 'They durst speak', that they had daring enough to speak, although for other reasons they did not. It
appears to me that in my own dialect of PE both the following are unacceptable

* He dared to ask for a rise but decided not to.
* Chapter I in which Oliver dare ask for more.

As the examples show, non-modal forms remain at this time, around 1600, still fairly uncommon (even if we count DARETH and DARES without TO as non-modal, 13 non-modal to 44 modal). DARETH in 5.292 and 5.293 both translate present indicatives and are clearly sense 2, as in 5.297 though here DARETH translates 'ose'. On the other hand 5.248, the first example listed and the only non-negative, third person uninflected use found in the corpus, is also sense 2 and translates a present indicative.

However, the modal forms being the older must originally have contained both meanings 1 and 2 and such separation as there has been may belong to a later period than 1600.

However, this development may account for the change in the sense of I DARE SAY, which seems originally strongly in sense 2 - 'I am so bold as to say and do say ...' To express this in the later language it would be necessary to say 'I dare to say', but the form has remained and been re-interpreted in sense 1, so that 'I dare say' becomes little stronger than the proposal of a possibility.

We may note in the examples, that TO is never used with any of the forms that belong to the preterite-present verb, that is after present tense DARE, preterite DURST.

Although the set of examples is too small to draw conclusions, it would appear that TO is necessary after DARED and after infinitive uses of DARE, but that after DARETH/DARES, TO is optional.

We may also notice with DARE a pleonastic use like 'can be able' or 'must be forced', where it is followed by a verb or phrase itself
meaning 'to behave with daring' as 5.249 'No man dare be so bold as to ...', 5.266 'I dare presume ...'

The Old Preterite-Present DARE/DURST, Without TO

Third Person Singular Present Tense without Inflection:

5.248 [FM 142d] It is through the vanity of the same imagination, that he dare equall himselfe to God ...
   C'est par la vanité de cette mesme imagination qu'il s'egale à Dieu ...
   (Translating present indicative in French.)

in Non-Negative Clause:

5.249 [HP 98.32] Hearken (quoth he) o Caesar, what it is that we all accuse and blame you for, but no man dare be so bolde as to speake it out:
   [AMYOT] Escoute Cesar en quoy nous nous plaignons tous de toy, & n'y a personne qui te l' ose dire ouuertement:
   [XYLANDER] Audi, inquit, Caesar quid in te universi desideremus, nemo tamen a u d e t palam eloqui.
   akouson ephe, kaisar ha soi pantes enkaloumen, oudeis de t o l m a i phanerüs legein.

in Negative Clauses:

5.250 [HP 104.34] but before such as he knoweth better than himselfe, he trembleth and is afraid, and in truth dare not come neere nor shew his face to such an one.
   [AMYOT] mais il redoute & tremble deuant celuy qu'il scait estre plus homme de bien que luy ne comparoissant par certes aupres de luy.
   [XYLANDER] meliores autem metuit ac tremit
ton de kreittona tremei kai dedoiken
   (Holland's version owes something to Amyot's expansion, but there is no word corresponding to 'dare' in any of the earlier texts.)

5.251 [HP 107.8] it carrieth (I say) authoritie with it, and no exceptions can well be taken, nor a man dare lift up an eie against it:
   [AMYOT] ...se fait reuerer, & rougir de honte, de sorte que lon n' o s e r o i t leuer les yeux à l'encontre:
   [XYLANDER] ... venerabilis est & gravis, & contra quam oculos non a u d e a s sustollere
   aideston esti kai semnon kai a n a n t i b l e p t o n
   in Interrogative Clause:

5.252 [IS 9.11] And who dare say that a vicious habitude is produced from a cause more honest?
   Ex honestior causa coit turpis affectus?
5. DARE

4. Preterite-Present Verb

Third Person Plural:

in Non-Negative Clause:

5.253 [HP 105.35] But very few there be among many others, who dare freely and plainly speake unto their friends, but rather sooth them up and seeke to please them in every thing.

[AMYOT] Car il y en a bien peu entre plusieurs qui o s e n t librement & franchement parler à leurs amis.

[XYLANDER] Pauci enim de multis sunt, qui libere potius cum amicis loqui a u d e a n t, quam gratificari mollon e charizesthai tois philois t o l m θ η t e s

(The sense here is however negative – 'Most men dare not speak'.)

in Negative Clauses:

5.254 [HP 108.5] But forasmuch as many men neither will nor dare control and reforme their friends when they do amisse, so long as they be in prosperitie;

[AMYOT] Mais pour autant que plusieurs ne veulent n'y o s e n t redresser leurs amis quand ils faillent, pendant qu'ils sont en prosperité.

[XYLANDER] iam cum multi amicos rebus secundis utentes neque velint neque a u d e a n t castigare.

[ERASMUS] Caeterumquoniam plaerique amicos donec prospera res sunt, nec volunt, nec a u d e a n t corrigere.

Epei de polloi tous philous eu pheromenous en tois pragmasin out'axiosin oute t o l m θ η t e s

(The association of negated verbs for WILL and DARE runs through all the versions.)

5.255 [FM 230e] Namely, if it be a breathing creature, as it's motions make it so likely, that Plato assureth it, and divers of ours either affirme it, or dare not impugne it;

notamment si c'est un animant, comme ses mouvements le rendent si croyable que Platon l'assure, et plusieurs des nostres ou le confirment ou ne l' o s e n t infirmer;

5.256 [M 36C] whereas the men which are their Leaders, themselues to any hazard ...

Second Person Singular:

in Negative Clauses:

5.257 [LS 21.1] Thou seest where felicitie is planted, but thou darest not attaine there vnto.

vides, ubi sit posita felicitas, sed ad illam pervenire non a u d e s.

5.258 [LS 25.6] In the meane time keepe thy selfe vnder the authoritie of some one: eyther let him be Cato, or Scipio, or Laelius, or such as by whose interview men of least hope would suppress their vices also, whilst thou makest thy selfe him before whom thou darest not offend.
interim te aliquorum auctoritate custodi. Aut Cato ille sit, aut Scipio, aut Laelius, aut cuius interventu perdit quoque homines vitia supprimerent; dum te efficis eum coram quo peccare non auderes.

in Interrogative Clause:

5.259 [HL 34G] How darest thou, during my life, assemble the Senatours ...
Qua tu audacia, me vivo, vocare audaces Patres?

First Person, Singular and Plural:

in Non-Negative Clauses:

5.260 [LS 10.1] I dare well trust thy selfe to thy selfe.
Audero te tibi credere.

5.261 [M Essex 35A] having now passed through the Provinces of Lemster, and Mounster ... I dare begin to giue your majesty some advertisement of the state of this Kingdome ...

5.262 [M 121D] but in short I dare assure you, I see a faire way, to make Vlster one of the most quiet, assured, and profitable Provinces ... 

5.263 [M 122C] I dare undertake, we haue rid my Lord President of the most dangerous rebell of Mounster

5.264 [M 180D] that an addition: of Oates may be giuen ... for we dare assure your Lordships, if for want of them our horses had not beene growne so feeble, there had few of the enemies horse or foot escaped.

5.265 [M 181B] We have indured (I dare boldly say) the most miserable siege for extremity of weather and labour, that in this age hath been heard of.

5.266 [M 181C] I dare presume that I haue made no euill way for my successour to tread after me.

5.262 - 5.266 all from official correspondence in Moryson's text and all performatives of stating in which the modal does not weaken the performative force, but rather serves as a mark of deference by writer to addressee. This may explain the absence of these performatives of stating with DARE from the two corpuses of letters, which are mainly between intimates.

in Negative Clauses:

5.267 [HL 2H] Whether in writing the acts and affairs of the people of Rome, from the first foundation of the citie, I shall performe

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a worke of importance and woorth my trauaile, neither wote I well, nor if I wist, d a r e I advouch: FACTVRVS ne operae pretium sim, si a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim nec satis scio; nec, si sciam, dicere a u s i m;

5.268 [FM 280a] I that nearest prie into my selfe and who have mine eyes uncessantly fixt upon me, as one that hath not much else to doe else where ... d a r e very hardly report the vanity and weaknesse I feele in my selfe.
Moy qui m'espie de plus prez, qui ay les yeux incessament tendus sur moy, comme celuy qui n'a pas fort a-faire ailleurs, ... a peine o s e r o y - je dire la vanité et la foiblesse que je trouve chez moy.

5.269 [H 117A] For mine owne part, I d a r e not so lightly esteeme of the Church.

5.270 [H 130C] In like sort with Rome we d a r e not communicate concerning sondrie hir grosse and greeuous abominations.

5.271 [C LVIII] but yf you rest unsatisfied in your self, and relie more upon other mens opinion I d a r e not alone undertake such a taske that requires the heads and hands of all your best frends.

DURST without Preterite Sense:
in Non-Negative Clauses:

5.272 [M 173C] The necessitie of making head to an enemie (Who hauing the hearts of all this people, shal haue all their helps, if they d u r s t), doth draw our Army to indure the incommodities of a miserable Winters siege.

in Negative Clauses:

5.273 [FM 137d] which they d u r s t not charge, did they behold her in her Majesty, full of authority and commandement. laquelle ils n' o s e r o y e n t attaquer en sa majesté pleine d'autorité & de commandement.

5.274 [FM 249b] Yet d u r s t no man move that but for an exercise of Logike:
Cela toutes fois ne s' a u s e r o i t esbranler, que pour l'exercice de la Logique.

5.275 [M 14-B] which might giue the Rebels iust cause to thinke that they d u r s t not charge him with treason.

DURST with Preterite Sense:
in Non-Negative Clauses:

5.276 [FM 194e] And whose counsell is this? his, Who onely d u r s t professe himselfe a wise man
Et de qui est ce conseil? de celuy. Qui se unus sapientem profiteri sit a u s u s.
('only' here not with quasi-negative force)
5.277 [M 33E] So as howsoever the Queens Army was great, yet he d u r s t boldly say, that the playster would doe no more then couer the wound.

(A letter from Essex to the Lords in England, summarized and therefore in reported speech after a preterite verb.)

in Negative Clauses:

5.278 [HL 41J not all the while that the young prince learned to bee a king, d u r s t either Mezentius or the Tuscanes, or anie other of the borderers, once stirre or rise in armes.

primum puerilis regni, movere arma aut Mezentius Etruscique aut ulli alii accolae a u s i s i n t.

5.279 [HL 20HJ The Albane captaine ... neither d u r s t keepe his standing, nor openly turne unto the enemie ...

Nec manere ergo, nec transire aperte a u s u s.

5.280 [HL 39D] And for that he d u r s t not put any other in trust with the answers

Neque responsa ... u l l i a l i i c o m m i t t e r e a u s u s.

5.281 [HP 97.1J And verily meete and reason it had beene, that as Patroclus when he put on the armour of Achilles, and brought forth his horses of service to battel, d u r s t not meddle with his spear Pelias ...

[AMYOT] Or estoit il bien raisonnable, que comme Patroclus se vestant des armes d'Achilles, & menant ses chevaux à la guerre, n' o s a toucher à sa iaueline.

[XYLANDER] Oportuit sane, quemadmodum Patroclus Achillis arma cum indueret, & equos eius ad pugnam educeret, solam non a u s u s f u i t contrectare Peliadem hastam:

edei men gar hōs ho Patroklos tou Achilleōs ta hopla periballomenas kai tous hippous, exelaunōn epi tēn machēn monēs ouk e t o l mēs e tēs Pēliados thigein.

5.282 [M 10A] Sure I am that the Earle d u r s t neuer enter into rebellion, till he had gotten the sons of Shane O'neale to be his prisoners.

5.283 [M 19D] And saying, that he d u r s t not come to the Lord Generall, because many promises by him made, being not kept, he knew it was much against his honourable mind ...

5.284 [M 26E] and since he affected it, no man d u r s t be his riuall.

5.285 [M 34C] A Masse of Redshankes, who were to be cessed in Connaght and Mounster, because Tyrone, hauing deadly fewde with some of the chiefe Leaders, d u r s t not trust them in Vlster.

5.286 [M 47D] skill in tongues (so farre as he could read and understand the Italian and French, though he d u r s t not adventure to speake them).

5.287 [M 57B] these one thousand being part of the men he was to draw against Tyrone, he d u r s t not leade them farre from the Sea ...
5.288 [C XV] but understanding that they were yeelded and sworne to the King of Spaine d u r s t not proceed, but turned backe again ...  
5.289 [C L] for Sir Ed: Norris wold by no means agree he shold chaunge his course: and he d u r s t not dispute yt here;  
5.290 [C LVI] and what a vaine thinge yt was in them or any other to dreame of a toleration, whereas her Majestie had neuer any such meaninge, nor any of her counsaile d u r s t euer make such a motion.  
Plural:  
5.291 [M 93A] but as well Iohn as the titulary Earle his brother, were so terrified herewith, as they d u r s t neuer keep together, & thought themselues least secure in the head of their owne men from like practices.  
THE NEW WEAK VERB DARE/DARED  
1. Without TO  
DARETH:  
Only in Non-Negative Clauses:  
5.292 [FM 139d] Is it possible to imagine any thing so ridiculous, as this miserable and wretched creature, which is not so much as master of himselfe ... and yet d a r e t h call himselfe Master and Emperour of this Universe?  
Est-il possible de rien imaginer si ridicule que cette miserable & chetive creature, qui n'est pas seulement maistresse de soy ... se die maistresse & emperiere de l'univers.  
(that is 'is so bold that he does call himself'. 'dareth' corresponds to nothing in the French but is strongly suggested by the context.)  
5.293 [FM 142c] Who perceiveth and seeth himselfe placed here, amidst their filth and mire of the world ... and yet d a r e t h imaginarily place himselfe above the circle of the Moone, and reduce heaven under his feet.  
Elle se sent & void logée icy, parmy la bourbe & le fient du monde ... & se va plantant par imagination au dessus du cercle de la Lune & ramenant le ciel soubs ses pieds.  
(part of the same rhetorical flight in Montaigne as 5.292 and again 'dareth' is added by Florio. We may note that here the word 'imaginarily' comes between 'dareth' and the verb, a feature associated with the omission of TO after OUGHT see 5.217-5.219.)  
DARES:  
in Negative Clauses:  
5.294 [HP 97.49] none of all these enormltles touch and moove him: Heere he is mute and hath not a word to say; he d a r e s not reprove these abuses:  
[AMYOT] toutes ces choses la ne luy touchent en rien, ains muet & couard en tout cela:  

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5. DARE 4. Weak Verb

[XYLANDER] omnia haec nihil ad se adulator pertinere putat, ad haec mutus est, hiscere non audet.
ouden esti pros auton, all’aphônos en toutois kai a tolamos

in Interrogative Negative Clause:

5.295 [FM 283b] Dare not Philosophie thinke that men produce their greatest effects, and neerest approching to divinity, when they are besides themselves, furious, and madde?
N'y a-t-il point de la hardiesse a la philosophie d'estimer des homes qu'ils produisent les plus grans effaicts et plus aprochans de la divinité, quand ils sont hors d'eus et furieurs et insensez?

(Again Florio's French does not present him with OSER. I take it that Montaigne's point is that it is particularly bold of philosophy itself which claims to be the study of reason to proclaim the power of the irrational. Florio attempts to match the negative rhetorical question - 'Is it not the case that Philosophy is so bold as to think', expecting the answer 'it is indeed the case'. Had Florio needed to express the rather different sense, 'Is it that case that philosophy is not bold enough to think', I suggest this would have required 'Dare not Philosophy think ...')

2. With TO + Infinitive

DARETH:

in Non-Negative Clauses:

5.296 [FM 182d] This discourse of beautie toucheth only our common order, and is not so sacrilegious as it intendeth or dareth to comprehend those divine, supernaturall, and extraordinarie beauties, which sometimes are seen to shine among us ...
Ce discours ne touche que nostre commun ordre, & n'est pas si sacrilege d'y vouloir comprendre ces divines, supernaturelles & extraordinaires beautez qu'on voit par fois reluire entre nous ...

(Where Florio's 'dareth' together with 'intendeth' corresponds to Montaigne's 'vouloir'. Occurring in a clause dependent on a negative clause, semantically DARETH is here negative.)

5.297 [FM 183a] Health I say, which is the goodliest and richest present, nature can impart unto us. So that even Stoike Philosophie dareth to affirme, that if Heracletus and Pherecydes could have changed their wisdome with health ... they would surely have done it.
la santé, dis- ie, le plus beau & le plus riche present que nature nous sache faire. De facon que la Philosophie, voire Stoique, o se bien dire que Heraclitus & Pherecides, s'ils eussent peu eschanger leur sagesseavecques la santé ... qu'ils eussent bien faict.

DARED:

This new weak preterite occurs only once in the extended corpus.

In Negative Clause:
5.298 [LS 33.8] I think therefore that these neuer-authors, but always interpreters, lying hid under the shadow of other men, have no generous nature in them, which neuer d a r e d to publish that which they have learned in long space of time.

Ommes itaque istos, numquam auctores, semper interpres, sub aliena umbra latentes, nihil puto habere generosi, numquam a u s o s aliquando facere, quod diu didicerant.

Infinitive Uses of DARE

5.299 [HP 94.47] those they will nickname, heartlesse, and base minded folke, altogether insufficient to do or d a r e any thing

[AMYOT] ils l'appelleront lascheté & faute de coeur de n' o s e r entreprendre

[XYLANDER] nihil animi aut virium ad res gerandas habere

kai ponērōn autarkeian te kai dikaiosynēn òs a t o l m i a n kai arrostian pros to prattein

5.300 [FM 302c] That which we call civility, not to d a r e to doe that openly, which amongst us is both lawfull and honest, being done in secret, they termed folly;

Ce que nous apelons honestete, de n' o s e r faire a descouvert ce qui nous est honneste de faire a couvert, ils l'apeloint sotise;

5.301 [C LII] to make such a perambulation to no purpose, and not to d a r e to follow any part of theyre first project

after Modal Verb:

5.302 [LS 29.4] Not withstanding I will vndergoe this perill, and d a r e to show him his infirmities.

Nihilominus adibo hoc periculum, & a u d e b o i l i mala sua ostendere.

5.303 [FM 221d] The Aegyptians with an impudent wisdome forbad upon paine of hanging, that no man should d a r e to say, that Serapis and Isis their Gods, had whilome beene but men ...

Les Αἰγυπτιοι, d'une impudente prudance, defandoint sur peine de la hart que nul eut a dire que Serapis et Isis, leurs dieus, eussent autresfois esté homes;

5.304 [FM 206d] Wherfore shall not a wise-man d a r e that in all things, which this man d a r e t h in such as he hath learned of his Masters?

pour quoi un sage n' o s e r a il en toutes choses ce que cestuicy o s e en celles qu'il a aprinses de ses maistres ...

5.304 also contains the only two uses in the corpus of DARE with a direct object. They are closely modelled on the French; alternatively the constructions may be thought of as resulting from the ellipsis of the verb DO.
CHAPTER 6

CONJUGATION OF THE MODAL PHRASE

Section 1 - Forms

Section 2 - Introductory

Section 3 - Preterite Forms of the Modal Verb with Preterite Sense

General
WOULD
SHOULD
COULD
MIGHT

Section 4 - Preterite Forms of the Modal Verb with Softened Sense

General
WOULD and SHOULD
SHOULD exemplified
WOULD exemplified
WOULD RATHER
WOULD FAIN
BE FAIN
WOULD (THAT) + Clause
WOULD + NP + Infinitive

Section 5 - HAVE Forms of the Infinitive

General
SHALL HAVE
SHOULD HAVE (from SHALL)
SHOULD HAVE (from SHOULD)
OUGHT TO HAVE
WOULD HAVE (from WILL)
WOULD HAVE (from WOULD)
MIGHT HAVE
COULD HAVE
NEEDED NOT TO HAVE
MUST HAVE

Section 6 - Epistemic Uses

General
IT MAY BE THAT
MAY
MIGHT
MIGHT HAVE
Doubtful Examples
MUST
MUST HAVE
6. Conjugation

SECTION 1 - FORMS

1. Forms

WOULD
- would, would(e)st
- wold, woldest (usual forms in Chamberlaine and Delaval)

SHOULD
- should, should(e)st
- shold, sholdest (usual forms in Chamberlaine and Delaval)

COULD
- could, could(e)st

MIGHT
- might, might(e)st
- mought

The form 'mought' occurs, seven times in all, and only in Book II of Bacon's Advancement of Learning. The set of examples is given below.

6.1 [B 2.3v] because there is no education collegiate, which is free; wher such as were so disposed, mought giue themselves to Histories, ...

6.2 [B 2.4v] And if Alexander made such a liberall assignation to Aristotle of treasure for the allowance of Hunter, Fowlers, Fishers and the like, that he mought compile an Historie of Nature, much better do they deserue it that trauailes in Arts of nature.

6.3 [B 2.6r] which surcharge neuerthelesse is not to be remedied by making no more bookes, but by making more good books, which as the Serpent of Moses, mought deuour the Serpents of the Inchantors.

6.4 [B 2.14r] yet if particularitie of actions memorable were but tolerably reported as they passe, the compiling of a complete HISTORIE of TIMES mought be the better expected.

6.5 [B 2.14r] for the collection of such relations mought be as a Nursery gardein, whereby to plant a faire and stately gardein, when time should serue.
SECTION 2 - INTRODUCTORY

In Chapters 3, 4 and 5 the set of eight modal verbs has been considered. This set has been seen as consisting of three modal pairs; WILL and SHALL, CAN and MAY, NEED and MUST and the study has concentrated on the relationship between the members of each pair and the parallels and differences between the pairs. In addition there has been a study of the use of OUGHT and MUST as words expressing obligation and necessity. DARE and NEED have provided contrasted studies of the connections between the modal verbs and the verb system generally, through these two verbs which are partly modal and partly non-modal.

In the course of this much has been left to one side. In Chapter 3 WILL and SHALL were studied but the preterite forms WOULD and SHOULD were excluded. In Chapter 4 although examples of COULD and MIGHT were considered together with CAN and MAY no attention was given to the distinct usage of present and preterite forms. In Chapter 5 although a
A complete corpus of all the examples of DARE and NEED from the texts was used, many points were left undiscussed, the most important being the uses of HAD NEED and DURST without preterite sense.

In this chapter we turn from the study of the modal verbs as a set of lexical items to what may be called the conjugation of the modal verb, or rather of the whole modal phrase, since as we have defined modal verbs they can only occur followed by the infinitive of a non-modal verb. The study will consider the manner in which tense and mood are present in the two verbal elements that make up the modal phrase and how they combine in the conjugational characteristics of the phrase as a whole.

Because its use is confined to this construction, the modal verb has no infinitive or participial forms and no compound tenses. Stripped in this way the English verb is left with two tenses, present and preterite, and three moods, indicative, subjunctive and imperative. The true modals (DARE in its unmodal sense of 'boldly to do' is the exception) have no imperative forms. I can offer no convincing reason why this should be, since the imperative is not incompatible with the modal construction and although some modals for purely semantic reasons cannot appear as commands, others could and in their paraphrases do, e.g. 'Be able to ...' However modal imperatives do not occur and native speakers of PE have a strong language sense that they are impossible. Modal verbs are left then with two binary contrasts: tense, present and preterite; mood, indicative and subjunctive. Of course it is possible that the modal verbs have developed other distinctions to make up for the limitations imposed by the absence of compound tenses; it is also evident that the tense-distinction is not formally present at least in all the modal verbs. It is therefore convenient at this point in the discussion to set out the formal features of the modal
verb conjugation by grouping the modals according to their historical
development.

Group I  SHALL, CAN, MAY. Preterite-present verbs with preterite
inflections in the present and therefore not showing -ETH/S
inflection in 3rd person singular.
Re-formed preterites SHOULD, COULD, MIGHT.
WILL derives its present tense from an old optative and
also lacks -ETH/S inflection in 3rd person singular.
Preterite WOULD.

Group II  MUST, OUGHT preterite forms of MOTE, OWE used as
presents, and not showing -ETH/S inflection in 3rd person
singular.
Same forms MUST, OUGHT used as preterites.

Group III  i) DARE, a preterite-present verb, not showing -ETH/S
inflection in 3rd person singular of present tense.
Re-formed preterite DURST.
(Side by side in eModE period and later with a re-formed
weak verb DARE, with DARETH/DARES in 3rd person singular,
preterite DARED and compound tenses.)
ii) NEED a weak verb, partly reformed in the sixteenth
century as a modal of Group I with loss of -ETH/S inflection
in 3rd person singular of the present tense. Both forms in
use in eModE and later. Preterite NEEDED remains but in
eModE the phrase HAD NEED is frequently preferred.

Thus all the modal verbs are characterized by the absence of the
-ETH/S ending in the 3rd person singular of the present tense. All
other verbs in the language in this person of this tense make a formal
distinction between indicative and subjunctive mood and in all other
verbs except the verb TO BE,
6. Conjugation 2. Introductory

a) the distinction is that the form with ETH/S inflection is indicative and the form without is subjunctive.

b) in the two uncompounded tenses, present and preterite, this 3rd person singular, present tense distinction is the only formal distinction made between the indicative and subjunctive moods.

Thus the modal verbs are the only verbs in the language with no formal distinction at all between indicative and subjunctive.

Thus the verb TO BE, which alone in the language preserves a distinction between indicative and subjunctive in the preterite (all persons of the singular) has the following mood and tense structure (showing 3rd person singular forms):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indicative</th>
<th>Present Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IS</td>
<td>BE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterite Indicative</td>
<td>Preterite Subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAS</td>
<td>WERE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All other verbs except the modals have the structure:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indicative</th>
<th>Present Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ETH/S</td>
<td>zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterite</td>
<td>Indicative and Subjunctive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and the modals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indicative and Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preterite Indicative and Subjunctive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This suggests that the contrast between present and preterite forms is always a tense contrast and never a mood contrast and that mood contrast in the modals cannot be given formal expression. Yet there is apparently evidence for rejecting this. The preterite forms of the Group I modals are frequently used without preterite sense, as this study has shown with DURST and with the modal substitute HAD NEED. Further there are in PE such uses as 'He can get his own tea this
afternoon (I'm not bothering)' and 'He could get his own tea this afternoon (he won't mind doing so)' where there is clearly no tense difference but the second version seems milder and more polite. Or in answer to the question 'Is Tom going to the meeting?' the replies 'He may go' and 'He might go', do not differ in tense but the first of them carries a stronger sense of the possibility of Tom's going than the second.

This suggests a paradigm for the modal verbs as follows

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Mood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present/Indicative</td>
<td>Present/Indicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(WILL)</td>
<td>(WOULD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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This accounts for the present/preterite form contrasts above as contrasts of mood and the same formal contrast as a contrast of tense, as 'He can get his own tea (he's old enough now)', 'He could get his own tea (before he became senile)' and 'He said "I may go"' and 'He said he might go'. Further this paradigm is founded on the fact that the modals have no formal mood distinction in the present tense, a feature which is not shared by any other verbs in English. On the other hand, the existence of a preterite indicative and a preterite subjunctive under the same form is a feature of all English verbs except the singular of the verb TO BE where there are formal distinctions. In the specific constructions which demand the preterite subjunctive, e.g.

1a. It is time he made tea
2a. I wish I knew
3a. As if I cared
and in certain conditionals of the form

4a. If Tom came, we would all leave

we find the preterite-form modals
6. Conjugation  2. Introductory

1b. It is time he could make his own tea
2b. I wish I could tell
3b. As if I would
4b. If Tom should come, we would all leave

That these constructions involve the preterite subjunctive rather than the preterite indicative we can check by using examples with the verb TO BE, as

1c. It is time he were able to make his own tea
2c. I wish I were in possession of all the facts
3c. As if I were in the least concerned
4c. If Tom were to come, we would all leave

There is then every reason to suppose that when the preterite-form modals appear in these constructions they are, like the non-modal verbs, preterite subjunctives formally identical with preterite indicatives.

We then assume that the relationship between CAN and COULD in 'He can get his own tea this afternoon', 'He could get his own tea this afternoon' or MAY and MIGHT in 'I may go' and 'I might go' is indicative to subjunctive, comparable to say the relationship between 'If he goes' and 'If he go', the second example in each pair suggesting somewhat less certainty about the future event.

However there are certain unsatisfactory features about this paradigm for the modals. If the form-contrast in the modals can be either present/past tense or indicative/subjunctive mood, the present form modal is cast as an indicative without a subjunctive. Historically the forms of the present modals may derive from the indicative rather than the subjunctive, as appears to be the case with SHALL and CAN.

Yet the formal endings of the present modals in the 3rd person singular coincide with those of the present subjunctive of other verbs and are in contrast with those of the indicative. In itself this is
perhaps merely an accident, and it is hard to know whether the resemblance between the modals and the present subjunctive in the absence of -ETH/S in the third person singular caused some kind of assimilation in the language sense of Elizabethan speakers, because as we have seen, there was no conscious perception of the forms of the subjunctive in its historical manifestation. Nevertheless, at least in the case of semi-modal DARE it is sometimes doubtful whether the uninflected third person form is to be taken as the modal or the present subjunctive of the non-modal form (see Chapter 8 under DARE). But in meaning the modal verbs are closer to the subjunctive than to the indicatives of other verbs; the modal phrase (modal verb together with lexical infinitive) is often an equivalent of a non-indicative mood of the lexical verb, and when the modal was CAN or MAY, COULD, MIGHT, WOULD or SHOULD sixteenth century grammarians usually took the modal phrase to be the equivalents in English of the Latin subjunctive or potential moods. If instead of taking the present form modal as an indicative that has lost a subjunctive we take it as a subjunctive without an indicative, we get the paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Subjunctive</th>
<th>Tense</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preterite Indicative</td>
<td>Preterite Subjunctive</td>
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In spite of its apparently greater complexity this has some plausibility. Although not always, the present-preterite contrast does on occasion involve a shift both in mood and tense; the best example, evidenced in the corpus examples 6.16, 6.17, 6.18, 6.19, is seen with WILL in the sense of habitual activity. In the present form this can be characterized as belonging to a mood of expectation. Its equivalent in Latin and French is often the future. In the preterite form WOULD a
shift in tense is also a shift in mood since it can evidently no longer be part of a mood of expectation. It is now often used to translate the indicative imperfect in Latin or French. The same shift from a future-directed non-indicative sense of CAN to the equivalent of an indicative past tense with COULD is also possible. Further, in so far as the modal verbs are used as equivalents to the historical subjunctive it seems more satisfactory to take the two forms as present and preterite subjunctive, equivalent to the two forms in the verb TO BE, BE/WERE. Further, the difference between the replies 'He may go' and 'He might go' is perhaps better represented as the difference between 'If he go' and 'If he went' than between 'If he goes' and 'If he went'. In other words we can see the difference here as a difference merely of tense if we maintain it is a difference of tense within the subjunctive mood, where the present tense usually refers to a future possibility and the preterite to a possibility not realized in the present. Yet this really does not capture the distinction we find between the present and preterite modal forms in this use, which seems more nuanced, a matter of language feeling, less sharply syntactical than the difference between present and preterite subjunctive. Rather surprisingly the nearest parallel can be found in PE in rough paraphrases of examples of this modal usage, employing non-modal verbs. Thus the two replies 'I may go' and 'I might go' have the same relationship of increasing tentativeness as 'I think of going' and 'I thought of going' or 'I am thinking of going' and 'I was thinking of going'. Similarly, 'I intend to go', 'I intended to go'. Again, fabricating an eModE example of the modal contrast 'Wilt thou speak with me?' and 'Wouldst thou speak with me?' and assuming the distinction is here one of softening, of the greater politeness of the second form over the first, this is closely paralleled by PE. 'You wish to see me?'
'You wished to see me?', or 'What is it you want?', 'What was it you wanted?'

Examples of these preterite uses in a present sense for greater politeness or tentativeness can be extended beyond the area of modal paraphrase. Thus 'I was collecting signatures and hoped for yours' as a diffident but present request. 'How many people did you expect at your party tomorrow?' 'I was counting on you to come'.

The clear impossibility of *'What were it you wanted?' *'I were thinking of going' *'I were counting on you' (much sharper than the preference for WERE over WAS in 1-4c) indicates that these are preterite indicatives, and I think PE native speakers can perceive the semantic process by which the use of preterite tenses here gives a politer, more diffident, less assured present. 'I hope for yours' is confronting. By putting it into the past the speaker distances himself from what now sounds presumptuous. Some time ago he did find himself entertaining such a hope, though now the time comes to make the request he is much less confident. Again 'I thought of going' really does refer to past consideration given though at the same time it reports on my present state of mind. The greater uncertainty about my going comes from the suggestion in the use of the preterite that the matter is not occupying the forefront of my present thoughts.

Of course usually preterites do not work in this way. In most cases, preterite indicatives cannot refer to the present, and preterite subjunctives only occur in constructions which indicate that they are subjunctives. In PE this rule that the construction must be indicated before a preterite subjunctive is used is so rigid that usual freedoms of word order are abrogated. Thus whereas

He likes opera, she says

He would enjoy opera, she fervently hoped
are acceptable

*He enjoyed opera, she wishes is not.

What then is the semantic context in which we find this use of a preterite indicative which has a real reference to past time yet is used of present time with a diffident or tentative overtone, which may be employed to give greater politeness to a question or request or to make a statement less decisive? The examples cited are all with verbs the sense of which is completed only in reference to some future or possible event. As there appear to be no strictly syntactical limitations, the modal verbs must belong to this group through their semantic characteristics. The reason why these verbs can use the preterite to refer to the present appears to lie in this fact that their meaning is not self-contained but passes on through them to be completed in a second verb which may or may not be expressed but which has a future reference. Thus yesterday's digging and today's digging are distinct in a way that yesterday's hoping and today's hoping if both are directed towards the same still unrealized future are not. Present and preterite are available to such verbs as HOPE but the contrast between them is weakened by a more important temporal distinction for such verbs - present hope when the hoped for future remains, and past hope, when the object of hope is no longer future. With this weakening of the contrast between present and past the two tenses become available, present to express immediacy, intensity and confidence in the future-directed process, the preterite with the opposite of all these; in social usage this in turn is available especially when these verbs are used in requests and questions to accomplish the toning down which accords with politeness.

This suggests that present/preterite form contrast in the modals of the 'I may go/I might go' kind is something found with all verbs
that have the same semantic structure as modal verbs, verbs that is to say of expectation and possibility. We have taken our examples from PE but it seems unlikely that in this respect modal verbs have more in common with non-modal verbs of a certain kind than in eModE since it is generally agreed that during the development of ModE modals have tended to become more and more distinct from other verbs. The analogy with non-modal verbs here put forward suggests that the preterite forms are preterite indicatives contrasting with present indicatives, although an earlier suggestion was that the present forms should be regarded as subjunctive. It has usually been assumed that these 'softened' forms, to give the term employed in the OED, are really preterite subjunctives though in fact there is no formal evidence in the documents, since even in OE the forms of preterite indicative and subjunctive in the modals are not kept distinct. The OED in its articles on the modal words does not make any separation in listing forms between Past Indicative and Past Subjunctive except in the cases of CAN and DARE, the earliest treated in alphabetic sequence. All the forms given under Past Subj COULD are found under Past Indic COULD. With DARE the only distinction between 4. Past Indic. and 5. Past Subj. is in the plural dorston/dorsten until the eleventh century.

Perhaps we must accept that it is inappropriate to try and set out a paradigm of mood and tense for the modals, or even to attempt to classify strictly in terms of tense and mood any modal usage. In mood at least we ought rather to see the modal system as a complex field of interaction between three principles. The first is the old indicative/subjunctive system of the verb with two moods in two tenses. The modal verbs are the only verbs in the language where this mood system has no formal reflection at all, and yet clearly it is of immense importance because as our examination of the modals in subordination in Chapter 7...
will show, the present and preterite modal forms are used as alternatives to the present and preterite subjunctive tenses. The second principle is precisely this use of the modal phrase as the equivalent of a verb in a subjunctive tense so that in a sense mood is displayed by the whole modal phrase while the modal verb itself becomes modally neutralized semantically, as it already is formally. The third principle is the use of preterites to indicate what is not actual. Jespersen [1909-49] discusses this as something found in many languages.

[IV 9 l(2)] The use of the preterite to indicate unreality may perhaps be explained psychologically in this way: the tense which is ordinarily used to express past time here simply removes the idea from the actual present and keeps the action or state denoted by the verb at some distance; the sphere of the preterite is thus extended to comprise everything not actually present; but of course this can only take place if the sentence indicates at the same time clearly that it must not be understood as referring to real past time.

If, as Jespersen suggests, the preterite has this sphere of the non-actual, the origin of most of the modals as preterite-present verbs may be connected with their use as alternatives to the subjunctive, particularly in their own re-formed preterite forms.

Out of the interaction of these principles comes the complex system of modality for ModE. In this study we attempt to display from a corpus the usage of this system around 1600. The present inconclusive discussion must serve as a justification for the arrangement adopted though this arrangement is also justified as a matter of practical convenience. The use of the modals in subordinate constructions demands a separate chapter - the longest in the whole dissertation - because of its complexity. The use of the modals as substitutes for the subjunctive is apparent from the examples given in the next chapter, dealing with subordinate constructions. In the present chapter we deal with the use of the modals outside these subordinate constructions. The preterite form modals are illustrated, first in preterite sense, then in the non-preterite or softened sense which I have represented is not to be identified with the preterite
subjunctive use though the separation of the two is in any case imposed by the decision to deal with subordination separately. In fact because of the non-conversational nature of the corpus there are few examples of these 'softened' uses except with WOULD and SHOULD which are complex and rich. The concluding sections 5 and 6 deal with the second element in the modal phrase in so far as this displays tense and modality.

SECTION 3 - PRETERITE FORMS OF THE MODAL VERB WITH PRETERITE SENSE

There is a clear cut use of the purely temporal distinction between the present form modals and the preterite form modals in the indirect reporting of speech. Utterances of WILL, SHALL, CAN, MAY in reported speech after a preterite verb of saying become WOULD, SHOULD, COULD, MIGHT.

6.8 [M 62E]: His Lordship further advertised Master Secretary ••• That hee w o u l d presently send a thousand old soldiery from Dublyn to Loughfoyle, and likewise with them such as were to be in garrison at Ballishannon, vnder the command of Sir Mathew Morgan, but that, for some difficulties, they c o u l d not yet be settled there, yet lying at Loughfoyle in the meane time, m i g h t doe servise •••

which reports a statement which must have originally been delivered as:

I w i l l presently send a thousand old soldiers from Dublin to Loughfoyle ••• but that for some difficulties they c a:n n o t yet be settled there, yet lying at Loughfoyle in the mean time, m a y do service.

6.9 [M 57D] In the acceptance whereof, the Lord Deputie professed, that hee s h o u l d esteeme himselfe much honoured, and w o u l d be ready, after putting off the person which now was imposed on him, with much contentment to be commaunded by his Lordship.

where the Lord Deputy's words, we may suppose, were:

I s h a l l esteem myself much honoured, and w i l l be ready, after putting off the person which is now imposed on me, with much contentment to be commanded by Your Lordship.

Further examples of preterite use of WOULD, SHOULD, COULD and MIGHT follow.
WOULD is frequently found in the translations from Latin rendering a future participle, part of an accusative and infinitive construction after a past tense verb.

6.10 [HL 16G] For well hee wist, that hee would make deniall, and yeild no amends: and then might hee with safe conscience justly proclaime warre against him.

Satis sciebat negatum Albanum; ita pie bellum indici posse.

We may postulate the original formulation of thought as

He will make denial and yield no amends. Then may I with safe conscience justly proclaim war against him.

In Florio-Montaigne, this WOULD, referring to a future prospect now viewed as in the past, sometimes translates the conditional tense in French.

6.11 [FM 126e] Wherein he seemed to be well advised, as he who by discourse of reason fore-saw, that this budding disease would easily turne to an execrable Atheisme:

En quoy il avoit un tresbon advis, prevoyant bien, par discours de raison, que ce commencement de maladie declineroit aysement en un execrable atheisme:

Other examples:

6.12 [M 70E] Before my Lord went into Ireland, he vaunted and boasted, that hee would fight with none but the Traytor himselfe, he would pull him by the eares out of his den, he would make the Earle tremble vnder him &c.

WOULD in relation to WILL as the same as DID to DO is illustrated in:

6.13 [M 71A] that particular bond of duty, which he then did and euer would acknowledge to owe vnto the Earle, was now to be sequestered, and laied aside.

In the following example, the use of the preterite WOULD is one of the indications that the contents of the letter are being reported, although this is not explicitly stated.

6.14 [C LIII] Mrs Faringdon sent her your monitore letter with advise not to neglect the counsaile of so carefull and loving a brother; mary for her part she would not intermeddle in such matters, but wisht her to follow her conscience, with divers other clauses that puld downe as fast as she set up:
WOULD in the sense of 'was willing'

6.15 [M 9E] caused him to be hanged, (hardly finding any, in regard of the generall reuerence borne to the blood of the Oneals, who would doe the office of hangman.)

WOULD as preterite of WILL, indicating habitual action. This WOULD provides a translation for the imperfect tense in both Latin and French.

6.16 [HL 24H] and presently the King would in these or such like words ... move them in this manner.

6.17 [FM 157d] they were so accustomed to that number as it was impossible by any compulsion to make them draw one more, which taske ended they would suddenly stop.

6.18 [FM 166d] For, walking thorow the Fruit-market, he would here and there snatch up some with his truncke ...

But WOULD is also used to translate other past tenses, and can be thought of as constituting an alternative preterite of the English verb.

In the example below two verbs, both in the perfect tense, 'fecit' and 'deremit' are translated, the first by 'made', the second by 'would break'.

6.19 [HL 35B] with whom it pleased him he made war and peace, league and societie, even of his owne head: and would breake the same as himselfe thought good:

This use of WOULD gives a sense equivalent to that of USED TO, as the employment of both in the next example illustrates.

6.20 [M 46D] but in the time of the warre, he used commonly to breake his fast with a drie crust of bread, and in the Spring time with butter and sage, with a cup of stale beere, wherewith sometimes in Winter he would haue sugar and Nutmeg mixed.

WOULD occurs with USED TO in the following example; this is not I think a pleonastic use of WOULD but is to be interpreted as 'insisted on
their custom of going hunting'. The Latin has been expanded and offers no help.

6.21 [HL 5B] it was no boot to keepe them within dores, nor to set them idle to tend the cattell, for they would use to hunt abroad in the forrest:
   nec in stabulis, nec ad pecora segnes, venando peragrare saltus.

**SHOULD**

Like **WOULD**, it renders future infinitives in Latin and the conditional in French, after preterite verbs of saying.

6.22 [HL 32H] and the wisemen or wizards prophesied, that the soveraintie and Empire should be settled and established in that State, whereof any one citizen sacrificed that cow unto Diana & cecinere vates, cuius civitatis eam civis Dianae immolasset, ibi for e imperium.

6.23 [HL 38M] which sight imported no doubt and plainly foretold, that it should be the cheefe castle of the Empire and the capittall place of the whole world.
   Quae visa species haud per ambages arcem eam imperii caputque rerum for e portendebat.

6.24 [FM 239b] saying moreover unto her, that the next day, the first man she met withall, should heavenly pay her her wages.
   luy disant au surplus que lendemien le premier qu'elle rencontreroit, la pa i e r o i t celestemant de son salaire. ('The first man you meet, shall pay ...')

6.25 [HL 4M] as for the babes he commanded they should be cast into the streame.
   Pueros in profluentem aquam mitti iubet.

6.26 [C XLVII] The earle obeyed but sent her Majestie word she should find Sir Fra; a knave, a coward, and a buffon.

6.27 [C XXX] I was yesterday at the starchamber upon report of some speciall matter that should be delivered touching my Lord of Essex.

**COULD**

Like **WOULD** and **SHOULD**, **COULD** is frequent in the reporting of past utterances.

6.28 [M 30C] But few daies after, his Lordship signified by his letters into England, that he could doe no more this season of the yeere.

6.29 [C I] and therewithall began to dilate to me what he had don and could do for you.
6.30 [B 1.16r] He _c o u l d n o t_ fiddle, but he _c o u l d_ make a small Towne, a great state

Se quidem fidium rudem esse, sed quo pacto oppidum parvum in civitatem magnam evadere possit, satis nosse.

(reporting, 'I cannot fiddle, but I can make ...')

COULD with some verbs translates a past tense as part of a narrative:

6.31 [HL 19E] The people _c o u l d_ no longer endure ...

Non tulit populus ...

6.32 [HL 20I] By which means a great part of the footmen _c o u l d_ not see the Albanes as they departed and went their waies.

Id factum magnae parti peditum Romanorum conspectum abeuntis Albani exercitus intersaepsit.

and it is used for possibilities or impossibilities applying to situations now past:

6.33 [H 70B] This was the cause of mens uniting themselfes at the first in politique societies, which societies _c o u l d_ not be without gouvernment.

sometimes, though this appears to be unusual, it refers to a specific action accomplished in the past:

6.34 [B 1.39v] As first, it is reason hee be thought a Master of words, that _c o u l d_ with one word appease a mutiny in his Armie;

Primo igitur, magister sit, oportet loquendi qui unico verbo seditionem in exercitu comprimere pot u i t.

(This refers to the occasion when Caesar restored his mutinous troops to allegiance by addressing them as 'Fellow citizens' and it is hard to see how it differs in meaning from 'it is reason he be though a master of words, that with one word appeased a mutiny in his army'.)

MIGHT

MIGHT seems to occur mostly in reports of past utterances or by sequence of tenses in narrative.

6.35 [H 71D] finally they knew that no man _m i g h t_ in reason take upon him to determine his owne right.

6.36 [H 81C] When men of excellent wit ... had wholy betaken themselves vnto study ... they spared no labour that _m i g h t_ be spent in the search of truth.

Magno & excellenti ingenio viri, cum se doctrinae penitus dedidissent, quicquid laboris poterat impendi ... ad inquirendae veritatis studium contulerunt ... [Lactantius, quoted in Hooker]
MUST/NEEDED

The form MUST, usually present, is also used for the preterite.

6.37 [C XVII] There was some curtesie made at the first, but in the end they must give downe theyre milke.

6.38 [M Eliz. 41C] Had it not bin enough to haue sent Vs the testimony of the Counsell, but that you must call so many of those, that are of slender experience, and none of Our Counsell, to such a forme of subscription.

(Falling under 3e in the OED article MUST 'As a past or historical present tense, must is sometimes used satirically or indignantly with reference to some foolish or annoying action or some untoward event.')

The substitution of HAD TO for the preterite MUST common in PE is not found at this time. However HAD NEED seems to be used as a substitute for the past tense of MUST as well as of NEED. See Chapter 5, examples 5.45, 5.46, 5.47. See also in Chapter 5, the suggestion that the preterite of BE TO is sometimes used instead of MUST.

Though this is not evidenced in the texts, the Bible of 1611 in order to make past tense clear with words that are normally translated MUST or OUGHT has recourse to BEHOVED, which is not otherwise employed. There are only two uses:

[Luke 24.46] and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise ...

et sic oportebat Christum pati et resurgere kai houtos edei pathein ton Christon kai anastenai

[Hebrews 2.17] Wherfore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren ...

Unde debuit per omnia fratibus similari hothen o pheile kata panta tois adelphois homoiotthenai

NEED has a weak preterite NEEDED. See examples 5.29, 5.30, both in reported speech.

OUGHT

Like MUST, OUGHT is in origin a preterite subjunctive form. In preterite tense sequence, the unchanged form OUGHT is employed.

6.39 [N 72C] he alleaged ... that he thought his service ought not to be any barre against them, for the receiuing the reward of their deserts.
DARE

Alone of the modals has two preterite forms, one which belongs to the verb historically, DURST, the other a regular weak preterite introduced during the sixteenth century, DARED.

For examples of DURST with preterite sense, see 5.276-291. 5.277 5.283 are examples of indirect speech, preterite reporting present tense utterance.

5.298 is the only use of DARED in the extended corpus. The sense is perhaps perfect rather than strictly preterite in this example.

SECTION 4 - PRETERITE FORM OF THE MODALS IN SOFTENED SENSE

In this section we deal with certain uses of the preterite form modals which perhaps ought to be considered preterite indicatives, perhaps preterite subjunctives or perhaps an employment of the preterite form distinct from either of these. As preterite indicatives they can be compared with a similar use found in some non-modal verbs which express expectation or future possibility. In such verbs because they are turned towards future possibility the distinction between present and preterite is weakened and the preterite can be used to soften the sense of the verb with the effect of making the future outcome sound more uncertain. Questions and requests sound more diffident and therefore politer. As preterite subjunctives, they might be interpreted as in apodosis with protasis understood, or contextually implied. The unspoken condition would tend to make the outcome more uncertain and in questions and requests taken as 'if you please' or some similar formula, politer.

The following examples are to be found in Chapter 5.

HAD NEED - 5.36, 5.38, 5.42, 5.43, 5.44. All these are to be taken as referring to a present need. The use of the preterite softens
from necessity to obligation, making HAD NEED closer to OUGHT than to MUST.

Of the examples of DURST without preterite sense, only 5.275 is not in some form of conditional sentence.

**COULD, MIGHT**

These appear very infrequently in the corpus.

6.41 [H 86D] In like sort, albeit scripture do profess to conteyne in it all things which are necessarie vnto saluation; yet the meaning cannot be simplye of all things which are necessarie, but all things that are necessarie in some certaine kinde or forme; as all things that are necessarie, and eyther, COULD not at all, or COULD not easily be knowne by the light of naturall discourse;

(There is no reason in the context for a past tense. In spite of the negative 'could not' is weaker than 'cannot' here, implying they can be known from the scripture itself.)

6.42 [H 67B] we restraine it to those duties, which all men by force of naturall wit either do or MIGHT vnderstand to be such duties as concerne all men.

(for 'may understand'. Perhaps implying a condition such as 'if they tried'.)

**WOULD, SHOULD**

With WILL and SHALL the softened sense from OE times has seemed less a modification and more like a separate word. The reason for the difference in this from CAN and MAY is evident. The softening of CAN and MAY in so far as together they form a mood of possibility will merely intensify the uncertainty inherent in this meaning. But WILL and SHALL forming a mood of expectation, seem to guarantee the future occurrence of the activity or eventuality to which the verb complementing them refers. Once this is softened, the guarantee must be changed into something different. The two new senses may be set out

WOULD - a movement of the will, which is not felt by the willer as assured of fulfilment.

SHOULD - an ordinance of act of ordaining made or referred to by the speaker but not felt by the speaker as assured of fulfilment.
Thus WOULD and SHOULD in these senses form a pair like WILL and SHALL, though in softening their meanings they seem to have diverged rather than come closer together, so there is no way in which we can view them as forming a tense or mood. But the relationship between them, WOULD reflecting the self, SHOULD the world, is the same as that between WILL and SHALL.

WOLD meaning 'wish' or 'want' helps to keep WILL from being used in this area of meaning. So that a distinction which cannot be made in Latin or French without recourse to other lexical items is preserved in English, WOULD occurring in the present and preterite senses almost as an independent word.

The meaning in SHOULD derived from this softening of SHALL turns out to be the same as that which we have already examined in OUGHT. SHOULD is of course much older than OUGHT, being found in the earliest period of recorded English. OUGHT meaning 'is bound or under an obligation' with the form AHTE(N) is given in the OED from the twelfth century, and with the form OUGHT from the fourteenth. Though OUGHT was evidently drawn into the new system for the expression of obligation and necessity in late ME and eModE it was never completely modalized so that it retains TO before the infinitive and as we have seen, it does not make headway in informal and colloquial English. Since OUGHT is derived from the preterite of the verb to OWE, which is also the primitive meaning of SHALL/SHOULD, there is perhaps some explanation needed why OUGHT was introduced at all. However as is shown in Chapter 7 SHOULD does carry a very heavy load as the preterite subjunctive of SHALL and OUGHT may have been introduced in more careful and learned writing in order to avoid ambiguities arising from the many different uses of SHOULD. Although SHOULD survives and even in PE in some spoken dialects has hardly yielded any ground at all to OUGHT, the
development of the new system of expressing obligation and necessity in
the late fourteenth and fifteenth century and the formation of the modal
system itself restricting these words to the modal construction
seriously disrupted the much older WILL/SHELL system taking this to
include WOULD/SHOULD paired in the senses of wish and obligation. The
construction WOULD + (THAT) Clause now becomes anomalous. At the time
of the texts here used it is already restricted to the first person
singular. It is the loss of this construction that spells the end of
this use of WOULD, for wishes as distinct from intentions cannot con-
veniently be expressed in a standardized syntactical format which
insists that the grammatical subject of the wish must always be the
wisher himself. So WOULD in the sense of wish is lost except for a few
traces, while SHOULD which had always been restricted to the modal
construction continues, unaffected in the later language by the virtual
disappearance of the symmetrical use WOULD, the rivalry of OUGHT, or
the loss of ground by its original present form, SHALL.

SHOULD Exemplified

That SHOULD was consciously considered an exact equivalent of
OUGHT and could be used instead as a stylistic variant seems suggested
by the two following examples (see also 5.212 where DEBENT occurring
three times is twice translated OUGHT and once SHOULD).

6.43 [FM 129b] The like ought to be done, and we should
accompany our faith with all the reason we possess;
Il en faut faire de mesme, & accompagner nostre
foy de toute la raison qui est en nous.
(Where the two infinitives after 'Il faut' are rendered one with OUGHT, the other with SHOULD.)

6.44 [H 92D] Easier a great deale it is for men by law to be taught
what they ought to doe, then instructed how to judge as
they should do of lawe;
(Where 'ought to doe' and 'should do' seem deliberately paralleled,
though possibly Hooker feels he is making some distinction in sense.)

In the following examples from Florio, the conditional and the present
tense of DEVOIR are rendered by SHOULD.
6. Conjugation  4. Softened SHOULD

6.45 [FM 130a]  We should blush for shame, that...
Nous devrions avoir honte qu'...

6.46 [FM 130c]  The peculiar badge of our truth should be virtue;
La marque peculiere de nostre verite devroit estre notre vertu.

6.47 [FM 135c]  The bond which should binde our judgement, tie our will, enforce and joynre our soules to our Creator, should be a bond taking his doubling and forces... from a divine and supernatural compulsion.
Le neud qui devroit attacher nostre jugement & nostre volonté, qui devroit estreindre nostre ame & joindre à nostre createur, ce devroit estre un neud prenant ses repliz & ses forces... d'une estreinte divine & supernaturelle.

6.48 [FM 194c]  What? shall Philosophie... which should harden my courage... will she so faint, as to make cunning creep into some lurking hole...
Comment la philosophie... qui me doit roidir le courage... vient elle à cette mollesse de me faire conniller par ces destours couars & ridicules?

6.49 [FM 208b]  [Although]... and that hee perceive he should not engage his consent, seeing some falshood may be like unto this truth;
et qu'il s'apercoive qu'il ne doit engager son consentement, atandu qu'il peut estre quelque faux pareil a ce vrai.

6.50 [FM 220e]  But to have made Gods of our condition, whose imperfections we should know...
Mais d'avoir fait des dieux de nostre condition, de laquelle nous devons connoistre l'imperfection.

6.51 [FM 251d]  But of that which appertaineth to us, and which we should know best...
mais de celle qui nous appartient, que nous devons mieu conestre...

Florio also translates AVOIR A, with some rephrasing, by SHOULD:

6.52 [FM 186c]  It was a bare and simple commandement whereof man should enquire and know no further;
le fust un commandement nud et simple où l'homme n'eust rien à connoistre & a causer;

However the translation of DEBEO, or of the gerundive, words which are frequently translated by MUST or OUGHT, by SHOULD in Lodge and Holland is uncommon. Apart from 5.212 in Lodge, where SHOULD is used apparently to avoid a third use of OUGHT, I can only find:
6. Conjugation  4. Softened SHOULD

6.53 [HL 158] should teach ... how the spirits beneath and ghosts of bodies departed should be quieted and pacified: placando manes edoceret ...

Bacon's Latinists twice translate SHOULD by a gerundive:

6.54 [B 2.3r] For if men judge that learning should bee referred to action, they judge well:
Nam si quis judicet doctrinam omnem referendas esse ad usum et actionem recte sapit.

6.55 [B 2.65v] The other giueth Rule, unto what degree of particularitie, a knowledge should descend:
Altera normam praescribit, quousque et ad quem particularitatis gradum propositiones scientiarum sint deducenda.

and once by OPORTET (with an addition to the English which employs DEBEO):

6.56 [B 2.20v] which Science whether I should report deficient or noe, I stand doubtfull.
Hanc ipsam utrum inter desiderata reponere oporteat, haesitum debere.

In the following, the Latin avoids translating the phrase containing the second SHOULD, which appears to have a meaning equivalent to OUGHT TO:

6.57 [B 2.21r] why in all Diuersities of things there should bee certaine Participles in Nature, which are almost ambiguous, to which kinde they should bee referred?
Similiter nemo, qui de simili et diverso disseruit, satis explicavit, cur, quasi perpetuo inter species diversas, interponantur participia quaedam, quae sunt speciei ambiguae.

The following further examples of SHOULD from the translated texts, do not reflect the words and constructions usually rendered by MUST and OUGHT.

6.58 [FM 228B] So great is the fury of a troubled minde put from the state it should be in, as ...
Tantus est perturbatae mentis et sedibus suis pulsae furor, ut ...

6.59 [LS 20.2] This thing is difficult, neyther say I that a wise-man should always march one pace, but one path.
Est enim difficile hoc; nec dico sapientem uno semper i turum gradu sed una via.

6.60 [HL 3A] when as we rather should begin ... with good osses and luckie forespeakings, with vowes and praiers ...
cum bonis potius ominibus votisque et precationibus ... libentius inciperemus.

6.61 [HL 23E] [considering] ... and that warres s h o u l d not onely be made, but also denounced and proclaimed orderly, and in some religious forme of solemnitie;

Nec g e r e n t u r solum, sed etiam indicerentur bella aliquo ritu;

6.62 [HL 32M] she ... sat still, and seconded him not in audacitie and boldnesse, as a woman s h o u l d doe.

quod virum nacta, m u l i e b r i t e r cessaret audacia.

The following uses of SHOULD, translating Latin imperfect subjunctives, though they seem replaceable by OUGHT without change of meaning, illustrate the way in which the obligation sense of SHOULD shades into other subjunctive uses, as here the use in indirect questions (see also example 6.57).

6.63 [HL 15A] a rule, whereby he might know what beasts should be killed for sacrifice, upon what daies, and at which temples, and how the monie s h o u l d be levied and disbursed for the defraying of all charges.

Quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa sacra fierent, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur.

I am also uncertain about the sense in which SHOULD is to be taken in the following example, though obligation seems the most likely.

6.64 [LS 19.1] for what better thing can I intreat at my friends hand, then that for which I s h o u l d implore God in his behalfe?

quid enim habeo melius, quod amicum rogem, quam quod pro ipso r o g a t u r u s sum?

From the untranslated texts the sense of what is ordained and proper but not certain to be fulfilled seems clear enough in:

6.65 [H 53G] Let Phidias haue rude & obstinate stuffe to carue, though his arte do that it s h o u l d, his worke will lacke that bewtie which otherwise in fitter matter it might haue had.

6.666 [C LVII] We are now as busie about the Duke of Buillon, and coine many messages, aunswers and replies, besides large discourses what course he will or s h o u l d take.

The following, from Hooker, who as we have seen though he uses OUGHT is sparing in his use, are all in contexts which imply the non-fulfilment of obligation.
6.67 [H 48D] But when they who withdrew their obedience pretend that the lawes which they should obey are corrupt & vicious ...

6.68 [H 70C] Laws politique, ordeigned for externall order and regiment amongst men, are never framed as they should be, vnless ... presuming man to be in regard of his depraued minde little better then a wild beast.

6.69 [H 72E] & many that know what they should do, would neverthelesse dissemble it, and to excuse them selues pretend ignorance & simplicity.

6.70 [H 76E] because nature doth presume that how many men there are in the world, so many Gods as it were ther are, or at leastwise such they should be towards men.

6.71 [H 77C] the Lacedemonians ... are in that respect both by Iosephus & Theodoret deseruedly blamed, as being enimies to that hospitalitie which for common humanities sake al the nations on earth should embrace.

6.72 [H 88E] For they only pleade, that whatsoeuer God revealeth as necessarie for all Christian men to doe or belieue, the same we ought to embrace, whether we have receyued it by writing or otherwise, which no man denieth; when that which they should confirme, who clayme so great reuerence vnto traditions, is, that the same traditions are necessarily to be acknowledged diuine and holye.

6.73 [H 95C] Thus by following the law of priuate reason, where the law of publique should take place, they breede disturbance.

A similar context of non-fulfilment is found in these examples from other texts.

6.74 [M Essex 36D] your Maiestie ... hauing ... such means ... to waste the Countrie, which should nourish them.

6.75 [M 49A] he brauely adventured his person, more then in the opinion of Militarie wise men, a Generall should ordinarily hazard himselfe.

6.76 [M 78D] The chiefe complaints were these; that the forces that should lye vpon the borders, neare the Rebels, were lodged vpon them.

6.77 [C L] and on Wensday next (twixt June and July when he should kepe his mouth wet and somewhat els drie) our Mr Trot shall marry one Mr Perins daughter of Hardfordshire.

6.78 [D 2] cause not your enemies and myn both to lawgh at or matters that should be frends.
6. Conjugation

SHOULD RATHER:

Attention is drawn to this because of its parallel with WOULD RATHER.

6.79 [H 78A] So the grievous abuse which hath bene of counsels should rather cause men to studie how so gracious a thing may againe be reduced to that first perfection, then in regard of staines and blemishes sithens growing be held for euer in extreme disgrace.

See also 6.60 'rather should'.

SHOULD in the two following examples might be read as obligation but I think here, are subjunctive forms of SHALL.

6.80 [M Eliz 40C] all the World seeth, how time is dallied though you thinke the allowance of that Counsell whose subscriptions are your Ecchoes should serue and satisfie vs.

6.81 [C XLVII] wherein I assure you I know not whether should more commend your bountie or your judgement in foreseing I shold meet with beggers and therefore had need be double stored.

WOULD Exemplified

Like SHOULD and OUGHT, WOULD, in the sense of want to or wish to, can be both present and preterite. The argument of Chapter 3 maintains that WILL can still at this period mean want to or wish to and it is shown that WILL is often used to translate VOLO or VOULOIR. Consequently when we find WOULD translating a past tense of these verbs it is not clear whether we have here the ordinary preterite of WILL or the softened WOULD used as a preterite.

Examples follow, first from Florio, and then from the texts translated from Latin.

French Imperfect:

6.82 [FM 213e] Plutarke reporteth a like example of one who would not bee resolved of what he doubted ...

Plutarque recite un pareil example de quel qu'un qui ne voulait pas estre esclaircy de ce dequoy il estoit en doute.

Perfect:

6.83 [FM 145b] Thus (answered he) that I have suffered thee to speake all thou wouldst ...
Que je t'ay laisse dire tout ce que tu as voulu.

6.84 [FM 207e] He would not make himselfe a stone or a blocke, but a living, discoursing and reasoning man.

Il n' a pas voulu se faire pierre ou souche; il a voulu se faire homme vivant, discorrent & raisonnant.

6.85 [FM 215b] And for this consideration was it reasonable, that they would not throughly unfold & a esté raisonnable, pour cette consideration, que les communes opinions ils n' ayent voulu les esplucher au vif ...

From Latin, WOULD in translation of the past tenses of VOLO is unusual.

I find only

6.86 [LS 19.9] This would he say that feare and amaze possesseth the highest

Hoc volui dicere; attonita habet summa;

and in the translation of Bacon

6.87 [B 1.14r] Yea, of such as they would receive.

ex illis, quas ipsi voluisset accipere

and the following, when the indirect speech of the English is translated as direct speech in Latin (so that WOULD is here read by the translators as preterite of WILL by sequence of tenses after 'answered').

6.88 [B 1.38r] he answered, That he would not steale the

Victorie.

Nolo, inquit Alexander, suffurari victoriam.

In Hooker, in allusion to Matthew Ch. 23 v. 37, we may notice:

6.89 [H 61E] ouer whom our Sauior spake weeping, O Jerusalem, how often and thou wouldst not?

Jerusalem ... quoties ... et nolusti.

Ierusalem ... posakis ... kai ouk e thele sate.

WOULD NEEDS

Occurs only as the preterite of WILL NEEDS, 'to insist on doing something'.

6.90 [FM 159D] it fortuned on a day, his master would needs feede him himselfe.

un jour le maistre voulu t luy mesme le penser.

6.91 [B 1.16r] the great Ladie ... would needs haue him carie her little Dogge.

matrona nobilis catulum suum Melitaeum ... gestare voluit.
6. Conjugation 4. Softened WOULD

6.92 [B 1.34r] Phillip of Macedon, who when he w o u l d n e e d s over rule and put downe an excellent Musitian ... was well answered by him againe ...

WOULD

The following preterite uses of WOULD in the sense of 'wanted to', also occur in the translated texts. The negative contexts suggest that these may be preterite uses of WILL.

6.93 [B 1.17r] Neither was it accounted weaknesse, but discretion in him that w o u l d not dispute his best with Adrianus Caesar; Quin prudens ille, non pusillanimis habitus est, qui in disputatone quadam cum Hadriano Caesare vinci passus est;

6.94 [B 2.51r] For hee vsed to disable his knowledge, to the end to inhanse his Knowledge, like the Humour of Tiberius in his beginnings, that w o u l d Raigne, but w o u l d not acknowledge so much.

6.95 [FM 176C] but he seemed to make no accompt of them and w o u l d not so much as remove out of his place for them. il n'en fit compte & ne d a i g n a se remuer de sa place;

WOULD, in translation of the Present Tense of VOULOIR:

6.96 [FM 137c] Some say his Arguments are weake, and simple to verifie what he w o u l d. Aucuns disent que ses argumens sont foibles & ineptes à verifier ce qu'il v e u t.

6.97 [FM 139a] These sentences of the Holy Ghost, doe to lively and manifestly expresse, what I w o u l d maintaine ... Ces sentences du sainct esprit expriment si clairement & si vivement ce que je v e u x maintenir.

6.98 [FM 159c] It is reported, that the Ravens of Barbary will doe the like, when the water they w o u l d drinke is too low. On dit que les corbeaux de Barbarie en font de mesme, quand l'eau qu'ils v e u l e n t boire, est trop basse.

6.99 [FM 214d] Thus with the price of his owne life w o u l d be atteindre a Science, whereof both use and possession shall therewith bee taken from him; Il v e u t, au pris de sa vie, acquérir une science de laquelle l'usage et possession luy soit quand et quand ostee ...

WOULD in translation of the Present Infinitive of VOULOIR:

6.100 [FM 176d] a Tiger ... endured the force of gnawing hunger, two daies together, rather than she w o u l d hurt him; un tygre ... souffrit deux jours la faim avant que de le v o u l o i r offencer.
WOULD in translation of the Present Tense of VOLO:

6.101 [FM 194e] I remember even those things I would not; and can not forget what I would.
Memini etiam quae non possum oblivisci: non possum quae volo.

6.102 [IS 5.4] Let vs rather take heede lest these fashions for which we would be held in admiration, prove not ridiculous and odious vnto others.
Videamus, ne ista, per quae admirationem parare volumus, ridicula & odiosa sint.

6.103 [IS 9.2] For the contrarie of that which we would expresse may be vnderstood:
Poterit enim contrarium ei, quod significare volumus intelligi.

WOULD in translation of Present Subjunctive of VOLO:


WOULD in translation of Future of VOLO:

6.105 [IS 8.3] What one soeuer of vs would liue a sweet life ...
Quisque nostrum tutam agere vitam vol e t.

6.106 [IS 16.9] and when thou would est know, whether that thou asketh, have a naturall or blind desire ...
& cum vol es scire, quod petis utrum naturalem habeat, an caecam cupiditatem.

We may add here Hooker's

6.107 [H 67C] Doe as thou would est be done vnto
Quod tibi fieri non vis, alii ne feceris.

The following use of WOULD is present tense, translating REQUIRO:

6.108 [FM 210c] They that would know what we conceive of everything, use more curiosity than needs.
Quirequiritur, quid de quaque ipsi sentiamus; curiosius id faciunt, quam necesse est.

The untranslated texts provide the following examples where WOULD is unambiguously present tense and cannot be taken as a preterite of WILL.

In Non-Negative Clauses:

6.109 [H 64C] Others to be vsed by vs as we our selues would by them

6.110 [H 69D] That which we doe not and would doe, is commonly accepted as done
6.111 [H 73D] what one amongst them commonly doth not stomacke at such contradiction, storme at reprooфе, and hate such as w o u l d reforme them?

6.112 [C XII] the title of Sir Henry Leonard that w o u l d be Lord Dacres of the South was argued.

('that will be Lord Dacres' would I think at this point in the development of the language be ambiguous between 'wants to be, i.e. claims the title' and the future (is heir to the title). It seems safe to read WOULD as present though the main verb is preterite.)

6.113 [C XXXV] Belike the Lord Keper mistrustes the holding of yt, and w o u l d make frends with the meetest mammon.

6.114 [C XLII] Some do much marvayle that he w o u l d be the meanes to make such a Sir John Norris.

6.115 [D 23] theirfor I w o u l d call to him for it in earnest sort.

6.116 [D 26] I persave your wyffe w o u l d see me come home.

6.117 [D 28] But as for thos chens of seton and hartlawe I w o u l d deny him them and charge the tenands to delyver none.

6.118 [D28] You saye that my sonne John w o u l d sell his blackstoude horsse for xx

(I read this as 'wants to sell' PE 'would like to sell'. I think the reading of WOULD as subjunctive, implying a condition: 'if someone offered him £20 he would sell his horse' which is how a reader of PE would be likely to take this is excluded by the context, but whether it was a possible reading in the language at this time, is hard to say. The use of WOULD in the sense now under consideration which has since largely disappeared from the language, is likely to have ruled out certain other subjunctive uses in contexts where there would be serious confusion.)

6.119 [D 29] you and your wyffe w o u l d se me come home before myghelmes by reson she dowteth to be syck about that tyme.

6.120 [D 29] and if it please god to send her a sonne that you wold haue had me to haue bene a godfather which I w o u l d w th hart and good wyll but I dowbt it wylbe after that tyme or I corne.

(Evidently in spite of the 'would have had me to have been', at the time of writing the birth is still in the future. I read 'which I would' as 'which I want to be' or 'would like to be'.)

In Negative Clauses:

6.121 [H 65E] That because we w o u l d take no harme, we must therefore doe none;

6.122 [H 65E] That sith wee w o u l d not be in any thing extremelie dealt with, we must our selues auoyde all extremitie in our dealinges;
6.123 [C X] yet not having any body there to direct yt unto ... I w o l d not commit yt altogether to hap hasard.

6.124 [C XLVI] One thing I had almost forgotten; (which I w o l d not willingly, that you may have a taste of her judgement,)

6.125 [C LII] and yet hearing of a post that goes away soone, I w o l d not omit to write though I have nothing but countrie occurrences:

WOULD RATHER

This seems worth noting separately, since in combination with RATHER, WOULD in the sense under consideration has survived into PE; and now might be said to constitute a separate form (see Palmer, 1979, p. 148, 7.8).

However at this period it is no more than a construction with WOULD - 'wish to do this in preference to that'.

6.126 [FM 185c] I have in my daies seen a hundred Artificers, and as many labourers, more wise and more happie, than some Rectors in the Universitie, and whom I w o l d rather resemble.

J'ai veu en mon temps cent artisans, cent laboureurs, plus sage & plus heureux que des recteurs de l'université et lesquels j' a i m e r o i s m i e u x ressembler.

6.127 [HL 32L] I w o l d rather thinke with most writers, that he was his sonne

pluribus tamen auctoribus filium c r e d i d e r i m.

6.128 [HL 39A] And therfore I w o l d rather give credite unto Fabius Pictor ... than to Piso ...

eo magis Fabio ... crediderim ... quam Pisoni

Beside WOULD RATHER we find HAD RATHER. This seems, like WOULD, a preterite used as a present, and in the same sense.

6.129 [H 62E] The former of these is the most sure & infallible way, but so hard that all shunne it, and h a d r a t h e r walke as men do in the darke by hap hazard, then tread so long and intricate mazes for knowledge sake.

6.130 [B 1.7v] or if any man h a d r a t h e r call for Schollers, that were great Generals ... let him take Epaminondas

Aut si quid r e q u i r a t p o t i u s literatos qui in claros imperatores evaserunt ... praesto est Epaminondas.

But HAD RATHER occurs with other constructions; thus with TO

6.131 [LS 19.7] But whether h a d d e s t thou r a t h e r to haue securitie in want, or hunger in abundance?

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Utrum autem movis ex inopia saturitatem, an in copia
fame? 

and in the later edition Lodge revises this translation to

6.132 [LS 19.7] But whether haddest rather, either contentment with
a little, or necessitie in abundance [1620]

which turns it into an ordinary use of HAVE. But Lodge also follows
HAD RATHER with a clause introduced by THAT

6.133 [LS 9.4] He had rather that he wanted nothing;
neuerthelesse he desireth not that which he wanteth.
Quae sibi desunt, non desiderat: sed non deesse

or without THAT; in the following examples the clause contains SHOULD

6.134 [LS 24.21] I had rather thou shouldest reade thy selfe, then my Epistle
Male te legas, quam epistulam meam

6.135 [LS 25.2] I had rather the successe then my indeuour
should faile me.
Male successum mihi, quam fidem deesse.

6.136 [LS 40.12] I exact not that his speech be deliuered without
impediment, rather had I it should be pronounced then
lauished non exigo, ut oratio eius sine impedimento exeat;
proferatur tamen male, quam profluat.

I find one example of HAD BETTER, which as Palmer [1979, p. 148] points
out, has in PE the same relationship with WOULD RATHER as MAY has to
CAN.

6.137 [M 13D] filled our Bands with such false hearted soouldiers, as
some doubted, whether we had not better haue them
enemies then friends.

WOULD FAIN

Although this is merely a strengthening of WOULD in this sense of
wishing or wanting with an adverb meaning 'gladly' (GLADLY is sometimes
actually used see 6.152, 6.153 below). But like NEEDS with WILL and
MUST it clearly marks the sense of WOULD, and strengthens it in
suggesting a certain emotional intensity in the wanting, and also in
some contexts at least, the unlikeliness of its being satisfied.
Apart from the two translated uses from Florio, the expression is confined in our texts to Chamberlaine.

6.138 [FM 167e] As for warre ... I w o u l d f a i n e know, if we will use it for an argument of some prerogative ...
Quant à la guerre, ... je s c a u r o i s volontiers si nous nous en vouions servir pour argument de quelque prerogative ...
(where 'faine' appears to render 'volontiers' and 'would ... know' the conditional 'saurais'. In some of Chamberlaine's uses WOULD in this phrase seems to have a strongly conditional sense.)

6.139 [FM 189b] for he feeleth himself grieved with sicknesse, and would f a i n e be rid of it.
car il sent avoir du mal et w o u d r o i t en estre depestre;

6.140 [C VII] Yf he were now at home I know he wold send you many thancks, which I w o u l d f a i n e supplie if I were as goode at yt as himself.

6.141 [C VIII] and now ... I w o u l d f a i n requite your kindnes, and repay you in the same coine yf our market did affoord yt.

6.142 [C XXXIII] Out of the Lowe Countries we have nothing at all, but that we w o u l d f a i n e kepe the treaty of peace on foote, which otherwise were like enough to fall to the ground.

6.143 [C XXXIV] At my first comming hither all was fish that came to net, and I bestowed it as freely as yt came, which, seing it was so welcome, I w o u l d f a i n e second with the like.

6.144 [C XXXIV] We w o u l d f a i n e persuade our selves that Fraunce and Spaine are falling out, and devise many tales and reasons to confirme yt.

6.145 [C XXXVIII] The earle of Southampton spake very well ... and as a man that w o u l d f a i n e live pleaded hard to acquite himselfe.

6.146 [C XLI] he is still at Beckley, but w o u l d f a i n e remove and borrow Mr Dormers house at Hampton-poile.

6.147 [C XLII] Here is much justling and suing for places in the privie chamber, by reason that most of them being growne old and wearie of waiting, w o u l d f a i n e bring in a successor.

6.148 [C XLIII] Cap Widdon and I meet sometime in Powles, and he w o u l d f a i n e draw me to Puddle Warhe, but I have no inclination to yt.

6.149 [C XLVII] he hath many forerunners and attendants here that w o u l d f a i n e be going.

6.150 [C XLVIII] Yet divers younge captains raise voluntarie companies, as Sir Rob. Wroths younger sonne hath one of 200 and Dr Doyles sonne w o u l d f a i n e make up another.
6. Conjugation 4. BE FAIN

6.151 [C LIX] there is much canvassing for his Deanry, and mastership of St Crosse which George Brooke would faine ingrosse.

WOULD GLADLY

6.152 [C XIX] which came short but two howres of the boat that was dispatcht to you in such haste, so that I was faine to send yt by the poste of Sandwich, and would gladly heare the safe arrival of yt.

6.153 [C XLV] I have nothing now to write to Mr Gent but only thancks for his bookes, and to pray him to commend me to Askot, where I would gladly know how they do.

All these uses appear to be present. 6.145 I take as 'like a man who wishes to live'.

BE FAIN TO

'Gladly' seems used in 6.152 to avoid repetition after 'I was faine to' and this construction requires separate notice here, although it does not contain any of the modal verbs under study, because it appears to form a pair with WOULD FAIN, after the familiar modal pattern,

WOULD FAIN - a strong and emotionally coloured need/necessity to do something, having its origin in the subject of WOULD FAIN

BE FAIN TO - a strong and emotionally coloured need/necessity to do something, having its origin elsewhere than in the subject of BE FAIN.

This could also be expressed as follows: that WOULD FAIN holds the same relationship to NEED and WILL as BE FAIN TO holds to MUST and SHALL.

The emotional colouring of WOULD FAIN, the sense of almost distressful longing reappears as the distressful reluctance or resignation often implied by BE FAIN TO.

Though in some uses of BE FAIN TO it is possible to replace FAIN by the adjective GLAD without destroying the sense - in other words the context makes it plain that the circumstances were such that this course
was better than any alternative, as perhaps in example 6.161 below, BE FAIN TO always introduces a course of action distasteful to the subject and it is as if the adverb FAIN in WOULD FAIN and the adjective FAIN in BE FAIN TO, had acquired opposite meanings approximating to EAGERLY/RELUCTANT.

The use of the auxiliary verbs BE and HAVE in quasi-modal expressions of obligation and necessity is remarkable. We may note BE TO (at this period often expressing necessity and perhaps underlying BE FAIN TO), HAVE TO, beginning to appear at this time, HAD BETTER. HAD RATHER appears to be the only auxiliary verb expression with a meaning relating to WILL/CAN/NEED, rather than SHALL/MAY/MUST.

6.154 [HL 29C] At their first coming, they cried out both at once, and interrupted one another in all outrageous manner, so as by a sergeant they were faine to be restrained & commanded to speak by turns ... primo uterque vociferari, & certatim alter alteri obstrepere. Coerciti ab lictore, & iussi in vicem dicere.

6.155 [B 2.102r] yet he could make noe greate matter of it, because men understood him not; but was faine in the end, to goe the beaten tracke of getting Armes into his handes, by coulour of the doubt of Caesars desigues; nihilo plus ad fines suos proficiebat, eo quod etiam illi, qui procul dubio eum, fuisset adjuturi, quid vellet non perciperent. Adeo ut tandem coactus sit, tritam et vulgarem inire viam, ut sicilicet, praetextu se Caesari opponendi, arma et exercitum compararet.

6.156 [H 62E] As therefore Physicians ... being overruled by their patients impatience are faine to try the best they can, in taking that way of cure, which the cured will yeeld unto:

6.157 [M 70D] He proposed also in the end a president for the Earles punishment (saying, he was faine to seeke farre for one gentle enough)

Chamberlaine often uses BE FAIN TO in Result Clauses:

6.158 [C XIII] he was so incountred and beset that he was fain to retire without attempting further.

6.159 [C XVI] The Quenes want of mony is not yet so fully supplied but that they are faine to descend to mean men, and picke yt up here and there as they can get yt.
6.160 [C XIX] The last I wrote you was at the beginning of this moneth, which came short but two howres of the boat that was dispatcht to you in such haste, so that I was fain to send yt by the poste of Sandwich.

6.161 [C XXXIII] One Beni Woode an adventurer that hath ben out these foure yeares ... in his returne homeward was driven to that want that they were faine to eat one another.

6.162 [C XLVII] Sir Fra: Veres voluntaries come not in so fast but that we are faine to come to a presse of 1000 men out of the neighbour shires.

6.163 [C XLVIII] The violent pressing, which was so generally disliked, that the counsaile were faine to take other order: and blame the citie for that disorderly course.

6.164 [C XLVIII] The poore Count Egmond that flourisht here a while with his coaches and liveries lies now at gage in so poore state, that divers noblemen are faine to make a purse to relieve him.

6.165 [C LXI] but he was not so nimble to get up on horsebacke, but that he was faine to forsake that course, and betake himselfe to the water.

BE FAIN TO, in other than Result Clauses:

6.166 [C XLVII] Sir Thomas Sherley ... had not ben ten dayes at sea but was faine to put in at Falmouth for lacke of vitayle.

6.167 [C LXII] I find little but that I have seen in other theyre pamphlets before, so that yt seemes they are faine to feed us with crambe for want of better provision.

6.168 [C LXI] Tirrell had made a head of 800 foote and 100 horse, but he was almost surprised in the middest of his forces, being with his wife to flie away naked, with the losse of 200 men and his baggage.

WOULD in this sense of 'wish' or 'want' requires an animate subject: from a semantic point of view it ought not to be possible to turn it into a passive with the object of the lexical verb becoming the subject of WOULD, but such constructions, though not common, do occur.

6.169 [C LI] We have speach of a progresse to begin toward the latter end of this moneth: first to Sir John Fortescues in Buckinghamshire, then to the erle of Hartfords and the Lord Chiefe Justice, where there were jewells and presents provided the last yeare that would not be lost:

Perhaps there is a certain affectation here, as if Chamberlaine is
being delicate enough to avoid saying directly 'which the Queen would not lose'. But there is also,

6.170 [FM 149e] I beleeve nevertheless, that if a childe, bred in some uncouth solitariness, farre from haunt of people ... would no doubt have some kind of words to expresse, and speech to utter his conceits; ...
But it w o u l d be knowen, what language such a child should speake:

Toutefois, je croy qu'un enfant qu'on auroit nourry en pleine solitude, esloigné de tout commerce ... auroit quelque espece de parolle pour exprimer ses conceptionen; ...
Mais cela est à savoir quel langage parleroit cet enfant;

which does not suggest that the construction is deliberately eccentric.

The OED gives under WILL 40c 'of a thing: Needs or requires to, ought to, should', with quotations from 1440 to 1682. The first quotation is from the Paston Letters, 'The goune nedyth for to be had; and of colour it wolde be a godely blew, or erlys a bryghte sanguyn'. In all the other quotations WOULD is followed by a passive infinitive.

WOULD Followed by (THAT) Clause

So far we have looked at WOULD in the normal modal construction of Subject - Modal Verb - Infinitive. Yet this construction, though eminently suited to WILL, in the sense of 'determine' or 'intend' limits the expression of wishes which are by no means confined to the activities of the wisher. WOULD at this period still retains a clausal construction, though this is already threatened by the development of the modal system. Outside the two texts made up of letters it is uncommon except for formulas like 'God would'. In the letters (as in the Elizabethan drama) it is common but confined to the first person singular. (In the drama the pronoun is often omitted suggesting that there was now no need to indicate person. But this omission is not found in the corpus except in 6.176 'Would to God'.)

The four uses from Holland's Livy are all preterites and the first must be read as the preterite of WILL NEEDS THAT with a sense,
'insists on it that', here translating 'iussit' commanded.

6.171 [HL 13F] so hee also would needs, that the will and counsell of God should be sought for...
De se quoque deos consuli iussit.

The other three seem ambiguous between preterites of WILL ('as God willed') and preterite uses of the softened WOULD. In 6.172 the translation from 'noluerat' suggests the latter perhaps.

6.172 [HL 5D] marie this would hee in no wise should bee knowne in hast, and before due time; sed rem immaturam nisi aut per occasionem, aut per necessitatem aperire noluerat.

6.173 [HL 5A] (as God would) forte quadam divinitus

6.174 [HL 141] and a second time (as God would) in our age for us to see. iterum, quod nostrae aetati dierunt, ut videremus.

All the other examples from these texts are first person singular, present in tense, though because WOULD is formally a preterite, they are followed by a preterite subjunctive in the clause; either a modal verb, or WERE or the preterite form of a lexical verb.

6.175 [B 2.16r] This part I ought in no sort to note as deficient, onely I would the vertue and sinceritie of it, were according to the Masse, and quantitie.
In hac parte, defectum aliquem non invenio, quin supersunt in illa complura potius quam desuna illud sane optarem, ut massae tam praegrandi virtus quoque et sinceritas narrationem responderent.

The following is the grammar book translation of UTINAM, 'would' with the first person singular pronoun dropped, and the insertion of 'to God' as if the wish were a prayer.

6.176 [LS 19.5] WOULD to God thou hast beene so happie as to waxe olde after the manner of thine auncestors...
Ut inam tibi quidem senescere contigisset intra natalium tuorum modum

Chamberlaine always omits THAT after WOULD:

6.177 [CL 1] I would this enclosed medicine sent you from your sister Alice could do as much for you;
Mr Cope is very hot and earnest for his papers; I would you could tell how to stop his mouth.

I would you could have kept him still with you, for he was like to prove a very sufficient man, and is much lamented.

Howsoever yt be I would we were well rid of this brunt.

At all adventures I would yt were no worse but to morrow comes not yet.

At all adventures I would there were little worke for him.

but at all adventures I would you had sett all at sixe and seven in the instant, and left him in the lurch.

The Delaval letters twice have THAT after WOULD, and show a preference for DID in the clause.

now if you thinke that she behaveth her selfe both in that she hath in charge and otherwyes toward you and your wyffe I would that she did stay.

for i knowe the chamber is right cold wher she lyeth by Reason of the back Dowr for my kichin which i would that you may de vp for this wynter time.

I would you did wryte to arther graye to knowe his mynd hearin.

and so he hath giuen me a byll under his hand for the x'i so that i would you dyd paye vnlo John Rand the odd fyve pounds.

and as for the pament of such savlt as they shall now resave I would it were payed at seton then at london. (where WOULD appears to be for WOULD RATHER)

However, it was possible to express after WOULD wishes with subjects other than the subject of WOULD, and yet preserve the strictly modal construction, Subject - Modal Verb - Infinitive, by the device of a kind of linking verb, standing as an infinitive after WOULD, but itself taking an accusative and infinitive construction. The verb used is HAVE; WOULD HAVE is then followed by a construction we find with WISH and WANT - an object noun phrase and an infinitive. This construction is especially frequent in the very practical letters between the
6. Conjugation 4. WOULD HAVE NP

Delavals. Like WOULD (THAT) it is virtually confined to the first person singular, and the Delavals use it, as they use WOULD THAT, as a way of issuing instructions. The infinitive following HAVE is sometimes without TO, sometimes with.

WOULD HAVE + NP + Infinitive without TO:

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

Numquam enim usque eo te abigam generis humanis furore damnato ut latebram tibi aliquam parari & oblivionem velim.

6.190 [B 2.52v] Aristotles opinion, that would haue vs chaunge a rich Wardrobe, for a paire of Sheares.

Aristotelis opinioni ... qui nobis actior foret ut vestiarium cum forifice commutaremus.

6.191 [FM 207a] For God would not haue us know these things, but onely use them.

Non enim nos Deus ista scire, sed tantum modo uti volui t.

6.192 [FM 214a] As another, that would not haue his Physitian remove the thirst he felt in his ague ...

comme l'autre qui ne voloit pas que son medecin luy ostat l'alteration de la fielre.

6.193 [M Eliz. 56E] We doe write to you ... more directly in this point ... because we would haue them apprehend, (seeing you thinke such an opinion would be good), that our Army shall not be so soone abated, as we hope you will;

WOULD HAVE + NP + Infinitive with TO:

Translating Latin Past Tenses of VOLO

6.194 [LS 41.6] In one sort doth the golden crested Lion subject himself ... in another sort such a one as is generous and untamed. This being sharp in his assault, such as nature would haue him to be, faire in his dreadfulnesse ...

Aliter leo aurata iuba demittitur ... aliter incultus, integri spiritus. Hic scilicet impetu acer, qualem illum natura voluit, speciosus ex horrido

6.195 [HL 14H] Then pronounced hee in plaine words what tokens by sight or flight of fowles he would have to appeare.

Tum peregit verbis auspicia, quae mitti vee l l e t

6.196 [HL 30L] The third hee would have to be of those that were esteemed worth 50000 Asses.

Tertiae classis millium quinquaginta censum esse voluit.
Translating Latin Present Subjunctive of YOLO

6.197 [LS 10.1] I finde not any man with whom I would haue thee to conuerse.
Non habeo cum quo te communicatum velim.

6.198 [HL 17A] But this one point Tullus I would haue you to remember and consider:
Illum te, Tulle, monitum velim.

Not translating YOLO

6.199 [HL 2L] This would haue everie man rather to thinke upon in good earnest, and consider with me ...
ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum.

6.200 [B2.104r] But I continue this beyond the measure of an example, led, because I would not haue such knowledges, which I note as deficient, to be thought things imaginative, or in the air.

I WOULD HAVE YOU + Infinitive without TO:

6.201 [C XXVII] Yet if this letter come to your hands in any time I would have you know that Mr Edmunds is bound for another viage to the archduke and Infanta.

6.202 [D:23] but if any stoppage be mayd it shall content him, so I would haue you taulk wth him therin.

6.203 [D 23] nevertheless as I sayd unto you and your brother John - for your beinge there I would haue you so prouyde and if I be asked for at that time, you maye answere ...

6.204 [D 24] I would haue you see him at his comyng home.

6.205 [D 24] which If he do // then would haue you laboure lavnce cramlyngton to byd order of frends to sitt downe what he may be dammyfied

6.206 [D 25] If arthur graye goo to his mother ... I would haue you send one of my men wth him to heare what is sayd or done therein.

6.207 [D 26] therfore I would haue you wrytt to Lyons and his partners tuchinge the none pament hearof.

6.208 [D 28] I would haue you call John Hill and thoms Delavale or thos that ware old servants to satifyes you hearof if they can.

6.209 [D 28] I would haue you remember to pay the queens rent which wilbe calde for a but myghellmes.

6.210 [D 29] but be presently expelled out of the towne which I would haue you do in any wyes for exsambles sake if they so contenewe such obstynatsye.
6. Conjugation  4. WOULD HAVE YOU TO
WOULD HAVE NP Past Part.

I WOULD HAVE YOU + Infinitive with TO:

6.211 [D 24] I w o l d h a u e you t o labour so as to haue
peter hangingshall inquered for.

6.212 [D 26] you wrote to me to rember R[ ]s payment which is about
saynt lukes Daye next which i w o l d h a u e you t o be
myndfull of what so ever god fo[ ]une vnto me.

6.213 [D 28] I w o l d h a u e you t o offer Mr wykcleff as
hearetorefore.

6.214 [D 29] I have wrytten in my letter that I sent by post that I
w o l d h a u e you and your wyffe t o perswade her to stay.

6.215 [D 30] I w o l d h a u e you t o be carefull that you
choose such a woman to be his nursse, of a second milke which is
better then one of the first mylk ...

YOU WOULD HAVE ME TO which quotes an utterance presumably of I WOULD
HAVE YOU TO:

6.216 [D 28] and if god send her a sonne you w o l d h a u e me
to be a godfather

When there is a passive infinitive after WOULD HAVE + NP, (TO) BE is
omitted so that the constructions runs WOULD HAVE + NP + Past Participle:

6.217 [HL 13C] the Senatours passe by their authoritie, that which
they w o u l d h a v e done ...
Patres auctores fiunt ...

6.218 [B 1,6r] and if they w o u l d h a u e it otherwise
beleeved, it is meere imposture,
cuius diversum credi si vellent, impostura mera esset.

6.219 [M 34B] That the King of Spaine had promised them aide of men,
which they w o u l d not h a u e landed in Vlster, but in
some Port of Mounster, or at Galloway in Connaght.

6.220 [C L] Mr Secretarie and his other frends w o l d h a v e him
sent again, but the father will in no wise heare of yt.

6.221 [C LIII] which course you may hold with me (yf you please) in
whatsoever you w o l d h a v e kept close or reserved:

6.222 [D 23] also he hath proces to be serued on Roger Rames and
thos that ar bound w th him which i w o l d h a v e proseded
and ...

6.223 [D 29] and if you w o l d h a u e so much bought to haue it
w th slefes or w thout sleffes set it downe in your letter.
Other constructions with WOULD HAVE, perhaps with ellipsis of TO BE:

6.224 [C IX] Mary he would have yet under the broad seal of England that after a year he might return when he will.

6.225 [C XV] We run away with all, as though all were our own, and are easily persuaded to believe that we would have.

Perhaps the following should also be included, though it is possible to read as a preterite of WILL HAVE meaning 'determined'.

6.226 [HL 4L] But it was a fatal thing, and (as I think) which God would have, that so great a city should be built for to yeeld the ground and beginning of that Empire.

Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis, maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium.

WOULD HAVE NP [TO BE] ... appears to have a specialized use meaning 'maintain (frivolously or falsely in the view of the speaker) that ...'.

6.227 [B 2.75r] So have they increased the fear of death, in offering to cure it. For, when they would have a man's whole life, to be but a discipline or preparation to die; they must needs make men think, that it is a terrible Enemy, against whom there is no end of preparing.

Veluti, cum mortis formidinem medendo augent. Etenim, cum nihil aliud fere vitam humanam factam, quam mortis quandam praeparationem et disciplinam, quomodo fieri possit, ut ille hostis mirum in modum non videatur terribilis, contra quem muniendi nullus sit finis?

6.228 [FM 243d] When he would needs have the Sunne to be a burning stone, he remembered not, that a stone doth not shine in the fire;

Sur ce qu'il fait le Soleil une pierre ardente, il ne s'avisoit pas qu'une pierre ne luit point au feu (a few lines later Montaigne has 'Il faisoit un du Soleil et du feu' which Florio renders 'he made the Sunne and fire to be all one')

6.229 [FM 180c] The Italians proportion it big and plum; The Spaniards spyne and lanke, and amongst us one would have her white, another browne, one soft and delicate, another strong and lustie:

Les Italiens la faconnent grosse & massive, les Espagnols vuidée & estrillée; & entre nous, l'un la fait blanche, l'autre brune; l'un molle & delicate, l'autre forte & vigoureuse;

(The passage from which this comes begins: 'Quant a la beaute du corps ... il me faudroit scavoir si nous sommes d'accord de sa description'. Montaigne's feminine pronoun refers back to 'la beaute du corps'. Florio in shifting from 'it' to 'her' leads the reader to suppose he is now referring not to physical beauty in the abstract but to its embodiment in a woman. Thus it would be natural to take 'one would have her white' as 'one desires a fairskinned mistress' which makes perfectly good sense rather than 'one maintains that beauty lies in a fair skin' which I suppose is the meaning of the French text.)
6.230 [C XXXVII] The Quene entertained him very graciously, and to shew that she is not so old as some would have her, daunced both measures and galliards in his presence.

The OED under WILL 24 gives 'Maintained, "wanted to make out"' with three quotations 1500, 1545, 1567. This meaning apparently occurs with the construction WOULD THAT + Clause. There are two quotations 1534 and 1602 for WILL 4 'Intends to express, means; affirms, maintains' in the construction WILL THAT + Clause. The relation between the meaning of these uses of WILL/WOULD and the usual meanings is discussed in Chapter 9, Section 8.

SECTION 5 - HAVE FORMS OF THE INFINITIVE IN THE MODAL PHRASE

1. HAVE FORMS AFTER PRESENT MODALS

The forms WILL + HAVE + Past Participle, CAN + HAVE + Past Participle, MAY + HAVE + Past Participle, NEED + HAVE + Past Participle, DARE + HAVE + Past Participle do not occur in the corpus.

SHALL HAVE:

6.231 [FM 135a] and when fear shall have suppress, or sickness vanquished this licentious fervour of a wavering minde, then will they suffer themselves gently to be reclaimed ... 

Et, quand la creinte ou la maladie aura abattu, cette licencieuse ferveur d'humeur volage, ils ne lairront de se revenir ... 

6.232 [FM 237b] when I shall have seene what good he shall have thereby, I will thanke you for your offer.

et puis quand j' a ra i ve u come il s'en sera trouve, je vous diray grandmercy de vostre offre.

In both examples SHALL HAVE appears in the same construction, a clause introduced by WHEN, preceding and dependant upon a clause with WILL. Both translate a tense in Montaigne's French made up from the future tense of AVOIR followed by the past participle.

If however Florio has been led by the French into a construction which is unusual in English we must note that Alexander Gil*, less than twenty years after this translation was made, in Logonomia Anglica [1619]
6. Conjugation 5. SHALL HAVE

claims that this tense, which he exemplifies in a construction exactly parallel to the one in Florio's uses, is a peculiarly English idiom.

Sed ut omnis alia lingua, sic etiam Anglica suos habet idiotismos, qui Latinae vix, aut omnino reddi non possunt. Vnum in Tempore coniunctivo futuri praeterito: vt, when I shall have taught my scholars, I will come to you, ad sensum aliqualem, quum finem fecerim docendi discipulos meos, veniam ad te. Neque per docuerim, nec per docuero, expresse satis dicetur; quia (shall have taught) est temporis vtriusque.

He translates 'shall have taught' into Latin by means of 'finem fecerim docendi', the verb here in the perfect subjunctive. SHALL HAVE however is not caught exactly by this tense, nor by 'docuero' (for Gill, future subjunctive presumably) because it is of both tenses - of future and perfect subjunctive. However he gives no real analysis because the name he gives to it 'Tempus coniunctivum futuri praeteritum', the preterite conjunctive (or subjunctive) of the future is impossible to relate to his scheme for English grammar where as we have seen he has only four moods, Indicativus, Imperativus, Potentialis and Infinitivus.

Wallis [1653] continues to be impressed by the fact that this tense has no equivalent in Latin and his brief discussion carries us on to HAVE infinitives with preterite-form modals.

Sic shall have, will have, illud indicant quod erit praeteritum; quod Graeci fortasse per ipsorum paulo-post-futurum, vel mox-futurum exprimere possunt; Latini vero aegrius exprimunt nisi in verbis formae Passivae, ut loquitus ero, I shall have spoken, locutus essen, I should have spoken, nam I shall have burned, it will have burned, difficilius latine redditur; nisi forsan ussero, usserit, tantundem significare dicamus. At I should have burned, I would have burned, Latine dicimus, Vssissem, ussisse vellem.

2. HAVE FORMS AFTER PRETERITE MODALS

HAVE infinitives after the preterite form modals, including MUST and OUGHT which have only the preterite form are frequent. Their use in the apodosis of conditionals is illustrated in Chapter 7. Epistemic uses of MUST HAVE and MIGHT HAVE are discussed in Section 6 of the
present chapter. All other occurrences of these forms are given or referred to here.

SHOULD HAVE:

Since we have just considered SHALL HAVE, we pass first to SHOULD HAVE.

6.233 [C XIV] It was expected that the treasurship should have been bestowed on the Lord Buckhurst for a new-yeares gift, but it succeeded not.

6.234 [C XXVI] The archdukes ambassador that should have had audience this day sevenight was put of til Satterday.

6.235 [C XXXIV] his daughter, the great heyre (for whom he should have had eight thousand pound of the erle of Pembroke, ...) died on Friday; and the land returnes to the Viscount Binden.

As we have seen because of the structure of the modal phrase which looks forward to a future event, the preterite modal has a weakened sense. It is often used with present meaning, and since the modal phrase as a whole cannot be past unless the future event to which it looks is no longer in prospect, this can only be indicated in the lexical infinitive. SHOULD HAVE is thus used to refer to an event ordained or due to happen, now considered to belong to the past because it never in fact took place. What the modal refers to, here the ordaining, the expectation, occurred but is now past. The event ordained, referred to by the infinitive did not occur.

6.236 [C XXIV] Cap: Chute (that should or wold have been knight in Fraunce) is in likewise about some such matter (that was either due to be knight in France or else wanted to be knighted in France, but was not)

6.237 [LS 13.11] some haue suruived to burie those who should have been their hangmen.

Aliquis carnifici suo superstes fuit.

(those who were appointed to be their hangmen 'thou shalt be hangman to these'; an office which was frustrate)

6.238 [FM 176c] the Dog ... to whom was first presented a Stag, then a wilde Boare, and then a Beare, with each of which he should have foughten, but he seemed to make no accompl of them ... but when he saw a Lion, he presently rouzed himselfe,...
6. Conjugation

5. SHOULD HAVE

grand chien ... On luy presenta premierement un cerf
pour le combattre, & puis un sanglier, & puis un ours: il rien
fit compte ... mais, quand il veid un lyon, il se dressa
incontinent sur ses pieds ... 
(Florio changes the French which says the stag, boar and bear were
brought in to fight the dog, rather than for the dog to fight. By
turning the expression as he does Florio anticipates the outcome of the
story, for in 'should have foughten' he indicates not only that the dog
was supposed to fight the other animals but that in fact he did not.)

6.239 [H 72E] so as the thing which they had deuised for a remedy,
did indeed but increase the soare which it should have cured.

6.240 [M 82B] He had purposed to plant a garrison at Armagh 8. miles
beyond Mount Norryes, but the rebels Cowes had eaten vp all the
grasse thereabouts, which should have fed our horses.

SHOULD HAVE as well as providing the disappointed past tense for SHALL,
that which was ordained or due to happen and did not, also serves for
the past of the softened SHALL, SHOULD and so expresses an obligation
which was not fulfilled. In the examples so far adduced the original
sense has been taken as 'due to' and SHOULD HAVE assumed to derive from
a modal phrase with SHALL. In the rest, the original sense has been
taken as 'ought to' so that SHOULD HAVE derives from a modal phrase
with SHOULD. But the distinction is often impossible to make with
certainty.

6.241 [M 18B] they cut him off by remembrance of all the benefits,
and that of his last pardon, received from the Queene, which
should have counterpoised his wrongs, and kept him in
duty.

6.242 [M 18D] Only Odonnel had some fifteene barrels of powder,
whereof he should have had a portion, but neuer had it.

6.243 [M 26B] For whereas they should have built Castles,
and brought ouer Colonies of English, and haue admitted no Irish
tenant, but onely English, these and like covawns were in no
part performed by them.

6.244 [M 69D] 2. His going to Lemster and Mounster, when he
should have gone to Vlster

6.245 [M 70A] whereas he made to the number of threescore ... yea &
that in a most unseasonable time, when things were at the worst,
which should have been done vpon victorie and triumph
only.
In 6.245, 'only' has quasi-negative force so that the modal phrase is equivalent to 'should not have been done'. As 'should have been done' implies the modal phrase is now regarded as belonging to the past in so far as the obligation has not been fulfilled as in 6.241-6.244, so 'should not have been done' implies a negative obligation which has not been fulfilled. A negative obligation existed. The prohibited activity referred to in infinitive took place in the past.

From SHOULD HAVE used in this way, we may pass to its exact synonym OUGHT TO HAVE.

**OUGHT TO HAVE**

Like SHOULD HAVE when derived from SHOULD (obligation) OUGHT TO HAVE is used for an obligation which is thought of as belonging to the past in that the obligation was not fulfilled.

6.246 [B 2.42r] And as for the footesteps of diseases, ... they ought to have beene exactly obserued by multitude of Anatomies, and the contribution of mens seuerall experiences; and carefully set downe ... whereas now vpon opening of bodies, they are passed over sleightly and in silence.

Itidem vestigia, et impressiones morborum ... omnia et his similia, per eam, quam diximus, anatomiam comparatum, et multorum medicorum experimenta in unum collata, magna cum cura perquiri et componi debent. At varietas ista accidentium in anatomicis aut perfundione tractatur, aut silentio praeteritur.

The English takes the obligation as it existed in the past as unfulfilled, though the obligation is thought of as still existing.

The Latin with 'debent' translates as a continuing obligation.

6.247 [B 1.21v-22r] So in naturall Historie, wee see there hath not beene that choise and iudgement vsed, as ought to have beene.

6.248 [B 2.57r] For it commeth to passe for want to this, that we are sure to end there where wee ought to have begun.

See also 5.213 under OUGHT.

In the same way as SHOULD HAVE forms a past for both SHALL and SHOULD, so WOULD HAVE forms a past for WILL and WOULD.
WOULD HAVE:

from senses of WILL

WOULD HAVE corresponds to SHOULD HAVE, instead of an act of ordaining we have an act of intending or expectation, now assigned to the past, in that intention or expectation has not been fulfilled.

6.249 [C LVIII] The Lord Admiralls feasting the Quene had nothing extraordinarie, neither were his presents so precious as was expected; being only a whole suit of apparell, whereas yt was thought he W O U L D H A V E bestowed his rich hangings of all the fights with the Spanish Armada in eightie eight.

Thus

It is thought he will bestow Present

It was thought he would bestow Preterite, which is independent of the outcome.

It was thought he would have bestowed which is only appropriate if in the event he has not bestowed

6.250 [C XLIX] but that I could by no meanes leave Mrs Dormer in extremitie, which I assure you was such, that I did not thincke she W O U L D H A V E seene this day.

6.251 [C XXXVI] the last place he tooke was St Cateline a fort built to bridle Geneva, whether Beza came to see him in hope he W O U L D H A V E left the fort to the townel but the King meant no such matter, yet used him well and gave him 300 crownes.

where the failure of Beza's mission is as it were written into the expression of it. Thus Beza comes 'in hope he will leave the fort to the town'. In preterite narrative this becomes 'in hope he would leave the fort to the town', 'In hope that he would have left the fort to the town' looks back from the vantage point of the end of the story.

6.252 [C IX] I ... have now staide the longer to see yf this north-easterly wind W O U L D H A V E brought us anything from you. (But it has not.)

6.253 [C LI] If I were not now taking my leave of this towne for the best part of this vacation, I shold have put of this letter somewhat longer, to see yf any thing W O U L D H A V E risen worth the fliege at;

WOULD HAVE:

from sense of WOULD, to wish or want

A wish or intention belonging to the past in having been frustrated - not in the sense that it has not been fulfilled but that all
chance of its fulfilment has been removed, so that the wish itself belongs to the past. Hence it forms a preterite for WOULD in this sense.

6.254 [LS 24.5] More easily did Porsenna pardon Mutius for that he would have killed him, then Mutius did himselfe, because he had not murthered him.

Facilius Porsena Mucio ignovit, quid voluerat occidere; quam sibi Mucius quod non occiderit.

6.255 [LS 26.8] I would now have made an end, and my hand was prefixing the period; but all solemnities must be observed, and I must glue this Epistle his safe conduct.

Finire iam volebam, & manus spectabat ad clausulam; sed conficienda sunt sacra; & huic epistulae viaticum dandum est.

6.256 [HL 6L] But as Cacus ... would have kept him from entrance, Hercules smote him with his club.

Quem cum vadentem ad speluncam Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus clava ...

Conatus esset - had tried. I think the preterite of TRY in PE usually carries the same sense of lack of success as WOULD HAVE in the English of this time.

6.257 [M 188] When he would have remembered the wrongs since his late Pardon prouoking him to disloialtie, they cut him off by remembering him of all the benefits ...

(PE When he tried to remind them about the wrongs ... they cut him off by reminding him of all the benefits.)

6.258 [C LIV] Here was one Mowbray a Scottish man accused by one Daniell a little pigmee Italian fencer, that he would have suborned him to have slaine the king of Scotts.

('that he tried to suborn him ...')

The following examples require some discussion.

6.259 [FM 172c] with a milde and gentle contenance as if he would willingly have taken acquaintance of him ...

d'une facon molle et paisible, comme pour entrer en reconnoissance avec luy

where 'willingly' appears to have been added by Florio in order to reinforce the sense of 'wanting' in 'would'. I think Florio reads the situation in the story (the lion is here recognizing Androclus of Dacia in the arena) as precluding any real acquaintance between brute and man. Perhaps, PE 'as if he were trying hard to make friends with him'.
6. Conjugation 5. WOULD NEEDS HAVE

6.260 [FM 280e] Even in my writings, I shall not at all times finde the tracke, or ayre of my first imaginations; I wot not my selfe what I w o u l d h a v e said, and shall vexe and fret my selfe in correcting and giuing a new sense to them, because I have peradventure forgotten or lost the former, which happily was better.

En mes escrits mesmes je ne retrouve pas tousjours l'air de la premiere imagination; je ne scains ce que j’a y v o u l u dire, et m'eschaude souvent à corriger et y mettre un nouveau sens, pour avoir perdu le premier, qui valloit mieux.

What I would have said 'ce que j'ai voulu dire' = what I wanted to say, what I meant. 'I would have said' used in this way corresponds with the notion of frustrated intention, for what it was intended to say, evidently was not in fact said.

6.261 [C XX] ... yt is odds but I shall forget somewhat that I w o u l d h a v e remembred.

Perhaps this is an example of WOULD HAVE and means 'I shall forget something that I wanted to remember (but did not)'. But the passage makes better sense if we take this as an example of WOULD HAVE + NP + Past Participle, 'I shall forget something that I wanted to have remembered, i.e. something I wished to remind you about'.

WOULD NEEDS HAVE:

6.262 [C XLVI] the more by Mr Clarencieux friendly presence; who came from the buriall of the Lady Barrington unlooked for and unrequested, but went not empty away as he pretended, and w o l d n e e d e s h a v e done.

He will needs go. He would needs go (and went).

He would needs have gone (but did not).

WOULD FAIN HAVE:

6.263 [B 2.47v] most men are of the tast and stomach of the Israelites in the desert, that w o u l d f a i n e h a u e returned Ad ollas carnium and were wearie of Manna.

Ita in hoc pabulo appetendo et deligendo plerique palatum nacti sunt Israelitarum simile in deserto; quas cupidio incessit redeundi ad ollas carnium; mannae autem fastidium cepit.

6.264 [C LI] for she is yet but sliding, and stands to be satisfied in some points wherein she w o l d e f a i n e h a v e had a conference before her at Oxford by a great man in that place, and some of the other side.
6. Conjugation 5. MIGHT HAVE

6.265 [C VII] He went yesterday to Bletso to convoy the Lady Pelham that hath lien here this fortnight, and would fain have drawne me along with him.

'Would fain draw me along with him' would imply that he still desired me to come, and there was still some question of my going.

6.266 [B 2.100v] For Macciauel noteth wisely how Fabius Maximus would have been temporizing still, according to his oould blasse, when the nature of the warre was altered, and required hotte pursuite.

Prudenter enim observat Machiavellus in Fabio Maximo: Quod pristinum suum et inveteratum cunctandi et bella trahendi ould btasse, when the nature of the warre was altered and required hotte pursuite.

Where 'would have been temporizing still' might be rendered into PE as 'tried to go on temporizing'; he 'wanted to go on temporizing, but failed because it was no longer possible. For 'he will be temporizing still' compare ADO 1 01 109 BEATRICE I wonder that you will still be talking, Signior Benedick; nobody marks you. In this construction WILL seems to have the sense of 'insist on going on'.

MIGHT HAVE:

A permission or possibility which is considered as in the past because the permission was not on the occasion made use of, or because what was possible in fact did not occur.

Permission:

6.267 [HL 3B] they wholly forbare to shew any rigor at all, as by martiall right of warre they migh have done omne ius belli Achivos abstinuisse

6.268 [H 66B] as in their act who soulde their possessions and layd the price at the Apostles feet; which possessions they migh have retained unto themselues without sinne;

Possibility:

6.269 [H 69C] It is no excuse therefore vnto him, who being drunke, committeth incest, and alleageth that his wits were not his owne, in as much as himselfe migh have chosen whether his wits should by that meane have bene taken from him.

(He had the possibility of choosing, but he did not choose, since for Hooker to choose is to exercise reason and therefore to retain his wits.)
6.270 [B 2.22v] And therefore there was never miracle wrought by God to convert an Atheist, because the light of Nature might have ledde him to confesse a God;
Quamobrem nec Deus unquam edidit miraculum, quo converteretur atheus; quia poterat ipso naturae lumine ad notitiam Dei perduci;

6.271 [B 1.14r] and yet himself might have said: Ipsemet tamen potuit dicere.
The Latin 'potuit dicere', perfect tense followed by present infinitive. Clearly 'might say' is impossible here because it would be read as subjunctive, leaving the possibility of his still saying it open. The sense here is I take it 'It was possible for him to say this, although in fact he did not actually say it' and not 'it is possibly the case that he said this'.

6.272 [H 72C] there being no impossibilitie in nature considered by itselfe, but that men might have liued without any publike regiment.

However, they did not. Hooker appears not to regard the possibility as still open, I suppose for fairly obvious reasons.

6.273 [M 11C] one of the plaintiffs, offered him seuen thousand Cowes to make him chiefe of the name, when he might have learned, that his mind was not so poore, to preferre Cowes or any bribes before the Queens service.

6.274 [M 72B] That in making the Earle of Southampton Generall of the Horse, the deceiueable guide which misled him, was an opinion that her Maiesty might have beene satisfied with those reasons which moued him ...

6.275 [M 83D] And I will not forget one accident that might have prouded of great consequence;

6.276 [C XIII] and I marvayle that they which knew these wants did hearken no more after the peace when they might have had yt with goode conditions.

COULD HAVE + Past Participle in Non-Negative Clauses:

A possibility or opportunity which is considered as in the past because it was not made use of.

6.277 [FM 180b] and a man (who yet liveth) sweareth to have seen in a Province of the East-Indias the people so carefull to make them [i.e. their ears] great, and so to load them with beavie jewells, that at ease he could have thrust his arme through one of their eare-holes.
et un home d'au jourdui dict avoir veu en une nation orientale ce souin de les agrandir en tel credit, et de les charger de poisans ioieaus, qu'a tous coups il passoit son bras vestu, au travers d'un trou d'oreille

'That at ease he could thrust his arm through' would I think imply that he did thrust his arm through (the French seems to say that he did).

'Could have thrust' suggests a possibility open to him (the holes in the ears were large enough) but not actually taken up.

With SHOULD HAVE, OUGHT TO HAVE, WOULD HAVE and MIGHT HAVE the modal phrase is felt as belonging to the past because the event modally proposed is no longer realizable. What WOULD HAVE, OUGHT TO HAVE, WOULD HAVE and MIGHT HAVE — occurred, did not in fact occur. In the same way, what SHOULD NOT HAVE, OUGHT NOT TO HAVE, WOULD NOT HAVE, NEEDED NOT TO HAVE occurred, did in fact occur.

But whereas the possibility expressed by MIGHT can be regarded as in the past when the possible event did not take place, the impossibility expressed by COULD NOT HAVE does not become past when the impossible event occurs, but is nullified. COULD NOT HAVE then must refer to an impossibility which is thought of as belonging to the past. But since what is impossible does not occur, what is the mark that pushes it into the past?

The small number of examples from the corpus (we are excluding of course COULD NOT HAVE in apodosis and epistemic uses) are considered below.

Subjective Impossibility. What someone thought was impossible but then happened can be expressed by COULD NOT HAVE.

6.278 [M 38A] who presently charged vpon the causey, and to the very skirts of the Wood, with such resolution, as the rebels either thinking Horse coul d n ot h a u e serued there, or expecting advantages vpon them in that boggy place, stood gaping on them, and gaue way ...

The impossibility may be a rhetorical one, associated with a particular
6. Conjugation

5. COULD NOT HAVE

action in the past. COULD NOT HAVE is used with a comparative in

6.279 [B 1.36r] For if there be considered of the one side ... and
there be considered on the other side ... as I could not
have chosen an instance so recent and so proper; so, I
suppose, I could not have chosen one more
remarkable, or eminent, to the purpose nowe in hand:

6.280 [M 9E] He could have spoken nothing more pleasing to
this State (as he well knew), and therefore his answere was
approved ...

Or it may refer to an impossibility which existed as part of a now past
historical situation

6.281 [M 74E-75A] Tyrone ... wrote to the Countesse of Ormond ...
Auowing lastly, that where it was
treacherously surprised, (which could hardly have
beene so proued, that
Tyrone and his rebellious confederates
should have beleived it), he would in that case not onely take
his fauour from Owny, but procure the Earles inlargement without
any condition ...

'Could hardly have' here occurs in an authorial interjection. The
impossibility of proving that Ormond was treacherously surprised to
Tyrone belonged to that historical moment; Moryson himself has no doubt
about the treachery. The following quotation suggests that impossi-
bility in the past could be expressed indifferently by the preterite
modal simply or by the preterite modal with HAVE. In the passage Livy
is discussing the theory, which he rejects, that Pythagoras was the
teacher of Numa Pompilius.

6.282 [HL 13D] From which places (albeit he had lived at that time)
what fame of him could spread so farre as to the Sabines?
or by what entercourse and affinitie of language might hee
possible have trained any man unto him for desire of
learning at his hands? or by what good meanes and helpe,
could Numa trauell alone unto him in safetie, through so
many countries, of diverse tongues and sundrie manners?

Ex quibus locis, etsi eiusdem aetatis fuisset, quae
fama in Sabinos? Aut quo linguae commercio quemquam ad
cupitatem descendi e.m c i v i s s e t? Quove praesidio unus
per tot gentes dissonas sermones moribusque p e r v e n i s s e t?

The rhetorical questions expecting negative answers refer to impossi-
bilities. The variation between preterite and preterite + HAVE, like
the variation between COULD and MIGHT appear to be unmotivated except
stylistically.
Finally there is a single example of COULD (NOT) HAVE which refers to impossibility in the present-perfect rather than the past, an impossibility existing up to the present but not obtaining for the future.

6.283 [M 101E] About this time his Lordship had advertisement from Sir Henry Dockwa Gouvernor at Loughfoyle: ... That Cormacke O'Neale, being of late come from Dublicyn, c ou l d h i t h e r t o have done no servise, but that he was of reasonable esteeme among the people of his Countrey ...

It is clear that in this reported speech, 'could do no service' would suggest Dockwa said, 'O'Neale can do no service'. It seems unlikely that Dockwa said 'can have done no service' however.

Similar to COULD NOT HAVE is MUST HAVE. Just as what is not possible cannot be relegated to the past by taking place, so what is viewed as a matter of necessity cannot become necessity in the past by failing to take place. As we have seen in contexts of non-fulfilment there can be no necessity, only obligation, so that except in apodosis and epistemic uses, MUST HAVE is replaced by OUGHT TO HAVE. Occasionally we find MUST HAVE used of necessity in circumstances which have not arisen but these should be read as belonging to conditional constructions where the protasis is contextual.

6.284 [M 34D] After which moneth, their Septs were to be cessed for their victuals, vpon such countrys, as they must h a u e fought with the Rebels for every morsell.

6.285 [M 58E] or else to haue sought to haue ruined them by planting strong garrisons, which in most places must h a u e beene done by an Army.

Similar to MIGHT HAVE is NEEDED NOT TO HAVE. Just as what is possible may not happen so what it is not necessary should happen may happen. If it has happened then the non-necessary modality of its happening belongs to the past. There are three examples of NEEDED NOT TO HAVE, all from Bacon, given in the examples of NEED, 5.31, 5.32, 5.33.
6. Conjugation 6. Epistemic

There is one example of OUGHT TO HAVE where HAVE indicates not an obligation now past because not fulfilled but an outstanding obligation to do one thing before something else.

6.286 [FM 212c] Those who reconcile Lawyers, ought first to have reconciled them every one unto himselfe

Et les reconciliaturs des jurisconsultes devroient premierement les concilier chacun a soy

(The sentence well illustrates a certain clumsiness in English or Florio's management of it compared with the neatness of Montaigne's French. Florio translates 'premierement' and also tries to express its force grammatically through the tense of the infinitive. Perhaps he felt the conditional of DEVOIR as a past tense not properly translated by OUGHT though elsewhere he frequently so translates it.)

Modal Phrases with HAVE often appear to be due to sequence of tenses from a modal phrase with HAVE in a superordinate clause. See 6.269 where SHOULD HAVE follows on from MIGHT HAVE, and

6.287 [M Eliz. 39D-40E] if we could haue imagined by the contents of your owne writings, that you wou l d haue spent nine wekees abroad ... if we could haue suspected it shou l d haue been vndertaken, before we heard it was in action.

SECTION 6 - EPISTEMIC USES

The corpus contains epistemic uses only with MAY/MIGHT and MUST.

- MAY 2
- MIGHT 2
- MIGHT HAVE 1
- MUST 18
- MUST HAVE 2

I have also listed three examples of MAY, one of MIGHT HAVE and one of MUST where an epistemic reading is possible, though not, I think, intended.

In PE epistemic uses occur with CAN, WILL, WOULD, SHOULD, OUGHT and NEED NOT but I know of no work which has studied the relative frequency of these uses, so that their absence from this eModE corpus may not be evidence of a difference in this usage between the two stages of the language. CAN(NOT) HAVE, MAY HAVE, only appear in
epistemic uses in PE and these are absent from the corpus (though MAY
HAVE is not impossible in eModE and occurs in Shakespeare).

The OED under MUST as meaning 6. has:

Expressing the inferred or presumed certainty of a fact; either (with pres inf.) relating to the present time, as in you must be aware of this = I cannot doubt that you are aware of this; or (with perfect inf.) relating to the past, as in he must have done it = it is to be concluded that he did it.

This is, surely, what a more recent terminology has labelled the epistemic use of MUST. Yet the quotations for this begin with 1652 Evelyn Ess 1st Bk Lucretius (1656) 164. The continent must be incorporeal, the contained corporeal, followed by 1673 Dryden Marr-a-la-Mode l.i.8 Your friend? then he must needs be of much merit.

Since, as the examples which follow show, this use of MUST is established in the English of around 1600 and since Florio, Hooker, Bacon and Moryson were all read for the dictionary this is evidence of the inadequacy of the method employed in the compilation of the OED as applied to very frequently occurring words. Important distinctions between various uses of the same construction are not usually apparent to untrained native speakers. Yet it was readers of this kind who had to decide when it was worth making a slip for a word as common as MUST and their decisions determined the evidence of usage on which the article was eventually based.

It is only in much later times that the distinction in modal meaning here under consideration has been given close study.

The term 'epistemic' itself seems to have been introduced by Hoffman [1966]. The non-epistemic or usual meaning of the modals he calls the root meaning, and these are the terms used here. In the next few years important articles by Boyd and Thorne [1969], Halliday [1970] and Anderson [1971] appeared, all more or less independently and
without making use of the same terminology, showing that there are two kinds of modal meaning under the same forms in PE. My own indebtedness to all this work is evident. However there are differences in treatment of the distinction between epistemic and root meanings and its relation to other distinctions in modal meaning; Newmeyer [1975] appears to take the root-epistemic contrast as corresponding to permission-possibility and obligation-necessity. In order to relate epistemic modality in so far as it appears in the corpus with the distinctions already made in modal meaning, I set out below by means of PE paraphrases the different meanings I believe are possible with the modal phrases containing MAY/MIGHT/MIGHT HAVE and MUST/MUST HAVE in the English of around 1600.

1. He may do so
2. He might do so
3. He must do so

1. He might have done so
2. He might have done so
3. He might have done so

With MUST, past tense meanings corresponding to those for MIGHT are possible.
For 'He must have done so', there are only two meanings since that which corresponds to 1. namely, he was obliged to do so but did not, appears as 'He ought to have done so'.

2. He must have done so In circumstances that were never realized, it would have been necessary for him to do so

(This meaning only appears when 'He must have done so' is effectively the apodosis of a conditional.)

3. He must have done so It is necessarily the case that he did so It can be inferred that he did so

In some ways meanings 1 and 2 are similar and in contrast to 3.

a) 1 and 2 MAY, 1 and 2 MUST have a forward looking time-reference; 3 MAY refers to a present possibility, 3 MUST to a presently existing state of affairs. 1 and 2 MIGHT HAVE refer to something which did not occur, 3 MIGHT HAVE to the possibility that something did take place.

b) Permission and possibility on the one hand, and obligation and necessity on the other in certain contexts shade into one another. 3 is always distinct even though sometimes it may not be clear whether 2 or 3 is intended.

In another way 2 and 3 are in contrast to 1. Both 2 and 3 can be strengthened by an appropriate adverb of possibility e.g. PERHAPS or of necessity e.g. NEEDS. 1. cannot be so strengthened.

As has been pointed out by recent writers on modals, the epistemic modal is the equivalent of a sentence adverb and the fact that both 2 and 3 can be strengthened by an adverbia expression of the modality may offer a clue to the nature of the different semantic structures which may underlie identical surface forms. Thus by adding PERHAPS to 'They may do so' we exclude the meaning 'They are permitted to' but 'They may perhaps do so' is ambiguous between 'It is possible...
6. Conjugation 6. Epistemic

for them to do so' and 'It is possible that they do so'. In the first case PERHAPS is pleonastic. In the second, we might say that MAY is pleonastic. Thus

They may (perhaps) do so - it is possible for them to do so
They (may) perhaps do so - It is possible that they do so

However we may note that this does not quite work with MUST. In eModE by adding NEEDS to 'They must do so' we exclude the meaning 'They ought to do so' but there is apparently no *'They needs do so' as an alternative to 'They needs must do so' in the epistemic sense. This is apparently a restriction on the adverb NEEDS but even with other adverbs or adverbial phrases of necessity we do not find an exact equivalence between the indicative sentence and the epistemic modality of MUST.

'They necessarily do so' and 'They necessarily must do so' appear in PE at least not to share the clear identity of meaning between 'They perhaps do so' and 'They may perhaps do so'. This seems to be because adverbs of necessity are not naturally taken as sentence adverbs but are applied to the verb unless the modal MUST is present.

In the examples of epistemic usage which follow, those which are reinforced by means of a sentence adverb expressing the modality (including for MUST, OF CONSEQUENCE, expressing necessity by inference) are listed first, according to the adverbs employed.

Besides being sometimes paraphraseable by means of indicative sentences with appropriate sentence adverbs, the epistemic senses of MAY and MUST can also be expressed in the form IT MAY/MUST BE (THAT) + [Clause with Indicative Verb]. Thus 'He may do so' in the epistemic sense is equivalent to 'It may be that he does so' and 'He must do so' to 'It must be that he does so'. If the verb in the THAT-Clause lacks indicative modality, that is if the verb is subjunctive or itself contains a modal verb, the equivalence to epistemic modality is lost.
A complete set of the occurrences of IT MAY BE (THAT)+ Clause is given, 6.288-6.299, arranged according to whether the verb in the THAT-Clause is indicative or whether it is accompanied by a modal.

The precise grammatical relationship between these complex sentences and the simple modal sentences they appear to be equivalent to, is not altogether clear. IT MAY/MUST BE (THAT) Clauses are non-epistemic modal sentences with THAT-Clause as the subject and BE used absolutely as the verb in the modal phrase; they might be paraphrased as 'It is possible/necessary for the fact that [Clause] to be so'. Newmeyer [1975] points out that there is an interesting parallel between the way in which 'It may be that he does so' is equivalent to 'He may do so' and 'It seems that he does so' to 'He seems to do so'. But the parallel is not perfect and Newmeyer admits he cannot explain the disappearance of BE when 'It may be that ...' is reorganized.

The evidence that epistemic modal sentences can be paraphrased in the form IT + Modal + BE + (THAT) Clause only if the clause has its verb in the indicative, together with the evidence that they can at least sometimes be replaced by indicative sentences containing a sentence adverb expressing modality suggest that epistemic modal sentences beneath their surface grammar must contain an indicative clause that is not present in non-epistemic modals. This is also supported, though in a way which does not lend itself to conclusive linguistic argument, by the curious regularity of the paraphrases of epistemic and non-epistemic modality in PE. These are fully worked out in White [1975] who is concerned as a philosopher with the precise meanings of modal expressions in the English language rather than the syntactical apparatus by which they are expressed. In his paraphrases of non-epistemic and epistemic modals (though he does not use these terms which would be highly confusing in a philosophical context) he shows how for possibility, it is necessary to distinguish between the possibility that is expressed
by 'It is possible ...' followed by an indicative clause 'that he does so' or 'that he did so', and the possibility expressed by 'it is possible ...' followed by a non-epistemic clause, 'It is possible for him to do so', 'It is possible he do so', 'It is possible that he should do so'. It is true that I would differ from White in taking 'It is possible that he will do so' as non-indicative and so expressing non-epistemic modality while he considers this a future indicative and so a form of epistemic modality. But the general point is the weight of evidence that the epistemic modal phrase seems somehow to contain a verb with indicative modality while the non-epistemic modal does not. Of course epistemic and non-epistemic modality share the same surface form and in this form the verb is always an infinitive. The infinitive is certainly non-indicative and this may be why non-epistemic or root modality is as it were primary and overwhelmingly more frequent in use. But infinitives in surface grammar can reflect indicative as well as non-indicative verbs in the deep structure; for example in 'I know him to be wise' 'to be' reflects the verb in 'that he is wise' and the verb in this clause after 'know' is certainly indicative.

For this reason, in the absence of an elucidation of all the problems involved, it seems possible to associate epistemic/non-epistemic modality with the underlying indicative or non-indicative mood reflected by the infinitive in the modal phrase and therefore to include its consideration at this point, as part of the discussion and illustration of the conjugation of the modal phrase.
Noun Clause with Indicative Verb as subject of MAY BE, giving an equivalent to epistemic use of MAY:

**Present Indicative**

6.288 [D 28] If Lyons of Yarmuth send a ship for sault stay her not for that it may be she is not his owne and so you may do wrong to annuther 
(Equivalent to 'she may not be his own', a construction, as has been noticed, not usual in the English of this period.)

6.289 [C XXVI] Yt may be we fear the French will fall in with the States, yf we leave them in this extremities 
(Equivalent to 'we may fear the French will ...' in epistemic sense, though this form would be most naturally taken in the root sense as referring to future possibility. Chamberlaine's meaning here is that it is possible that official fears already exist about future French reactions.)

**Preterite**

6.290 [H 72D] At the first when some certaine kind of regiment was once approued, it may be that nothing was then further thought vpon for the maner of gouerning ...
(Equivalent to 'nothing may then have been further thought upon'. MAY HAVE does not appear in the corpus and is unusual at this time.)

**Perfect**

6.291 [C XIX] Yt may be you have not heard that the Duke of Joyeuse is once more become humorous. 
(Equivalent to 'you may not have heard ...')

6.292 [C XXXVI] Yt may be you have heard all or most part of this already

**Present Subjunctive**

BE

6.293 [C XXVIII] Yt may be there be divers other things I shold impart to you, yf either I had leysure, or that they came redilie to hand. 
(If BE is taken as subjunctive then equivalent to 'There may be divers other things' taken in root sense, 'It is possible that there would be'. But BE is sometimes used as an indicative, in which case 'There may be' in the epistemic sense 'It is possibly the case that there are divers other things'.)

Noun Clauses with Modal Verbs as subject of MAY BE:

The clause has a future reference, so that the whole sentence remains equivalent to a root use of MAY. This is obvious when the modal in the clause is also MAY.
6. Conjugation 6. IT MAY BE (THAT)
Epistemic MAY/MIGHT

6.294 [D 28] such a place which ought to be right cleanly used and so
it may be that upon your wyffe persuasion and yours to
her she may staye longer.
(Equivalent to 'she may stay longer'; this construction seems unlikely
in more literary prose.)

With WILL

6.295 [C XXXII] yt may be much of this will be counter-
maunded;
('Much of this may be countermanded' in the root sense of future
possibility, rather than the epistemic sense about a possible present
situation, which could be expanded to 'It may be much of this is
countermanded (already although I have not heard)').

6.296 [C XL] Yet because sometimes gratae divitibus vices, yt
may be you will not scorne coarser cates, but find
some taste in sleightner dishes of lesse curiositie and cost ...
(Equivalent to 'You may not scorn'. This however usually carries the
meaning 'You are not permitted to' and this may be the reason why
Chamberlaine avoids using it here.)

6.297 [C LIII] She continues still wavering, and redy to slide upon
every occasion, yet yt may be but a naturall inconstancie,
and that she will not fall downe right, but loves to hold
her friends in suspence;
(Again, 'She may not fall' could be taken as a prohibition.)

With SHALL

6.298 [C XXXII] Yet because the particulars are not yet thoroughly
knowne, but growe dayly as letters come, yt may be I
shall send you somwhat you know not before;
(Equivalent to 'I may send' in root sense.)

6.299 [C XLVI] Well I have wearied you and my self, but pardon this
once for yt may be I shall not do yt often.
('I may not do it often' almost certainly in Elizabethan English to be
read as 'I am not permitted to do it often'.)

Epistemic Uses of MAY/MIGHT/MIGHT HAVE

MAY:

With PERHAPS

6.300 [M 10E] made a distress for the same, (which by the English Law
may perhaps be treason, but in that Countrey never
before subject to law, it was thought no rare thing, nor great
offence)
(Equivalent to 'is perhaps treason', 'it is possibly the case that this
action is by English law, treason'.)

Without PERHAPS

6.301 [H 92E] Furthermore, although we perceiue not the goodnes of
lawes made, neuerthelesse sith thinges in themselues may haue
that which we peraduenture discerne not; should not this breede a feare in our hearts.
('it is possibly the case that things possess qualities that it is possibly the case we do not discern')

MIGHT:

With PERHAPS

6.302 [M 90C] First, her Maiesty required him to look wel in general, vpon the dispositions of all his Captaines, whereof, some preferred by the Earle, might perhaps have hollow hearts towards her service...
('some perhaps have hollow hearts')

Without PERHAPS

6.303 [M 73A] And as for all those excuses which the Earle alleaged for himselfe, hee cleerely cut them off, shewing that his excuse of following the Counsell of Irelands aduice, was nothing, his commission being so large, that he was not bound to follow them; and if he had beene, yet were they a Counsell at his command, he might force them to say what he list; his own letters which he alleaged, might be provisionary, written of purpose then to excuse him now.
(Reported speech, for 'His own letters, which he alleges, may be provisionary' equivalent to 'are perhaps provisionary'.)

MIGHT HAVE:

6.304 [LS 13.13] No man thinketh with himselfe that the author is a vaine man, that eyther might have dreamed the same, or beleueed it lightly.
Nemo dixit vanus auctor est, vanus haec aux finxit aut credidit.
(The Latin gives the words after 'dixit' in oratio recta. Lodge takes the Latin to mean, 'The authority (from which I had this alarming rumour) is a fool. As a fool it is possibly the case that he made the whole thing up, or alternatively, that he believed it without checking'.)

There are several examples from Hooker where the somewhat abstruse subject matter makes interpretation of the modality difficult. The indications are that PE makes a greater use of epistemic modality than eModE and therefore present day readers are liable to read some root constructions epistemically - though the distinction in meaning is often elusive. I consider the following can best be read non-epistemically.
MAY:

6.305 [H 58C] so beasts though otherwise behind men, may notwithstanding in actions of sense and phancy goe beyond them ('it is possible for animals to outdo men, and not that it is perhaps the case that they have superior abilities)

6.306 [H 61C] Reason therefore may rightly discern the thing which is good, & yet the will of man not incline it selfe thereunto, as oft as the prejudice of sensible experience doth oversway. ('as often as the prejudice of sensible experience oversways, it prohibits the will of man from inclining to the good' rather than 'it is possibly the case that the will of man does not incline itself to the good')

6.307 [H 75C] That which plain or necessarie reason bindeth men unto may be in sundry considerations expedient to be ratified by humane law (Conceivably 'is perhaps expedient' but the whole context, strongly suggests the root modal sense of MAY. Since 'be expedient' includes the sense 'be permitted' perhaps MAY is here pleonastic.)

MIGHT HAVE:

6.308 [H 76E] in like manner, the national lawes of mutuall commerce between societies of that former and better qualitie might have bene other than now, when nations are so prone to offer violence, injurie and wrong. (Either 'it is possibly the case that the laws were different then than they are now (we do not know)' or as I incline to take it, there was then a possibility of a better order of things in primitive times which is now no longer possible because of the degeneration of mankind.)

Epistemic Uses of MUST/MUST HAVE

MUST reinforced by adverb NEEDS:

6.309 [HL 37F] he was fully persuaded that his kings pride must needs be odious to his subjects, which his verie owne children could not brooke and endure.

6.310 [HL 39A] Piso, who writeth, that there was 40000 pound weight of silver set by for that use. Which summe or masse of mony could never be looked for to arise out of the saccage of one only citie in those daies; & must needs exceed the charges of the foundation of any of these stately and magnificent buildings in this our age.

In both these examples MUST NEEDS introduces something which is inferred to be the case.
6.311 [B 1.6v] he will easily beleue that the highest Linke of Natures chaine must needs be tyed to the foote of Jupiters chaire.

Facile credet summum naturalis catenae annulum pedi solii Jovis affigi

What he believes is that the highest link is tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair, which is rendered by the Latin.

6.312 [H 50B] They all confess therefor in the working of that first cause, that counsell is vsed, reason followed, a way observèd, that is to say, constant order and law is kept, whereof it selfe must needs be author unto it selfe. Otherwise it should have some worthier and higher to direct it, and so could not itself be the first.

6.313 [H 62C] so in action, that which doth lye the euenest between vs and the end we desire, must needs be the fittest for our vse.

6.314 [H 72A] because not haung the naturall superioritie of fathers, their power must needs be either usurped, & then vnlawful; or if lawful, then either graunted or consented vnto by them over whom they exercise the same, or else giuen extraordinarily from God, vnto whom all the world is subject.

Clearly BE USURPED is BE + adjective and not a passive. The two readings bring out vividly the distinction between root and epistemic senses in the modal.

Their power must be usurped = we or someone else must usurp their power

Their power must be usurped = we infer that what they hold is a usurped power.

6.315 [H 79B] Nothing may be infinitely desired but that good which in deed is infinite, for the better the more desirable, that therefore most desirable wherein ther is infinitie of goodnes, so that if any thing desirable may be infinite, that must needs be the highest of all thinges that are desired.

6.316 [H 87C] It hath bene alreadie shewed how all things necessarie vnto saluation in such sort as before we have maintained, must needs be possible for men to knowe.

6.317 [M 49B] and for that the Rebels vse most commonly to assault vpon Woody paces and difficult passages, where every man must needs be in danger, and they most who ride in the best troope, it could not be but that we should haue our share in the adventure of our persons.

('where every man is necessarily in danger ...')
6. Conjugation 6. Epistemic MUST

6.318 [M 71C] he would not say that the Earle meant to compare her absolutely to Pharaoh, but in this particular onely, which must needs be very odious (which is, necessarily, very odious)

MUST reinforced by adverb NECESSARILY or OF NECESSITY;

6.319 [FM 156a] he is enforced to confess, that such a dog must necessarily discourse thus with himselfe, I have followed my Masters footing hitherto, hee must of necessity passe by one of these three ways; it is neither this nor that, then consequently hee is gone this other.

This may be considered by examining how Florio has rendered the three occurrences of 'passer' in Montaigne's French.

1. Present Indicative in French. But the 'discourse' in the dog's mind is inferred, and Florio renders by epistemic MUST.

2. Present Subjunctive after 'il faut'. Florio translates literally. The dog is tracking his master and so by the nature of the situation the master's passage is now in the past. The dog in Montaigne seems to view the situation as it presented itself to the master when he reached the crossroads, 'it is necessary that he pass down one of these three ways'. The modality here is non-epistemic. We might have expected 'it is necessarily the case that the passed down one of these three ways' which would be epistemic. Florio's 'must' can of course be read as a preterite 'he had necessarily to pass' which is still non-epistemic but I think he is attempting to reproduce the present 'il faut' from the French. Here then we might say that we have a non-epistemic use of MUST where the meaning requires an epistemic use. Instead of having the dog infer what necessarily took place, the dog is shown as it were rehearsing the necessity, which faced his master at the crossroads, of going one of three ways.
In French precisely reproduces the grammar of 2. 'It is therefore absolutely necessary that he go down this third way'. Florio here however reads this as if it were epistemic in modality and past in tense 'it is necessarily the case that he went down this third way' and renders it by the indicative perfect with the modality of inference given by the sentence adverb 'consequently'.

The rule of fluttering, and order of shaking their wings, by which they conjecture the consequences of things to ensue, must necessarily be directed to so noble an operation by some excellent and supernaturall meanes: 

Cette regle, cet ordre du bransler de leur aile par lequel on tire des consequences des choses a venir, il faut bien qu'il soit conduit par quelque excellent moyen a une si noble operation.

'It is necessarily the case that it is directed'. 'necessarily', not suggested by the French unless by 'bien', prevents the reading 'ought to be directed'.

MUST reinforced by OF CONSEQUENCE:

and must not of consequence, the pleasures of the intellect or understanding exceed the pleasures of the affections?

Et non pari gradatiane intellectus voluptates, eas quae sunt affectuum transcendent.

considering with himselfe what force and divinity it must of consequence have, since it was able, amidst so many corruptions and so viciously-polluted hands, to maintaine her dignitie and splendor.

considerant combien elle de voit avoir de force & de divinite a maintenir sa dignite & sa splendeur parmy tant de corruption & en mains si vicieuses.

MUST without adverbial reinforcement:

Are they so just, so charitable, and so good? Then must they be Christians.

Sont ils si justes, si charitables, si bons? ils sont donq Christiens.

Translating the French present indicative 'They are (we infer) Christians'.

Nor is it likely, but that this vast worlds-frame must beare the impression of some markes, therein imprinted
by the hand of this great-wondrous Architect, and that even in all things therein created, there must be some image, somewhat resembling, and hauing coherencie with the workeman that wrought and framed them.

Aussi n'est-il pas croyable que toute cette machine n'ait quelques marques empreintes de la main de ce grand architecte, & qu'il n'y ait quelque image es choses du monde, rapportant aucunement a l'ouvrier qu'e les a basties & formees.

6.325 [H 78E] For if euery thing were to bee desired for some other without any stint, there could be no certaine end proposed vnto our actions, ... Therefore somethinge ther must be desired for it selfe simple and for no other. That is simply for it selfe desirable, vnto the nature whereof it is opposite & repugnant to be desired with relation to any other.

Something necessarily exists, desired for itself simply.

6.326 [H 93C] Would Angels acknowledge themselves fellow seruants with the sonnes of men, but that both hauing one Lord, there must be some kind of lawe which is one and the same to both.

MUST HAVE;

With OF CONSEQUENCE

6.327 [B 1.28r] for there being then no reluctation of the creature, nor sweat of the browe, mans employment must of consequence haue ben matter of delight in the experiment and not matter of labor for the vse.

Cum enim tunc temporis nulla potuerit esse creaturae reluctatio nullus sudor vultus, necessario sequitur actiones humanas ad voluptatem et contemplationem non ad laborem aut opus, comparatasuisse.

The reference is to man's condition in the garden of Eden 'we infer that man's employment was a matter of delight ...'

With NEEDS

6.328 [H 63C] For that which all men haue at all times learned, nature her selfe must needs haue taught;

We infer (from its universality) that Nature has taught it, or rather perhaps, that it is Nature which has taught it. The HAVE of MUST HAVE here has the force of a perfect rather than as in 6.327 a preterite.
Doubtful:

It is frequently possible to take a use as either epistemic or root.

6.329 [B 2.48r] for man's labour is to invent that which is sought or propounded; or to judge that which is invented; or to retain that which is judged; or to deliver over that which is retained. So as the arts must be four:

\[ \text{Necesse igitur est; ut totidem sint artes rationales.} \]

Either 'there are consequently four Arts' taking 'the Arts must be four' epistemically or, 'it is necessary for us to have four Arts; these facts impose on mankind the necessity of constructing four different sets of rules or Arts' giving MUST the full or root sense of obligation/necessity.
CHAPTER 7

THE MODAL VERBS IN SUBORDINATION

Section 1 - Introductory

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- Purpose as Willed
- Purpose as Ordained
- Purpose as Permitted

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Section 4 - Complementary Purpose Clauses

- Verbs of Willing or Ordaining
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Section 5 - Conditional Clauses

- Without Modals
- Present Sequence
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Section 6 - Concessive Clauses

Section 7 - AS IF Clauses

Section 8 - SHOULD in Noun Clauses

- Protasis as Noun Clause
- Noun Clauses with Predicates expressing Modality
- Noun Clauses as Subject or Objects
- Noun Clauses Reporting News
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- Noun Clauses after THAN
SECTION 1 - INTRODUCTORY

The examination of modal usage in the English of Shakespeare's time as it appears in the corpus is concluded in the present chapter with a consideration of the modal verbs when they appear in one of the clauses of a complex sentence and there serve to establish the relationship between the clauses and so to indicate the kind of complex construction being used. This was the procedure followed in order to compile the set of examples in this chapter:

A. All instances where a modal verb appears in a complex sentence were examined.

B. Where the modal verb was judged to play no part in indicating the relationship of the clauses in the complex structure; where that is to say the substitution of the appropriate indicative tense of the lexical verb for the modal phrase both caused the same change in meaning which would occur if the same substitution were made in a simple sentence and at the same time left the organization of the complex sentence unchanged; in these cases the examples were set to one side. This test eliminated all relative constructions containing a modal except a certain group in which the modal appeared to cause the relative clause to serve as a purpose or result clause. Although sometimes these cases appeared doubtful, a selection of clearer examples is given in Sections 2 and 3, as Purpose Clauses introduced by a Relative Pronoun (examples 7.72 - 7.80) and Result Clauses introduced by a Relative Pronoun (examples 7.154 - 7.178). This test effectively eliminated all modals except WILL/Would, SHALL/SHOULD, CAN/COULD, MAY/MIGHT.

C. The remaining examples were arranged and it was found they could be accommodated in three categories

1) Purpose and Result Clauses and related constructions

(Sections 2, 3 and 4)
ii) Conditionals and related constructions (Sections 5, 6 and 7)

iii) Noun Clauses with SHOULD (Section 8).

It was found that in Category i) although all four of the modals occurred, MAY and MIGHT predominated. In Category ii) again all four modals occurred but here WILL/WOULD, SHALL/SHOULD predominated. Conditional sentences selected because they contained a modal in apodosis were frequently found to have a subjunctive verb in protasis. Since modal verbs in other examples appear in protasis, the examples were arranged in the following way: first, with subjunctive in protasis, according to modal in apodosis; then, according to modal in protasis.

D. Because of the evident alternative possibility in protasis of a modal construction or the subjunctive, the corpus was re-read for examples of formally apparent subjunctives in all the kinds of complex sentence which appeared with modals. These examples of subjunctive constructions were included in the materials for the chapter.

E. Since the total number of examples for the whole corpus was inconveniently large, the following course for the display of the materials was adopted. Modal constructions which occur with very great frequency are merely illustrated, complete sets of examples are given for less common constructions. Thus MAY/MIGHT in non-negative Purpose and Result Clauses, SHOULD in Complementary Purpose Clauses of Willing or Ordaining, WOULD and SHOULD in apodosis are merely illustrated. Complete sets are given for MAY/MIGHT, CAN/COULD in negative Purpose and Result Clauses and for all protases with modals. It was decided to include subjunctive examples. These are complete except for Section 5 Conditionals where one example is given for each of the main kinds of non-modal conditional sentence together with the total number of such examples found in the corpus. It should be noted that except for a very few examples which are specially noticed, only formally apparent
The setting out of the chapter is therefore a compromise between a rigorously complete listing of every modal occurrence in every complex sentence and the need to display the usage found in the corpus which would not be out of proportion to the rest of the study. The material is rich and diversified and it is hoped that the arrangement throws light both on the functions of the modal verbs and on the constructions in which they frequently appear. The chapter cannot of course claim to contain a study of Purpose and Result Clauses, of Conditionals or of the Noun Clause in the English of Shakespeare's time, each of which would require a treatment of the same length as the present thesis and a much wider basis of illustration.

The inclusion of subjunctive examples should be seen as a purely synchronic observation on usage at this time, as found in the corpus. It would have been artificial to exclude all mention of the subjunctive since in conditionals it occurs side by side with the use of the modals and in any case the need to discuss indicative and subjunctive modality in the consideration of the conjugation of the modal phrase has already drawn attention to the similarity between certain modal phrases and a subjunctive tense of the lexical verb which they contain. The evidence shows that some constructions at this time permit either a subjunctive tense or a modal construction but there has been no assumption that this is a stage in a diachronic process in which the modal verbs are encroaching on the functions of the historical subjunctive. However, for the alternative to exist, we might expect there to be apparent points of similarity between modal uses and the subjunctive. These could be briefly summarized as

1. Both can be used to indicate that the clauses in which they appear
make no assertion of fact. With the modals this comes about because they give for the lexical verb a modality which is not that of assertion. With the subjunctive it is rather an absence of indicative modality. But the modals used in subordination are not stripped of their positive modality. MAY/MIGHT in Purpose and Result Clauses have the meaning of potentiality, enablement, possibility that belongs to them. In apodosis, WILL/WOULD, SHALL/SHOULD may still be thought of as making up a mood showing what is expected, given certain circumstances.  

2. Both can be used to indicate that the clause in which they appear is a subordinate clause. This seems to be for both the subjunctive mood and the modal a use which derives from 1. above, but a subordinate clause may of course very well be factual. In a way the modal is more appropriate for this use than the subjunctive for the modal phrase includes subordination within itself, the lexical verb in the infinitive being subordinate to the modal verb. However in this function the modality or meaning of the modal can play no part. For this reason, a single modal form SHOULD takes on the function of indicating subordination simply. Certain examples found in the corpus suggest that the use of SHOULD in Noun Clauses is closely related to its use in protasis and in both cases it seems safe to assume it is the preterite subjunctive of SHALL used as a carrier of the subjunctive without a meaning or modality of its own, or alternatively as a neutral modal which subordinates the verb which follows it without implying any modality at all, even a negation of indicative modality. It is perhaps an inconvenience that the SHOULD which probably represents a softened use of the preterite indicative of SHALL has developed a clear and specific modality of obligation and it may be the difficulties which arise from the formal identity of the empty SHOULD as a sign of subordination and the SHOULD of obligation which makes it necessary to draw OUGHT into...
the modal system especially in the kind of prose which makes much use of complex sentences rich in subordinate clauses.

SECTION 2 - PURPOSE CLAUSES

Purpose and Result Clauses have both the same structure

MAIN CLAUSE
(CAUSE)

- - -

SUBORDINATE CLAUSE
(EFFECT)

and are distinguished by the nature of the effect. If the effect is intended, the clause is a purpose or final clause. If the effect is an outcome, real or potential of the circumstances expressed in the main clause, the clause is a result or consecutive clause.

Purpose clauses are sometimes, though rarely, in this corpus, found with verbs in the subjunctive.

7.1 [LS 10.4] live continually thus, that one thing abase thee not, neither master thy courage.

sic vive; vide ne te ulla res deprimat.

7.2 [D 32] And I praye yoW lett it be well dighted lest he reprove me. Because it is for seed.

More commonly, the purpose clause contains a modal. The purpose is in the mind of the agent (whether expressed or not) of the main clause and may be viewed as something

1) Willed or wished
2) Ordained
3) Permitted or enabled.

1. Purpose as Willed or Wished

The modal in the purpose clause is WILL/WOULD. This kind of purpose clause is only used when the subject of the purpose clause refers to the purposing agent. In the most usual form the subject of the main clause and subject of the purpose clause have the same reference.
The purpose clause is usually introduced by BECAUSE.

7.3 [HL 13C] This pleased and contented the commons so highly, that because they would not seeme behind in bountie and curtesie, they answered againe, that this only they ordained and agreed upon, to wit, that the Senate should determine who should be king.

adeo id gratum plebi fuit, ut, ne victi benefici o videretur, id modo sciscerent iubendentque ut senatus decerneret qui Romae regnaret.

7.4 [HL 42K] Brutus hauing intelligence of his comming, turned another way because he would not meete with him flexit viam Brutus (senserat enim adventum) ne obvius fieret.

7.5 [FM 214a] one who would not bee resolved of what he doubted, because he wou d not lose the pleasure hee had in seeking it;

quelqu'un qui ne vouloit pas estre esclaircy de ce dequoy il estoit en doute, pour ne perdre le plaisir de le chercher;

7.6 [FM 214a] As another, that would not have his Physitian remove the thirst he felt in his ague, because he would not lose the pleasure he tooke in quenching the same with drinking.

comme l'autre qui ne vouloit pas que son medecin lui ostat l'alteration de la fievre, pour ne perdre le plaisir de l'assouvir en beuvant.

7.7 [B 2.64v] All which I haue remembred to this purpose, because I would erecte and constitute one generall Enquirie.

7.8 [H 74E] But for as much as none did so usually this way offende as men in that case, which they wittingly fell into, even because they wou l de bee so much the more frelie outrageous:

7.9 [C XV] But it is said the erIe geves few places nor bestowes offices to any as yet, because he will hold his followers in hart till he have them there:

7.10 [D 52] my request to you therefor is that you would be pleased to send me the remande of that money which is due to me the last of this month or part therof because I would not loose the benifitt of the goodness of my pastures.

Clauses not introduced by BECAUSE

7.11 [LS 4.4] another hath stabbed himselfe into the breast rather than he would be brought back to the place from whence he was fled.

Alius, ne reduceretur a fuga, ferrum adegit in viscera.
7.12 [C XLVII] The weather growes here so warme that divers of our Aldermen disrobe themselves ... some for one cause and some for another ... alderman Banning for spite, that he w 0 1 d not have his wife Lady Mayores. 
(He disrobed himself out of spite, in order not to have his wife become Lady Mayoress.)

2. Purpose as Ordained

The modal in the purpose clause is SHOULD. The subject of the purpose clause may refer to the purposing agent or not. SHOULD follows both present and preterite in the main clause.

The purpose clause is introduced by THAT TO THE END (THAT) BECAUSE

Non-Negative:

7.13 [LS 6.6] But I call thee not onely vnto me, t o t h e intent thou should est receive profit, but to the end thou should est profit others. 
Nec in hoc te accerso tantum, ut proficias, sed ut prosis.

7.14 [HL 39E] Yet to the end that the murder so manifest and openly knowne, should be in some sort expiate ... his father was charged to purge his sonnes sinne. 
Itaque, ut caedes manifesta, aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, imperatum patri, ut filium expiaret ... 

7.15 [FM 209d] Yet not as Apollo giving oracles, that all should bee certaiae and set downe ... 
Nec tamen, ut Pythius Apollo, certa ut sint et fixa ...

Negative:

7.16 [C LIII] and do as the people of Calicut, that worship him, not so much for any help they looke for at his hands, as because he should do them no harme

7.17 [HL 31E] to the end, that he should not alwaies seeke to purchase wealth and puissance by war and martiaall prowess onely, he attempted to amplifie his dominion by pollicie ... 
Ne semper armis opes adquirentur consilio augere imperium oconatus est.

7.18 [HL 37A] to the end they should have no captaine of their owne to lead them ... he shuffeled or mingled the bands and companies of Latines and Romaines one with another. 
Ne ducem suum ... haberent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque.
But negative clauses with SHOULD are more commonly introduced by LEST.

7.19 [LS 6.5] and lest thou shouldst take too much paines ... I will put certaine markes ... & ne multum operae impendas ... imponam notas.

7.20 [LS 20.2] exacteth this of us, that everyone liue according to her law, lest the life should differ from speech. & hoc exigit, ut ad legem suam quisque vivat, ne orationi vita dissensiat.

(In 1620 Lodge translates 'that our manners should accord with our words'.)

7.21 [HL 7D] Furthermore, lest that the cittie so large in compasse, should stand void and vacant, Romulus ... set vp a sanctuarie ... Deinde, ne vana urbis magnitudo esset ... asylum aperit.

7.22 [B 2.49v] who taught the Ant to bite euerie graine of Corne, that she burieth in her hill, lest it should take roote and growe? Quid formicam docuit, ut grana in colliculo suo reponenda circumroderet prius, ne reposita germinarent ...

7.23 [H 95D] And lest appetite in the vse of foode, should leade vs beyond that which is meeete, we owe in this case obedience to that law of reason, which teacheth mediooritie in meates and drinkes.

7.24 [M 92D] Florence mac Carty ... refused to giue his sonne for pledge, lest his waged soouldiers should cast him out of his Countrey.

7.25 [C LIX] yet lest he should go empty and so make an yll impression, I haue thought goode to send you what I have got at the first sight.

3. Purpose as Permitted or Enabled

The modal in the purpose clause is MAY, sometimes MIGHT after a present tense in the main clause, and MIGHT after a preterite tense.

The subject of the purpose clause may refer to the purposing agent or not.

Non-Negative Purpose Clauses introduced by THAT, THAT SO, TO THE END (THAT):

MAY in Purpose Clause after Present Tense in Main Clause

7.26 [LS 6.4] I am glad to learne, to the end I may teach; Gaudeo discere ut doceam

7.27 [LS 11.8] We ought to chuse out som good man, and alwaies fix him before our eies, that we may to liue, as if he always lookt on.
7. Subordination

Aliquis vir bonus nobis diligendus est ac semper ante oculos habendus ut sic tanquam illo spectante vivamus.

7.28 [LS 17.1] Cast away all these things if thou beest wise, or rather to the end thou mayest be wise.
Proice omnia ista, si sapis, imo ut sapias;

7.29 [HL 18L] Two brethren alreadie (qd. he) have I sent to the divell, the third likewise shall I send after them, that a Romane may command an Albane, which is the cause of this warre.
Duos, inquit, fratrum manibus dedi; tertium, causam belli huiusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo.

7.30 [B 2.31r] onely we haue endeavoured in these our Partitions to observe a kind of perspective, that one part may cast light vpon another.

7.31 [B 2.57r] in setting downe in the verie beginning, the definitions of our wordes and termes, that others may knowe how wee accept and understand them.
et definitiones (de quibus diximus) artibus praemissae (secundum prudentiam mathematicorum) vocabulorum pravas acceptiones corrigere valeant;

7.32 [FM 163a] The fish called a Pouroontrell, or Manie-feet, changeth himselfe into what colour he lists, as occasion offereth it selfe; that so he may hide himselfe from what he feareth mais le poule se donne luy-mesme la couleur qu'il luy plaist, selon les occasions, pour se cacher de ce qu'il craint ...

7.33 [FM 163e] she is seen to hide herself under the mud, that other fishes fall into her claws.
On la void se tapir sous le limon, afin que les autres poissons tombent en sa puissance.

7.34 [FM 174e] Touching the mutuall societie, and reciprocall confederation, which they devise amongst themselves, so they be fast combined together ...
Quant a la societe & confederation qu'elles dressent entre elles pour se liguer ensemble ...

7.35 [H 86E] all things which are necessary to be knowne we may be saued.

7.36 [H 91E] seeking by all meanes to know what the will of our God is, what righteous before him, in his sight what holy, perfect, and good, that we may truely and faithfully doe it.

7.37 [H 94C] but how glorifie God in such sort as is required, to the end he may be an everlasting Saviour, this we are taught by divine law.

7.38 [C XVIII] yet I have got you a transcript of yt that you may picke out the offence yf you can;
7.40 [D 52] my request to you therefor is that you would be pleased
to send me the remande of that money which is due to me the last
of this month or part thereof because I would not
lose the benifitt of the goodness of my pastures but that I
may buy goods at durham now vppon Saterday next for to
make good the stint that wants ffor the buiseneses that you spoke
to me last of ...
(containing three forms of purpose clause, 1. because ... would;
2. that ... may; 3. for to ...)

MIGHT in Purpose Clause after Present Tense in Main Clause

7.41 [HL 8H] But Romulus dissimulating his inward heart-burning, to
the end he might find time and place meet for the
purpose, prepareth to set forth certaine solemn placies and
games ...

cui tempus locumque aptum ut dare Romulus ... ludos ex
industria parat ... solemnnes
(Historic present in main clause. Holland follows Livy's tenses, MIGHT
translating imperfect subjunctive.)

7.42 [B 2.66r] to giue men countenance, that those which use the
tearmes might bee thought to understand the Art;

ad hoc, ut qui voces artis habeant in promptu, etiam
artes ipsas perdidicisse existimentur

7.43 [H 83D] requisite it cannot but seme the rule of divine law
should herein helpe our imbecillitie, that we might
the more infalliblie understand what is good & what euill.

7.44 [H 87E-88A] These things are written, that yee might believe that Jesus is Christ the Sonne of God, and that in
believing yee might haue life through his name.

tauta de gegraptai, hina pisteuste, hoti ho Iesous
estin ho Christos ho huios tou Theou, kai hina pisteuontes zoen
echeste en toii onomati autou [John Ch.20 v.31]

7.45 [C XLVIII] You may take as little knowledge of these matters as
you list, for I only write them that you might know how the
world goes.

MIGHT in Purpose Clause after Preterite in Present Sense in Main Clause

7.46 [D 30] I thought it not amyss if you could fraught a crayer to
London wth xx or xxx wayes to be deliyered at london and to send
one wth thame of my owne men that I might haue no
vnivst delyng in the waye thus much I thought not a myss so to
derect.
7. Subordination 2. Purpose

MIGHT in Purpose Clause after Perfect in Main Clause

7.47 [LS 8.1] To this end haue I withdrawne my selfe to this intent haue I shut up my doores, t h a t I m i g h t profit many men. In hoc me recondidi, & fores clausi, ut prodesse pluribus possim.

7.48 [FM 156e] I have seene some, going along a Towne-ditch, leave a plaine and even path, and take a worse, t h a t s o they m i g h t draw their Master from the ditch j'en ay veu, le long d'un fosse de ville, laisser un sentier plein & uni et en prendre un pire, pour esloigner son maistre du fosse.

7.49 [FM 212d] Plato hath (in my seeming) loved this manner of Philosophying, Dialogue wise in good earnest, t h a t therby he m i g h t more decently place in sundry mouthes, the diversity and variation of his owne conceites. Platon me semble avoir aime cette forme de philosofer par dialogues, a esciant, pour loger plus decemment en diverses bouches la diversite et variation de ses propres fantaisies.

7.50 [H 87D] The cause of writing hath bene t o t h e e n d t h a t things by him revealed vnto the world m i g h t haue the longer continuance.

7.51 [H 91D] Wherefore seeing that God hath indued vs with sense t o t h e e n d e t h a t wee m i g h t perceiue such things as this present life doth neede ...

MIGHT in Purpose Clause after Preterite in Main Clause

7.52 [FM 133d] The forcible power of Platoes discourse of the immortality of the soule, provoked divers of his Schollers unto death, t h a t s o they m i g h t more speedily enjoy the hopes he told them of. La force du discours de Platon, de l'immortalite de l'ame, poussa bien aucuns de ses disciples a la mort, pour joir plus promptement des esperances qu'ils leur donnoit.

7.53 [HL 34G] and set up an assessing or taxing, t h a t the state of the wealthier persons being made knowne and exposed to envie, he m i g h t bring them into disgrace with the people. instituisse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna esset.

7.54 [HL 41A] he would lay by her side in naked bed her owne manservant ... t h a t it m i g h t be voiced abroad, that she was taken and killed in filthie adultery. cum mortua jugulatum servum nudum positurum ait, ut in sordido adulterio necata dicatur.

7.55 [B 2.49v] who taught the Rauen in a drowth to throw pibbles into an hollow tree, where she spedy water, t h a t the water m i g h t rise, so as she might come to it? Corvo quis auctor fuit, ut magna siccitate lapillos immitteret arbori cavae, ubi aquam forte conspexerit, ut surgentem laticem rostro posset attingere?
7. Subordination  

7.56 [H 71D] There was no way but ... by ordeining some kind of government publike, and by yeelding themselues subject thereunto, that vnto whom they graunted authoritie to rule & gouerne, by them the peace, tranquilitie and happy estate of the rest might be procured.

7.57 [M 24D] First he sent aid to Phelim mac Feagh ... to the end he might make the warre in Lemster against the English.

7.58 [M 49A] To this end also, and that he might bee ever at hand, as well to incourage and direct them fighting ... he brauely adventured his person ...

7.59 [M 50B] Againe, he had a special care to cut downe and cleare the difficult passages, that so our forces might with more safetie meeete together.

7.60 [C II] I am newly returned from Knebworth, whence I made the more haste that I might aunswer your letter from Ostend of the 9th of Aprill.

Negative Purpose Clauses with MIGHT, introduced by TO THE/THIS END (THAT)

7.61 [HL 21A] The Albanes went up toward the hils without my commission, neither was it my commandement that, but a policie and countenance only of command: to this end, that yee not knowing how ye were forsaken, might not withdraw your hearts from fight.

Ut nec, vobis ignorantibus deseri vos, averteretur a certamine animus;

7.62 [M 78A] And to the end the Commanders might not be idle, her Maiestie required, that all seruices done by them, might be certified monethly into England.

7.63 [M 78C] And to the end the Commanders might not be thought to lye idle ... hee particularly remembred many preys taken, and seruices done ...

Negative Purpose Clauses with MIGHT, introduced by THAT (SO) ... NOT

7.64 [M 9D] And order was giuen, that all the Neighbour Lords should be drawne to the like conditions, that so they might not spoile Tyrone

7.65 [HL 19B] The King, that hee might not seeme the authour of a judgement so unpleasant and odious unto the people ... assembled the people together ...

Rex, ne ipse iam tristis ingratiqve ad vulgus judicii ... auctor esset concilio populi advocato ...

7.66 [M 82C] And whereas his Lordship was resolued to returne into the Pale by Carlingford, to discerne whether that way or the way of the Moyry were more safe, that the army might not runne so continuall hazards.
Negative Purpose Clause with MIGHT, introduced by SO AS ... NOT

7.67 [M 15B] and now Tyrone had sent letters of submission to them both (intreating the Lord Generall more specially for a milder proceeding against him, so as he might not be forced to a headlong breach of his loyaltie.)

Negative Purpose Clauses with MIGHT, introduced by LEST

7.68 [HL 14L] least haply the divine ministerie that belonged the king, might be neglected, he created a Flamin to Jupiter ...

Ne sacra regiae vicis desererentur, flaminem Jovi ...

creavit.

7.69 [FM 175c] the little birdlet, lest he might surprise him whilst he sleepeth, with his singing, and pecking him with his bill, awakens him.

ce petit oyseau, de peur qu'il ne le surprenne endormy, va de son chant & a coup de bec l'esveillant & l'avertissant de son danger;

Negative Purpose Clause with MIGHT, introduced by BECAUSE ... NOT

7.70 [HL 25A] The Ianiculum likewise was adjoined unto the cittie, not for want of ground, but because it might not be at any time a fortresse and hold for the enemies

Ianiculum quoque adiectum non inopia loci sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset.

Purpose Clause with MIGHT HAVE

7.71 [C XXXVIII] but at his arraignment though he were confronted by Sir Rob. Crosse and the rest, yet he stoode tothre deniall, affirming his intent to be only to have angred her for one half howre, that she might have lived the merrier all her life after.

'Might have lived' seems to follow the tense of 'to have angred', which in turn, indicates the intent to be in the past (where PE would perhaps prefer 'affirming his intent to have been only to anger her ...').

Purpose Clauses with MAY/MIGHT introduced by a Relative Pronoun

Purpose clauses are sometimes introduced by a relative pronoun; the purpose is related to some noun in the main clause, or adverbially to the place or the manner of the main verb. Such clauses are referred to in Latin Grammar as 'Relatives of Design' and in Latin, have their verbs in the subjunctive like Purpose Clauses proper. In English at this time such clauses are usually found with MAY or MIGHT.

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7.72 [LS 18.5] I aduise thee to choose out certaine dayes, where in thou mayest content thy selfe with the least, and cheapest dyet, and mayst cloath thy selfe in a hard and coarse garment; say to thyselfe ...

praecipiam interponas aliquot dies, quibus contentus minimo ac vilissimo cibo, dura atque horrida veste dicas tibi.

The sense is 'choose certain days, so that on those days you may etc'.

The English does not follow the Latin construction closely, where the subjunctive verb in the relative clause is 'dicas'.

7.73 [FM 242-3] Since they seeke the truth, where by they may be free, let us beleive it is expedient for them, to be deceived.

Quum veritatem qua liberetur, inquirat: credatur ei expedire, quod fallitur.

They seek the truth in order to be free by means of it.

7.74 [H 73A] it hath seemed alwaies needful to ad rewards which may more allure unto good then any hardnes deterreth from it, & punishments which may more deterre from euill then any sweetnes therto allureth.

It is needful to add rewards in order to allure by their means ...

7.75 [M Essex 35D] which prouision, consists ... in hauing ships both of warre and transportation, which may carry and waft them both [forces and victual], vpon the first allarum of a discontent

7.76 [C XLVI] I verely thincke she seekes occasion of some unkindnes from your brother and sister, where by she may have some colour to cast herself away.

MIGHT:

7.77 [LS 7.3] By casualtie I fell vpon the Showes at noone, exspecting some sports, and witty jests, and recreation where by mens eyes might be reposed a while, that in the morning had beene fedde with the shedding of mens bloud

Lusus expectans, & sales, & aliquo laxamenti, quo hominum oculi ab humano cruore [qui mane affatim effusus (Lipsius's note)] adquiescant

7.78 [HL 15A] and to him hee gave in writing, set downe under his hand and seale, a rule where by he might know what beasts should be killed for sacrifice ... eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit, quibus hostiis ... erogaretur.
7. Subordination  3. Result

7.79 [HL 26L] wherein were assigned scaffolds for the Senators, and for the gentlemen or knights severally by themselves, called FORI wherein they might make them places to see the pastimes at their ease and pleasure.

Loca divisa patribus equitibusque ubi spectacula sibi quisque facerent; fori appellati.

7.80 [H 72E] This constrained them to come unto lawes, wherein all men might see their duties beforehand.

SECTION 3 - RESULT CLAUSES

Result Clauses are usually introduced by THAT or AS. The word SO normally appears in the Main Clause. A real effect which occurs or occurred is expressed by a clause with its verb in the indicative.

7.81 [C X] now ... that the fire is so neere him that yt hath almost consumed his countie of Tipperare.

If the effect is thought of as potential, the verb may be in the subjunctive.

7.82 [H 70C] Lawes politique do accordingly prouide notwithstanding so to frame his outward actions, that they be no hinderance unto the common good for which societies are instituted;

7.83 [C XII] the great ones of that countrie and those that have ben alwayes thought soundest use the matter so, that they be not out of suspicion;

7.84 [B 1.5r] The first, That wee doe not so place our felicitie in knowledge, a so wee forget our mortalitie Primus, ne ita felicitatem collocemus in scientia, ut interim mortalitatis nostrae oblivio subrepat.
(Where I assume 'forget' like the Latin 'subrepat' is in the subjunctive.)

Results may concern volition, be in the future, involve necessity etc. It follows that any modal verb, used in one of its ordinary senses, may appear in a result clause.

WILL:

7.85 [M Essex 35B] The Townes ... are so carried away with the loue of gaine, that for it, they will furnish the rebels with all things that may arme them ...

7.86 [C XXXIV] but I doubt those old fencers had so late triall one of another, that they will brawle a goode while before they fall to blowes.
7. Subordination 3. Result

7.87 [C LIV] The Court came to Richmond the eighth of this present, where the Queene findes her self so well that she will not easilie remove.

WOULD:

7.88 [B 1.40r] wherewith they were so surprised, crossed, and confused, as they would not suffer him to goe on in his speech.

Eo perculsi milites et plane obtupefacti, concionantem deinceps perpetuo obturbabant.

7.89 [FM 176d] an Elephant ... conceived such an extreme inwarde griefe, that he would never afterward touch any food ... un elephant ... en print un deuil si extreme qu'il ne voulut onques puis manger ...;

7.90 [C LI] ... we have had so small store of game that all I could catch or come by, would scant stretch to make a poore present to Mr Winwood.

7.91 [M 82A] They were then so well beaten, as they would never after offer to meddle with vs, till our returne by Carlingford.

WOULD HAVE;

7.92 [B 1.35v] yet when Alexander Seuerus refused the name, because he was a stranger to the familie, the Senate with one acclamation sayd, Quomodo Augustus, sic & Antoninus. In such renowne and veneration was the name of these two Princes in those dayes, that they would have had it as a perpetuall addition in all the Emperours stile.

WOULD HAVE HAD, because the wish was not granted. 'They attempted to make it a perpetual addition ...'

7.93 [C LI] for had she come no doubt there had grown such an alliance that the knot would never have been untied without cutting;

WOULD HAVE follows the tense in the Main Clause, HAD GROWN, which is in Apodosis.

SHALL;

7.94 [FM 176e] is it not oft seen, how some make Cats, Dogs and Hares so tame, so gentle, and so milde, that without harming one another they shall live and continue together?

il nous advient ordinairement d'apprivoiser des chats, des chiens & des lievres ensemble;

7.95 [M Essex 35C] you must hide from them all purpose of establishing English governement, till the strength of the Irish be so broken, that they shall see no safety but in your Maiesties protection.
7.96 [C L] but when he hath shewed his obedience and is come into Ireland he sayes he will tickle him with a letter, and so lay the law to him, that he shall see there is nothing to be learned nor gotten there.

7.97 [C LXI] as long as Powles is so furnisht that yt affords whatsoever is stirring in Fraunce, and I can gather there at first hand to serve my turne sufficiently (saving for certain particulars) so that I shall not neede to put you to trouble or paines.

SHOULD:

7.98 [LS 18.9] whether it were a thing of that desert, that a man should employ much labour in repayring the same. & an dignum, quod quis magno labore pensaret.

7.99 [B 2.13v] I doe finde strange that these times have so little esteemed the vertues of the times, as the Writings of liues should be no more frequent. Tempora ista nostra haud nosse bona sua; cum tam rara sit commemoratio et conscriptio vitarum.

7.100 [FM 139a] These sentences of the Holy Ghost, doe so lively and manifestly expresse, what I would maintaine, as I should neede no other proove against such as ... would yeeld to his authority. Ces sentencees du sainct esprit expriment si clairement & si vivement ce que je veux maintenir, qu'il ne me faudroit aucune preuve contre des gens qui se rendroient ... a son authorite.

7.101 [H 85E] nor any thing in such wise aboundeth, that as being superfluous, vnfruitfull, and altogether needless, wee should thinke it no losse or daunger at all if we did want it.

7.102 [M 90D] yet aduising that hereafter no Countrie should so absolutely bee passed, as all the inhabitants should depend vpon one man.

7.103 [C XXIV] Yt is much marvayled that this humor shold so possesse him, that not content with his first doses and scores, he should thus fall to huddle them up by halfe hundreds.

7.104 [C XLVII] which together with Lough-foile and the fort of Blackwater (ye they be well garrisoned and maintained) do so open and saope up Tiron, that he should soone be brought aux dernier abbois:

Yet the idea that a result or effect is something enabled or permitted by its cause seems to be most frequent, and most Result Clauses, like most Purpose Clauses, are found with MAY or MIGHT.
MAY:

7.105 [LS 16.8] and bring thee to that height of delights and riches, that thou mayest cover the earth with marble, and mightest not only possess riches, but tread on them.

eo deliciarum opumque perducat, ut terram marmoribus abscondas non tantum habere tibi liceat, sed calcare divitias.

7.106 [HL 2K] certes, such is the renowned martiaall prowes of the Romans, that all nations of the world may abide them to report Mars ... to be the stockfather.

Ea belli gloria est populo Romano, ut, cum suum, conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam & hoc gentes humanae patiantur.

7.107 [FM 155a] untill the Fish be so neere, that with a sodaine leape she may catch it.

jusques à ce que ce petit poisson soit si prez d'elle que d'un saut elle puisse l'atraper.

7.108 [B 2.57v] There remayneth one parte of Judgement of great excellencie, which to mine understanding is so sleightly touched, as I maye report that also deficient.

Superest artis judicandi appendix quaedam insignis, quam etiam desiderari statuimus.

7.109 [H 62E] when they are so neere at hand that easily they may be conceiued without any far remoued discourse:

7.110 [M Essex 36A] their foot are so vnwilling to fight in battell or grosse, ... that your Maiestie may be alwaies Mistresse of the champion Countries, which are the best parts of this Kingdome.

7.111 [M 49B] And such was his forwardnesse, as his Lordships servants may without offence boldy say, they were a small part of this great action.

7.112 [C XLVII] Since, I received yours of the 6th of this present, so well stored in yt self, and so well accompanied that I maye justly say of yt as the Spaniards do of some of theyre phrases and proverbes that they be hinchados, that is, with child:

7.113 [D 29] you say that they haue sent a letter and mynde to send a ship for xl wayes and after Reseyt therof they wyll send for therty more. I praye God that they maye do that the gardener may be clinged before wynter come,

MIGHT:

7.114 [HL 32L] such was the good fortune, I beleeve, of the Romane people, thereby the raigne of Servius might continue the longer, and the cittie brought and setled in good order.

fortuna, credo, populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servii regnum esset, constituisse civitatis mores possent.
"Possent" - the sense here lexically expressed in Latin that the result is permitted or enabled.

7.115 [FM 193b] if it were so deeply rooted, that the approaching and birth of evils might gainsay it.
Si on la bastissoit si profonde que l'abort mesme et la naissance des maus en fut a dire.

7.116 [FM 195c] if they could possibly adde any order or constancie to a mans life, that it might thereby be still maintained in pleasure and tranquillitie ...
S'ils pouvoient adjouter de l'ordre & de la constance en un estat de vie qui se maintint en plaisir & en tranquillité

7.117 [B 2.49v] that the water might rise, so as shee might come to it.
ut surgentem laticem rostro p o s s e t attingere?

7.118 [C XXXVIII] This was the summe of his aunswer, but delivered with such bravery and so many words that a man might easilie perceue that ...

MIGHT HAVE:

7.119 [H 59E] Choice there is not, vnlesse the thing which we take to be so in our power that we might have refused and left it.

Looked at in time from the point after the choice has been made - so that the possibility of refusing the thing which has been chosen is in the past.

Result Clauses are distinguished from Purpose Clauses in that in the negative MAY NOT/MIGHT NOT is replaced by CANNOT/COULD NOT.

CAN in Negative Result Clauses:

7.120 [B 2.43r] commanding so ouer the medicine, as the medicine cannot command ouer the disease:
Ita superba imperantes medicinae, ut medicina non amplius imperet morbo.

7.121 [FM 177e] for, it is so composed and proportioned, that it cannot receive or admit no manner of thing, but the Bird that built it;
car elle est composée & proportionnée de maniere qu'elle ne peut recevoir ny admettre autre chose que l'oiseau qui l'a bastie:

7.122 [H 68C] For God hath shut their eyes that they cannot see (Isaiah Ch.44 v.19)
any man ... may haue thereby the light of his naturall understanding so perfected that the one being relieued by the other, there can want no part of needful instruction vnto any good worke which God himselfe requireth.

I must acknowledge my weaknesse such, as I cannot fully apprehend his compleat worthinesse.

In the meane time the state of Ireland stands in ylll terms, for we are so wholly possest with this ymaginarie peace that we cannot attend yt

and now this season being so ferr spent that it cannot be letten

for, to all things else, it is so impenetrable, close and hard, that nothing can possiblie enter in:

for by the suddain and forcible charge of the horsemen, the battel of the Sabines was so broken, their rankes so disordered, that they could neither stand close together to fight it out, nor yet spread themselves to flie, without great slaughter and bloodshead.

What injustice of the Gods was so great, as they could not be appeased, unlesse such men perished?

which kept the rebels at home, so as they could not second one another, for feare of loosing their owne goods.

our forces were so disposed, as they could not escape without fighting with vs upon disaduantage to them.

I told him what other imployments and busines withheld you that you could not attend such trinkets.
7. Subordination 3. Result

7.134 [D 38] I haue bene so busied about the disartinge his Lo;pS receipte, as I c o u l d n o t b e souner free therof then this day in the fornoune

The change from MAY/MIGHT in non-negative to CAN/COULD in negative result clauses is well illustrated in

7.135 [M 50D] This worthie Lord Deputie ... gaue them such delatory answers, as might well hearten them in obedience, but c o u l d no way strengthen their tyranny over the poore people.

7.136 [HL 18H] they were so astonished, that unneath they c o u l d well speake or freely take their wind torpebat vox spiritusque

7.137 [M 23B] yet then it was all so waste, so as the Rebell c o u l d make little vse of it.

7.138 [M 45E] he vsed almost daily to cut it with his sizers, keeping it so low with his owne hand, th a t it c o u l d scarce bee discerned.

7.139 [M 51C] the worthy Generals of this age ... were so wasted, as the best judgements c o u l d hardly finde out any man fit to command this Army in chiefe

7.140 [M 89A] with assurance that Spaine was so intangled with the warre of Savoy, as the Irish Rebels c o u l d at this time haue small succour thence.

CAN/COULD in Non-Negative Result Clauses:

7.141 [FM 159b] and put so many into the Jarre, that he made the Oyle come up so neare the brimme, as he c o u l d easily reach and licke some.

& en mit dans cette cruche jusques à ce qu'il eut fait hausser l'huile plus pres du bord, où il la p u t atteindre.

7.142 [B 2.59r] in so much as Countreys and Prouinces, which understand not one anothers language, c a n neuerthelesse read one anothers Writings.

Adeo ut gentes complures, linguis prorsus discrepantes, sed huiusmodi characteribus consentientes scriptis communicent.

Here in both examples CAN/COULD has a stronger sense than possibility.

In 7.141 it is virtually physical ability, the use of COULD reflecting POUVOIR in the French. In 7.142 CAN in the full sense of 'know how to', though this is not reflected in the Latin translation.
7. Subordination 3. Result

7.143 [FM 245b] as no edge of man is so piersant, as it can passe into heaven, or dive into the earth.

7.144 [B 2.43v] it is a vaine and flattering opinion, to think any Medicine can be so soueraigne, or so happie, as that the Receit or use of it, can worke any great effect vpon the bodie of man;

In these two examples, though the result clause is non-negative, it is dependent upon a negative or effectively negative main clause, in such a way that the result clause expresses a negation; thus, man's edge cannot penetrate into heaven, medicine cannot work any great effect on the body of man.

COULD HAVE in Negative Result Clauses:

7.145 [M 26C] Neither did these gentle Undertakers make any resistance to the Rebels, but left their dwellings, and fled to walled Townes; yea, when there was such danger in flight, as greater could not have been in defending their owne.

7.146 [M 47E] for I haue heard himselfe professse, that being in his youth addicted to Popery, so much as through prejudice opinion no Writer of our time could have converted him from it, yet by observing the Fathers consent, and the Schoolemens idle and absurd distinctions, he began first to distaste many of their opinions ...

7.147 [M 89D] so strengthened him, as without great unthankfulness, and popular obloquy, he could not have beene questioned vpon this weake ground

the result is in the form of the apodosis of an unfulfilled conditional, equivalent to 'if they had defended their own (which they did not) the danger in flight could not have been greater than in defending their own'. This is also a possible interpretation of 7.146, but it seems unlikely that there is here an implied conditional clause with the sense 'if they had tried' for this would mean Mountjoy had in mind personal debate with theological writers, or that he is distinguishing between writers of that time, and those when he was a youth.
I take it 'no writer of our time' to mean no protestant theologian and 'could convert' means by the force of argument in his books. Thus the PE equivalent would be 'no writer of our time could convert him from it' and that the form used by Moryson indicates that the possibility is in the past now, since Mountjoy is no longer a Papist. In 7.147, 'without great unthankfulness and popular obloquy' functions as a protasis, 'unless there had been etc, he could not have been questioned'.

The following is the only example of the use of MAY/MIGHT in a negative result clause.

7.148 [M 46C] as his meanes increased, so his Table was better serued, so t h a t in his latter time, no Lord in England m i g h t compare with him in that kinde of bountie.

Negative Result Clauses are also introduced with BUT but only after negative main clauses, so that the real sense of the Result Clause is non-negative. After BUT we thus find MAY/MIGHT not CAN/COULD, though other modals also appear.

7.149 [FM 130a] there was neuer any s o factionis ... but w o u l d in some sort conforme his behaviors and square his life unto it. il ne fust jamais partisan ... qui n'y conformast aucunement ses deportemens & sa vie.

7.150 [FM 206c] Take the best and strongest side, it shall neuer be s o sure, b u t you s h a l l haue occasion to defend the same, to close and combat a hundred and a hundred sides. Prenez le plus fameux party, il ne sera jamais si seur qu'il ne vous faille, pour le diffendre, attaquer & combattre cent & cent contraires partis. ('You will always have occasion to defend the same'.)

7.151 [H 61A] Whereupon it followeth, that there is no particular object s o good, b u t it m a y haue the show of some difficultie or vnpleasent qualitie annexed to it;

7.152 [H 88D] There is in scripture therefore no defect, b u t t h a t any man what place or calling soeuer hee holde in the Church of God, m a y haue thereby light of his maturall vnderstanding so perfected, that ...

7.153 [C II] but for ought I can learne the old mans case is not s o desperate b u t he m a y hold out another yeare well inough. (The old man is well enough to hold out another year.)
It may be noted that the distinction in the formation of the negative clauses between Purpose and Result follows from the analysis already given in Chapter 4. A negative purpose clause with MAY/MIGHT expresses what another action is intended to forbid. A negative result clause expresses what another action or set of circumstances renders impossible. The occurrence of MAY NOT in the first and CANNOT in the second is therefore appropriate.

More generally we may notice that the same relationship holds between Purpose Clauses and Result Clauses as between not only the full meanings of CAN and MAY and their meanings as a mood of possibility, but also between WILL and SHALL in their full meanings and, as a future tense, and between obligation and necessity.

Result Clauses introduced by a Relative Pronoun, or SUCH ... AS used as a Relative

Like Purpose Clauses, Result Clauses are sometimes introduced by a relative pronoun. Here the Result Clause is the effect, not of the main clause as a whole, but of the nature or quality of the antecedent. In Latin grammar such clauses are sometimes referred to as 'Relatives of Tendency'. As with the Purpose Clauses introduced by a relative, the Relative of Design, no separate classification is strictly called for in English, since the modal verbs in such relative clauses have the same meanings as elsewhere. However the sense of a result stemming from the particular nature of an antecedent is sometimes marked by the use of SUCH ... AS which is also found in full Result Clauses and seems closely related to the more usual SO ... AS, SO ... THAT of Result Clauses.

WOULD:

7.154 [M 75c] His Lordship protested that it was such a place, as he knew the Earle would not seeke.
Which may be read as a re-formulation of the Result Clause, 'His Lordship protested that it was so (humble) a place that he knew the Earl would not seek it'. Here the object of the result clause has become the connecting relative, expressed by AS. More commonly it is the subject of the Result Clause that is provided by the relative, as in

7.155 [FM 186b] otherwise ... we might peradventure forge and devise such duties to our selves as would induce us (as Epicurus saith) to endeavour to destroy and devoure one another. autrement ... nous forgerions en fin des devoirs qui nous mettroient à nous manger les uns les autres, comme dit Epicurus.

Here the relative construction is reproduced from the French, but the sense that this relative clause refers to the result or outcome of the devising of duties is due to the use of SUCH and AS, instead of 'devise duties to ourselves which would induce us ...'.

WOULD HAVE:

7.156 [C XXIII] Upon Monday toward evening came newes (yet false) that the Spaniardes were landed in the yle of Wight, which bred such a feare and consternation in this towne as I would little have looked for.

The expectation (or non-expectation) is now in the past, and this cannot be indicated though the use of WOULD alone. 'As I would little look for' suggests I would still generally expect a stout or stoic response from Londoners to threatening news; but Chamberlaine is now disillusioned.

SHOULD:

7.157 [FM 166b] even as if there were so many strangers in a City, that should either banish and expell all the naturall inhabitants thereof, or utterly suppress their ancient power and authority ...

ny plus ny moins que si, en une cité, il y avoit si grand nombre d'etrangers qu'ils en missent hors les naturels habitans, ou esteignissent leur autorité & puissance ancienne ...

The French is expressed as a result, 'si grand nombre d'etrangers qu'ils en missent'. This becomes a 'Relative of Tendency' in English
7. Subordination  3. Result

by the omission of an equivalent to the pronominal subject, that is,
instead of translating 'so many strangers that they should ...' 'they'
is omitted so that 'that' is taken as a subject relative pronoun with
'strangers' as the antecedent.

7.158 [M 34C] That they were confident to draw the warre into such a length, as should be vnsupportable to the State of England.

7.159 [C XXXVIII] yt had taken effect yt was only to prostrate himself at her Majesties feet, and there manifest such matters against his ennemies as should make them odious.

7.160 [HL 13C] and in case yee shall elect a man of such qualitie, as may be deemed worthie to succeed Romulus si dignum, qui secundus ab Romulo numeretur crearitis.

'A man of such quality that he may be deemed'. 'As' here the relative pronoun, standing as subject to the clause.

7.161 [B 1.25v] Another Error is in the manner of the tradition and deliuerie of knowledge, which is for the most part Magistrall and peremptorie; and not ingenuous and faithfull, in a sort, as may be soonest beleued; and not easilet examined.

Similis error se ostendit in modo tradendi doctrinam, qui, ut plurimum, est imperiosus et magistralis, non ingenuus et liberalis, its demum compositus, ut potius fidem imperet, quam examini subjiciatur.

In Latin, not a Relative of Tendency, but a Result Clause 'ita compositus ut potius fidem imperet' 'so composed that it may rather command faith ...' 'In a sort as may be soonest believed' (PE 'in a manner which may be ...') with 'as' as a relative pronoun with 'sort' as antecedent, and standing as the subject of the clause.

7.162 [FM 187d] It is they that store and supplie us with all such things as may make us live happily and well. ce sont elles qui, nous fournissent dequoy bien & heureusement vivre.

7.163 [H 6OD] Children which are not as yet come vnto those yeares wher eat they may have ... the vse of right reason to guide themselves.

Equivalent to 'come to such years as they may have the use' and this in turn to a result clause like 'are not so old that they may have ...'
7.164 [H 60E] In the rest there is that light of reason, whereby good may be knowne from euill.

Equivalent to 'such light of reason that good may be known'.

7.165 [M 35B] they will furnish the rebels with all things that may arme them, or inable them against the State, or against themselues.

7.166 [D 36] I shall take such course with him, for that part I stand for, a s m a y geue him content.

MIGHT:

7.167 [HL 37B] so stately a Temple of Jupiter as might beseeme the soveraigne king of gods and men

amplitudinem Iovis templi, quae digna deum Rominumque rege ... esset

7.168 [FM 203c] they have strengthened and under-propped it with all foraine helps, t h a t m a y h t any way fit or stead her ...

Ils ... l'ont appuyée & estanconnée de tout le secours estranger qui luy a esté propre...

7.169 [H 84A] There are ... but a few ... free from all such affaires a s m i g h t trouble their meditations ... who haue, and that very hardlie, beene able to finde out but onely the immortalitie of the soule.

7.170 [M 14B] and their Lordships professed to doubt, that Tyrones performance would not be such a s m i g h t warrant this act.

7.171 [M 33D] And that no traytor sought pardon, but vsed such insolent behauiour, a s m i g h t well shew they had no such thought.

7.172 [C VI] and have left me to convoy theyre letters and to write you such refuse newes a s peradventure m i g h t scape them;

7.173 [C LX] the contents were indifferent to you both, only ordinarie occurrents and such a s m i g h t easilie be parted between you.

COULD in Negative Clauses:

7.174 [H 83C] For they are either such a s we of our selues could not easily haue found out,

7.175 [H 84C] together with such supernaturall duties a s could not possiblie haue beene otherwise knowne to the worlde.

7.176 [C 77C] so that I was greatly distracted to supply all places, whereby I coul d not do my wife the honor (as was my meaning) to conduct her some part of the way.
'I was so greatly distracted ... that I could not ...'

CAN is used in a non-negative clause of this kind where it clearly has its full meaning of power or ability.

7.177 [B 2.63r] to reserver them to selected Auditors: or wittes of such sharpnesse as can perce the vayle.

Atque illi tantum admittantur, qui aut per manus magistrorum parabolarum interpretationem nacti sunt, aut proprio ingenii acumine et subtilitate intra vellum penetrare possint.

MAY is retained in the following which I take to be a Result Clause of the same kind, equivalent to 'Is there such a place, that in it, his honourable acts ...'. The interrogative in the main clause has the force of a negative and the sense is 'Wherever it is, his honourable acts may save him'.

7.178 [HL 19E] For to what place can you lead this young gentleman, where his honourable acts may not save him from so unworthy and shamefull punishment.

quo enim ducere hunc iuvenem potestis, ubi non sua decora eum a tanta foeditate supplicii vindicent.

SECTION 4 - COMPLEMENTARY PURPOSE CLAUSES

In purpose clauses of this kind, intended effect is not expressed through the subordinating link between the main clause and the clause of purpose, but through the verb in the main clause, to which the clause of purpose is the complement. The main clause no longer describes what is done with a particular intention in mind, but merely serves to introduce the intention.

The modal verbs which appear in complementary purpose clauses can be best examined according to the kinds of verb which introduce them.

1. Verbs of absolute intention - verbs which will or ordain
2. Verbs which offer an intention - verbs which promise or commit
3. Verbs which request an intention - verbs which beg or demand.

These three kinds of verbs have differing deep structures:
With verbs of the first type, verbs of willing or ordaining, there is no indirect object. With verbs of the second kind, verbs of promise or committal, there is an indirect object, and the subject of the verb of promising is also the underlying subject of the $S_2$ (the promise itself). It is not always the surface subject of course, as there will always be a need to use sentences of the form 'A promises B that C will ...' which presumably stands for 'A promises B that A will see to it that C ...'. For this $S_2$ must be rewritten as

In verbs of type 3, verbs which beg or demand, the indirect object of the verb is the underlying subject of $S_2$ (the request, prayer or demand), though again, as with verbs of promising it may not always be the surface subject - 'A begs B that C may', 'A begs B that B will see to it that C may ...'
These differences between the deep structures of verbs of the second and third kinds are clearly reflected in the readings which we give to the surface forms.

1. **Verbs of Willing and Ordaining followed by SHALL or SHOULD**

   SHALL is unusual in these texts since reported acts of command are usually in the preterite.

   7.179 [HL 12L] Tell the Romans that the will of the gods in heaven is, that my city of Rome shall be the head and chief of the whole world:
   
   Nuntia Romanis caelestes ita velle ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit.

   SHOULD may follow the present,

   7.180 [C LIII] You see I am willing you should know all, and more peradventure then I shall have thanks for.

   or preterite used as present,

   7.181 [LS 1.5] yet I had rather thou shouldst keep thine own ...  
   
   Tu tamen malo serves tua

   or the preterite or perfect,

   7.182 [LS 4.7] 1620. Caius Caesar commanded that Lepidus should present his neck to the Tribune Decimus
   
   Caius Caesar iussit Lepidum Decimo tribuno praebere cervicem

   7.183 [HL 4K] But peace was concluded upon these terms, That the river Albula, which now they call Tyberis, should divide the Tuscanes from the Latines ...
Pax ita convenerat, ut Etruscis Latinisque fluvius Albula, quem nunc Tiberim vocant, finis esset.

7.184 [HL 40G] The Tarquines ... willed the matter should by all possible means be caried so secret as might be ... Tarquinius ... rem summa ope taceri iubent.

7.185 [FM 177a] But Gods decree hath been, that all the watrie wildernesse should be quiet and made calme ... mais Dieu a voulu que toute la mer fut arrestee affermie et aplanie ...

7.186 [FM 213d] His maide servant ... said unto him, that he should no more busie himselfe about it; sa chambriere ... luy dit ... qu'il ne se penast plus pour cela.

7.187 [B 1.7r] Cato ... gaue counsell in open Senate, that they should give him his dispatch Cato ... frequenti senatu auctor fuit ut ... dimitterent hominem.

7.188 [B 1.41r] The Message imported, that they should deliuer vp their Armes, and submit themselues to the Kings mercy; Legatio huc spectabat, ut, positis armis atque deditis, se regiae clementiae submitterent

7.189 [H 52E] He gaue his decree vnto the sea, that the waters should not passe his commandment.

7.190 [H 74D] And by that lawe it was agreed, that he which being overcome with drinke did then strikeanye man, she should suffer punishment double as much as if hee had done the same being sober.

7.191 [M 38E] after short conference, it was concluded, that the next day Commissioners, should meete to treate of Peace.

7.192 [M 75E] ... the Lord Deputy wrote to Sir Arthur Chichester ... that he should not spare the subjects lately submitting ... that he should receive no more, but such as would simply submit ... neither should glue pay to any except ...

7.193 [M 95E] They further solicited by these letters for supplies of victuals, munition and mony, and that the victuals and munition should be addressed some part to Dublin and Tredagh ...

This construction with SHOULD, from the nature of the subject matter, is extremely frequent in Moryson.

7.194 [C XXXII] The Quene was very vehement the last weeke to disgrade some of my Lord of Essex Irish knights, specially such as were made after a certain letter she wrote that he should make no more.
7. Subordination 4. Complementary Purpose

7.195 [D 21] I was forced to send my broth’ Arthers money to Naworth, and mayd use of yo’ name to John Read yo’ man to cary it, that it was yo’ pleasure he shou’d be sent ther’th to my broth’ as from yo’, if he came not by newcastle.

2. Verbs of Promising

WILL/WOULD:

When the surface subject of the complementary clause has the same reference as the subject of the verb of promising.

7.196 [M 10D] After he was imprisoned ... and within few daies, againe inlarged; with promise that the Lord Deputy himselfe wou’d go to settle him in his country of Monaghan.

7.197 [M 14E] Tyrone ... promised the Treasurer at warres, Sir Henrie Wallop, that he wou’d continue his Alleageance to the Queene.

7.198 [M 22B] promising ... there should be no impediment giuen to her Maiesties Ministers ... yea, that for a poore token of his humblest duty, hee wou’ld voluntarly giue to the hands of the Captaine fortie Beeues ...

SHALL/SHOULD:

When the surface subject of the complementary clause has a different reference from the subject of the verb of promising.

7.199 [M 58B] ONeale requesteth you to come speake with him, and doth giue you his word that you shal receiue no harme.

7.200 [HL 8K] But Romulus himselfe in person went from one to another ... promising nevertheless that they shou’d bee linked in lawfull wedlocke.

Sed ipse Romulus circumibat docebatque ... illas tamen in matrimonio ... fore;

7.201 [M 9D] These he promised to performe vpon his honour before the Lords in England, and that his pledges to be put in, shou’d lie for performance of them, to his power.

7.202 [M 22B] promising that for the time of this cessation, there shou’d be no impediment giuen to her Maiesties Ministers bringing victuals to Blackwater Fort.

7.203 [M 18D] hee vndertooke that with all speede the Pledges shou’d be sent to Dublin.

7.204 [M 76C] besides that he and their Fathers protested, that their danger shou’d not hinder them from doing their yttermost service to the Queene.
7.205 [C XXXII] for I remember that upon a word cast out by myself at
the first mention of yt, he protested that no respect s h o u l d
carrie him beyond his conscience.

7.206 [D 30] his Lord was carefull for him and left word that he
s h o u l d lack nothinge at is departur from delfe.

3. Verbs of Begging or Demanding

The pattern for verbs of begging and demanding may be set out as
follows:

i) A begs B that A may

ii) A begs B that B will

iii) A begs B that C may/shall.

The appropriateness of these modals is clear if we expand, remembering
that B is the deep subject of the complementary clause.

A begs B that B permits that A

A begs B that B will

A begs B that B permits that C

ordains that C

or, to return to the tree already given for verbs of begging and
demanding

```
S
  /\  
N_1 VP
    /\  
  V N_2 NP
    /\  
  (B)  
S_2
  /
N_2 (B)
```

With case ii) 'A begs B that B will ...' S_2 can be rewritten

```
S_2
  /\  
N_2 VP
    /\  
  V NP
    /\  
  (B)  
S_3
  /
N_2
```
where the identical reference of the subject nouns of $S_2$ and $S_3$ mean that this corresponds to the deep structure for WILL. However in case i) 'A begs B that A ...' we have:

```
    S_2
     |
    N_2
   /|
  VP V NP
```

which admits SHALL and MAY for V but not WILL.

Many verbs can be used both as verbs of willing and ordaining and as verbs of begging and demanding, so that the modal used in the complementary clause may establish the force of the verb. Thus in Moryson,

7.207 [M 90D] her Maiesty wished that hee would conceale this his desire for a time

reports a letter from the Queen to Montjoy. It implies a request from the Queen 'she wished him, that he would ...'. With 'her Majesty wished that he should conceal this his desire for a time' the word 'wish' would have to be read as a verb of ordaining.

i) MAY/MIGHT

When the surface subject of the complementary clause has the same reference as the subject of the verb of begging or demanding.

MAY:

7.208 [B 2.24r] And heere I will make a request, that for the latter (or at least for a parte thereof) I may reviue and reintegrate the misapplyed and abused Name of NATVURALL MAGICKE.

7.209 [H 49A] Behold therefore we offer the lawes whereby we liue vnto the generall triall and judgement of the whole world, hartely beseeching Almightye God ... that both we and others ... may have eyes to see, and harts to embrace the things that in his sight are most acceptable.
7. Subordination  4. Complementary Purpose

7.210 [D 16] Good Sir I becich yow to be pleased to knowe the cause of this, and that I may have this 4211 10S returned me soe soone as possably may be.

7.211 [M 45D] I ... therefore desire ... that with others, to whom his Lordship was lesse knowne, my rude Pen may not derogate any thing from his due praise.

All these examples are with the first person in both clauses (effectively so in 7.211) but this seems to be accidental.

MIGHT:

7.212 [HL 12L] as I stood all quaking for feare, readie to worship him, and humblie beseeching that I might behold him face to face:

cum perfusus horrore venerabundus adstitissem,
petens precibus, ut contra intueri f a s e s e t.

7.213 [FM 214c] Eudoxus wished, and praid to the Gods, that he might once view the Sunne neere at hand.

Eudoxe souhetoit & prioit les Dieux qu'il peut une fois voir le soleil de pres.

7.214 [M 7D] In an Irish Parliament he put vp his petition, that by vertue of the letters Patent granted to his Grandfather, to his Father & his heires, he might there have the place and title of Tyrone, and be admitted to this his inheritance.

7.215 [M 83D] Sir Henrie Dauers came vnto his Lordship, and desired he might take twentie of his owne horse to fall into the Rere.

ii) WILL/WOULD

When the surface subject of the complementary clause has the same reference as the indirect object of the verb of begging or demanding.

WILL:

7.216 [M 45C] I ... therefore desire, that those of greater judgement to discerne the same, will impute all defects to the vsnskillfulnes of the workeman.

Here 'those of greater judgement' are to be understood as those to whom the desire is directed, so that the sentence could be rewritten 'I ... therefore desire those of greater judgement to discern the same, that they will impute ...'.
7. Subordination 4. Complementary Purpose

WOULD:

7.217 [HL 10K] Beseeching their owne fathers on the one side, and their husbands on the other, that they, being fathers and sonnes in law, w o u l d not embrew themselves with so unkind and unnaturall bloudshead ...
   hinc patres, hinc viros orantes, ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent.

7.218 [HL 12I] With earnest praier beseeching him of his grace, that he w o u l d vouchsafe to be propice, and save their ofspring and posteritie for ever.
   pacem precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem.

7.219 [M 11E] intreated the Lords ... that their Lordships w o u l d approue of his match with the Marshals sister.

7.220 [M 53C] he wrote to Master Secretarie from Daintrie, intreating him, that he w o u l d moue her Maiestie to giue him power, to retaine one or two thousand in Lyst, of those English, which otherwise he was to cast.

7.221 [C XXX] the avoyding wherof must only be imputed to God and her Majesties clemencie, upon an humble letter he wrote the night before he was to appeare, that she w o u l d be pleased to let that bitter cup passe from him.

A letter, that is, begging the Queen. 'Would be pleased' is a formula (as the following examples from the Delaval letters suggest) but WOULD is determined by the syntax and 'would be pleased to let' a polite expansion of 'would let'.

7.222 [D 12] good Sr as I was a sutor unto yow in my last letter so in this I must persist that yow w o u l d be pleased to let me haue my annuety for whitsonytde next to be sent me vp to be heare against the begininge of Aprill.

7.223 [D 52] My request to you therefore is that you w o u l d be pleased to send me the remande of that money which is due to me.

A letter, that is, begging the Queen. 'Would be pleased' is a formula (as the following examples from the Delaval letters suggest) but WOULD is determined by the syntax and 'would be pleased to let' a polite expansion of 'would let'.

7.224 [D 13] I would humbly intreate that you w o u l d be pleased that I m i g h t haue my xxli for my halfe yeares Annuety due at this Martinmas next comming to be returned against ye begining of Michaelmas tearme.
iii) SHOULD/MAY/MIGHT

Where the surface subject of the complementary clause has a different reference from that of either the subject or the indirect object of the verb of begging or demanding we find (SHALL)/SHOULD when the person begged is to ordain, MAY/MIGHT when the person begged is to permit.

There is no example from the corpus with SHALL. 7.225 below illustrates various constructions.

SHOULD/MIGHT:

7.225 [M 15C] His humble petitions were, that hee and his might be pardoned, and havue free exercise of Religion granted ... That the Marshall shouled pay him one thousand pounds for his dead Sisters, his wiuues portion. That no Garrisons nor Sherifffes shouled be in his Country. That his Troope of fiftie horse in the Queenes pay might be restored to him. And that such as had preyed his Country might make restitution.

Tyrone petitions the Commissioners. Tyrone is then the subject of the verb of begging. Tyrone petitions the Commissioners that the Commissioners permit Tyrone to be pardoned; that they ordain that the Marshal pay him, that they ordain that no Garrisons are to be in his country; that they permit his troops to be restored to him; that they permit such as had preyed his country to make restitution.

MAY:

7.226 [D 26] that you wyll do your best to persuayd him that the deche may be cast downe

7.227 [D 29] I praye God that they maye so do that the gardener may be clinged before wynter come

MIGHT:

7.228 [H 55D] our Sauiour ... did not teach to pray or wish for more than onely that here it might be with vs, as with them it is in heauen.

7.229 [M 10C] But still he delayed and put off the performance, by letters vnto both States intreating that equall security might be taken of Sir Tyrlogh Lynnogh

7.230 [M 14E] The Lord Deputy ... in his letters to the Lords in England had let fall a request, that some old experienced Commander might be sent ouer to him
7.231 [M Eliz. 39D] for the which purpose, you did importune with great earnestnesse, that all manner of provisions might be hastned to Dublin against your returne.

7.232 [M 102D] they besought their Lordships that victuals and munition might with all possible speed be sent thither out of England

7.233 [C XXXI] and requested that Mr Edmunds might be sent over to informe and satisfie her Majestie.

SECTION 5 - CONDITIONALS

Like sentences expressing purpose and result, conditional sentences consist of two related clauses. The conditional sentence contains the Condition, or Protasis; and the Consequence, or Apodosis. In some ways then the conditional sentence resembles the sentence expressing a result, with this difference: that in a result sentence both clauses may be indicative, and the clause expressing cause will always be in the indicative, whereas, whatever the grammatical representation, neither clause of an ordinary conditional strictly asserts the proposition it contains.

Thus whereas the modal verbs occur in both purpose and result clauses frequently and help to mark the nature of the relationship of these clauses to the main clause, but do not have any special part to play in the main clauses themselves, in conditionals the modal verbs are capable of playing a part directly connected with conditionality in both protasis and apodosis, though they function differently in each.

The Protasis in a conditional sentence is the subordinate clause. Its verb is frequently in the subjunctive. Sometimes it is constructed without a finite verb. Here the role of the modal system is similar to that played in subordinate adverbial clauses, or in noun clauses; SHALL/SHOULD in employed to mark subordination.

The Apodosis is the main clause, but as it does not assert the proposition it contains, the indicative tenses of the verb are not
strictly appropriate to it. However since the fulfilment of the apodosis is guaranteed - though only by the fulfilment of the protasis - it is particularly suited to the modality of expectation, found in WILL and SHALL.

There is great variety in the forms of conditional sentences, and this Section does not pretend to be a complete study of conditional sentences within the corpus. There are at this period of the language many conditionals without a modal verb in either protasis or apodosis. In order to avoid extensive listing here of non-modal conditionals, a single example of each kind is given with the total number of occurrences found in the texts that make up the corpus.

In order to arrange the exemplification of the modal uses, the following pattern of tenses has been assumed, although as the non-modal examples show, almost any combination of tenses in protasis and apodosis can be found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protasis</th>
<th>Apodosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Present Sequence</td>
<td>Present Indicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Subjunctive</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Preterite Sequence</td>
<td>Preterite Indicative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Preterite Subjunctive</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Pluperfect Sequence</td>
<td>HAD + Past Participle</td>
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<tr>
<td>HAD + Past Participle</td>
<td>(Pluperfect Subjunctive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Any modal verb in its full meaning may appear in protasis or apodosis, but the use of modal verbs to indicate the conditional structure can be set out as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protasis</th>
<th>Apodosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. SHALL</td>
<td>WILL, SHALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. SHOULD</td>
<td>WOULD, SHOULD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. (SHOULD HAVE)</td>
<td>WOULD HAVE, SHOULD HAVE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

see Examples 7.400 and 7.401 and ensuing discussion
7. Subordination  5. Conditionals

CONDITIONAL SENTENCES WITHOUT MODALS

Apodosis in Present Indicative

Protasis unmarked for Mood

7.234 [FM 240b] If beasts frame any Gods unto themselves (as likely it is they doe) they surely frame them like unto themselves ... si les animaux se forgent des dieux, comme il est vray-sembable qu'ils facent, ils les forgent certainement de mesme eux ...

Protasis in Present Subjunctive

7.235 [B 1.9v] If it make men positive and regular, it teacheth them what thinges are in their nature demonstratiue, & what conjecturall.

Esto etiam, animos efficiunt magis pertinaces, et difficiles; at simul docent, quae res demonstrationibus, quae conjecturis innituntur

Protasis in Present Indicative

7.236 [FM 141e] If that which we have not seene, is not, our knowledge is wonderfull abridged.

Si ce que nous n'avons pas vu, n'est pas, nostre science est merveilleusement racourcie:

All three examples from Florio-Montaigne and all translating an indicative present in protasis in French.

Protasis in Present Perfect, where marked for mood, Subjunctive

7.237 [B 2.34r] If they haue once admitted a doubt, it goeth euer after Authorized for a doubt.

Protasis in Preterite

7.238 [M 88A] This is a pleasant towne for a seate, if the inhabitants were suitable.

Apodosis in Preterite, where marked for mood, Subjunctive

Protasis in Present Subjunctive

7.239 [C XXXI] If anything come of it, there were never men plaide their game better then the Hollanders.

Protasis in Preterite

7.240 [M 88B] And if neither fell out, then his Lordship purposed to plant a Garrison.
7. Subordination  5. Conditionals

Apodosis in Preterite Indicative

Protasis in HAD + Past Participle

7.241  [M 73A] in prescribing that course, which had it been followed, was the onely way to have reduced that Realme.

Apodosis in HAD + Past Participle

Protasis in HAD + Past Participle

7.242  [LS 6.6] Cleanthes had neuer expressed Zeno had he onely heard him:

\[ \text{Zenonem Cleanthes non expressisset, si eum tantummodo audisset.} \]

1.  

PRESENT SEQUENCE

Present Subjunctive in Protasis

WILL in Apodosis, translating or translated by Future Tense:

7.243  [LS 17.9] And if he haue wherewith to weare out and prolong the same he \( \text{will} \) take it in good part, and \( \text{will} \) no further endeuour himselfe, but for those things that are necessarie:

\[ \text{si vero exiguum fuerit & angustum, quo possit vita produci; id boni consulet, nec ultra necessaria sollicitus aut anxius.} \]

7.244  [LS 20.11] I know not sayest thou how this man \( \text{will} \) beare his pouertie, if he fall into the same; neyther know I saith Epicurus, if this poore man \( \text{will} \) contemne his riches if he fall on them.

\[ \text{Nescio, inquis, quomodo iste paupertatem laturus sit, si in illam inciderit. Nescio, inquit Epicurus, an pauper iste tempturus sit divitas sin in illas inciderit.} \]

7.245  [B 1.42r] For if a mans minde, be deeply seasoned with the consideration of the mortalitie and corruptible nature of thinges, hee \( \text{will} \) easily concurre with Epictetus...

\[ \text{Si enim animus cuiuspiam, contemplatione mortalitatis, et rerum naturae corruptibilis imbutus fuerit et extinctus, iuxta cum Epictetosentient;} \]

7.246  [B 2.63v] For if the Field bee kept, and the summe of the Enterprize pursued, those smaller things \( \text{will} \) come in of themselues;

\[ \text{Etenim si quis in acie sit superior, et summae belli sedulo incumbat, minora illa loca ultro se submittent;} \]

7.247  [FM 201e] I am perswaded, if he speake in conscience, he \( \text{will} \) confesse that...

\[ \text{Je croy qu'il me confessera, s'il parle en conscience, que ...} \]
7.248 [FM 205c] If by a certaine judgement, you say that you cannot
tell, they will maintaine that you can tell.
    Si, par certain jugement, vous tenez que vous n'en
scavez rien, ils vous maintiendront que vous le
scavez.

WILL in Apodosis from Non-Translated Texts

7.249 [C IV] in which space yf the States do not repay the mony she
hath disbursed for them, he upon those townes will see her
satisfied.

7.250 [C VI] but yt is thought yf the warre go forward, that the
Queene, with the States consent will translate that garrison
to Arnew.

7.251 [C VIII] yf yt bringe any thinge with yt worth the writing I
will not faile you;

7.252 [C XVI] wherin yf he be not prevented, he will sone begger
both the Hollanders and us.

7.253 [C XXVI] Yt may be we feare the French will fall in with
the States yf we leave them in this extremitie:

7.254 [C XXXII] Mrs Elizabeth Russell lies at the last cast and is
either dienge or dead ... yf she go, she will mend the new
brides marriage.

7.255 [C XL] Yf you direct your letters either to my lodging or to
Mr John Nortons they will finde me out.

7.256 [C XLVII] ... two pretty ships went ... to seeke the north-west
passage to the Indies, which yf yt hit right will be a
matter of great importaunce.

7.257 [C L] and yf she come to Portesmouth yt is thought greater
personages will go to see and dive into her.

7.258 [C L] Here is speach that the plague shold be in Ostend, which,
yf yt cease not the sooner will soone make an end of that
siege.

7.259 [C LIII] To which end and your owne goode, yf you sometimes
furnish me with such toyes as you thincke fit yt will not
be amisse.

7.260 [C LIII] You see how bold a beggar I am, but yt is upon
confidence you will alwayes use me as boldly, yf ever yt
come to my turne to stand you in stead.

7.261 [C LVI] Yf Mr Winwood be still with you I know you will
make him partaker of this, and whatsoever els of any worth comes
from me to your hands.

7.262 [C LXII] yf all be true that is reported yt will prove the
greatest prize that ever I heard of.
SHALL in Apodosis translating/translated by Future Tense

For examples from Lodge-Seneca see 3.40, 3.41.

7.263 [HL 4Qm] if thou once speake thou shalt surely die
Mori e r e , si emiseris vocem

7.264 [B 1.19r] But then if a man be to haue any vse of such knowledge
in ciuile occasions ... Then shalt he finde it prepared to
his hands in those Authors, which write in that manner.
Si quis tamen doctrinam ad usus civiles adhibeat ...
omnia, quae cupiat, praepara et adornata in huiusmodi
auctoribus r e p e r i e t

7.265 [B 1.41r] and if we yeeld vp our Armes, how shalt we make
vse of our Virtue?
si igitur arma dedamus, cui usui obsecro, nobis
erit virtus?

7.266 [FM 164b] for, if they be removed from out their kennell, him
that she first brings thither againe, shalt alwaies prove
the best;
comme, si on les emporte hors de leur giste, le
premier qu'elle y rapportera, sera toujours le meilleur;

7.267 [FM 206d] If it be lawfull for Panaecius to maintaine his judg­
ment ...: Wherefore shalt not a wiseman dare that in all
things, which this man dareth in such as he hath learned of his
Masters?
S'il est loisible A Panaetius de soutenir son
jugement ... pour quoi un sage n'oserait il en toutes
choses ce que cetuiy ose en celles qu'il a aprinses de ses
maistres.

SHALL in Apodosis, from Non-Translated Texts

7.268 [C IX] They make him aunswer that if he be the man, he
shalt not want maintenaunce nor their mediation, but if he
be not, he must look for that he deserves.

7.269 [C XXV] Yf any thing fall out worth the writing you shalt
heare of me next weeke;

7.270 [C XXX] and lie at the Lord Chamberlaines, or the Lord Cobhams,
whose mariage is thought liekwise shalt be then consummated,
yf ye be not don already

7.271 [C XLIX] Yf God do call her I shalt thincke this a dismall
unluckie yeare to loose my woman-frends so fast,

Present Form Modals in Protasis

SHALL

7.272 [HL 17E] If they shalt first goe backe and faile therein
by publicke consent, and fraudulently; that day, O Jupiter,
smite thou the citie of Rome.
7. Subordination  5. Conditionals

Si prior de f e x i t publico consilio, dolo malo; tum illo die, Iuppiter, populum Romanum sic ferito.
(defexit - optative, archaic form only found in ritual contexts as here)

7.273 [HL 19B] IF HE SHALL APPEALE FROM THE DUUMVIRS, LET HIM TRAVERSE HIS APPEALE
Si a duumviris provocarit, provocatone certato.
(provocarit, presumably read as future subjunctive)

7.274 [B 2.33v] wherein if I have differed from the ancient, and received doctrines, and thereby shall move contradiction; for my part, as I affect not to dissent, so I purpose not to contend;

Qua in re si a priscis et receptis opinionibus discesserimus, eoque nomine contradicendi ansam cuiquam praebuerimus; quod ad nos attinet, ut dissentiendi studium longe a nobis abstet, ita etiam et contendendi consilium.
(discesserimus - translating 'have differed', by perfect subjunctive; praebuerimus - translating 'shall move' by future subjunctive.)

7.275 [FM 192a] And if a man shall tell me, that the commoditie to have the appetite cold to griefes ... drawes this incommoditie after it ... It is true.

Et, si on me dit que la commodité d'avoir le goust froid & mousse aux douleurs & aux maux, tire aprea soy cette incommodité ... cela est vray;

7.276 [M 8A] And therefore, if in this new imployment any shall think that he followed this counsell, seeking to make it a preferment to him and his family, I doe not much marvel thereof.

7.277 [M 22C] Thirdly, if any during the Truce shall breake into Rebellion, he promiseth not to aid them.

In all these examples, it seems possible to replace Protasis with SHALL by Protasis with present subjunctive without change of meaning.

WILL in Protasis

7.278 [C IX] Others say he may have yt ye he will, but because there is a course spoken of somewhat to geld and curtail yt he refuseth to accept yt unles he may have yt whole and unmaimed.

7.279 [C XLIX] but let them brabble and fight yt out ye they will, so we continue frends.

7.278, 7.279 in sense of wish or want.

7.280 [C XLI] and if you will do as much for me to Mr Winwood I have no more to say at this time but God save you.

7.281 [C XLIX] Yf you will do so much for me to Mr Winwood, I will commend you to the protection of the Almighty.

7.282 [C LIV] the dwarfe Daniell must follow or is already gone to trie yt out to the utterance yf the Scottish king thincke fit, and will give them campo libero
7.280, 7.281, 7.282 WILL with sense of willingness.

7.283 [C II] and yf nothing els will take, reserve that course for *ultimum refugium* at a dead lift.

WILL with sense of characteristic behaviour.

In all these examples WILL has a full meaning and is not like SHALL equivalent to a present subjunctive.

WILL in Protasis appears to be confined to Chamberlaine (but see 3.39 for an example from Lodge-Seneca). Chamberlaine never uses SHALL in Protasis.

CAN in Protasis (Non-Negative)

7.284 [C III] but he will not go yf he can possibly avoyde it.

7.285 [C XVIII] yet I have got you a transcript of yt that you may picke out the offence yf you can;

7.286 [C XXVII] makes account to be gon towards Satterday or Sunday ... so that yf you have any minde to the jorny, and can be redy in time ... you have all the helpe I can afoord you.

7.287 [C XXXI] the whole army sat downe at Nieuport, whence yf they can dispatch quickly they meane to besiege Dunkerke.

7.288 [C XLVI] Yf I can learne what yt was you shall have yt in my next.

7.289 [C XLVI] excuse me to him till the next weeke when he shall heare of me yf I can light upon anything worth the sending.

7.290 [C XLVI] Yet yf you can bethincke or advise any better course, wherin I can do any goode, in goode faith I will adventure that for your sake that I will not do for hers.

7.291 [C XLVIII] and hath geven her promise to stand out no longer yf she can be resolved of one point.

Again all examples from Chamberlaine. As already noticed in Chapter 4 in Protasis CAN is often used in non-negative constructions where the sense is possibility rather than ability.

MAY in Protasis

7.292 [LS 19.1] Withdraw thy selfe, if thou mayest from these busie affaires, or if thou canst not forcibly deliver thy selfe...

Si pot es, subduce te istis occupationibus; si minus eripe.
7. Subordination  5. Conditionals

7.293 [C XX] Sir Samuell Bagnoll hath don some small service in Ireland, at leastwise ye that may be called a service to defend himself when he was assaulted by the ennemie.

7.294 [C LVII] all is to entertain the time, and win her to stay here ye may be.

7.295 [M Eliz. 39C] And finding now by your letters by Cuffe, a course more strange, if stranger may be.

7.292 the contrast with 'if thou canst not' seems to account for MAY. In 7.293 the sense is perhaps 'if it is permitted' rather than 'if it is possible'. 7.294 and 7.295 exhibit the avoidance of CAN when the verb is BE, used absolutely.

2. PRETERITE SEQUENCE

Preterite Subjunctive in Protasis

WOULD in Apodosis

A. Resulting from tense shift in reporting a conditional of Present Sequence; IF + Present Subjunctive - (THEN) WILL

7.296 [HL 29B] both for that the king, if he lived still, WOULD be a more sharp revenger of the murder, than a privat person:
& quia gravior ultor caedis, si superesset, rex futurus erat quam privatus:
Occurring in narrative, reporting the consideration 'If the king live still, he will be a more sharp revenger ...'.

7.297 [B 1.40r] where unto Caesar sayd, That if hee did not desist, hee WOULD laye him dead in the place;
Si perstes, inquit, mortuus es.
The Latin version puts into direct speech, 'If you do not desist, you are dead'. The English supposes Caesar's actual words were 'If thou dost not desist, I will lay thee dead'.

7.298 [M 18E] And that Odonnel before his coming had giuen answere, that if the King sent an Army, he WOULD take his part, and hoped the like of the other Irish.

Odonnel's words: 'If the King send an Army, I will take his part, and hope the like of the other Irish'.

7.299 [M 76A] praying that ... the Army might by all meanes be strengthened, which WOULD be necessary if such assistance were sent, and WOULD make an end of the warres if none were sent.

- 360 -
The original prayer, 'that the Army may by all means be strengthened, which will be necessary if such assistance be sent, and will make an end of the wars if none be sent.

7.300 [D 51] and if I would not then he would sue me Reporting 'if you will not, then I will sue you'.

B. When the condition is an imaginary or projected one this form is little more than a stylistic variant, rendering the premise more remote from real possibility. Thus in the next example, a literal translation of the Latin, which has present subjunctive in the protasis and future in the apodosis, would be 'If wisdom itself be given me, upon this condition to conceal it, ... I will refuse the same'.

7.301 [LS 6.4] If wisedome it selfe were giuen men vpon condition to conceale it, and not to publish it, I would refuse the same.

si cum hac exceptione detur sapientia ut illam inclusam teneam nec enuntiem, reiciam.

7.302 [B 2.5v] For as the proficience of learning consisteth much in the orders and institutions of Vniversities, in the same States & kingdoms; So it would bee yet more advanced, if there were more Intelligence Mutual betweene the Vniversities of Europe, then now there is.

Quemadmodum enim doctrinarum progressio, haud parum in prudenti regimine et institutione academiaerum singularum consistit; ita magnus ad hoc cumulus accedere possit, si academiae universae per totam Europam sparsae, arctiorem conjunctionem et necessitudinem contraherent.

This differs only in confidence from 'so it will be yet more advanced, if there be more intelligence mutual between the Universities of Europe, than now there is'.

7.303 [B 2.56v] for certainly, if a childe were continued in a Grotte or Cauue, under the Earth, untill maturitie of age, and came suddeainly abroade, hee would haue strange and absurd Imaginations;

Si quidem si quis ... a prima infantia, in antro aut caverna obscura et subterranea ad maturam usque aetatem degeret, et tunc derepente in aperta prodiret, et hunc coeli et rerum apparatum contueretur, dubium non est, quin animum eius subirent et perstringerent quam plurimae mirae et absurdissimae phantasiae.
The difference between the conditional here and 'if a child be continued in a Grot ... he will have' is that the latter seems to propose the experiment, referring it to future trial. Bacon's tenses indicate that the condition is purely speculative.

7.304 [FM 245e] That what we have said, is true, we would be assured of it, had we but the confirmation of some oracle, to confirme it.

Que ce que nous avons dict, soit vrai, nous en assurerions, si nous avions sur ce la confirmation d'un oracle;

'We will be assured of it if we have the confirmation of some oracle' would imply the possibility of future provision of confirmation. The preterite tenses used here imply only that there is presently no such confirmation.

C. Where the condition is not fulfilled, and this non-fulfilment is an obvious and inherent part of the situation in which the conditional sentence is being uttered.

Non-Negative Protasis

7.305 [B 1.38v] Surely, I would accept these offers were I as Alexander: ... So would I, were I as Parmenio Ego, inquit, si essem Alexander, acciperem ... et ego quidem, si essem Parmenio.

7.306 [LS 18.2] If I had thee here, I would willingly inquire of thee, what ... si te hic haberem, libenter te cum conferrem quo ...

7.307 [M 71E] which rather then he would lose, he would if Christianity and Charity did permit, first tear his heart out of his breast, with his owne hands.

WOULD is here perhaps part of the construction with RATHER, and the whole sentence is in the preterite of reported speech, but the actual words used must surely be 'If Christianity and Charity did permit, I would tear my heart out of my breast', it being known and accepted that Christianity and Charity do not permit such behaviour.

7.308 [C VII] Yf he were now at home I know he would send you many thancks.
7. Subordination 5. Conditionals

7.309 [C LIV] but that I had a desire to salute Mr Winwod, and tell him what is spoken of his succeeding Mr Gilpin: wherein no doubt his presence would carry yt from all the concurrents yt he were here;

Negative Protasis

7.310 [B 1.37r] Were I not Alexander, I would wish to be Diogenes.

Nisi essem, inquit, Alexander, optarem esse Diogenes.

7.311 [B 2.2r-v] So this excellent liquor of knowledge, ... would soone perishe and vanishe to oblyuion, if it were not preserued in Bookes, Traditions, Conferences, and Places appoynted, ...

Similiter liquor iste scientiae pretiosissimus, ... mox periret omnis atque evanescet, nisi conservaretur in libris, traditionibus, colloquiis, ac praecipue in locis certis his rebus destinatis.

7.312 [H 95A] Yea, I am perswaded, that of them with whom in this cause we striue there are those whose betters amongst men would bee hardly found, if they did not liue amongst men, but in some wildernesse by themselues.

But of course they do live among men.

D. Where the conditional is framed in order to demonstrate the non-fulfilment of the protasis, which is not obvious, by means of the obvious falseness of the apodosis.

7.313 [LS 15.11] If there were any solid thing in them, they would sometimes satisfie vs:

si quid in illis esset solidi, aliquando & implement:

7.314 [B 2.29r] And yet if it were but a fault in order, I would not speake of it.

Quanquam si ordinis hoc solum vitium esset, non mihi fuerit tanti.

The point that Bacon is making is that this is not as appearances might suggest merely a fault of order. It is more than a fault of order and this is why he is speaking of it.

7.315 [FM 129e] If this raie of Divinitie did in any sort touch us, it would everie where appeare:

Si ce rayon de la divinité nous touchoit aucunement, il y paroistroit par tout:

7.316 [FM 185d] If man were wise he would value every thing according to it's worth ...

Si l'home estoit sage, il prandoit le vrai pris de chaque chose selon qu'elle seroit la plus utile et propre a sa vie.
Montaigne has been elaborately demonstrating how men tend to overvalue certain things. It is in this context that the apodosis is contrary to actual circumstances and so indicates that the condition is quite unfulfilled.

7.317 [H 80E] If the soule of man d i d serue onelye to geue him beinge in this life, then thinges appertayning vnto this life w o u l d e content him.

Hooker takes it for granted that men are not contented by the things appertaining to this life.

SHOULD in Apodosis

A. Resulting from tense shift in reporting a conditional of Present Sequence, Present Subjunctive - SHALL

7.318 [M 62A] If Tyrone drew not to a head, it was concluded these garrisons were to infest the Fewes ... If Tyrone d r e w to a head, then it was concluded, his owne troopes were like to spoile these Countries, and our men sent to Loughfoyle s h o u l d plant themselves with more ease, & shortly be able to spoil both Tyrone and Odonnels Country.

It was concluded. 'If Tyrone draw not to a head, these garrisons are to infest the Fewes ... if Tyrone draw to a head, his own troops are like to spoil these countries and our men sent to Loughfoyle shall plant themselves with more ease and shortly be able to spoil both Tyrone and Odonnels country'.

7.319 [M 75E] should ... promise, that for a preyes hee should take of the Rebels, if the English assist ed him, he s h o u l d haue a third part, and if he t o o k e them without the assistance of the English, he s h o u l d haue three parts of foure.

The original promise, which to be a promise must have had a future reference, ran 'for preyes he shall take of the Rebels, if the English assist him, he shall have a third part etc'.

7.320 [M 103E] Oconnor Sligo to be threatned, that if he d i d not submit and declare himselfe against Odonnell before the planting of Ballishannon, he s h o u l d haue no hope of mercy.

The threat to run, 'If you do not submit and declare yourself against Odonnell before the planting of Ballishannon you shall have no hope of mercy.'
7. Subordination 5. Conditionals

B. Condition still theoretically open to fulfilment, even though not fulfilled in the present.

7.321 [H 78B] I nothing doubt but that Christian men should much better frame them selves to those heavenly preceptes ... if we did all concurre in desire to have the use of auncient counseels againe renued.

C. The non-fulfilment of the protasis is an obvious and inherent part of the situation. The conditional sentence is framed to explore the alternative reality which is precluded by this non-fulfilment.

7.322 [C XXXVIII] Yt may be there be divers other things I should impart to you, yf either I had leysure, or that they came redilie to hand.

7.323 [D 29] but ware I at home, trewly, he that ware most obstenas should not tarye but be presently espelled out of the towne.

D. Where the conditional sentence has been framed in order to demonstrate the non-fulfilment of the protasis which is not obvious, by means of the obvious falseness of the apodosis.

7.324 [FM 129d] Had we fast-hold on God, by the interposition of a lively faith; had we hold-fast on God by himselfe, and not by us; had we a divine foundation, then should not humane and worldly occasions have the power so to shake and totter us, as they have.

7.325 [FM 133c] Did we but receive these large promises of everlasting blessednes with the like authoritie, as we do philosophicall discourse, we should not then haue death in that horror as we haue;

That the apodosis is contrary to the facts is explicitly expressed in these two examples. There are many other uses of this construction in the passage which falls between the two examples above, which is largely a series of conditional sentences of this kind.
7.326 [FM 179d] Of which if there were any naturall or lively description, we should generally know it, as we doe the heat of fire.

7.327 [FM 188c] We rightly vaunt us of vertue, which we should not doe, if we had it of God, not of our selves.

As in 7.324 and 7.325 that the apodosis is contrary to the facts is explicit. The conditional is framed to make the point that the protasis is unfulfilled, that we have virtue not of God, but of ourselves.

7.328 [LS 11.6] otherwise nature it selfe should be subject thereunto, if wisedome had power to raze out those vices which she had imprinted in vs

7.329 [H 50E] Howbeit undoubtedly a proper and certaine reason there is of every finite worke of God, in as much as there is a law imposed vpon it; which if there were not, it should be infinite euен as the worker himselfe is.

Here the intended point is put first. It is negated in the protasis, which is shown to be unfulfilled by the absurdity of the apodosis, that God's works are equal to God.

7.330 [H 81D] For God and man should be very neere neighbours, if mans cogitations were able to take a survey of the counsels and appointementes of that maiestie everlasting

God and man we know can never be near neighbours. It follows that man's cogitations are not able to take a survey of God's counsels.
7. Subordination  5. Conditionals

Preterite Form Modals in Protasis

SHOULD in Protasis

A. Resulting from a tense shift in reporting a conditional of Present Sequence IF + SHALL, (THEN) WILL

With WOULD in Apodosis

7.331 [HL 29B] and that it would be a foule staine ... if ... the kingdome of Rome should be open ... to very bondmen and slaves

It will be a foul stain if the kingdom of Rome shall lie open ...

7.332 [M 24B] and if the Mores and Conners, for whom he had obtained protection, should violate this peace, that he would no way give aid or assistance to them

If the Mores and Conners shall violate this peace, I will no way give aid or assistance to them.

7.333 [M 99A] did againe vow ... religiously professing, that if he should break those Articles ... he would acknowledge himselfe ... to bee most vnworthy to beare the name of a Christian ...

7.334 [C XXXVII] which ... made me presume that if I should write, you would keep your old wont, and meet yt or misse it by the way.

My presumption 'if I shall write, he will keep his old wont ...'

With MIGHT in Apodosis

7.335 [M 88B] for if Captaine Tirrel ... should draw his force to the South of the Country, from hence his Lordship might easily fall back on him

With Preterite Indicative in Apodosis

7.336 [M 100C] But if Spaine should invade Munster, then all the Army was to be drawne thither

'If Captain Tirrel shall draw his force to the South of the Country, from hence his Lordship may easily fall back on him', 'if Spain shall invade Munster, then all the army is to be drawn thither'.

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B. Condition is imaginary or projected.

With **WOULD** in Apodosis

7.337 [FM 152d] *s h o u l d* we see her (the Fox) running, alongst the river side, approach her eare close to the yce ... might not we lawfully judge, that the same discourse possesseth her head, as in like case it *w o u l d* ours?  

quand nous le verrions au bord de l'eau approcher son oreille bien pres de la glace, ... n'aurions nous par raison de juger qu'il luy passe par la teste ce mesme discours qu'il feroit en la nostre

7.338 [H 53/A] Now if nature *s h o u l d* intermit her course ... if those principall & mother elements of the world ... *s h o u l d* loose the qualities which now they haue, if the frame of that heavenly arch erected ouer our heads *s h o u l d* loosen & dissolue it selfe: ... what *w o u l d* become of man himselfe, whom these things now do all serue?

With **MUST** in Apodosis

7.339 [H 70/D] The Apostle ... giueth vs thereby to vnderstand, ... that if we *s h o u l d* be stripped of all those things without which we might possibly be, yet these *m u s t* be left,

With **SHOULD** in Apodosis

7.340 [C XIX] *Yf* the obstinate and selfwilld fellow *s h o l d* persist in his doggednes (as he protests he will) and geve her nothing, the poore Lord *s h o l d* have a warme catch.

With **Present Tense Indicative** in Apodosis

7.341 [HL 29/D] and withall, if that *s h o l d* faile, she *p i r e p a r e t h* other means and remedies  

simul, si destituat spea, alia praesidia molitur

7.342 [B 1.39v] And yet if I *s h o l d* enumerate diuers of his speeches, as I did those of *Alexander*, they *a r e* truely such as *Solomon* noteth ...  

Attamen si recensere vellem pleraque eius dicta (ut feci in Alexandro), sunt ea certe huiusmodi, qualia notat Salomon ...

Where the Latin translator has rendered **SHOULD** by 'vellem'.

7.343 [FM 233a] If you say, I lye, and that you *s h o l d* say true, you *l y e* then  

Si vous dictes: Je ments, & que vous dissipies vray, vous mentez donc.

Here Florio attempts to reproduce the distinction between 'dictes', present indicative and 'dissies' imperfect subjunctive by 'say' and 'should say'.

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7. Subordination 5. Conditionals

7.344 [C XXIII] and now they have an imagination of sinking certain hulkes in the channell yf need should be.

C and D, the types of conditional sentence in which the non-fulfilment of the protasis is either an accepted part of the situation, or else is indicated by the non-fulfilment of the apodosis as an accepted part of the situation, do not occur with SHOULD in protasis. This seems to correspond to PE usage, where preterite subjunctive or SHOULD are possible in

A. tense shift in reporting a present sequence conditional
   If I see her, I will ask
   He said if he saw her he would ask
   He said if he should see her he would ask

B. projected or imaginary condition
   If you happened to run into him, he would help
   If you should happen to run into him, he would help
   If he published his laundry lists, they would be well reviewed
   If he should publish his laundry lists, they would be well reviewed.

But SHOULD is not possible in protasis in

C. If he were still alive, he would be the man to consult
   (when the fact that he is dead is not open to doubt)

D. If he were at home, there would be a light on
   (as you observe, the place is in darkness)

From this evidence in both eModE and PE it would seem that SHOULD can only be used instead of the Preterite Subjunctive in protasis when the condition is viewed from the point of view of the fulfilment, whether real or imaginary. When non-fulfilment is either the logical starting point (Type C) or the logical conclusion (Type D) of the conditional sentence, then SHOULD cannot be used.
WOULD in Protasis

Has full meaning, as suggested by the following examples from Florio where it translates VOULOIR.

7.345 [FM 159d] But this beast hath in many other effects, such affinity with mans sufficiency, that w o u l d I particularly trace out what experience hath taught, I should easily get an affirmation of what I so ordinarily maintaine ...

Mais cet animal raporte en tant d'autres effects à l'humaine suffisance que, si je v o u l o y suivre par le menu ce que l'experience en a apris, je gaignerois aysément ce que je maintiens ordinairement ...

7.346 [FM 202e] I should have too much adoe, if I w o u l d consider man after his owne fashion and in grose:

J'auroy trop beau jou si je v o u l o y considerer l'homme en sa commune facon & en gros.

7.347 [FM 234c] for he cannot kill himselfe if he w o u l d car il ne se peut tuer quand il le v o u d r o i t

Though not translated from the Latin, the sense of wishing or wanting seems clearly present in the following.

7.348 [HL 15M] But if wee w o u l d as wee ought to doe, stand upon the truth of things ... it is ambition ... that spurreth on two nations ...

sed si vera potius, quam dictu speciosa, dicenda sunt, cupidio imperii duos ... populos ad arma stimulat

(The real apodosis must be understood. 'We should admit that it is ambition ...')

7.349 [HL 35E] Therefore if they w o u l d be ruled by him, they should depart home evenie man

Si se audiant domum suam quemque inde abituros

7.350 [HL 36C] for if he w o u l d not obey and giue place unto his father, he should abide the smart of it with a mischiefe.

Ni pareat patri, habiturum infortunium esse.

7.351 [HL 36L] I might (quoth he) if I w o u l d, by vertue of ancient rites alledge and plead, that ...

posse quidem so vetusto iure agere, quod ...

7.352 [HL 37E] And seeming withall in great anger and discontentment, (if they w o u l d not regard his complaints)

cum, si nihil mouerentur infensus ira ... videretur

7.353 [HL 37E] if he with them w o u l d set to his helping hand, they should remoove the warre from the gates of Gabij unto the verie wals of Rome

ut, illo adiuvante, a portis Gabinis sub Romana moenia bellum transferatur
In the following, the sense is evidently 'wanted to'.

7.354 [H 70A] imagine ... that we might make as much accompt, if we would, of the contrarie

7.355 [M 38C] which his Lordship refused, answering, that if Tyrone would speak with him, he should find him next day in Armes, in the head of the Army

7.356 [M Eliza. 40E] though say we might to you our Generall, if we would Ex iure proprio iudicare, that all defects by Ministers, yea though in never so remote Garrisons, have beene affirmed to us, to deserve to be imputed to the want of care of the Generall.

Negative examples, with the sense of wilful refusal.

7.357 [M 18E] he ... desired God to take vengeance on him, if ... he would not continue faithfull ...

7.358 [D 51] and if I would not then he would sue me

7.359 [D 51] which he said if I would not let him have that I would give him as good.

The following uses of WOULD in protasis are due to a convention of politeness, being suggestions or requests, either direct or reported.

Here WOULD has the force of 'be willing'.

7.360 [HL 16L] If he would vouchsafe to conferre, he knew very well, that he should alleadge and lay forth such matters, as might concerne the weale of the Romanes ...

si secum congressus sit, satis scire ea se allaturum, quae ... ad rem Romanam ... pertineant

(Metius's request to Tullus to confer before battle)

7.361 [M 17C] many of them ... sent a writing signed, to the king of Spaine, couenanting, that if he would send sufficient forces, they would ioyne theirs to his, and if he would at all relieue them, in the meane time they would refuse all conditions of Peace

7.362 [M 18C] Protesting further, that if her Maiestie would please to accept of him againe as a subiect, and to take such course as hee might bee so continued ... then he doubted not but to redeeme all his faults past with some notable servuices

7.363 [M 54E] or by the Westward borders of the Pale, where if his Lordship would draw his forces to Athboye ... it was not possible for him to escape them

7.364 [M 71D] that he had made a diuorce betwixt himselfe and the World, if God and his Souveraigne would give him leave to hold it;
7.365 [D 18] Mr Maddison of Newcastle hath a sonne who lives in London, who if my brother w 0 u l d speake to hime, his sonne would pay me to, to haue it pd: his father.

The following two uses of WOULD ALLEGE are not obvious examples of a full sense but WILL/WOULD is usual in anticipated objections as 'But you will say' translating 'inquis' in Lodge-Seneca.

7.366 [FM 150e] And if against this opinion, a man w 0 u l d alleage unto me, that such as are naturally deafe speake not at all; I answer ...

Si on m'allegue, contre cette opinion, que les sourds naturels ne parlent point, je repons ...

7.367 [FM 155e] For, if to depresse them some w 0 u l d alleadge, it is by the onely instruction and instinct of Nature, they know it; that will not take the name of science, and title of prudence from them;

Car d'alleguer, pour les deprimer, que c'est par la seule instruction et maistrise de nature qu'elles le scavent, ce n'est pas leur oster le tiltre de science & de prudence;

COULD in Protasis in Non-Negative Clauses

For examples from Lodge-Seneca, see 4.17, 4.18.

7.368 [FM 195c] I am perswaded they will not denie me this, that if they c 0 u l d possibly adde any order or constancie to a mans life, that it might thereby be still maintained in pleasure and tranquillitie, by, or through any weakness or infirmitie of judgement, but they would accept it.

je croy qu' ils ne me nieront pas cecy que, s' ils p o u v a i e n t adjouster de l'ordre & de la constance en un estat de vie qui se maintint en plaisir & en tranquillité par quelque foiblesse et maladie de jugement, qu' ils ne l'acceptassent.

7.369 [M 39B] he sent the iudgement of the Chiefe Commanders of the Army ••• that those Garrisons if they c 0 u l d bee left there, would more endanger the English ••• then annoy the rebels

7.370 [C IX] Here is some speach of sending one thether yf they c o u l d resolve whom.

7.371 [D 36] I am not desireous if I c o u l d otherwise chouse to haue any pt of yt.

MIGHT in Protasis, only

7.372 [H 76D] Here with notwithstanding we are not satisfied, but we covet (if it m i g h t be) to haue a kind of society & fellowship even with al mankind.

Compare MAY BE in examples 7.294, 7.295.
7. Subordination  5. Conditionals

3. PLUPERFECT SEQUENCE

Subjunctive HAD + Past Participle in Protasis

WOULD HAVE in Apodosis

7.373 [HL 6k] if hee had driven the beasts into his owne cave, the very trackes would have led the owner of them thither ...

... Si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset, ipsa vestigia quacerentem dominum eo deductura erant.

7.374 [HL 21A] They did but follow their leader, as yee likewise would have done, if I had willed the march to have turned anie whether from thence.

Ducem secuti sunt: ut & vos, si quo ego inde agmen declinare voluissem fecissetis.

7.375 [FM 183c] they say, that if Circes had presented Ulisses with two kindes of drinke, the one to turne a wiseman into a foole, the other to change a foole into a wiseman, he would rather have accepted that of folly, than have been pleased, that Circes should transforme his humane shape into a beasts. And they say, that wisdome her selfe would thus have spoken unto him:

Ils disent que si Circé eust présenté à Ulysses deux breuvages, l'un pour faire devenir un homme de fol sage, l'autre de sage fol, qu'Ulysses eust deu plutost accepter celuy de la folle, que de consentir que Circé eust changé sa figure humaine en celle d'une beste; & disent que la sagesse mesme eust parlé à luy en cete maniere;

7.376 [M 8C] And I further protest, that as I shall in the due place once mention an honorable answer of this L Deputy, to part of the chief complaints made by the Irish against him, so I would most willingly have inserted his full iustification, if any such memoria all had come to my hands.

7.377 [M 10A] Two of them ... were now in the Castle of Dublyn, and if they had beene safely kept ... would have beene a strong bridle to keepe the Earle in obedience.

7.378 [M 12A] Hence this barberous Lord taking his aduantage, set vpon them, and droue them into a Church, where he would have put them all to the sword, if the Earle of Tyrone had not interposed his authoritie, and made composition for their lives, with condition that they should depart the Countrey.

7.379 [M 13A] the above mentioned sonnes of Shane Oneale, who had escaped out of Dublin Castle, and if they had been there kept, would have been a sure pledge of his obedience.

7.380 [M Eliz. 39D] Of this resolution to deferre your going into Vister, you may well thinke that wee would have made you stay, if you had giuen vs more time.

7.381 [M 57B] whereas if these things had been left to his discretion, hee would have deferred the Plantation of Ballishannon to a time of more safety ...
7. Subordination  5. Conditionals

7.382 [M 64C] for if more had knowne it, many thought that the Earl had such spies, and was so feared among the Rebels, as his Lordship would have had notice thereof for feare or loue.

(Apodosis appears as a Result Clause.)

7.383 [M 81B] and there his Lordship lay ... in such extremitie of weather as would have hindered his passage, if the enemie had not withstood him,

7.384 [C XXIV] Yf occasion had ben to draw forces to a head or into campe yt is thought the first proportion would have risen to 27000 foote and 3000 horse.

7.385 [C XXXVIII] but to haue gotten the Quene to haue signed a warrant for the noble mens deliverie, wherein yt he had found difficultie he knew not what would have followed.

7.386 [D 20] If I had had a horse I would have come my selfe.

7.387 [D 28] I understand sence that thay would have called me into the chancery by proces at the being with me if they had found my answre otherwyse.

SHOULD HAVE in Apodosis

7.388 [LS 21.6] [1620] Cicero's Epistles suffer not the name of Atticus to be extinguished, neither had it profited him to have Agrippa for his Sonne in Law, or Tiberius for his Nieces Father, or Drusus Caesar his Nephews Sonne, amongst so mightie Names, he should have been obscured, had not Cicero maintained his reputation, and kept him in memorie.

Nomen Attici perire Ciceronis epistolae non sinunt. Nihil illi profuisset gener Agrippa & Tiberius progener, & Drusus Caesar pronepos; inter tam magna nomina tacterunt, nisi Cicero illum applicuisset.

This appeared in the earlier 1612 version of the translation as

'... amongst so great names he had bin obscured, had not Cicero maintayned his reputation, and kept him in memorie'; illustrating the tendency to replace the pluperfect subjunctive in apodosis with a modal construction while maintaining it in protasis.

7.389 [B 2.34r] insomuch as that which if doubts had not preceded, a man shou'd never haue advised, but passed it over without Note, by the suggestion and sollicitation of doubts is made to be attended and applied.

7.390 [C XXXVIII] his meaning was but to have gotten the Quene to have signed a warrant for the noble mens deliverie, wherein yt he had found difficultie he knew not what would have followed, and those should have been guiltie of any harme might come to her, that had hindred his attempt.

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MIGHT HAVE in Apodosis (always in Non-Negative Clauses)

7.391 [B 2.9v] for if hee had looked downe hee might have seen the Starres in the water
    Nam si oculos demisisset, stellas illico in aqua videre potuisse;

7.392 [H 92A] It might peraduenture have beene more popular and more plausible to vulgar eares, if this first discourse had beene spent in extolling the force of lawes.

7.393 [M 26B] If the covenants had been kept by them, they of themselues might have made two thousand able men, whereas the Lord President could not find aboue two hundred of English birth among them.

7.394 [C I] I know you lookt longe ere this time to have heard from me, and so might you well have don, yf Painter the post had not kept your letter of the eight of May aseasoning till the sixt of this present June.

7.395 [C XXVII] The Duke of Savoy is gone from Paris, having gotten nothing by his longe jorny and large expence, but that which is thought he might have had better cheape yf he had staid at home.

7.396 [C LV] for the which I can adde nothing to that I said before but rather yf it had come sooner might chance have said lesse.

(COULD HAVE in Apodosis (always in Negative Clauses)

7.397 [H 81B] a way which could never have entered into the heart of man as much as once to conceiue or imagine, if God him selfe had not revealled it extraordinarie.

7.398 [M 58D] auowing; That if the Earle of Essex had brought with him a farre greater Army ... there could no other consequence have iustly beene expected in that so short time;

7.399 [M 63A] His Lordship further aduertised Master Secretary ... That Tyrones confederates were discouraged at his fearefull retreat into the North, which could not have beene greater, if he had beene broken with an Army.

Could HAVE in Apodosis (always in Negative Clauses)

7.397 [H 81B] a way which could never have entered into the heart of man as much as once to conceiue or imagine, if God him selfe had not revealled it extraordinarie.

7.398 [M 58D] auowing; That if the Earle of Essex had brought with him a farre greater Army ... there could no other consequence have iustly beene expected in that so short time;

7.399 [M 63A] His Lordship further aduertised Master Secretary ... That Tyrones confederates were discouraged at his fearefull retreat into the North, which could not have beene greater, if he had beene broken with an Army.

Preterite Form Modals + HAVE in Protasis

SHOULD HAVE in Protasis

7.400 [FM 258e] Moreover, that if the soules came from any other place, then by a naturall consequence, and that out of the body they should have beene some other thing, they should have some remembrance of their first being:
Davantage, que, si les ames venoyent d'ailleurs que d'une suite naturelle, & qu'elles eussent esté quelque autre chose hors du corps, elles auoyent recordation de leur estre premier.

7.401 [M Eliz. 56A] we haue ... yeelded to the continuance of fourteene thousand foot for some small time, both because we conceiue, according to your reasons, it will giue good assurance to the Plantation of Loughfoyle, and the reduction of Lemster, and preuent the present terror, which this proud attempt of Tyrones, to passe ouer all the Kingdome, hath stricken into the hearts of all our Subiects, and would increase, if we s h o u l d presently h a u e abated our numbers:

These are the only two examples which the corpus yields of SHOULD HAVE in Protasis and neither is part of a pluperfect sequence conditional.

7.400 has IF ... SHOULD HAVE ... THEN ... SHOULD, 7.401, IF ... SHOULD HAVE, THEN ... WOULD ... and neither is equivalent to IF ... HAD.

As we saw in the Preterite Sequence Conditionals, SHOULD is not substituted for the preterite subjunctive in types C and D when the non-fulfilment of the protasis is essential to the meaning of the conditional. If this is because SHOULD does not suggest assured or assumed non-fulfilment in the same way as the preterite subjunctive, it would account for its exclusion from protasis in pluperfect sequence conditionals, where the protasis is always unfulfilled.

In 7.400, SHOULD HAVE BEEN apparently arises from the need to express in protasis the proposition 'They have been some other thing (i.e. before they entered the body)'. In 7.401 the Queen is avoiding 'if we had presently abated our numbers' which might give the impression that there was now no more question of abating them (the context shows only a delay 'for some small time' is intended) and 'if we should presently abate our numbers' which, as an open condition, draws attention to the fact that very soon the numbers will be abated.
WOULD HAVE in Protasis (in the sense of 'If ... had been willing to ...')

7.402 [C VIII] Some say that if he would have been advised he might have done them all good.

7.403 [B 2.92r] But taking them as Instructions for life, they might have received large discourse, if I would have broken them and illustrated them by diducements and examples.

COULD HAVE in Protasis (in Non-Negative Clauses)

For example from Holland-Livy see 4.19.

7.404 [FM 183b] if Heracletus and Pherecydes could have changed their wisdome with health ... they would surely have done it:

s'ils eussent peu eschanger leur sagesse avecques la sante ... qu'ils eussent bien fait.

7.405 [M Eliz. 39D] of this resolution to deferre your going into Vister, you may well thinke that we would have made stay ... if we could have imagined by the contents of your owne writings that you would have spent nine weekes abroad.

7.406 [M Eliz. 40A] to which we could never have assented, if we could have suspected it should have beene vndertaken, before we heard it was in action.

There are no examples of MIGHT HAVE in protasis from the corpus and no examples of COULD HAVE in protasis in a negative clause.

MIXED SEQUENCE

Preterite in Protasis, WOULD HAVE in Apodosis

7.407 [FM 128e] which if they were, so many rare and excellent mindes ... would never by their discourse have mist the attainyng of this knowledge ...

& s'ils l'estoient, tant d'ames rares & excellentes ...

n'eussent pas failly par leur discours d'arriver à cette connaissance.

7.408 [M 57B] and if he escaped, would presently have put himselfe in the head of the Earle of Ormonds Troopes, to prosecute him into the North, and would further have advised Sir Henrie Dockwa ... to descend on Carickfergus.

7.409 [C XLIII] I would have written to him yf I had more ease or more matter.

7.410 [C LII] You must excuse my hudling haste and commend me in all kindnes to Mr Winwod; to whom I would have written yf either I had more matter or leysure.
7.411 [D 2] I wold haue thought Iff I had no right to haue any cowble ther ye wold not haue gruged therwith

7.409, 7.410, 7.411 are perhaps haplographic errors or correspond to a colloquial habit of using HAD for HAD HAD.

Present in Protasis, WOULD HAVE in Apodosis:

7.412 [D 29] You and your wyffe wold se me come home before myghelmes
... and if it p l e a s e god to send her a sone that you w o l d haue had me to haue bene a godfather

This is perhaps a mistake arising when the writer set out to put 'you would have me to ...' and then restructured 'would have' as an auxiliary sequence; so in a way the converse error to putting HAD for HAD HAD.

Preterite in Protasis, SHOULD HAVE in Apodosis:

7.413 [C L1] If I were not now taking my leave of this towne for the best part of this vacation, I shold haue put of this letter somewhat longer, to see yf any thing wold have risen worth the fliege at;

Pluperfect Sequence with Protasis in the form of a Relative Clause:

WOULD HAVE in Apodosis, SHOULD HAVE in effective Protasis:

7.414 [M Eliz. 40C] How w o u l d you haue derided any man else, that shold haue followed your steps?

If any man else had followed in your steps, how would you have derided him?

HAD in Apodosis, COULD HAVE in effective Protasis:

7.415 [H 74D] No man coulde ever haue thought this reasonable that had intended thereby onely to punish the iniury committed, according to the grauitie of the fact.

'If a man had intended only to publish the injury committed, he could never have thought this reasonable.'
7. Subordination 5. Conditionals

Apparently a variant of Pluperfect Sequence in which the unfulfilled Protasis (IF ... HAD) is replaced by the factual equivalent of that unfulfilment (with Preterite Indicative, reversed polarity) introduced by BUT:

WOULD HAVE in Apodosis:

7.416 [C LVI] a cousening prancke of one Venner ... that gave out bills of a famous play ... The price at coming in was two shillings or eighteen pence at least and when he had gotten most part of the mony into his hands, he would have showed them a fayre paire of heeles, but he was not so nimble to get up on horsebacke, but that he was faine to forsake that course ...

Equivalent to 'If he had been nimble enough to get up on horseback, he would have showed them a fair pair of heels'.

SHOULD HAVE in Apodosis:

7.417 [C XXXII] yt should have ben don by way of a proclamation, which was signed on Wensday last, but Mr Secretarie made great meanes to diswade her Majestie from that course, by many reasons.

If Mr Secretary had not made great means to dissuade ...

7.418 [C XXXVII] He was feasted by the Lord Burleigh for some favour shewed to Will; Cecill or his other sonnes at theire being in Italie; and should have ben by the Lord Treasurer ... but he made such haste away that they were disappointed.

7.419 [C XLV] I should have given you thanckes before this time for your first letter but that I was still in hope of your comming;

7.420 [C LVII] The Quene should have come to the warming of Mr Secretaries new house on Monday, but the cold hindered yt, and on Wensday the foule weather, and whether yt hold appointment this day is a question.

7.421 [M 15B] These letters should have been deliuered at Dundalke but the Marshall Bagnoll intercepting them, stayed the messenger at Newrye, till the Lord Deputies returnee.

The following is perhaps due to a change in construction after the first clause. BUT is replaced by a relative, and the negative implied by BUT is lost.
7.422 [C XXXI] The Spaniards gave a resolute answer about it on Tuesday last, which they protracted two or three days and then demanded 14 days more ...

'but they protracted it two or three days' - 'if they had not protracted it two or three days'

In the next example BUT is followed by the present tense and not the preterite.

7.423 [C XLIX] I would have written so much to him, but that I know it will not be welcome, and I am loth to discourage my friends.

ELLITICAL PROTASES

Protasis represented by OTHERWISE

WOULD HAVE in Apodosis:

7.424 [HL 19C] Publius Horatius the father, crying out and saying, That he deemed his daughter was justly and worthily killed; otherwise he would himself have punished his son by his fatherly authoritie.

P. Horatio patre proclamante, se filiam iure caesam iudicare: ni ita esset, patrio iure in filium animadversurum fuisse.

7.425 [H 84B] as a light which otherwise would have been buried in darkness, not without the hazard ... of infinite thousandes of souls.

7.426 [C LII] the first brought with yt much goode companie of pictures and discourses that intertained a goode part of the time that otherwise would have been very tedious

7.427 [D 52] I have got a hurt of my arme so as I cannot stirr abrode otherwise I would not have sent but come my selfe.

MIGHT HAVE in Apodosis:

7.428 [H 53C] Let Phidias have rude & obstinate stuff to carve, though his art do that it should, his worke will lacke that bewtie which otherwise in fitter matter it might have had.

COULD HAVE in Apodosis (Negative):

7.429 [H 87E] and that God himselfe hath therefore reveale his will, because otherwise men could not have knowne so much as is necessarie.
'Otherwise' may be understood in

7.430 [M 16B] which they spoiled, wanting forces to defend it, and so deprived the English soldier of great relief he might have found therein

'Other' may suggest a protasis as in

7.431 [LS 14.8] But some other more skilful, would have enquired of those of the country
At ille cautior peritos locorum rogat

'If he had been more skilful, he would have enquired ...'

WITHOUT WHICH suggesting Protasis

SHOULD HAVE in Apodosis:

7.432 [FM 160e] we rather admire and consider strange than common things: without which I should never so long have amused my selfe about this tedious catalogue.
Nous admirons & poisons mieux les choses estrangeres que les ordinaires; et, sans cela, je ne me fusse pas amuse a ce long registre:

7.433 [M 25A] without which danger Captaine Williams professed, that no want or miserie should have induced him thereunto.

COULD HAVE in Apodosis (in Negative Clause):

7.434 [M 48D] He kept his word in publike affaires inviolably, without which he could never have beene trusted of the Irish:

Protasis to be understood from Context

WOULD HAVE in Apodosis:

7.435 [B 2.17r] For as his History, and those few Letters ... excell all mens else: So I suppose would his collection of APOTHEGMS have done;
cuius liber utinam extaret

If it had come down to us.

7.436 [B 2.102v] In second place I set downe wealth and meanes, which I know most men would have placed firste:
Secondo loco opes pono, et pecuniam quam summo loco plurimi fortasse collocaverint.

If they had been making the decision instead of me ...

7.437 [FM 211c] Epicurus would have said it of Rethorike ...
Epicurus l'eust encore dit de la Rhetorique ...

If he had addressed himself to the matter ...
7. Subordination 5. Conditionals

7.438 [FM 220d] I would rather have followed those that worshipped the Serpent.

J'eusse encore plutost suivi ceux qui adoraient le serpent.

If I had lived in pagan times.

7.439 [H 77A] againe as those lawes of politie & regiment, which would have served men living in publique societie together with that harmelessse disposition which then they should haue had, are not able now to serue when mens iniquitie is so hardly restrained within any tolerable bounds:

If such laws had then existed.

7.440 [H 91C] What paynes would not they have bestowed in the study of these bookes?

i.e. The learned among the ancients, if the books of the Christian revelation had been available to them.

SHOULD HAVE in Apodosis:

7.441 [FM 217d] as for me, I should rather have taken part with those who worshipped the Sunne.

je me fusse, ce me semble, plus volontiers attaché à ceux qui adoroiend le Soleil.

7.442 [C XVIII] I am going the next weeke (God willing) to Knebworth, in which consideration I am not greatly sory for your stayeng at Ostend, for I should have enjoied but litle of your company.

If you had come across to England from Ostend.

In the following two examples the protasis is effectively contained in the subject of the apodosis.

7.443 [M 58E] which in most places must haue beene done by an Army, and they being in seuerall places, and many circumstances besides required there unto, the effecting thereof would have taken vp as much time as he spent here.

'If they had effected it, it would have taken up as much time as he spent here.'

7.444 [M 78B] he had been most carefull not to increase her Maiesties charge in any thing, the want whereof would not have made the rest of her great expence to be vmprofitable.

'anything, which, if it had been wanting, would not have made ...'
VARIOUS CLAUSES EXPRESSING CONDITION

UNLESS and EXCEPT introduce a negative condition. The verb is in the Subjunctive or with SHOULD.

Present Subjunctive:

7.445 [FM 133a] for what draws us to blaspheming, un les se e it b e at all adventures, the desire it selfe of the offence?
Car quel gout nous attire au blasphemer, si non a l'aventure le gout mesme de l'offanse?

7.446 [FM 136d] they have a kind of body, but a shapelesse masse, without light or fashion, un les se e faith and the grace of God b e joyned thereunto.
 ils ont quelque corps, mais c'est une masse informe, sans facon & sans jour, si la foy et grace de Dieu n'y sont joinctes.

7.447 [FM 175a] It is assuredly beleieved, that the Whale neuer swimmeth, un les se e she h a v e a little fish going before her ...
Ils tiennent que la baleine ne marche jamais qu'elle n'aît au devant d'elle un petit poisson ...

7.448 [FM 210d] Why hath not Aristotle alone, but the greatest number of Philosophers affected difficulty, un les se e it b e to make the vanity of the subject to prevaile.
Pourquoi non Aristote seulement, mais la plus part des philosophes ont affecté la difficulté, si ce n'est pour faire valoir la vanité du subject ...

7.449 [H 49C] And the ende which it worketh for is not obteined, v n l e s s e e the worke b e also fit to obteine it by.

7.450 [FM 129c] Ex ce pt it s e i z e upon us, and as it were enter into us by an extraordinarie infusion; And un les se e it also e n t e r into us, not onely by discourse, but also by humane meanes, she is not in her dignitie, nor in her glorie.
Si elle n'entre chez nous par une infusion extra­ ordinaire; si elle y entre non seulement par discours, mais encore par moyens humains, elle n'y est pas en sa dignité ny en sa splendeur.
(Florio here mistranslates - the second 'si' does not introduce a negative clause and should not be rendered by 'unless'.)

7.451 [M 9C] That he execute no man, e x c e p t it b e by commission from the Lord Deputy.

Preterite Subjunctive in Narrative Sequence of Tenses:

7.452 [M 26C] But more dangerous causes were suspected, and e x c e p t a Royall Force w e r e quickly opposed to the Rebels bold attempts, a generall revolt was feared.
To command the Ships already sent, and to be sent into Ireland, except the Lord Admirall were sent forth to Sea, and commandement were given of ioyning the said ships to his fleete.

For Aphorismes, except they should bee ridiculous, cannot bee made but of the pyth and heart of sciences:

Aphorismi enim, nisi prorsus forent ridiculi, necesse est, ut ex medullis et interioribus scientiarum conficiantur.

to induce a perswasion of somewhat which were in it selfe more hard and darke, unless it should in such sorte bee cleared

that truce ... which was then concluded ... till the Calends of May, except either of them should give fourteene daies warning ...

for here growes no newes at Knebworth, unless I should tell you how well harvest is come home

I can bethinke me of nothing else unless I should tell you of certain mad knaves that tooke Tabacco all the way to Tiborn as they went to hanging.

and unless there should be exceeding urgent need indeed, yt is thought a straunge pollicie to discover our want so far to the world.

This is all we have unless I should tell you that last weeke at a puppet play in St Johns street, the house fell and hurt betwene thirty and forty persons.

For matter of newes I know not where to begin, unless I should continue a pettie chronicle from my last.

I receved yours of the 24th of the last here at Askot full of varietie and pretty observations, having nothing to requite you and rendre la pareille, unless I should tell you how forward we be in harvest.

This is all the successse of this sommers progres unless I should tell you that I never knew a later, nor withall a better or more plentifull harvest.

This is all, unless I should tell you that a prentise pursued by his master to be beaten lept out of a garret by Holbourne Bridge and fell upon a porters necks and got away without harme.

Florio never uses SHOULD after UNLESS, Chamberlaine never uses the Subjunctive.
Other Modals after UNLESS

WILL:

7.465 [C LVI] We had lately a proclamation against the Jesuites and priests theyre adherents, that they are to avoyde the realme within thirty dayes upon theyre perill; and the secular priests before the beginning of February at farthest, unles s they will submit themselves to the Quenes mercy.

Here 'are willing to'.

In all the above the negative conditions are open. There are only two examples where UNLESS introduces a negative condition now past and therefore fulfilled or unfulfilled. Since UNLESS itself contains a negation, the condition after UNLESS is fulfilled if it did not occur and unfulfilled if it did. From the use of SHOULD and the preterite subjunctive in protasis we might expect to find SHOULD when the negative condition is fulfilled and the equivalent of the protasis with HAD when it is unfulfilled. The two examples seem to conform to this expectation.

SHOULD HAVE:

7.466 [C XLIV] I meant to have saluted you likewise ... but I could neither find time nor place, unles s I should have crept into some scriveners shop.

The writer indicates that he did not creep into some scrivener's shop; the equivalent conditional would be 'If I had crept into some scrivener's shop, I could have found time ...' implying I did not creep and so did not find time.

UNLESS ... HAD;

7.467 [H 89D] To concerne men as men supernaturallie is to concerne them as duties which belong of necessitie to all, and yet could not haue bene knowne by any to belong vnto them, unles s e God had opened them him selfe.

where the equivalent conditional is 'If God had not opened them himself, they could not have been known' implying, God did open them and this is why men are able to know them.
IN CASE, introducing a condition and often translating Latin SI, is followed by SHOULD.

7.468 [LS 13.10] And put case it should happen etiam si futurum est

7.469 [HL 13A] Beside the Nobles began to feare, least peradventure in case the hearts of manie citiies thereabout, should not be well disposed, but provoked against them, some foraine power would make invasion...

Timor deinde patres incestitur, ne... multarum circa civitatium irritatis animis, vis aliqua externa adoriretur

7.470 [HL 18M] for that he would employ them in service, in case he should warre with the Veiantians usurum se eorum opera, si bellum cum Veientibus foret

7.471 [HL 29A] began much more to take stomache and indignation in case that after Tarquinius, the kingdome should not return to them and their line, but should still run on end and headlongwise fall unto such base varlets si ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed praeceps inde porro ad servitia caderet:

7.472 [M 97E] but he carrying certaine fireworkes prouided in case the boat should faile

7.473 [M 100B] his Lordship might easily ioine with the Lord President, in case Spaine should invade Mounster

7.474 [M 24A] he promised... that in case they or any of them should not then appeare, and submit themselves; yet he at that time would make his submission.

Clauses introduced by WHEN may be considered as expressing a condition.

In translating future tenses in Latin and French SHALL is used.

Translating/Translated by Latin Future Tense:

7.475 [LS 18.7] thou shalt leap for ioy, when being satisfied with a little, thou shalt understand that to satisfie ourselues we have no need of fortune.

exultabis, dupondio satur, & intelliges ad saturitatem non opus esse fortuna

7.476 [HL 3A] But these complaints, which wil be nothing pleasant, no not when perhaps they shall be needfull...

sed querelae, ne tum quidem gratae futurae, cum forsitan & necessariae erunt

7.477 [HL 17A] Then wot well this, that when you shall cause the trumpet to sound unto batell, these two armies will bee to them a faire marke and spectacle to behold: that they may give an assault to both at once
Memor esto, iam, cum signum pugnae dabis, has duas acies spectaculo fore, ut possis confectosque simul victorem ac victum adgregiantur.

7.478 [B 2.10r] for it will not onely minister and suggest for the present, Many ingenious practices in all trades, by a connexion and transferring of the observaions of one Arte, to the use of another, when the experiences of severall mysteries shall fall under consideration of one mans mind:

Neque enim ad praesens tamquam iuvabit, nectendo et transferendo observationes unius artis in usum aliarum, et inde novas commoditates eliciendo; quod necessa est fieri, cum experimenta diversarum artium in unius hominis observationem et considerationem venient.

Translating French Future:

7.479 [FM 190c] As if it were not time enough to endure the sicknesse when it shall come.

comme s'il n'estoit point assez à temps pour souffrir le mal lorsqu'il y sera.

Translating Latin Future Subjunctive (Future Perfect):

7.480 [LS 3.2] But when thou shalt be resolued to accept of his loue, discouer vnto him readily thy whole hart, cum placuit fieri, toto illum pectore admittte.

7.481 [LS 4.2] I expect a farr greater, beyond comparison, when thou shalt cast off thy childish mind, and that Philosophie hath inrouled thee amongst the number of men; maius expecta, cum puerilem animum de posueris et te in viros philosophia transscripserit.

7.482 [LS 11.1] I doubt not but when he shall be best retired, and despoyled of all his vices, that then this complexion will accompany him.

hic illum, quantum suspicor, etiam cum se confirmavit, & omnibus vitiosis eusterit, sapientem quoque sequetur.

7.483 [LS 15.2] When thou shalt make thy selfe fleshy and brawny to the uttermost thou canst imagine, yet neyther in force or weight shalt thou equall a fat and grown Oxe.

Cum tibi feliciter sagina cessisset & tori creverint; nec vires umquam opimi bovis, nec pondus aequabis.

7.484 [LS 20.12] but when as with mature consideration thou shalt entertaine them, they will be pleasant also:

cum vero multum ante meditatus accesseris, iucunda quoque.

7.485 [LS 21.10] When they shall approach these Gardens, and shall see written ouer the gate of them ... The Host ... will be addressed, and shall entertain thee with a cake ...
cum a d i e r i s e i u s hortulos et inscriptum hortulis 1 e g e r i s ... paratus erit istius domicilli custos ... & te polenta excipiet ...

WHOSOEVER, and the equivalent HE WHO ... are used in a form of conditional sentence, and are followed by SHALL as an equivalent to the Future Tense in Latin and French.

7.486 [LS 5.6] He that s h a l l enter our houses, let him rather looke on vs then on our moveables.
qui domum i n t r a v e r i t, nos potius miretur quam supellectilem nostram.

Equivalent to 'if anyone shall enter our houses, let him rather ...'.

7.487 [FM 160e] For, in my judgement he that s h a l l neerely checke, what we ordinarily see in those beasts that liue amongst us, shall in them finde ...

car, selon mon opinion, qui c o n t r e r o l l e r a de pres ce que nous voyons ordinairement des animaux qui vivent parmy nous, il y a de quoy y trouver ...

7.488 [FM 185e] He that s h a l l number us by our actions and proceedings, shall doubtlesse find many more excellent-ones amongst the ignorant, than among the wiser sort;

Qui nous c o n t r e r a par nos actions & deportemens, il s'en trouvera plus grand nombre d'excellens entre les ignorans qu'entre les scavans:

7.489 [FM 207c] Whosoever s h a l l imagine a perpetuall confession of ignorance ...
That man conceives the true Phyrhonisme.

Quiconque i m a g i n e r e n t e d'ignorance, ... il concoit le Pyrronisme.

7.490 [FM 209a] It is a white sheete prepared to take from the finger of God what form soever it s h a l l please him to imprint therin.

C'est une carte blanche preparée à prendre du doigt de Dieu telles formes qu'il luy pl a i r a y graver.

Corresponding to SHOULD in Protasis, we find SHOULD after WHATSOEVER

and HE WHO ...

7.491 [B 2.65r] For h e e had neede be well conducted, t h a t s h o u l d designe to make Axiomes Convertible: If he make them not withall Circular.

Auspicato enim et felicis cuiusdam genii ductu procedere oportet, qui axiomata scientiarum convertibilia facere attentaverit, et non simul ea reddiderit circularia ...

7.492 [FM 130a] W h a t s o e v e r s h o u l d proceed from us, might be seene inlightned with this noble and matchlesse brightnes.

Tout ce qui partiroit de nous, on le verroit illuminé de cette noble clarté.
7.493 [FM 132a] he that from out this lawfull army should pull out... such... whether hee could ever erect a compleat company of armed men.

qui trieroit de l'armée, mesmes légitime et moienne, ceux... il n'en scauroit bastir une compagnie de gensdarmes complete.

7.494 [FM 149e] our common mother nature, hath with great plentie stored us with whatsoever should be needfull for us.

nostre mere nature nous avoit munis à planté de tout ce qu'il falloit;

7.495 [FM 160e] He that throughly should judge her present estate, might safely conclude, both what shall happen, and what is past.

Qui en aroit suffisemment juge le present estat, en pourroit seurement conclure et tout l'advenir et tout le passe.

7.496 [FM 193c] Verily, he that should root out the knowledge of evil should therewithall extirp the knowledge of voluptuousnesse.

De vrai, qui desracineroit la connaissance du mal, il extirperoit quand et quand la connaissance de la volupte.

7.497 [H 86C] Hee that should take vpon him to teach men how to be eloquent in pleading causes, must needes deliver vnto them whatsoever precepts are requisite vnto that end.

7.498 [M 22C] hee subscribed the following articles... Secondly, that hee will presently recall all Vlster men sent by him into Lemster, leauing those who should not obey his directions to the Lord Lieutenants discretion.

7.499 [M 74A] and he that should take either of these from her, should take from her the Crowne and Scepter.

7.500 [M 78E] commaund... that the Lord Deputy should proclaime him Traytor, with promise of two thousand pound to any should bring him alive, and one thousand pound to him that should bring his head to any of hir Maisties Fortes or Garrisons.

7.501 [M 98C] And to yeeld vp to him the Gouvernor all the cattle should be found in his Countrey belonging to Odonnell.

In Moryson's text SUCH + NP + AS is used in the same way as WHATSOEVER + NP and is followed by SHOULD.

7.502 [M 3C] but were not ashamed to proclaime and promise Heauen for a reward, to such cut throates as should lay violent hands on the sacred persons of such Princes, as opposed their tyranny.
7. Subordination 5. Conditionals

7.503 [M 17A] To dismisse all his Forces, & to pay such reasonable fine to her Maiesties use, as should be thought meete by her Maiestie.

7.504 [M 23C] to take knowledge of such grievances, as the Submitties should present unto them, and to take order for their satisfaction.

7.505 [M 52C] they should pay to the Treasurer at warres for Ireland such sums, as should be signed by sixe of the privy Counsell of England... Secondly, above the foure thousand pound for extraordinaries therein mentioned, to pay him such sums as should by the same be signed.

7.506 [M 54C] auowing, that as his loue made him interested in that noble Earles fortunes, so hee would thankfully acknowledge from him such fauour, as he should be pleased to shew that distressed Earle.

7.507 [M 68A] also reseruing lands in Tyrone to reward the services of such Gentlemen as should serve under Sir Arthur in these warres.

7.508 [M 88E] his Lordship received commandement to pardon all such in Mounster as should require it, and should be commended by the Lord President.

Conditions in Morison are sometimes introduced with the word CONDITION or some derivative, and followed by SHOULD.

7.509 [M 7E] The conditions of this grant were, that the bounds of Tyrone should be limited; (etc)

7.510 [M 12A] if the Earle of Tyrone had not interposed his authoritie, and made composition for their liues, with condition that they should depart the Countrey

7.511 [M 25E] And now they raised James Fitzthomas a Geraldine to be Earl of Desmond, (which title had since the warres of Desmond bin suppressed), with condition, that (forsooth) he should be vassall to Oneale.

7.512 [M 74E] to inlarge him, conditionally, that he should sweare to doe henceforward no hurt or hinderance to any in action with him.

7.513 [M 88C] he had the grant of three hundred foot, and one hundred horse in her Maiesties pay, on condition he should bring the men serviceable, and maintaine them so, without further charge to her Maiestie.

Exceptionally these occur with WOULD, in the sense of 'be willing'.

7.514 [M 11A] that a pardon was offered to one of the lury for his son, being in danger of the Law, vpon condition hee would consent to find his kinsman guilty.
Conditions introduced by the word CONDITION are also followed by the subjunctive.

7.515 [M 23C] her Maiestie ... had beene induced ... to giue him ... her gracious pardon vpon conditions following. First, that he renew his humble submission ...
2. That he promise ...
3. That he dispierce his forces ... [in all 13 subjunctives]

Equivalent to UPON CONDITION THAT is PROVIDED THAT, also with SHOULD and WOULD.

7.516 [M 9A] Provided that the pledges should not lie in the Castle, but with some gentlemen in the Pale, or Merchants in Dublyn, and might be changed ev'ry three moneths, during her Maiesties pleasure.

7.517 [M 24A] To the last he agreeth, provided that he would deliver no man to the State, who came to him for cause of conscience.

Conditions of this legal kind are also introduced by SO AS.

7.518 [M 14D] their Lordships aduised the Lord Deputy to offer Odonnel pardon, so as he would sever himselfe from Tyrone.

7.519 [M 67D] offering to ioyne the Quenes forces vnder his commaund ... so as he would after yeeld due tribute and obedience to her Maiesty.

SO AS, SO THAT, in the sense 'provided that'.

7.520 [B 1.23r-v] but; so let great Authors haue theire due, as time, which is the Author of Authors be not decriued of his due. magnis auctoribus suus sic constet honos ut auctori auctor, et veritatis parenti, tempori, non derogetur

7.521 [B 2.34v] Therefore these Kalenders of doubts, I commend as excellent things, so that there be this caution used, that when they bee thoroughly sifted & brought to resolution, they bee from thence forth omitted, decarded and not continued to cherish and encourage men in doubting

7.522 [H 86D] because his profession is to deliuer precepts necessarie unto eloquent speech, yet so, that they which are to receyve them be taught before hand, so much of that which is thereunto necessarie as comprehended the skil of speaking.

7.523 [M 73A] with supplying him afterwards with whatsoeuer he could aske, so it were possible to bee giuen him.
7. Subordination

ON CONDITION THAT

PROVIDED THAT are also found with MAY/MIGHT

SO (AS)

MAY:

7.524 [C XIII] but all he hath don is only a promise of 40000 dollers to be restored on condition his subjects may be satisfied...

7.525 [B 1.14v-15r] neuer caring in all tempests, what becoms of the shippe of Estates, so they may saue themselues in the Cocke-boat of their owne fortune

De reipublicae navi, licet tempestatibus jactata, neutiquam soliciiti, modo ipsis in scapha rerum suarum receptus detur et effugium

7.526 [FM 206e] They care not to be beaten, so they may strike againe

Il ne leur importe qu'on les frape, pourveu qu'ils frappent;

7.527 [C XXXVII] but yt seemes he cares not greatly who gets yt so Heale may misse yt.

7.525, 7.526, 7.527 with the main clause with negative use of verb CARE.

7.528 below is similar in sense.

MIGHT:

7.528 [HL 25D] But forgetting all kind affection to her native countrey, so shee might see her husband raised to high promotion, shee resolued and plotted to leave Tarquinij and depart.

oblitaque ingenitae erga patriam caritas, dummodo virum honoratum videret, consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis cepit.

7.529 [FM 214e] and have busied their mindes about inventions that might at least have a pleasing and wilie apparence, provided (notwithstanding it were false) it might be maintained against contrary oppositions:

& ont promeng leur ame à des inventions qui eussent au moins une plaisante & subtile apparence: pourveu que, toute fauce, elle se peut maintenir contre les oppositions contres:

7.530 [M 9A] Provided that the pledges should not lie in the Castle, but with some gentlemen in the Pale, or Merchants in Dublyn, and might be changed euery three moneths, during her Maiesties pleasure.

(where both SHOULD and MIGHT after PROVIDED THAT ...)

7.531 [FM 214c] Eudoxus wished, and praid to the Gods that he might once view the Sunne neere at hand ... on condition he might immediately be burnt and consumed by it.

Eudoxus souhetoit & prioit les Dieux qu'il peut une fois voir le soleil depres ... à peine d'en estre brulé soudainement
7. Subordination  5. Conditionals

7.532 [M 23E] To the first and second Articles Tyrone agreeth, so as time might be giuen for the other Lords his associates to assemble, that they might herein lay no imputation on him.

7.533 [M 79A] hee was druen to let matters goe as they would, so as hee might saue himselfe

7.534 [C VI] but newes came yesterday ... that Tiron out of his merciles bountie had graunted them leave to bury theyre dead and to go away with all they had, so that the fort might be delivered him.

UNTIL when not followed by the indicative, is most frequently found with MAY/MIGHT, and a strong sense of purpose is usually present.

MAY:

7.535 [LS 16.1] We must perseuer, and by continuall diligence adde strength, t i l l that which is now only a good will, m a y become a habittual good minde.

Perseverandum est, & adsiduo studio robur addendum donec bona mens sit quod bona voluntas est

7.536 [D 21] And therfor I shalbe glade yoU would sett it, in some yard at hartley till I m a y send for it the next weake.

7.537 [C VI] he made proclamation ... that the States of Holland might likewise trade, go and come with all securitie, during eight moneths till other order m a y be taken for continuance; (the order presumably at the time of writing, not yet taken)

MIGHT:

7.538 [M 22B] And t i l l these m i g h t be booked, to be sent ouer with his Submission, most humbly crauing of his Lordship to grant a truce ...

7.539 [M 58E] And though the terrour of the Army did not worke the first effect, being in the choyce of the enemy, vntill by the second course they m i g h t be constrained, that the fault was in their disposition, and not in the Earles endeauours or power.

7.540 [M 99C] Rebels ... whom his Lordship lately receiued to mercy, vnder his Maiesties protection, t i l l their pardons m i g h t be signed.

7.541 [M 101A] his Lordship granted him her Maiesties protection, t i l l he m i g h t sue out his pardon

7.542 [M 101D] That Neale Garue by the keeping of Tirconnell granted him at Dublyn for the time, t i l l her Maiesty m i g h t please to passe the same to him by Letters Pattents, ...

7.543 [C IX] says he was ... taken prisoner, and concealed himself t i l l he m i g h t conveniently get away.
7. Subordination 5. Conditionals

7.544 [C XXXII] sent 22 ensignes of Scottes and others to kepe a passage about Oldenburgh and so to hinder his coming on t i l l they m i g h t consult what were best to be don.

7.545 [C XLV] We had heard a noise and uncertain bruit of something don, which made us the more impatient t i l l we m i g h t learne the truth.

CAN/COULD

In Negative Clause:

7.546 [M 65A] his Lordship knowing that they would neuer be faithfull to the State, t i l l they c o u l d n o t subsist against it, was of opinion, that ...

And in Non-Negative Clauses:

7.547 [D 28] she maye staye longer or v n t y l l one c a n be learned of for that place

7.548 [D 29] now if ther be no way but she wyll away, yett that se stay whill martynmes w h i l l one c a n be gott for the place

7.549 [C XXXI] The Spaniards shold haue geuen theyre resolute aunswer about yt on Tewsday last, which they protracted two or three dayes and then demaunted 14 dayes more, t i l l they c o u l d send Vereiken to Brussells to know theyre finall resolution.

There are only two uses with SHOULD, which are both preterites of SHALL.

7.550 [M 55C] ... the Commissioners ... (who ruled the Prouince after the death of Sir Thomas Norreys, v n t i l a Lord President s h o u ld be chosen ...

7.551 [M 66E] So as Captain Blany passing the water, made a stand there, as he was appointed to doe, t i l l the carriage and horse s h o u ld be passed

The subjunctive also occurs:

7.552 [FM 163e] the astonishment is sensibly felt to gaine upward u n t i l it c o m e to the hands.

7.553 [FM 175e] which he continually keepes gaping, u n t i l he s e e some little fish enter in.

7.554 [FM 239c] to leaue her untouch't and unpolluted, u n t i l such t i m e as she w e r e brought a bed de la laisser impollue et intacte jusque a ce qu'elle f u t acouchee;
SECTION 6 - CONCESSIVE CLAUSES

Concessive Clauses are distinct from protases and the other conditional clauses considered in Section 5, in this respect; Conditional Clauses can be generally taken to put forward a necessary condition for the fulfilment of the apodosis; in other words, IF A, (THEN) B, implies IF NOT A, (THEN) NOT B; Concessive Clauses on the other hand are only used when this implication is not present, indeed when the contrary of this implication may be assumed as part of the situation. Thus ALTHOUGH A, (YET) B takes as an assumption IF NOT A, (THEN) B.

Thus Concessive Sentences may be paraphrased 'Whether or not A, still B'. From this it follows that, whereas in conditional sentences, the main clause or apodosis will normally be non-indicative in its modality, the clause which is linked in construction with a concessive clause will normally be indicative in its modality.

Conditional Clauses and Concessive Clauses in eModE show the same forms for the verb, most frequently subjunctive tenses, sometimes SHOULD and occasionally other modal verbs in their full meanings.

Concessive Clauses are introduced by (AL)THOUGH, ALBEIT.

Present Sequence in Concessive Clauses

Present Subjunctive:

7.556 [LS 2,4] thou sometimes change, let the others be unto thee as thy harbour, those as thine ordinarie retreat and house
   et si quando ad alios deverti libuerit, ad priores

7.557 [FM 208b] A l t h o u g h he finde not this proper and singular marke of judging in himselfe ... Hee ceaseth not to direct the offices of his life fully and commodiously.
   Encore qu'il ne trouve point en soi cette propre et singuliere marque ... il ne laisse de conduire les offices de sa vie pleinement et commodement.
7. Subordination  6. Concessive Clauses

7.558 [FM 214b] what our minde drawes from learning leaveth not to be voluptuous, *a l t h o u g h* it neither *n o u r i s h* nor *b e w h o l s o m e*  

ce que nostre esprit tire de la sciance, ne laisse pas d'estre voluptueus, encore qu'il ne s o i t ny alimentant ny salutere.

7.559 [FM 243e] It is against reason not to give credit unto the children of the Gods, *a l t h o u g h* their sayings *b e* neither grounded upon necessary, nor likely reasons ...  

C'est contre raison de refuser foy aus enfans des dieus, encore que leur dire ne s o i t establi par raisons necesseres ni vraisamblables ...

7.560 [H 53C] Let Phidias haue rude & obstinate stuff to carue, *t h o u g h* his arte *d o* that it should, his worke will lacke that bewtie which otherwise in fitter matter it might haue had

Here the Concessive Clause like Conditional Clauses with Present Subjunctive refers to a possibility. In 7.561, 7.562 however the reference is to a matter of fact, so that the clause is equivalent to 'in spite of the fact that ...'.

7.561 [H 49E] Dangerous it were for the feeble braine of man to wade farre into the doings of the most High, *a l t h o u g h* to knowe *b e* life, and ioy to make mention of his name; yet our soundest knowledge is to know that we know him not as in deed he is, neither can know him.

7.562 [D 29] but I have no doubt of ther paments *a l l t h o* they *b e* slowe.

SHOULD;

A single example where SHOULD seems equivalent to the Present Subjunctive, the reference is to a possibility.

7.563 [C XXXVI] Some of the Quenes ships are making redy to looke after the Spaniards that are coroming for the Lowe Countries, but *I thincke* they will do no more to them *t h o u g h* they *s h o l d* fall in theyre mouth.

**Preterite Sequence in Concessive Clauses**

Preterite Subjunctive:

Whereas the Preterite Subjunctive in Conditional Clauses usually implies the clause is contrary to fact, the Preterite Subjunctive in Concessive Clauses, as the examples below suggest, usually implies the clause is factual.
7.564 [B 1.35v] And the vertue of this Prince ... made the name of Antoninus so sacred in the world, that though it were extremely dishonoured in Commodus, Carocalla, and Heliogabalus ... 

7.565 [B 2.47v] Manna, which though it were celestiall, yet seemed less nutritiue and comfortable. Quae licet cibus fuerit coelestis, minus tamen sentiebatur almus et sapidus.

7.566 [M 84E] I sensibly heard by reverberation of the wall, the sound of the vollies of shot in that skirmish, though the place were at least six miles distant.

7.567 [C LIX] Our Commissioners stay still at Breme, though ye were geven out that the treatie was broken of.

SHOULD:

When SHOULD is used in Concessive Clauses, with a preterite, either indicative or subjunctive, in the main clause, it refers to a possibility and not to a fact.

7.568 [H 82B] sith possession of blisse, though it should be but for a moment, were an aboundant retribution.

7.569 [H 82B] how gratious and bountifull our good God might still appeare in so rewarding the sonnes of men, albeit they should exactly performe what soeuer dutie their nature bindeth them vnto.

7.570 [M 75A] he would ... procure the Earles inlargement without any condition, though by his release all Ireland should be destroyed.

7.571 [M 101B] because he had no Hauen ... nor could escape from the English forces, though Spaniards should land

Pluperfect Sequence in Concessive Clauses

Pluperfect Subjunctive:

The only example is the following which I take to be a concessive rather than a conditional in spite of the fact that it has IF rather than ALTHOUGH.

7.572 [B 2.76v] Thus haue I presumed to alledge this excellent writing of your Maiesty, as a prime or eminent example of Tractates, concerning speciall & respectiue dutyes: wherein I should have said as much, if it had beene written a thousand yeares since: Quo de libro, quae a me iam dicta sunt dixissem, si ante annum mille a rege quopiam conscriptus fuisse.
7. Subordination 6. Concessive Clauses

IF here must be taken to stand for EVEN IF and not ONLY IF so that by the criterion set out at the beginning of this section this should be a Concessive and not a Conditional sentence. However it has the characteristics of a pluperfect sequence conditional sentence, and the concessive clause is contrary to fact. The only other example I find of this is more evidently a concessive sentence but not in pluperfect sequence.

7.573 [H 63C] Infinite duties there are, the goodness wherof is by this rule sufficiently manifested, although we had no other warrant besides to approve them.

It might be possible to explain this as an example of HAD for HAD HAD (see 7.409, 7.410, 7.411 but these examples are from letter writers where carelessness is more likely). SHOULD HAVE does not appear in a concessive clause in the corpus.

MIGHT HAVE:

7.574 [C XXIV] but some say Sir Coniers himself went not soldierslike to worke, and when he saw his error, though he might have escaped, wold not outlive such a losse.

This concessive clause is not equivalent to a conditional clause for 'If he might have escaped' implies that in fact there had been no possibility of his escaping. Here the sense is the same as if in a main clause, a possibility existed in the past which was not realized, and the whole meaning of this concessive sentence could be given as 'He might have escaped, but he would not outlive such a losse'. The following is exactly parallel with the concessive clause introduced by WHEREAS.

7.575 [HL 4G] yet whereas he might well have resisted the force of his enemies, and maintained a defensive war within his walls, he brought his armie forth into the open field.

Tamen, cum moenibus bellum propulsare posset, in aciem copias educit
There is a use of clauses introduced by HOWSOEVER, WHATSOEVER which is related to concessive clauses in the same way as WHOSOEVER, HE WHO ... constructions (see 7.486-7.501) are related to conditional sentences.

Whereas these constructions when equivalent to conditionals appear only with SHALL/SHOULD, the concessive equivalents seem virtually confined to subjunctive tenses.

HOWSOEVER is sometimes apparently equivalent to ALTHOUGH; it is appropriate to the concessive sense of 'whether or not ...'.

7.576 [M 36A] their foot are so unwilling to fight in battell or grosse, (howsoever they be desirous to skirmish and fight loose);

7.577 [M 55C] So as howsoever he were five thousand strong in able men, besides many of baser sort, yet ... his utter confusion was confidently hoped.

7.578 [M 89D] For howsoever his Lordship were not dangerously ingaged therein, yet hee was ... fully resolved not to put his necke vnder the fyle of the Queenes Atturnies tongue.

In these three examples the writer appears to assume the clause after HOWEVER is factual.

7.579 [C XXXIX] and made me a truant en vostre endroit, for so will I acknowledge yt to you, howsoever to others I could salve and make all whole with passable and pregnant excuses.

Equivalent to 'although to others I were able to ...'.

In the following examples ALTHOUGH cannot replace HOWSOEVER. In 7.580 the sense of 'whether or not' is explicit. It is equivalent to 'although the nice humour of some be not therewith pleased'.

7.580 [H 488] Yet this may not so farre preuaile as to cut off that which the matter it selfe requireth, however the nice humour of some be therewith pleased or no.

In the following examples the sense could be expressed as 'No matter in what manner ...'.
7.581 [HL 2L] But these and such like matters, howsoever they shall hereafter be censured or esteemed, I will not greatly weigh and regard.

Sed haec, & his similia, utcumque animadversa aut existimata erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine.

7.582 [M 64D] However it were, the Rebels did him no hurt in his person

7.583 [C XII] but howsoever yt fall out, yea though they were willing, I hardly thincke yt is to be had.

WHATSOEVER;

7.584 [FM 151d] and without any prerogative or essentiall preexcellencie, whatsoever Privilege he assume unto himselfe, he is of very meane condition & d'une condition fort moyenne, sans aucune prerogative, praeexcellence vraye & essentielle.

Equivalent to 'although he assume privileges to himself, he is of very mean condition'.

7.585 [LS 17.12] because that into what place soever he be removed, he beareth alwaies his grief with him.

Quocumque illum transtuleris, morbum suum secum transferet.

7.586 [FM 228c] It is injustice to make it miscarie at our pleasure, as under what pretence soever it be to kill ourselves.

c'est injustice de l'affoler a nostre esciant come de nous tuer pour quelque praetexte que ce soit

7.587 [C XIII] We heare the States make huge levies of mony and meane to be masters of the feild the next sommer whatsoever cost them.

Holland uses WHATEVER in the translation of QUICUMQUE 'no matter who'.

7.588 [HL 61] So perish he, whatsoever else he be, that shall once dare to leape over my walls.

Sic deinde, quicunque alius transiliet moenia mea.

7.589 [HL 19A] and so with a mischeefe goe she, whatsoever she be, that shall bewaile an enemie of Rome.

sic eat quaecumque Romanum lugebit hostem.

WHICHSOEVER - 'no matter which' 'whether one or the other ...';

7.590 [H 76A] Wheras now whichsoever be receyued there is no law of reason transgrest;
SECTION 7 - AS IF CLAUSES

Besides the ordinary conditional (ONLY IF) and concessives (EVEN IF) there is a third kind of condition, usually with AS IF. This gives a speculative or imaginary condition or analogy for a real state of affairs. As in conditionals or concessive sentences there are two clauses, but the AS IF clause is always contrary to fact, and the main clause is always factual.

Conditional - If he were ill, he would not eat
Concessive - Although he were ill, he ate

AS IF - He does not eat, as if he were ill.

AS IF Clauses occur with the preterite subjunctive or SHOULD. They are introduced by AS IF, AS THOUGH, AS.

Preterite Subjunctive:

7.591 [B 1.24r] as if the same objection were to be made to time, that Lucian maketh to Jupiter
Ac si alia objectio conveniret erga tempus, qua Lucianus impetit Jovem

7.592 [B 1.24v] as if the multitude, ... were not readie to give passage,
quasi vero multitudo ... non illud saepe probarint

7.593 [B 1.26v] As if there were sought in knowledge a Cowch, wherupon to rest a searching and restlesse spirite;
Plane, quasi in doctrina quaereretur lectulus, in quo tumultuans ingenium et aestuans requiesceret

7.594 [FM 237a] As thoug h any thing were more wretched than man over whom his owne imaginations beare sway and domineere.
Quasi quicquam infelicius sit homine, cui sua figmenta dominantur.

7.595 [FM 131c] Doe but marke if we doe not handle it as it were a peece of waxe, from out so right and so firme a rule, to drawe so many contrary shapes.
Sentez si ce n'est par nos mains que nous la menons, a tirer come de cire tant de figures contreres d'une regle si droite et si ferme.

7.596 [C XIII] and play so round a game as yf Ireland were to be recovered at Irish.

7.597 [C XXXIII] This towne is as empty as yf yt were dead vacation ... all is as close and quiet as yf yt were midnight.
7. Subordination

SHOULD:

7.598 [LS 12.8] Therefore ought we to dispose of every day, in such sort as if it did lead up the reward of our time, and should consummate our lives.

'Itaque sic ordinandus est dies omnis tanquam cogat agmen & consumet atque expleat vitam.'

'Should lead' (presumably preterite subjunctive), 'should consummate' both rendering present subjunctives in Latin.

7.599 [LS 10.5] So liue with men as if God saw thee, so speake with God as if men should heare thee.

'So here with 'saw' and 'should hear' both rendering present subjunctive in Latin.

7.600 [B 1.14v] the corrupter sort of meere Politiques ... thrust themselves into the Center of the world, as if all lynes should meet in them and their fortunes;

'It is hard not to feel here that the translators have forced SHOULD into a fuller meaning than in the context is likely.'

7.601 [B 2.5r] to beginne with those Artes (as if one should learne to weigh, or to measure, or to painte the Winde.)

'Neque propterea cum Paracelso et Alchemistis ita desipimus, ut putemus inveniri in corpore humano, quae singulis universitatis rerum speciebus ... respondeant.'

It seems likely that AS IF accounts for SHOULD here ('as if certain correspondences and parallels found in man's body should have respect to all varieties of things').

7.602 [B 2.39r] the ancient opinion that Man was Microcosmus, an Abstract or Modell of the world, hath been fantastically streyned by Paracelsus, and the Alchimists, as if there were to be found in mans body certaine correspondences, & parallels, which should haue respect to all varieties of things ..."
7. Subordination 7. AS IF Clauses

7.604 [B 2.52r] They did a s i f one that professed the Art of Shooe-making, s h o u l d not teach howe to make vp a Shooe, but only exhibite in a readinesse a number of Shooes.

Perinde illos facere, ac si quis calcearium professus, rationem calcei conficiendi non doceret, sed exhiberet tantum calceos complurimos, ...

Pluperfect Subjunctive:

7.605 [B 2.56v] a s i f he h a d been an Aedilis; One that should have set forth some magnificent shewes or playes?

SHOULD HAVE:

7.606 [B 2.50r] A s i f Samuel s h o u d h a u e rested vppon those Sonnes of Issay, which were brought before him, and fayled of Dauid which was in the field.

Perinde ac si Samuel acquievisset in illis Isai fillis, quos coram adductos videbat in domo.

As the Latin translation shows, not 'OUGH TO HAVE' but equivalent to 'As if Samuel had rested upon ...'.

There are a number of uses of WOULD after AS IF. Certain behaviour is explained as suggesting certain intentions or ambitions.

7.607 [FM 134e] Many have beene seene, to have conceived, either through vanitie or fiercenesse, strange and seld-knowne opinions, a s i f they w o u l d become reformers of the world.

il s'en est veu asses, par vanite et par fierte de concevoir des opinions non vulgueres & reformatrices du monde.

7.608 [FM 144a] What doe we with our hands? Doe we not sue and entreat ... With so great variation, and amplifying, a s i f they w o u l d contend with the tongue.

Quoi des mains? nous requerons, nous prometons ... d'une variation et multiplication a l'envi de la langue.

'As if they were trying to contend with the tongue'

7.609 [FM 134a] They report of Bion, that being infected with the Atheismes of Theodorus, he had for a long time made but a mockerie of religious men; but when death did once seize upon him, he yeelded unto the extremest superstitions. A s i f the Gods w o u l d either be removed, or come againe, according to Bions businesse.

Ils recitent de Bion qu'infait des atheismes Theodorus, il avoit este longtems se moquant des homes religieux; mais, la mort le surprenant, qu'il se rendit aus plus extremes superstitions, come si les dieus s'ostoint & se remetoint selon l'affaire de Bion.

Though not suggested by the French, I think Florio intends 'as if the Gods were ready or willing to go and come back ...'.

- 403 -
WOULD seems put for SHOULD in

7.610 [M 47A] ... gaue Tyrone occasion ... to least at him, as if all occasions of doing service would be past, ere he could be made ready and haue his breakfast.

SECTION 8 - SHOULD IN NOUN CLAUSES

Protasis as Noun Clause

The transition from various forms of conditional sentence to the examination of the subordinate noun clause, can conveniently be made through a certain kind of conditional sentence in which protasis normally follows apodosis and is introduced by THAT rather than IF, although IF also occurs. In the examples of this construction, the apodosis refers to an emotional reaction to the event mentioned in the protasis.

7.611 [D 26] but I wold be right sorye that the Imaginatyzons of the wycked shoulde prove true of me

7.612 [C XIX] I ... wold gladly heare of the safe arrivall of yt, because yt was accompanied with some other letters, and booke that I wold be very loth shoulde miscarie.

7.613 [D 28] and lothe would I be for any such small matter that my wykleff and I shoulde contend in my Lords absenc.

Sometimes the same conditional meaning remains with indicative modality in apodosis.

7.614 [H 48A] but also to beare such exceptions as minds so auerted beforehand usually take against that which they are loath shoulde be powred into them.

This seems to include the meaning 'if that were poured into them, they would be very loath'.

But sometimes, indicative modality in the apodosis implies that the protasis although still with SHOULD is fulfilled and factual so that the construction is no longer strictly a conditional.

7.615 [C XXIII] I am sory and ashamed that this weakenes and nakednes of ours on all sides shoulde shew yt self so apparantly as to be carried far and neere to our disgrace both with friends and foes.
7.616 [C XXVI] I am sorry we should have any difference with a commonwealth so generally estemed for justice and wisdom.

On the other hand, much of the structure of a conditional sentence remains, including the relationship between the two clauses, in which the SHOULD-Clause refers to a necessary condition of the main clause, giving what is in effect a kind of fulfilled conditional. Conditions which are only possibilities occur in the next two examples.

7.617 [C L] The Lord Gray hath not that command nor entertainment in the Lowe Countries that he propounded to himself, the envie whereof his frends ... are content should light on Sir Fra: Vere.

7.618 [FM l83c] he would rather have accepted that of folly, than have been pleased, that Circes should transforme his humane shape into a beasts qu'Ulysse eust deu plutost accepter celuy de la folie, que de consentir que Circe eust changé sa figure humaine en celle d'une beste;

The protasis may appear either as the subject or the object in the apodosis. Sometimes when it appears as subject, it is reduced to TO + Infinitive:

7.619 [H 50D] That and nothing else is done by God, which to leaue undone were not so good.

That is, 'If he should leave it undone, it would not be so good'.

or to FOR + NP + TO + Infinitive:

7.620 [H 66A] The first taketh place where the comparison doth stande altogether betweene doing and not doing of one thing which in it selfe is absolutely good or euill; as it had bene for Ioseph to yeeld or not to yeeld to the impotent desire of his lewd mistresse, the one euill the other good simply

'If Joseph had yielded it would have been evil, if Joseph had not yielded it would have been good.'

Sometimes the protasis appears as a clause with a preterite (presumably subjunctive) verb.

7.621 [C XL] I perceve by him that Sir Edward is not so thoroughly recovered but that he is in danger of a relapse, which it were goode you listened after

'If you listened after it, it would be good.'
SHOULD clauses may appear as object, as in

7.622 [H 86C] Notwithstanding every man would thinke it ridiculous, that he which undertaketh by writing to instruct an Orator, s h o u l d therefore deliver all the precepts of grammar.

'If he which undertaketh by writing to instruct an orator should ... deliver all the precepts of grammar, every man would think it ridiculous.'

Here too we may find an indicative apodosis, yet a clear conditional sense in the THAT-Clause with SHOULD

7.623 [H 73D] Notwithstanding even they which brooke it worst that men s h o u l d tell them of their duties, when they are told the same by a lawe, thinke very wel & reasonablie of it.

The two parts of the sentence form parallel conditionals. If men should tell them of their duties, they brook it worst; When (= if) they are told the same by law, they think very well ...

A similar conditional interpretation is possible in the following, when the protasis as a (THAT)-Clause with SHOULD can also be taken as the object of the verb in the apodosis.

7.624 [FM 233b] I cannot allow a man s h o u l d so bound Gods heavenly power under the Lawes of our word.

Je ne trouve pas bon d'enfermer ainsi la puissance divine sous les loix de nostre parolle.

Here, as the French indicates, 'allow' is to be taken in the PE sense of 'approve'. 'If a man should so bound God's power, I cannot approve (it).'

7.625 [FM 234d] which a Christian ought to abhor, that euer such and so profane words s h o u l d passe his mouth qu'un Chrestien devroit eviter de passer par sa bouche.

7.626 [B 1.23v] while Antiquity enuieth there s h o u l d be new additions Dum Antiquitas novis invideat augmentis.

Such SHOULD-Clauses may also appear as the subject of the apodosis.
7.627 [FM 237d] Were it not a sottish arrogancie, that wee should think our selves to be the perfectest thing of this Universe?

If we render this rhetorical question as a statement and set the sentence out as an explicit conditional it becomes

If we should think ourselves to be the perfectest thing in the universe, it were a sottish arrogance.

That the clause 'that we should think ...' functions here like a protasis appears to be due to the mood of the verb of which it forms the subject. If this verb were in the indicative the clause would stand not as a condition of the statement of which it is the grammatical subject but as a statement itself. Florio provides an example to illustrate this.

7.628 [FM 182b] Yet it is a wonderful signe of our imbecillitie that the use and knowledge should so make us to be cloyd one of another.

Si est-ce un merveilleux signe de nostre defaillance, que l'usage & la conoissance nous degoute les uns des autres.

The complex sentence here might be separated into two statements:

1. The use and knowledge makes us to be cloyed one of another; 2. This is a wonderful sign of our imbecility. SHOULD here does not indicate mood but grammatical subordination. The following examples have noun clauses with SHOULD which are to be taken as statements of fact.

7.629 [HL 4L] But it was a fatall thing, and (as I thinke) which God would have, that so great a cittie should be built for to yeeld the ground and beginning of that Empire, which next under the gods is most mightie.

Sed deebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis maximice secundum deorum opes imperii principium.

7.630 [B 2.13r] And now last, this most happie and glorious euent, that this Iland of Brittany diuided from all the world, should bee vnited in it selve;

Haec omnia demum exceptus eventus iste faustus et gloriosus; nimirum huiusce insulae Britanniae, a toto orbe divisae, in se unio.

7.631 [FM 236e] It is pity we should so deceive our selves with our owme foolish divises and apish inventions.

C'est pitié que nous nous pipons de nos propres singeries & inventions.
7. Subordination 8. Noun Clauses

7.632 [C XXXIV] but yet yt is no small honor to us that nations so far remote and every way different shold meet here to admire the glory and magnificence of our Quene of Saba.

Examples 7.628 - 7.632 link a factual noun clause with a noun phrase.

In the following the noun clause is qualified by an adjective.

7.633 [C XXXVIII] yt is straunge to me that our yll newes shold flie to fast as to overtake you in five dayes

7.634 [M 65B] His Lordship ... onely professed to thinke it strange, that one so full of regard to himselfe in all his proceedings, shold be so easily overtaken.

(a reference to the capture of the Earl of Ormond. Mountjoy is sceptical, but not about the fact that Ormond was 'overtaken'.)

7.635 [M 70B] the end of the Conference most shamefull, that the wretched traytor shold prescribe conditions to his Soueraigne.

7.636 [M 77D] It seemed incredible that by so barbarous inhabitants, the ground shold be so manured, the fields so orderly fenced, the Townes so frequently inhabited, and the high waies and paths so well beaten, as the Lord Deputy here found them.

It seemed incredible, but the ground was so manured.

Yet in what appears to be a similar construction, the noun clause with SHOULD, though the subject of an indicative verb, is not factual.

7.637 [M 89C] It is not credible that the influence of the Earles malignant star, shold worke vpon so poore a snake as myselfe ...

Rather, the whole sentence gives the status of the proposition in the SHOULD-Clause.

7.638 [B 246r] others,... doe conceiue it should likewise be agreeable to Nature, that there shold be some transmissions and operations from spirit to spirit ...

Alii ... in eam opinionem devenerunt, quod multo magis a spiritu in spiritum ... impressiones, et delationes, et communicationes fieri poterint

Here, the status of the proposition 'that there should be some transmissions ... from spirit to spirit', namely that 'it is agreeable to nature' is rendered in the Latin as a kind of modality 'fieri poterint'.

The two examples above may serve as transitional to the topic treated in the next section.
7. Subordination 8. Noun Clauses

Noun Clauses Expressing Modality

Constructions of this kind, of a noun clause together with a noun phrase or adjective can be used to express the modality of the verb in the noun clause. The noun clause is found with the subjunctive (usually present tense) or with SHOULD.

Expressing forms of Obligation

GOOD, BETTER

Subjunctive:

7.639 [FM 156c] Is it not as good, that the dog know it by himselfe, as by Trapezuntius his logick? vaut il pas autant que le chien le sache de soi que de Trapizonce?

SHOULD:

7.640 [FM 184d] So doe I not know, whether it were better that this swift motion of the thought ••• should not at all be given to mankind ••• than that it should be given so plentifully and so largely.

Si c h a u d so c i o, a n m e t i u s f u e r i t h u m a n o g e n e r i m o t u m istum celerem cogitationis acumen ••• non dari omnino quam tam munifice et tam large dari.

7.641 [H 50D] Non est bonum, It is not good man should be alone [Genesis Ch.2 v.18]

7.642 [M 65A] his Lordship ... was of opinion, that till they were brought into greater extremities, it would prove better, that they should stand out, then come in.

FIT

Subjunctive:

7.643 [B 2.9r] But this I hold fit, that these Narrations, which have mixture with superstition, be sorted by themselues.

Caeterum illud monuerim, narrationes istas, cum rebus superstitionis conjunctas, seorsum componi.

SHOULD:

7.644 [M 38B] many of the best judgement ... thought fit our men should retire to their Garrisons.

7.645 [M 87C] (for it was fit those bordering on the North, should be left strong)

7.646 [C X] for yt is thought fit they should not come too easilie by theyre honor, but that in this case as well as in many others yt should be graunted for service don and to be don.
7. Subordination  8. Noun Clauses

REQUISITE

Present Subjunctive:

7.647 [B 2.4v] And therefore in as much, as most of the usages and orders of the Universities were derived from more obscure times, it is the more requisite, they be reexamined.

quamobrem, quandoquidem academiarum instituta plerunque originem traxerint a temporibus, hisce nostris haud paulo obscurioribus et indoctioribus; eo magis convenit, ut examini denuo subiiciantur.

7.648 [H 77E] So the urgent necessitie of mutuall communion ... maketh it requisit that the Church of God here on earth have her lawes of spiritual commerce betwene Christian nations.

Preterite Subjunctive:

7.649 [HL 36L] I judge it requisite, that the league were renued.

taeterum se utilitatis id magis omnium causa censere, ut renouetur id foedus;

SHOULD:

7.650 [H 83D] requisite it cannot but seme the rule of divine law should herein helpe our imbecilitie, that we might the more infalliblie vnderstand what is good & what euill.

REASON

Subjunctive:

7.651 [LS 14.2] Reason it is that it be kept carefully, yet so, as when reason, honour, and faith requireth it, a man be ready to cast it in the midst of a fire.

Agatur eius diligentissime cura: ita tamen, ut cum exigit ratio, cum dignitas, cum fides, mittendum in ignem sit.

SHOULD:

7.652 [FM 248c] Truly there was some reason, this bridle or restraint of our judgements liberty, and this tyranny over our belieues should extend it selfe even to schooles and arts.

Vrayement c'estoit bien raison que cette bride & contrainte de la libertê de nos jugements, & cette tyrannie de nos creances, s'estandit jusques aux escholes & aux arts.

In the negative, THERE IS NO REASON THAT:

7.653 [LS 17.6] There is no reason that pouerty should recall vs from Philosophie.

Non est quod nos paupertas a philosophia revocet.

7.654 [H 71E] without which consent, there were no reason, that one man should take vpon him to be Lord or judge ouer another;
7. Subordination  8. Noun Clauses

7.655 [H 77C] so there is no reason that any one common welth of itself s h o u l d to the preiudice of another annihilate that whereupon the whole world hath agreed.

7.656 [H 65E] there being no reason that others s h o u l d shew greater measure of loue to me, then they haue by me shewed unto them.

7.657 [C XLVI] which seing they know not, there is no reason they s h o u l d watch or restrain her.

Also, without apparent change of meaning, after NO REASON the clause may be introduced by WHY or WHEREFORE instead of (THAT).

7.658 [M 64E] seeing no reason, w h y the Counsels of the warre s h o u l d stagger vpon his wel or ill doing

7.659 [H 90D] because there can be no reason w h e r e f o r e the publishing thereof s h o u l d be taken away.

NO REASON BUT THAT

This might be expected to give permission (no obligation not to) as in the similar PE construction 'There is no reason why I should not go'.

In fact the only two examples suggest obligation, so that NO REASON BUT THAT is equivalent to REASON IT IS THAT.

7.660 [H 74A] And what we do by others, no reason but that it s h o u l d stand as our deed.

7.661 [C XLI] my last which I wrote at my comming from London, and see no reason but they s h o u l d finde as spedy passage as Mr Gents that were written at the same time:

Expressing Possibility

POSSIBLE

Only with SHOULD:

7.662 [H 68E] And is it possible, that Man being not only the noblest creature in the world, but euen a very world in himselfe, his transgressing the law of his nature s h o u l d draw no maner of harme after it?

7.662a [H 80B] Now if men had not naturally this desire to be happie, how were it possible that all men s h o u l d e haue it?

NOT POSSIBLE

7.663 [B 2.45r] So it is not possible that it s h o u l d be ... subiect to the lawes of Heauen and Earth; Quomodo possit cognitio de substantia animae rationalis ex philosophia peti et haberi
7. Subordination 8. Noun Clause

7.663a [H 81B] nor is it possible that Nature should ever finde any other way to saluation then onely this.

7.664 [H 91A] For that otherwise a multitude should with harmony amongst themselues, concurre in the doing of one thing (for this is ciuillie to liue) or that they should in any sort menage communitie of life, it is not possible.

UNPOSSIBLE, IMPOSSIBLE

7.665 [FM 239e] and it is unpossible it should excede that, or goe beyond it: & est impossible qu'elle sorte de la, et qu'elle passe au dela.

7.666 [H 56C] Impossible it was that euer their will should change or incline to remit any part of their dutie.

7.667 [H 72A] impossible it is that any should haue complet lawfull power but by consent of men, or immediat appointment of God;

7.668 [H 81D] Which being utterly impossible, that the eye of man by it selfe should looke into the bosome of diuine Reason ...

Quod quia fieri non potuit ut homini perseipsum ratio divina notesceret [Lactantius]

IMPOSSIBILITY

7.669 [H 82B] We fayling in the one, it were in nature an impossibility that that other should be looked for.

Necessity expressed through Possibility

(NOT) POSSIBLE BUT

7.670 [B 1.18v] And how is it possible, but this should have an operation to discredite learning ...

iam vero fieri non potest, quin hoc ipsum multum faciat ad doctrinae existimationem minuendam et elevandum.

IMPOSSIBLE BUT

7.671 [H 89B] Impossible it is but that they should fall into a number of grosse errors, who only take such lawes for positive, as haue bene made or inuented of men.

Expressing Necessity

NECESSARY

Subjunctive:

7.672 [FM 242e] It is necessary (say they) that man be altogether ignorant of true things, and beleeve many false.

Qu'il est besouin que le peuple ignore beaucoup des choses vrayes et en croie beaucoup de fauces;
7. Subordination

SHOULD

7.673 [LS 12,7] for if a day be the time of foure and twentie houres, it is necessarie that they s h o u l d be all alike, because the night hath that which the day hath lost; nam si dies est tempus viginti et quattuor horarum, necesse est omnes inter se dies pares esse, quia nox habet, quod dies perdidit.

NECESSITY

7.674 [H 80A] nor proceede from any natural necessitie that our soules s h o u l d so exercise them selues for euer in beholding and louing God

Expressing Probability

LIKE

7.675 [HL 34H] and like it was, that the stronger s h o u l d be king apparebatque regnaturum, qui vicisset

LIKELIHOOD

7.676 [FM 151e] I say therefore, there is no likelyhood, we s h o u l d imagine, the beasts doe the very same thing by a naturall inclination and forced genuitie, which we doe of our owne freewill and industrie.

Je dy donc ... qu'il n'y a point d'apparence d'estimer que les bestes facent par inclination naturelle et forcee les mesmes choses que nous faisons par notre choix & industrie.

PROBABLE

7.677 [H 80C] And is it probable that God s h o u l d frame the hartes of all men so desirous of that which no man may obtaine?

IMPROBABLE

7.678 [B 1.8r] And for matter of policie and gouernement, that Learning s h o u l d rather hurt, than Inable thereunto, is a thing verie improbable:

Iam vero, eruditionem politicis, impedimento esse potius quam adiumento nil minus probabile.

Noun Clauses as Subjects and Objects

SHOULD in Subject Noun Clause

The Subjunctive is unusual in such noun clauses.

7.679 [D 25] I persaue you haue giuen Respeth for the pamente of this last XXX wyes, whill the XXVth of August next: which contents me that it b e payed at Seton [than] London.
SHOULD referring to an idea or thought

7.680 [H 82A] yet coulde it neuer hereupon necessarielie be gathered that such justice s h o u l d e adde to the nature of that reward the propertie of euerverlasting continuance;

With future sense

7.681 [C X] and yt is looked he s h o u l d do other manner of service then he hath don hitherto now that yt toucheth his freehold.

7.682 [M 61D] Hauing made distribution of the Forces for the present: It remains I s h o u l d descend to the briefe narration of the Lord Deputies particular Counsels ...

Factual

7.683 [FM 178a] Now from what vanitie can it proceed, we s h o u l d so willfully contemne, and distainfully interpret those effects ...

7.684 [M 16E] In the third, interceding for Orelyes pardon, it was disliked that he s h o u l d capitulate for others, yet givynge hope of his pardon vpon his owne submission.

7.685 [M Essex 36E] Is it not lamented of your Maiesties faithfullest subiects both there and here, that a Cobham, or a Raleigh ... s h o u l d have such credit and fauour with your Maiestie ...

7.686 [C XLVII] Yt is much spoken of at court that having had his entertainment so longe time advanced he s h o u l d be no more forward.

7.687 [C XXIV] Yt is much marvayled that this humor s h o u l d so possesse him, that ... he shold thus fall to huddle them up by halfe hundreds;

SHOULD in Object Noun Clause

When SHOULD appears in a noun clause as object of a verb it may be from SHALL and have future sense, as

7.688 [C XXIV] for though I alwayes thought him foolish enough, yet I did not looke he s h o u l d prove devilish.

which is a preterite version of 'I do not look he shall prove devilish' though it should be noticed that in this preterite version '(that) he should prove devilish' has become factual (I did not expect what has in fact happened).
The THAT-Clause with SHOULD may be factual and the object of a verb of mentioning (as above in 7.686 as the subject of such a verb in the passive).

7.689 [M 78E] hee did expostulate in his next letters to Master Secretarie, that hee s h o u l d be taxed for those things, for which he expected approbation and thankes.

Where the clause is as it were the product or outcome of the intellectual or imaginative activity referred to in the verb SHOULD is usual.

PRETEND

7.690 [C XLIII] Sir Robert Mansfield and Sir Amias Preston have brought in sipe Easterlings into the river that came out of Spaine laden with spices and some bullion, which we pretend s h o u l d belong to certain Portugalles.

SUPPOSE

7.691 [FM 189c] Be it supposed that Learning and Knowledge s h o u l d work those effects they speak of ...

Mais quand la science feroit par effect ce qu'ils disent ...

IMAGINE

7.692 [FM 227c] and to imagine that poore Iphigenia, in the port of Aulis, s h o u l d by her death and sacrifice discharge and expiate ... the Grecian armie of the offences ... And those two noble and generous soules of the Decii ... to reconcile, and appease the favour of the Gods ... s h o u l d headlong cast their bodies athwart the thickest throng of their enemies.

CONCEIVE

7.693 [B 2.46r] others ... do conceiue it s h o u l d likewise be agreeable to Nature, that ...

Alii ... in eam opinionem devenerunt quod ... fieri poterint

So, after the noun CONCEIT we find clauses expanding it.

7.694 [B 1.6r] And as for the conceite that too much knowledge s h o u l d incline a man to Atheisme, and that the ignorance of second causes s h o u l d make a more deuoute dependance vpon God ...
There are six other clauses in the Bacon corpus with SHOULD after the noun CONCEIT. In Chamberlaine we find the same construction after OPINION.

7.695 [C XXIV] You left us here with so faire weather and with so confident an opinion that all should go well with my Lord of Essex, and that we should see him a cockhorse again, that ...

OPINION has the subjunctive in Bacon (but in this example means what ought to happen, not what is going to happen as in 7.695).

7.696 [B 2.8v] Neither am I of the opinion ... that superstitious Narrations ... be altogether excluded

Neque vero praecooperim, ut ex historia ista mirabilium superstitosae narrationes, prorsus excludantur.

Other nouns derived from verbs taking a clause as their object in this way are DISTRUST

7.697 [B 1.23v] Another Error ... is a distrust that any thing should bee now to bee found out ...

Alius error ... est suspicio quaedam, et diffidentia, quae nihil nunc posse inveniri autumat

and HOPE

7.698 [C XXII] Howsoever it be I wold we were well rid of this brunt, in hope we should be better provided hereafter not to be thus taken tarde on the sodain.

though here SHOULD is presumably from SHALL by sequence of tenses.

After verbs which clearly belong to this category the subjunctive sometimes occurs.

SUSPECT

7.699 [C XLIX] which makes me suspect that either mine be miscarried ...

and perhaps the following examples after THINK

7.700 [C III] Your Sister Alice hath lien at your brother Williams in the country ever since St Georges day, but I thincke she be now with her Lady, for so she told me foure days ago when I saw her last.
7. Subordination  8. Noun Clauses

7.701 [C XLIII] I looked for your brother yesternight, and I thincke he be a burgesse.

At this point, this construction shades into the construction for reported, hearsay news.

Noun Clauses Reporting News

The subjunctive is unusual. The only example in the corpus is

7.702 [C II] Dr Harbert and his train are not yet come to towne but I heare they be in England.

Even here, this may be an indicative use of BE.

SHOULD in Clauses Reporting News:

It is not surprising perhaps since he is writing news-letters, that almost every example comes from the Chamberlaine corpus.

Such news is often reported in clauses with indicative verbs, but Chamberlaine uses SHOULD in such clauses commonly. This use of SHOULD is given in the OED article SHALL.

15 Forming with the inf. a substitute for the Pa. t. indic. (or, with perf. inf, for the pluperf.) in the oblique report of another's statement in order to imply that the speaker does not commit himself to the truth of the alleged fact. (The perf. inf. was often substituted for the pres. inf. merely in order to express the notion of past time more unambiguously.) Obs. exc. dial.

The quotations run from Aelfred's Boethius to the eighteenth century with some nineteenth century dialect examples.

Certainly very unsure news, to which the speaker does not commit himself is sometimes reported in the indicative.

7.703 [C LVI] Yesterday here was a running report that the Frenche kinge was slaine by a friar ... in lesse then three houres it was all over the towne; but this day yt cooles again, and we cannot learne how yt should rise.

See also 7.705, 7.707, 7.718, 7.722.

I here separate out; those uses where the reported news has a future reference, and may be due to a tense shift of an original report containing SHALL; those uses where the SHOULD-Clause is present in
reference, but where there appears to be no special contextual sense of
the uncertainty of the report; and finally those uses where such
uncertainty is present contextually.

SHOULD with future reference in the news reported, and in present
sequence of tenses:

7.704 [C V] but that course is altered and now they talke that Sir W.
Raleigh and Sir George Carew shall undertake yt.

7.705 [C XXXIV] There is a speach that the king of Spaine is sickly
and unlike to have children, and that the archduke shall go into Spaine. The Duke of Savoyes two eldest sonnes are sent
therethere already to be brought up.

Here the future reference of 'the Archduke should go into Spaine' seem clear from the following sentence. It is unlikely that Chamberlaine is
deliberately distinguishing between the credence he gives to 'the king
of Spain is sickly' and the Archduke's going to Spain, since they both
constitute what is essentially a single piece of news.

Similarly with a preterite sequence of tenses:

7.706 [C XXXIX] Your frends have not ben unmindfull of you, for upon
the first bruit that Mr Cecill shall go ambassador ligger
into Fraunce, your cousen Lytton was with him to make your way;

7.707 [C XXIX] There came a large packet this day out of Ireland the
contents whereof are not yet come abrode; but yt was saide
before that the Lord Deputie was gon towards Tiron to kepe him
occupied whiles Sir Harry Docwray shall plant himselfe at
Lough Foile, where Odonell and Ore Orgh are redy with forces to
withstand him.

Since Chamberlaine switches in reporting a connected group of events
from indicative to clauses with SHOULD, in an apparently casual way, it
is not clear that the report put the Lord Deputy's journey in the past
and Sir Harry Docwray's in the future. But the final clause makes it
most likely I think that the report was in the form 'Sir Harry Docwray
shall plant himself ...' .

7.708 [C XLVII] I heard a soverain peece of newes yesterday that wold
mend all yf yt prove true, that when this Lord Deputie comes out
of Ireland, Sir Edl Norris shall go in his place;
7. Subordination  8. Noun Clauses

SHOULD with present reference in clauses of reported news, without contextual suggestions of falsehood:

7.709 [C IX] I heare that Sir Walter Raleigh should be so deeply discontented because he thrives no better, that he is not far from making that way himself.

7.710 [C XXXIX] I heare that Sir Ed: Norris should be daungerously sicke.

7.711 [C L] Here is speach that the plague should be in Ostend.

SHOULD in apparently present perfect reference in a clause of reported news:

7.712 [C XIX] And this morning I heard there should a fregate arrive there lately that brought some man of great account (as shold seme by his traine) who took poste from thence to Brussells.

Assuming that the most likely direct form for this news to be 'A frigate has arrived there lately'. It may be noted that without the adverb, the time reference in the clause would be obscure.

7.713 [C XXX] Yt is reported underhand that the Lordes of Delvin and Louth are gon into rebellion and carried a great part of the Pale with them, wherupon the Lord Deputie should be come backe from the Newry towards Dublin.

It seems unlikely that Chamberlaine would here be attempting to mark distinct degrees of credence to the reports of the rebellion and of the Lord Deputy's reaction to it.

7.714 [C XXXV] Here is no forrain newes at all, but a sayeng that Ostend should be besieged, and two forts built upon the water to take away the haven, and that Grave Maurice should give great wordes that he will visite Flaunders once more, and venture to relieve yt.

7.715 [C XLI] We have likewise much talke of one Dethicke ... that should come thence into Scotland with intent to kill the kinge.

7.716 [C LIV] Here is speach that a Dunkirker should be cast away on the coast of Norway, as he lay waiting for some straglers of our Moscovie fleet.
SHOULD in preterite reference in a clause of reported news:

7.717 [M 8A] I haue heard that he hauing been formerly Lord Deputy, when he returned and sued for recompence of his service, a great Lord SHOULD answer him, that such imployments were preferments, and not services to challenge reward:

This is the only use of SHOULD in reported news in the corpus outside Chamberlaine.

7.718 [C II] The marchants have newes that the Emperor of Moscovie died in January last and that his wyfes brother that was elected after him should be murthered before his coronation, whereupon there is great confusion in those parts.

SHOULD in a clause of reported news between two reported clauses in the indicative, the events to which they refer closely linked:

7.719 [C XXXVI] We heare out of Poland that the chauncellor with an army of 20000 choise men should be caesus ad internecionem by the Vaivode of Walachia, and not above eight escaped of all that number.

SHOULD HAVE:

7.720 [C 123b] Here hath ben much speach, and among the great ones, that the Mareshall Biron should have committed a fowle outrage, and slaine a president;

There seems no reason why SHOULD HAVE is used here, since future or obligatory senses of SHOULD are hardly possible.

SHOULD in clauses of reported news, with contextual indications that the speaker thinks the news probably false:

7.721 [C XVIII] Some geve out that Sir William Woodhouse should be likewise hurt in the face and in the hande but I thincke it is rather given out to move pitie then otherwise.

7.722 [C XXIII] Out of Ireland we have uncertain reportes of divers feates don, as that the Lord Cromwell hath overthrown 6000 of Tirones companie ... that Captaine Masterson and Sir Fra: Darcy should be slaine: that there should be a new supplie of eight or ten knights made.

7.723 [C XXIV] Here was newes a while that Sir Thomas Norris and Sir Harry should be both dead of theyre hurts.

7.724 [C XXVI] ... whatsoever other errand he may have in secret: some geve out yt should be the Duke of Mayen ... but I thincke yt very unlikely.
7.725 [C XXVII] Here is a flieng tale that he s h o l d be dead, but no man geves eare to yt.

7.726 [C XXXIII] The fable that Sebastian king of Portugall s h o l d be alive is revived, and as freshly talked and beleved in the exchaunge as ever it was.

7.727 [C XXXVI] Here is a whispering that Don Sebastian the revived king of Portugall s h o l d be secretly at the Coort, but credat Judaeus Apella.

Without verb of hearsay of report:

7.728 [C II] Here be certain apprehended for a conspiracie against the Queens person and my Lord of Essex, wherof one s h o l d be a Scottishman or somewhat that way;

Here a distinction is apparently made between certain information (BE here cannot be subjunctive but a variant of ARE) - the arrest of the conspirators, and doubtful report about the identity of one of them 'one should be a Scottishman'.

SHOULD HAVE:

7.729 [C XL] We understand litle of what the campes do at Berke and at Ostend, only yt is saide Sir Fra; Vere s h o l d h a v e put himself into Ostend, which I do not easilie beleve, no more then I did a flienge report was current here awhile, that at a banquet in the Low Countries the erIe of Northumberland had stroken him.

7.730 [C LI] but our heat is much abated since we heare no more of a great blow they s h o l d h a v e geven to the Archduke;

In both these examples HAVE is necessary to indicate that the news is of a supposed past and not of a supposed future event.

SHOULD in Questions

The two following quotations illustrate this use of SHOULD.

7.731 [FM 146c] why s h o l d wee not thinke as much of them? Pourquoi n'en estimons nous autant d'eux?

There is nothing in the French to account for SHOULD in the English and a Pä version [Frame, 1948] has 'Why do we not think the same thing of them?'

7.732 [FM 157a] And how s h o l d he have the knowledge, that such a path would be broade inough for him, but not for a blind man?
& comment avoit il la cognoissance que tel chemin luy estoit bien assez large, qui ne le seroit pas pour un aveugle?

[Frame: And how did he know that a given road was quite broad enough for himself, which would not be so for a blind man?]

The OED describes this use of SHOULD in Meaning 23 of the article on SHALL:

23. In special interrogative uses. a. In questions introduced by why (or equivalent word), implying the speaker's inability to conceive any reason or justification for something actual or contemplated, or any ground for believing something to be a fact.

b. In questions introduced by how, implying that the speaker regards something as impossible or inadmissible.

Other examples of SHOULD in questions with WHY:

7.733 [LS 7.4] And why should they not preferre the same? Quidni praeferant?

7.734 [LS 10.4] Why should thou not oftentimes make these vowes vnto him? Quidni tu ista vota saepe facias?

7.735 [LS 15.11] But that which the incertaine fate of future time carrieth with itselfe, why should I rather intreat fortune to bestowe vpon me, or my selfe not to demand the same? And why in demanding the same should I forget the frailtie of mankinde?

Quod futuri temporis incerta sors voluit, quare potius a fortuna impetrar, ut det, quam a me, ne petam? Quare autem petam, oblitus fragilitatis humanae?

7.736 [B 2.1v] For why should a few receiued Authors stand vp like Hercules Columns, Quousque enim tandem pauculos aliquos scriptores statuemus nobis, tanquam Columnas Herculis,

7.737 [B 2.21r] why, in al Diuersities of things, there should bee certaine Participles in Nature, which are almost ambiguous, to which kinde they should bee referred? Cur, quasi perpetuo inter species diversas, interponantur participia quaedam quae sunt speciei ambiguae.

SHOULD in questions with HOW:

7.738 [H 51B] That law ... how should either men or Angels be able perfectly to behold?

7.739 [H 73C] men of common capacity & but ordinary judgement are not able (for how should they?) to discerne what things are fittest for each kind and state of regiment.
Jespersen in *A Modern English Grammar* treats this usage under the title of 'Emotional SHOULD' which he describes as follows.

Should is very often used in passing a judgement of an emotional character (agreeable or disagreeable surprise, indignation, joy) on some occurrence; whether this is a fact (something which is happening or has happened) is neither indicated nor denied by the form of the expression, but is left to be concluded from the context or situation; as a matter of fact this mode of expression is of frequent occurrence in giving one's opinion of an actual fact (especially with should have done, etc).

He begins with questions such as we have illustrated from the corpus and then passes on to what he calls 'content clauses' where he gives two Shakespearean quotations,

*it is not meet that I should be sad now my father is sick*

*’Tis strange that they should so depart from home And not send back by messengers.*

and also lists examples for noun clauses with SHOULD that stand alone as exclamations *That it should come to this.*

Jespersen's Emotional SHOULD appears then to be the noun-clause SHOULD, which marks the subordination of the clause in which it appears. The emotional colour comes from the fact that such clauses appear in sentences in which something is said about them, some modality is imposed on them, or they are the condition to which some emotional state is said to be due. Sometimes as with Hamlet's 'That it should come to this' it is enough to mark the subordination; the superordinate clause can be left to be understood. But such usage is bound to be dramatic and it is not surprising that sentences of this sort do not appear in the corpus. The questions in WHY and HOW however can be explained in the same way. Thus 7.731 might appear as

*That we should not think as much of them!*
meaning 'I marvel that' or 'I am appalled that we should not think as much of them!' WHY here stands for the superordinate clause 'What justification can we possibly bring for the fact that ...'

So with 7.732 'That he should have the knowledge!' for 'It is amazing that he should have the knowledge'. With HOW, 'By what means or process could it come about that he should have the knowledge ...'

There is one example from the corpus with an indirect question which illustrates how a subordinate SHOULD-clause is embedded in these sentences,

7.741 [HL 41D] and wondering how it came to passe, that Brutus should of a suddaine be so changed ... stupentibus ... unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium.

from which we might derive, 'and wondering how Brutus should be so changed' or indeed a question in the form 'How should Brutus be so changed?'

In the corpus these indirect questions with SHOULD are more frequent than direct questions, though often as in 7.742, 7.743 below, the indirect question is only a rhetorical elaboration of the direct.

7.742 [LS 3.3] What is the cause therefore, why I should conceal any thing from my friend?

Quid est ergo quare ego ulla verba coram amico meo retraham?

Lodge follows the Latin, but essentially this is the same as 'Why should I conceal anything from my friend?'

7.743 [FM 248d] I know not why I should or might not, as soone, and as easie accept ... Platos Ideas ... as I should of Aristotles conceit ...

Je ne scay pas pourquoi je n'acceptasse autant volontiers les idées de Platon ... que je feroy l'opinion d'Aristote ...

'Why should I not as soon ...'

7.744 [C XVIII] Here hath ben much descanting about it, why such a stone should come out at this time.
Indirect Questions with HOW or Equivalent:

7.745 [C XII] Many men muse how the Quene being discharged of the burthen of the Lowe Countries, and having no other charge but Ireland should be driven to these straights.

7.746 [C LVI] I never knew any newes spread so sodainly; for in lesse then three howres it was all over the towne: but this day it cooles again, and we cannot learne how it should rise.

7.747 [H 67D] If then it be heere demaunded, by what meanes it should come to passe that so many thousands of men notwithstanding have bene ignorant ... I denie not ...

'How should it come to pass that ...' and 'how should so many thousands have been ignorant'.

Also in Indirect Questions not introduced by WHY or HOW:

7.748 [LS 10.5] judge then if this precept should not be profitable;

vide ergo, ne hoc praecipi salubriter possit

'Should not this precept be profitable?'

7.749 [C LVI] the Quenes ship that caried them, ... met with a huge number of whales ... here is much descanting what they should portend more then the tempest that followed.

'What should it portend?' as a stronger form of 'What does it portend' although here and in 7.748 there is a possibility that SHOULD includes SHALL, 'What shall it portend ...?'

In the following examples of SHOULD in Indirect Questions, SHOULD is derived from SHALL in the underlying question.

7.750 [HL 12L] In this meane while the Senatours fell to strive who should be king; and the desire of soveraigntie troubled much and perplexed their minds.

Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupidio versabat.

7.751 [HL 39F] The yong men ... were very desirous and earnest to inquiere and learne of the Oracle, which of them should be king of Rome.

cupido incessit animos iuvenum sciscitandi ad quem eorum regnum Romanorum esset venturum

7.752 [HL 40C] They themselves agreed upon this together, to draw lots whether of them twaine ... should first kisse his mother.

ipsi inter se uter prior ... matri osculum daret, sorti permittunt
7.753 [FM 150e] But it would be known, what language such a child spake:
   Mais cela est à savoir quel langage parleroit cet enfant;

7.754 [M 14A] It was in Council debated, whether Tyrone should be stayed to answer hereunto; and the Lord Deputy was of opinion he should be stayed:

7.755 [M 70A] a question being once made, whether he should have that authority or no, because he had abused it before.

7.756 [C XXIX] Your brother Carleton and I met here the first day of the terme, but I had no leisure to ask how long we should enjoy him.

7.757 [C XXX] but he could not tell when the day should hold.

Indirect Questions are often found with subjunctive tenses:

Present Subjunctive:

7.758 [B 1.37r] Observe then the speech hee vsed of Diogenes, and see if it tend not to the true state of one of the greatest questions of moral Philosophy;
   observetur primo Alexandri apophthegma circa Diogenem et adverte (si placet) si forte non unam ex gravissimis quaestionibus moralis philosophiae constituat.

7.759 [FM 131e] This solemne proposition; Whether it be lawfull for a subject, for the defence of religion, to rebell and take armes against his Prince;
   Cette proposition si solenne; S'il est permis au sujet de se rebeller & armer contre son prince pour la defance de la religion.

7.760 [FM 138c] Let us then see whether man hath any other stronger reasons in his power, then Sebondes, and whether it lie in him, by argument or discourse, to come to any certainty.
   Voyons donq si l'homme a en sa puissance d'autres raisons plus fortes que celles de Sebond, voire s'il est en luy d'arriver à aucune certitude par argument et par discours.

7.761 [FM 142e] When I am playing with my Cat, who knowes whether she have more sport in dallying with me, than I have in gaming with her?
   Quand je me joue a ma chate, qui scait si elle passe son temps de moi plus que je ne foy d'elle.

7.762 [M Eliz. 41B] and thereupon to send Vs over in writing, a true declaration of the State to which you have brought our Kingdome, and what be the effects which this iourny hath produced.

7.763 [C XVIII] upon which points and some others he is so little satisfied that many times he makes it a question whether he go or not.
7. Subordination 8. Noun Clauses

Preterite Subjunctive:

7.764 [IS 9.19] He compelled him to doubt, whether he were a conqueror, or no.
Dubitare illum coegit, an vicisset.

7.765 [HL 11A] But it is not left in any record ... whether those that should give the names unto the wards, were chosen by age.
Id non traditur ... aetate ... lectae sint, quae nomina curiis darent.

7.766 [B 1.37v] Observe again that speech ... & see if it were not a speech extracted out of the depth of naturall Philsophie
Quod sane dictum ex intima naturali philosophia depromptum est.

7.767 [C VI] among the rest the earle of Essex, who (whether yt were upon consideration of the present occasion or for his owne disfavours) me thought carried the heaviest countenaunce of the companie;
(taking the clause introduced by WHETHER as an indirect question, dependent upon an understood main clause such as 'I do not know')

7.768 [C XIII] but whether yt were this or some other matter all is turned upside downe.

7.769 [C XXV] I know not whether Mr Edmunds were returned before you went;
SHOULD is common in questions which are the apodoses of conditional sentences or the equivalents.

7.770 [IS 14.15] how much more at hand should his danger be ... who cannot assure himselfe, no, not his solitude.
Quanto huic periculum paratius foret ... cui ne otium quidem tutum est.

If he cannot assure his solitude, how much more should ...

7.771 [B 2.40r] If it befall to me, as befalleth to the fooles, why should I labour to be more wise?
Si unus et stulti et meis eventus erit, quid mihi prodest, quod maiorem sapientiae dedi operam.

7.772 [FM 216a] And if it were not so taken, how should we cloke so great an inconstancie ...?
Et, si on ne le prenoit ainsi, comme couvriions nous une si grande inconstance ...?

7.773 [FM 244e] Why will not nature one day be pleased to open her bosome to us, and make us perfectly see the meanes and conduct of her motions, and enable our eyes to judge of them? Oh good God, what abuses, and what distractions should we find in our poore understanding, and weak knowledge!
7. Subordination  8. Noun Clauses

Que ne plaist-il un jour à nature nous ouvrir son sein & nous faire voir au propre les moëns & la conduicte de ses mouvements, et y préparer nos yeus! O Dieu! quels abus, quels mescontes nous trouverions en nostre pauvre science:

If she did open her bosom, what abuses ... should we find.

7.774 [H 59C] Seeing then that nothing can moue vnlesse there be some ende, the desire whereof prouoketh vnto motion, how should that divine power of the soule ... euer stir it selfe vnto action, vnlesse it haue also the like spurre?

7.775 [H 65D] how should I looke to haue any part of my desire herein satisfiéd, vnlesse my selfe be carefull to satisfie the like desire, which is vndoubtedly in other men.

7.776 [H 80B] It is not in our power not to do the same: how should it then be in our power to doe it coldly or remisly?

If it is not in our power ... how should it be in our power ...

7.777 [H 83E] how should our festered sores be cured, but that God hath deliuered a law as sharpe as the two edged sword ...?

If God had not delivered a law as sharp as the two edged sword, how should our festered sores be cured?

It is the use of SHOULD in the interrogative apodosis of conditions of this kind, with the equivalent of the protasis introduced by BUT which may give rise to what the OED classifies as a separate use of SHALL/SHOULD.

17. In questions introduced by who, whom, what and followed by BUT, serving to express the unexpectedness of some past occurrence.

citing a first use from Bishop Hall, 1629 'who should come ruffling by him, but ... Haman'. The underlying structure is 'who is it that should come ruffling by him but (it is) Haman' equivalent to the conditional 'If it is not Haman, then who is it that should come ruffling by'. Compare PE use of the isolated protasis 'If it isn't my old friend Tom!' to express the unexpectedness of some present encounter.
Noun Clauses introduced by THAN

Clauses introduced by THAN have Preterite Subjunctive or SHOULD.

Preterite Subjunctive:

7.778 [B 2.27v] Noe more then it were either possible or to purpose.

quamadmodum enim nec facile esset, nec ullo modo utile,

7.779 [H 59A] Againe because the curiositie of mans wit, doth many times with perill wade farther in search of thinges, then were conuenient:

SHOULD:

7.780 [B 2.32v] For it is a thing more probable, that he ... may superinduce upon some Mettall the Nature, and forme of Gold ... then that some graynes of the Medecine projected should in a fewe Moments of time, turn a Sea of Quicksilver ... into Gold.

Attamen longe verisimilius est ab homine, ... posse aurum ... produci; quam quod paucA elixiris grana, paucis momentis, alia metalla in aurum vertere valeant.

7.781 [FM 183c] leave me rather then thou shouldst place me under the shape and bodie of an Asse.

laisse moy la, plutost que de me loger sous la figure & corps d'un asne.

7.782 [D 30] If Yarmoth men come not in the meane tyme for it, and if they do not then it were not anyss to sende a fortye wayes or more in twoo severall ships rather then it should ly and wayst all this wynter and set my people idle.
CHAPTER 8

SOME USES OF THE MODAL VERBS IN SHAKESPEARE

Section 1 - Introduction
Section 2 - Modals in Rhetorical Patterns and Series
Section 3 - Modals as Nouns
Section 4 - Modals used Pleonastically
Section 5 - Modals with Direct Objects
Section 6 - WILL and SHALL
Section 7 - CAN and MAY
Section 8 - CANNOT BUT
Section 9 - MUST
Section 10 - NEED
Section 11 - DARE
Section 12 - OUGHT
Section 13 - Preterite Forms: WOULD and SHOULD
Section 14 - Modal Forms with HAVE
Section 15 - Epistemic Uses
Section 16 - Purpose and Result Clauses
Section 17 - Conditionals
Section 18 - SHOULD in Questions
The study of modal verb usage in the eight texts which make up the corpus has been completed in the five chapters from 3 to 7. This work on the modal verbs in English around the year 1600 had its origin in a study of the more frequent modals, WILL/WOULD, SHALL/SHOULD, CAN/COULD, MAY/MIGHT and MUST in Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing* [Reed 1975] and the present work was originally undertaken as a wider study of modal usage in Shakespeare compared with the more general, especially the non-dramatic, usage of his time. This proved too extensive for the detailed treatment which was required and the plan was eventually changed to that outlined in Chapter 1. However a good deal of Shakespearean material had been gathered and in certain areas it seemed to throw useful light on what was discovered from the corpus. Shakespeare's use of OUGHT in relation to its distribution in the corpus is an example of this. During the course of planning the presentation of material it was decided that the Shakespearean illustrations could most conveniently be arranged as a separate chapter.

The material in this chapter has been set out so as to correspond with the ordering of Chapters 3 to 7. Obviously it is not a corpus study based on the entire works of Shakespeare and it makes no claim to be a general study of the modal verbs in Shakespeare or a fragment of Shakespearean grammar in its own right. Its purpose is to draw attention to places where Shakespearean usage corresponds to or differs from that found in the corpus and so to give an additional dimension to that corpus study.

The corpus, as explained in Chapter 1, was selected to exclude imaginative literature entirely and stands in contrast to the works of Shakespeare as a source of material for the study of the English in use around the year 1600. However the contrast is not a simple one, for the
corpus was selected deliberately to include as wide a range of non-
imaginative writing as possible, from highly wrought philosophical
texts to hastily composed family business letters; and Shakespeare's
work although in one sense a unity and showing certain kinds of
linguistic homogeneity, is certainly not all of a piece. For the
present purpose it is sufficient to draw attention to two characteristics
present in Shakespeare which are absent from the corpus by its very
nature. The first is verse, both metre and rhyme; in verse the details
of syntactic usage will sometimes be influenced by the requirements of
metre and rhyme. In rhyme it may sometimes be possible to determine
with some confidence what its influence has been; for example MAY used
instead of CAN to furnish a rhyme. But that the poet has used one form
rather than another, say SHOULD rather than the subjunctive in a noun
clause, for metrical reasons can almost never be confidently asserted,
since adjustments to the expression elsewhere in the line could always
accommodate the rejected form. However it does seem inherently likely
that verse writers keep available a wider range of alternative forms in
syntax as well as in lexis, than prose writers. The second character-
istic of the Shakespearean text absent from the corpus is mimesis, as
this affects usage. The language of the writers in the corpus is their
own language in that presumably we can assume that except for slips of
the pen we do not find uses, expressions or constructions of which they
do not approve or which they regard as improper. In Shakespeare we do
find such language sometimes, where the speech of a dramatic person is
being satirized. Since such satire in order to work in the play must
be based on features recognizable by the audience, it may enable us to
reach some areas of usage in eModE from which we are cut off if we base
ourselves entirely on writers who are not mimetic in this particular
way.
The present chapter begins with brief sets of quotations to illustrate occasions when the modal verbs feature prominently in the poetic or rhetorical patterning in Shakespeare, and when they are quoted as nouns (Sections 2 and 3). The pleonastical use of modals, something touched on only incidentally in the corpus is treated as it occurs in Shakespeare in Section 4. Section 5 deals with modals taking nouns as direct objects. The discussion of WILL and SHALL, CAN and MAY in Chapters 3 and 4 is illustrated from Shakespeare in Sections 6 to 8. The rarer modals NEED and DARE are given a much fuller treatment in Sections 10 and 11 and although the illustration by examples is selective, a complete picture of the variety of constructions to be found with these two verbs, in their modal and non-modal forms is given. For OUGHT a complete set of Shakespeare examples is presented in Section 12. The remaining sections take up and illustrate from Shakespeare some of the topics treated in Chapter 6 on the modal conjugation and Chapter 7, the modals in subordination.

The abbreviations for the play titles, the act, scene and line references are as in Spevack [1968-70]. The spelling and punctuation of the quotations is that of the First Folio except for Pericles where the First Quarto is used and for those cases where a quarto text is mentioned. Since the quotations are usually short modal words are not italicized.
SECTION 2 - MODAL VERBS IN RHETORICAL PATTERNS AND SERIES

Although Elizabethan grammarians do not place the verbs which
more recent grammar designates modal in a separate category, the rela-
tionship obtaining between these verbs is sometimes employed in the
patterns of repetition and variation which occur in poetic rhetoric.

The best example in Shakespeare is

8.1 [JN 3 01 333] BLANCH
Husband, I cannot pray that thou maist winne:
Uncle, I needs must pray that thou maist lose:
Father, I may not wish the fortune thine:
Grandam, I will not wish thy wishes thrive:
Who-ever wins, on that side shall I lose.

More dramatic and less rhetorical is movement along a modal series,
from possibility or ability, to obligation, and from obligation to the
guarantee of accomplishment carried by WILL or SHALL

8.2 [ROM 4 01 20] PARIS
Happily met, by Lady and my wife.
JULIET
That may be sir, when I may be a wife
PARIS
That may be must be, Love, on Thursday next
JULIET
What must be shall be
FRIAR
That's a certaine text.

Essentially the same sequence, with CAN, MUST and WILL occurs with a
much less artificial progression in

8.3 [COR 3 02 97] COMENIUS
I think 'twill serve, if he can thereto frame his spirit
VOLUMNIA

He must and will;
Prythee now say you will and goe about it

The latter part of this sequence, the association of MUST and SHALL is
common.

8.4 [3H6 1 01 05] K HENRY
And shall I stand, and thou sit on my throne.
YORK

It must and shall be so, content thy selfe

Or with MUST and WILL especially in the first person.
8.5 [SHR 2 01 280] PETRUCHIO
I must, and will have Katherine to my wife.

8.6 [1H4 1 02 95] FALSTAFF
I must give over this life, and I will give it over.

A different modal sequence is found in

8.7 [LR 2 04 43] LEAR
They durst not do't:
They could not, would not do't: 'tis worse than murder.

CANNOT or MAY NOT and MUST sometimes balance a line,

8.8 [WIV 5 05 237] PAGE
What cannot be eschew'd, must be embrac'd

8.9 [COR 5 02 5] 1 GUARD
You may not passe, you must returne:

and the relation between MUST and NEED is brought out in

8.10 [COR 1 01 44] 2 CITIZEN
... You must in no way say he is covetous
1 CITIZEN

If I must not, I need not be barren in Accusations.

SECTION 3 - MODALS AS NOUNS

Unlike other verbs modal verbs cannot form verbal nouns in -ING; have no infinitives; apart from WILL and NEED, modal verbs have no related nouns identical in form. Shakespeare has nonce uses of some modals as nouns, where the noun refers to the utterance of the modal verb, and through that to the attitude of mind, the 'inclinatio animi' that lies behind the utterance.

8.11 [HAM 4 07 118] CLAUDIUS
that we would doe
We should doe when we would: for this would changes
And hath abatements and delays as many,
As there are tongues, are hands, are accidents
... And then this should is like a spend thrifts sigh
That hurts by easing;

Here 'this would' stands for the uttering of 'I would' and so to the state of mind that accompanies this utterance, according to Claudius, essentially unstable. 'This should' is the utterance of 'I should' in
the sense of obligation, when, as often, the statement of the obligation becomes a substitute for carrying it out.

Another example of this quotation of modals in Shakespeare may have its origin in common speech.

8.12 [TRO 1 01 114] AENEAS
Harke what good sport is out of Towne to day
TROILUS
Better at home, if would I might were may:

'Would I might' might itself occur as a complete utterance, the wish that something were possible. 'May' here I take it stands for 'I may' in the sense 'I am permitted to'. So 'If wishing for an opportunity were the same thing as having an opportunity'.

The attitude of mind is summed up in the utterance of the modal word. This association between uttered word and attitude of mind is illustrated in the following quotation, though there is no actual use of the modal as a noun.

8.13 [TIT 1 01 359] MARCUS
He must be burned with his bretheren
Titus two sonnes speakes
And shall, or him we will accompany
TITUS
And shall: What villaine was it spake that word?
Titus sonne speaks
He that would vouch'd it in any place but heere.

Unlike WOULD and SHOULD, WOULD I MIGHT and probably MAY (though a second person utterance is possible here) the attitude of mind behind SHALL belongs to utterances in the second and third persons.

8.14 [COR 3 01 87] CORIOLANUS
Choller? Were I as patient as the midnight sleep,
By love, 'twould be my minde.
SICINIUS
It is a minde that shall remain a poison
Where it is: not poyson any further.
CORIOLANUS
Shall remaine?
Heare you this Triton of the Minnoues? Marke you
His absolute Shall?
COMINIUS
'Twas from the Cannon.
CORIOLANUS

Shall? 0 God! but most unwise Patricians; why
You grave, but wreaklesse Senators, have you thus
Given Hidra heere to choose an Officer
That with his peremptory Shall, being but
The horne, and noise o' th' Monsters, wants not spirit
To say, hee'1 turne your Current in a ditch,
And make your Channell his? If he have power,
Then vale your Ignorance: If none, awake
Your dangerous Lenity: If you are Learn'd,
Be not as common Fooles, if you are not,
Let them have Cushions by you. You are Plebeians,
If they be Senators: and they are no lesse,
When both your voices blended, the great'st taste
Most palliates theirs. They choose their Magistrate,
And such a one as he, who puts his Shall,
His popular Shall, against a graver Bench
That ever frown'd in Greece.

The outrageousness of SHALL, which betokens that mind that ordains, when
uttered by a social inferior or even perhaps among equals, is surely
related to its virtual disappearance from colloquial PE except in the
first person, and its use in the first person as will be suggested in
the concluding chapter, is as much a matter of social tact as its
avoidance in the other persons.

SECTION 4 - MODALS USED PLEONASTICALLY

Modals are used pleonastically when the modal meaning is repeated
in the complement to the modal verb. The most obvious example is the
use of CAN with its paraphrase BE ABLE.

8.15 [WT 5 02 25] GENT 2
Such a deale of wonder is broken out within this houre, that
Ballad-makers cannot be able to express it

8.16 [ANT 1 04 78] LEPIDUS
To morrow Caesar,
I shall be furnish't to informe you rightly
Both what by Sea and Land I can be able
To front this present time.

Here BE ABLE may be used to avoid a transitive use of CAN.

CAN and MAY are also used sometimes in questions with BE POSSIBLE
as a complement.
8. Shakespeare  4. Pleonastic Uses

8.17 [AYL 2 02 1] DUKE
Can it be possible that no man saw them?
It cannot be;

8.18 [H5 2 02 100] KING
May it be possible, that foraigne hyer
Coud out of these extract one sparke of evill
That might annoy my finger?

Here the sense of incredulity is rhetorically heightened by a threefold repetition of questioned possibility; BE POSSIBLE is also pleonastic, to strengthen the rhetorical question 'Could foreign hire extract ...?'

8.19 [JN 5 04 21] SALISBURY
May this be possible? May this be true?

Where it might seem that a distinction between the possibility of possibility and the possibility of realization is intended. It is to be observed that in all these examples there is no logical problem such as arises with the similar use of semantic repetition for emphasis in double negatives; to be able to be able is to be able; the possibility of a possibility is a possibility.

8.20 [CYM 2 04 115] PHILARIO
It may be probable she lost it; or
Who knowes if one of her women, being corrupted
Hath stolne it from her.

Pleonastic in the sense we have given the term if 'probable' is taken as equivalent to strong possibility, (It may well be ...) but not if it has the sense of 'to be believed'.

Also MUST with BE FORCED as complement (Corpus 5.208 - 5.210).

8.21 [SHR 3 02 8] KATE
No shame but mine,
I must, forsooth, be forst
To give my hand oppos'd against my heart
Unto a mad-braine rudesby

In certain contexts 'must be forced' would not be pleonastic, e.g. 'If he will not do it freely, he must be forced to do it'. But it seems clear that here the full sense is contained in either 'I must give my hand' or 'I am forced to give my hand'.

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SECTION 5 - MODAL VERBS WITH DIRECT OBJECTS

In Shakespeare almost all uses of modal verbs with a direct object can be explained as ellipsis of the verb. Thus

8.22 [R3 2 04 46] MESSENGER
The summe of all I can, I have disclos'd:
Why, or for what, the Nobles were committed,
is all unknowne to me, my gracious Lord.

Where 'all I can' may be read as 'all I know or have skill of' or 'all I can disclose'. So the ellipsis of DO (or with 8.25, MAKE) would enable us to interpret the following according to the strict modal pattern.

8.23 [2H6 3 02 120] QUEEN
Aye me, I can no more: Dye Elinor
For Henry weepes, that thou dost live so long

8.24 [TGV 2 04 165] VALENTINE
Pardon me, (Proteus) all I can is nothing
To her, whose worth, make other worthies nothing;

8.25 [TMP 4 01 27] FERDINAND
With such love, as 'tis now the murkiest den,
The most opportune place, the strongest suggestion,
Our worser Genius can, shall never melt
Mine honor into lust.

8.26 [TRO 4 05 117] DIOMEDE
You must no more.

The use of WOULD with a direct object can be seen as ellipsis of HAVE.

8.27 [2H6 2 03 17] GLOSTER
Mine eyes are full of teares, my heart of griefe.
Ah Humfrey, this dishonor in thine age,
Will bring thy head with sorrow to the ground.
I beseech your Maiestie give me leave to goe;
Sorrow would sol lace, and mine Age would ease.

It may be noticed here that the nouns following each use of WOULD are identical with cognate verbs, but if read as verbs give a sense which is inappropriate in voice, since the line is close in meaning to 'Sorrow would be sol aced and mine Age would be eased'.

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SECTION 6 - WILL AND SHALL

There is a detailed analysis of the use of WILL and SHALL in Much Ado About Nothing in Reed [1975, pp. 95-125]. Towards the end of Ehrman [1966] which is concerned with PE, American usage, there is a brief consideration of Shakespeare's use of WILL and SHALL. Below are her remarks on examples of this use.

8.28 [LEA 2 2 155] KENT
Pray do not Sir, I have watch'd and travail'd hard
Some time I shall sleepe out, the rest Ile whistle.

Of this example (by her numbered 87) Ehrman writes (p. 91) 'nothing at all can be seen to distinguish shall and will'. My own analysis of the usage of Shakespeare's time would find the distinction in the two lexical verbs: SLEEP is a verb of non-activity, and WHISTLE a verb of activity. Kent sees his immediate future in the stocks under two aspects, what will happen to him, and what he will do. Since in the line before he gives reasons for his fatigue, I think it suits the context to understand SLEEP here not as something he will deliberately induce to pass away the time, but something which will overtake him anyway. When he wakes from this sleep he will pass the time in a deliberate fashion by whistling, though of course this really means he will endure having nothing to do as best he can. The line in fact provides a particularly good example of the future made up of events and activities and of SHALL and WILL being selected in a 'future tense' according to the category of verb which follows them.

8.29, [MSD 1 2 100] QUINCE
and meet me in the palace wood, a mile without the Towne, by Moon-light, there we will rehearse: for if we meete in the Citie, we shalbe dog'd with company and our divises knowne.

Ehrman's example [88] p. 92. 'The confusion shows up clearly in [88] where the basic meanings of the two auxiliaries would seem to have been completely reversed'. Ehrman expects 'shall rehearse' as a kind of first
person order and 'will be dogged with company' as purely predictive. But the analysis of the eModE use suggested in Chapter 3 finds no difficulty here: 'will rehearse' is an intended activity, 'shall be dogged with company' an event expected (conditionally in this instance) to befall us.

8.30 [MAC 2 2 25] MACBETH
If you shall cleave to my consent, when 'tis, it shall make Honour for you.

Ehrman's example [89J 'in which the first shall is almost volitional; the second is predictive'. There is in the corpus a fairly frequent use of SHALL in protasis but it is uncommon in Shakespeare (there is no instance in Much Ado, see Reed [1975, Chapter 2, Section 5]). Probably it sounded rather formal and stilted here. Macbeth is talking to the men who are to murder Banquo and is shown as embarrassed by his dependence on such creatures. SHALL is employed to keep the phraseology at the furthest remove from the volitional. 'If you will cleave to my consent' in which WILL has its full volitional sense, 'if you are willing to' is a polite appeal, which Macbeth cannot bring himself to make. SHALL is equivalent to the present subjunctive 'If you cleave to my consent', but perhaps sounded more careful and distant, as if Macbeth were picking his words. The second SHALL of course, carries Macbeth's personal guarantee.

The following examples with WILL and SHALL used in close proximity suggest careful distinction is maintained.

8.31 [1H6 3 01 118] WINCHESTER
He shall submit, or I will never yeeld.

8.32 [2H6 2 03 24] KING
Henry will to himselfe Protector be,
And God shall be my hope, my stay, my guide

The king expresses his own determination to protect himself, and calls on God to be his hope, stay, guide.
8.33 [2H6 4 02 73] CADE
there shall bee no mony, all shall eate and drinke on my score, and I will apparrell them in one Livery

8.34 [2H4 5 01 4] SHALLOW
I will not excuse you: you shall not be excused. Excuse shall not be admitted, there is no excuse shall serve: you shall not be excus'd.

8.35 [H5 2 01 110] PISTOL
Ie live by Nymme, & Nymme shall live by me, is this not iust? For I shall Suttler be unto the Campe, and profits will accrue.

We might expect here 'I will Sut ler be ... and profits shall accrue'. This would express Pistol's determination to become sut ler and that profits should accrue to him. But Pistol is not here expressing an ambition but referring to something which is, or which he considers, as settled. And once he is acting as suttler, well, profits have a way of accruing.

8.36 [H5 4 03 49] KING
Old men forget; yet all shall be forgot: But hee'le remember, with advantages, What feats he did that day.

SHALL before a passive in future sense, WILL before 'remember', here of course in a deliberate and not involuntary sense.

8.37 [H5 4 04 13] PISTOL
Moy shall not serve, I will have fortie Moyes:

8.38 [JC 3 01 120] CASSIUS
I, every man away Brutus shall leade, and we will grace his heeles With the most boldest, and best hearts of Rome.

8.39 [ANT 2 07 110] ENOBARBUS
The while, Ile place you, then the Boy shall sing.

8.40 [TMP 3 02 41] STEPHANO
Kneele and repeate it, I will stand, and so shall Trinculo.

In the following, SHALL appears to be required by the subordinate clause.

8.41 [3H6 3 02 186] RICHARD
Ile drowne more Saylers then the Mermaid shall.

8.42 [2H4 5 05 79] FALSTAFF
I will be the man yet, that shall make you great.

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Conditionals, with WILL in protasis and SHALL in apodosis, both in the second person, a promise made to someone on condition that they want or are willing ...

8.46 [JH 3 02 30] RICHARD
You shall have foure, if you'le be rul'd by him.

8.47 [TIT 4 03 39] PUBLIUS
No my good Lord, but Pluto sends you word
If you will have revenge from hell, you shall.

8.48 [AYL 5 02 73] ROSALIND
For if you will be married to morrow, you shall: and to Rosalind if you will.

8.49 [WIV 2 02 254]
and last, as I am a gentleman, you shall if you will, enjoy Fords wife.

In the following example, SHALL before a verb of activity commands rather than promises.

8.50 [LLL 5 02 793] QUEEN
If for my Love (as there is no such cause)
You will do ought, this shall you do for me.

The following have the same conditional sense.

8.51 [MV 3 01 72] SHYLOCK
The villanie you teach me, I will execute, and it shall goe hard but I will better the instruction.

8.52 [PER 4 02 59] BAWD
He that will give most shal have her first, such a maydenhead were no cheape thing

If he is willing to give, (then) he shall have her first.
8.53 [TIT 1 01 278] BASSANIUS

Lord Titus by your leave, this Maide is mine

TITUS

How sir? Are you in earnest then my Lord?

BASSANIUS

I Noble Titus, and resolv'd withall,

To doe my selfe this reason, and this right.

MARCUS ANDRONICUS

Suum cuiquam, is our Romane Iustice.

This Prince in Iustice ceazeth but his owne.

LUCIUS

And that he will and shall, if Lucius live.

A good illustration of the two words, used here in the same person and
with the same complement understood. Lucius backs Bassanius's claim by
(a) stating Bassanius's intention to seize Lavinia as guaranteed of
fulfilment, (b) giving his personal guarantee for its fulfilment, condi-
tional on his not losing his life in the attempt.

WILL is also found in Shakespeare, as in Chamberlaine, with verbs
of non-activity and passives, where the full volitional sense is
impossible.

8.54 [2H6 1 01 163] CARDINAL BEAUFORT

I feare me Lords, for all this flattering glosse

He will be found a dangerous Protector.

Perhaps we can account for WILL here as an instance of semantics over-
riding grammatical considerations. The message Beaufort wishes to
convey is that Gloster will be a dangerous Protector, that is will
behave dangerously once he is Protector; 'be found' is in a way
bracketed '(as we shall find)', and WILL is the appropriate modal for
'He will be a dangerous Protector' because to Beaufort Gloster's future
behaviour is part either of his intention or character, not part of his
fate.

NEEDS with WILL beings out the full sense of 'be determined'

'insist on'. (Corpus 3.70 - 3.72.)

8.55 [2H6 4 08 22] CADE

And you base Pezants, do ye beleevve him, will you needs be hang'd
with your Pardons about your neckes?
8.66 [R3 3 01 141] YORK
What, will you goe unto the Tower, my Lord;
PRINCE
My Lord protector needs will have it so.

So Q; F omits NEEDS. The full meaning of WILL is in any case expected here before HAVE.

8.57 [ADO 1 01 200] BENEDICK
go to yfaith and thou wilt needs thrust thy necke into a yoke, wear the print of it, and sigh away sundaeles:

WOULD NEEDS, in Present Sense:

8.58 [WIV 3 03 87] ROBIN
here's Mistris Page at the doore, sweating, and blowing, and looking wilde and would needs speak with you presently

WOULD NEEDS, in Preterite Sense:

8.59 [H8 2 02 132] WOLSEY
He was a foole;
For he would needs be vertuous.

The following example, though it can be read as an extension of the sense 'insists on' to an inanimate subject, probably follows from the use of WILL even before a passive as a mere future. Effectively, WILL NEEDS and MUST NEEDS here fall together in meaning.

8.60 [HAM 4 05 3] GENTLEMAN
Shee is importunat,
Indeed distract, her moode will needes be pitied.

WILL/WOULD + BE + -ING, where the modal has the full sense of 'wanting to', usually of a persistant desire.

8.61 [ADO 1 01 116] BEATRICE
I wonder that you will still be talking, Signior Benedicke, no body markes you

8.62 [TGV 1 02 98] JULIA
Goe, get you gone, and let the papers lye;
You would be fingring them, to anger me.

8.63 [AYL 3 03 81] CLOWN
so man hath his desires, and as Pigeons bill, so wedlocke would be nibling

8.64 [AYL 4 01 90] ORLANDO
I take some ioy to say you are, because I would be talking of her.

The sense is close here to WOULD FAIN, which also occurs with BE + -ING.
8.65 [SHR 2 01 74] PETRUCHIO
Oh, Pardon me Signior Gremio,
I would fain be doing.

SECTION 7 - CAN AND MAY

The distinct senses, 'have power, ability' and 'have permission or opportunity' are found side by side in

8.66 [H8 PR.5] PROLOGUE
Those that can Pitty, heere
May (if they thinke it well) let fall a Teare
The subject will deserve it.

CANNOT and MAY are found paired, as negative and non-negative in the same sense in

8.67 [MND 2 01 241] HELENA
We cannot fight for love, as men may doe;

CAN in Pseudo-Negative Clauses:

HARDLY (Corpus 4.4):

8.68 [2H4 5 05 76] SHALLOW
I mary Sir John, which I beseech you to let me have home with me.
FALSTAFF
That can hardly be, Master Shallow.

BUT:

8.69 [1H4 4 01 13] HOTSPUR
Do so, and 'tis well. What Letters hast there?
I can but thanke you.

8.70 [2H4 3 02 234] FEEBLE
I care not. A man can die but once: wee owe God a death.

8.71 [MM 4 01 44] ISABELLA
No, none but onely a repaire ith' darke,
And that I have possessed him my most stay
Can be but brief.

8.72 [ANT 4 14 27] MARDIAN
Death of one person, can be paide but once,

CAN in Clauses after a Comparative and THAN (Corpus 4.14 - 4.16):

8.73 [JN 2 01 446] HUBERT
This Union shall do more than batterie can
To our fast closed gates:
8.74 [MND 1 01 103] LYSANDER
And (which is more than all these boasts can be)
I am belov'd of beauteous Hermia.

8.75 [WT 3 02 36] HERMIONE
As I am now unhappe, which is more
Then Historie can patterne,

8.76 [H8 3 02 274] WOLSEY
You have as little Honestie, as Honor
That in the way of Loyaltie, and Truth.
Towards the King, my ever Roiall Master,
Dare mate a sounder man then Surrey can be,
And all that love his follies.

8.77 [H8 1 03 28] LOVELL
Abusing better men then they can be
Out of a forreigne wisedome.

But the following examples (all from early plays) have MAY:

8.78 [1H6 1 01 40] WINCHESTER
Thy Wife is proud, she holdeth thee in awe
More then God or Religious Churchmen may.

8.79 [1H6 2 03 69] COUNTESS
I find thou art no lesse then Fame hath bruited
And more then may be gathered by thy shape.

8.80 [TIT 3 01 243] MARCUS
These miseries are more then may be borne.

CAN in Clauses dependant upon a Superlative (Corpus 4.21 - 4.22):

8.81 [3H6 4 01 128] KING EDWARD
Yet am I arm'd against the worst can happen:

8.82 [1H4 5 02 94] HOTS PUR
And heere I draw a Sword
Whose worthy temper I intend to staine
With the best blood that I can meete withal
In the adventure of this perillous day.

CAN in Clauses introduced by AS + Adjective + AS (Corpus 4.24 - 4.28):

8.83 [SHR 4 03 37] HORTENSIO
Mistris, what cheere?  
      KATE
Faith as cold as can be.

8.84 [LLL 4 02 211] BEROWNE
As true we are as flesh and bloud can be,

8.85 [AYL 3 02 257] JACQUES
God buy you, lets meet as little as we can.
But MAY also occurs (Corpus 4.29, 4.30):

8.86 [2H6 4 04 48] LORD SAY
And therefore in this Cittie will I stay
And live alone as secret as I may.

CAN in Clauses introduced by ALL + Noun + (THAT) (Corpus 4.36 - 4.38):

8.87 [R3 3 01 187] BUCKINGHAM
Good Catesby, goe effect: this businesse soundly
CATESBY
My good Lords both, with all the heed I can.

But MAY is also found:

8.88 [R3 3 01 60] PRINCE
Good Lords, make all the speedy haste you may.

Clauses introduced by WHAT(SOEVER), HOW(SOEVER) (Corpus 4.33 - 4.35):

8.89 [2H6 2 04 55] ELINOR
And flye how thou canst, they'le tangle thee

8.90 [2H6 2 04 109] ELINOR
My shame will not be shifted with my Sheet:
No, it will hang upon my richest Robes
And shew it selfe, attyre me how I can.

8.91 [1H4 5 02 12] WORCESTER
Looke how we can, or sad, or merrily
Interpretation will misquote our lookes.

8.92 [MM 2 04 170] ANGELO
As for you,
Say what you can; my false ore-weighs your true.

This is related to the AS + Adjective + AS, and ALL + NOUN + THAT examples; the particular construction illustrated here appears to be colloquial and is not represented in the corpus.

CAN also in Clause introduced by:

BEFORE, ERE (Corpus 4.11 - 4.13):

8.93 [MND 2 01 174] OBERON
Fetch me this hearbe, and be thou heere again
Ere the Leviathan can swim a league.

UNLESS:

8.94 [ROM 3 03 57] ROMEO
Unless Philosophy can make a Juliet
Displant a town, reverse a Princes doome,
It helps not.
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TILL:

8.95 [ROM 3 03 150] FRIAR
Where thou shalt live till we can finde a time
To blaze your marriage, reconcile your friends.

CAN also occurs in questions, where the sense is 'surely ... cannot ...'
and a negative answer is expected.

8.96 [1H6 4 01 61] GLOSTER
Can this be so?
That in alliance, amity and oathes
There should be found such false dissembling guile.

8.97 [MM 3 01 224] ISABELLA
Can this be so? Did Angelo so leave her?

8.98 [OTH 3 04 134] IAGO
Can he be angry?

8.99 [MAC 3 04 109] MACBETH
Can such things be,
And overcome us like a summers Clowd,
Without our speciall wonder?

8.100 [ANT 1 03 58] CLEOPATRA
Though age from folly could not give me freedom
It does from childishnesse. Can Fulvia die?

8.101 [ANT 3 07 56] ANTONY
Can he be there in person? 'Tis impossible.
Strange, that his power should be.

8.102 [PER 2 03 49] KING
What, are you merry, knights?
KNIGHTS

Who can be other, in this royal presence.

8.103 [WT 1 02 140] LEONTES
Thou do'st make possible things not so held
Communicat'st with Dreames (how can this be?)
With what's unreall.

CAN also appears as in the corpus with LEARN and BE CONTENT (Corpus
4.88 and 4.39);

8.104 [R3 1 01 51] CLARENCE
But as I can learne,
He hearkens after Prophesies and Dreames.

8.105 [COR 1 01 37] 1 CITIZEN
though soft conscion'd men can be content to say it was for his
country, he did it to please his Mother, and to be partly proud.
CAN also occurs in clauses expressing Condition (Corpus see 4.17, 4.18 with COULD):

8.106 [MM 3 01 192] ISABELLA
If ever he return, and I can speake to him, I will open my lips in vaine, or discover his government.

8.107 [TGV 2 02 3] PROTHEUS
When possibly I can, I will return.

We may note the variation CAN/MAY between the following parallel passages in 2H6 and The First Part of the Contention.

8.108 [2H6 2 04 51] ELINOR
For Suffolke, he that can doe all in all
With her, that hateth thee and hates us all.

[First Part 2 04 DZV34] For Suffolke he,
The new made Duke, that may do all in all
With her that loves him so, and hates us all.

MAY

As CAN appears in questions without a negative, expecting a negative reply, so MAY appears in questions with a negative, expecting an affirmative reply.

8.109 [ROM 3 05 173] NURSE
May not one speake?

8.110 [WIV 4 02 49] FALSTAFF
No, Ile come no more i' th Basket:
May I not go out ere he come?

8.111 [WIV 4 02 147] FORD
there was one convoy'd out of my house yesterday in this basket: why may not he be there againe, in my house. I am sure he is:

8.112 [HAM 5 01 203] HAMLET
Why may not Imagination trace the Noble dust of Alexander, till he find it stopping a bunghole?

8.113 [LR 1 04 223] FOOL
May not an Asse know when the cart draws the Horse?

8.114 [MAC 3 01 9] MACBETH
Why by the verities on thee made good, May they not be my Oracles as well, And set me up in hope.

8.115 [PER 2 05 7] 2 KNIGHT
May we not get access to her (my Lord?)
KING
Fayth, by no means, she hath so strictly Tyed her to her Chamber, that tis impossible:
So, with MIGHT:

8.116 [HAM 5 01 211] HAMLET
and why of that Lome (whereto he was converted) might they not stopp a Beere-barrell?

MAY also occurs in questions without a negative when these directly request permission.

8.117 [H8 4 01 13] 2 GENTLEMAN
May I be bold to ask what that contains,
That Paper in your hand.

Also, with BE in questions seeking identification:

8.118 [OTH 5 01 65] IAGO
What may you be? Are you of good, or evil?
LODOVICO
As you shall prove us, praise us.

8.119 [CYM 1 06 9] IMOGEN
Who may this be? Fye.
Enter Pisanio and Iachimo

8.120 [H8 4 01 108] 2 GENTLEMAN
Who may that be, I pray you
3 GENTLEMAN
Thomas Cromwell
A man in much esteeme with th' King.

By its nature, this construction does not occur in the corpus. It survives into a certain colloquial style of PE.

In the following example, MAY is used in a question expecting a negative reply, instead of CAN, apparently for variety.

8.121 [H5 PR11] PROLOGUE
Can this Cock-pit hold
The vastie fields of France? Or may we cramme
Within this Woodden O, the very Caskes
That did affright the Ayre at Agincourt?

MAY occurs in negative clauses with the sense 'is not permitted' rather than 'is not possible'. The following examples illustrate a prohibition, either explicitly stated or implied in the context.

(Corpus 4.55, 4.58 - 4.60, 4.62)

8.122 [1H6 1 03 18] WOODVILLE
Have patience, Noble Duke, I may not open
The Cardinall of Winchester forbids:
8.123 [R3 4 01 16] BRACKENBURY
Right well, deare Madame: by your patience,
I may not suffer you to visit them,
The King hath strictly charg'd the contrary.

8.124 [1H6 1 03 7] GLOSTER 1. MAN
It is the Noble Duke of Gloster
2 WARDER
Whoere he be, you may not be let in.

8.125 [JN 3 01 66] SALISBURY
Pardon me Madam
I may not goe without you to the Kings.

8.126 [LLL 2 01 171] KING
You may not come, fair Princesse, in my gates.

8.127 [ROM 3 02 31] JULIET
To an impatiant child that hath new robes
And may not weare them.

8.128 [MV 1 02 23] PORTIA
O mee, the word choose, I may neither choose whom I would, nor refuse whom I dislike.

8.129 [AYL 1 02 86] ROSALIND
youl be whipt for taxation one of these daies
CLOWNE
The more pittie that fooles may not speak wisely, what Wisemen do foolishly.

8.130 [WIV 1 01 277] ANNE PAGE
I may not goe in without your worship: they will not sit till you come.

8.131 [MM 1 04 9] NUN
It is a mans voice: gentle Isabella
Turne you the key, and know his businesse of him
You may; I may not; you are yet unsworne;
When you have vowd, you must not speake with men,
But in the presence of the Prioresse.

In the following examples the prohibition inheres in the general moral
or legal situation.

8.132 [1H6 2 02 47] BURGUNDY
When Ladyes crave to be encountered with
You may not, (my Lord), despise her gentle suit.

8.133 [ERR 1 01 97] DUKE
Nay forward old man, doe not break off so
For we may pitty, though not pardon thee.
8.134 [ERR 1 01 144] DUKE
Now trust me, were it not against our Lawes,
Against my Crowne, my oath, my dignity,
Which Princes would they, may not disannull,
My soule should sue as advocate for thee.
But though thou art adjudged to the death,
And passed sentence may not be recal'd
But to our honours great disparagement:
Yet will I favour thee in what I can.

8.135 [R3 4 01 26] BRAKENBURY
No Madame, no; I may not leave it so;
I am bound by Oath, and therefore pardon me.

8.136 [JN 3 01 269] PANDULPH
O let that vow
First made to heaven, first be to heaven perform'd
That is, to be the Champion of our Church,
What since thou sworst, is sworne against thy selfe
And may not be performed by thy selfe.

8.137 [MND 1 01 120] THESEUS
Or else the Law of Athens yeelds you up
(Which by no meanes we may extenuate)
To death, or to a vow of single life.

8.138 [R2 1 02 40] GAUNT
Let heaven revenge: for I may never lift,
An angry arme against his Minister.

8.139 [WIV 4 05 44] FALSTAFF
What are they? Let us know.
HOST
I : come : quicke.
SIMPLE
I may not conceale them sir
HOST
Conceale them, or thou di'st.

8.140 [MM 2 01 27] ANGELO
You may not so extenuate his offense
For I have had such faults;

8.141 [HAM 1 03 19] LAERTES
He may not, as unvalued persons doe
Carve for himselfe.

8.142 [TRO 2 02 119] TROILUS
Why brother Hector
We may not thinke the iustness of each act
Such, and no other then event doth forme it
Nor once deiect the courage of our mindes;
8.143 [AWW 2 01 115] KING
We thanke you maiden,
But may not be so credulous of cure
When our most learned Doctors leave us, and
The congregated Colledge have concluded,
That labouring Art can never ransome nature
From her inaydible estate. I say we must not
So stain our judgement.

8.144 [OTH 4 01 270] IAGO
He's that he is; I may not breath my censure
What he might be:

8.145 [LR 3 07 24] CORNWALL
Though well we may not passe upon his life
Without the forme of Iustice; yet our power
Shall do a curt'sie to our wrath.

8.146 [COR 5 03 80] CORIOLANUS
The thing I have forsworne to graunt, may never
Be held by you denials

8.147 [WT 1 02 45] HERMIONE
Nay, but you will?
POLIXENES
I may not, verily.

8.148 [WT 1 02 397] POLIXENES
If you know ought which do's behove my knowledge,
Therefore to be inform'd, imprison't not
In ignorant concealment.
CAMILLO
I may not answere.

In the following examples the prohibition seems to lie in circumstances
themselves. Often the sense is close to that of impossibility.

8.149 [3H6 1 01 263] QUEEN
Come Sonne away, we may not linger thus

8.150 [R3 5 03 94] DERBY
But on thy side I may not be too forward,
Least being seene, my Brother, tender George
Be executed in his Fathers sight.

8.151 [MND 5 01 2] THESEUS
More strange then true. I never may believe
These anticke fables, nor these Fairy toyes,

8.152 [LLL 5 02 669] BRAGGART
I do adore thy sweet Graces slipper
BOYET
Loves her by the foot
DUMAIN
He may not by the yard.
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8.153 [ROM 2 PR 9] CHORUS
Being held a foe, he may not have access
to breath such vowes as Lovers use to sweare.

8.154 [ROM 3 03 33] ROMEO
And little Mouse, every unworthy thing
Live here in Heaven and may looke on her,
But Romeo may not...
... But Romeo may not, hee is banished.

8.155 [HAM 3 03 5] KING
The termes of our estate, may not endure
Hazard so dangerous as doth hourly grow
Out of his Lunacies

8.156 [MM 1 01 62] ANGELO
yet give me leave (my Lord)
That we may bring you something on the way.
DUKE
My haste may not admit it,

8.157 [MAC 3 01 12] MACBETH
yet I must not,
For certaine friends that are both his, and mine
Whose loves I may not drop, but wayle his fall
Who I my selfe struck downe:

8.158 [ANT 4 14 133] 1 GUARD
Woe, woe are we,
Sir, you may not live to weare
All your true Followers out.

MAY NOT occurs in a few examples in the sense of 'has no power to',
where CANNOT would be expected.

8.159 [ROM 2 02 160] JULIET
O for a Falkners voice,
To lure this Tassell gentle backe againe,
Bondage is hoarse and may not speak aloud,
Else would I teare the Cave where Eccho lies.

8.160 [ANT 1 05 12] CLEOPATRA
Not now to heare thee sing. I take no pleasure
In ought an Eunuch ha's; Tis well for thee,
That being unseminar'd, thy freer thoughts
May not flye forth of Egypt.

In the following example MAY is selected for the positive use and
silently carried over to the negative where CANNOT would be expected.

8.161 [LR 3 07 27] CORNWALL
Yet our power
Shall do a curt'sie to our wrath, which men
May blame, but not controll.
The selection of CAN or MAY is also illustrated in the employment of the constructions

\[ \text{IT MAY BE (THAT)} + \text{Clause} \]

\[ \text{IT CAN BE (THAT)} + \text{Clause} \]

(Corpus IT MAY BE, 6.288 - 6.299)

IT CANNOT BE

8.162 [ANT 2 02 113] CAESAR

for't cannot be
We shall remaine in friendship, our conditions So differing in their acts.

CAN IT BE?

8.163 [MM 2 02 167] ANGELO

Can it be,
That Modesty may more betray our Sense
Then woman's lightnesse?

8.164 [TRO 2 02 153] PARIS

Can it be
That so degenerate a strain as this
Should once set footing in your generous bosomes?

IT MAY BE

8.165 [JC 4 03 247] BRUTUS

I pray you Sirs, lye in my Tent and sleepe.
It may be I shall raise you by and by
On business to my Brother Cassius

8.166 [MM 2 4 34] ANGELO

Your brother cannot live
ISABELLA
Even so; heaven keepe your Honor
ANGELO
Yet may he live a while: and it may be
As long as you, or I; yet he must die.

Where the full construction is apparently 'it may be that he may live as long as you or I'. See 6.294.

IT CANNOT BUT BE = IT MUST BE ...
8. Shakespeare

8.168 [SHR 3 02 199] TRANIO
Let us intreat you stay till after dinner
PETRUCHIO
It may not be
GRUMIO
Let me intreat you
PETRUCHIO
It cannot be.

Where I take it a transition is intended from 'I am prohibited (by circumstances) from coming' to 'It is impossible for me to come'.

From IT MAY BE (THAT) + Clause, IT is sometimes omitted (This does not occur in the corpus).

8.169 [ANT 4 02 25] ANTONY
Tend me to night;
May be, it is the period of your duty,
Haply you shall not see me more.

I take it here we have an abbreviated form of 'It may be that it is the period of your duty'. But the parallel with the next line suggests that already 'May be' is felt as a sentence adverb.

8.170 [CYM 2 04 104] POSTHUMUS
May be, she pluck'd it off
To send it me.

8.171 [PER 5 01 87] MARINA
She speaks my Lord
That, may be hath endur'd a grief, might equal Yours, if both were iustly wayde.

The word order makes it likely that MAY BE is here felt as a sentence adverb.

We may notice the evidently colloquial 'be it as it may'.

8.172 [3H6 1 01 194] K. HENRY
Not for my selfe Lord Warwick, but my Sonne,
Whom I unnaturally shall dis-inherit.
But be it as it may: I here entayle
The Crowne to thee.

This is a mannerism with Nym.

8.173 [H5 2 01 7] NYM
For my part I care not; I say little: but when time shall serve there shall be smiles - but that shall be as it may.
8. Shakespeare 7. CAN and MAY 8. CANNOT BUT

8.174 [H5 2 01 20] NYM
I cannot tell, Things must be as they may: men may sleepe, and they may have their throats about them at that time, and some say, knives have edges: It must be as it may.

8.175 [PER 2 01 113] 1 FISHERMAN
O sir, things must be as they may: and what a man can not get, he may lawfully deale for his Wives soule?

After the early use in Henry VI, Shakespeare perhaps came to regard this as a vulgarism. But 'come what may' and variants are found throughout.

8.176 [2H6 3 02 402] SUFFOLK
Oh let me stay, befall what may befall.

8.177 [TIT 5 01 57] AARON
If thou wilt not, befall what may befall, Ile speake no more: but vengeance rot you all.

8.178 [TN 2 01 47] ANTONIO
But, come what may, I do adore thee so That danger shall seeme sport, and I will go.

8.179 [MAC 1 03 146] MACBETH
Come what come may, Time and the Houre, runs through the roughest Day.

The same grammatical pattern is also found in

8.180 [LLL 5 02 329] BEROWNE
Nay he can sing A meane most meanly and in Ushering Mend him who can.

SECTION 8 - CANNOT BUT

This is common in Shakespeare to express necessity (Corpus 4.123 - 4.136).

8.181 [JN 3 04 140] PANDULPHO
That Iohn may stand, then Arthur needs must fall. So be it, for it cannot be but so.

8.182 [R2 2 02 30] QUEEN
It may be so; but yet my inward soule Perswades me it is otherwise: how ere it be I cannot but be sad;

8.183 [TN 2 05 203] MARIA
and hee will smile upon her, which will now be so unsuteable to her disposition, being addicted to a melancholy, as shee is, that it cannot but turn him into a notable contempt;

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8.184 [MAC 4 03 222] MACDUFF
I cannot but remember such things were
That were most precious to me.

8.185 [MM 5 01 7] DUKE
we heare
Such goodnesse of your Iustice, that our soule
Cannot but yeeld you forth to publique thankes
Forerunning more requitall.

Also, CANNOT CHOOSE BUT, with subjects capable of choice (Corpus 4.137 - 4.143).

8.186 [TGV 4 04 77] JULIA
Alas
PROTHEUS
Why dost thou cry alas?
JULIA
I cannot choose but pitty her.

8.187 [AWW 1 01 146] PARROLLES
Besides, Virginitie is peevish, proud, ydle, made of selfe-love, which is the most inhibited sinne in the Cannon. K eepe it not, you cannot choose but loose by 't.

With subjects not capable of choice,

8.188 [1H4 1 03 279] HOTSPUR
Why, it cannot choose but be a Noble plot.

8.189 [WIV 5 03 17] MISTRESS PAGE
They are all couch'd in a pit hard by Hernes Oake, with obscur'd Lights; which at the very instant of Falstaffes and our meeting, they will at once display to the night.
MISTRESS FORD
That cannot choose but amaze him.

8.190 [WT 1 01 24] CAMILLO
and there rooted betwixt them then such an affection, which cannot chuse but braunch now.

The necessity implied by the two negatives in CANNOT and BUT is sometimes also expressed by MUST in the clause after BUT.

8.191 [OTH 4 01 29] IAGO
(as knaves be such abroad
Who having by their owne importunate suit
Or voluntary dotage of some Mistris
Convinced or supply'd them, cannot chuse,
But they must blab.)

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8. Shakespeare 9. MUST

8.192 [CYM 1 06 72] IACHIMO
whiles the jolly Britaine
(Your Lord I meane) laughs from's free lungs: cries oh,
Can my sides hold, to think that man who knowes
By History, Report, or his owne proofe
What woman is, yea what she cannot choose
But must be; will's free houres languish
For assured bondage.

The construction also occurs with SHALL instead of CAN.

8.193 [HAM 4 07 65] KING
I will worke him
To an exployt now ripe in my Device
Under the which he shall not choose but fall;

SECTION 9 - MUST

MUST is often strengthened with adverbs such as NEEDS or OF FORCE, PERFORCE, occasionally both. (Corpus Chapter 5, Section 3.)

8.194 [TIT 4 03 42] PUBLIUS
So that perforce you must needs stay a time.

MUST is also found in the sense given in the OED, 3(e) 'As a past or historical present tense, must is sometimes used satirically or indignantly with reference to some foolish or annoying action or some untoward event'. It gives its first quotation from Gower (Conf 11.145)

Whan that the lord comth hom ayein
The janglere most somwhat sein

and then,

8.195 [MAC 4 03 212] MACDUFF
And I must be from thence? My wife kil'd too?

followed by modern made-up colloquial examples. Other Shakespearean examples of this usage are given below.

8.196 [R3 1 03 61] RICHARD
His Royall Grace
(Whom God preserve better then you would wish)
Cannot be quiet scarce a breathing while
But you must trouble him with lewd complaints.

8.197 [ROM 1 05 85] CAPULET
Go too, go too.
You are a sawcy Boy, 'ist so indeed?
This tricke may chance to scath you, I know what,
You must contrary me, marry 'tis time.
8. Shakespeare 9. MUST
10. NEED

8.198 [HAM 2 02 585] HAMLET
I sure, this is most brave,
That I, the Sonne of a Deere father murthered,
Prompted to my Revenge by Heaven, and Hell,
Must (like a Whore) unpacke my heart with words
And fall a Cursing like a very Drab,

8.199 [OTH 1 01 32] IAGO
This Counter-caster
He, (in good time) must his Lieutenant be
And I (blesse the marke) his Mooreships Auntient.

8.200 [CYM 2 01 4] CLOTEN
and then a whorson Jack-an-Apes must take me up for swearing,
as if I borrowed mine oathes of him, and might not spend them at
my pleasure.

This sense seems to appear always when MUST is followed by BE + -ING.

8.201 [2H4 2 02 76] POINS
Come you pernitious Asse you bashfull Foole, must you be
blushing?

8.202 [COR 2 01 90] MENENIUS
Yet you must be saying, Martius is proud.

8.203 [WT 4 04 246] CLOWN
Is there not, milking-time? When you are going to bed? Or
Kill-hole? To whistle of these secrets, but you must be
little-tatling before all our guests?

8.204 [H8 5 04 9] PORTER
Ile scratch your heads; you must be seeing Christenings? Do you
looke for Ale, and Cakes heere, you rude Raskalls?

SECTION 10 - NEED

The illustration of NEED in Shakespeare follows the arrangement
for the corpus in Chapter 5, Section 2.

1. Displaying the formal characteristics of a Modal Verb
   a) followed by the infinitive without TO
   b) without ETH/S inflection in the 3rd person singular
      present tense.

Negative Clauses (Corpus 5.1 - 5.3);

8.205 [2H6 4 02 60] WEAVER
He neede not fear the sword, for his Coate is of prooфе.
8.206 [TIM 3 06 73] TIMON
Lend to each man enough, that one need not lend to another:

Interrogative:

8.207 [TGV 3 01 309] LANCE
What neede a man care for a stock with a wench when she can knit him a stocke?

SPEED
Item she can wash and scour.

LANCE
A speciall vertue: for then shee neede not be wash'd, and scour'd.

8.208 [ERR 3 02 15] JULIANA
Teach sinne the carriage of a holy Saint
Be secret false, what need she be acquainted?

Second Person Singular (Corpus 5.11 - 5.13):

Negative Clauses:

8.209 [TGV 1 03 17] ANTONIO
Nor need'st thou much importune me to that
Whereon, this month I have bin hamering

8.210 [CYM 3 04 13] PISANIO
If 't be Summer Newes
Smile too't before: if Winter, thou need'st
But keepe that count'nance stil.

Interrogative:

8.211 [R3 4 04 460] RICHARD
What need'st h'though run so many miles about,
When thou mayest tell thy Tale the neerest way?

8.212 [SON 139 7]
What needst thou wound with cunning when thy might
Is more then my ore-prest defence can bide?

Second Person Plural:

Negative Clauses:

8.213 [1H4 4 04 21] SIR MIGHEL
Why, my good Lord, you need not feare,
There is Douglas, and Lord Mortimer

8.214 [1H6 5 02 17] BURGUNDY
I trust the Ghost of Talbot is not there:
Now he is gone, my Lord, you neede not feare.

8.215 [HAM 3 01 179] POLONIUS
You neede not tell us what Lord Hamlet said,
We heard it all:
Interrogative:

8.216 [JN 4 01 75] ARTHUR
Alas, what neede you be so boist'rous-rough?

8.217 [H8 2 04 129] GENT. USHER
Madam, you are cald backe.
QUEEN
What need you note it? pray you keep your way.

8.218 [TRO 3 02 40] PANDARUS
Come, come, what neede you blush?

First Person Singular (Corpus 5.14 - 5.19):
Negative Clauses:

8.219 [1H6 5 03 105] MARGARET
Perhaps I shall be rescu'd by the French
And then I need not crave his courtesie.

8.220 [3H6 5 04 70] KING EDWARD
I need not adde more fuell to your fire
For well I wot, ye blaze, to burne them out:

8.221 [R3 3 01 148] PRINCE
I feare no Uncles dead.
GLOSTER
Nor none that live I hope.
PRINCE
And if they live, I hope I need not feare.

8.222 [TIM 3 04 39] FLAMINIUS
I need not tell him that, he knowes you are too diligent.

See also 8.10.

Interrogative:

8.223 [1H4 5 01 128] FALSTAFF
Tis not due yet, I would be loath to pay him before his day,
what need I be so forward with him that calls.

8.224 [MAC 4 01 82] MACBETH
Then live Macduffe: what need I feare of thee.

8.225 [PER 2CH 16] GOWER
But tidings to the contrarie
Are brought your eyes, what need speake I?

First Person Plural:
Negative:

8.226 [COR 3 03 76] SICINIUS
We neede not put new matter to his charge.
8.227 [COR 4 06 1] SICINIUS
We heare not of him, neither need we feare him.

Interrogative:

8.228 [PER 1 04 77] CLEON
But bring they what they will and what they can
What need we leave our grounds the lowest

8.229 [MAC 5 01 37] LADY MACBETH
What need we feare? who knowes it,
When none can call our power to accompt:

8.230 [TIM 1 02 95] TIMON
Oh you Gods (think I) what need we have any frends, if we
should neer have need of em?

There are some examples in Shakespeare with ellipsis of the
infinitive which cannot be assigned to uses without TO or with TO.

Third Person Singular with Zero Inflection:

8.231 [TGV 2 01 152] SPEED
What need she, when she hath made you write to your selfe?

Third Person Singular in NEEDS:

8.232 [TGV 5 02 21] PROTEUS
Oh Sir, she makes no doubt of that.
JULIA
She needes not, when she knowes it cowardise.

8.233 [H5 3 07 109] CONSTABLE
Marry hee told me so himselfe, and he sayd hee car'd not who
knew it.
ORLEANCE
He needs not, it is no hidden virtue in him.

In the corpus, 3rd Singular Present Tense NEEDETH, NEEDS is always
followed by TO. In Shakespeare the following two uses with infinitive
without TO:

8.234 [ERR 3 02 182] ANTIPOLUS
I see a man heere needs not live by shifts.

8.235 [LLL 4 03 197] BEROWNE
A toy my Liedge, a toy: your grace needs not feare it.

In the corpus 3rd person Singular Present Tense NEED is always without
TO. In Shakespeare the following examples occur:

8.236 [MND 5 01 357] DUKE
Never excuse; for when the plaiers are all dead, there need none
to be blamed.
8. Shakespeare 10. NEED

8.237 [1H4 3 03 15] FALSTAFF
I was as virtuously given as a gentleman need to be.

8.238 [2H4 4 01 112] MOWBRAY
What thing, in Honour had my father lost
That need to be reviv'd and breath'd in me?

8.237, 8.238 may possibly be felt as subjunctives.

8.239 [WIV 2 02 127] QUICKLY
and in any case have a nay-word, that you may know one anothers
minde, and the Boy never neede to understand anything

Perhaps MAY also to be understood before NEED here.

8.240 [2H4 1 03 78. Q1600] BISHOP
That he should draw his severall strengths together,
And come against us in full puissance
Need not to be dreaded.

The folio reading is 'Need not be dreaded'.

Followed by TO:

Third Singular NEEDS (Corpus 5.25. NEEDETH, which does not occur in
Shakespeare, 5.20 - 5.24):

Negative Clause:

8.241 [TN 1 05 6] CLOWN
Let her hang me: hee that is well hang'de in this world needs
to fear no colours.

Interrogative:

8.242 [2H6 1 03 118] QUEEN
If he be old enough what needs your Grace
To be protector of his Excellence?

Second Person Singular (Corpus 5.27, 5.28):

Negative Clauses:

8.243 [ROM 3 05 16] JULIET
Therefore stay yet, thou need'st not to be gone.

Second Person Plural:

8.244 [MM 2 01 235] POMPEY
if your worship will take order for the drabs and knaves, you
need not to feare the bawds

8.245 [AWW 5 02 10] PAROLLES
Nay, you neede not to stop your nose sir: I spake but by a
Metaphor.
8. Shakespeare 10. NEED
HAVE/HAD NEED

8.246 [2H4 3 02 114] MOULDY
You need not to have prickt me, there are other men fitter to
go out, then I.

This appears to be the only use of an infinitive with HAVE after NEED
in Shakespeare. Corpus has NEEDED NOT TO HAVE 5.31 - 5.33, not found
in Shakespeare.

First Person Singular, all in Negative Clauses:

8.247 [AWW 3 05 25] MARIA
I hope I neede not to advise you further.

8.248 [AWW 4 03 277] INTERPRETER
His qualities being at this poor price, I need not to ask you
if Gold will corrupt him to revolt.

8.249 [R2 3 04 17] QUEEN
For what I have I need not to repeat
And what I want, it bootes not to complaine.

8.250 [H5 4 07 113] FLUELLEN
I will confesse it to all the Orld. I need not to be ashamed
of your Maiestie.

8.251 [SON 92 5]
Then need I not to feare the worst of wrongs
When in the least of them my life hath end.

HAVE NEED with Infinitive without TO does not occur in Shake-
speare (Corpus 5.34, 5.35).

HAD NEED followed by Infinitive without TO, only without

Preterite Sense (Corpus 5.36 - 5.44). As in corpus, only in

Non-Negative Clauses:

Third Person:

8.252 [PER 2 02 48] 1 LORD
He had need mean better, then his outward shew can any way
speake in his iust commend.

8.253 [ROM 4 05 12vii Q1597] NURSE
Put up, put up this is a wofull case.
1 MUSITIAN
I by my troth Mistresse, it had need be mended.

8.254 [2H4 2 04 150] DOLL
therefore Captaines had neede look to't.
Second Person:

8.255 [TN 2 03 182] TOBY
Let's to bed knight; Thou hadst need sende for more money.

First Person:

8.256 [H8 2 02 44] NORFOLK
We had need pray,
And heartily, for our deliverance;
Or this imperious man will worke us all
From Princes into Pages:

HAVE/HAD NEED with Ellipsis of Verb:

HAVE NEED. In Non-Negative Clauses:

8.257 [ROM 4 03 13] LADY CAPULET
Get thee to bed and rest, for thou hast need
(i.e. to rest, or possibly 'of rest')

8.258 [TIT 4 02 15] YOUNG LUCIUS
And so I do and with his gifts present
Your Lordships that, when ever you have need
You may be armed and appointed well.

HAD NEED. Always in non-preterite sense and only in phrase SO

HAD HE/YOU NEED;

8.259 [2H6 4 02 7] BEVIS
I tell thee, Jacke Cade the Cloathier, meanes to dresse the
Common-wealth and turne it, and set a new nap upon it.
HOLLAND
So had he need, for 'tis threadbare.

8.260 [AYL 2 07 169] ORLANDO
I thanke you most for him.
ADAM
So had you neede.
I scarce can speake to thanke you for my selfe.

8.261 [SHR 1 01 210] LUCENTIO
But I will charme him first to keepe his tongue
TRANIO
So had you neede:

8.262 [1H6 1 01 157] BEDFORD
Ten thousand Souldiers with me I will take
Whose bloody deeds shall make all Europe quake.
3 MESSENGER
So had you need, for Orleance is besieged.
HAVE/HAD NEED followed by the Infinitive with TO:

HAVE NEED. Non-Negative (Corpus 5.34, 5.35):

8.263 [ZH 6 4 02 3] BEVIS
Come and get thee a sword, though made of a lath, they have been up these two dayes.
HOLLAND
They have the more neede to sleepe now then.

8.264 [R3 2 01 36] BUCKINGHAM
When I have most need to imploy a friend
And most assured that he is a friend,
Deepe, hollow, treacherous and full of guile
Be he unto me.

8.265 [CYM 2 03 62] CYMBELINE
When you have given good morning to your Mistris,
Attend the Queene, and us, we shall have neede
T'employ you towards this Romane.

HAVE NO NEED TO, and other Negative Clauses:

8.266 [R2 4 01 309] RICHARD
I have a King here to my flatterer
Being so great, I have no need to begge.

8.267 [LR 1 02 34] GLOCESTER
the quality of nothing hath not such need to hide itself.

HAD NEED TO without Preterite Sense (Corpus 5.41 - 5.44):

8.268 [ZH 6 4 02 F3ROS First Pt. of Contention] GEORGE
Come away Nick, and put a long staffe in thy pike, and provide thy selfe, for I can tell thee, they have been up this two daies.
NICKE
Then they had more need to go to bed now.

HAD NO NEED TO, Preterite Sense:

8.269 [LR 1 04 192] FOOL
Thou wast a pretty fellow when thou hadst no need to care for her frowning.

The following example perhaps belongs here

8.270 [HAM 2 02 3] KING
The need we have to use you did provoke
Our hasty sending

since the underlying syntax presumably includes 'We have need to use you'.
NEED used with a Modal Verb (Corpus 5.52 - 5.60, always followed by TO).
All in Negative Clauses.
With Ellipsis of Verb

SHALL:

8.271 [3H6 1 02 65] YORK
The Armie of the Queene meane to besiege us.
SIR JOHN MORTIMER
Shee shall not need; wee'Il meete her in the field.

8.272 [JN 3 01 320] PANDARUS
I will denounce a curse upon his head.
FRANCE
Thou shalt not need. England, I will fall from thee.

SHOULD:

8.273 [JC 2 01 279] BRUTUS
Kneele not gentle Portia
PORTIA
I should not neede, if you were gentle Brutus.

Followed by Infinitive with TO:

8.274 [WT 4 01 415] SHEPHERD
Let him (my sonne) he shall not need to grieve
At knowing of thy choice.

8.275 [AWW 3 05 29] DIANA
You shall not neede to feare me.

8.276 [SHR 1 01 61] KATE
I'faith sir, you shall never need to fear.

8.277 [CYM 3 04 32] PISANEO
What shall I need to draw my Sword, the Paper
Hath cut her throat alreadie.

8.278 [PER 1 03 10] HELLICANUS
You shall not neede, my fellow-Peers of Tyre
Further to question mee of your kings departure.

Other Constructions with NEED in Shakespeare

The most common of these are given as totals of occurrences.
Figures and examples are arranged according to the Scheme in Chapter 5.

I. Personal Constructions with Noun Phrase

1. NP₁ + NEEDS OF/TO + NP₂

8.279 [LR 2 04 238] REGAN
What fifty followers?
Is it not well? What should you need of more?
8. Shakespeare

2. \( NP_1 + \text{HAS NEED OF} + NP_2 \)

\( NP_1 + \text{HAS NO NEED OF} \)

8.280 [ANT 3 11 10] ANTONY
I have my selfe resolv'd upon a course
Which has no need of you.

8.281 [MAC 2 02 29] MACBETH
I had most need of Blessing and Amen
Stuck in my throat.

We may also note STAND IN NEED OF

8.282 [TGV 2 07 84] JULIA
And presently goe with me to my chamber
To take note of what I stand in need of
To furnish me upon my longing journey

3. \( NP_1 \text{ NEED } NP_2 \)

Among these we may note

8.283 [PER 3 03 23] CLEON
But if to that,
My nature neede a spurre, the Gods revenge it
Upon me and mine, to the end of generation.

where 3rd singular present with zero inflection presumably indicates subjunctive mood in protasis.

Also once, the passive \( NP_2 \text{ IS NEEDED} \)

8.284 [MAC 5 03 33] MACBETH
Give me my armour.

SEYTON
'Tis not needed yet.

II. Impersonal Constructions with Noun Phrases

1. \( \text{NEED IS} + \text{genitive NP. THERE IS NEED OF} ... \)

(Not found in the corpus)

8.285 [ADO 3 03 21] DOGBERRY
and for your writing and reading, let that appear when there is no need of such vanity.

8.286 [2H4 4 01 95] WESTMORLAND
There is no need of any such redress,
Or if there were, it not belongs to you.

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8.287 [R3 3 07 165] RICHARD
But, God be thank'd, there is no need of me.
And much I need to help you, were there need:

8.288 [SON 51 4]
From where thou art, why should I hast me thence,
Til I return, of posting is noe need.

All in the negative with 'no need'. Is Dogberry's blunder related to
the fact that 'there is need of' was no longer in use?

2. NP + NEEDS. THERE NEEDS
Of which 3 THERE NEEDS NO. Among these

8.289 [HAM 1 05 125 Q1603] HORATIO
There need no Ghost come from the grave to tell you this
Q1604-5, F There needes no Ghost my Lord, come from the grave
To tell us this.

and 7 WHAT NEEDS. NEEDS is the only form after WHAT whether the noun
which follows is singular or plural,

8.290 [WT 2 03 127] PAULINA
What needs these hands

except in this variant

8.291 [TRO 5 01 12 Q1609] PATROCLUS
Well said adversity, and what needs this tricks.
F. Well said adversity, and what need these tricks.

Once only WHAT NEEDED

8.292 [LR 1 02 32] GLOCESTER
What paper were you reading?
EDMUND
Nothing, my Lord.
GLOCESTER
No? What needed then that terrible dispatch of it into your pocket?

Possibly here should also be included

8.293 [MAC 5 02 29] LENNOX
Or so much as it needes
To dew the Sovereigne Flower, and drowne the Weedes.

interpreting 'so much as there needs in order to dew ...' But the use
of 'it' suggests 'To dew' is felt as the subject of 'needs'.

3. NP + IS NEEDFUL

8.294 [PROVOST 2 03 9] PROVOST
I would do more than that, if more were needful.
8. Shakespear 10. IS NEEDFUL/NEED

8.295 [AWW 4 03 80] SERVANT
The Duke hath offered him Letters of commendations to the king.
CAPTAIN
They shall be no more than needful there, if they were more then they can commend.

8.296 [SH6 4 01 129] KING EDWARD
Yet am I arm'd against the worst can happen
And haste is needful in this desperate case.

8.297 [LR 2 01 206] REGAN
I am now from home and out of provision
Which shall be needful for your entertainment.

4. NP + IS NECESSARY
(Corpus 5.149 - 5.151)

8.298 [AYL 3 03 52] CLOWN
As horns are odious, they are necessarie

8.299 [TRO 3 03 230] PATROCLUS
Omission to doe what is necessary
Seales a commission to a blanke of danger.

8.300 [ANT 5 02 50] CLEOPATRA
Sir, I will eate no meate, Ile not drinke sir,
If idle talk will once be necessary
Ile not sleepe neither.

III. Impersonal Constructions with Clause or Infinitive

1. NEED THAT + Clause. IT NEEDETH THAT ...(Corpus 5.152, 5.153)
The only use in Shakespeare that can be assigned here is

8.301 [SHR 4 03 8] KATHERINE
But I, who never knew how to intreat
Nor never needed that I should intreat
Am starv'd for meate, giddie for lacke of sleepe.
The preterite NEEDED is unusual in Shakespeare, occurring only here and

8.292. It is natural to read this as a personal construction 'I never needed that I should intreat' but this does not occur elsewhere, and the reading equivalent to 'and it never needed that I should intreat' corresponds to the constructions found in the corpus.

2. NEED TO + Infinitive. IT NEEDS TO ...
(Corpus 5.156 - 5.158)

8.302 [SH6 1 04 125] YORK
Hath that poore Monarch taught thee to insult?
It needs not, nor it bootes thee not, proud Queene.
8. Shakespeare

10. IS NEED THAT/IS NEEDFUL THAT

SHALL NEED

8.303 [ERR 5 01 391] E. ANTIPOLUS
These Duckets pawne I for my father heere.
DUKE
It shall not need, thy father hath his life.

3. IS NEED THAT. IT IS NEED THAT

(Does not occur in corpus)

8.304 [JN 1 01 179] K. JOHN
Come Madam, and come Richard, we must speed
For France, for France, for it is more than need.
(i.e. it is more than need that we speed)

IS NEED TO. THERE IS NEED TO

(Corpus 5.159 - 5.162)

THERE IS NO NEED TO

8.305 [H5 2 03 21] HOSTESS
I hop'd there was no need to trouble himselfe with any such thoughts yet.

8.306 [ROM 3 01 7] MERCUTIO
and by the operation of the second cup draws it on the drawer, when indeed there is no need.

WHAT IS THE NEED (TO)

8.307 [H8 2 04 2] CARDINAL
Whil'st our Commission from Rome is read
Let silence be commanded.
KING
What's the need?
It hath already publiquely bene read.

4. IS NEEDFUL THAT + Clause. IT IS NEEDFUL THAT ...

(Corpus 5.165 - 5.169)

8.308 [MM 2 01 282] JUSTICE
Lord Angelo is severe.
ESCALUS
It is but needful.
(i.e. 'that he be severe')

8.309 [ADO 1 03 24] CONRADE
It is needful that you frame the season for your owne harvest.

8.310 [MT 1 02 23] POLIXENES
So it should now
Were there necessitie in your request, although 'twere needful I denied it.

8.311 [ZH4 4 04 70] WARWICK
Like a strange Tongue; wherein, to gaine the Language
'Tis needful, that the most immodest word
Be look'd upon, and learn'd!
8. Shakespeare 10. IS NEEDFUL/ IS NECESSARY

8.312 [3H6 4 06 53] WARWICK
And Clarence, now then it is more than needfull
Forthwith that Edward be pronounc'd a Traytor.

From 8.311, 8.312 it is evident that the clause after IS NEEDFUL (THAT)
has its verb in the subjunctive.

5. IS NEEDFUL/LESS TO. IT IS NEEDFUL TO ...
   (Corpus 5.170 - 5.175)

NEEDFUL

8.313 [AMW 4 04 3] HELLEN
'tfore whose throne 'tis needful
Ere I can perfect mine intents, to kneele.

8.314 [1H4 4 04 34] ARCHBISHOP OF YORK
I hope no lesse, yet needfull 'tis to feare

NEEDLESS

8.315 [LLL 2 01 116] ROSALINE
How needless was it then to ask the question.

6. IS NECESSARY TO. IT IS NECESSARY TO (5.178)
   This construction does not appear in Shakespeare.
   IS NECESSARY THAT. IT IS NECESSARY THAT
   (Corpus 7.672, 7.673)

Clause in Subjunctive

8.316 [H5 4 07 138] FLUELLEN
Though he is as good a Gentleman as Lucifer and Belzebub himselfe,
it is necessary (looke your Grace) that he keepe his vow and his oath.

8.317 [2H6 3 02 261] SALISBURY
Were there a Serpent seene, with forked Tongue
That slyly glyded towards your Maiesty,
It were but necessarie you were wak't;

8.318 [HAM 3 02 192] PLAYER KING
Most necessary tis that we forget
To pay our selves what to ourselves is debt

Clause with SHOULD

8.319 [TIM 3 05 2] 1 SENATOR
'Tis necessary he should die.

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With Clause Understood

8.320 [WT 4 04 776] AUTOLYCUS
    but those that are Iermaine to him (though remov'd fiftie times)
    shall all come under the Hangman: which though it be great pitty,
    yet it is necessarie.

The only Shakespearean use of the verb NEED in the OED senseIII 7b 'To
be in need or want' appears to be

8.321 [ANT 5 02 25] PROCULEIUS
    Make you full reference freely to my Lord,
    Who is so full of Grace, that it flowes over
    On all that neede.

The following forms occur once only.

NEEDER

8.322 [COR 4 01 44] COMINIUS
    we shall not send
    O'er the vaste world, to seeke a single man,
    And loose advantage, which does ever coole
    I' th' absense of the needer.

NEEDING

8.323 [SON 118 8]
    And sicke of wel-fare found a kind of meetnesse
    To be diseas'd ere that there was true needing.

SECTION 11 - DARE

The illustration of DARE in Shakespeare follows the arrangement
for the corpus in Chapter 5, Section 4, save that because of the much
greater frequency of DARE in Shakespeare than in the corpus, it was
possible to restrict the study of the present tense uses of DARE to the
third person singular and so make a complete examination of the varia-
tion between DARE and DARES in this person, taking into account the
possibility that DARE is sometimes not the old preterite-present but
present subjunctive of the re-formed verb.

The Old Preterite-Present DARE/DURST, followed by Infinitive without TO

Third Person Singular Present Tense without Inflection:
In contexts where a subjunctive reading is impossible.

in Non-Negative Clauses (Corpus 5.248)

8.324 [H5 3 07 146] ORLEANS
You may as well say, that's a valiant Flea, that dare eate his breakefast on the Lippe of a Lyon.

8.325 [TMP 3 02 55] CALIBAN
If my Greatnesse will
Revenge it on him, (for I know thou dar'st)
But this Thing dare not.

8.326 [ADO 3 02 12] DON PEDRO
the little hangman dare not shoot at him.

8.327 [MV 3 01 45] SHYLOCK
There have I another bad match, a bank rout, a prodigall who dare scarce shewe his head on the Ryalto

8.328 [1H6 2 04 74] SOMERSET
Well, Ile find friendes to weare my bleeding Roses,
That shall maintaine what I have said is true
Where false Plantagenet dare not be seen.

8.329 [2H6 1 01 229] YORK
While as the silly Owner of the goods
Weepes over them, and wrings his haplesse hands,
And shakes his head, and trembling stands aloofe,
While all is shar'd, and all is borne away,
Ready to sterve, and dare not touch his owne.

8.330 [H8 5 02 85] SUFFOLK
Nay, my Lord,
That cannot be, you are a Counsellor,
And, by that virtue, no man dare accuse you.

8.331 [MAC 4 03 33] MALCOLM
Great Tyranny, lay thou thy basis sure,
For goodnesse dare not check thee;

8.332 [MAC 5 03 28] MACBETH
but in their steed
Curses, not lowd but deep, Mouth-honor, breath
Which the poore heart would faine deny, and dare not.

8.333 [HAM Q1604-5 1 01 161] MARCELLUS
This bird of dawning singeth all night long
And then they say no spirit dare sturre abroade.

8.334 [ANT 3 01 3] ALEXAS
Herod of Jury dare not looke upon you
But when you are well pleased
8.335 [CYM 3 05 85] CLOTEN
Go in and cheere the King, he rages, none
Dare come about him.

in Interrogative Clauses (Corpus 5.252)

8.336 [ADO 3 01 79] HERO
But who dare tell her so?

8.337 [IH6 2 04 2] RICHARD PLANTAGENET
Dare no man answer in a case of truth?

8.338 [2H6 4 08 4] CADE
Dare any be so bold to sound Retreat or Parley when I command them kill?

8.339 [3H6 3 03 178] KING LEWIS
Dare he presume to scorne us in this manner?

8.340 [H8 3 02 234] SUFFOLK
Who dare crosse 'em
Bearing the Kings will from his mouth expressly
(possible plural reading here)

8.341 [H8 5 01 38] LOVELL
Th' Archbishop
Is the Kings hand, and tongue, and who dare speak
One syllable against him?

DARE in Contexts where a Subjunctive Reading is Possible

8.342 [NVQ 2 04 35] LORENZO
Yf ere the Iewe her father come to heaven
Yt will be for his gentle daughters sake,
And never dare misfortune crosse her foote
Unlesse it doe it under this excuse,
That she is issue to a faithlesse Iewe.

8.343 [H8 3 01 84] QUEEN
But little for my profit can you thinke Lords
That any Englishman dare give me Counsell?

8.344 [TRO 1 03 271] AENEAS
If there be one among'rst the fayr'rst of Greece,
That holds his Honour higher than his ease ...
And dare avow her Beauty, and her Worth
In other armes than hers: to him his Challenge
(in spite of 'holds' a subjunctive reading just possible here)

Clauses introduced by WHOSOEVER etc or Equivalent Clauses

8.345 [SHR 3 02 233] PETRUCHIO
My horse, my oxe, my asse, my any thing,
And heere she stands, touch her who ever dare,
Ile bring mine action on the proudest he
That stops my way in Padua.
8. Shakespeare

8.346 [ROM 2 05 7] ROMEO
Do thou but close our hands with holy words,
Then Love-devouring death do what he dare,
It is enogh.

8.347 [LH6 2 04 32] SOMERSET
Let him that is no Coward, nor no Flatterer,
But dare maintain the party of the truth
Pluck a red Rose from off this Thorne with me.

8.348 [TRO 2 01 126] ACHILLES
That Hector ...
Will with a Trumpet, twixt our Tents and Troy
To morrow morning call some Knight to Armes
That hath a stomach, and such a one that dare
Maintain I know not what:

AS + Adj + AS

8.349 [TRO 5 10 25] TROILUS
You vile abominable tents
Thus proudly pight upon our Phrygian plaines,
Let Titan rise as early as he dare,
Ile through, and through you;

THAN

8.350 [MM 5 01 315] DUKE
Be not so hot: the Duke dare
No more stretch this finger of mine, then he
dare racke his owne

ERE

8.351 [ANT 4 15 82] CLEOPATRA
To rush into the secret house of death
Ere death dare come to us?

The following examples perhaps leave it unclear whether DARE is intended
as first or third person.

8.352 [AWW 2 01 98] LAFEU
I am Cresseds Uncle
That dare leave two together, fare you well

8.353 [MAC 3 04 58] LADY MACBETH
Are you a Man?
MACBETH
I, and a bold one, that dare look on that
Which might appall the Divell

DARETH nowhere occurs in Shakespeare (see Corpus 5.292, 5.293, 5.296,
5.297).
DARES:

in Non-Negative Clauses:

8.354 [WIV 2 01 25] MISTRESS PAGE
What an unwaied Behaviour hath this Flemish drunkard pickt (with the Devills name) out of my conversation that he dares in this manner assay me?

8.355 [AWW 3 06 88] FIRST LORD
Is not this a strange fellow my Lord, that so confidently seemes to undertake this businesse, which he knowes is not to be done, damnes himselfe to do, & dares better be damn'd than to do't?

8.356 [2H4 5 02 109] KING
Happy am I, that have a man so bold, That dares do Justice on my proper Sonne;

8.357 [ROM 2 02 68] ROMEO
For stony limits cannot hold Love out And what Love can do, that dares Love attempt.

in Negative Clauses:  (Corpus 5.294, 5.295)

8.358 [WIV 2 02 244] FORD
She dwells so securely on the excellency of her honour, that the folly of my soul dares not present itself;

8.359 [MND 3 01 133] BOTTOM
The Finch, the Sparrow, and the Larke, The plainsong Cuckow gray, Whose notefull many a man doth marke, And dares not answere, nay.

8.360 [MND 5 01 249] DEMETRIUS
He dares not come there for the candle for you see, it is already in snuffe.

8.361 [2H6 3 02 203] WARWICK
What dares not Warwick if false Suffolk dare He dares not calm his contumelious spirit.

8.362 [ROM 3 05 214] NURSE
Faith here it is, Romeo is banished, and all the world to nothing That he dares nere come backe to challenge you:

8.363 [LR 4 02 13] GONERIL
Then shall you go no further It is the Cowish terror of his spirit That dares not undertake.

8.364 [CYM 4 01 25] CLOTEN
This is the very description of their meeting place and the fellow dares not deceive me.
in Interrogative Clauses:

8.365 [LLL 4 03 223] BEROWNE
What peremptory Eagle-sighted eye,
Dares looke upon the heaven of her brow
That is not blinded by her majestie?

8.366 [R2 3 04 74] QUEEN
How dares thy harsh rude tongue sound this unpleasing newes.

8.367 [ZH6 3 02 203] WARWICK
What dares not Warwick if false Suffolk dare him?

8.368 [MAC 1 07 77] LADY MACBETH
Who dares receive it other?

8.369 [TIM 4 03 13] TIMON
Who dares? Who dares
In puritie of Manhood stand upright
And say, this mans a Flatterer

8.370 [PER 1 01 104] PERICLES
Kings are earths Gods, in vice their law's their will;
And if Jove stray, who dares say, Jove doth ill.

8.371 [PER 1 02 55] HELICANUS
How dares the plants looke up to heaven,
From whence they have their nourishment
(usually emended to 'dare' because of the plural subject)

in Subordinate Clause introduced by HOW:

8.372 [ROM 2 04 12] MERCUTIO
Any man that can write, may answere a letter
BENVOLIO
Nay he will answer the letters master, how he dares, being dared.

in Protasis:

8.373 [WT 2 02 35] PAULINA
If she dares trust me with her little babe,
I'le shew't the king.

Clauses introduced by WHOSOEVER etc or equivalent clause:

8.374 [LLL 1 01 227] FERDINAND
Peace.

CLOWN
Be to me, and everyman that dares not fight.

8.375 [KJ 1 01 172] BASTARD
Who dares not stir by day must walk by night

8.376 [KJ 1 01 271] BASTARD
Who lives and dares but say thou didst not well
When I was got, Ile send his soule to hell.
8.378 [R2 5 05 97] GROOM
What my tongue dares not, that my heart shall say.

8.379 [TRO 5 02 94] DIOMEDES
To morrow will I weare it on my Helme
And grieve his spirit that dares not challenge it.

8.380 [MAC 1 07 47] MACBETH
Prythee peace:
I dare do all that may become a man.
Who dares do more is none.

8.381 [LR 5 03 99] EDMUND
He that dares approach,
On him, on you, who not, I will maintaine
My truth and honor firmly.

8.382 [CYM 5 03 60] LORD
Nay, be not angry, Sir.
POSTHUMUS
Lacke, to what end
Who dares not stand his foe, Ile be his friend.

8.383 [WT 4 04 119] PERDITA
Daffadils
That come before the swallow dares

Third person DARES referring to the speaker:

8.384 [TN 3 04 316] TOBY
You sir? Why, who are you?
ANTONIO
One sir, that for his love dares yet do more
Than you have heard him brag to you he will

8.385 [WT 2 03 55] PAULINA
Good my Liege I come:
And I beseech you heare me, who professes
Myselfe your loyall Servant, your Physitian,
Your most obedient Counsailor: yet that dares
Lesse appeare so, in comforting your Evilles,
Then such as most seeme yours.

See also 8.325 for DARE referring to speaker.

The following passage, from which citation has already been made, suggests
the DARE/DARES contrast was subjunctive/indicative when it occurred
within a single passage.

8.386 [2H6 3 02 203] SUFFOLK
Say, if thou dar'st, proud Lord of Warwickshire,
That I am faultie in Duke Humfreyes death
WARWICK
What dares not Warwick, if false Suffolk dare him
QUEEN
He dares not calme his contumelious spirit
Nor cease to be an arrogant Controller
Though Suffolke dare him twentie thousand times.

DURST without Preterite Sense:

In Apodosis:

8.387 [WT 2 03 123] LEONTES
Were I a Tyrant
Where were her life? She durst not call me so
If she did know me.

8.388 [1H6 2 04 87] YORK
He beares him on the places Privilege
Or durst not for his craven heart say thus.

8.389 [3H6 1 01 63] CLIFFORD
Patience is for Poultroones, such as he:
He durst not sit there, had your father liv'd.

8.390 [LR 1 02 63] EDMUND
If the matter were good, my Lord, I durst swear it were his, but
in respect of that, I would faine thinke it were not.

8.391 [PER 1 02 54] PERICLES
If there be such a dart in Princes frownes
How durst thy tongue move anger to our face.

In Protasis:

8.392 [H5 4 04 73] BOY
and they are both hang'd, and so would this be, if he durst
steal any thing adventurously.

8.393 [LR 4 02 22] GONERIL
This kiss, if it durst speak
Would stretch thy spirits up into the ayre

In Clause introduced by WHEREVER:

8.394 [R2 1 01 66] MOWBRAY
Even to the frozen ridges of the Alpes,
Or any other ground inhabitable
Where ever Englishman durst set his foote.

With Softened Sense:

8.395 [CYM 1 04 112] IACHIMO
And to barre your offence heerein to,
I durst attempt it against any Lady in the world

8.396 [PER 5 01 43] LORD
Sir we have a maid in Metiline, I durst wager would win some
words of him.
DURST, Selected Examples of Preterite Sense: (Corpus 5.276 - 5.280)

8.397 [WT 2 02 48] EMILIA
Who, but to day hammered of this designe
But durst not tempt a minister of honour
Least she should be deny'd

8.398 [1H6 1 01 140] MESSENGER
A base Wallon, to win the Dolphins grace
Thrust Talbot with a Speare into the Back
Whom all France, with their chiefe assembled strength
Durst not presume to look once in the face.

8.399 [3H6 2 02 108] WARWICK
'Twas not your valor Clifford drove me thence.
NORTHUMBERLAND
No nor your manhood that durst make you stay.

8.400 [LR 1 01 169] LEAR
Heare me recreant, on thine allegeance heare me,
That thou hast sought to make us breake our vowes,
Which we durst never yet; and with strain'd pride
To come betwixt our sentence and our power.

In Interrogative Clauses:

8.401 [3H6 4 01 112] KING EDWARD
Ha? durst the traitor breake out so proud words.
Well, I will arme me, being thus forewarn'd.

8.402 [3H6 5 02 22] WARWICK
For who liv'D king, but I could dig his Grave?
And who durst smile, when Warwick bent his browe.

DURST HAVE:

8.403 [ERR 2 02 66] ANTIPHOLUS
Well sir, learne to jest in good time, there's a time for all things.

S. DROMIO
I durst have denied that before you were so chollericke.

8.404 [MND 3 02 69] HERMIA
Oh, once tell true, even for my sake
Durst thou a lookt upon him, being awake?
And hast thou kill'd him sleeping

8.405 [1H4 1 03 116] KING HENRY
He durst as well have met the devil alone
As Owen Glendower for an enemy.

8.406 [2H4 2 02 3] PRINCE
Trust me, I am exceeding weary.

POINS
Is it come to that? I had thought weariness durst not have
attach'd one of so high blood.
Within these forty hours Surrey durst better
Have burnt that Tongue, then saide so.

When Caesar liv'd, he durst not thus have moved me.
Peace, peace, you durst not so have tempted him.
I durst not.
No.
What? durst not tempt him?
For your life you durst not.

So, I am free: yet would not so have been
Durst I have done my will.

Lord how mine eies throw gazes to the East
My hart doth charge the watch, the morning rise
Doth scite each moving scence from idle rest
Not daring trust the office of mine eyes.

And't please you Maiesty, a Rascall that swagger'd with me last
night: who if alive, and ever dare to challenge this Glove, I
have sworne to take him a box o' th ere.

And aske him why that houre of Fairy Revell
In their so sacred paths he dares to tread,
In shape prophane.

Strange unusuall blood
When mans worst sinne is, He do's too much Good
Who then dares to be halfe so kinde agen?

a Debtor that not dares
To stride a limit.
After DURST only

8.415 [OTH 4 02 12] EMILIA
   I durst (my Lord), to wager she is honest.

The presence of a phrase between the verb and the infinitive may be a condition for this insertion of TO. cf. OUGHT where such an interrupting phrase is usual when TO is omitted.

TO is found after forms absent from the Modal Verb.

Perfect HAVE DARED:

8.416 [MM 2 02 91] ANGELO
   Those many had not dar'd to doe that evill
   If the first, that did th' Edict infringe
   Had answer'd for his deed.

DARING:

8.417 [2H6 4 01 80] LIEUTENANT
   And wedded be thou to the Hagges of hell
   For daring to affye a mighty Lord
   Unto the daughter of a worthlesse King

   Infinitive Forms with DO:

8.418 [MAC 3 05 3] HECATE
   Sawcy, and over-bold how did you dare
   To trade and Trafficke with Macbeth

   After Modals:

8.419 [TIM 1 02 12] TIMON
   If our betters play at that game we must not dare
   To imitate them.

DARED as weak preterite does not occur in Shakespeare (corpus 5.298).

DARE is occasionally used absolutely:

8.420 [ADO 5 01 84] LEONTES
   Ie prove it on his body if he dare.

8.421 [3H6 5 01 112] WARWICK
   And bid thee Battaile Edward if thou dar'st
   Yes Warwick, Edward dares, and leads the way.

DARE is found with NP as object:

8.422 [MAC 3 01 50] MACBETH
   Tis much he dares
Also with a direct object of what may be expected to daunt. OED gives as sense 4 'To dare or venture to meet or expose oneself to, to run the risk of meeting' and cites 8.423 as first occurrence.

8.423 [HAM 4 05 133] LAERTES
I dare Damnation

8.424 [H8 3 02 307] WOLSEY
Speak on, Sir
I dare your worst Objections:

8.425 [TIM 3 05 93] SENATOR
Do you dare our anger

DARE in the sense to challenge someone to do something:

8.426 [R2 1 03 109] 1 HAROLD
And dares him to set forward to the fight

or to challenge someone to something:

8.427 [1H4 5 02 23] VERNON
No, by my Soule: I never in my life
Did heare a Challenge urg'd more modestly
Unlesse a Brother should a Brother dare
To gentle exercise, and proofe of Armes.

and in the passive:

8.428 [1H6 1 03 45] WINCHESTER
Doe what thou dar'st, I beard thee to thy face.
GLOSTER
What? am I dared and bearded to my face?

8.429 [HAM 1 01 84] HORATIO
our last King
Whose image even now appear'd to us,
Was as you knowe by Fortinbrasse of Norway
... Dar'd to the combat.

SECTION 12 - OUGHT

OUGHT occurs only twenty times in the entire works of Shakespeare, a rough average of once in every two plays. It is therefore by far the least frequent of the modal verbs in Shakespeare and it seems likely that its unusualness in his work is related to the distribution of OUGHT shown in the corpus, namely, that the word though fairly common in philosophical writing is absent from familiar and friendly letters
and virtually absent from plain historical narrative such as Moryson's. The suggestion made to account for these facts of distribution was that OUGHT was not considered appropriate in ordinary colloquial speech, where MUST or SHOULD could always replace it.

The use of OUGHT in Shakespeare may be interpreted to support this suggestion. It is evident that the language placed in the mouths of Shakespeare's characters is not confined to the colloquial usage of the period. Nevertheless we might expect that the use of a word more particularly associated with philosophical prose would be sparing. However of the 20 uses of OUGHT in Shakespeare, nine or a little under half occur in the speeches of characters whose language is being parodied. The over-representation of OUGHT in this restricted section of Shakespeare's total text makes it likely I think that Shakespeare thought or had observed that the use or overuse of the word was typical of foreign speakers of English (or perhaps specifically of Welshmen) and of uneducated low class characters, attempting to sound impressive.

All the uses of OUGHT are given below in two lists, the first containing what seem to be 'straight' uses, the second those where I suggest the employment of the word is part of the comic characterisation of the speaker's language.

8.430 [1H6 4 01 28] TALBOT
My selfe, and divers Gentleman beside,
Were there surpriz'd, and taken prisoners.
Then judge (great Lords) if I have done amisse:
Or whether that such Cowards ought to weare
This Ornament of Knighthood, yea or no?

8.431 [3H6 4 07 40] MOUNTGOMERIE
To help King Edward in his time of storme,
As every loyall Subject ought to doe.

8.432 [R3 2 02 131] BUCKINGHAM
Where every Horse beares his commanding Reine,
And may direct his course as please himselfe,
As well the feare of harme, as harme apparent,
In my opinion ought to be prevented.
8. Shakespeare 12. OUGHT

8.433 [R2  5 03 110] DUCHESS
Our prayers do out-pray his, then let them have
That mercy, which true prayers ought to have.

8.434 [AYL 2 04 7] ROSALIND
I could finde it in my heart to disgrace my mans apparell, and
to cry like a woman; but I must comfort the weaker vessell, as
doublet and hose ought to show it selfe coragious to a petty-
coate.

Where OUGHT seems used as a deliberate variation of the MUST in the
preceding clause.

8.435 [JC 1 01 3] FLAVIUS
Hence: home you idle Creatures, get you home:
Is this a Holiday? What, know you not
(Being Mechanicall) you ought not walke
Upon a labouring day, without the signe
Of your Profession

The only example in Shakespeare of OUGHT used without TO before the
following infinitive.

8.436 [JC 2 01 270] PORTIA
No my Brutus,
You have some sicke Offence within your minde,
Which by the Right and Vertue of my place
I ought to know of:

8.437 [ADO 2 03 188] LEONATO
If he doe feare God, a must necessarilie keepe the peace: if hee
breake the peace, he ought to enter into a quarrell with feare
and trembling.

As in 8.434 OUGHT may be due to a desire to avoid repeating MUST; here
in addition it would be confusing to use MUST in the sense of obligation
directly after its use in the sense of necessity.

8.438 [TN 5 01 303] CLOWN
No Madam, I do but reade madnesse: and your Ladyship will have
it as it ought to bee, you must allow vox

Feste's language may be touched with deliberate pedantry of style but
it is not distorted for purposes of comic characterization. Again,
MUST in the immediate context may be responsible for the use of OUGHT.

8.439 [LEA 5 03 325] EDGAR
The waight of this sad time we must obey,
Speake what we feele, not what we ought to say:

Again a certain balance between MUST and OUGHT in the two lines is
apparent.
8. Shakespeare 12. OUGHT

8.440 [COR 3 03 62] SICINIUS
Answer to us.

CORIOLANUS
Say then; 'tis true, I ought so.

Without TO: the construction with SO has not survived so that in PE the verbal infinitive may be deleted leaving TO, or both verbal infinitive and TO may be deleted, but SO would require the support verb DO.

OUGHT in speakers of comically distorted English

1. Welshmen speaking English:

8.441 [1H4 3 03 128] FLUELLEN
Looke you, if you take the matter otherwise then it is meant, Captaine Macmormice, peradventure I shall thinke you doe not use me with that affabilitie, as in discretion you ought to use me, looke you, being as good a man as yourself.

8.442 [1H4 3 06 56] FLUELLEN
for if, looke you, he were my Brother, I would desire the Duke to use his good pleasure, and put him to execution, for discipline ought to be used.

8.443 [WIV 1 01 101] EVANS
It is spoke as a Christians ought to speake

2. Language-bunglers:

8.444 [ADO 3 03 78] DOGBERRY
for indeed the watch ought to offend no man, and it is an offence to stay a man against his will.

8.445 [MM 2 01 56] ELBOW
If it please your honour, I know not well what they are: But precise villaines they are, that I am sure of, and void of all prophanation in the world, that good Christians ought to have.

There is a similarity of phrase with Evans's use, 8.443, and perhaps expressions of this sort had some currency. Yet that it should only come in Shakespeare in such contexts of misuse of language suggests he found it in some way ludicrous.

3. Low class characters attempting grave speech:

8.446 [3H6 4 07 54] CADE
Marry, thou ought'st not to let thy horse weare a Cloake, when homester men then thou go in their Hose and Doublets.

8.447 [MND 3 02 25,29] BOTTOM
Masters, you ought to consider with youself; to bring in, God shield us, a Lyon among Ladies is a most dreadfull thing! For there is not a more fearefull wilde foule then your Lyon living: & we ought to looke tooe.

8.448 [COR 2 03 1] 1 CITIZEN
   Once if he do require our voyces, wee ought not to deny him.

OUGHT as the past tense of OWE occurs once in Shakespeare

8.449 [1H4 3 03 134] HOSTESS
   So he doth you my Lord, and sayde his other day, You ought him a thousand pound.
   PRINCE
   Sirrah, do I owe you a thousand pound?

The overall infrequency of OUGHT in Shakespeare's text can be seen as confirmation of the conclusion from the corpus that OUGHT is only used with a frequency comparable to that of MUST in philosophical prose.

The absence of OUGHT from Chamberlaine and Delaval suggests it was not in ordinary conversational use. The distribution of OUGHT in Shakespeare confirms this. Though it is found in the mouths of serious characters both in prose and verse, it occurs almost as often in the speeches of characters whose manner of speaking is being made fun of. For Shakespeare it appears to be associated with the awkwardness of non-native speakers of English, and of the pedantry of badly educated speakers attempting to sound impressive.

SECTION 13 - PRETERITE FORMS (Corpus Chapter 6, Section 4)

The use of the preterite form as a softened present is sometimes illustrated by variations in different texts of the same passage as,

8.450 [HAM 5 01 98] HAMLET
   why may not that be the skull of a lawyer?
   So Qq. F reads
   why might not that bee the Scull of a Lawyer?

The following example displays a contrast of present and preterite form.

8.451 [TRO 3 03 185] ULYSSES
   the cry went out on thee
   And still it might, and yet it may againe
   If thou would'st not entombe thy selfe alive,
   And case thy reputation in thy Tent;
where MAY refers to a realizable possibility in the future and MIGHT to an unfulfilled possibility in the present.

WOULD in the sense of 'wish' followed by a clause is very frequent in Shakespeare, though only in the first person singular. The pronoun is sometimes omitted. This appears to be a reflection of speech as there is no example of this omission of subject in the corpus, except in the set-phrase WOULD GOD (where 'God' may be felt as subject rather than indirect object) (6.171 - 6.174, 6.175 - 6.188). THAT is rarely expressed after WOULD.

In this construction the verb in the clause is preterite subjunctive,

8.452 [TGV 1 02 33] JULIA
I would I knew his mind.

8.453 [TGV 2 01 163] VALENTINE
I would it were no worse.

or a preterite form modal,

8.454 [ADO 1 01 206] BENEDICK
I would your Grace would constraine mee to tell.

8.455 [ADO 2 01 285] PEDRO
You have put him downe Lady, you have put him downe.

BEATRICE
So I would not he should do me, my Lord, lest I should proove the mother of fools.

8.456 [MAC 2 02 72] MACBETH
Wake Duncan with thy knocking:
I would thou could'st.

8.457 [TMP 1 01 57] ANTHONIO
This wide-chopt-rascall, would thou mightst lye drowning
The washing of ten Tides.

Or, for unfulfilled wishes in the past, with HAD + Past Participle:

8.458 [TMP 2 01 108] ALONSO
Would I had never
Married my daughter there;

Pronoun 'I' omitted in 8.457, 8.458 and in the following:(8.459 - 8.461).
8. Shakespeare 13. WOULD I MIGHT NEVER
WOULD HAVE NP TO

WOULD I MIGHT NEVER ... is used as a formula of asseveration.

8.459 [2H4 1 02 211] FALSTAFF
If it bee a hot day, if I brandish any thing but my Bottle,
would I might never spit white againe;

8.460 [JN 1 01 145] BASTARD
Madam, an if my brother had my shape ... And to his shape, were heir to all this land
Would I might never stirre from off this place,
I'd give it every foot to have this face

8.461 [ANT 5 02 102] DOLABELLA
would I might never 
Ore-take pursu'de successe; But I do feele 
By the rebound of yours, a greefe that suites 
My very heart at roote.

The formula calls down a curse on the speaker if he behaves in a certain way or if what he is asserting is not true. 8.459 is in the form of an ordinary conditional sentence with WOULD I MIGHT NEVER as apodosis;
8.461 in the form of a conditional sentence with protasis after BUT.
8.460 asseverates what Falconbridge would do in hypothetical circumstances. BUT must be understood before 'I'd give it every foot to have this face'.

WOULD HAVE + NP + TO + Verbal Infinitive: (Corpus 6.189 - 6.216)

8.462 [TGV 3 01 80] VALENTINE
What would your Grace have me to do in this?

WOULD HAVE + NP + Past Participle: (Corpus 6.217 - 6.226)

8.463 [TGV 4 04 101] JULIA
And now am I (unhappy Messenger)
To plead for that, which I would not obtaine;
To carry that, which I would have refus'd;
To praise his faith, which I would have disprais'd.

8.464 [WIV 2 02 200] FORD
I have ... not only bought many presents to give her, but have
given largely to many, to know what shee would have given:

These constructions, which enable a wish to be expressed after WOULD with a different subject from the subject of WOULD without recourse to use of a THAT-Clause, have been noticed in the corpus. In Shakespeare, though not in the corpus, we also find parallel constructions with MUST
instead of WOULD. All the examples here are first to second person, much more likely to occur in speech than in written discourse.

MUST HAVE + NP + Infinitive without TO:

8.465 [2H6 2 01 144] GLOSTER
   Well, Sir, we must have you find your Legges.

8.466 [ROM 1 04 13] ROMEO
   Being but heavy I will beare the light.
   MERCUTIO
   Nay, gentle Romeo, we must have you dance.

equivalent to 'you must dance' but expressing in this form the source of the obligation, 'we'.

8.467 [1H4 2 03 103] HOTSFUR
   But hearke you Kate,
   I must not have you henceforth, question me.
   Whether I go:

8.468 [COR 1 03 69] VALERIA
   Come, lay aside your stitchery, I must have you play the idle huswife with me this afternoone.

MUST HAVE + NP + Past Participle:

8.469 [PER 4 06 127] BOULT
   I must have your maydenhead taken off or the common hang-man shal execute it.

In the following example GET is employed instead of HAVE in what is essentially the same construction.

8.470 [PER 4 06 4] BAWD
   we must either get her ravished or be rid of her.

SECTION 14 - WOULD HAVE, SHOULD HAVE, COULD HAVE, MIGHT HAVE
(Corpus Chapter 6, Section 5)

WOULD HAVE + Past Participle is used to express WILL in past time;
(Corpus 6.249 - 6.266)

8.471 [AWW 4 03 301] PAROLLES
   Yet who would have suspected an ambush where I was taken?

'Who would suspect an ambush' would be appropriate to present time, before the ambush occurred.
8. Shakespeare

or WOULD (in the sense of 'wish') in past time:

8.472 PROTEUS
Madam, this service I have done for you ...
To hazard life, and resclew you from him,
That would have forc'd your honour, and your love.

'That wanted to, tried (unsuccessfully) to.'

8.473 EGEUS
They would have stolen away, they would Demetrius
Thereby to have defeated you and me:

8.474 COUNTESS
It hath happen'd, as I would have had it, save that he comes not
along with her.

SHOULD HAVE + Past Participle to express SHALL with future sense,
now considered as past in time because expectation was not fulfilled.

(Corpus 6.233 - 6.245)

8.475 COUNTESS
I thought I should have seene some Hercules,
A second Hector, for his grim aspect.

8.476 FALSTAFF
I look'd hee should have sent me two and twenty yards of Satten
(as I am a true knight) and he sends me Security.

This use of SHOULD HAVE shades into 'was due to' when what was due to
happen did not take place.

8.477 ROMEO
I thinke
He told me Paris should have married Juliet.

Romeo remembers hearing 'Paris shall marry Juliet'.

8.478 PRINCE JOHN
let our Traines
March by us, that wee may peruse the men
Wee should have coap'd withall

8.479 DUKE
Shee should this Angelo have married; was affianced to her oath,
and the nuptiall appointed:

This in turn shades into obligation, thought of as past because
unfulfilled.

8.480 YORK
For Richard, the first Sonnes Heire, being dead,
The Issue of the next Sonne should have reign'd.
8.481 [ERR 5 01 57] ABBESS
You should for that have reprehended him.
ADRIANA
Why so I did.

Adriana takes the Abbess's statement as implying that she did not do so.

8.482 [MND 5 01 240] DEMETRIUS
He should have wore the hornes on his head:

8.483 [MV 3 02 259] BASSANIO
How much I was a Braggart, when I told you
My state was nothing, I should then have told you
That I was worse then nothing

8.484 [2H4 2 01 67] CHIEF JUSTICE
You should have bene well on your way to Yorke.

8.485 [TN 3 02 21] FABIAN
You should then have accosted her, and with some excellent jests,
fire-new from the mint, you should have bangd the youth into
dumbnesse; this was look'd for at your hand, and this was
baulk'd.

8.486 [HAN 3 01 116] OPHELIA
Indeed my Lord, you made me beleeve so.
HAMLET
You should not have beleived me, for vertue cannot so Innoculate
our old stocke, but we shall rellish of it.

8.487 [COR 2 03 163] 2 CITIZEN
He should have shew'd us
His Marks of Merit, Wounds receiv'd for's Country.

The difficult passage in Macbeth can be assigned to this sense of
obligation, or to the purely future sense of 8.475 and 8.476.

8.488 [MAC 5 05 17] SEYTON
The Queene (my Lord) is dead.
MACBETH
She should have dy'de hereafter;
There would have beene a time for such a word:

If the first, the meaning is 'She ought to have died, not now as she
has done, but at some future date: If she had, the message of her death
which you have just brought, would have come at an appropriate time,
compared with its inappropriateness at this moment of impending attack'.
If the second, 'She should have died hereafter' must be taken as an
apodosis to an understood protasis 'If she had not died now'. The next
line continues the apodosis, 'Sooner or later, the time for the message
you have just brought me would have arrived'. This interpretation
seems to me somewhat more forced as the response to Seyton's news but
to provide a better transition to the following line which is

Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow

In PE the two interpretations are distinguished since the second would
be expressed by 'She would have died hereafter'. But comparing with
8.472, 8.473 I assume to audiences of Shakespeare's lifetime 'She would
have 'died hereafter' had the sense 'She wanted or would have preferred
to die hereafter' suggesting Lady Macbeth herself was concerned not to
die at such an inconvenient moment. Since death is event and not
activity, SHALL with DIE is of course quite appropriate in a purely
future sense.

COULD HAVE + Past Participle. Possibility in the past is
expressed by COULD HAVE in negative, interrogative and some other
clauses which usually take CAN instead of MAY.

8.489 [CYM 4 03 115] GUIDERIUS
Not Hercules,
Could have knock'd out his Braines, for he had none:

8.490 [JC 4 03 143] CASSIUS
I did not thinke you could have bin so angry.

8.491 [COR 2 03 176] BRUTUS
Could you not have told him
As you were lesson'd:

In clause dependant on a superlative:

8.492 [WT 4 04 704] CLOWN
Indeed Brother in Law was the farthest off you could have beene
to him, and then your Blood had beene the dearer, by I know how
much an ounce.

MIGHT HAVE is used for a possibility in the past, unfulfilled,
sometimes emphatically so.

8.493 [LR 5 03 271] LEAR
A plague upon you Murderers, Traitors all
I might have sav'd her, now she's gone for ever:

(Corpus 6.267 - 6.276)
Sometimes closer to a speculative result clause, set in circumstances now past.

8.494 [WT 4 04 609] AUTOLYCUS

You might have pinch'd a placket, it was senselessse, 'twas nothing to gueld a Cod-piece of a Purse:

There is also a use of MAY, presumably deriving from the sense of permission rather than possibility which is apparently close to OUGHT TO HAVE.

8.495 [HAM 3 02 285] HAMLET

For thou dost know: Oh Damon deer
This Realm dismantled was
of love himselfe, And now reignes heere
A verie verie Paiocke.

You might have Rim'd.

8.496 [OTH 4 02 113] DESDEMONA

those that teach yong Babes
Do it with gentle meanes, and easie taskes.
He might have chid me so, for in good faith
I am a Child to chiding.

MUST HAVE referring to unfulfilled necessity in the past will scarcely occur except in conditionals or where some condition is implied. (Corpus 6.284, 6.285)

8.497 [ANT 5 01 37] CAESAR

I must perforce
Have shewne to thee such a declining day,
Or looke on thine.

SECTION 15 - EPISTEMIC USES (Corpus Chapter 6, Section 6)

MAY:

8.498 [TN 1 02 7] VIOLA

Perchance he is not drown'd. What think you, Sailors.

CAPTAIN

It is perchance that you yourselve were saved.

VIOLA

0 my poore brother, and so perchance may he be.

'Perchance he is not drowned' expresses epistemic possibility by means of a sentence-adverb, PERCHANCE,'It is possibly the case that he is not drowned'; 'and so perchance may he be (i.e. saved)' by epistemic use of
MAY, 'It is possibly the case that he is saved'. The context seems to exclude the future reference of root modality here; by this time Sebastian has been either drowned or saved. Here the use of PERCHANCE is pleonastic. In the Captain's speech PERCHANCE is used in a different sense (equivalent to 'by chance' not to 'perhaps', an ordinary adverb or adverbial phrase of manner, not a sentence-adverb). Dramatically, this dialogue depends on the repetition of the word PERCHANCE though its syntactic function in each speech is different.

8.499 [OTH 3 03 433] IAGO
Nay yet be wise: yet we see nothing done,
She may be honest yet

It is still possible that she is honest.

8.500 [OTH 5 01 43] LODOVICO
Two or three groane. 'Tis heavy night;
These may be counterfeits: Let's think't unsafe
To come into the cry, without more helpe.

8.501 [WT 1 02 250] CAMILLO
My gracious Lord
I may be negligent, foolish and fearfull:
In every one of these, no man is free.

8.502 [PER 2 02 52] 2 LORD
He may well be a Stranger, for he comes
To an honour'd tryumph, strangely furnisht.

8.503 [PER 2 05 79] KING
Will you not, having my consent
Bestow your love and your affections,
Upon a Stranger? who for ought I know
May be (nor can I think the contrary)
As great in blood as I my selfe;

In all these examples of epistemic use the verb following MAY is BE.

MAY HAVE + Past Participle. Forms with the present tense modals followed by the perfect infinitive do not occur in the corpus, with the exception of two examples of SHALL HAVE.

Ehrman [1966] discusses the following example from Shakespeare:

8.504 [1H4 3 01 89] MORTIMER
My Father Glendower is not readie yet;
Nor shall wee neede his helpe these foureteene dayes:
Within that space, you may have drawne together
Your Tenants Friends and neighbouring Gentlemen.
Her comment is [p. 84]

either the *may* is permissive and the *have* lexical, or the *may* is either circumstantial or occurrential and the *have* is either lexical or a marker of phase. Context does not clear the ambiguity in this sentence.

I think this must be read as 'Within fourteen days, it is possible for you to have your tenants, friends and neighbouring gentlemen drawn together'. *MAY* here refers to a future possibility. The word order is explained by the length of the phrase which is the object of *HAVE*.

However *MAY* + perfect infinitive does occur in *Shakespeare* but both examples collected are epistemic and refer to the possibility that something has already happened.

8.505 [TIT 4 03 23] TITUS
And leave you not a man of warre unsearcht,
This wicked Emperor may have shipt her hence,
And kinsmen then we may goe pipe for iustice.

8.506 [LR 1 02 159] EDMUND
Bethink your selfe wherein you may have offended him:
*MUST*, together with *CANNOT ... BUT* expressing epistemic necessity:

8.507 [2H4 3 02 207] SHALLOW
Doth she hold her owne well.

   FALSTAFF

Old, old M Shallow.

   SHALLOW

Nay, she must be old, she cannot choose but be old: certaine *she's old*:

8.508 [TRO 2 03 252] ULYSSES
here's Nestor
Instructed by the Antiquary times:
He must, he is, he cannot but be wise.

8.509 [HAM 5 01 9] 1 GRAVEDIGGER
It must be, *Se offendendo*, it cannot bee else:

*MUST*:

8.510 [H5 1 01 67] B CANTERBURY
It must be so; for Miracles are ceast
And therefore we must needs admit the meanes,
How things are perfected.
8.511 [TRO 1 01 90] TROILUS
Fooles on both sides, Helen must needs be faire,
When with your bloud you daily paint her thus.

8.512 [LR 1 01 219] FRANCE
sure her offense
Must be of such unnaturall degree,
That monsters it.

All examples above with BE. But

8.513 [TRO 4 04 141] AENEAS
How have we spent this morning,
The Prince must thinke me tardy and remisse,
That swore to ride before him in the field.

and the following example, with MUST HAVE, and NEEDS (Corpus 6.328):

8.514 [HAM 5 02 229] HAMLET
This presence knowes
And you must needs have heard, how I am punisht
With sore distraction?

SECTION 16 - MAY/MIGHT IN PURPOSE CLAUSES

In purpose clauses, the negative is MAY NOT, MIGHT NOT, instead
of CANNOT, COULD NOT. (Corpus 7.61 - 7.70)

8.515 [2H6 4 01 133] SUFFOLK
Come Souldiers, shew what cruelty ye can,
That this my death may never be forgot:

8.516 [3H6 4 01 122] CLARENCE
For I will hence to Warwickes other Daughter,
That though I want a Kingdome, yet in Marriage
I may not prove inferior to your selfe.

8.517 [JN 4 02 61] PEMBROKE
and deny his youth
The rich advantage of good exercise,
That the times enemies may not have this
To grace occasions:

8.518 [TIM 4 03 154] TIMON
Cracke the Lawyers voyce,
That he may never more false Title plead,
Nor sound his Quillets shrilly:

8.519 [ANT 4 09 15] ENOBARBUS
Oh Soveraigne Mistris of true Melancholly
The poysonous dampe of night dispunge upon me,
That Life, a very Rebell to my will
May hang no longer on me.
8.520 [TMP 4 01 194] CALIBAN
Pray you tread softly, that the blinde Mole may not heare a foot fall:

8.521 [PER 4 02 55] PANDER
Instruct her what she has to doe that she may not be raw in her entertainment

MIGHT:

8.522 [2H4 2 04 320] FALSTAFF
No abuse (Ned) in the World; honest Ned none. I disprays'd him before the Wicked, that the Wicked might not fall in love with him:

8.523 [WT 5 02 78] GENT 3
as if she would pin her to her heart, that she might no more be in danger of loosing.

Yet MAY NOT, MIGHT NOT, also sometimes are found in result clauses:

8.524 [JC 2 01 75] LUCIUS
No, Sir, their Hats are pluckt about their Eares And halfe their faces buried in their Cloakes, That by no meanes I may discover them By any marke of favour

8.525 [HAM 1 02 141] HAMLET
So loving to my Mother That he might not beteem the windes of heaven Visit her face too roughly

MAY NOT is also found in Purpose Clauses introduced by a Relative Pronoun:

8.526 [H5 2 04 118] EXETER
Scorne and defiance, sleight regard, contempt And any thing that may not misbecome The mightie Sender, doth he prize you at

8.527 [TN 5 01 169] ORSINO
Farewell, and take her, but direct thy feete Where thou and I, (henceforth) may never meet.

8.528 [TRO 5 02 5] ULYSSES
Stand where the Torch may not discover us

Result Clauses introduced by a relative pronoun occasionally have MAY NOT:

8.529 [1H4 1 01 45] WESTMORLAND
Upon whose dead corpses there was such misuse, Such beastly, shamelesse transformation, By those Welshwomen done, as may not be (Without much shame) re-told or spoken of
Here perhaps to indicate that it is impermissible rather than impossible to recount the atrocities.

After Complementary Purpose Clauses of Begging or Demanding, MAY NOT, MIGHT NOT is found:

8.530 [TN 3 01 90] CONSTANCE
Let wives with childe
Pray that their burthens may not fall this day

8.531 [R3 1 03 75] QUEEN
God grant we never may have neede of you!

8.532 [MM 3 01 246] DUKE
Goe you to Angelo, answere his requiring with a plausible obedience, agree with his demands to the point: onely referre your selfe to this advantage; first, that your stay with him may not be long:

8.533 [WT 4 01 32] TIME
of this allow,
If ever you have spent time worse, ere now:
If never, yet that Time himselfe doth say,
He wishes earnestly you never may.

MIGHT:

8.534 [AYL 1 02 182] ROSALIND
We wil make it our suite to the Duke that the wrastling might not go forward.

It appears to be these Complementary Purpose Clauses of Begging and Demanding with MAY that give rise to a use of MAY to express the content of the speaker's prayer or request. The first person main verb is omitted and there is inversion between the subject of the complementary clause and MAY. The construction is new in the language at this time. The OED gives it from 1586, under 7b 'In exclamatory expressions of wish, may with the inf. is synonymous with the pres. subj., which (exc. poet. and rhet.) it has superseeded'. It does not occur at all in the corpus.

Non-Negative:

8.535 [2H6 1 01 124] YORK
For Suffolkes Duke, may he be suffocate
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8.536 [2H6 1 02 19] GLOSTER
And may that thought, when I imagine ill
Against my King and Nephew, vertuous Henry
Be my last breathing in this mortall world.

8.537 [3H6 3 02 19] LADY GRAY
Right gracious Lord, I cannot brooke delay;
May it please your Highnesse to resolve me now,
And what your pleasure is, shall satisfie me.

Negative:

8.538 [R2 1 01 82] MOWBRAY
And when I mount, alive may I not light
If I be Traitor, or unjustly fight.

8.539 [TRO 4 05 260] HECTOR
But Ile endeavour deeds to match these words
Or may I never --

8.540 [TIM 1 01 149] OLD ATHENIAN
Humbly I thanke your Lordship, never may
That state of Fortune fall into my keeping
Which is not owed to you

SECTION 17 - CONDITIONALS. PLUPERFECT SEQUENCE

The preterite modal forms + HAVE in apodosis are common in
Shakespeare and are briefly exemplified below.

WOULD HAVE in Apodosis with Protasis in HAD: (Corpus 7.373 - 7.387)

8.541 [MND 5 01 359] THESEUS
Marry if hee that writ it had plaid Piramus, and hung himselfe
in Thisbies garter it would have been a fine tragedy.

8.542 [MV 5 01 221] BASSANIO
Had you bene there, I think you would have begg'd
The King of me, to give the worthie Doctor?

8.543 [WIV 5 05 185] SLENDER
If it had not bene i' th Church, I would have swing'd him, or hee
should have swing'd me.

8.544 [MM 2 02 65] ISABELLA
If he had bin as you, and you as he,
You would have slipt like him, but he, like you
Would not have been so stern.

8.545 [WT 5 03 58] PAULINA
Indeed my Lord
If I had thought the sight of my poor Image
Would thus have wrought you (for the Stone is mine)
I'l'd not have shew'd it.
SHOULD HAVE, Protasis in HAD:

8.546 [3H6 2 01 4] EDWARD
Had he been ta'en, we should have heard the newes,
Had he been slain, we should have heard the newes,
Or had he scap't, me thinkes we should have heard
The happy tidings of his good escape.

8.547 [ROM 2 03 158] PETER
I saw no man use you at his pleasure; if I had, my weapon should
quickly have beene out, I warrant you.

8.548 [2H4 4 03 67] COLEVILLE
had they beeene rul'd by me
You should have wonne them dearer then you did.

8.549 [AYL 1 02 238] ROSALIND
Had I before knowne this yong man his sonne,
I should have given him teares unto entreaties,
Ere he should thus have ventur'd.

8.550 [HAM 5 01 24] 2 GRAVEDIGGER
if this had not beeene a Gentlewoman shee should have beeene
buried out of Christian Buriall.

COULD HAVE, Protasis in HAD:

Negatives:

8.551 [1H6 2 01 59] JOAN
Improvident Souldiers, had your Watch been good
This sudden Mischief never could have faIn.

8.552 [AWW 3 06 53] FIRST LORD
That was not to be blam'd in command of the service: it was a
disaster of warre that Caesar himself could not have prevented,
if he had beeene there to command.

8.553 [AWW 4 05 12] COUNTESS
If she had pertaken of my flesh and cost mee the deerest groanes
of a mother, I could not have owed her a more rooted love.

Non-Negatives:

(Not in Corpus)

8.554 [R3 2 04 24] YOUNG YORK
Now by my troth, if I had been remembred,
I could have given my Unkles Grace, a flout,
To touch his growth, neerer then he toucht mine.

8.555 [AYL 1 02 11] CELIA
If my Uncle thy banished father had banished thy Uncl the Duke
my Father, so thou hadst beeene still with mee, I could have
taught my love to take thy father for mine.
MIGHT HAVE, Protasis in HAD:  

Only in Non-Negative Clauses.

8.556 [3H6 2 02 153] EDWARD 
And had he match'd according to his State, 
He might have kept that glory to this day.

8.557 [LLL 5 02 17] KATHERINE 
He made her melancholy, sad and heavy, and so she died: had she 
beene light like you, of such a merrie nimble stirring spirit 
she might 'a' bin a Grandam ere she died.

8.558 [TIT 5 01 30] GOTH 
Had nature lent thee, but thy Mothers looke, 
Villaine, thou mightst have bene an Emperour.

8.559 [R2 3 04 62] GARDENER 
Had he done so, to great and growing men, 
They might have liv'd to beare, and he to taste 
Their fruits of dutie.

8.560 [COR 4 05 189] 2 SERVINGMAN 
And hee had bin Cannibally given, hee might have boyled and 
eaten him too 

With other Protases:

WERE:

8.561 [MAC 5 05 6] MACBETH 
Were they not forc'd with those that should be ours, 
We might have met them darefull, beard to beard, 
And beate them backward home.

COULD HAVE:

8.562 [COR 4 06 16] MENENIUS 
All's well, and might have been much better, if he could have 
temporiz'd.

Protasis Understood:

8.563 [WT 5 03 32] PAULINA 
So much the more our Carvers excellence 
Which lets goe-by some sixteene yeeres, and makes her 
As she liv'd now. 

LEONTES 
As now she might have done

MUST HAVE, Protasis in HAD:

8.564 [R2 5 02 35] YORK 
But dust was throwne upon his Sacred head, 
Which with such gentle sorrow he shooke off ... 
That had not God (for some strong purpose) steel'd 
The hearts of men, they must perforce have melted, 
And Barbarisme it selfe have pittied him.
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8.565 [TN 5 01 211] SEBASTIAN
I am sorry Madam I have hurt your kinsman
But had he beene the brother of my blood,
I must have done no lesse with wit and safety.

Preterite Form Modal Verb + HAVE in Protasis:

WOULD HAVE:

8.566 [R2 1 04 18] AUMERLE
Marry, would the word Farewell, have lengthen'd houres,
And added yeeres to his short banishment,
He should have had a volume of Farewells,
But since it would not, he had none of me.

SHOULD HAVE:

8.567 [TGV 2 04 82] DUKE
And heere, he meanes to spend his time a while,
I thinke 'tis no un-welcome newes to you.

VALENTINE
Should I have wish'd a thing, it had beene he.

8.568 [JN 4 01 68] ARTHUR
And if an Angell should have come to me
And told me Hubert should put out mine eyes,
I would not have beleev'd him:

8.569 [CYM 5 01 8] POSTHUMUS
Gods: if you
Should have 'tane vengeance on my faults, I never
Had liv'd to put on this:

In the corpus the only two examples of SHOULD HAVE in protasis are not ordinary pluperfect sequences, and appear to be exceptional. The above Shakespearean examples are in pluperfect sequence. SHOULD HAVE here seems a purely stylistic variant for HAD.

COULD HAVE:

8.570 [TRO 2 03 25] THERSITES
If I could 'a' remembred a guilt conterfeit thou would'yst not
have slipt out of my contemplation, but it is no matter, thy
selfe upon thy selfe.

8.571 [WT 5 02 91] GENT 3
If all the World could have seen't, the Woe had beene universall

See also 8.562.
8. Shakespeare

MIGHT HAVE:

(No examples in Corpus)

8.572 [JC 5 01 57] CASSIUS
Now Brutus thanke your selfe.
This tongue had not offended so to day,
If Cassius might have rul'd.

SECTION 18 - SHOULD IN QUESTIONS

The use of SHOULD in questions, in the construction discussed in
Chapter 7, is fairly common in Shakespeare. (Corpus 7.731 - 7.740)

8.573 [WIV 4 03 4] BARDOLFE
Sir, the Germane desires to have three of your horses: the Duke
himselfe will be to morrow at Court, and they are going to meet
him.

HOST
What Duke should that be comes so secretly? I heard not of him
in the Court:

8.574 [WIV 5 05 32] M PAGE
Alas, what noise?

M FORD
Heaven forgive our sinnes.

FALSTAFF
What should this be?

8.575 [AYL 2 07 90] JACQUES
Of what kinde should this Cocke come of?

8.576 [TIM 4 03 398] 1 BANDIT
Where should he have this Gold?

8.577 [OTH 5 01 78] IAGO
Cassio, may you suspect
Who they should be, that have thus mangled you?

8.578 [COR 3 01 165] CORIOLANUS
What should the people do with these bald Tribunes?

8.579 [TMP 1 02 388] FERDINAND
Where shold this Musick be? I' th'aire, or th'earth?
CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

Section 1 - General Nature of the Study
Section 2 - System in Language and its Presentation
Section 3 - Order of Working. Word to Syntagm
Section 4 - Relationship of Modal Pairs
Section 5 - Modal in Relation to Subject and to Lexical Verb
Section 6 - The Modal Syntagm: 1. Reduction
Section 7 - The Modal Syntagm: 2. Negation
Section 8 - The Modal Syntagm: 3. Epistemic Modality
Section 9 - The Modals placed in a Conjugation for the Verb in Early Modern English
Section 10 - Disruption and Decay of the Early Modern English Modal System
9. Conclusions 1. Nature of Study

SECTION 1 - GENERAL NATURE OF THE STUDY

At the beginning, in the introductory chapter the project was outlined, the procedures were described and some account given of the methodological assumptions made. Now that the work has been presented, it is appropriate to reconsider the project itself together with the aims proposed, procedures and assumptions in the light of the results obtained.

The title itself and the procedure of corpus analysis have meant that the work has been a study of a set of words. Although these words in the title of the thesis are referred to by category as 'modal verbs' and the words have in fact been selected by formal and syntactic criteria, deriving from recent studies of modality in PE, my own study with the exception of the excursory Chapter 2, is about the use of these words and the relationships existing in the language between them around the year 1600. Because of this concentration on the words themselves, the story of their use - in effect the examination of the sentences and contexts in which they are used - becomes in the study as a whole, an examination of the behaviour of the words in the language at this period, of the alliances they make, of the models they select and form themselves upon, of the ways in which the original sense which they bring from the past is adapted or modified; this is perhaps most marked with those two words whose careers, as it were, have been contrasted, NEED and DARE. But even when the treatment has been in essentials synchronic, the idea of words being drawn into a system, remodelled and accommodated into a new role is almost always present. This means that in spite of the use that has been made of some aspects of generative semantics, the manner and the general image of language adopted in this work are different from those usual in studies of syntax employing a generative theory of grammar.
SECTION 2 - SYSTEM IN LANGUAGE AND ITS PRESENTATION

The actual day to day and month to month involvement in research of the kind here undertaken must present itself to the researcher, both in a practical sense, as he arranges and rearranges his cards, and also in a theoretical sense as he considers the problems of presentation, as the struggle to impose order upon chaos. Yet at the end and in the moment of apparent success he must ask himself whether the order he has achieved is merely an imposition. Does it derive in fact from his own methods and procedures, from his assumptions, above all from his own determination to create an order, rather than from the material itself? Would the same order have emerged from a different procedure, or a different structure or dimension of corpus? Is the apparent untidiness of the evidence a reality which is not to be explained away?

It is inevitable that an extensive corpus study such as the one just completed, if it is conscientiously carried out, raises problems about the unsystematic elements in language which are not raised by studies of the contemporary language conducted according to generative theory and drawing on the competence of certain native speakers, usually of the grammarian himself. On the other hand such corpus studies of the historical language are not committed to producing a 'grammar' which will generate all the possible grammatical sentences and no ungrammatical sentences, but merely an orderly and if possible illuminating exposition of the usage to be found in the corpus.

The orderliness of this exposition in so far as it is successful will reflect the various levels of order which are really to be found in the corpus material, but it will also serve as a framework of display to illustrate the interaction and also interference of these levels of order within the corpus material. These levels of order, though all in a sense manifestations of the same process of
systematization by which language is possible, are nevertheless to be distinguished and the kind of presence which they have in the corpus material ought to be explained.

We may distinguish then the following kinds of order in the exposition, beginning with those that belong to the process of exposition itself and following with those that reflect the material of the corpus and through that the order of the language itself.

1. First is the arrangement of the material for the purposes of exposition, its organization into chapters, the sequence chosen for those chapters; the movement from simple to more complex, the setting out of paradigms and conjugations as patterns upon the page. Once it has been said, this has all the appearance of something which is too obvious to need saying. Yet it is easy enough to take the organization of the book as being - or as being intended for - the organization of the linguistic reality it attempts to present. In the study just completed, there is the added hazard that the sequence from the beginning of the exposition to the end may be taken in a general way to imply the historical development of the modals, so that their use in subordination may seem to be the last to develop in time - whereas some of the modal uses in Chapter 7 go back to the earliest recorded stages of the language.

2. Closely connected with ordering for purposes of convenient exposition is logical ordering and the use of logic in setting out grammatical material. Sometimes logical relationship may seem to be clearly present in the language use itself and this is surely apparent in certain features of the modal system of possibility and necessity in English. But as Palmer [1979 p. 7] says

it would be quite wrong to assume that the English systems or those of any other languages follow any absolute set of logical rules or fit into a rigid
9. Conclusions

2. System in Language

logical framework. For logical systems are idealized systems, while natural languages are notoriously untidy. What logic they have is likely to be fragmentary and inconsistent.

Nevertheless, in setting out an untidy system it is obviously useful to employ a logical framework in those areas where a fragmentary logic is displayed by the usage in the language, and perhaps in others where usage is not consistent with formalized logic but still that usage can be best displayed by being set out according to the distinctions made in the terminology of logic.

3. There is the point where grammatical formalization, the formulation of rules and the imposition of logic upon language is itself reflected back into certain, usually self-conscious types of usage. An obvious example of this is the acceptance into a level of usage of the rules for the use of WILL and SHALL formulated by Wallis [1653] and developed by later grammarians. It is true that these rules postdate the present corpus and therefore cannot be an influence on the usage it displays, although their acceptance in the nineteenth century means that formulations of the Elizabethan and Shakespearean use of WILL and SHALL devised at that time are usually set out as a series of divergencies from a usage ultimately based on Wallis.

4. At a less self-conscious level, there is an ordering and systematization of usage which comes with an educated or literary or written standard for the language. This I believe does influence the corpus studied here, all of it the written word of educated men. The modal system which the corpus displays is thus a systematization of colloquial usage, probably mainly by exclusion, reflecting the usage of the capital, rather than any other locality. Even within this limitation there are clear signs that two systems were in operation, a more learned and literary, containing OUGHT and a more informal and
colloquial, excluding it. It is evident from the survival of cooccurrence in Scots and the development of BEHOVE into modal form in some Scots dialects, as well as from the localized differences in modal usage to be found in colloquial and substandard English today, that the modal system: which I describe from the corpus should not be equated with the whole of eModE usage but is a systematization of that usage for a written standard.

Finally we have the systems of the language itself, the completely unself-conscious usage, on which all the rest is founded and out of which it grows. Yet at this level we seem furthest from the structuralist ideal of language as a single system; rather we glimpse at this level also, in a brief synchronic illumination, a slow imperfect systematizing of material of older systems in disintegration or becoming confused by the interference of one system with another. The exposition shows the eModE modal system as an organization and radical simplification of older systematic usages in the language, and itself already being modified by interference from other systems.

The systematizing tendency which makes language possible is capable of reworking its own results with increasing self-consciousness, producing the kind of standardization which comes first with the development of written forms of language, then with the application of logic to language and finally with the elaboration of grammatical analysis.

The claims I would make for the exposition I have given of the material of my corpus are therefore that it is as sensitive as I can make it to the many levels of systematization that go on in language and that in it the modal system can be seen a development, simplification and specialization of other systems in the language and at the same time that the exposition does provide a framework within which the
proper reading and interpretation of the modals in eModE texts can be attempted. Though obviously in its present form it could hardly be of use to literary students or students of the history of thought who need to read eModE texts accurately, its material could be presented for such purposes and would represent some advance on the resources presently available to such readers.

SECTION 3 - ORDER OF WORKING : WORD TO SYNTAGM

The starting point for the exposition, a study of the selection of WILL or SHALL in the translation of the Latin or French future, was chosen because it presented an opportunity of making a beginning to the sorting of examples which would be purely objective. It does not presuppose the existence of a future tense in English, or that the future tenses in Latin or French are without complexity in their meaning. However the idea of a future made from WILL and SHALL in English, which comes from the recognition that constructions with these modals are frequently equivalent to what is in many other languages considered a future tense, together with the study of its actual use, enabled me to look at the pairing of these two words, with different meanings etymologically and in much of their use, but in this particular case, their use in translating Latin or French future tenses, apparently falling together. From this, I move to look at the internal structure of the meaning of WILL and SHALL to find if this can account for their semantic behaviour and then to the syntax of their relationships with the words with which they are able to enter into syntactical relationships; the kind of lexical verbs which follow them, the kind of subjects which they follow. This brings me to the consideration of the modal syntagm, Subject + Modal Verb + Verbal Infinitive. The progress is thus from meaning of the word to the syntax of the word. Generative
grammar would begin with the syntagm, or rather with the rules for forming it and then turn to the lexicon of words which could occur at the place marked modal. The difference of direction is as we have seen determined by the project itself, the study of the use of certain words, in a corpus. Because the starting point is the word, semantics and syntax are not separated out as they must be in generative grammar which first establishes syntactical patterns abstracted from the actual words which exemplify them. At the same time the semantics of the words which are, as it were, brought together by the language to serve as modal verbs, seems best explained through a terminology which is syntactical.

SECTION 4 - RELATIONSHIP OF MODAL PAIRS

Thus the common element of meaning that WILL and SHALL share, together with the difference we find between the meanings of similar constructions in which they appear makes it possible to compare them to two distinct diatheses of the same verb. SHALL might be seen as a sort of equivalent to the passive voice of WILL. It is as if instead of such a pair of sentences as

Tom expects to win

Tom is expected to win

in the place of the passive form 'is expected' we had a different verb, active in form, but used as a suppletive to supply the missing passive of 'expects'. If we attempt to show this through actual paraphrase of the meaning of WILL, as for example 'determine' or 'resolve' we find that the expressions that would be expected to serve as the passives, 'be determined', 'be resolved' are in fact not passives and are difficult to distinguish in meaning from the active forms. However if WILL is paraphrased as 'intend' then 'be intended' does correspond

roughly to SHALL.

In fact, the relationship between WILL and SHALL as also the parallel relationships between CAN and MAY and NEED and MUST are much better represented by a different diathetic relationship; not that between active voice and passive voice, but between middle voice and passive voice. With WILL and CAN and NEED, the subject of the lexical verb, unexpressed, must have the same reference as the subject of the modal, so that the modal is in a way reflexive; the underlying sense of 'Tom will go' being 'Tom ordains it for himself, that he should go'; cf 'Tom can sing' 'Tom has acquired for himself, the knowledge or power to sing','Tom needs to eat' 'Tom requires for himself, in his own interest, to eat'. On the other hand, SHALL, MAY and MUST are like passives in that their subjects are the sufferers of the actions and the most convenient paraphrases are passive in form: 'is ordained to' for SHALL, 'is permitted to' for MAY, 'is obliged or required to' for MUST.

The active voice forms corresponding to these middle and passive, must by their nature have a subject and object with different reference,

A ordains B to
A permits B to
A obliges or requires B to

and, because of this, cannot be expressed by means of the modal syntagm or by means of the modal verbs (the non-modal TO WILL can of course be used in this active way 'A wills B to ...'). Thus a fully active diathesis is absent from the modal system.
SECTION 5 - MODAL IN RELATION TO SUBJECT AND TO LEXICAL VERB

The modal pairs, then, WILL/SHALL, CAN/MAY and NEED/MUST can be seen as displaying a distinction of diathesis, which has a similarity to the distinction between middle and passive. Diathesis however can be defined more broadly than the distinctions between the three voices of traditional grammar to include the way in which the subject of a verb is related to the process of the verb. Benveniste [1966] points out that the Indo-European verb bears reference always to its subject, never to the object; it agrees with its subject in number and person, and the relationship of the subject to the verb is indicated by the diathesis of the verb. Hence 'le champ positionel du su. jet' is determined by these three, 1) person, 2) number, 3) diathesis. Modern Indo-European languages only display two formally distinct diatheses - active and passive, but it is evident that strictly the location of the subject in the 'champs positionel' in relation to its verb is not the same for all verbs which are in the active voice. In some the subject is the source and origin of the process referred to in the verb. In others the subject is rather the seat of the process, in others again the subject is the receptor, modified by the process referred to in the verb. Examples of the first are transitive verbs like KILL or intransitive verbs like RUN; of the second, verbs like ENJOY, of the third the so-called verbs of inert perception, like SEE and HEAR. Although all these verbs are active in form in English, the grammatical subject of the verb is differently placed in relation to the process of the verb, depending on the semantic content of the verb.

However some of the modals are sensitive to these differences; or rather in the modal construction, where the modal verb is interposed between subject and verb, its own diathesis is superimposed upon that of the verb. If they correspond then the meaning and force of the modal
is weakened; in other words the modal word itself has less part in the
total meaning because some part of its contribution is already contained
in the verb. As argued in Chapter 3 this weakening or overlap occurs
when WILL is used with verbs of the first kind, which I have there
called verbs of activity, and when SHALL is used with verbs that do not
belong to this category. It is this weakening that leaves both these
modals with no more force than that of future time. I suggest in
Chapter 4 that something similar occurs when CAN is used with transitive
verbs of inert perception, where the ability of the subject is super­
imposed on the verb phrase in which the existence of the object of
perception is that which enables the subject to perceive it.

When WILL and SHALL occur with verbs of a contrary or incompatible
diathesis, then their full meaning appears and this imposes the
diathesis which belongs to the modal on the whole phrase, so that 3.61,
'I will be dissolved' translating 'Je veul estre dissout', in spite of
the diathesis of the passive verb, places the subject in the position
of the active, striving agent, and in 'Thou shalt love' the subject, in
spite of the verb, is not an agent of an activity but the recipient of
a command.

The meanings of the modals are thus modified by the nature of the
verbs that follow them. This modification is a weakening which occurs
when the modal is associated with a verb which already contains part
of its meaning.

The meaning of the modals WILL and CAN is also extended and
generalized; both words in their pristine senses must have been confined
to animate subjects. When WILL is used with inanimate subjects, it
refers to characteristic behaviour, which can be attributed to its
subject and thought of as having its origin there, but is no longer
associated with volition. This extended meaning can also be found with
animate subjects. CAN, its original meaning of 'knowing how to' already extended to 'having power to', becomes further extended to possibility.

These two processes then occur in both the WILL/SHELL modal pair and CAN/MAY. With WILL/SHELL it is the weakening that results from the overlap with the diathesis of the verb that creates the 'future tense', formed from WILL with verbs of activity and SHALL with other verbs. CAN and MAY are weakened into a 'potential mood' expressing possibility but here, as explained in Chapter 5, MAY is found in non-negative clauses and CAN in negative or pseudo-negative.

SECTION 6 - THE MODAL SYNTAGM: 1. REDUCTION

The modal syntagm itself links the modal with a noun and a lexical verb.

\[ N - M - V \]

In the corpus modal verbs do appear in other constructions, as CAN with a direct object, and WOULD followed by a full THAT-Clause. But the modals followed by a noun as direct object are by the end of the sixteenth century rare, and the clause construction with WOULD though still common is already becoming restricted in that it is only found in the first person singular. The process by which the modal verbs are excluded from all other constructions except this one is close to reaching its completion. It is the confinement of the modal verbs to this construction which is the remarkable thing, hard to parallel elsewhere in English. The construction itself, apart from the absence of TO before the lexical verb with all modals except OUGHT, is not remarkable and can be paralleled elsewhere. When used with WILL, CAN, NEED, DARE the modal syntagm appears to be derived from

\[ N_1 - M - (N_1 - V) \]

and when used with SHALL, MAY, MUST and OUGHT
9. Conclusions

6. Reduction

\[ M - (N - V) \]

\[ N_1 - M - (N_1 - V) > N - M - V \]

is paralleled by such reorderings as 'Tom

expects that he will succeed' > 'Tom expects to succeed';

\[ M - (N - V) > N - M - V \]

by 'It seems that Tom is happy' > 'Tom seems to be happy'.

But whereas here both of the alternative orderings are possible in the

surface grammar, we cannot rephrase the modal syntagm unless we change

the modal for some other verb.

We may contrast the usual syntax of English where verbs can enter

into a number of different constructions and where syntactical variants

are possible for every expression, and the progressive limitation to a

single construction for this small set of words as we find it taking

place through the period of eModE. We can look at this from two points

of view; either as a way of producing a compact and convenient

syntactical format for certain double verb clauses, where the embedded

clause either is the subject of the main clause, or has the same

subject as the main clause, a format therefore to contain one noun

phrase subject together with two verbs; or we can look at it as an

extension of the conjugation of the verb, with the modal verbs as

auxiliaries.

First, the compact and convenient format. As we have seen the

modal construction corresponds to syntactical rules found operating

elsewhere in the language; for example, an embedded clause can in

certain circumstances be reduced to an infinitive. The verb is thus

stripped of person and inflectional tense distinctions, though of

course compound tenses with the infinitives of BE and HAVE followed by

participles are still possible. However in such constructions, the

verb in the main clause is unaffected. In the modal construction it is

as if, in order to link the two clauses more closely and weld them into

one, the main verb - here the modal - is made to undergo a reduction
which is complementary to that undergone by the embedded verb, namely that while retaining the distinctions of person and inflected tense, it is restricted from forming any of the compound tenses requiring participial or infinitive forms.

Since in other European languages the analogues to the modal verbs in English do not undergo a similar impoverishment, it may seem a feature peculiar to English itself and therefore hardly likely to be explicable as a useful syntactic simplification. If it were we might reasonably expect it to occur in other languages.

In fact, strong similarities to what happens with the modal verbs in English are to be found in some non-European languages; I give two examples, the first closest to the interpretation of the English modal system as a compact and convenient syntactical format for certain double verb clauses, the second to the interpretation of it as an incorporation of the modal verbs into the verb phrase or into the conjugation of the verb.

Parallels to the Reduction of the Modal Verbs in the Modal Syntagm
A. Modern Standard Chinese

I draw here on Yuen Ren Chao [1968 para. 8.1.10], who sets up for Chinese a category of Auxiliary or Modal Auxiliary Verbs which he says 'usually express the semantic modes of the following verbs'. Though this group of verbs is much larger than that of the modal verbs in English it covers the same semantic area. Many of the verbs it contains can however also be used as full verbs.

As an example of a modal auxiliary verb we may take NENG which means 1. can, be able to, 2. may, be permitted to. So 'Ta neng lai' corresponds closely in its range of possible meanings with the PE English 'He can come'.

There is little in Chinese to correspond to the complexities of
verbal conjugation in Indo-European languages. We may list tentative reduplication, which would give NENG NENG, and two particles, the progressive, NENG-I and the perfective NENG-LE. Chao says that none of these can be used with a modal auxiliary in a modal construction. Thus 'he could come' must be translated not *'ta neng-le lai' but 'ta neng lai-le'. We could say therefore that the lexical verb in a modal phrase retains all its conjugational possibilities and the modal verb loses them, or alternatively that the modal phrase is considered as a unity from the point of view of conjugation. The reduction of the modal is therefore more thorough-going than in English, where tense distinction at least is retained. As for the complexities of the English modal phrase in such forms as 'he might have ...' 'he ought to have ...' Chinese can express these with elegant simplicity by inserting between subject and modal phrase, what appears to be a sentence adverb BEN-LAI, which might be translated 'originally'.

B. Bantu Languages

In certain Bantu languages there exists a group of deficient verbs, much wider in semantic range than the group of modal verbs in English, but usually including equivalents of the modals. My information and examples are drawn mainly from Fortune [1955] and from Shona, the language of the greater part of Zimbabwe. Fortune [para: 740] explains a deficient verb as one which runs together with a certain phonetic coalescence with its infinitive complement. Thus Wasvika kuona, literally 'he-arrived to-see' > Wasvikoona, 'he saw on arrival'. Since KU- is the prefix for the infinitive, and also KU before nouns is usually roughly equivalent to the English preposition TO, the disappearance of KU-, (or rather the elision of the k- and the coalescence of a + u > o) presents a striking analogy to the absence of TO in the infinitives following modal verbs (except OUGHT) in English. However
the meaning of KUSVIKA is not in any sense modal; also since the conjugation of the Bantu verb is at it were from the beginning, first the personal suffix, then infixes which indicate tense and mood, deficient verbs are not defective. [Fortune, para: 74]. However the reduced form of the infinitive KUONA is not capable of conjugational modification, so that there is only a single conjugation for a verb phrase which contains two verbs. From a semantic point of view KUONA is the most important verb so it is possible to regard the verb phrase WASVIKOONA as part of the conjugation of KUONA with -SVIKO- as one of the many possible tense and mood infixes coming between the subject concord and the verb stem.

In any case, these tense and mood infixes are themselves at least in some cases former full verbs which have become incorporated into the conjugation. The analysis of the conjugation of the Shona verb which Fortune employs contains a set of six moods, including a potential mood. This mood is used when the speaker views the connection between subject and predicate as possible [para: 501]. The potential mood is made by inserting the formative -NGA- between the subject concords and the verb stem. Fortune says

[para: 548] The formative -nga- is, very probably, a deficient verb meaning 'be able', possibly originally the same as the copulative verb -nga- (be). Thus the potential is, very likely, a compound predicate of form: deficient verb + verb stem.

The usual description of Nyanga, spoken in Malawi and Eastern Zambia, has a similar potential mood made with the same infix -NGA- [Price, 1966 p. 183]. There is also a full verb KUTHA meaning 'to be able' but this verb is usually employed in the potential mood. Thus

1. Ndingatenge
2. Ndingathe kutenga

are both equivalent to 'I can take'. Native speakers of Nyanga who use
English as their second language, when questioned on the distinction
usually say the first means 'I can take', the second 'I am able to take'.
The parallel of 2. with the eModE pleonastic 'I can be able' is
interesting.

Shona also has a full verb meaning to be able, KUGONA. This verb
is the source of a deficient verb [Fortune, para: 76;] -GONA + KU- >
-GO-. Fortune says 'It is often used in consecutive forms which are
represented as sequels, made possible by what has gone before' and he
gives as an example:

Makudo akakumbira kurapiwa kuti agofanana nevanhu.
The-baboons asked to-be-treated so-that they-might-resemble men.

Here we find the verb in a purpose clause in Shona, as in the
construction with MAY/MIGHT in English, indicating the nature of the
subordination which relates it to the preceding main clause, by means
of a form originally a full verb having the sense 'to be able to'.

Enough has here been indicated to show that the reduction of what
were once full verbs, and also of verbs which continue to appear in the
language as full verbs, to an element in a two verb syntagm which from
the point of view of conjugation is a unity occurs in Bantu languages
particularly in the semantic area of power and possibility.

SECTION 7 - THE MODAL SYNTAGM: 2. NEGATION

On the face of it there is no reason why the compacted clause
with two verbal elements should present particular problems of negation.
Since negation may be required for either verb, provided there is a
convention for placing the negative particle either before or after the
verb to which it applies, no ambiguities are possible. This is what we
find in Standard Modern Chinese [Chao 1968, Para 8.1.10].
However the negative particle NOT in eModE is placed after a finite verb to which it applies but in front of an infinitive. Consequently NOT will appear between modal and lexical verb and the negative will from its position be equally applicable backwards to the modal or forwards to the lexical verb. This in itself would make necessary some disambiguating convention to apply to negatives in the modal construction. But in any case negatives can occur at other places in a clause than the verbs, for example at the subject of the first verb and at the object of the lexical verb. The resultant uncertainties about meaning would be extremely inconvenient and consequently, the assignment of any negative within the clause is determined by the modal itself. WILL, SHALL, MUST and OUGHT cannot be negated and any negative must apply to the lexical verb. CAN, MAY, NEED and DARE attract any negative to themselves.

The pattern then is as follows (1 negation applies to modal; 2 negation applies to lexical verb)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WILL</th>
<th>SHALL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DARE</td>
<td>CAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEED</td>
<td>MUST</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The members of the modal pairs WILL/SHALL, CAN/MAY correspond in their pattern of negation. The difference in negation between NEED and MUST is an important feature of their being paired together, since NEED has to be used when obligation or necessity is itself negated. The reason for the negative placings in the rest of the modals seems explicable as giving the meanings most likely to be needed in use. Thus non-volition and absence of destiny expressed by SHALL are unlikely to present
We may note that unlike WILL, BE WILLING can be negated, but its
distinction in meaning from WILL is such that 'He is unwilling to do it'
has the same sense as 'He will not do it' (He is determined not to do
it). With CAN as we have seen both modal and lexical verb are often
negated to express necessity. In this construction the negative
particle for the lexical verb is BUT, which has a negating force which
applies only to what follows it.

SECTION 8 - THE MODAL SYNTAGM; 3. EPISTEMIC MODALITY

The radical simplification and running together of the two
clauses which we find in the modal construction accounts for an
ambiguity which occurs with certain of the modals. The ambiguity
arises from the reduction of the verb in the embedded clause to an
infinitive. As we have noted, the infinitive in English distinguishes
tense, present or past. However it does not distinguish modality,
indicative from non-indicative. In many constructions when a clause is
the object of a verb in a superordinate clause, the meaning is different
according to whether the subordinate clause has a verb in the indica-
tive or not. We may take a pair of contrasted examples, which appear
in American text books, though 2. seems unlikely in British English.

1. Tom insists that he goes (Someone has denied that Tom
goes)

2. Tom insists that he go (Mary has offered to go)

The non-indicative clause could also be

Tom insists that he should go

It is reasonable here to interpret these examples as two different
constructions with the same verb INSIST. If the clause here could be
reduced to the infinitive (since its subject has the same reference as the subject of 'insists' we might expect this to be possible) the resulting

* Tom insists to go

would be ambiguous through the loss of the distinction between indicative and non-indicative in this reduced clause.

In fact, if 'Tom insists that he go' is reduced it has to be to 'Tom insists on going' and the indicative clause 'Tom insists that he goes' cannot be reduced. It seems usual when both indicative and non-indicative clauses occur after the same verb that the non-indicative (that is those which contain the subjunctive or, more usually, a modal) may when the grammatical subject permits be reduced, but the indicative clauses not.

Thus 'I hope that I shall see you' may be reduced to 'I hope to see you', but 'I hope I am in time' cannot be reduced to 'I hope to be in time'. In the free syntax of the ordinary verb where there is the choice of reducing the embedded clause or of not, reducing it, it is hard to find an example where an indicative clause is reduced to an infinitive, though a few do occur, e.g.

Tom claims to be God

The flexibility and richness in alternatives of ordinary syntax mean that with lexical verbs that are followed by clauses, ambiguities rarely occur. But with the modals there is no flexibility. Normally the embedded clause has non-indicative modality. These clauses of course do not appear in their full form for this to be observed, except in eModE with WOULD where we always find non-indicative modality: 'I would I were', 'I would thou couldst'. It is hard to see what sense an indicative clause could have in this position. On the other hand the construction WOULD HAVE + NP + Infinitive which seems a variant of
WOULD (THAT) + Clause does have two constructions which differ only in whether the clause which underlies the infinitive is indicative or not. Usually it is non-indicative as in examples 6.189-6.216 where WOULD HAVE expresses the wish that NP should do so ... But in a few cases, examples 6.227-6.230, the underlying clause is indicative and the sense of WOULD HAVE, is 'maintain that it is the case that NP does ...' In fact the relationship between the two meanings of WOULD HAVE + NP + Infinitive is exactly that between the two uses of INSIST.

1. Anaxagoras would have the sun to be a stone
   = insists that the sun is a stone

2. Metius would have Tullus remember this one point
   = insists that Tullus should remember this one point

These correspond to the two uses of the modals which in eModE are found with epistemic modality

1. He may do so = It is possible that he does so

2. = It is possible that he should do so,
   It is possible for him to do so

1. He must do so = It is necessarily the case that he does so

2. = It is necessary that he should do so,
   It is necessary for him to do so

In use, it is the second, deriving from a non-indicative clause underlying the infinitive of lexical verb in the modal phrase, which is overwhelmingly the most frequent and this is considered the ordinary or root modality. The other deriving from an indicative clause underlying the infinitive, as the examples from the corpus show, is comparatively infrequent in the written prose of this period; this has been given the distinguishing name of epistemic modality.
SECTION 9 - THE MODALS PLACED IN A CONJUGATION FOR THE VERB IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH

Having examined the modal construction itself with its own internal structure of one clause embedded in another, we now turn to view the modals as part of the conjugation of the verb, and in relation to the scheme of tenses and moods which the English verb displays in the eModE period.

I suggest that the English verb may be viewed as having a core of inflected tenses and moods which may be conveniently set out thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Non-past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td>WALKED</td>
<td>WALKS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>WALK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>WALK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This core is extended by two sets of periphrastic forms, one which provides a further range of tenses, the other a further range of moods. The first makes use of the auxiliaries BE and HAVE which combine with the two participles of the verb.

BE + past participle

BE + present participle

HAVE + past participle

Clearly these are not mere alternatives to the inflected preterite and present and might be considered aspects rather than tenses strictly. Yet they may be considered as corresponding in certain ways to the original two tenses; thus although HAVE + past participle can be viewed as a present tense, it is sometimes used, in the infinitive form TO HAVE + past participle as an equivalent to the indicative preterite. BE + present participle shares the same non-past reference, present and future, as the simple present.

We may note that still in eModE both BE and HAVE are used with the past participle to form the perfect, BE with intransitive verbs, HAVE with transitive verbs, though the levelling of all to HAVE is
already advanced. BE + present participle is around the year 1600 hardly established as a regular tense and is much more frequent in texts which reflect colloquial usage as plays, than in literary prose and is virtually absent from such texts as Hooker.

BE and HAVE when used as auxiliaries may appear in any of the core forms - that is they may appear in the present or preterite, in the indicative, subjunctive or imperative, and also in the infinitive. BE has distinct indicative and subjunctive forms through the whole present tense and the singular of the preterite. This means that the tenses in which it forms the first element express this mood distinction better than any other. BE when used as an auxiliary in BE + present participle can also appear in the perfect form, HAVE BEEN + present participle, but HAVE, as an auxiliary is not able to form any compound tenses. Both HAVE and BE continue to be used in many different kinds of construction as full verbs.

In addition to these periphrastic tenses there is a set of periphrastic moods. These are made up from one of a set of auxiliary verbs followed by the infinitive, without TO (except in the case of OUGHT).

These in turn can be divided into indicative and non-indicative. The auxiliary used to provide a periphrastic indicative is DO. As an auxiliary DO can appear in any of the core forms, although unlike BE and HAVE, not as an infinitive. It also exists as a full verb with various constructions. The non-indicative periphrastic moods are those made with the modal verbs. These verbs show present and preterite forms, though as discussed in Chapter 6, the interpretation of these two forms in relation to tense and mood is difficult. Like DO and unlike the other auxiliaries BE and HAVE they cannot form infinitives, and with the exception of NEED and DARE they do not exist save in eModE for one or two vestigial uses as full verbs appearing in various
constructions. The use of the modals in eModE of around 1600 has been described and illustrated in detail in this thesis, and it has been suggested that the pair WILL/SHALL together form a mood of expectation which has been traditionally taken as a future tense, CAN/MAY, a mood of possibility or potential mood, with NEED/MUST together with OUGHT a mood of obligation and necessity. DARE though it shares the formal qualities of the modals, has no place in the system of moods, and may be considered as a survival.

In addition to their function as auxiliaries of tense, BE and HAVE also appear in the construction with the infinitive which is characteristic of the modals. In this construction BE and HAVE have the infinitive with TO, but the meanings of these forms are close to those of the modal verbs, as

BE TO + infinitive SHALL
HABE TO + infinitive MUST

already established in eModE, and

SECTION 10 - DISRUPTION AND DECAY OF THE EARLY MODERN ENGLISH MODAL SYSTEM

Throughout the preceding pages from time to time explanations have been offered for examples that seemed at variance with the principles of usage here proposed for the modals, and suggestions put forward concerning shifts in the system which may have been taking place. Here some of these points are drawn together to give a picture of the forces which were already at work in the period of the study and have since profoundly changed the details of modal usage. A central feature of the analysis I have proposed is the semantic and structural relationship between the members of the modal pairs, WILL/SHALL, CAN/MAY,
NEED/MUST. The placing and adaptation of these six words by a long process which is finally completed during the fifteenth century is a remarkable instance of the systematizing power of language. At the same time, the almost immediate beginning of the process of disorganization and disruption is also of instructive interest. The image which can be drawn from a reading of Saussure, of language as a single system, constantly developing in order to preserve its systematic perfection from the ravages of phonetic decay is replaced by one in which what is systematic is constantly being lost by the encroachment of system upon system.

Thus the relationship of WILL to SHALL is analogous to, but more complex than that of active voice to passive voice. It means that the passive form of 'He will rescue her' is 'She shall be rescued by him'. This is a relationship of active and passive which is likely to maintain itself while the passive form of 'He has rescued her' is 'She is rescued by him'. But once the active-passive relationship becomes more rigorously systematic, and the passive of 'He has rescued her' is 'She has been rescued by him', then 'She will be rescued by him' will be taken as the passive of 'He will rescue her'. Thus already in the corpus, as in 3.55, 3.61 WILL preserves its full meaning before a passive, in others as 3.73 it is already being used with a merely future sense.

Another force which distorts the system of WILL and SHALL and is at work during the period of this study, is a process of standardization, here, as I think often, associated with fashionable, self-conscious polite speech. This maintains the use of SHALL in the first person, to include not only events that the speaker expects to overtake him but also his intentions, in so far as these are to be presented with due modesty. The speaker out of respect announces his resolutions about his
own future action as if he were recognizing duties to be fulfilled or events that will happen to him. Even in making promises he will prefer to frame these with SHALL, as an obligation undertaken, rather than with WILL as a resolution made. This tendency to shy away from WILL in announcing one's own future may have been helped by the very strong irrational and sometimes sexual sense found with the noun WILL at this period, but a formalized modesty and diffidence in the part of the speaker is a mark of politeness in many sophisticated cultures. The power of mere politeness to overrule grammatical distinction and naturalness can be seen in the loss of the second person singular from the standard language which is already under way at this period, and the survival of the singular forms in many of the spoken dialects of English may offer a parallel to the fact that this extended use of SHALL in the first person has remained foreign to all other forms of English except Standard British. Patricia Moody [1974] gives a good account of the problem with quotations from George Mason [1622], Hume and Archdeacon Hare which suggest that from the seventeenth century onwards there was a conscious awareness that the use of SHALL in the first person was a matter of politeness and refinement. The rules in Wallis [1653] were an attempt to systematize a usage into which this standardized politeness had already entered.

The third process which gradually destroys the distinctive use of WILL and SHALL, CAN and MAY is deeper seated; it has been at work in English for centuries before the period under study, so that in a sense it may be said to have been one of the processes establishing the system which it was later to work against. The same process can be observed at work in other Indo-European languages. It may be described as the tendency to reinterpret the middle voice, or the reflexive verb as a passive. In Proto-Indo-European there was no passive; Greek came
to use the middle voice in order to express passive meaning and in
Latin the passive voice is derived, at least largely, from an ancient
middle voice which has been lost. In many European languages,
reflexive verbs are employed to express a passive sense, though this is
not found in English. These facts are conveniently summarized in
Meillet [1927 para. 458]. In other words there is a readiness in the
development of the IE languages to take a subject and verb which
originally refer to an agent which performs some activity to or with
itself or on its own behalf and to reinterpret it as if that activity
were performed to or with or on behalf of the subject by some other,
unspecified agency. I have argued that we find this middle voice or
reflective quality in the modals WILL, CAN and NEED, where the subject
of the modal and the subject of the embedded clause which is the object
of the verb must have the same reference. If this middle voice or
reflexive quality is reinterpreted as a passive, then WILL comes to
have the same sense as SHALL and CAN as MAY. NEED does not become taken
in the same sense as MUST because as a modal it is confined to negative
uses which cannot be expressed by MUST. Thus WILL tends to replace
SHALL, not only throughout the expression of the future, except where a
conventional standard preserves SHALL in the first person, but also
where SHALL ordains or expresses an order, as on army notice boards
'Other ranks will proceed ...'. MAY itself is the outcome of a
reinterpretation which took place in the fourteenth century where MOW
shifts from the reflexive sense to the passive sense, and so replaces
MOTE. In the nineteenth century CAN, which had replaced MAY in the
reflexive sense, becomes widely used in the ordinary language in the
passive sense of 'being permitted to'. Since it is hard to see how the
older meaning of CAN will be taken up by some other word, CAN in the
non-literary language covers both senses, not without a certain
inconvenience. The process continues in PE with at least one other
verb which shares the reflexive structure of WILL, namely, WANT, so
that 'He wants to see a doctor about his leg' is ambiguous between the
reflexive 'He is anxious that he should see ...' and the passive 'Others,
unspecified but perhaps particularly the speaker, are anxious that he
should ...', almost an exact equivalent of the passive modal OUGHT.

Thus a process, which can be observed in different periods and
different languages, weakens and eventually destroys that interesting
relationship between the modal pairs which this study has explored,
seen at its fullest in the literary prose of eModE, although even there
the forces of disruption are already at work.


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