A STUDY OF
THE NON-FINITE FORMS OF THE VERB
IN THE GAUDAIN-POET

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to describe the syntax of the non-finite forms of the verb—participles, gerunds, and infinitives—in the ME alliterative poems attributed to the anonymous writer known as the Gawain-poet. The poems are: Patience (532 lines), Purity (1812 lines), Pearl (1212 lines), and Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (2531 lines), which are generally considered to have been composed in the North-West Midland dialect in the second half of the 14th century (possibly about 1360-95).

This study is based upon a statistical reading of all instances of the non-finite forms of the verb in the corpus and upon the 'traditional' methods of analysis and description adapted from the works of Jespersen, Putnam, Kruisinga, Zandvoort, Scheurweghs, Mustanoja, etc. Although the focal point of the study was syntax, morphology was also briefly noted.

This study seems to reveal that the following points are either characteristic of the Gawain-poet's language or different from the language of his contemporaries.

Chapter I: (1) The present participle normally ends in -ande; -ype as a present participle ending is extremely rare; the old past participle prefix i-(OE ge-) occurs only once. (2) The present participle is unusually frequent in the attributive function. (3) The absolute participle is comparatively frequent. (4) The absolute participle is occasionally introduced by such prepositions as without, or (=before), and by.

Chapter II: (1) There are already several examples of the 'modern'
gerund (i.e. the gerund followed by a simple object or an adverbial adjunct) in Purity, although examples of it are practically non-existent in its companion poems—Gawain, Pearl, and Patience.

Chapter III: (1) The use of the to-infinitive is far more extensive than the bare infinitive. Nevertheless, the bare infinitive is retained quite conspicuously after a number of impersonal verbs, verbs of causation (gar, do, bede, beseche, etc.), some other verbs (dar, benke, o3e, etc.), so...as and such...as, and a few adjectives (hardy, lobe, wont). On the other hand, a fair number of verbs (do (=cause), bede, benke, o3e, kepe, etc.) show fluctuation regarding their choice of infinitive form. (2) The periphrastic auxiliary con (=did, or rarely, do) occurs remarkably frequently with the infinitive following in rhyme. (3) The split infinitive occurs several times.

With the exception of these points, the Gawain-poet's usage of the non-finite forms of the verb seem to conform in general to that of his contemporaries. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that, in comparison with the syntax of his contemporaries, some of the above-mentioned points about the Gawain-poet's syntax might be said to be more modern.
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The purpose of this study is to describe the syntax of the non-finite forms of the verb—participles, gerunds, and infinitives—in the works of the Gawain-poet.

Some of the most significant developments in English syntax occurred in late ME, more specifically in the 14th century. Despite this fact, only Chaucer's importance for the development of English has always been recognized. As a result, his language, in all its essential aspects, has been the subject of a large number of studies. By contrast, the language of Chaucer's contemporaries, such as Langland, Gower, and the Gawain-poet, has received hardly any systematic or extensive treatment. Studies have been restricted to their phonology and morphology. The syntax of their language has been unduly neglected even by the so-called 'traditionalists', not to speak of the 'structuralists' or 'transformationalists'. Only very general and inadequate expositions on middle English syntax are included in the books of Mossé, Kellner, Brunner, etc. The only book devoted to a full-scale treatment of Middle English syntax is Mustonaja's *Middle English Syntax, Part I: Parts of Speech*. Even in this massive work the majority of the quotations are drawn from Chaucer, and to a lesser degree from Gower and *Piers Plowman* while the works of the Gawain-poet received comparatively little mention. The only book that gives even a superficial view of the syntax of the Gawain-poet is Koziol's book *Grundzüge der Syntax der Mittelenglischen Stabreimdichtungen*. Of course, it is needless to say that in order to understand 14th-century English adequately it is necessary to investigate the language not only of Chaucer but also of his contem-
poraries, since "a 'language' is only the aggregate of the usage of all the individuals who speak (and write) that language."¹ On these grounds I feel justified in making a thorough-going study of the language of the Gawain-poet who, as far as syntax is concerned, seems to be the most neglected major writer of the 14th century. This is surprising in view of the fact that the literary value of the Gawain-poet is considered equal to Chaucer. Hence my interest in the study of the Gawain-poet's language.

The source materials for this study are Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (hereafter referred to as Gawain) (2531 lines), Pearl (1212 lines), Purity (or Cleanness, as it is also called) (1812 lines), and Patience (532 lines) which have been preserved together in MS. Cotton Nero A. X., Art. 3, in the British Museum. These are a group of poems of the 'Alliterative Revival' of the late 14th and early 15th centuries. Two of these, Pearl and Gawain (only partly) use rhyme. It is now generally accepted that all four poems were written by the same anonymous writer now known as the Gawain-poet and that their dialect is fundamentally North-West Midland. None of these works can be dated with any precision, but "about 1360-95"² is the date generally accepted for Patience, Purity, Pearl, and Gawain in order of composition.

My original aim in this thesis was to make a searching investigation into the whole range of the verb-syntax found in the works of the Gawain-poet, but this could not be done because of the limits of time


²Gordon (ed.), Pearl, pp. xliii-xliv.
and space assigned to this work. Therefore, I had to confine my thesis to the non-finite forms—participles, gerunds, and infinitives—only a small part of my extensive study of the verb-syntax in the Gawain-poet. Limited as the subject may be, there are nevertheless a number of important points worthy of careful study in the Gawain-poet. To mention a few: the occurrence of the absolute participle introduced by various prepositions; the development of the verbal nature of the gerund; the frequent interchange of the infinitive with and without to; the frequent use of con as a periphrastic auxiliary of the present as well as the past tense with the infinitive following in rhyme; the use of the split infinitive; etc. Although this work is mainly concerned with syntax, brief reference is made to morphology as well.

This study is based upon a statistical reading of all instances of the non-finite forms of the verb found in the Gawain-poet's works because I agree with Paul Roberts that "Counting...will not solve all problems...But it will solve many, and it does seem absurd to argue about what the facts may be when it is possible to know what the facts are." Whenever it was considered useful I have endeavoured to refer to the language of his contemporaries Langland, Chaucer, etc. and to explain historical matters in order to indicate the position of the Gawain-poet's usage. As will be clear this study is dependent in many respects on the works of Jespersen, Curme, Kruisinga, Poutsma, W. van der Gaaf, Zandvoort, G. Scheurweghs, etc. and, especially, the monumental work of Mustanoja. The approach presented here is bound to be unsatisfactory or

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old-fashioned to transformationalists or structuralists. While being fully aware of the weaknesses of this approach, however, I feel inclined to repeat G. Scheurleer's statement that "The traditional methods of dealing with English Grammar have been assumed to be inadequate, but thus far there is no consensus of opinion on what methods should replace the traditional ones." The most that I can hope is, therefore, that the present study will in its own way provide data for the study of the syntax of the Gawain-poet and, accordingly, of late ME syntax.

The editions of the Gawain-poet which I have used for this study are:


The following abbreviations are used throughout this thesis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gawain</td>
<td><em>Sir Gawain and the Green Knight</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPl</td>
<td><em>Piers Plowman (B-text)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch.TC</td>
<td><em>Chaucer: Troilus and Criseyde</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE</td>
<td>Old English (c.450-1100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ME</td>
<td>Middle English (c.1100-1500)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ModE</td>
<td>Modern English (c.1500- )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE</td>
<td>Present-Day English (current English)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OED</td>
<td><em>The Oxford English Dictionary</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MED</td>
<td><em>Middle English Dictionary</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER I PARTICIPLE

1. Introductory Remarks

The participles used to form the progressive tense (e.g. he is going), the perfect and pluperfect tenses (e.g. he has seen; he had seen), and the passive voice (e.g. he was seen) are not considered in this chapter, because they are more properly discussed as parts of finite verbs. Accordingly, only those participles considered as 'verbal adjectives'\(^1\) (i.e. adjectives with certain verbal functions) are discussed in the following sections.

\(^1\)Cf. G. Schuurweghs, *Present-day English Syntax*, p. 158.
In the Gawain-poet there are at least 491 participles (163 present and 328 past) which must be analyzed to determine their syntactic properties. By contrast, there are about 291 participles (104 present and 187 past) found in the contemporary work of Langland. Comparatively speaking, therefore, the participle is far more frequent in the Gawain-poet's works (6,087 lines) than in PP1 (7,242 lines). In addition, two more obvious conclusions are drawn from a cursory examination of these participles found in the Gawain-poet. That is, the Gawain-poet reflects the common ME literary practice of a greater frequency of usage of the past participle than of the present participle.\(^2\) The Gawain-poet also has much the same uses for the participle as are found in ModE. Before going more deeply into such uses of the participle, the form of the participle in the Gawain-poet must first be studied.

2. Form

English has two participles, i.e. the present participle and the past participle.

2.1 Present Participle

In discussing the form of the present participle, Mustanoja states:

The OE ending of the present participle, -ende, is found in ME in the form -inde (-ende) in the South and the Midlands and in the form -ande in the North and the N Midlands. At the end of the 12th century and in the course of the 13th the ending of the participle becomes -ing(e) in the southern and central parts of the country.\(^3\)

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\(^2\) Cf. Gordon (ed.), Pearl, p. 83.

\(^3\) Middle English Syntax, Part I, p. 547 (in which Mustanoja seems to think that the ending -ande is due to the influence of the ON participle ending -andi).
In the 13th century, particularly in southern and central England, the ending of the present participle had become the same as that of the gerund, namely -ing(e). The Gawain-poet, however, does no more than foreshadow this change from the OE ending -ende to the late ME ending -ing. In the works of the Gawain-poet the -ande ending is the rule, while -vng as a participial ending occurs very rarely. That is, -ande occurs 157 times (e.g. Gawain 108 talkande; Pearl 14 wyschande; etc.), -and once (Gawain 181 Fannand), and -ende once (Purity 324 quavende). The ending -vng, however, occurs only four times: Gawain 753 skyng, 2126 gruchyng; Pearl 446 beyng, 1175 skyng).

Thus in the Gawain-poet the present participle shows the Northern ending and is quite distinct from the gerund ending -vng. On the other hand, in PPl written in the West Midland dialect in the second half of the 14th century, the ending -vng(e) is the rule and has completely supplanted its OE ending so that the form of the present participle is identical with that of the gerund: -vng(e) (103 exs.), -ing(e) (2), -enge (1), -ende (3), -ande (2), -ant (1). In Chaucer the present participle ends in -vng(e), while the endings -ande, -ende do not seem to occur.

2.2 Past Participle

The past participle in the Gawain-poet occurs, in the case of strong verbs, under forms -en (Gawain 177 brawen), -ne (Purity 33 totorne), -e (Gawain 396 funde, 2069 brayde), and, in the case of weak verbs, under forms -ed (Patience 386 demed), -t (Gawain 212 burnyst), -de (Pearl 140 made), -d (Gawain 596 gyld) or without any special ending (Gawain 902 put,

Those examples are found in the Passive Voice which is not treated in this chapter.
2092 note). Of these endings, -en in the former and -ed in the latter are regular in the Gawain-poet. The noticeable thing here is that of all the past participles found in the Gawain-poet only one instance retains the old participle prefix i- (OE ge-): Pearl 904 ichose 6, in which case i- is required metrically. 5 Examples of this prefix are, however, not infrequent in PPl (e.g. VI. 184 ybroken; IV IV 1 yròbed; XIV 232 i-wrye, etc.). Chaucer also uses this prefix fairly commonly in his poetry. According to Mustanoja 6, in ME the y-, i- is preserved only in the southern dialects. In the North it is not found at all. By the end of the 14th century i- becomes archaic in London English. In the South, including Kent, the prefix remains in use down to the 15th century. In this regard, too, the Gawain-poet's use of the past participle is characteristic of the Northern dialect.

3. Use

In his important article "The Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon" (PMLA, XVI, pp. 142-3), M. Callaway classifies the uses of a participle according to its relationship to its principal or semantic subject in the following manner.

A participle is:

(A) **independent** (or absolute) when its subject is grammatically independent of the rest of the sentence.

(B) **dependent** (or conjoint) when its subject is not grammatically independent of the rest of the sentence, but is intimately bound up therewith

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5 Gordon (ed.), Pearl, p. 42.

(1) **predicative** (or **supplementary**), when the participle is joined to its subject by means of a verb.

- **predicative nominative**
- **predicative accusative**

(2) **non-predicative** (or **assumptive**), when not joined to its subject by the instrumentality of a verb.

- **attributive**, when the connection between the participle and its principal is so close that the two constitute one indivisible idea.
- **appositive**, when the connection between the participle and its principal is so loose that the two seem to constitute two independent ideas; or, to use the words of Sweet (§90), "When the subordination of an assumptive (attributive) word to its head-word is so slight that the two are almost coordinate, the adjunct-word is said to be in apposition to its head-word."

In discussing the Gawain-poet's use of the participle, I have generally followed the classification of Callaway. Minor revisions, however, include the substantival use of the past participle, i.e. the past participle used as a substantive, which Callaway has not treated. Another change to be mentioned is that the subdivisions of the predicative participle are termed in this chapter: (1) **subjective predicative** instead of **predicate nominative**, (having reference to the subject of the finite verb), and (2) **objective predicative** instead of **predicate accusative**, (having reference to the object of the finite verb), since ME, especially late ME, has neither 'nominative' nor 'accusative'.

The order of the treatment in this chapter has also been altered.
as follows:

1. Substantival Use
2. Predicative Use
   (1) Subjective Predicative
   (2) Objective Predicative
3. Attributive Use
4. Appositive Use
5. Absolute Use

Examples from the Gawain-poet illustrating these various uses are as follows: 1. Substantival—Purity 1628 And þou unhyles vch hidde þat Hevenkyng myntes; 2 (1) Subjective Predicative—Gawain 1662-3 þe dede turned torwast; (2) Objective Predicative—Pearl 385 In blysse I se þe blybely blent; 3. Attributive—Pearl 112 rounande rourde; 4. Appositive—Patience 386 Do dryue out a decree, demed of my sleuen; Purity 715 Al sykande he sayde; 5. Absolute—Patience 251 þe folk þet halðande his fete, þe fysch hym tyd hentes.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to inquire into these various uses of the participle as they occur in the works of the Gawain-poet.

3.1 Substantival Use

Because of its adjectival nature the participle is infrequently used substantivally. I have found only six such examples in the Gawain-poet, all of which are past participles:

Pearl 368 my dore endorde (=adored one); Purity 114 Ay þe best byfore and bryȝtest atyrred; Ib. 1628 þou unhyles uch hidde; Ib. 1094-5 þet comen loldy to þat Leðe, as lazares monye, Summe lepre, summe lome and lomerande blynde, Pysened (=poisoned), and perlatyk, and pyned in fyres (=those pained with fevers); Patience 163 þo very for-
In the last two instances, it would be more natural to take the whole participial phrase as expressing one concept than to separate the participle from the rest of the phrase. Those instances seem to be uncommon in both ME and ModE. In the following instance from PPl, the phrase 'past participle + object' as a whole expresses one concept and functions substantivally:

VIII. 101-3 Blynde and bedered and broken here members
---Han as pleyne pardoun as the plowman hym-self.

This may be said to be an extremely rare type in ME and in ModE would be impossible.

3.2 Predicative Use

As already stated, the predicative participle is subdivided into (1) Subjective Predicative when referring to the subject of the finite verb and (2) Objective Predicative when referring to the object of the finite verb.

3.2 (1) Subjective Predicative

The participle as a subjective predicative is chiefly used in the progressive form (be + present participle), the perfect tenses (have + past participle, or be + past participle of certain intransitive verbs of motion, such as go and come) and the passive voice (be + past participle), none of which are treated in this section as stated at the beginning of this chapter. The following instances consisting of 'be + present participle', however, may hardly be regarded as examples of the progressive, usually defined as denoting "an action or an activity as in progress" or as implying

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7 The construction 'very + for- + past participle' is an idiomatic expression in ME. According to Mustanoja (op. cit., pp. 560-3), it is a peculiarity of ME syntax, not attested in OE. As yet the origin and primary character of it have not been made completely clear.

"an aspect of duration and continuity" and showing "that a happening is thought of as being in progress and occupying a limited time." 9

Gawain 144-5 Both his wombe and his wast were worthily smale, And all his fetures fol3ande, in forme hat he hade; Purity 1915-7 a sec... is drovy and dym, and ded in hit kynde, Blo, bluberande and blak, unblype to ne3e.

In the first instance, 'fol3ande' is naturally considered as being governed by 'were' of the preceding line since the two constructions are parallel. The second instance, of course, is construed with 'is'. In these two instances the present participle is placed in juxtaposition with an ordinary adjective as predicative and seems to denote a state or a quality. In other words, the participle seems to be adjectival rather than verbal in character.

As a subjective predicative the past participle is also found, though very infrequently, with copulas other than be:

Gawain 802 pat pared out of papure purely hit semed; Tb. 1662-3 howsoever be dede turned towrst; Purity 1687 mony bik thy3e (= grew) bry3t umbe his lyre.

3.2 (2) Objective Predicative

As an objective predicative the participle is usually found with verbs of perception, mental action, causation, etc. In the Gawain-poet's works the past participle is far more frequent in this function than the present participle, with 9 examples of the former and only one of the latter. The same is said of Langland's use of the participle in PPl where the past participle occurs 18 times and the present participle 7 times as an objective predicative. The only example of the present participle that seems to occur in the Gawain-poet is:

9Scheurweghs, op. cit., p. 319.
It is evident from the context that the participle *lesande* refers to the object of the finite verb, not to its subject. After verbs of this kind, the present participle competes with the infinitive. According to Mustanoja, the use of the present participle as an objective predicative begins in OE under the influence of Latin, but even in ME it is less common than the infinitive. In the Gawain-poet the present participle in this function is found only once as shown above, its place usually being taken by the infinitive (e.g. *Pearl* 879 A note ful nwe I herde hem weare). This construction with the infinitive will be discussed in Chapter III. 3.2 (2).

As already stated, the past participle used as an objective predicative is fairly common in the Gawain-poet, occurring 19 times after verbs of perception, mental action, causation, etc.

*Gawain* 2341 halde (=consider) þe wel *payed*; *Th.* 648-9 At þis cause þe knyȝt comlyche hade Inpe inore half of his schelde hir ymage depaynted; *Pearl* 282 I trawed my perle don out of daweȝ; *Purity* 459-60 carayne he fyndez kast up on a clyffe.

Other examples: *Gawain* 1760, 2167, 2393 (2 exs.); *Pearl* 66, 179, 267, 385, 790-1, 871, 1032; *Purity* 197, 281-2; *Patience* 193 (2 exs.).

3.3 Attributive Use

The attributive use of the participle is very common in the Gawain-poet, since there are about 151 examples (including one doubtful example) in the 6,087 lines. This constitutes approximately 31 percent of the total of participles used. Of the examples, 76 are present participles and 75 are past participles. In the Gawain-poet, then, the present participle and the past participle are almost equally frequent in this function. Of

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additional interest is the fact that the present participle is most frequently used as an attributive. By contrast, in PTL, there are only 93 attributive participles in the 7,242 lines, of which 20 are present participles and 73 are past participles. According to A. S. Irvine, in Wycliffe's original English writings, the attributive use of the participle is not common and the past participle is more frequent in this function than the present participle. Of the present participle used attributively in ME, Einenkel (Streifzüge durch die Mittelenglische Syntax, p. 274) says:

Au attributiver Verwendung ist das neue Part. Praes. gewiss erst sehr spät gekommen. Bei Chaucer findet es sich noch selten.12

As compared with the above-mentioned statements, it is noteworthy that in the Gawain-poet the attributive use of the participle, particularly of the present participle, is quite frequent.

The attributive participle is usually placed before its head word, in which case the adjectival character is prominent. In other words, it functions as an ordinary adjective. In the Gawain-poet's works 135 participles (73 present and 62 past) occur in this position. To give a few examples:

Present Participle: Gawain 679 A lowande leder; Pearl 70 ðe glemande glory; Purity 382 ðe roȝ raynande ryg, ðe raykande wowez; Patience 445 ðe dawande day; etc.

Past Participle: Gawain 2412 ðyn honoured ladyez; Pearl 77 As bornystsyluer; Purity 330 þê wedded wyf; Patience 246 þat schendcd shyp; etc.

The attributive use of the past participle is mainly restricted in English


to the transitive verbs as shown above. But the past participles of some
intransitive verbs, classed as the so-called mutative verbs13 also occur
in this function, as in ModE: a travelled person, a fallen angel, the
risen sun, a withered flower, etc. In the Gawain-poet I have found
eight possible examples of this type (including one example placed after
its head word):

Gawain 22 In Mony turned tymc; Ib. 305 his brescia bro3ez; Ib. 1740
Hir bryucn face (also Purity 298); Purity 367 Mony clustered
clowde (also in 951); Ib. 115 his fader forloynec14 (=his erring
father) ...feched hem wyth strenbe; Patience 196 doted wrech.

The one example which deserves to be mentioned is:

Pearl 461-2 Ry3t so is vch a krysten sawle A longande lym to be
Mayster of myste (=A limb belonging to the Master of spiritual
mysteries).

In this instance the present participle which we would naturally expect
after its head word (cf. Purity 1096 alle bat longed to luper ful lodly
he hated) is found before it, probably because of the needs of the metre.
This may, therefore, be regarded as an example of the adverbial use of the
appositive participle (cf. 3. 4 (1)) rather than as an attributive participle.

The attributive participle is occasionally placed after its head
word. I have found 4 present participles and 13 past participles used
attributively after their head word. On closer examination, most of them
seem to be placed in this position by the demands of the rhyme, metre, and
alliteration as might have been expected in the poems examined. Of the
17 examples 5 occur in rhyme:

13 Verbs denoting a passing from one place or state to another (cf.
Zandvoort, op. cit., p. 48).

14 Cf. OED s.v. Forloin, v. I. b. intr. (=To stray, err).
Other examples: *Gawain* 1368; *Pearl* 1012.

In the following instances the word-order 'substantive + participle' may be due to alliteration, namely, to the fact that the *Gawain* poet does not place the alliterated word in the final position:

*Gawain* 633 Gawan watz for gode knawen, and as golde pured; *Purity* 33 Forby hy3 not to heven in haterez totorne; *Ib.* 1134 And polysed als playn as parchmen schaven.

The word-order 'substantive + participle' in the remaining examples may depend to some extent on the demands of the metre or rhythm, or may be consistent with his habit of often placing the attributive adjective after its head word, as in: *Purity* 4 combraunce huge; *Gawain* 288 bys giserne rych; etc.

*Gawain* 800 So mony pynakle panytet watz poudred ayquere; *Purity* 1758 Segges slepande were slayne; *Ib.* 554 As be beryl bornyst byhouez be clene.

Other examples: *Gawain* 1512; *Pearl* 926; *Purity* 41, 838, 1155.

3.4 Appositive Use

As already stated at the beginning of Section 3, a participle is used appositively when "the connection between the participle and its principal is so loose that the two seem to constitute two independent ideas." According to Callaway, the appositive participle has three chief uses:

1. The Adjectival, in which it is equivalent to a Dependent Adjectival (Relative) clause, and denotes either an action or a state;
2. The Adverbial, in which it is equivalent to a Dependent Adverbial clause, and denotes time, manner, means, etc.;

3. The Co-ordinate, in which it is equivalent to an Independent clause, and either denotes an accompanying circumstance or repeats the idea of the principal verb.

He further divides the adverbial use into six subclasses: 1. Modal (a. Manner, b. Means), 2. Temporal, 3. Causal, 4. Final, 5. Concessive, 6. Conditional. What we should note is that he relies entirely upon the contextual meaning of each case, in order to set up his minute classification. This kind of classification, however, often tends to be subjective, depending upon the reader's interpretation of the context. As a matter of fact, most examples of the appositive participle admit of more than one interpretation, with one shading into the other. In addition, the co-ordinate use of the appositive participle may be more adequately discussed under its adverbial use, since according to Callaway it denotes either an accompanying circumstance or repeats the idea of the principal verb. In fact, Callaway himself seems to think that this co-ordinate use is adverbial. Such being the case, the appositive participle can be largely divided into the following two uses which are more or less distinct: (1) the adjectival use, in which the participle is equivalent to a dependent adjectival (relative) clause (e.g. Purity 1389) at watz a palayce of pryde passande alle ober; Gawain 2320 Neuer syn pat he watz burne borne of his moder) and (2) the adverbial use, in which it is equivalent to a dependent adverbial clause, and denotes time, manner, means, attendant circumstance, etc. (e.g. Patience 

According to Mustanoja, "in the course of ME the appositive participle becomes quite common, possibly supported by the parallel French and Latin usage, although the role of foreign influence is sometimes exaggerated". In the Gawain-poet the appositive use of the participle is the most common of all the uses of the participle. Of the 491 examples of the participle, 259 or 52.7 per cent are used appositively, of which 79 are present participles and 180 past participles. Much the same is said of Langland's use of the appositive participle in PPl. About 50 per cent or 149 examples of the participle are appositive, of which 67 are present participles and 82 past participles. These statistics from Gawain-poet and Langland seem to agree with Koziol's statement that the appositive past participle is quite common in ME alliterative poetry.

3.4 (1) The Adjectival Use

In the Gawain-poet the adjectival use of the appositive participle occurs far more frequently with the past participle than with the present participle, there being 130 of the former compared with 14 of the latter. The same sort of thing applies to Langland's use of the adjectival appositive participle in PPl in which 44 are past participles and 16 are present participles. In Wycliffe's original English writings the past participle occurs almost twice as often in this use as the present participle.

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18Grundzüge der Syntax der Mittelenglischen Stabreimdichtungen, pp. 110-11.

Callaway points out that the use of the present participle as an adjectival appositive is largely due to Latin influence, whereas the past participle in this function is probably of native origin.

In the Gawain-poet the adjectival appositive participle is almost always accompanied by an object or adjunct:

Examples of the present participle (13 exs.): Gawain 268-9 I have a hauberghe at home...and a scharp spere, schinande bry3t; Purity 293 Penne in worlde watz a wy3e wonyande on lyue; Ib. 1535 Non oher forme bot a fust fay!ande ße wryste, Pared on ße parget, portrayed lettres.

Other examples: Gawain 305, 857, 1818; Pearl 446, 700, 1039-40; Purity 592, 783, 1389, 1410, 1482.

Examples of the past participle (130 exs.): Patience 386 Do dryue out a decre, demed of my seluen; Pearl 978 launce3 so lufly leued; Gawain 159 vpon silk bordes barred ful ryche; Ib. 2242 And ßou knowez ße couen:untez kest vus bytwene; etc.

Very infrequently this type of appositive participle is connected with its head word by the conjunction and. Only two examples of this occur in the Gawain-poet:

Purity 144 In on so ratted a robe and rent at ße sydez; Ib. 1405-7
Burnes...served berwyth, Lyfte logges berover and on lofte corven.

This practice may be explained as occurring because of the looseness of the connection between the appositive participle and its head word.

There is one possible instance in which the adjectival appositive participle is not accompanied by an object or adjunct.

Pearl 700 For non lyuande to ße is justyfyet (=no one living is justified before thee).

3.4 (2) The Adverbial Use

In the Gawain-poet's works I have found about 115 appositive participles

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which seem to be equivalent to a dependent adverbial clause of time, manner, attendant circumstances, etc. Of this number, 66 are present participles and 49 are past participles. Thus the present participle is used more frequently in this function than the past participle. The same is true of Langland's use of the adverbial appositive participle in PPl (the present participle, 51; the past participle, 38).

In the Gawain-poet the adverbial appositive participle, in 113 instances out of 115, refers to the subject of the main sentence and, of the 113 instances thus used, 89 take the post-position in relation to the main verb. A few instances are given below:

Gawain 972 Ye alder he haylses, heldande ful lowe; Purity 445 Hit sa3tled on a softe day sykande to grounde; Patience 169 Venne bispeke pe spakest, dispayed wel nere; Gawain 1151 Der drof in be dale, doomed for drede; etc.

According to Mustanoja, "When a participle occurs appositively after short finite verbs which have lost their emphasis and colour through frequent use, such as come, fall, go, lie, sit, and stand, the participle tends to become the carrier of the main verbal idea, while the finite verb tends to become reduced into a mere auxiliary". In the Gawain-poet, this type of expression is not very common, occurring six times after come, lie, and stand:

Examples of the present participle (4 exs.): Gawain 1898 Renaud com richchande; Ib. 1757 Ye lady luflich com lagande swete; Ib. 2266 As hit com glydande adoun; Patience 457-8 be gome...Lys loltrande per-inne. Cf. PPl VIII. 62 I went wide-where walkyng myn ono.

Examples of the past participle (2 exs.): Gawain 1195 Ye lede lay lurked a ful lone quyle; Ib. 2334-5 bat do3ty...stondez Armed, ful a3lez.

Of the 113 adverbial appositive participles which refer to the

21Mustanoja, op. cit., p. 557.
subject of the main sentence, 24 take the pre-position in relation to the main verb, perhaps partly because of the needs of alliteration or metre:

Examples of the present participle (16 exs.): Gawain 1595 And he garrande hym geselde; Purity 715 Al sykande he sayde; Patience 186 solberande he routes; Pearl 111-2 Swangeande swete þe water con swepe Wyth a rownande rourde.

Other examples: Gawain 222, 731, 1068, 1212, 1796, 2126; Pearl 1018, 1175; Purity 953-6, 1691; Patience 433.

Examples of the past participle (8 exs.): Gawain 729 Ner Slayn wyth þe slete he slept in his yrmes; Pearl 228-9 Pyst in perle, þat precios pyce On wyper half water com don þe schore; Purity 1673 þou, remued fro monnes sunes, on mor most abide.

Other examples: Gawain 714; Pearl 629; 1193; Purity 750, 1208.

Only very infrequently is the adverbial appositive participle coordinated with the main sentence by the conjunction and. Three examples are found in Gawain-poet:

Pearl 484-6 }You cowhe3 neuer God naupeþ plese ne pray,...And quen mad on be fyrst day! (made quen on the first day)22; Purity 929-31 fyne þou never,...And ay geande on vor gate; Gawain 2180-1 Hit hade a hole on þe end and on ayper syde, And overgrown with greese in glodes anywhere.

So far I have discussed the adverbial appositive participles which refer to the subject of the main sentence. There are, however, two instances in the Gawain-poet, in which this is not the case:

Gawain 830-1 Alle hasped in his heþ wede to halle þay hym wonnen; Purity 296 And ay glydande wyth his God his grace watz þe more.

In the first instance the participle refers to the object of the finite verb and in the second it refers to the dependent possessive contained in the subject of the finite verb. With regard to this type of construction, Trnka says, "The pronominal subject of the absolute participle is often

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22H. Koziol seems to consider that this is a doubtful example of the absolute participle found in an exclamatory sentence (op. cit., p. 122).
left out in Middle and Early Modern English, the context making the reference clear.\textsuperscript{23} As shown above, this construction is extremely rare in the works of the Gawain-poet. By contrast, it occurs as often as 9 times in \textit{PP1}.\textsuperscript{24}

In ModE the appositive participle which is equivalent to an adverbial clause is occasionally preceded by a conjunction, as in: While reading I fell asleep (q. Zandvoort); For lovers hours are long, \textit{though seeming short} (Shakespeare, \textit{Venus and Adonis} 842). In the Gawain-poet's works, however, is found no instance of type 'Conjunction + Participle'. This type of construction seems to make its first appearance in the 16th century.\textsuperscript{25}

3.5 Absolute Participle

The absolute participle has been one of the much-debated problems of English syntax. Today it is generally agreed\textsuperscript{26} that the absolute participle, not very frequent in OE, appears as the dative absolute in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{23}On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden, p. 89.
\item \textsuperscript{24}See Prol. 205-6 (2 exs.); IV. 129-30 (2 exs.), 145; XI. 297-8; XVIII. 297-8; XIX. 152-4 (2 exs.).
\item \textsuperscript{25}P. Rhyne, "Conjunction + Participle Group in English," \textit{Studies in Philology}, IV, p. 8. His earliest example of it is 1552 from Ralph Roister Doister I. 2. 187: For that maketh me eche, where so highly favored.
\item \textsuperscript{26}See M. Callaway, Jr. \textit{The Absolute Participle in Anglo-Saxon}, p. 30; Quirk & Wrenn, \textit{Old English Grammar}, p. 66; H. Sweet, \textit{Anglo-Saxon Primer}, § 87; Mustanoja, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 559; etc.
\end{itemize}
imitation of the Latin ablative absolute, as in: *pseudumigendum Cede* (L. *de lovente*), *him apparendum hi comen* (L. *de loquente veniunt*). According to C. H. Ross in his important article "The Absolute Participle in Middle and Modern English", the construction, practically non-existent, especially in poetry in the first period (1150-1350) of ME, became frequent in the second period (1350-1500). As regards the case of the absolute participle which changed its form from dative to nominative in ME, Ross concludes that its change "began to take place before the close of the thirteenth century and was finally effected during the second quarter of the fifteenth century". It must be remembered, however, that, owing to the coalescence of the dative with the nominative in early ME, the only instance in which we can clearly distinguish the case of the absolute participle in ME occurs when the participle is used with a pronoun as subject. With these facts in mind, we can now examine instances of the absolute participle in the works of the Gawain-poet. As far as my observation goes, about 27 examples of the absolute participle construction are found in the Gawain-poet's works, which contain 33 participles. Incidentally I have found nine examples in *PPL*. According to A. S. Irvine, in Wycliffe's original English writings (1,140 pages) there are about 15

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28 Ibid., p. 302.
29 In his above-mentioned article (p. 255), Ross remarks that only three examples occur in *PPL* (B-text), but in reality as many as nine examples are found: XI. 297-8; XV. 222-3; XVII. 212; XIX. 161-2; XX. 341; XII. 288-9; XIV. 231-2; XIX. 163; XIII. 278-80. In this article there is no mention of the Gawain-poet's use of the absolute participle.
30 Op. cit., p. 10
instances of the absolute participle. Hence it may be said that the
Gawain-poet favours the absolute participle to some degree. The note-
worthy thing is that the present participle is very rarely used as the
absolute participle, since there are only five instances compared with 28
of the past participle. The examples quoted below will require little
comment, being the common absolute participle constructions:

Examples with the present participle: Gawain 450 as þou hatʒ hette
in bis hulle, herande bise knyʒes; Patience 251 þe folk þet
haldande his fete, þe fyʒh hym tyd hentes.

Other examples: Gawain 866-8; Purity 1405.

Examples with the past participle: Pearl 433-4 'Cortayse Quen',
þenne sayde bat gaye, knelande to groue, folde vp byr face;
Gawain 72-5 When þay had waschen worbyyl þay wenten to sete, þe
best burne au abof, as hit best semed, When (=Queen) Guenore; ful
gay, graybed in be myddes, Dressed on be dere deg, dubbed al aboute.

Other examples: Gawain 210-12 (2 exs.), 600, 888-93 (4 exs.), 1233,
1733-41; Pearl 1035-6; Purity 8321-2; Patience 473-5.

Doubtful examples: Gawain 187-8; Pearl 203-4; Purity 1072; 1389-92.

In three instances the absolute construction is connected with the
rest of the sentence by 'and'. The absolute phrase may thereby be obscured.
But this practice is said to be very common in ME. 33

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31 In those two instances the participle precedes its logical subject,
owing probably to the needs of the rhyme (in Pearl 434) and to alliteration
(in Gawain 450).

32 Those instances may be explained as occurring through the mere
omission of the copula be found in the preceding sentence, as in: Purity
1072 Bot much clener watz hir corse, God Kynned berinne.

33 C. H. Ross, op. cit., p. 262. I have found three examples thus
used in PP1 (XII. 288-9; XIV. 231-2; XIX. 163).
Purity 1402-4 Sturmen trumpen strake steven in halle, Aywhere by be woves wrasen krakkes, And brode baneres herbi blusmande of gold.

Other examples: Purity 1387-8; Gawain 1359-61.

There are also instances in which the past participle may be used as a preposition:

Purity 356-7 Schal no flesch upon fonde by fonden on lyve, Outtaken yow aȝt in þis ark staued; Tb. 1512-3 And of my reme þe rychest to ryde wyth myselfen, Outtaken bare two.

OED explains this prepositional use of 'outtaken' as follows:

Originally used in concord with a sb. or pron. in the absolute case (=Latin ablative absolute), e.g. exceptā sōa mātre, ME 'his moder out-taken', 'out-taken his moder'. Both these orders were in use, but the later was the prevailing one; and the position and effect of a participle being equivalent to those of a preposition, it became at length identified with the prepositions.

As may already have been noticed, in the works of the Gawain-poet all the absolute participles but one are found with the substantives whose case it is impossible to tell. The one exception (Purity 357) is the prepositional use of the absolute participle with the pronoun in the oblique case. This cannot be considered to be an example of the dative absolute since this pronoun is followed by the attributive phrase. In PPl, however, there is one example in which the pronominal subject of the participle is in the oblique case:

(XIII 278-80) As in aparaille and in porte proude amonges the peple, Otherwyse than he hath wyth herte or syȝte showyng; Hym willynge that alle men wende he were that he is nouȝte.

This is clearly a remnant of the old dative absolute and the only instance that occurs in PPl (B-text). This may indicate that the absolute case had not changed permanently from dative to nominative before the close of the 14th century. Needless to say, the construction with the pronoun in the oblique case is impossible in PE. Chaucer employed the nominative absolute (e.g. TC I. 309-10 she, this in black, liking to Troilus, O'er
alle thing he stood for to beholde), but not a single instance of the
nominative absolute can be found either in the Gawain-poet's works or
in PPI.

The absolute participle is often introduced by the preposition
with. This introductory preposition is "the sign of subordination to the
principal verb". Mustanoja says, "Even as early as OE, an absolute con-
struction is not infrequently introduced by the preposition mid (with), and
in ME this is fairly common". I have found 11 examples (with 14 participles)
in the Gawain-poet. All of them are found with the past participle.

Purity 987 Wyth lyt-lyvez volyfte bay loved hym swyple; Patience
197-202 Al blysnande whyt wat3 hir beau biys...With lappes large,
...Dubbed with double perle and dyste.

Other examples: Gawain 187-9, 218-20, 574-7, 744-5, 1366-8; Purity
38, 643; Patience 237-9, 253-5.

Very rarely, however, the absolute phrase with the past participle is also
introduced by without, er (=before), and by. Only four examples occur in
the Gawain-poet's works:

Gawain 315 For al dares for drede withoute dynt schewed; Ib. 2333 I
haf a stroke in pis sted without stryf hent; Ib. 2277 And hou, er any
harme hent, argez in hert; Purity 1131 And he may polyce hym at be
prest, by penance taken.

Such constructions as these are by no means common in ModE.

4. Tense and Voice

In ModE the participle often uses the compound forms to denote
the past time-sphere and the passive voice. But the same cannot be said

34Curme, Syntax 20. 3.
also found with non-participial phrase, as in Pearl 183 Wyth yven open and
mouth ful clos I stod as hande as hawk in halle.
of the ME participle. According to Trnka, the compound forms of the participle, denoting the past time-sphere (e.g. having done) and the passive voice (e.g. being done), are fully "developed as late as the 16th century owing to the imitation of the Latin constructions". In fact, only the simple forms, i.e. the present participle and the past participle occur in the Gawain-poet and his contemporaries, no compound forms of the participle being found. As to the compound participle, denoting the past time-sphere, Trnka quotes its early example from P. Sidney Arcadia 197: For having quite lost the way of noblenes, he strave to clime to the height of terriblenes. In addition, Biese's study of this type of compound participle in the works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries clearly shows that this construction "seems to have made its entry into English in the middle of the 16th century but does not seem to have become more commonly used until the last quarter of the century."37

Concerning the passive present participle of the compound type, Mustanoja states that it begins to appear in the 15th century, and cites the following example: by means whereof he being sore febeled and debrused, now falle to greet age and poverty (Ellis Letters II i 96 [1422]).38


37 Y. M. Biese, Notes on the Compound Participle in the Works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, pp. 16-7.

5. Summary

What has been discussed in this chapter will be summarized as follows:

1. In the Gawain-poet's works (6,087 lines) the participle used as a verbal adjective is quite frequent, occurring almost twice as often as in PPL (7,242 lines). Of the 492 examples found in the Gawain-poet, 164 are present participles and 328 are past participles. Thus the past participle is twice as frequent as the present participle.

2. The form of the participle in the Gawain-poet is clearly characteristic of the Northern and North Midland dialects. That is, the present participle normally ends in -ande, while -ving as a present participle ending is extremely rare, occurring only four times. Of the past participle ending, -en (in the case of strong verbs) and -ed (in the case of weak verbs) are regular in the Gawain-poet. The old past participle prefix i- (<OE ge-) occurs only once.

3. (1) The substantive use of the participle occurs only six times, all of which are past participles.

   (2) As a subjective predicative the present participle is found only twice in the Gawain-poet and is placed in juxtaposition with a predicative adjective. The past participle in this function is also very rarely found after seem, turn, and thyge (=grew).

   As an objective predicative the present participle occurs only once, while the past participle is fairly common after verbs of perception, mental action, causation, etc.

   (3) The attributive use of the participle is quite common in the Gawain-poet, both the present and the past participle being almost equally frequent. In particular, the Gawain-poet's frequent use of the present participle in
this function is worth noting in view of the fact that the attributive use of the present participle is not at all common in his contemporaries. Besides, the present participle is most frequently used in the attributive function.

In the Gawain-poet the attributive participle is normally placed before its head word. Occasionally, however, it is placed after its head word, owing probably to the demands of the rhyme, metre, and alliteration.

(4) The appositive use of the participle is by far the most common in the Gawain-poet. The adjectival use of the appositive participle is more common than its adverbial use. What is interesting here is that in the former use the past participle is far more frequent than the present participle, while in the latter the present participle is more common than the past participle. In the majority of cases (113 out of 115) the adverbial appositive participle refers to the subject of the finite verb and occurs all but 24 out of 113 times after, rather than before, the finite verb. The adverbial appositive participle which does not refer to the subject of the finite verb is extremely rare, occurring only twice.

In both the adjectival and adverbial uses of the appositive participle the participial phrase is occasionally connected with its head word or the main sentence by the conjunction and, the insertion of which may take place either for the sake of metre or on account of the looseness of the connection between the participle and its head word. This practice is also common in PPl.

(5) The absolute participle is comparatively frequent in the Gawain-poet. In this use the past participle is far more common than the present participle. Neither the nominative absolute or the dative absolute occurs in the Gawain-poet since all but one absolute participle are found with the substantives whose case it is impossible to tell. The one exception is
'outtaken' with the pronoun in the oblique case. However, this seems to be used as a preposition. Further, the absolute participle introduced by the prepositions with, without, or (=before), and by are not infrequently found in the Gawain-poet. This type of absolute participle is not common in ModE except when used after with.

4. The compound forms of the participle, denoting the past time-sphere and the passive voice can not be found in the works of the Gawain-poet and his contemporaries.
CHAPTER II, GERUND

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1. Introductory Remarks

   The 'gerund' may be viewed in this chapter as: the ing form which
   is derived from a verb and functions as a substantive.

   As noted in OED (s. v. -ing1), the most notable development of the
   gerund is its acquisition of certain verbal properties. In other words, the
   gerund was originally a mere verbal substantive ending in -ing (or -ung)
   with no verbal characteristics. Subsequently its verbal nature became
   marked, which is evidently reflected in the facts that it governs an object
or a predicative, or is qualified by an adverbial adjunct, and that it expresses tense and voice by means of the compound forms. On the origin of the verbal nature of the gerund, however, there is much divergence of opinion among scholars, although it has been one of the most discussed problems of English verb syntax. After giving useful surveys of earlier views concerning the origin of the verbal nature of the gerund, Mustanoja most aptly summarizes them in the following manner (although we should read 'the verbal nature or function of the gerund' for 'the gerund'):

...the first sporadic signs of the gerundial function of the noun in -ing appear in late OE. They are slavish imitations of Latin gerunds, but they do suggest that the noun in -ing is at least capable of acquiring verbal properties. The rise of the gerund seems to take place essentially within the ME period. The influence of the OF gerondif seems to play a significant part in the development of the English gerund.... One significant contributory factor is obviously the analogy of the English present participle, and

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1To mention a few: G. O. Curme assumes that the verbal nature of the gerund is a native development from the Old English verbal noun in -ung (-ung) without any foreign help ("History of the English Gerund," Englische Studien, XLV (1912), 348-80 and "The Gerund in Old English and German," Anglia, XXXVIII (1914), 491-98); Einenkel seems to hold that it is largely due to Anglo-Norman influence upon English syntax ("Die Entwicklung des englischen Gerundiums," Anglia, XXXVIII (1914), 1-76); Langenhove concludes, after a remarkably detailed study of the phonological factors in the development of the English gerund, that the verbal nature of the gerund... "owes its existence to a double confusion: (a) of the inflected and uninflected infinitives, as its form is the inflected one without the preposition to; (b) of the infinitive in -n and the verbal noun in -ing, both words having in the spoken language the same form, often the same meaning, sometimes the same construction" (On the Origin of the Gerund in English: Phonology, p. 132); M. Callaway, Jr. contends that it is primarily due to Latin influence and for several reasons, such as the influence of the present participle and the French gerundial-participial constructions ("Concerning the origin of the gerund in English," Studies in English Philology: a Mecellany in Honor of F. Klaeber, 1929, pp. 32-49). For other views see J. L. Armstrong, "The Gerund in Nineteenth-Century English," PMLA, VII (1892), 200-11; OED s. v. -ing1; W. van der Gaaf, "The Gerund Preceded by the Common Case," English Studies, X (1928), pp. 33-41 and 65-72; B. Trnka, On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden, p. 92; etc.
the gerund no doubt receives several of its functions from the infinitive. The influence of the participle and the infinitive is evidently facilitated by the remarkable confusion between forms ending in -n, and -nd, and -ng in ME.²

As is apparent from Mustanoja's remarks, the development of the verbal nature of the gerund from its OE verbal substantive in -ing is a very complicated process involving various factors.

To sum up, the rise of the 'modern' gerund, or the gerund with certain verbal properties seems to take place essentially within the ME period, especially in the 14th century.³ Here it must be remembered that the works of the Gawain-poet with which we are concerned were written in the second half of the 14th century.

In the Gawain-poet's works the gerund is not very common, occurring 123 times in all the 6,087 lines, as contrasted with the 366 times it occurs in all the 7,242 lines of PPl. In discussing the Gawain-poet's use of the gerund, which includes both its substantival and verbal nature, my material will, for the sake of convenience and clarity, be considered under two different headings: (1) Substantival Function and Nature and (2) Verbal Nature. Before going into details, however, we shall first observe the forms of the gerund.

2. Form

According to OED (s. v. -ing¹), in OE the more usual form was -ung, but -ing was also frequent. In early ME, -ung rapidly died out, being

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²Mustanoja, Middle English Syntax, p. 572.

scarcey found after 1250, and -ing became the regular form. In later ME, -yng was a frequent scribal variant.

In the works of the Gawain-poet the gerund in its 123 instances occurs as: -yng (106 exs.), -ynges (pl. -ynges) (5 exs.), -ing (pl. -inges) (11 exs.) and -ande (1 ex.). In PPl, on the other hand, the gerund appears as: -ynges (pl. -ynges) (200 exs.), -yng (123 exs.), -ing(e) (11 exs.) and -ende (1 ex.). As expected, the -yng(e) (i.e. a scribal variant of -ing) is firmly established both in the Gawain-poet and Langland. Thus as far as the Gawain-poet is concerned, the gerund ending -yng is strongly contrasted with the normal present participle ending -ande (Cf. Chapter I.2. Form), so that there are practically no borderline cases in which it is difficult to decide whether a given -yng form is either a present participle or gerund. The noteworthy fact, however, is that the participial suffixes -inde, -ende, -ande occur occasionally as the gerundial suffixes in some ME texts, probably owing to a functional confusion between the verbal substantive in -ing and the present participle. I have come across one doubtful instance in the Gawain-poet and one clear example in PPl:

Purity 751 What if pretty bryvande be Brad in jon taunz;

4See Few, W. P., "Verbal Nouns in -inde in ME and the Participial -ing Suffix," Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, V (1896), pp. 269-76. He finds examples of the gerund ending in -inde, -ende, -ande in the following texts: Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century (4 exs.), The Life of Saint Katherine (2 exs.), Saint Marherete (1 ex.), Ancene Rive (1 ex.), Debate of the Body and Soul (1 ex.), The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester (1 ex.), Ayenbite of Inwyt (14 exs.), and Trevia's translation of Higden's Polychronicon (1 ex.).

5This example may be construed as the substantival use of the present participle (cf. H. Koziol, Grundzüge der Syntax der Mittelenglischen Stabreimlichtungen, p. 111). Cf. PPl X. 431. There are witty and wel-libbyme ac her werkes ben yhuddde.
Incidentally I have noted one example of the old -\textit{ung} form in The Towneley Plays: XXIT, 103 for \textit{fallyng} be thou bold.

3. Substantival Function and Nature

As already remarked, the gerund was once felt to be only a substantive. Accordingly it may possess all the syntactical functions of a substantive: (1) the gerund may function as: a subject, predicative, or object of a finite verb, an object of a preposition, a substantive in apposition to any one of the preceding, and an attributive; (2) in these functions the gerund can form a plural and a genitive, and take various adjuncts, such as articles, adjectives, substantives or pronouns in the genitive or in the common case, and possessive and indefinite pronouns. It can also enter into compounds. These substantival characteristics will be referred to separately in the following sections.

3.1 Substantival Function

3.1(1) As a Subject:

In the works of Gawain-poet there are, in all, 24 instances of this use. They are found mostly with various adjuncts (a) and rarely without them (b).

(a) Gawain 323 Hapel, by heuen, \textit{byn askynge} is nys; Pearl 1180 A longeynge heyc me strok in swone; Purity 408 no spra\textit{lynge} awayled; Purity 578-9 Bot non mu\textit{yez hym...As harlottrye} unhost, he\textit{byng of seluen}.

6Skeat (Glossary) comments that it is "a false form for \textit{tailynge}, by confusion of the sb. ending -\textit{ynge} with the pres. pt. suffix -\textit{ende}.

7Properly, an \textit{ing}-group is compared with the subject by means of \textit{as}.
Other examples: Gawain 191, 349, 1017; Pearl 452, 754, 1049; Purity 751, 1101-2 (2 exs.), 1362; Patience 53.

(b) Gawain 853 pat broght hym to a bryght bourse, per beddyng watz noble; Pearl 262 per mys nec ne mornyng con neuer here; Th. 897 For neuer lesyng...Ne touched her tonge for no dystresse.

In ModE the gerund is often used with the formal or preparatory 'it' (e.g. it is no good talking to him), but no examples of this type are found in the Gawain-poet. Infrequently, however, we do come across the construction with the preparatory 'there'. According to Mustanoja, the construction there was ... -ing is frequently used in ME for the expression of indefinite agency. In the Gawain-poet the construction occurs only six times (cf. also six times in PPL).

Gawain 232 Ther watz lokyng on lenbe pe lude to beholde; Purity 1513 Per watz ryving, on ryght, of rych metalles; Patience 237 Per watz louyng on loft, when pay pe londe wonnen.

Other examples: Gawain 1601-2 (2 exs.); Purity 1515.

Despite the existence of the examples just quoted, the idiomatic phrase 'there is no -ing' never appears in the Gawain-poet, though it is recorded in ME and Elizabethans.

3.1(2) As a Predicative:

In ModE the gerund is often used in this function as in: His chief

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8Strictly speaking, an ing-group is the logical subject of the absolute phrase.


10Jespersen (M.E.G. V, 8.3.4) has its earliest instance from Ancrene Riwle (c. 1230-50): AR 28 per ter his non wiþ sigginge (=there is no refusing): Wycliffe, Mat. 22.23 there is no rysyng agetn.
hobby is gardening, but such a construction is extremely rare, occurring only twice in the Gawain-poet.

Purity 489-50 Dat was be sone of savyte bat sende hem oure Lorde, And be saftlyng of hymself wyth be sely bestez; Patience; 115 Hit watz a wetonyng vnwar bat wolt in his mynde. Cf. PPl XIII. 95 And but if the fyrst lyne be lesyng leue me neuer after.

Both gerunds are used as subjective predicatives, while no instances of the gerund as an objective predicative are found in either the Gawain poet or Langland. Cf. Dryden, An Evening's Love 269 And this horseplay they call making love. 11

3.1(3) As an Object:

The use of the gerund as an object is somewhat common in the Gawain-poet. Twenty-one instances of this are found, nine of which, strictly speaking, occur as the object of the infinitive with or without to. In most cases the gerund has a strongly substantival character and, as a result, appears with various attributive adjuncts.

Gawain 369-70 he...gef hym Goddez blessyng; Ib. 1546 I wolde yowre wylnyng worche at my my3t; Pearl 244 Much longevng haf I for be layned; Ib. 932 I se no bygyng nowhere aboute; Purity 1504 He wayned hem a warmyng; Patience 418-9 Wel knew I...by longe abydyng wyth lur.

Other examples: Gawain 1160, 1800, 2253, 2360-1; Pearl 558, 935; Purity 378, 688, 921, 1625.

Without adjuncts:

Gawain 492 heجرىnd ʒelynus to here; Pearl 859 We purgoutly hauen cnawyn; Purity 1794-6 Dcre Duryous...saftlyng makes Wyth all be barounz þeraboute; Ib. 764 Wylt þou...menddyns abyde; Ib. 1150 Sone so be kyng for his care carping my3t wynne.

11 Quoted by Soderlind in Verb Syntax in John Dryden's Prose, Part II, 6551.
As we have seen above, all the examples are used as direct objects, but the gerund as an indirect object is never used in the Gawain-poet.


The now common phrase *cannot help doing* is not found in the Gawain-poet. It appears much later. *OED* has examples from 1711 on, while Söderlind quotes two slightly earlier examples from Dryden's prose: *Fables* (dated 1700) 206 you could not help *bestowing* more than is consisting with the fortune of a private man; *Letters* (dated 1655-1700) 27 I cannot help *hearing*, that white Sticks change their masters.\(^{12}\)

3.1(4) As the Object of a Preposition:

The gerund can be very freely used with any preposition except *to*. This enables it to express much finer shades of meaning than the infinitive, with its single preposition *to*, can. As Curme\(^ {13}\) puts it, its extensive development in this category gives English one of its most distinctive features.

The infrequency of the gerund after *to* may be ascribed partly to the fact that although the gerund was commonly used to express purpose, especially in OE, the infinitive was still more frequently used for this purpose.\(^ {14}\) The same explanation seems to be true of the Gawain-poet's use of the gerund since there are only four instances after *to*.


In the Gawain-poet out of 123 instances of the gerund, 68 or 55.3 per cent occur after prepositions. The prepositions used are: at, by, for, in, on, of, to, but, and with, the most common being in, with, of, for. The phenomenon is so familiar that, with a few exceptions, a bare enumeration of examples will be sufficient to show combinations of this kind:

at (1 ex.): Gawain 1798 Now, dere, at his departure do me his ese.

by (1 ex.): Patience 213 He ossed hym by voyages.

for (8 exs.): Purity 186 For Marryng of maryagez, and mayntenance of schrewez; Gawain 1334, 2367; Pearl 1152; Purity 183, 1228.

In two cases out of eight, for occurs in the meaning of 'for fear of, to prevent, against'

Gawain 1333-4lycer be bale...Lystily for laucynge lere of be knot; Purity 739-40 I schal...wylthe my hone for hortyng on lede.

in (24 exs.): Gawain 1182, in slomerung he solde; Gawain 97, 540, 626, 924, 1404, 1750, 1748, 1751, 2468; Pearl 1208; Purity 3, 239, 544, 710, 779, 1003, 1031, 1123, 1354, 1468, 1565; Patience 30, 400.

of (12 exs.): Purity 971 Such a somery arm of pellyng ber rysed; Gawain 917, 927, 1489, 1514; Pearl 247, 450; Purity 46, 887, 1060, 1611, 1803.

on (2 exs.): Gawain 1102 On huntyng wyl I wende; Ib. 1143 hat chastysed and charred on chasyng hat went.

Referring to the type 'A-huntyng', Mustanoja says: "The verbal noun in -ing (-ung) preceded by the preposition on has been used since OE, ...The phrase on -ing becomes increasingly common in ME...The preposition often occurs in a weakened form (on and a)...The phrase is used particularly after verbs of motion to express the purpose or result of the motion."15

The weakened forms a and an never occur in the Gawain-poet, whereas in
ppl a and an each occur only once:

III. 48 we han a wyndowe a wirchyng will sitten vs ful heigh;
XVII. 115 And Hope the hostellers man shal be there the man lith
an helynge.

to (4 exs.): Pearl 1154 My mane3 mynde to maddynge malte; Gawain 1433
to be weddyng; Pearl 791 to be weddyng; Purity 811 to his
byggyng.

Those ing-forms are substantival enough to be found after to.

bur3 (1 ex.): Pur3 be eggyng of Eve he ete of an apple.

with (15 exs.): Purity 1542 And he wyth platynge his paumes displayes
his lers; Gawain 116, 543, 977, 1763, 1777, 1954, 1979,
1982, 2120, 2460; Pearl 80; Purity 172, Patience 2, 139.

3.1(5) In Apposition:

The gerund may be used as the subject, object, or predicative of
a finite verb, or as the object of a preposition. It would also be natural,
therefore, to expect it in apposition to any one of the preceding. In the
Gawain-poet there are six examples of this use, five of which occur in
apposition to the subject.

Gawain 471-2 Wel bycomes such craft vpon Cristmasse, Laykyng of
enterludes, to lage and to syng; Ib. 2378 Lo! per be falsynge,
oule met hit falle; Purity 158-60 Depe in my doungoun per doel
ever dwellez, Creving and grtyng and grypyng harde of tepe tenfully
togeder.

The remaining example occurs in apposition to the object of a
preposition:

Gawain 44-7 For per be fest watz ilyche ful fiften dayes, With
all be mete and be mirthe thet men coupe ayyse; Such glaum and gle
glorious to here, Dere dyn vpon day, daunsynge on ny3tes.

3.1(6) As an Attributive:

The gerund as an attributive to substantives is met with only
twice in the Gawain-poet:
Gawain 267 For had I founden in fere in festynge wise; 16
Pearl 57 i stode upon a slepyng-slayte.

3.2 Substantival Nature

3.2(1) Plural of a Gerund:

The gerund can form a plural as one of its substantival characters.

Five examples are found in the Gawain-poet.

Gawain 1982 With ful colde sykynges; Pearl 935 If you hatz ober bygynez stoute; Patience 213 He osses hym by vynynge; 17 Purity 1611 Danyel of derne coninges; Ib. 1803 And set of lykynges on lofte letted, I trowe.

The gerunds with plural endings have so completely acquired a concrete or abstract signification that we can hardly regard them as gerunds and, in consequence, they are more or less detached from the verbs from which they are derived. But we may speak of a gerund in spite of the plural form in the following quotation where the verbal force is marked with the addition of an adverbial phrase.

PPl II. 89 As in werkes and in wordes and waitynge with eies.

3.2(2) Genitive of a Gerund:

This is a construction like 'reading for reading's sake'. On this kind of construction, Jespersen comments: "The genitive of a gerund is naturally rare, because as a general rule only words denoting persons are used in the genitive. I have no examples except before sake." 18

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16 OED quotes this example as a special combination meaning 'battle array'.

17 The only example recorded in OED (<unne=to relate, tell).

18 Jespersen, M.E.C., V, 8.3.2.
As a matter of fact, not a single instance of this construction is found in the Gawain-poet. In the C-text of PPl, however, we come across the following example: XXI. 360 A lyttel ich ouer-lep for lesynes sake. This may be a case in point, though Skeat regards the word lesynes as plural in his Glossary to PPl.

3.2(3) With the Indefinite and the Definite Article:

With the indefinite article (2 exs.):

Purity 921 Nou wale be a wonnyng; Ib. He wayned hem a warnyng.

With the definite article (11 exs.):

Gawain 1134 Arayed for be rydyng; Patience 53 What graybed me be grycheyng bot grame more seche; Purity 172 And Lyued wyth be lykyng.

Other instances: Gawain 1433, 2361, 2378; Pearl 791; Purity 241, 378, 490, 1102.

3.2(4) With Adjectives and Other Attributive Adjuncts:

Examples of these combinations are of frequent occurrence in the works of the Gawain-poet, as will be shown below.

3.2(4)(a) With Possessives and Genitives (15 exs.):

Gawain 1404 in her burdyng; Purity 887 Pay lest of Lotez logging;
Pearl 450 Bot vcho fayn of obere3 hafyng.

Other examples: Gawain 191, 323, 370, 1546, 1800; Pearl 452, 1049; Purity 688, 811, 1101, 1228, 1362.

3.2(4)(b) With the Periphrastic Subjective Genitive with of (9 exs.):

Gawain 2360-61 Now know I...be wowyng of my wyf; Purity 1513 Yer watz rynyng, on ryt, of rych metalles.

Other examples: Gawain 1160, 1514, 1954, 2460; Purity 241, 490, 1515.
3.2(4)(c) With the Periphrastic Objective Genitive with of (12 exs.):

Purity 186 For marryng of maryagez; Gawain 626 In betoknyng of 
trawbe; Patience 30 If we pyse ladyes wolde lof in lyknyng of 
bewes.

Other examples: Gawain 116, 472, 924, 1601, 1751; Purity 159, 579, 1354, 1565.

3.2(4)(d) With Demonstrative and Indefinite Pronouns (8 exs.):

this (1): Gawain 1798 Now, dere, at his departhyng do me pis ese.
such an (1): Gawain 349 er such an askyng is heuened so hy3e in 
your sale.

no (or ne) (5): Pearl 932 I se no bygyng nawhere aboute; Gawain 2367 for no wylde werke, no wowyng nauper;
Gawain 2253; Pearl 262; Purity 408.

wich (1): Purity 1060 Of wich beryng pat ho be.

3.2(4)(e) With Adjectives (19 exs.):

The combination of 'adjective + gerund' occurs fairly frequently, 
namely 18 times in the Gawain-poet.

Gawain 1763 With smobe smylyng and smolt; Patience 400 in his mylde 
amesyng he mercy may fynde; Pearl 80 Wyth schymeryng schene;
Patience 115 Hit wat3 a wenyng wnr.

Other examples: Gawain 917, 1017, 1602, 1748, 1750, 1982; Pearl 244, 247, 935, 1180, 1208; Purity 751, 1611, 1625; Patience 419.

3.2(5) Compounds:

Like a substantive, a gerund may enter into compounds in various 
ways, but this type of construction is not common in the Gawain-poet.

Only five examples have come to hand.

Examples with the gerund as the first member of a compound (2 exs.):

Gawain 267 in fe3tyng wyse; Pearl 59 vpon a slepyng-sla3tc. Cf. PPl 
V. 564 Treuthes dwellyng-place; XVI. 31 in blowyng-time; etc.

As mentioned in 3.1(6), the -ing form is used attributively in these cases.
Examples with the gerund as the last part of a compound (4 exs.):

Gawain 1777 With luf-longyng a lyt he layd hym bysyde; Gawain 926-7
I hope bat may hym here Schal lorne of luf-talkyng; Pearl 1152 For
luf-longyng; Ib. 754 Dyn angel-hauyng (=angelic demeanour). (Cf.
PPl XI. 144 wythouten and bede-bvydyng; XII. 282 in blode-shedyng;
XIII. 451 in his deth-veyng; etc.)

OED has no record of the above compounds except 'luf-longyng', whose
earliest record is from al300: Cursor Mundi 24629 Par lai in mi
luue langing.

In PPl, there are three examples in which the first part of a
compound is an adverb to the verbal idea:

X. 462 at her hennes-partync; XIV. 141 in 3owre here-beyng;
XIV. 165 after her hennes-veyng.

No such examples are found in the Gawain-poet.

4. Verbal Nature

As mentioned more than once, the gerund was originally a verbal
substantive with no verbal properties. In the course of time, however,
the verbal nature of the gerund becomes prominent while functioning as
a substantive. That is to say, it begins to take an accusative object,
a predicative, and adverbial adjuncts, and to show tense and voice by
means of the compound forms. Furthermore, it comes to have a subject of
its own like a verb. The verbal nature of the gerund is said, however, to
be established only during the ME period, especially in the 14th century,
though its assumption of tense and voice forms develops still later. By
inquiring into the above-mentioned facts, therefore, we will see to what
extent the verbal nature or function of the gerund was developed in the
Gawain-poet. For comparative purposes I have examined nine other 14th
century works: Cursor (=Cursor Mundi, Part I), Handl. Synne (=Robert
Mannyng of Brunne, Handlyng Synne), Orfeo (=Sir Orfeo), Bruce (=Selections
from Barbour's Bruce: Books I-X), PPl (=Piers Plowman: B-text), Ch. TC
(Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde), Gower CA (=John Gower's Confessio
Amantis: Prologue and Book I), Mandev. (=Mandeville's Travels), and
Towneley (=The Towneley Plays).

4.1 Object of the Gerund

As Mustanoja puts it, since OE the genitive has been commonly
used as the logical object of the gerund (paes mynstres clãnsunge; - in
excusing of me). With the development of the verbal nature of the gerund,
however, it comes to take a direct object without a preposition. In the
14th-century English, therefore, the object of the gerund, if any, is
expressed in the genitive (or possessive), or the periphrastic genitive
with of, or the accusative (or the common case). So the examples collected
from the works of the Gawain-poet and his contemporaries may be roughly
divided into the following five types referred to as A, B, C, D, and E
respectively: A = objective genitive + gerund (e.g. Pearl 452 If possyble were
her mendiung); B = determiner + gerund + of-adjunct (e.g. PPl XII. 242 For
the traillying of his taille ouertaken is he sone); C = gerund + of-adjunct
(e.g. Purity 1565 In expounyng of speche); D = gerund + object (e.g. Purity
1542 wyth plattyng his paumes); E = determiner + gerund + object (e.g. Caxton
Reynard 24 the wythholdyng you fro it can doo yow no good). Of these types,
A and B are strongly substantival, and D and E are particularly characteristic
of the verbal nature of the gerund in the sense that they take a direct object
without a preposition. C is a transitional type from substantival to verbal
in that, although the gerund is followed by an of-adjunct, it is not preceded
by any determiner. In the Gawain-poet's works I have found about 21 examples
of the gerund with a logical object. The frequency of each type is as
follows: A (1); B (0); C (12); D (8); E (0).
4.1 (1) Type A: Objective Genitive + Gerund:

As the object of the gerund, the genitive or possessive was frequent in OE, but in ME it is rare, its function being supplanted by the periphrastic genitive with of. Only one example is found in the Gawain-poet, and there are none in Ppl.

Pearl 452 If possyble were her mendyng.
Cf. Handl. Synne 7689-90 These men shuld for no hyng Come yn Wymmcn handlyng.

4.1 (2) Type B: Determiner + Gerund + of-adjunct:19

Along with type D, this is now the normal construction, especially when the determiner is "the". In the Gawain-poet, however, no example of this type is found, while there is only one in Langland (ppl XII. 242 For the trailllyng of his taille ouertaken is he sone). Even in Shakespeare the substantival use of the verbal with "the" before it and "of" after it seems to have been regarded as colloquial.20

In ME there are some cases in which the gerund is preceded by the indefinite article or other attributive adjuncts instead of "the" as in:

Handl. Synne 8334 To fordo a getyng of a chylde; Bruce I. 596 he... had no persawyn Off the tresoun; Ch. TC V. 1833 And thus began his loyng of Criseyde; Mandev. 209. 27-8 withouten ony more rehercyn of dyuersiteez; etc.

No such constructions are met with in the Gawain-poet (and in Ppl).

4.1 (3) Type C: Gerund + of-adjunct:

This is the of-construction after a gerund which is not preceded

19Cf. Purity 241 pur3 be eggyng of Eve he ete of an apple, in which case the function of the preposition of is subjective, not objective. For further examples see 3.2 (4) (b).

20Abbott, A Shakespearian Grammar, §93.
by an adjunct. Although it is generally considered that this type makes its first appearance about the time of Chaucer, it is doubtless far older. I have examples from c.1300 on: Cursor 483 with-outen cenvyng of his care; Handl. Synne 7716 yn handlyng of sum vvce. As a matter of fact, this is the regular construction in ME and early ModE although it is nowadays considerably rarer.

In the Gawain-poet as well, this type is most frequent, occurring 12 times.

Gawain 1601 There watz blawyng of prys in mony breme horne (Cf. 1362 Baldely thai blv prys); Purity 1565 In expounyng of speche; Patience 30 in lyknyng of bewes.

Other examples: Gawain 116, 472, 635, 924, 1751; Purity 186, 579, 1354.

The following quotation is quite interesting in that the gerund with an of-adjunct shows its mixed (i.e. verbal and substantival) character by taking an adverbial adjunct:

Purity 159-60 Greving and gretyng and gryspyng harde Of tebe tenfully togeder.

The type C may be considered to be a construction of transition from strongly substantival (i.e. A and B) to verbal (i.e. D and E), in that the gerund with an of-adjunct is not preceded by any adjunct.

4.1 (4) Type D: Gerund + Object:

The verbal character of the gerund is prominent when it takes a

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21Cf. Jespersen, M.E.G., V, 8.4.6.

22Jespersen: Growth and Structure of the English Language, §208; Poutsma, The Infinitive, the Gerund, and the Participles of the English Verb, §33.
direct object without the preposition of. This is the regular construction in Present-day English. Before the modern word-order 'gerund + object' established itself, however, there existed another word-order 'object + gerund' in ME.

According to van der Gaaf, the beginnings of the construction 'substantive (i.e. object) + gerund' are found in OE in which it was evidently felt to be a compound. In ME the substantive and the gerund sometimes are, or at any rate seem to be, less firmly cemented together than in OE, and constructions of this kind were freely made and used in ME. In addition, Kellner says that this practice was continued to the end of the ME period.

Despite their remarks, this construction is not found at all in the Gawain-poet, except for the single instance in which the 'substantive + gerund' is evidently a compound: Gawain 927 I hope that may hym here Schal lerne of luf-talkeyng. Nonetheless, this word-order is occasionally found in other 14th-century writers, especially Langland.

Cursor 2050 his sun hething he vnder-toke; Handl. Synne 7887 whedyr hyt be yn a womman handyling; PPl VII. 87 vsage...of seyntes lyues redyng; Tb. XV. 76 in-to heigh clergye shewynge; Towneley XXIX. 363 my son myssyng makes me to mowrne; Tb. XXXI. 160 in mes synyng.

Other examples from PPl: IV.117, XI.171, XII.282, XIX.72, XIX.373, XIX.374.

23"The Gerund Preceded by the Common Case, "English Studies, X (1928), p. 33

24"Historical Outlines of English Syntax, §416."
As regards the use of the gerund followed by a simple object, some scholars such as Trnka,25 van der Gaaf,26 Jespersen,27 Kellner,28 and OED (s. v. -ing) have placed the origin of this construction in the 14th century, especially its second half, quoting its oldest examples from Chaucer or Langland. On the other hand, Mossé29 believes that the construction makes its first appearance at the end of the 12th century. Cour2 remarks that it is much older and very common in early ME, and quotes his earliest example from Luke 7:45, Lindesfarne MS., about A.D. 950. But the few OE examples are, Mustanoja31 contends, practically all interlinear glosses and mere imitations of the Latin gerund.

It does not seem, however, that this construction had been firmly established in the Gawain-poet's days, though sporadic instances are found in the works of his contemporaries, especially in Mande. Nevertheless the construction can doubtless be traced further back than the above-mentioned scholars' earliest examples dated the second half of the 14th century, as is shown below:

Cursor (c. 1300) 781 O(=of) wityng bath god an[d] ill; Handl. Synne (c. 1303) 408 yn feblyng be body wyth noche fastyng; Ib. 10989-90 'Eleccyoun' ys 'wely chesyn A gode man to kepe holy byng; PP1 XIV. 186-7 crauynge thi mercy Shulde amende vs; Ib. XIX. 450 Bot if thei


29Histoire de la forme périphrastique 'Être + participe présent' en germanique, II. p. 104.


seize as by syte somewhat to *wynnyng* (= to win something); *Mandev.*
12.23 in *schaunng our berdes*; *Th.* 110. 35-6 he sayle of *takyng his praye*.

Other examples from *Mandev.*: 30.33, 207.6, 209.22, 211.9-10.

In the *Gawain-poet*, I have noted six clear examples, five of which are found in *Purity*, the remaining one in *Gawain*. No examples of this construction occur in *Pearl* and *Patience*.

*Gawain* 1333-4 *Yen brek bay pe bale, Lystily for laucyng the lere of pe knot; Purity* 3 in *forh bjering his speche*; *Th.* 544 In *devodyng pe vylanye*; *Th.* 740 for *hortyng on lede*; *Th.* 1448 in *lovyng hynselven*; *Th.* 1542 wyth *plattynge his paumes*.

The following example may also be classed as a gerund followed by a simple object, in which the gerund is derived from a verb phrase equivalent to a transitive verb.32

*Purity* 1003 Al in *longing for Loth leyen in a wache*.

There is one case in which the object of the gerund is a clause:

*Gawain* 2488 In *tokenyng* he watz tane in tech of a faute. The phrase in *tokenyng* means 'in token, as a token or evidence (that)' and seems to be rather idiomatic in ME. This *ing-form* may, therefore, be better explained as purely substantival rather than verbal. By contrast, the following example from *Chaucer* may be regarded as a gerund followed by a noun clause:

*Ch. TC* IV. 1016-7 in *shewaynge Howe the ordre of causes stant*. Incidentally I have one example from *Chaucer* of the gerund followed by a

32 The same sort of construction is found in: *Ppl* XV. 467 In *menyng after mete*; *Mandev.* 156.28 in *huntyng for the hente*; *Gower* CA I. 1784-5 he wolde hise when hyde fro *lokyng on that foule whyt*. Other examples: *Handl. Synne* 3132, 7578, 8286; *Ppl.* Prol. 203.
bare infinitive: Ch. TC V. 837 In duryng don that loneth to a knyght.

As far as the works of the Gawain-poet are concerned it may be noteworthy that the gerund followed by a simple object is unusually often found in Purity and after prepositions, especially in, although it is practically non-existent in the three companion poems (Gawain, Pearl and Patience). It is also noteworthy that the word-order 'gerund + object' is exclusively used in the Gawain-poet's works, while in PPl the construction 'object + gerund' is far more predominant.

4.1 (5) Type E: Determiner + Gerund + Object:

This is the construction in which the gerund, preceded by determiners such as the, this, his, etc., governs an object without the help of the preposition of. Accordingly this type of construction shows the mixed (i.e. verbal and substantival) character of the gerund by having a simple object even if it is preceded by an adjunct. The construction is by no means usual in PE except after possessives and genitives, but is common in Shakespeare's time. According to Onions, this type is very characteristic of early ModE. In 14th-century English, however, it is very rarely found. I have noted the following examples which are found, not after the, but after this, thair, here (=their):

Bruce IX. 724 of thair taking youndir; PPl V. 385 This shewyng shritfe...schal be meryte to the; Ib. XI. 309 This lokyng on lewed prestes hath don me lepe; Mandev. 127. 11-2 we han here makyng houses.

There are no examples of this type in the Gawain-poet. Jespersen quotes his earliest example of 'the + gerund + object' from Caxton: Reynard

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33An Advanced English Syntax, p. 130. Cf. Sugden's The Grammar of Faerie Queene, p. 144, in which he says he has encountered no examples of the type 'the + Gerund + Object'.
24 the wythholdynge you fro it can do you no good. When these facts are taken into account, it seems that the construction made its first appearance in the 14th or 15th century.

4.2 Gerund + Predicative

The verbal character of the gerund is also prominent when it takes a predicative. In ModE this mode of expression is not infrequently found as in "your being so sick forbids me to discuss the matter with you now" (q. Curme), but in the Gawain-poet I was unable to find any examples of it. Commenting on this type of expression, Curme says: "Of English compounds were later in large measure dissolved and the parts arranged as syntactical elements. Not a single trace of these gerundial compounds containing a predicate in any form has been discovered in Middle English nor any dissolution of them." In fact I have found no examples of this type in any other 14th-century texts which I have read. Jespersen has his earliest example from More: U 84 - in a standing reddie at all occasions. From these facts Curme seems to be right in saying that "the construction must be quite modern and that it is the last stage of gerundial development."

4.3 Gerund + Adverbial Adjunct

The verbal nature of the gerund asserts itself further when it is

35M.E.C. V, 9.3.10.
36Loc. cit.
modified by adverbial adjuncts. According to Curme,\textsuperscript{37} the use of adverbial adjuncts with the gerund appears first in the ninth century and gradually becomes common. Mustanoja\textsuperscript{38} seems to consider that this use has been found since early ME. But Curme's earliest example of an adverbial adjunct is a noun in the instrumental case and Mustanoja's example is an infinitive, neither of them being pure adverbs. On the other hand, Jespersen (M.E.G., V, 9.1.1.), \textit{OED} (s. v. \textsuperscript{-ing}'), Trnka\textsuperscript{39} and Poutsma\textsuperscript{40} think that this use begins in the 14th century, their earliest example being c. 1340 from \textit{Ayenbite} 263 atc uerste guoinge in. Judging from my material, however, the use of an adverb with the gerund is far older than the above-mentioned example. I have noted four examples in \textit{Handlyng Synne} (c. 1303):

1482 By be \textit{drawyng vp} of his honde; 126 With oft \textit{redyng}, mayst pou lere. Other examples: 127, 10989-90.

In the \textit{Gawain-poet} only two instances occur, both of them in \textit{Purity}:

\textit{Purity} 159-60 Grevyng and gretyng and \textit{gryspyng harde}
Of tepe tenfully togeder, to teche hym by quoynt;
\textit{Purity} 1031 He most ay lyue in bat 103e in losyng evermore.

Examples of the gerund with a pure adverb are not frequent in the other 14th-century texts except for \textit{Mandeville}, being largely limited to four

\textsuperscript{40}\textit{Op. cit.}, p. 163.
Examples in *Handl. Synne*, two in *Bruce*, four in *PPl*, three in Ch. *TC*, 
fifteen in *Mandeville* and three in *Towneley*.

Of the gerund with an adverbial phrase, only two instances occur 
in the *Gawain-poet*:

*Purity* 46 On payne of emprysonment and *puttyng in stokkez*; 
*Patience* 418-9 Wel knew I... Dy longe ahydyng wyth lur.

Examples of this kind are found fairly often in *Mandeville* 
(20 exs.), *PPl* (13 exs.), less often in *Handlyng Synne* (8 exs.), Ch. 
*TC* (5 exs.), *Towneley* (2 exs.), and never in *Cursor* (Part I), *Orfeo*, 
and *Gower CA* (Prol. and Book I).

Of the plural gerund with an adverbial phrase, I have found only 
one instance in *PPl* and this one has the verbal force marked by the 
addition of an adverbial phrase.

*PPl* II. 89 As in werkes and in wordes and *waitynges with eies*.

4.4 Tense and Voice of the Gerund

The verbal character of the gerund is prominent when it employs 
the compound forms (e.g. of *having done* it; the necessity of loving 
and *being loved*) to show tense and voice.

4.4 (1) Tense

As a substantive does not ordinarily admit of any indication of 
time, so the gerund had originally and to a great extent still has, no 
reference to time. The simple gerund was, therefore, used to express 
any time or no time in particular as shown in the following examples:

(1) future time: *Purity* 739-40 I schal...wythhalde my honde for *hautyng* 
on lede.

(2) present time: *Purity* 1542 And he wyth *plattyng* his paumes displayes 
his lers.
(3) past time:  Patience 241 Bot pur3,he ccwymh of Eve be etc of an apple.

(4) no time:  Gawain 1489 get I kende yow of kyssyngh. Cf. PPl V. 238 
I wende ryflynghe were restituciuon.

Thus it may be generally said that in the Gawain-poet the simple gerund refers to a time simultaneous with that of the main verb.

The examples in which the gerund is nearly purely substantival in character seem to admit of no temporal idea.

Pearl 859 We...hauen cnawyng; Gawain 853 her hedyng watz noble; 
Purity 921 Nou wale be a wonnyng bat be warisch mygt; Patience 115 
Hit watz a wenying vnwar.

Example abounds:  Gawain 191, 540, 1750, etc.; Pearl 262, 450, 558, 
791, 932, 935, etc.; Purity 378, 550, 710, 887, 921, 1611, 1795, etc.; 
Patience 139, 213, etc.

To this group belong the great majority of the examples of the gerund used in the works of the Gawain-poet. In other words, in the great majority of cases the gerund is used without reference to time. Hence it follows that in the Gawain-poet the gerund is as a rule still strongly substantival in character.

Of the compound forms of the gerund, i.e. the perfect gerund, denoting the past time-sphere, Trnka,41 Curme,42 and Mustanoja43 seem to agree that it comes into existence as late as the close of the 16th century, although they don't mention the earliest instance of it. According to Sugden,44 the perfect gerund, rare in Shakespeare, occurs several times in Faerie Queene (e.g. III. 5.3? And after having searcht

44The Grammar of Faerie Queene, pp. 143-4.
the intuse deep, She with her scarfe did bind the wound). OED quotes an example from Sidney: Arcadia I. (1725) 68 want of consideration in not having drowned thus much. In any case, examples of the perfect gerund are not found in the works of the Gawain-poet and his contemporaries.

4.4 (2) Voice

The non-finite forms (i.e. infinitive, participle, and gerund) of the verb were originally indifferent to voice. In the case of the gerund, therefore, the simple forms had to serve also for passive function until a new passive developed. This is the case with the gerund in the Gawain-poet. That is, in the Gawain-poet there are still no compound forms of the passive gerund. In the works of the Gawain-poet, the simple gerund is, for the most part, active in meaning as in:

Gawain 1979 With care and with kyssynge he carpez hem tille;
Purity 3 Fayre formes my3t he fynde in forbering his speche.

Very infrequently, however, we do come across the simple gerund in a passive meaning. Three possible examples have come to hand;

Pearl 452 If possible were her mendyng; Purity 1031 He most ay lyue in bat lo3e in losing⁴⁵ evermore; Ib. 1123 ho...wax ever in be worle in weryng so olde.

With regard to the passive forms of the gerund, Mustanoja affirms that they are first recorded at the beginning of the 15th century: Ellis Letters (dated 1417) II. 1.59 without being stolen; Pecock Fol. Donet 126 in beyng movid.⁴⁶ As expected, there are no compound forms of the

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⁴⁵The earliest example of this use in OED is c. 950 from Lindes. Gospels. Matt. vii. 13 We3 Sio laedas to losing.

passive gerund in both the Gawain-poet's works and other 14th-century works.

4.5 Subject of the Gerund

Like a verb, the gerund may have a subject of its own, expressed or unexpressed. According to Mustanoja,\(^{47}\) from OE down to the present day the subject of the gerund has been in the genitive case. The periphrastic genitive with of has also occurred with the gerund since the time of its appearance. In the Gawain-poet, the logical subject of the gerund, if any, is expressed by the genitive case or a possessive pronoun (a), and less frequently by the periphrastic genitive with of (b).

(a) Gawain 323 Hapel, by heuen, byn askynge is nys; Pearl 1049 burȝ wȝe and won my lokynge ȝede; Pearl 450 Bot vchon fayn of oberȝ hafynge; Purity 887 Pay lest of Lotez loggyng any lysoun to fynde; etc.

(b) Gawain 2360-61 Now know I wel...be wowynge of my wȝf; Ib. 1953-4 Pay maden as mery as any men moȝten—With laȝynge of ladies; etc.

In the majority of cases, however, the subject is not expressed. This usually takes place when the subject of the gerund is general or indefinite (a); particularly when the subject of the gerund is identical with that of the main sentence (b); when the subject of the gerund is implied in some word in the sentence or easily inferred from the context (c); and when the gerund is purely or strongly substantival in character (d).

(a) Pearl 897-8 For neuer lesyng ne tȝe vntrwe Ne towched her tonge for no dysstresse; Gawain 1489 Jes I kende yow of kyssynge; etc.

(b) Gawain 1979 With care and wyth kyssynge he carpez hem tille; Purity 3 Fayre formes myȝt he fynde in forbering his speche; etc.

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\(^{47}\)Ibid., p. 573.
As the logical subject of the gerund, on the other hand, the common case also begins to be used at the beginning of the 14th century as in: ModE "I insist upon Miss Sharp appearing" (q. OED s. v. -ing). As a result of that, it is sometimes impossible or very difficult to tell whether a given -ing form is construed as a gerund or as a participle as in: I remember my grandfather describing this (q. Jespersen). The use of the common case as the subject of the gerund, however, shows that the verbal nature of the gerund, which was originally a pure substantive, was furthered in one more point. Jespersen asserts that this kind of construction began to be frequent about 1700, and that it can be explained as a natural native development. In his article "The Gerund Preceded by the Common Case" (English Studies, X, pp. 33-41 and 65-72), van der Gaaf insists that the construction was in use long before 1700, and that it is probably of French origin. And he substantiates his view by showing a number of quotations from 1350 on. Mustanoja is of much the same opinion as van der Gaaf, though his earliest quotation is c. 1300 from Cursor 2397 poru corn wanting.

48 Mustanoja, op. cit., p. 574.
49 M.E.G., V, 9.4.1.
While no examples can be found of the common case in the Gawain-poet’s works, I have, nonetheless, found one clear instance of this type in An Alphabet of Tales, Part I, and two doubtful instances in PPl (B-Text).

An Alphabet of Tales 11:24-5 So he grawntid, and be day of hym commyned drew nere; PPl VIII. 31-2 The wynde and the water and the bote waggyng made the man many a tyme to falle and to stone (Cf. A:IX. 26 the waggyng of the bot; C:XI 34 waggyng of the bote); Ib. XVIII. 67 Er sonday about sonne-rysyng and sank with that til erthe.

The second example may be interpreted as a present participle although the reading of the corresponding lines in the A-text and the C-text makes us feel that the bote is the subject of the gerund waggyng. In the third example sonne-rysyng may be a compound consisting of ‘subject + gerund’, although van der Gaaf does not agree.51

5. Summary

What has been discussed in this chapter will be summarized as follows:

1. As the form of the gerund, the -yng is regular in the Gawain-poet, being distinct from the normal present participle ending -ande. It may, however, be worthy of note that the gerund in -ande which is originally the present participle ending occurs once (Purity 751), perhaps owing to a functional confusion between the gerund in -ing and the present participle ending in -and.

2. The gerund, which was originally a substantive in -ing, has performed nearly all the functions of a substantive in the Gawain-poet. That is, the gerund is fairly common as subject and object of a finite verb,

and especially common as the object of a preposition, and appears, although rarely, as predicative, attributive and in apposition. In addition, in the majority of cases, the gerund thus used is found with the definite and the indefinite article, adjectives, and other attributive adjuncts, including the periphrastic genitive with of. The gerund with a plural ending and the compound with a gerund are few in number. The genitive of a gerund never occurs.

3. In the Gawain-poet the object of the gerund is expressed in the following ways: 'objective genitive + gerund', 'gerund + of-adjunct', and 'gerund + object'. Such patterns as 'determiner + gerund + of-adjunct' and 'determiner + gerund + object', however, never occur. Of the three patterns that do occur, the 'gerund + of-adjunct' (the of-adjunct after a gerund not preceded by any adjunct) is most frequent. This type of construction seems to be the most common pattern in 14th-century English. The most noteworthy fact, however, is that the gerund followed by a simple object—the regular construction in Present-day English—occurs at least six times (once in Gawain and five times in Purity). Relatively speaking, the construction is unusually often found in Purity.

4. Of the combination 'gerund + predicative', no examples occur in the works of the Gawain-poet or his contemporaries.

5. The use of adverbial adjuncts with the gerund is not common in the Gawain-poet, although a few examples are found in Purity, while it is fairly common in Handlyng Synne, PPl, and Mandeville.

6. There are no compound forms of either the perfect or the passive gerund not only in the Gawain, but also in the other 14th-century writers.

7. The subject of the gerund is expressed in the genitive or possessive, and less frequently in the periphrastic genitive with of. There are no
examples of the common case as the subject of the gerund. In the majority of cases, the subject of the gerund is not expressed in the Gawain-poet. All things considered, it seems that most of the examples collected from the Gawain-poet's works are purely or strongly substantival in character; they do not share any of the verbal characteristics of the gerund. The fact that we can find several examples of the 'modern' gerund in Purity, may, however, deserve attention, even though examples with verbal functions are practically non-existent in its companion poems—Gawain, Pearl and Patience. To sum up, it might be safely said that the verbal nature of the gerund is, to some extent, developing in the Gawain-poet as it is in Handlyng Synne, PPl, and Mandeville although it is still far from being fully developed.
CHAPTER III INFINITIVE

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1. Introductory Remarks

"Infinitive," for the purposes of this chapter, will be understood as: the verb stem used in positions where it does not indicate person, number, or mood.¹ The infinitive with to will be called the to-infinitive and the one without to the bare infinitive. Before discussing the use of the infinitive by the Gawain-poet, we will first make a rough survey of the historical development of these two forms of the infinitive according to Mustanoja, Jespersen, OED,² etc.

In OE there are two infinitive forms. One is the so-called "bare" or "simple" infinitive which ends in -an (e.g. bidan, writan; occasionally without a, as fon), and the other is what is called the "prepositional" infinitive or the to-infinitive ending usually in -enne (e.g. bindenne), but also often in -anne (e.g. bindanne), presumably by analogy with the bare infinitive. The former is the nominative-accusative form of a substantive and the latter the dative. This dative form is always preceded by the preposition to (e.g. to bindenne, to bindanne). This OE distinction between the two infinitive endings disappears during the ME period. That is, the ME -an becomes -en and then -e, while -enne (or -anne) reduces successively to -ene, -en, -e. (In many verbs even the final e in course of time entirely disappears.) Thus both the bare infinitive and the to-infinitive coalesce and become identical in form (e.g. write, to write), and reduce eventually to the uninflected verb-stem.


²Mustanoja, Middle English Syntax, Part I, pp. 512-3; Jespersen, Modern English Grammar, V, 10.1.1.; OED s.v. To B.
As for the relative frequency of both types of infinitive, in OE the infinitive with to had a much narrower range of use than the bare infinitive without to. According to M. Callaway Jr., out of 9,495 instances of the infinitive in OE only 2,402 or 25.3 percent are the to-infinitive, while 7,094 or 74.7 percent are the bare infinitive without to. From OE to PE, however, the use of the preposition to has been extended to nearly all the uses of the infinitive. In this regard, Fries' study of PE usage shows that 18 percent of the instances of the infinitive he has examined are the bare infinitive and 82 percent the to-infinitive. Hence it follows that the relative frequency of the two types of infinitive has been completely reversed. Nonetheless this substitution of the to-infinitive for the bare infinitive already begins in OE and is furthered in early ME, because of the coalescing of the infinitive endings. This comes about in many constructions where in OE the bare infinitive was generally used, notably in the use of the infinitive as the subject, object and predicative of a verb. As a result, the to accompanying the infinitive loses its prepositional force and becomes, in most cases, a mere marker for the infinitive. Mustanoja says that this development of to begins early and is completed in the course of the 13th century. Nevertheless the original

3Quoted by Fries in American English Grammar, p. 130.

4Ibid., pp. 130-31. The figures given above should be considered in view of the fact that "In both the figures for Old English and those for Present-day English the number of instances used with the future auxiliaries and the modal auxiliaries have been omitted, for there has been no shift here in the infinitive form used." (p. 130).

meaning of to, to indicate direction ('towards'), is retained even today in such uses as the infinitive of purpose or direction.

In discussing the infinitive in ME, with which the present chapter is exclusively concerned, Trnka remarks:

In opposition to Old English the use of the preposition to before the infinitive in Middle English is much more extensive, owing perhaps to the influence of Old Norse, in which the prepositional infinitive was employed regularly. Until the close of the 15th century there is, however, a great vacillation in the use of the preposition, which becomes slowly settled in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries.6

Brunner also says:

Towards the end of the OE period the simple infinitive (without to) appears less and less, and in ME it is found very rarely except after verbs of sense-perception, preterite-presents, and verbs specifying a type of action, such as do, ginne(n), let, etc. Elsewhere, and in its ME use as a subject, the infinitive is preceded by to or for to, to express the aim or purpose more clearly.7

Although these remarks suggest that in ME the use of the to-infinitive is more common by far than that of the bare infinitive, no numerical data are available about their relative frequency. With these preliminary remarks in mind, we will deal in the following sections with the Gawain-poet's use of the infinitive. In my statistics, when two (or more) infinitives occur co-ordinated with only the first member preceded by to, the second member is counted as an instance of the to-infinitive,8 as in:

Patience 315 6 jet I hope Efte to trede on by temple and tene to by seluen.

6On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden, p. 75.
7An Outline of Middle English Grammar, tr. by G.K.W. Johnston, p. 89.
1.1 Bare Infinitive and To-infinitive in the Gawain-poet

The total number of infinitives in the Gawain-poet's works, excluding infinitives after auxiliary verbs,\(^9\) is approximately 744, of which 159 or 21.4 percent are the bare infinitive and 585 or 78.6 percent the infinitive with to (including for to). The ratio between the bare infinitive and the to-infinitive is roughly 1:4. Much the same is said of Langland's use of the infinitive in PPI where, of some 1,599 examples, 351 or 22 percent are the bare infinitive and 1,248 or 78 percent the infinitive with to or for to. Thus, by the second half of the 14th century, the relative frequency of the two types of infinitive had more than reversed itself from its OE ratio of 3:1. By comparing my statistics on the Gawain-poet and Langland with Fries' data on PE, it becomes evident that the relative use of the to-infinitive compared with that of the bare infinitive had already become almost as frequent as in PE.

1.2 Prepositional Infinitives except for the To-infinitive

In this section reference will be made to all those prepositional infinitives, except the to-infinitive, which are considered to be peculiarities of Middle English.

(1) 'For to'—According to Mustanoja, "for to, used to express purpose since the beginning of the ME period (the earliest known instance occurs in a document dated 1066: Godes gerichtten for to setzen..., Cod.

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\(^9\)To make my statistics compared with those of Callaway and Fries given on page 65, I have excluded from my count about 819 examples of the infinitive after the future and modal auxiliaries schal, wyl, may, con and their past tense forms, and after the periphrastic auxiliaries do and con (=did, or very rarely, do), although they will be treated of in 3.3(1).
Dip. IV 306, 3 (Harold)), becomes weakened into a mere sign of the infinitive, equivalent to to, in the course of the 13th century, when it becomes quite common. In the 14th century it begins to lose ground;...\(^{10}\)

This tendency toward decreasing usage continues in the 15th century and the combination gradually disappears from the literary language. It does, however, linger on, even today, in dialectal and vulgar speech (cf. OED s.v. for 11).

In the Gawain-poet 68 examples of for to are found as compared with 515 of to, the proportion between for to and to being roughly 1:7. Incidentally in PP1 and in A Book of London English 1384-1425\(^{11}\) the ratio between for to and to is roughly 1:12 and 1:5 respectively. The Gawain-poet's use of for to and to seems to support Mustanoja's statement. There seems to be neither functional distinctions between for to and to, nor functional limitations on the use of for to.

Expressing purpose: Gawain 1633-4 þe hende mon hit prayesed, And let lodly þerat þe lorde for to here; Patience 179-80 A lodes-mon ly3tly lep vnder hachches For-to layte mo ledes and hem to lote bryng; etc.

No purpose expressed: Gawain 366 Þen comauonded þe kynge þe kynȝt for to ryse; Pearl 333 Now rech I neuer for to declyn; Purity 373 Per watz moon for to make when mesches was cnown; etc.

For this reason, no distinction is made between for to and to in the following discussion.


(2) 'For'-In ME for occurs by itself only rarely before a bare infinitive of purpose (a) and even more rarely before the bare infinitive that has no notion of purpose (b).

(a) ODN 539-40 Oft ich singe uor hom pe more For lutli sum of hore sore; Ib. 1765-6 Pat he were mid hoem ilome, For teche heom of his wisdome; King Horn 1142-4 And ich am a fishere Well feor y-come by este For fishen at thy feste.

(b) King Horn 517-8 Hi gunne for arrive Ther King Mody was sire.

The example of (b) from King Horn (dated c. 1225) is quite older than Mustanoja's example from Cursor Mundi 20914. There is no clear example of for with the bare infinitive in the Gawain-poet, but one possible instance does occur:

Purity 184-9 For roborrye, and riboudrye, and resounez untrwe And dysherie and deprivy dowrie of wydoez, For marryng of maryagez,...Man may myssē pe myrþ pat much is to prayse.

In this quotation the two bare infinitives are placed in parallel with the preceding substantives and are construed with for, after which, however, ModE would use the gerund, as in "for disinheriting and depriving widows of their dowry".

(3) 'Till' and 'For Till'--Till and for till, which occur only in Northern texts, are first recorded about 1300: Cursor 5330 (Cotton MS) he praid pe god men þat þar wer To lith a quþ his word til her; Ib. 12989 (Fairfax MS) for tille be myne underloute. In the Gawain-poet, however, there are no examples of either preposition.


13Quoted by Mustanoja, op. cit., p. 515.
(4) 'At'—Mustanoja explains that "At (cf. ON at), recorded from the 13th century to the 15th, occurs particularly with the infinitive of purpose...it is obviously due to Scandinavian influence."¹⁴

No examples of at with the infinitive appear in the Gawain-poet, although I have come across several examples in his contemporaries.

PPI (C-text) VI. 164 Lytel hadde lorde a-do¹⁵ to 3eue londe for here aires; English Writings of Richard Rolle 110:11-2
We sall afforce at cleth us in lufe (also in 87:12, 93:27);
Morte Arthure 1165 To carye forthe siche a carle at close hym in siluere; An Alphabet of Tales 78:23-4 for she forgatt at bliss it (also in 92:22, 98:15, etc.).

Other prepositions like of, without, etc. are also occasionally found with the infinitive in early ME and even later in the period.

But no such examples occur in the Gawain-poet.

2. Form

In the works of the Gawain-poet, the infinitive normally ends in -e (e.g. Gawain 719 telle, Purity 3 fynde, Patience 10 teche), and less frequently without ending (e.g. Gawain 347 com, Pearl 520 do, Patience 507 synk). The ending -en occurs only occasionally, with: 9 examples in Gawain (327 bayben, 374 byden, 827 seruen, 1271 chepen, 1672 helden,

¹⁴Ibid., p. 515.

¹⁵The form a-do is doubtless short for at do (cf. Skeat (ed.), The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman, Vol. II, pp. 68-9). The corresponding line in the B-text reads as follows: X. 312 Litel had lordes to done...
1719 lyben, 1784 lauen, 2040 sauen, '2511 hyden); 3 in Pearl (68 dysercuen, 69 leuen, and, in reduced form after a vocalic stem, 820 gon); 4 in Purity (128 chaufen, 444 warpen, 768 conveyen, 1347 gremen); and 6 in Patience (160 lyzten, 219 helpen, 226 grenen, 517 greuen, 526 renden). The ending -y is found only in a few verbs belonging to the second class of weak verbs in OE (i.e. infinitive -ian), and in some verbs of French origin: 1 ex. in Gawain, 1067 fayly (OF faillir); 5 in Pearl, 34 fayly, 284 wony (OE wunian), 437 restay (OF resteir), 549 pleny (OF plaign-), 551 streny (OF estreign-); 2 in Purity, 588 lyvy (OE liпan), 1066 lovyy (OE lufian); 1 in Patience, 462 wony. The only other ending is -ne which is very rarely found in monosyllables: 2 in Gawain (141 bene, 712 sene) and 2 in Pearl (45 sene, 914 done). These may be considered to be survivals of the OE inflected infinitive.

3. Use

The use of the infinitive is so extensive, manifold, and complicated that it is clearly neither possible nor desirable in little space to attempt any sort of exact classification. No hard and fast classification of the infinitive is, therefore, intended in this section. An attempt here is made to classify the infinitive, whether with, or without, to, according to its dominant function in the sentence while always taking into account whether the infinitive is the bare infinitive or the to-infinitive. The major uses of the infinitive which will be
discussed in the following subsections are as follows: the infinitive as the subject, object, and predicative of a finite verb, and as an adjunct to verbs, adjectives (or adverbs) and substantives (or pronouns). To these uses is added the use of the infinitive instead of the finite verb. Furthermore, other aspects of use of the infinitive, such as the split infinitive and the non-expression of the infinitive will be discussed in 4.

3.1 Infinitive as Subject

The infinitive as the subject of a finite verb is not infrequent, occurring about 97 times in the works of the Gawain-poet. The majority of examples belonging here are, however, found in impersonal constructions in which the infinitive functions as the logical subject. On the other hand, there are only 31 instances of the infinitive in personal expressions, of which 30 arc the to-infinitive and one the bare infinitive. Out of the 31 instances, only nine occur as direct subject, not introduced by the formal subject 'it'. The use of the to-infinitive as direct subject is quite common in ModE, but in the OE poetry\textsuperscript{16} it is non-existent and even in ME\textsuperscript{17} it is still rather unusual. \textit{OED} (s.v. To 13 b) does have examples of this type from the 14th century. As should be expected, the to-infinitive as direct subject is still unusual in the Gawain-poet.


\textsuperscript{17}Mossé, F., \textit{A Handbook of Middle English}, pp. 101-2.
Gawain 676 To fynche hys fere vpon felde, in fayth, is not eke; Pearl 674 Two men to sone is god by skille; Purity 1376 to neven he nombre to much nye were; Patience 354 On to brence perchurze watz pre dayes dede.

Other instances: Gawain 677-8 (2 exs.), 1321-2; Pearl 489-90; Purity 1804.

In the following quotation, the infinitive may be considered to be in apposition to the subject.

Gawain 471-2 Wel bycommes such craft vpon Cristmasse, Laykyng of enterludes, to laxe and to synge, Among þise kynde caroles of kýnteze and ladyez.

The bare infinitive as direct subject is never found in the Gawain-poet, but it does occur, though very rarely, in ME, as in: Ch. TC III. 1634 As gret a craft is kepe wel as wynne.

On the other hand, there are also those instances in which the infinitive functions as the logical subject with the formal 'it' in the subject position. Historically this type of expression is far older than the use of the infinitive as direct subject. OED (s.v. To 13 a) has examples from c. 890. In the Gawain-poet there are 19 examples of this type with the formal 'it' (or very rarely 'þis', 'þat'), of which only one is the bare infinitive. Thus the use of the infinitive as subject is found more commonly with the formal subject 'it' than as direct subject. Examples of the to-infinitive:

Gawain 58-9 Hit were now gret nye to neuen So hardy a here on hill; Ib. 257 To wone any guyle in þis mon, hit watz not myn ernde; Patience 431 Herk, renk, in þis ryȝt so ronkly to wrath For any dede...?

Other examples: Gawain 165, 719, 1008, 1198-9, 1540-5 (2 exs.), 1719, 1805, 1806-7, 2420-1 (2 exs.); Pearl 309-11, 1201-2 (2 exs.); Patience 490-1.
One curious instance of the use of the *to*-infinitive as the logical subject which might be best mentioned here is: *Pearl* 1108-9

And alle in sute her line3 wasse; Tor to know be gladdest chere (cf. *Gawain* 719 Hit were to torc for to telle of be tenbe dole), in which case the formal subject and the copula seem to be understood.

The only instance of the bare infinitive occurs as the logical subject:

Purity 1539 Hit is not innoghe to be nice al nasy bink use (=to practice wicked things). Cf. *Floris* and *Blancheflour* 948-9 Hit were nou3t right jugeament Without anware make acouement.

As already pointed out, in the function of the logical subject the infinitive occurs quite frequently in impersonal constructions. 18

In the *Gawain*-poet there are about 66 examples (including several doubtful examples), of which 43 are the bare infinitive and 23 the *to*-infinitive. Thus it is to be noted that, as the logical subject of an impersonal expression, the bare infinitive is much commoner than the *to*-infinitive. Clear examples will be discussed first.

The impersonal verbs or phrases that take the bare infinitive as their logical subject in the *Gawain*-poet are: *byhoue* (or *bos*) (19 exs.), *burde* (4), *lyst* (3), *o3e* (2), *dowe* (1), and *be ly3tloker* (=be better, easier) (5). The following are typical examples:

18 By this is meant impersonal verbs or phrases which, while governing a dative or accusative, have no grammatical subject at all or have only a formal subject 'it'.
The impersonal verbs or phrases that take the to-infinitive as their logical subject are: *lyke* (5), *hynke* (4), *lyst* (2), *byhoe* (1), *paye* (1), *some* (1), *oste* (1), *be better* (2), and *be swetter* (2). Typical examples follow:

*Gawain* 848-9 And wel hym semed,...To lede a lortschip in lee of leudez ful gode; *Pearl* 1177 Me payed ful ille to be out-flene; *Purity* 1649 Who so hym lyked to lyft, on lofte watz he sone; *Patience* 7 *Pen is better to abyde pe bur vmbe-stoundez *
Pen ay brow forth my pro.*  

Other examples: *lyst* (*Gawain* 1111, *Pearl* 146), *oste* (*Pearl* 552), *hynke* (*Gawain* 348-50, 2109 (2 exs.); *Patience* 482-3), *lyke* (*Purity* 717-9 (2 exs.), 771, 1650), *byhoe* (*Gawain* 2040-1), *be swetter* (*Patience* 427-8 (2 exs.)).

Of all the impersonal verbs referred to above, only *byhoe*, *oste*, and *lyst* take both the bare infinitive and the to-infinitive, but more frequently the former. *Byhoe* is construed with both forms of the infinitive even in the same sentence:

*Gawain* 2037-42 Bot wered not his ilk wy3e for wele his gordel,...Bot for to sauen hymself, when *suffer* hym *byhoe*, To *byde* bale withoute debate of bronde hym to were *ope* knyffe.

Doubtful examples of the infinitive as the logical subject of an impersonal expression are found in the following quotations where it is impossible to decide whether the verb in question is used impersonally or personally, because it stands either with a substantive or with one of the pronouns that do not distinguish cases.
Examples of the bare infinitive: Gawain 2191-2 Wel hiscemez he wyse wurxled in grene Dele here his decocion on he deedez wyse; Pearl 323 Yur3 drwy deth hoz vch man dreuc; Purity 1000 And alle lyst on his lik pat arm on launde bestes; Ib. 1356 Til he Lorde of pe lyfte list abate; Patience 151-2 penne suppe bhioued ye coge of pe colde water, and penne pe cry ryset.

Examples of the to-infinitive: Gawain 941 Yenne lyst be lady to loke on be knyt3; Pearl 1141 The Lombe delyt non lyste to wene.

All these verbs are used elsewhere impersonally in the Gawain-poet as we have already seen. Hence it is not hard to imagine that such combinations as these have largely assisted in establishing the transition from the impersonal to the personal construction which began in the course of ME, substantially in the 14th century. This transitional process may be considered to be furthered in the following in such a way that the word originally placed in the dative or accusative may more clearly be taken as the subject of the verb.

Gawain 1251-2 Bot hit ar ladyes innop3e pat leuer wer nowpe Haf he20; Ib. 1753-4 when he he gome metes, And bhioues his buffet abide without debate more; Ib. 2134-5 as he wyerde lykeze hit hafe; Purity 435-6 Bot quen he Lorde of he lyfte lyked hymseluen For to mynne on his mon his meth pat abidez; Patience 51 Ober 31f my lege lorde lyst on lyue me to bidde; Ib. 507 Ye sor of such a swete place burde synk to my hert.

All the doubtful cases so far discussed serve to show the fluctuating state of linguistic usage at the Gawain-poet's time. On the other hand, the Gawain-poet's frequent use of the bare infinitive in impersonal

19Mustanoja, op. cit., p. 435.

20OED (s.v. lye) 2) explains that this use apparently resulted from a conversion of the construction with dative, him is lief becoming he is lief. The earliest example of it dates from c. 1340 (Man...pat is lever to lose his) but no examples of the bare infinitive are recorded in OED.
construction: is worthy of note, considering that in **PPl lyke** is the only verb of this kind that takes the bare infinitive as its subject, although some other examples of the bare infinitive are also found after the phrases **better be** and **leuer be**.

3.2 Infinitive as Predicative

The predicative infinitive is divided into the subjective predicative and the objective predicative according to the connection with its head word or subject. The former of the two may further fall into three groups: (a) as a substantive-equivalent, (b) as an adjective-equivalent, and (c) the word to which the infinitive refers is the subject of a passive verb (e.g. He was seen to go).

3.2(1) Subjective Predicative

(a) Subjective predicative as a substantive-equivalent:

The predicative infinitive we are now going to deal with is equivalent in function to a predicative substantive, as in Ch. **TC II 294** That 'first vertu is to kepe tonge'. According to Trnka, this use appears first in early ME, no instance being found as yet in OE. In the Gawain-poet this type of construction is practically non-existent, while it is often found in Chaucer, and particularly in Langland (**PPl**). In fact the only instance in which it seems to occur is:

**Patience** 342 Hit may wel be pat mester were his mantyl to wasche.

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I have noted 25 clear examples of this use in **Pe** (B-text), some of which
will be given below:

XI.264 That parfylte pouert was no possessioun to haue; XVIII.174
My will is to wende,...and welsome hem alle; XIX.352-3 My conseille
is to wende Hastiliche in-to Vynte.

The bare infinitive in this function\(^{23}\) never occurs in the works
of the Gawain-poet (and Langland and Chaucer as well).

(b) Subjective predicative as an adjective-equivalent:

The construction be to with an infinitive which we are going to
deal with here is different from the predicative infinitive mentioned
above in that here the infinitive is an adjective-equivalent. The
construction under discussion is divided from a historical point of
view into two types: (i) retroactive infinitive\(^{24}\) (e.g. He is to blame)
and (ii) non-retroactive infinitive (e.g. He is to come). The two con-
structions just quoted are identical in form, but different in meaning.
That is, in the former the infinitive is passive in sense while in the
latter it is active; or we may say that in the former the infinitive
refers to the subject of the main sentence as its logical or latent
object though in the latter the logical subject of the infinitive is the
same as the subject of the main sentence.

(i) Retroactive infinitive (e.g. He is to blame)

\(^{23}\)Instances are plentiful in Present-day American English. Some
examples from Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (Penguin Books): All
they did was shout ché at one another (p. 83); What I would like to do
is use thy orders for that purpose (p. 148); All Pilan did was be an
intelligent woman (p. 163): All I could do was cry (p. 335).

\(^{24}\)For this term see Jespersen, *M. E. G.*, V, 15.2.1.
This type of construction, generally implying necessity or obligation, is frequent in OE, but from the circumstance that OE examples are very scarce in poetry and original prose, while they are found in great numbers in translations from Latin, Callaway\textsuperscript{25} thinks that the construction cannot be organic, but must be due to Latin influence as rendering Latin sum + gerundive or similar constructions. In the Gawain-poet there are 10 examples which are active in form but passive in meaning.

\begin{itemize}
\item Gawain 356 Bot for as much as 3e ar myn em I am only to prayse ("to be prayse" also in Pearl 1131, Purity 189); Ib. 1398-9 Say laged, and made hem blype Wyth lotez \textit{bat} were to lowe; Pearl 68 Where rych rokke\textit{þ} wer to descreuen; Ib. 563 Fyrre \textit{þ}en couenaunde is no3t \textit{to plete}; Ib. 914 If 3e can se hyt be \textit{to done}; Ib. 955 In \textit{bat} oper is no3t bot pes \textit{to glene}; Purity 76 More \textit{to wyte} is her wrange \textit{þ}en any wylle gentyl; Patience 523 For malyse is no3 \textit{to may* tyne} boute mercy withinne. Cf. PP1 VII.60 3if that I lye Mathew is \textit{to blame}; VI. 307-8 ale...that inborghe is \textit{to selle}.
\end{itemize}

Of this type of expression, the phrase \textit{be to blame} has survived in ModE, but the other combinations quoted above are quite obsolete or archaic, in which case now the periphrastic passive infinitive would be used.

As early as the 14th century also appears the periphrastic passive infinitive used predicatively. Concerning this problem, van der Gaaf\textsuperscript{26} contends that the predicative passive infinitive did not make its appearance until after the 13th century, and he cites the earliest instance of it from 1303 (MS. 1360) Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne: 1546 \textit{þ}ey \textit{beth} to be blamed eft \textit{þ}arfare. He further goes on to say that "by the end of the fifteenth century the predicative passive infinitive

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{25}Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, p. 200. Cf. Jespersen, M. E. G., V, 15.4.1.
\item \textsuperscript{26}"The Predicative Passive Infinitive," English Studies, X, p. 110.
\end{itemize}
had acquired the status of a regular, recognized construction."27 In the works of the Gawain-poet (and in PP1), however, there is no instance of this type of passive infinitive.

(ii) Non-retroactive infinitive (e.g. He is to come)

According to van der Gaaf,28 this type of construction, denoting futurity mostly with a slight admixture of predestination, began to be used in late OE as an imitation of Latin esse + future participle. In late ME and early ModE the idea of predestination, arrangement, agreement, sometimes becomes predominant in the signification of the construction. In PE this is the usual meaning. In late ME and early ModE we also find instances of the construction in the sense of obligation or necessity. As a result, be to is often synonymous with ought to, have to, must. In PE, however, this meaning is getting less common, as have to often takes the place of be to. In view of the fact that the earliest instance of the construction in question dates from the end of the 10th century, however, Trnka is undoubtedly wrong in stating that the first to use 'be to + infinitive' in the active meaning was Wyclif.29 In the Gawain-poet there are only two examples of this use, in which the implication of futurity is practically non-existent.

Pearl 951-2 *pat nys to yow no more to mene Bot "cete of God", oper "sy3t of pes"; *ib. 1041 *pat is to say, as her byrp-whate3.30

27Ibid., p. 110.


30This may be better considered to be an example of the subjective predicative as a substantive-equivalent discussed in 3.2(1)(a). Cf. Jespersen, M. E. C., V, 11.2.1.
Cf. PPl I. 11 What is this to增多; X. 473-4 Cryptes tresore, the which is mannes soule to same as god seith in the gospel: XV. 592 And hopen that he be to come that shal hem relcuc.

In the last two instances from PPl, the implication of futurity is more or less prominent.

(c) The word to which the infinitive refers is the subject of a passive verb:

There are several instances where the word to which the infinitive refers is the subject of a passive verb as in: ModE "He was seen to go out". This is the corresponding passive construction of "the infinitive as an objective predicative," which will be discussed in the following section 3.2(2). In the Gawain-poet only the to-infinitive occurs after the passive form of do (=cause), make, forbede and labe (=urge), of which do is more often followed by the bare infinitive in the corresponding active construction. In PPl, however, the bare infinitive is also found twice.

Pearl 942 For bere be olde gulte wat: don to shake; Purity 44-5 he schulde...be forboden pat borse to bowe pider never.
Ib. 89-91 Kepte wer pay fayre,...Ful manerly wyth marshal mad for to sitte; Ib. 163-4 alle arm laped luflyly, be luber and be better,...pat fest to have. Cf. PPl II. 218 He was...ouer-al yhowted and yhote trusse; XIII.33 This maister was made sitte as for the most worthy.

In the following instances the infinitive may be better regarded as that of direction:

Purity 684 Sypen he is chosen to be chef chyldryn fader; Ib. 1734 Y) y wale rengne is wait in we3tes to heng; Patience 245
Now is Jonas be jwe jugged to drowne.

3.2(2) Objective Predicative

The infinitive is also used as a kind of objective predicative
in a construction customarily referred to as the 'accusative with infinitive', equivalent to an object clause, in which the 'accusative' is regarded as the logical subject of the infinitive and the infinitive assumes the function of a predicate verb, the 'accusative' and the infinitive as a whole functioning as the direct object of the main verb. The history of this construction may be summarized according to Mustanoja as follows: Even in earliest OE, as in other early Indo-European languages, the infinitive occurs as a kind of objective predicative (or, to use the term of Mustanoja, 'predicate accusative'). The construction seems to occur first after certain causative verbs, but its use after verbs of perception is remarkably ancient, too. In conjunction with verbs of saying it is found in OE only in slavish translations from Latin originals. In early ME there is a remarkable increase in the use of the construction after verbs of causation, and since the beginning of the 14th century the accusative with infinitive has been practically the only construction used with these verbs. It is also quite common after verbs of perception. It is used in an increasing measure after verbs denoting mental activity of various kinds. From the 14th century onwards the accusative with infinitive is widely used also in conjunction with verbs of saying and believing. The great increase in the use of the construction between the 14th and the 16th centuries seems to be largely due to the influence of Latin. This is especially the case after verbs of saying. Wyclif and Pecock appear to be particularly

31 The problem as to this construction is adequately discussed by Jespersen, M. E. C., V, 18.1.1-18.1.4.
fond of the accusative with infinitive (Mustanoja, *Middle English Syntax*, Part I, pp. 526-7). What is to be remembered here is that since OE, a substantive, participle or adjective besides an infinitive have been commonly used in this function (e.g. Gawain 2390 I halde hit hardily hole). Hence the construction with these predicative forms must have been a very important factor in the historical development of the one with the infinitive.

Although in some instances the function of the infinitive borders on that of the infinitive of purpose or direction, there are some 122 instances of this usage in the works of the Gawain-poet, which constitute about 16 percent of the instances of the infinitive. In PPl, on the hand, there are as many as 403 instances which amount to about 25 percent of the whole. Hence it may be safely said that the Gawain-poet uses the infinitive as an objective predicative fairly frequently, through far less so than Langland who, like Wyclif and Pecock, seems to be particularly fond of the construction.

As regards the form of the infinitive used in this function, the bare infinitive was originally the rule, but in the course of time there came in the to-infinitive. According to Kellner, in the 16th century the latter becomes the rule. \(^{32}\) In the Gawain-poet, out of the 122 instances, 60 are the bare infinitive while 62 are the to-infinitive. Judging from the figures given above, the relative frequency of both infinitives seems to be much the same, but it does not follow from this that the one is

\(^{32}\text{Historical Outlines of English Syntax, §404.}\)
used as freely as the other in this function. The bare infinitive is found almost exclusively after only a limited number of verbs like _let_, _bede_, _do_ (=cause), _beseehe_, _see_, _here_, etc., most of which are, even today, almost invariably construed with the bare infinitive, but otherwise the _to_-infinitive is by far the more common. The periphrastic passive infinitive form in this function is exceedingly rare, occurring only five times in the Gawain-poet.

On the other hand the infinitive used as an objective predicative is very frequent after certain verbs of Expressed or Implied Causation (A); is less common after verbs of Sense Perception (B); and is almost unknown after verbs of Mental Perception (C) and of Declaration (D). Each of these groups will be discussed below.

(A) Verbs of Expressed or Implied Causation

The ' accusative with infinitive' construction occurs most often, namely 104 times with verbs of causation, expressed or implied, as is the case with OE and ME examples of the construction.33 The instances considered belonging here will be found with the following groups of verbs, although we often hesitate to determine to which group a given verb may belong:

(1) Most frequently with Verbs of Causing and Allowing, and of Preventing, of which the chief representatives are _let_, _gar_ and _do_ (=cause). To this group belong 52 examples of which 27 are the bare infinitive and 25 the _to_-infinitive. The full list follows:

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let (=allow, permit, cause) (21 exs.): in the Gawain-poet this verb is usually found with the bare infinitive but the to-infinitive does occur once. After let the construction under discussion is very common in OE and ME. In fact in the Gawain-poet it is most frequent with let (and in PPl as well):

With to: Gawain 1733-4 Bot be lady for luf let not to slepe, Ne be purpose to payre bat py3t in hir hert (cf. no instances in PPl, but one in Chaucer: TO V. 226 I not, alas! whi lete ich hire to go).

Without to: Pearl 718 Do way, let chylde vnto me ty3t; Purity 1434 Let bise ladyes of hem lape; Gawain 2387 Letez me ouertake your wylle.

Other instances: Gawain 248-9, 420, 423, 1154, 1994, 2208; Pearl 28, 901, 912, 964; Purity 732.

Generally the logical subject of the infinitive is placed before the infinitive as shown above. Occasionally, however, we find the inverse order whereby let enters into a fixed combination with the following infinitive and forms nearly one semantic whole with it, followed by an object. The only expression of this type that I have come across in the Gawain-poet is let be (=to leave off, cease from):34 Gawain 1840 And lettez be your businesse, for laybe hit yow neuer.

But in Pearl 901 Neuer be less let be my bonc, let be is not interpreted in the same way, because the logical subject of the infinitive is merely

34OED has examples from c. 1175. Another possible example of this is: Pearl 71° His dessyple3 wyth blame let be hem bede, in which case, however, 'hem' is the logical subject of the infinitive let (i.e. bede hem let be), that of the infinitive be being unexpressed. Other expressions of this type, though not found in the Gawain-poet, are let go (e.g. PPI V. 334 let go the cuppe) and let pass (=pass by, neglect) (e.g. PPI III. 196 She leteth pass prisoneres). The last example from PPl is far older than the earliest one (dated 1530) in OED.
placed after it, owing to the requirements of the rhyme.

In the following the infinitive used as an objective predicative has a passive meaning:

Pearl 813-4 For us he lette hym flyse and folde And brede vpon a bostwys hem (=For us he let himself be scourged and bent and stretched upon a cumbersome cross).

On the other hand, the passive infinitive also occurs twice:

Gawain 468 He let no semblaunt be sene, bot sayde ful hyse; Ib. 1083-4 pe syre...Let pe ladiez be fette to lyke hem pe better.

gar (8): with this causative verb both forms of the infinitive occur four times respectively. Cf. PPl with to, 6; without to, 4.

Without to: Pearl 331 What serve3 tresor, bot gare3 men grete; Purity 1361 Baltazar pur3 Babiloyn his banne gart crye; Pearl 86; Purity 896.

With to: Gawain 2460 For to haf greued Gaynour and gart hir to dyse; Pearl 1151 Pat sy3t me gart to benk to wade; Purity 1643-6 pe Soverayn of heven...Gart hym grattest to be of governores alle And alle pe worlde in his wylle welde35 as hym lykes.

do (=cause) (5): after the causative do, 5 instances are found, of which 3 are the bare infinitive and 2 the to-infinitive. In Langland and Chaucer as well, the bare infinitive is far more common after do.

Without to: Gawain 1325-7 Pe best...didden hem derely vndo as pe dede askez; Ib. 2210-11 My lyf pa3 I forgoo, Drede dotz me no lote; Patience 443-4 Pe whyle God of his grace ded growe of pat soyle Pe fayrest bynde hym abof pat euer burne wyste.

With to: Pearl 306 Pa3 fortune dyd your flesch to dyse; Ib. 556 And pou dotz hem vus to counterfete.

Thus in ME do is current in causative function but later in ModE it falls

35This infinitive is governed by the to of the preceding 'to be', but it may also be considered to be a bare infinitive since the verb gar is equally construed with the bare infinitive.
made (4): this causative verb is always accompanied by the to-infinitive in the Gawain-poet. In PE the bare infinitive is the rule, but in ME the to-infinitive seems to be prevailing in this function although both forms of the infinitive occur. For example, in PPL out of 35 instances 21 are the to-infinitive while 14 are the bare infinitive. In Chaucer, too, the to-infinitive is more common after this verb. 

Examples from the Gawain-poet are:

Gawain 1564-5 bawemen...madee hym mawgref his hed for to mwe vtter; Ib. 1567 Bot 3et be styffest to start bi stoundez he made; Purity 1566 And make pe mater to malt my mynde wythinne; Patience 299-300 For bat mote in his mawe made hym...to wanel at his hert.

dryue (=to incite or impel powerfully or irresistably; to force, compel—OED) (4): four instances occur, accompanied by the to-infinitive alone. They are by far older than the earliest quotation (dated 1533) in OED.

Gawain 523 He dryues wyth dro3t be duxt for to ryse; Patience 235
\[\text{vat drof hem dry3lych adoun pe depe to serue; Gawain 524, 1047-8.}\]

gyue (=grant, allow) (2): found twice with the to-infinitive. Mustanoja states that the peculiar OE uses of the bare infinitive after give survives in a few ME cases. No such examples are, however, found in the Gawain-poet (and Langland as well).

Pearl 705-7 he...Gyue be to passe, when þou art tryed; Ib. 1211 He gef vus to be his homly hyne.

sterc (=restrain) (2): accompanied by the to-infinitive. As a

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\[\text{36Cf. Kenyon, The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer, p. 104.}\]

\[\text{37Op. cit., p. 531.}\]
verb of preventing, this *store* is the only example followed by the
infinitive as an objective predicative.

*Pearl* 1159-60 And *to start* in *be streem schulde non me* *store*,
*to swimme* *be remnaunt, þag* I her swalte.

Other verbs belonging to this group are: *grant* (2) (*Gawain* 921;
*Patience* 240), *entyse* (*Purity* 1808), *leuel* (=allow) (*Gawain* 98), *suffer*
(*Gawain* 1967), *bole* (=suffer) (*Gawain* 1859). All these verbs are found
with the *to-*infinitive alone in the *Gawain*-poet.

(2) Next most frequently with Verbs of Commanding, of which the chief
representative is *bede* (=command). 21 examples belong here. This group
is composed of the following:

*bede* (*<OE beodan=command*) (17 exs.): both kinds of infinitive
occur with this verb, but the bare infinitive is more common. That is,
there are 12 examples of the bare infinitive as against 5 of the *to-
infinitive. Cf. *PPI* without *to*, 40: with *to*, 5.

*Without to*: *Gawain* 1437 *Yenne* þay beten on þe buskez, and *bede*
ym *vpyrse*; *Purity* 1551 *He* bede *his burnes* *boy* *to*; *Patience* 187
*Ye* *freke...bed* *hym* *ferk* up.

*Other examples*: *Gawain* 344 (2 exs.), 2012; *Pearl* 715; *Purity*
130, 482, 500, 942.

*With to*: *Gawain* 1374-5 *frekez* he beddez Verayly his venysoun
to *fech* hym byforne; *Patience* 51-2 *3if* my lege lorde lyst on
lyue me to bidde, *Ober* to *ryde* *oper* to *renne* to Rome in his
ernde; *Purity* 1221-4 (2 exs.).

There are two passive infinitives used after *bede*:

*Purity* 1221-4 *he...bede* þe *burne* *to* *be* *broat* to Babloyn *be*
ryche, And þere in doungoun *be* *don* to dre3e þer his wyrdes.

The following example is very interesting in that the logical subject
of the infinitive is expressed by the periphrastic genitive with *of*:
Purity 439-40
en he stac up be, stangez, stoped be wellez,  
Bed blynne of be rayn (be hade the rain cease).

comand (6): this verb is found only with the to-infinitive.
Six examples occur here.

Gawain 366 en comanded be kyng be kny3t for to ryse; Purity 898
Day comanded hym cof to each bat he hade; Gawain 1372-3; Purity
624, 1428-9 (2 exs.).

joyne (=enjoin) (1): accompanied by the bare infinitive. The
only example that has come to hand is,

Purity 877 Who joyned be be jostyse oure japez to blame.

restaye (1): the only instance is found with the to-infinitive:

Gawain 1672 Ye lord hym letted of bat, to lenge hym resteyed.
(3) Less frequently with Verbs of Advising, Teaching, Persuading and
the like. Seventeen examples belong to this group.

teche39 (4 exs.): with this verb the to-infinitive occurs three
times and the bare infinitive once:

Without to: Purity 160 Of tebe tenfully togeder, to teche hym
be qoynt. Cf. Ch. TC III 41-2 so techeth me devyse Some joye
of that is felt in thi seruyse.

With to: Gawain 2379-80 For care of by knokke cowardyse me ta3t
To acorde me couetyse, my kynde to forsake; Ib. 2075 Pat shulde
tech hym to turne to bat tene place.

red (3): found twice with the bare infinitive and once with the
to-infinitive:

Without to: Pearl 743-4 I rede be forsake be worlde wode And

---

38Cf. Hawlett O 45 she did not let go of the child...she kissed
him again, and let him go (q. Jespersen, M. E. G., III, 13.4.3.).

39Regarding the construction with teach, some scholars take the
infinitive as a direct object and the person as an indirect object
(cf. Söderlind, op. cit., p. 28.)
pochace by perle maskelles.

With to: Gawain 738 Pat ho hym red to ryde.

warne (2): both forms of the infinitive occur only once:
Without to: Patience 469 And syben he warne3 he West yaken ful softe. Cf. PPl Prol. 207 For-thi yche a wise wite I warne wite wel his owne.
With to: Gawain 521-2 heruest...Warnez hym for be wynter to wax ful sone.

Other verbs belonging to this group are: amonest (Purity 818), enchace (=urge) (Pearl 173), kenne (Gawain 1484), labe (=urge) (Purity 81), mynn (=exhort) (Gawain 982), norne (=urge) (Purity 803), wayne (Gawain 984), wynne (=persuade) (Purity 1616). All these verbs are found with the to-infinitive alone in the Gawain-poet.

(4) Only slightly less frequently than the preceding, with Verbs of Requesting. 12 examples belong to this group.

besche (4): this verb is accompanied by the bare infinitive in three instances and by the to-infinitive in one. Cf. PPl without to, 3: with to, 4.

Without to: Gawain 776 Now bone hostel...I beseche yow sette; Patience 413 I besech be, Syre, now pou self jugge; Gawain 1862.
With to: Gawain 1861-3 ho...bisogt hym, for hir sake, discuer hit neuer, Bot to lelly layne for hir lorde.

In the last quotation, the bare infinitive and the to-infinitive are found in the same sentence, in which case the use of to with the second infinitive may be due to the fact that the two infinitives are separated by several words.

pray (3): always accompanied by the to-infinitive. Cf. PPl without to, 5; with to, 17.
Gawain 1218-9 wolde ...pray hym to ryse; Pearl 714 To touch her chylde
chylde say fayr hym prayed; Patience 327 Prayande him for pete
his prophete to here. Cf. PPI XX. 337 I preye the hele nouthe
thin name

bid (<OE biddan-pray, bec> (2): in ME bidden and beodon (=command)

were levelled under the form bidden, which was used in the two senses of
'pray' and 'command'. Here we are concerned with the former meaning.
Only two instances occur, both of which are the bare infinitive. Cf.
PPI without to, 6; with to, 2.

Gawain 2089-90 Ye burne that rod hym by Bede his mayster abide;
Pearl 520 And no mon bydde3 vos do ry3t no3t. Cf. PPI XVI. 64-5
I...bade hym ful fayre To discrée the fruit.

Other verbs of this group are epe (=entreat) (Gawain 2467-8 (2
exs.)) and prete (=beseech) (Gawain 1980), both of which are accompanied
by the to-infinitive.

(5) Very rarely with Other Verbs where the causative element is in some
degree prominent. The only possible verb which may be considered here
is dy3t (=appoint, ordain). With this verb two examples of the to-
infinitive occur; however, the infinitive used here may also be con-
sidered to be that of direction.

Gawain 697-8 Warloker to haf wro3t had more wyt bene, And haf dy3t
3onder dere a duk to haue worhed; Patience 488 Why ne dy3tte3 pou
me to die3?

(B) Verbs of Sense Perception

Though far less frequently than with Verbs of Causation, the
infinitive as an objective predicative (or the 'accusative with infinitive')
is occasionally found with Verbs of Sense Perception. Eleven examples
fall within this group, all of which are invariably accompanied by the
bare infinitive.
here (5): Pearl 879 A note ful nwe I herde hem warpe; Gawain 690, 1523; Purity 1586; Patience 301-2.

se (5): Purity 68 To see hem pulle in þe plow aproche me byhouez; Gawain 1582, 2315; Pearl 867; Purity 788.

fynde (1): Pearl 514 And ydel men stande he fynde þerat.

(C) Verbs of Mental Perception

Some scholars\(^{40}\) contend that the 'accusative with infinitive' construction occurs frequently from the 14th century onwards after verbs of mental perception. This statement, however, seems to be quite misleading. The construction is exceedingly rare, in the Gawain-poet, occurring only twice after verbs of this kind. It seems to be very rare in Chaucer, too.\(^{41}\) Even in Ppl where the 'accusative with infinitive' construction is very common, it occurs only twice after verbs of mental perception, whereas in Pecock (c. 1450) it is widely used. Judging from these facts, F. Schmidt\(^{42}\) seems to be correct in assuming that before Pecock this construction is to be found only very sporadically. The only two examples in the Gawain-poet are both found after halde, where the infinitive has a passive meaning:

Pearl 301-3 I halde bat iueler lyttel to prayse...And much to blame. Cf. Ppl I. 143 This I trowe be treuth.

One of the reasons why, after verbs of mental perception, this construction is very rare may be that some predicative other than an infinitive—an adjective, participle or substantive—is often employed with the

\(^{40}\)Mustanoja, op. cit., p. 527; Trnka, op. cit., p. 84.


\(^{42}\)The Language of Pecock, pp. 117-9.
'accusative', as in Gawain 2390 I halde hit hardly hole; Pearl 282
I trawed my Nate don out of dawe.

(D) Verbs of Declaration

As already stated, the 'accusative with infinitive' construction after verbs of declaration is found in OE only in slavish translations from Latin originals. According to Mustanoja and Trnka, this construction is widely used from the 14th century onwards, largely owing to the influence of Latin. In the Gawain-poet, however, there is only one possible example, and in PPl there is no example. In Chaucer, too, it is practically non-existent. Just as after verbs of mental perception, Pecock's extensive use of this construction after verbs of declaration is remarkable. Hence it may be safely said that this construction is only very sporadically found before Pecock (c. 1450). The only possible example that seems to occur in the Gawain-poet is found after mynn (=declare): 46

Gawain 141 Bot mon most I algate mynn hym to bene. Cf. Pecock Resessor 446 he clepith and seith Thy mothie to be such a bishop.

This verb mynn may also be taken as a verb of mental perception, meaning 'think'.

3.2(2)' Non-expression of the logical subject of the infinitive as an

43 Mustanoja, op. cit., p. 527; Trnka, op. cit., p. 84.


46 No instances of this verb with the infinitive are recorded in OED (s.v. min v2 5 trans. To say, tell, mention, record, relate).
objective predicative.

So far mention has been made of those cases in which the logical subject of the infinitive is expressly indicated because it is different from that of the finite verb. Now we will deal with those cases in which the logical subject of the infinitive used as an objective predicative is not expressed.

When the subject of the infinitive used as an objective predicative is the same as that of the finite verb, it is sometimes not expressed. Only three instances occur in the Gawain-poet:

Gawain 363-5 And syben þay redden all same (=together) To kyd þe kynge wyth croun, And gif Gawain þe game; Ib. 1733 Bot þe lady for luf let not to slepe.

In addition, when the logical subject of the infinitive is indefinite (e.g. 'people', 'one', etc.) or easily inferred from the context, it is often left unexpressed, especially after bede and here in the Gawain-poet.

bede (=command) (4): accompanied by the bare infinitive in three instances and by the to-infinitive in one:

Without to: Gawain 2023-4 þe gayst into Grece, þe burne bede bryng his blonk; Purity 629-30 He...bed tyrve of þe hyde; Ib. 1507 Baltazar in a brayd bede [b]us þeþof.

With to: Purity 1558-9 þenne þe bolde Baltazar...[b]ede þe cete to seche segges þurjout.

here (4): found only with the bare infinitive. Stemming from this verb, a special phrase of common occurrence in ME is 'hear' + 'say', 'tell', or the like in which the subject of the infinitive is unexpressed, being indefinite. OED has examples of this type from as early as c. 1000. This idiom is still in dialectal or colloquial, and occasionally, literary use (cf. OED s.v. hear 3.c.) Three examples of this type
 occur in the Gawain-poet:

\[
\text{Gawain 26 A} y \text{ watz Arthur } \text{ be } \text{ henest, as } I \text{ haf herde } \text{ telle;} \quad \text{Ib. 263 And here is kydde cortaysye, as } I \text{ haf herd } \text{ carp; Ib. 1144 A bundreth of hunte}r\text{es, as } I \text{ haf herde } \text{ telle.}
\]

In these cases the finite verb (here) and the bare infinitive (telle or carp) seem almost to form a compound.

There is one more example in the Gawain-poet of here where the unexpressed logical subject of the infinitive is not indefinite, but is contained in the preceding prepositional phrase:

\[
\text{Gawain 1182-3 And as in slomeryng he slode, sle3ly he herde \quad A little dyn at his dor, and dernly vpon ("heard it stealthily open").}
\]

\[
\text{comand (3): always found with the to-infinitive:}
\]

\[
\text{Gawain 850-51 Pe lorde hym charred to a cham}b\text{re, and chefly cumaundez To d}\text{elyuer hym a leude;} \quad \text{Ib. 1372 Thenne comandaund be lorde in ber sale to sa}men alle be meny;} \quad \text{Purity 1741-2 Pe kyng comaunded anon to c}\text{lebe ber wyse In frokokes of fyn clob.}
\]

\[
\text{let (3): found three times solely with the bare infinitive:}
\]

\[
\text{Gawain 299-30 Now hy3e, and let se tite Dar any herinne o3t say;} \quad \text{Ib. 413-4 Ta now by gry} \text{me tole to be, And let se how hou cnokez;} \quad \text{Pearl 715 His dessypele3 wyth blame let be hem bede.}
\]

\[
\text{do (=cause) (1): found once only with the bare infinitive:}
\]

\[
\text{Patience 385-6 Samnes yow bilyue; Do47 dryue out a decree, demed of my seluen.}
\]

\[
\text{make (1): found with the bare infinitive:}
\]

\[
\text{Pearl 539 To take her hyre he mad sumoun.48}
\]

\[
\text{47In their editions, Gollanz and Bateson take this do as causative while Anderson considers this to be the periphrastic 'do'.}
\]

\[
\text{48In his edition, Gordon takes this to be a noun. Here I have followed Sisam's reading of the line ('he had (them) summoned' or 'he caused (them) to be summoned') (cf. K. Sisam, Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose, p. 226 and pp. 230-31).}
\]
spede (=cause) (1): found only once with the to-infinitive, in which case the logical subject of the infinitive is inferred from the preceding line:

Purity 550- If he be sulped in synne, þat syttee unclene—On spec of a spote may spede to mysse Of þe sy3te of þe Soverayn þat syttee so hy3e.

3.3 Infinitive as Object

The infinitive is often used as the object of a transitive verb, as in: Pearl 403 My Lorde ne louez not for to chyde. There are, however, those borderline cases in which it is often hard to settle whether a verb followed by the infinitive is transitive or intransitive, and, accordingly, whether the infinitive is looked upon as object or adverbial adjunct, as in:

Patience 333-4 Bot I dewoutly awowe,...Soberly to do þe sacrafyse; Pearl 333 Now rech I neuer for to declyne; Gawain 804 If he my3t keuei to com þe cloyster wythinne; Th. 492 he gerned 3elpyng to here; Th. 1804-1 I baybe hit yow neuer to graunte; Pearl 225-6 I hope no tong mo3t endure49 No sauerly saghe say of þat sy3t.

All the verbs quoted above are regarded as intransitive verbs both in OED and in the editions of the Gawain-poet in which they appear. Nevertheless it may also be possible to regard the infinitives as object-equivalents since they perform nearly the same function as they would as the objects of transitive verbs. On this account, some of the verbs which will be discussed below as taking the infinitive as direct object might nonetheless also be considered as intransitive verbs used without

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49 MED glosses this word as "(of things): to be sufficient or adequate; to remain serviceable,..." of which the second earliest example is the above one from Pearl.
a direct object.

In the Gawain-poet this use of the infinitive as object is fairly frequent, compared with that of the infinitive as direct subject (cf. 3.1) or subjective predicative as a substantive-equivalent (cf. 3.2(1) (a)). In the Gawain-poet's works there are, excluding those used after the auxiliary verbs, at least 73 instances of this usage, of which 23 are the bare infinitive and 50 the to-infinitive. Whereas in OE the infinitive as object was normally the bare infinitive,\(^5^0\) in the Gawain-poet the to-infinitive is used twice as frequently as the bare infinitive, the latter being found exclusively after a few verbs, such as dar and benk. Before discussing these 73 examples, we will briefly describe the use of the infinitive after auxiliary verbs, which is left out of the above statistics.

3.3(1) After Auxiliary Verbs

From a historical point of view Jespersen recognizes the infinitive as object after such auxiliary verbs as will and can.\(^5^1\) Examples of this kind will, therefore, be discussed here in this section.

The future and modal auxiliaries shall, will, may, can, must and the periphrastic auxiliary do are regularly construed with the bare infinitive through all periods of English. Much the same applies to the Gawain-poet's use of the infinitive after the above-mentioned

\(^{50}\)OE\(D\) s.v. To B. 14.

\(^{51}\)M. E. G. V, 12.1.1.
auxiliaries as well as another periphrastic auxiliary con (=did, or do) which seems to be characteristic of his style: as in Pearl 390 I wolde bysech, wythowten debate; Ib. 357 Hys conforte may by langour lybe; Ib. 149 Aboute me con (=did) I state and stare. Very rarely, however, the to-infinitive is also found after these auxiliaries in the Gawain-poet. That is, out of 819 examples found after the auxiliaries, 7 are accompanied by the to-infinitive:

Gawain 479-80 Ye alle men for meruayl myȝt on hit loke, And bi trwe perof to telle pe wonder; Purity 53-4 And sende his sonde pen to say bat þay samne schulde, And in comly quoyntis to com to his feste; Pearl 969-70 Vtwyth to se þat clene cloystor You may, bot inwyth not a fote; Ib. 1181 And newfully þenne I con (=did) to reme.

Other examples: Gawain 2516-8; Pearl 1072-3; Purity 1673-6.

In these cases, the use of to with the infinitive after the auxiliaries may be due to the demands of the metre or rhythm, or to the fact that, except in the last quotation, the infinitive is separated from the auxiliary by intervening words.

Perhaps some explanation may be required here concerning the periphrastic auxiliaries do and con (=did or do):

do (4 exs.): according to OED (s.v. Do 25.a.), the merely periphrastic do is found already in OE, frequently in ME, very frequently from 1500 to 1700, dyeing out in normal prose in the 18th century, while Trnka says that "A few sporadic instances of this construction are quoted from OE prose, but as late as 1450 the construction was comparatively rare, and it is only later that it begins
to occur frequently."\(^{52}\) He goes on to say that "As to Chaucer's and Gower's works, the periphrastic do is used very rarely."\(^{53}\) The construction is by no means common in the Gawain-poet's works, and PPI as well, since there are only four examples in the former and five in the latter.\(^{54}\) Hence Trnka's statement appears to be more accurate than that of OED. Of the four examples found in the Gawain-poet three seem to be used for the sake of rhyme:

\textit{Pearl} 293 \(\text{You ne wost in worlde quat on dot}3\ mene (289 \text{clene}, 291 \text{enc}, 295 \text{fle}); \text{Ib. 629-30 Anon \text{be day}... \text{Pe niyzt of deth dot}3\ to enclyne (626 \text{lyne}, 628 \text{vyne}, 632 \text{hyne}); \text{Ib. 17-8 \text{Pat dot}3\ bot brych my hert brange, My breste in bale bot bolne and hele (14 \text{welle}, 16 \text{helc}, 20 \text{stele}).}\)

The remaining example is found in the imperative construction:

\textit{Patience} 204 \text{Do gif glory to by godde, er pou glyde hens.}

Judging from the context, this use of the periphrastic do seems to intensify the force of the main verb.

\textit{con} (=did or do) (94 exs.): this is the Northern (Scottish) and North Midland phonetic variant of \textit{gan}. According to Mustanoja and Mossé,\(^{55}\) the following may be said of this verb: in OE the verb occurs in the form \textit{onginnan} (=begin) which is regularly construed with the bare infinitive. Already in OE, however, the verb is becoming an auxiliary to express the ingressive aspect of the governing verb. To express this

\(^{52}\)\textit{Op. cit.}, p. 44.

\(^{53}\)\textit{Ibid.}, p. 52.

\(^{54}\)See \textit{PPI} (B-text) V. 245; VII. 176-8; X.11; XII. 169; XIX. 306.

\(^{55}\)Mustanoja, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 610-12; Mossé, F., \textit{A Handbook of Middle English}, p. 103.
aspect, ME normally uses the *gin(ne)*, especially its preterite form
*gan* (*gon, can, con*) followed by the bare infinitive or preceded by to;
gin(ne), first attested about 1200, is simply the equivalent, by the
loss of the first syllable, of *agin(ne)* (*OE onginnan*). Nonetheless,
very early the sense of *gan* fades, so that it comes to be used as a
semantically empty function word. That is, it serves as a time indica-
tor in the same way as the periphrastic *did*.

In the Gawain-poet, the Northern and North Midland forms of *gan*,
i.e. *con* and *can* occur, serving mostly as an indicator of the past tense
(i.e. *did*), or, very rarely, of the present tense (i.e. *do*). In a few
cases of the latter, however, it is difficult to decide whether, in a
given sentence, the *con* is the periphrastic *con* or the modal *con* (=can, be able), as in:

*Pearl* 381 ¥æ3 cortaysly ye e carp *con*; *Lb.* 709 Ry3t wysly quo *con*
rede; *Lb.* 729 ¥en is be blys þat *con* not blynne.

Except for these doubtful cases, there are as many as 94 instances of
the periphrastic *con* (including 3 of *can*), which are invariably accom-
panied by the bare infinitive with the exception of the example (*Pearl*
1181 And rewly þenne I *con to reme*). What is still more interesting
than the overall frequency of *con* in the Gawain-poet's works is his
habit of using it chiefly (79 cases out of 94) in conjunction with
rhyme. This is clear from the fact that *con* is more frequent in the
rhymed *Pearl* (62 exs.) than in *Gawain* (23) which has fewer rhymes, and
more frequent in *Gawain* than in the unrhymed *Purity* (6) and *Patience*
(3). A few examples may be enough to show this usage:
Gawain 230-31 He stemmed, and con studic (rhyme: 228 y3e) Quo wallt ber most renoun.
Pearl 820-21 When Jesus con to hym worde con, (818 Jon, 822 ston, 824 vpon) He sayde of hym y3 ys professoye.

As is apparent from the above instances, the infinitive after con is in rhyme. On the other hand, the instances in which the infinitive after con is not in rhyme are very rare, occurring only twice (out of 23) and only in unrhymed alliterative long lines in Gawain, 4 times (out of 62) in Pearl, 6 in Purity and 3 in Patience.

Gawain 2212 Thenne þe knyt con calle ful hy3e; Pearl 721-2 Jesus con calle to hym hys mylde, And sayde hys ryche no wy3 my3t wynne; Purity 301 Now God in nwy to Noe con speke; Patience 138 When boþe breþes con blowe vpon blo watteres.

Other examples: Gawain 2295; Pearl 78, 195-6, 1078; Purity 344, 363, 945, 1362; Patience 10, 445.

Another important feature of the Gawain-poet's use of con is that only Pearl shows the use of con as a periphrastic auxiliary of the present as well as of the past tense, there being 13 examples of the former as compared with 49 of the latter. This feature is, as E. V. Gordon points out, one of the few differences in linguistic usage to be found within the Gawain-group. All the examples of the use of con as a periphrastic auxiliary of the present tense will be given below:

Pearl 293-4 Þou ne woste in worlde quit dot3 mene; þy worde byfore by wytte con fle; 509-10 Into acorde þay con declyr. For a pene on a day, and forth þay got3.

Other examples: Pearl 271-2, 482, 495, 769, 851, 909, 925, 931, 1078, 1093.

In the unrhymed alliterative poem PPl (7,242 lines), about 43 instances of the periphrastic auxiliary gan (not con) occur, as in:

56 E. V. Gordon (ed.), Pearl, p. 63.
XII. 346 some tymre he gan taste. This number is, however, far less than that of con in the far shorter rhymed Pearl. Thus, Mustanoja's argument that "in the majority of non-rhyming alliterative ME poems gan is comparatively rare" is at least partly supported by the frequency of con (a phonetic variant of gan) in Purity and Patience and further by that of gan in PPl.

All things considered, the Gawain-poet's remarkable use of the periphrastic con is, no doubt, due primarily to the great demands of metrical structure, particularly rhyme.

3.3(2) After Full Verbs

The verbs which take an infinitive object are relatively numerous in the Gawain-poet, of which the chief representatives are dar, benk (=intend), bygynne, etc. The full list follows:

dar (13 exs.): in PE this verb (now dare) is not only treated as a common verb with the to-infinitive after it, but when not in the form of a present participle or in a compound tense, is often also used, like a modal auxiliary, with a bare infinitive after it, especially in negative and interrogative sentences.57 Originally, however, this verb was always followed by the bare infinitive. As expected, in the Gawain-poet dar is always followed by the bare infinitive, whether in negative sentences or in affirmative ones. No instances happen to occur in interrogative sentences. Exactly the same thing is also said of Langland's use of dar in PPl. Mustanoja also seems to have found no examples of dar with the to-infinitive in ME.58 In view of these facts and the fact that Ord has no earlier instances of dare with the to-

57 Cf. Curme, Syntax 49.4.C(1)a.

infinitive than c. 1555, it seems that was never followed by the to-infinitive in ME. A few examples of the bare infinitive from the Gawain-poet are given below:

Pearl 1089 For I dar say wyth consciens sure; Gawain 1493 For bat durst I not do, lest I dewayed were; Purity 615 jif I hit pray durst.

Other examples: Gawain 287, 300, 1575-6, 1991; Pearl 143, 182; Purity 342, 476, 976; Patience 143-4.

penk (<OE þeancan=intend, expect) (6): both forms of the infinitive occur with this verb, but, contrary to Mustanoja's argument, the bare infinitive prevails in the Gawain-poet. That is, this verb is accompanied by the bare infinitive in four instances and by the to-infinitive in two. Cf. PPl without to, 7; with to, 6.

Without to: Gawain 330-31 Arthure...pat stryke wyth hit po3t; Purity 138 and greve hym he po3t; Ib. 304 and forber hit I þenk; Ib. 1729 Now expowne þe þis speche spedly I þenk.

With to: Pearl 1151 Pat sy3t me gart to þenk to wade; Purity 711 Hem to smyte for þat smod smartly I þenk.

bygynne (5): found only with the to-infinitive in the Gawain-poet. Cf. PPl without to, 1; with to, 9.

Gawain 1571 He gete þe bonk at his bak, bigynez to scrape; Pearl 561 Quy bygynnez þou now to prete?; Gawain 1606; Pearl 549; Purity 123. Cf. PPl XVII. 179 For Iesus Iusted wel Ioye bygynneth dawe.

loue (4): found only with the to-infinitive.

Gawain 2099 For he is stiffe and sturne, and to strike louies; Pearl 403 My Lorde ne loue3 not for to rhyde; Gawain 87-8 (2 exs.).

fonde (=try, endeavour) (4): found only with the to-infinitive:

59 Mustanoja says that with this verb the to-infinitive is prevailing (op. cit., p. 534).
Purity 1103-4 P at for fety of his syngeres foned he neuer
Nowber to coul ne to kerve wyth knyf ne wyth egge; Gawain 986;
Pearl 150.

o3e (4): both the bare infinitive and the to-infinitive occur
twice in the Gawain-poet. According to Mustanoja, in early texts,
in PPl and the Wyclifite Bible the bare infinitive is rare, while
Chaucer, Occleve and, above all, Pecock favour the bare infinitive.
Incidentally, in PPl after o3e the bare infinitive is found once and
the to-infinitive five times. Thus in the case of 'o3e', the ME usage
is very unsettled. After a long competition with the bare infinitive,
however, the use of the to-infinitive is now established after ought.
Examples from the Gawain-poet are:

Without to: Pearl 1139 Ani breste for bale a3t haf forbrent; Purity
122 And alle þe laykez þat a lord a3t in londe schewe. Cf. PPl II.
28 I auȝte ben herre than she I cam of a better.

With to: Gawain 1525-7 And 3e...Oghe to a 3onke þynk ȝern to
schewe And teche sum tokenez of trweluf craftes.

kepe (=care, desire) (3): accompanied by the bare infinitive
once and by the to-infinitive twice. What is interesting here is that
all the examples are found with negatives:

Without to: Gawain 2140-2 now þou so much spellez, P at þou wylt
þyn awen nye nyme to þyseluen,...þe lette I ne kepe. (The earliest
example in OED is from c. 1200).

With to: Gawain 546-7 þe knowe þe cost of his case, kepe I no
more To Telle yow tenez þerof; Patience 1464 Iwys: e, a worþloker
won to welde I neuer kepêd.

coueyte (2): found only with the to-infinitive in the Gawain-
poet. Cf. PPl without to, 2; with to, 10.

Purity 1054-5 And to be coude in his corte bou coveytes benne,
To see bat Semly in sete and his wete face.
Cf. PPL III. 163 alle pe comune in kare bat coueeten lyue in
trewth; IX. 171 For-thi I conseille alle Crystene coueite nought
be wedded.

**trawe** (=hope, expect)(1): the only instance that occurs in the
Gawain-poet is found with the bare infinitive:61

Purity 388 Summe swyammad þeron pat save hemself trawed.

**wene** (1): accompanied by the bare infinitive in the Gawain-poet.
But the two instances which are found in PPl are both followed by the
to-infinitive. Thus both forms of the infinitive are used after the
verb in ME (cf. OED s.v. Ween v. I. b.).

Gawain 1707-11 he...Went haf wylt of þe wode with wylez fro þe
houndez. Cf. PPl VI. 248 And that he wenet wel to haue; V. 476.

**had better** (1): with this verbal phrase the bare infinitive occurs
only once:

Gawain 67'-80 A lowande leder of ledez in londe hym wel semez,
And so had better haf ben þen britned to not.

**wot** (=know) (1): with this verb the to-infinitive occurs only
once and is accompanied by an interrogative:

Gawain 1053 I ne wot in worlde whederwarde to wende hit to fynde.

Other verbs which take the to-infinitive as their direct object
are: **hope** (3 exs.) (Purity 860; Patience 315-6 (2 exs.)), **deme** (2)
(Gawain 1089, 1668-9), **fayle**62 (2) (Gawain 278; Purity 548), **fyne** (2)

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61 OED has examples of this verb with the to-infinitive as its object
from 1340-70 onwards, but records no examples of the verb with the bare
infinitive.

62 The earliest example given in OED (and MED) is 1393 from Gower.
The infinitive is by no means common as one of two objects, as in ModE 'He promised me to be here today'. This type of construction, though not strictly, is nonetheless distinguished from the so-called 'accusative with infinitive' construction in which the object of the finite verb performs the function of denoting the logical subject of the infinitive (cf. 3.2(2)). But in the construction under discussion the logical subject of the infinitive is the same as that of the finite verb. As mentioned above, examples of this type are exceedingly rare. The only two examples that seem to occur in the Gawain-poet are:

Purity 810 Dat bay hym graunted to go, and gru3t no lenger; Ib. 1161-2 folk... Dat haden hy3t pe hy3e God to halde of hym ever.

In PE the infinitive as object is often introduced by the formal object 'it', as in 'Do you consider it wise to interfere' (q. Hornby). In ME, however, it seems to be comparatively rare. I have come across only one example in the Gawain-poet and eight in Langland.

Gawain 975-6 Pay kallen hym of aquoyntaunce, and he hit quyk askez To be her seruaunt sothly, if hemself lyked. Cf. PP1 XII. 132-4 Lyueres...helden it an heighe science her wittes to knowe.

As already referred to in 3.1, the following verbs may be
considered to be used as personal verbs (e.g. I like instead of it likes me) rather than as impersonal verbs, with the infinitives regarded as the objects, rather than as the logical subjects, of the finite verbs. Ten examples come under this category.

lyst (4): with this verb both forms of the infinitive are found twice:

Without to: *Purity* 100 alle lyst on hir lik þat arn on launde hestes; *Purity* 1356 Til þe Lorde of þe lyfte liste hit abate.

With to: Gawain 941 Yenne lyst þe lady to loke on þe kny3t; *Patience* 51 Ober 3if my lege Lorde lyst on lyue me to bidde.

lyke (2): both kinds of infinitive occur only once:

Without to: Gawain 2134-5 Worpe hit wele oper wo, as þe wyrde lykez hit hafe.

With to: *Purity* 435-6 Bot quen þe Lorde of þe lyfte lyked hym selus For to mynne on his mon his meth þat abydez. Cf. *PpI* X. 95 There the lorde ne the lady liketh nou3te to sytte.

byhoue (3): accompanied by the bare infinitive alone.

Gawain 1753-4 when he þe gome metes, And bihoues his buffet abide without debate more; *Patience* 151-2 þe sayl sweyed on þe see, þenne suppe bihoued þe coge of þe colde water; *Pearl* 323 þur3 drwry deth bo3 vch man dreue.

biren (1): this northern form of bihoue is also followed by the bare infinitive:

*Patience* 507 þe sor of such a swete place burde synk to my hert.

These doubtful examples may be said to be characteristic of the language at the Gawain-poet's time, or of the language in a stage of transition from ME to ModE.

3.4. Adverbial Uses of the Infinitive

In this section we shall consider the use of the infinitive as an adverbial adjunct, with the exception of the infinitive as an adjunct
to an adjective, which will be dealt with in the following section 3.5.

The infinitive depending on the verb (though it often depends on all the rest of the sentence) may function as an adverbial adjunct and denote various adverbial relations, such as purpose, direction, cause, etc. This adverbial use of the infinitive is by far the commonest use of the infinitive in the Gawain-poet, about 235 examples being found. These examples may largely be classified into the following: (1) Direction, (2) Purpose, (3) Cause, (4) Consequence, (5) Condition, (6) Concession, (7) Manner. Two additional groups, (8) 'Infinitive for Participle or Gerund' and (9) 'Absolute Infinitive', will also be discussed in this section. In a number of instances, however, it will be very hard to tell to which group a given infinitive belongs, one bordering on the other as in:

Gawain 2362 I send hir to asay he ('direction' or 'purpose'?);
Purity 401-2 Luf lokez to luf and his leve takez, For to ende alle at onez and for ever twynne ('purpose' or 'consequence'?);
Ib. 105-7 Pyse ilk renkez...Schul never sitte in my sale my soper to fele ('purpose' or 'manner'?); Patience 97 Pus he passes to bat port his passage to seche ('purpose' or 'manner'?); etc.

The difficulty in distinguishing between the adverbial infinitive and the infinitive as object has already been exemplified in 3.3. In the following discussion, therefore, I will usually not specify the exact number of instances found in each group mentioned above. Instead, I will cite some of what seem to be clearer examples of each adverbial relation.

In the function of the infinitive as an adverbial adjunct, the works of the Gawain-poet provide no instances of the bare infinitive with the exception of one doubtful example: Pearl 225-6 I hope no tong
most endure No savoury sagh saq of byt byst. As mentioned in 3.3, OED and MED both seem to take this verb endure as intransitive, in which case the bare infinitive should be explained as standing in adverbial relation to the verb. Except for this example, the to-infinitive is the only form of the infinitive used as an adverbial adjunct in the Gawain-poet. As far as the functional frequency of the infinitive as an adverbial adjunct is concerned, one of the most frequent relations is the relation of purpose. This would be natural when the fact is taken into account that the use of the infinitive of purpose was the basic one in OE.

3.4(1) Infinitive of Direction

Mustanoja has made no mention of the infinitive of direction (cf. Middle English Syntax, pp. 534-7), but this kind of infinitive is found in those instances where "the usual meaning of the preposition to, movement or direction to or towards a goal, physical or psychic, is still more or less clearly perceptible." The infinitive of direction is, however, often indistinguishable from that of purpose, as already discussed at the beginning of this section 3.4. As will be seen below, this kind of infinitive is used chiefly after verbs of motion or after verbs of inclination, disinclination, and the like. Examples are numerous in the Gawain-poet:

Gawain 307-8 he...ryst hym to speke; 337-8 any burne upon bench hade brost hym to drynk of wyne; 509 Bryddez busken to bylde; 936 Pe lorde...ledez hym to sytte; 492 he jerned yelpyg to here; 826-7 per hijed innoghe For to hent it at his bonde; etc.

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63Jespersen, M. E. G., V, 16.1.1.
In the following instance, the infinitive may be the substantive-modifying infinitive which will be discussed later:

Purity 51-3 that man ryche...sende his sonde ben to say bay bay samne schulde.

3.4(2) Infinitive of Purpose

The infinitive denoting purpose is by far the most common usage of the adverbial infinitive in the Gawain-poet, occurring more than 120 times. In OE the primary use of the to-infinitive was that of purpose. In PE, too, this is one of the commonest uses of the to-infinitive. The same is the case with the Gawain-poet's use of the to-infinitive. The infinitive of purpose in the Gawain-poet is invariably preceded by to or for to, and is very frequent after verbs of motion, especially 'come' and 'go':

Gawain 1053 I ne wot in worlde whederwarde to wende hit to fynde; Tb. 1472-3 Pe lady...Come to hym to salute; Tb. 1857 When he acheued to be chapel his chek for to fech; Pearl 506-7 Pe lorde ful erly vp he ros To hyre werkmen to hys vyne; Purity 685 Yat so folk schal falle fro, to flete alle pe worlde; Ib. 797 he ros vp ful radly and ran hem to mete; Patience 179-80 A lodes-mon ly3tly lep vnder hachches, For to lyte no ledes and hem to lote bryng; Ib. 416 I schulde tee to pys toun bi talent to prechc; etc.

After go and come, the bare infinitive of purpose is also found as
early as OE and survives far beyond the end of the ME period. In fact, it is not infrequent in Chaucer and Langland. For example, in PPl after go the bare infinitive is far more frequent than the to-infinitive, there being 16 examples of the former as compared with 5 of the latter. By contrast, the to-infinitive is always found after come. Not a single instance of the bare infinitive of purpose, however, occurs in the works of the Gawain-poet. A few examples from PPl will be given below:

V. 649 I will go fecche my box with my breuette; VIII. 58 I shal go lerne bettere; XI. 53 Go confesse the to sum frere; etc.

As to this type of construction, Jespersen explains that "as this seems to be found chiefly after the infinitive and the imperative, it is felt to be short for go (come) and." 65

The infinitive of purpose is also frequent after verbs other than those of motion in the Gawain-poet:

Gawain 1474-5 Ful erly ho watz hym ate His mode for to remwe; Ib. 402 I schal ware alle my wyt to wynne me þeder; Pearl 1124 Al songe to lone bat gay juelle; Ib. 613 Bot now þou mote3, me for to mate; Purity 948 To wakan wederez so wylde þe wyndez he callez; Patience 421-2 I hade worded quat-so-euer I cowpe To manace alle þise mody men; etc.

In ModE the idea of purpose is often emphasized by the use of the phrases in order (to) and so as (to) before the infinitive, as in:

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64 Cf. Mustanoja, op. cit., p. 435; Jespersen (M. E. G., V, 16.4.2) says to the effect that even in ModE go and come with the bare infinitive are found here and there, chiefly in colloquial or even vulgar speech, and are fairly frequent in American English.

65 M. E. G., V, 16.4.2.
'you'd better repeat them every day, in order not to forget them', 'I do them very carefully, so as not to spoil them'. According to OED (s.v. Order sb. 28. b. (b); s.v. As 20), the earliest example for the former phrase is dated 1711 while the latter occurs from 1662. Söderlind has, however, found earlier examples of 'in order to + infinitive', of which the earliest dates from 1681 (John Dryden, Absalom and Achitophel, Preface). As expected, neither of them is found in the Gawain-poet. But we do come across the following two instances introduced by as alone, which seem to express purpose:

Gawain 1032-4 Of be wynne worship þat he hym wayued hade, As to honour his hous on þat hyȝe tyde, And enbelye his burȝ with his bele chere: Purity 566-7 Dat he shulde never, for no syt, smyte al at onez, As to quelle alle quykez for qued þat knyȝt falle.

Concerning the use of as with the infinitive of result or purpose, the earliest instance in OED (s.v. As 20) is c. 1590 from Marlowe. It should of course, be noted that the above instances are far older than the one in OED.

As to the passive infinitive of purpose, van der Gaaf remarks that it is unknown in OE and that Orm appears to be one of the first to make use of it. In the Gawain-poet it is practically unused although in Langland it occurs five times. The only possible example occurring in the Gawain-poet is:

Purity If any schalke to be schent wer schowved þerinne. Cf. PPl XVIII. 13 a knyȝte...cometh to be dubbed.

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3.4(3) Infinitive of Cause

The infinitive of cause is chiefly used after expressions of mental states, moods, etc., but is by no means common in the Gawain-poet. The only instance that may be looked upon as such is:

Gawain 910-11 And alle be men in bat mote maden much joye To spere in his presence prestly bat tyme. Cf. PPl II. 115-6 now sorwe mot thow haue, Such weddyngs to worche to wratbe with Truthe.

3.4(4) Infinitive of Consequence

The infinitive of consequence is so closely related to the infinitive of purpose that it is often very difficult to distinguish one from the other, as was discussed at the beginning of this section 3.4. Kruisinga says that "the difference is only that purpose is an intended result."69 The examples given below may be considered as denoting consequence:

Gawain 512 And blosumez bolne to blowe; Pearl 239-40 Wel wat3 be bat euer I was borne to sware bat swete in perle3 py3te; Purity 1347 if bay gruchen him his grace to greven his hert; Patience 362-3 Vp so doun schal ye dumpe depe to be abyme, To be swol3ed swyftly wyth ye swart erpe.

3.4(5) Infinitive of Condition

This infinitive is very rare in the Gawain-poet. The only two possible examples are:

Pearl 576-80 More haf I of joye and blysse hereinne. Ye en alle ye wy3e3 in be worlde my3t wyne By be way of ry3t to aske dome; Purity 870 To samen wyth bo semly ye solace is better.

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69 A Handbook of Present-day English, p. 142.
3.4(6) Infinitive of Concession

Mustanoja\textsuperscript{70} says that a concessive infinitive with to is occasionally found in ME texts, and adduces a few examples from Gawain and Chaucer. In the Gawain-poet only one possible example occurs:

\textbf{Pearl} 333 Now rech I neuer for to declyne, Ne how fer of folde \thinspace \textit{bat} man me fleme.

3.4(7) Infinitive of Manner

A few OE verbs of motion, mainly cuman, and verbs of rest can be accompanied by the bare infinitive of another verb of motion or rest, as in: \textit{com...zi}ian 'came travelling' (q. Quirk and Wrenn). In this case, the infinitive, expressing a simultaneous action, serves to indicate the manner in which the activity takes place. According to Mustanoja,\textsuperscript{71} in ME, too, down to the later part of the period, the bare infinitive of a verb of motion is not uncommon with come. Towards the end of the ME period the infinitive disappears in instances of this kind, its place being taken by the present participle which appears in this function even as early as OE. In the Gawain-poet, however, there is no instance of the bare infinitive of a verb of motion. Instead, it is invariably supplanted by the present participle, as in:

\textbf{Gawain} 2266 As hit \textit{com} glydande adoun on glode hym to schende. In PPl, on the other hand, there are two such examples:

\textsuperscript{70}Op. \textit{cit.}, p. 536.

\textsuperscript{71}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 536-7.
XI. 109 lete the remenaunt go romne; XVIII. 10-11 One semblable to
the Samaritan...Barlote on an asse bakke botelesse com prykye.

On the other hand, in the following quotations from the Gawain-
poet, the to-infinitive may be considered to denote manner or attendant
circumstances:

Gawain 304-6 he...Wayned his berde for to wayte quo-so wolde ryse;
Ib. 1858 My3t he haf slypped to be vslayn, pe sle3t were noble;
Patience 154 Mony ladde per forth lep to laue and to kest.

With verbs of rest as well, no example of the bare infinitive
of manner is found in the Gawain-poet. According to van der Gaaf,72
a bare infinitive of manner after verbs of rest had probably disappeared
before the end of the 14th century. As a result of that, the place of
the bare infinitive is often taken by the present participle, by another
verb (e.g. Gawain 1179-80 Gawyn pe god mon in gay bed lygef, Lurkkez
quyl pe dayly3t lemed on pe wowes; PP1 Prol. 9 I lay and lened), or
by the to-infinitive (e.g. Ch. TC III 229-31 And on a paillet al that
glade ny3t By Troilus he lay, with mery chere, To tale), all these
occurring from OE to ModE. Mustanoja73 also remarks that instances
of the to-infinitive are not uncommon in ME, but I have found no clear
examples of this type either in the Gawain-poet or in Langland. In the
following examples, the infinitive seems to have a final sense:

Gawain 1191-4 ho...lenged þere selly longe to loke quen he wakened;
Ib. 1531-2 I com hider sengel, and sitte To lerne at you sum game;
Purity 105-7 þyse ilk renkez...Schul never sitte in my sale my soper
to fele.

72"The Connection between Verbs of Rest (Lie, Sit, and Stand) and
Another Verb, Viewed Historically," English Studies, XVI, p. 88.
Thus in the Gawain-poet the bare infinitive of manner is non-existent after verbs of motion and rest, for which the present participle is, for the most part, used (cf. Chapter I. 3.4).

3.4(8) Infinitive for Participle or Gerund

In the Gawain-poet the infinitive is sometimes used where we would expect the present participle or the gerund in ModE. Needless to say, some of the examples given below may admit of another interpretation.

Gawain 1221 I schulde keuer be more comfort to karp yow wyth (=from) talking with you); Pearl 21-2 For sobe þer fleten to me fle, To benke hir color so clad in clot; Th. 473-4 Þysel in heuen ouer hyȝþou heue, To make be quen þat watȝ so yonge (=by making yourself a queen); Purity 184-9 For roborrye, and riboudrye, and resounez untrwe, And dysheriete and depréye dowrie of wydoez (=for disinheriting and depriving...),...Man may myss þe myrbe þat much is to prayse; Patience 58 To sette hym to sewrte (=in trying to achieve safety), vnsounde he hym feches; Pearl 257-8, 1157-8; Patience 197-8; etc.

These examples may show that the Gawain-poet's use of the infinitive is, in some respects, more flexible than is that of ModE.

3.4(9) Absolute Infinitive

This term is applied to a parenthetical use of the infinitive, as in: Pearl 653 þe water is baptem, be soþe to telle. In this kind of construction, the logical subject of the infinitive is not generally identical with the subject of the finite verb, while the infinitive depends on the rest of the sentence rather than the main verb. This construction comes into existence as early as OE,74 and Chaucer seems

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74M. Callaway, op. cit., p. 169.
to be fond of it. In ModE it occurs frequently in set phrases, such as to tell the truth, to conclude, to return, to be short, and the like. Needless to say, the to-infinitive is the rule in this function through all periods of English. In the Gawain-poet six instances are found:

Pearl 939-41: *That is be cyte that be Lombe con fonde To suffer inne sor for maney sake, Ye olde Jerusalem to understonde;* Pearl 949-50: *Of motes two to pane cleene, And Jerusalem byst bope napecles;* Ib. 653: *Of water is baptem, be sepe to tellc;* Purity 425-6: *Of be lombe of Noe lyf to lay a lel date, Ye sex hundreth of his age and none odde zerez;* Ib. 1733: *To teche be of Techal, be terme bus menes;* Ib. 1736: *And Phares folges for pose fawtes, to frayst be trawbe.*

The term 'absolute infinitive' may also be applied to a construction with a nominative subject, or the 'nominative with infinitive' construction as it may be called. This construction is occasionally used in ME to express futurity, purpose, command, etc. Kellner contends that the construction first turns up in the second half of the 14th century, but is not explicit about its earliest instance. On the other hand, Zeitlin, who has fully treated this construction, adduces its earliest example from Cursor Mundi (7121 he het men to gyue hem made If thei coude hit rightly rede And thei to gyue the same ageyn). In the Gawain-poet's works there are no examples with the clearly nominative subject, while in PPl there are four. Examples from PPl are:

VIII. 101-2: Thanne shal the kynge come and casten hem in yrens, And but if Dobest bede for hem thei to be there for eure; XIX. 262-3: And Grace gaue Pieres of his goodnesse, four stottis, Al that his oxen eryed they to harwe after; II. 92-102; XIX. 224-8.

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76 *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, p. 249.

77 *The Accusative with Infinitive and Some Kindred Constructions in English*, pp. 141-66.
In the Gawain-poet there are, however, three examples of the infinitive preceded by a substantive or one of the pronouns (as its logical subject), which do not distinguish cases:

Gawain 1027-8 when hit watz late, pay lachen her leue, Vchon to wconde on his way pat watz wy3e stronge; Purity 337-8 And ay ñou meng wyth þe maleþ þe mete ho-besteþ þuche payre by þayre to plese ayber ober; Ib. 834-6 Er euer þay bosked to bedde, þe borg watz a' vp; Alle þat wepen myȝt welde, þe wakker and þe stronger, To umbelyȝe Lothez hous þe ledez to take.

The first two examples quoted above seem to express purpose and depend more or less closely on the main verb.

3.5 Infinitive with Adjectives

The infinitive occurs fairly frequently as an adjunct to an adjective (or very rarely an adverb) and expresses direction, purpose, cause, consequence, etc. In the Gawain-poet there are about 69 examples of this type, of which 60 are the to-infinitive and 9 the bare infinitive. Thus, the adjectives used in this way in the Gawain-poet are usually construed with the to-infinitive, of which the most common are: welcum, dere, fayn, fayr, bayn, redy, wont, etc. Several examples will suffice to illustrate this practice:

Gawain 448 Loke, Gawan, þou be graybe to go as þou hettez; Ib. 495 Gawan watz glad to begynne þose gomnez in halle; Pearl 680 Himself to onswere he is not dylle; Purity 869 Hit arn ronk, hit arn rype, and redy to manne; Purity 663 Hopez ho oȝt may be hard my hondez to work?; Patience 136 So bayn wer þay bope two, his bone for to wyrk; etc.

In ModE the logical subject of the infinitive here would be preceded by 'for', as in 'hard for my hands to work'. Trnka remarks that the construction 'for + substantive (or pronoun) + to-infinitive' was fully established in English by the middle of the 16th century (op. cit., p. 85).
The instances where an adjective is followed by an infinitive which is active in form but passive in sense are not infrequently found in the Gawain-poet:

Gawain 963 And þose were soure to se and sellyly blered; Pearl 311 To leue no tale be true to tryse; Purity 608 Hit is epe to leue by þe last ende; Patience 324 Wyrȝ myȝt of þy mercy þat mukel is to tryste.

Other examples: Gawain 46, 176, 1187, 1945, 2036; Purity 262, 607, 1118; etc.

Undoubtedly each of these active infinitives may be said to have a passive meaning, although we see no necessity for considering it passive. Jespersen prefers to look upon the infinitive as active and as governing a preceding item as its object.

On the other hand, English also uses the periphrastic passive infinitive with be in this type of construction. With the adjective worthy the passive infinitive form has been used since OE. According to van der Gaaf, this construction with worthy is common throughout the ME period. In the Gawain-poet, however, there is no instance of worthy followed by the passive infinitive form, the only instance of worthy being found with the active infinitive:

Pearl 99-100 Ye derbe þerof for to devyse Nis no wyȝ worbe þat tong hereȝ. Cf. PPl V. 236 Thow haddest be better worthy be hanged therefore.

Except in conjunction with worthy, the first instances of the post-adjectival passive infinitive only appear towards the end of the 14th

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79 M. E. G., V, 15.2.1.

century and examples are fairly frequent in 15th-century English. Only one example seems to occur in the Gawain-poet's works and one in PPl.

Gawain 1578-9 Pat al bu3t penne ful lope Be more wyth his tusches forme. Cf. PPl XIII. 281-2 he...in-obedient to be vndernome of any lyf lyuynge.

In ModE the idea of consequence is frequently expressed by 'so + adjective or adverb + as + infinitive', as in 'Be so kind as to shut the door'. In ME, however, as is usually lacking as in: PPl Prol. 188 And be we neuever so bolde the belle hym to showe. The earliest example in OED (s.v. So 28 b) of this type used with as dates from 1445. In the Gawain-poet, however, the types with and without as are both in use:

With as: Gawain 1537-8 Pat so worby as ye wolde wynne hiders, And pyne yow with so pouer a man, as play wyth your kny3t; Pearl 95-6 So gracios gle coube no mon gete As here and se h.s adubbement; Purity 519-20 For-by schal I never schende so schortly at once As dystrye for mane [dedes], dayes of pis erpe.

Without as: Gawain 291 If any freke be so felle to for'ce pat I telle; Purity 904 Bot bes neuer so bolde to blusch yow bihynde.

From the above examples, it will not only be noticed that the type used with as is always followed by the bare infinitive, while the type found without as is followed by the to-infinitive but also that the examples of the type with as found in the Gawain-poet is much older than the first example (c. 1445) in OED.

The following examples while resembling in form those of the type used without as quoted above may be interpreted as ordinary adjective-modifying infinitives:

81 Ibid., p. 133.

82 In PPl, the as is always lacking here. Other examples: VI. 188.; XVIII. 75, 77; XIX. 19-20.
Pearl 810 \( \text{pat wat} \) so fayr on to byholde; Purity 147 \( \text{pat wat} \) so prest to approche my presens hereinne; lb. 262 For by so semly to see syphen wer none; Patience 136 so bbyn wer pay...his bone for to wyrk.

As for the bare infinitive accompanying an adjective, Mustanoja\(^83\) says that it is a rare feature in OE and occasionally found in ME, mostly in conjunction with worth (worthy) and wont. Besides those found after as, I have noted only five other examples in the Gawain-poet, of which one after loth has already been given above. The other four examples are found after wont, hardy, and little.

Pearl 15 \( \text{pat wont wat} \) whyle deuoyde my wrange And heuen my happe and al my hel; Purity 143 How watz bou hardy bis hous for byn unhap ne\(\text{ne}\); \( \text{lb. 1232 Get take}\)\(^85\) Torkye hem wyth, her tene had been little.

Incidentally, in \( \text{PPl} \) only two examples of the bare infinitive occur after worthy and loth, while wont is always construed with the to-infinitive, as in: VI. 169 I was not wont to worche; XX. 368 as he was wont to come.

Another possible example of the bare infinitive after an adjective in the Gawain-poet is found after leuer (wer), but this infinitive may be considered as the logical subject of an impersonal expression, as discussed in 3.1, rather than as an adjunct to the adjective:


\(^84\)In their editions of Purity, Morris, Menner, and Gollancz supply to before ne\(\text{ne}\), although there is no such preposition in MS, on which the above quotation is based.

\(^85\)In their editions of Purity, Gollancz takes this to be subjunctive while Menner regards it as an infinitive. Both interpretations may be possible, but I have followed the latter interpretation.
3.6 Infinitive with Substantives (or Pronouns)

The infinitive is so commonly used to serve as an attributive adjunct to a substantive (or very rarely a pronoun) through all periods of English that it requires no particular comment. We must, however, admit that it is difficult at times to decide whether a given infinitive modifies a substantive and is adjectival, or modifies a verb and is adverbial. The difficulty is illustrated by:

Patience 226 'Pat he gaf hem þe grace to greuen hym neuer; Purity 323 For I schal waken up a water to wasch alle pe worlde; Gawain 1066 Nof I now to buy bot bare þre dayes; Patience 347-8 Siæe lorde,...lene me þy grace For-to go at þi gre; etc.

In the Gawain-poet there are about 99 instances of the infinitive with substantives, all but one of which are the to-infinitive. The sole example of the bare infinitive in the Gawain-poet is expressed by 'such + substantive + as + infinitive':

Gawain 234-5 'Pat a habel and a horse myȝt such a hwe lach, As growe grene as þe gras and grener hit semed.

Thus, while the bare infinitive is by no means normal in English, it is nonetheless found very sporadically in ME, as in: Ch. CT C Pard. 848 he had leve him to sorwe brynge (q. Mustanoja). In the Gawain-poet, however, there is no such example.

With regard to the attributive passive infinitive, van der Gaaf assumes that it "does not seem to occur in Old English; it came into

use in the Middle English period" and that the earliest instances of the construction occur in Ormulum. In the Gawain-poet's works, written about two centuries later than Ormulum, however, only one clear example is found:

Purity 1058-9 Ver he expounez a speche, to hym pat spede wolde, of a lady to be loued.

A doubtful example is: Pearl 281 "To be excused I make requeste," in which the infinitive may also be considered to be the object of the verbal phrase 'make requeste' rather than to be dependent on 'requeste'.

The relationship between the infinitive-as-an-adjunct and its head word is varied, many examples allowing of more than one interpretation, but, for our purposes, examples of the infinitive with substantives may be roughly divided into three groups:

(1) Instances in which a preceding substantive is the logical subject of the infinitive. Of the three groups, this relationship appears to be most common in the Gawain-poet (about 41 examples out of 99). Only a few instances are necessary to illustrate this use of the infinitive:

Gawain 282 Here is no mon me to teche, for myȝtez so wayke; Pearl 414-5 He...Corounde me quene in blysse to brede; Purity 148 Hopez hou I be a harlot þi erigaut to prayse?; Gawain 1024 Ver wer gestes to go vpon þe gray more; etc.

Jespersen explains the infinitive thus used, as denoting simple futurity (e.g. in days to come), or 'what might, would or should, or what can or may...'.

87 Essentials of English Grammar, 32.2.2.
(2) Instances in which the infinitive governs a preceding substantive as its logical object. Examples of this type are also fairly common:

Gawain 1823 I haf none yow to none; Pearl 811-2 he...never hade non hymself to wald; Purity 373 Her watz mean for to make when meschef was cnown; Patience 223 Venne was no cumfort to keuer, ne counsel non oper; etc.

One instance to be noted here is: Patience 81 "is is a meruayl message a man for to preche." In this example the infinitive forms only a part of the attributive adjunct 'substantive + infinitive' in which the substantive is the logical subject of the infinitive and would be preceded in ModE by 'for'.

An infinitive consisting of 'a verb + a preposition' or 'a verb + its object and a preposition' which can take an object, can also govern a preceding substantive as its logical object. Six examples occur in the Gawain-poet:

Gawain 695-6 Hade he...no gome bot God bi gate wyth to karp; Ib. 2223 A demez ax nwe dy3t, be dynt with to seld; Purity 477 ho fyndez no folde her fote on to pyche; Ib. 1049 Alle þyse ar teches and tokenes to trów upon ȝet; Ib. 1661 hlyynes he not of blasfemy on to blame be Drytyn; Patience 199 Hatz þou, gome, no governour, ne god on to calle.

In all these examples except the one from Purity, the preposition is placed before the infinitive. This practice is found elsewhere in the Gawain-poet: Pearl 45 'on to sene'; Ib. 810 'on to byholde'; Gawain 950 'on to loke'; Ib. 968 'on to lyk'. But I have come across no examples of this type in PPI in which the preposition always seems to come after the infinitive as in:

VI. 126 We haue no lymes to laboure wyth; VI. 309 Laboreres... haue no lande to lyue on; XVII. 245 thow haue towe to take it
Considering these facts, we may be able to say that the placing of the prepositions (with and on) before the infinitive is a characteristic of the Gawain-poet's language.

(3) Instances in which either the infinitive stands in apposition to a preceding substantive, or the infinitive is a prepositional phrase with the original meaning of the preposition to (=towards, in the direction of) after substantives. Examples of this type are not infrequent, though they are the least common of the three groups:

Gawain 133 ḵat þe lude myȝt haf lleue lifloede to cach; Ib. 624 I am in tent (=intention) yow to telle; Pearl 971 To strech in þe strete þou hafʒ no vysgour; Purity 67 to bowe haf I mester (=need); Purity 1773-4 ledes of armes...now hatz spyped a space to spoyle Caldeea; Patience 157 Per watʒ busy ouer borde bale to kest; etc.

In the following examples, ModE would use the gerund in place of the infinitive:

Gawain 203-5 hade he...no schafte ne no schelde to schwæ ne to smyte (=against shoving and smitting); Pearl 1127-8 To loue be Lombe...Iwyssse I laȝt a gret delyt (=in praising the Lamb); Ib. 1129 Delit þe Lombe for to deuise Wyth much mervayl in mynde went (=delight in gazing upon the Lamb).

3.7 Infinitive for Finite Verb

There are a few possible examples of the infinitive being used in place of the finite verb. One of them occurs in what might be called an exclamatory sentence, since it implies surprise:

88In PPl, however, with is more often placed near its verb, as in: VI. 297 this present to plese with hunger (=to please hunger with); XV. 332 that water to woke with Themese, etc. There are 11 instances of this odd position of with as compared with 9 of the normal position of it.
Purity 747-8 I am hot erpe ful qvel and usle so blake, For to mcle wyth such a Mayster as myrtle hatz alle (=Who am I to match words with a Master of limitless might?)

Cf. Ch. TC III 806-7 Horaste! allas, and falsen Troilus? I knowe hym nought, God help me so.

In the following examples the infinitive clause seems to be coordinated with another clause:

Gawain 1090-2 'Wyl ye halde þis hes here at þys one?' 'Ye, sir, for sope,' sayd pe segge trwe, 'Whyl I byde in yowre borje, be bayn to sowre heyst.'; Pearl 295-9 You says þou trawes me in þis dene, ...; Another þou says, in þys countre þyself schal won myth me ryȝt here; þe prydde, to passe þys water fre-

4. Other Aspects of Use

4.1 Split Infinitive

The participle to is sometimes separated from the infinitive by an adverb or the object of the infinitive. This is the construction customarily referred to as the 'split' infinitive.

As to the type split by an adverb, some scholars contend that it makes its first appearance in the 14th century, its earliest example being Gawain 87-8. W. van der Gaaf, however, quotes the earliest example of it from Passion of our Lord written about the beginning of the 13th century. In the Gawain-poet there are as many as four instances of the type with an intervening adverb, while there is only one in Langland and none in Chaucer.

89Quoted from J. Gardner (tr.), The Complete Works of the Gawain-poet, p. 170.

90Curme, Syntax, 49.2.c.; Mustanoja, op. cit., p. 515; Jespersen, M. E. G., V, 20.4.1.

91"The Split Infinitive in Middle English," English Studies, XV, p. 17.

Of the type split by the object of the infinitive, the earliest example cited by van der Gaaf is Lagamon Brut 11018: heo cleopede him to alle his wise for to him reade. I have only found one example in the Gawain-poet's works and none in Ppl. In Chaucer's works only one instance seems to occur.

Gawain 1540 Bot to take be toruayle to myself to trwlufl expoun.

Cf. Ch. Compl. to Lady 121-3 Wel lever is me liken yow and deye Than for to anything or thynke or seye: That yow myghte offende in any tyme (q. Kenyon).

According to van der Gaaf, both types of split infinitive occur only sporadically in ME; in most texts there are no instances of it. The only early writer that is really fond of the split infinitive is Pecock. As we have mentioned above, the construction is practically non-existent both in Langland and Chaucer, although one instance is found in each of them. Kozic finds in the unrimed ME alliterative poems only three examples in Gawain and two in The Wars of Alexander, although the one instance found in Ppl seems to have escaped his notice. All these facts considered, the Gawain-poet's use of the split infinitive may be said to be remarkable, even if it is not as extensive as that of Pecock.

4.2 Non-expression of the Infinitive


94Cf. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 158.


The infinitive of verbs of motion is often unexpressed after auxiliary verbs and other verbs, the direction of the motion being indicated instead by an adverbial adjunct. With regard to this type of construction, Trnka says: "In Old and Middle English the instances of the ellipsis of the infinitive are frequent, but later on it is avoided in the literary language." In Shakespeare, however, this practice is not uncommon. In the Gawain-poet there are 13 examples of this type, of which 12 occur after auxiliary verbs:

Gawain 2132 Bot I wyl to be chapel; Ib. 1671 hit watx ne3 at be terme þat he to schulde; Pearl 347 When þou no fyrre may, to ne from; Purity 289 Al schal doun and be ded and dryuen out of erpe; Patience 346 Ny1t þou neuer to Nunie bi no-kynnes waye3?

Other examples: Gawain 1087, 2084, 2400, 2478; Purity 647, 665; Patience 86, 202.

The other example occurs after the impersonal verb behowe which takes the infinitive as its logical subject:

Gawain 1959 Burne to hor bedde behowe at he last (sc. to go).

In PPl, the non-expression of the infinitive is found even after the verb thynke (=intend), as in: XVI. 174-5 I frayned hym...whider that he thoust; XVIII. 222-3 now til helle he thynketh, To wite what al wo is. There is, however, no instance of this type in the Gawain-poet. In all the examples quoted above the infinitive of the verb of motion go or come seems to be unexpressed, being implied in the context.


98Abbott, E. A. A Shakespearian Grammar, §405.
The non-expression of the infinitive occurs not only in the case of infinitives of verbs of motion, but also with other infinitives. Since OE this practice has been very common after auxiliary verbs, particularly when a form of the verb in question occurs in the context.\textsuperscript{99}

In the Gawain-poet, examples are numerous:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Gawain} 1681 Make we mery quyl we may; \textit{Pearl} 521 Gos into my vyne, do\textunderscore{}3 bat 3e conne; \textit{Purity} 1570-1 He schal be Prymate and prynce of pure clergye, And of my prevenest lordez be prydde he schal; etc.
\end{quote}

Except for instances of this kind, the non-expression of the infinitives other than those of verbs of motion never occurs in the Gawain-poet, although it does occasionally occur in ME, as in:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Ch. T.} 3947 For simkin wolde (sc. have) no wyf, as he said; \textit{Le Morte Darthur} 138, 35 And thenne he rode vnto morgan ageyne asked yf she wold (sc. communicate) ony thyng vnto kynge Arthur.\textsuperscript{100}
\end{quote}

5. Summary

1. The most noteworthy feature of the Gawain-poet's use of the infinitive is that the use of the infinitive with \textit{to} (including \textit{for to}) is far more extensive than the bare infinitive, the ratio between the former and the latter being roughly 79:21, and is, relatively speaking, almost as frequent as in PE. Thus the decline of the bare infinitive in the Gawain-poet is striking in view of the fact that

\textsuperscript{99}Cf. Quirk and Wrenn, \textit{An Old English Grammar}, p. 86.

in OE the bare infinitive was approximately three times as frequent as the to-infinitive.

The 'prepositional' infinitive in the Gawain-poet is normally preceded by to or for to, between which there appears to be no particular functional distinction. The proportion between to and for to is roughly 7:1. In addition to these two, there does occur one peculiar example of for before the bare infinitive, for which the gerund would be used in ModE.

2. As to the ending of the infinitive, most infinitives occur with -e or without ending. The ending -en is occasional, while the ending -y is very rare, occurring only in a few verbs belonging to the second class of weak verbs in OE, and in some verbs of French origin. The ending -ne, which may be considered a survival of the OE inflected infinitive, is found a few times in monosyllables (bene, sene, done).

3. In the Gawain-poet, the infinitive shows a wide functional range. What has been discussed in this chapter can be summarized in the following manner:

(1) The use of the to-infinitive as direct subject is quite rare, while the use of the to-infinitive as the logical subject with the formal subject 'it' in the subject position is almost twice as frequent. The bare infinitive never occurs as direct subject while it is found only once with the formal subject 'it'.

In impersonal constructions both the bare infinitive and the to-infinitive occur quite frequently in the function of the logical subject. In particular, it is worth noting that the bare infinitive
is twice as common as the *to*-infinitive in this function. Several
doubtful examples of this function seem to reflect the transition from
the impersonal to the personal construction.

(2) In the function of the subjective predicative as a substantive-
equivalent (e.g. My will is *to wende*), the *to*-infinitive occurs only
twice in the Gawain-poet while there is no instance of the bare infinitive.
On the other hand the construction *be to* with an infinitive which is an
adjective-equivalent, implying obligation (e.g. He is *to blame*) or
futurity (e.g. He is *to come*) is occasionally found. The infinitive in
this function is always active in form, although it might be either
active or passive in meaning. Examples of the infinitive which is
active in form but passive in meaning are fairly often found, in place
of which the passive infinitive form would now be generally used.
Instances of the infinitive with active meaning are exceedingly rare.
A few instances of the subjective predicative infinitive occur after a
passive verb (e.g. He was seen *to go out*), in which case only the *to-
infinitive is used.

The infinitive as an objective predicative (the 'accusative with
infinitive' construction) occurs quite frequently. It is particularly
frequent after certain verbs of expressed or implied causation, such as
*let*, *pur*, *do* (=cause), *bede* and *commaund*, far less frequent after verbs
of sense perception, such as *se* and *here*. This construction is practi-
cally non-existent after verbs of mental perception and declaration,
despite some scholars' claims that it is widely used after verbs of
this kind from the 14th century. The relative frequency of the bare infinitive and the to-infinitive used as an objective predicative is nearly the same. The use of the bare infinitive is, however, almost always restricted after certain verbs, such as: let, bede, do (=cause), se, here—most of which are, even today, almost always construed with the bare infinitive. In the Gawain-poet, however, most of these verbs are also used with the to-infinitive. Considering the fact that the bare infinitive was originally the rule in this function, it should be noted that the bare infinitive is being supplanted to a considerable extent in the Gawain-poet by the to-infinitive. A further noticeable fact is that make, which is always followed by the bare infinitive in ModE, is construed solely with the to-infinitive in the Gawain-poet. Another observation is that the use of do and gar as causative verbs, while very common in the Gawain-poet, is obsolete in PE.

When the logical subject of the infinitive used as an objective predicative is indefinite or easily inferred from the context, it is often unexpressed in the Gawain-poet's works. This practice occurs after bede, here, comand, let, red, make, do (=cause) and spede (=cause). After these verbs the bare infinitive prevails. The examples of this kind from the Gawain-poet are by no means usual in ModE, except for the construction 'hear + say or tell'. This idiom, of common occurrence in ME, is still in dialectal, colloquial, and occasionally, literary use.

(3) The use of the infinitive as object is fairly common in the Gawain-poet. After auxiliary verbs the bare infinitive is the rule through all periods of English but in the Gawain-poet the to-infinitive also occurs
several times when the infinitive in question is separated from the auxiliary by intervening words. The most noteworthy points here are that the periphrastic auxiliary **con** (the Northern and North Midland phonetic variant of **gan**) is very frequent in rhyme while it is very rare in the unrhymed lines and that only the rhymed **Pearl** shows the use of **con** as a periphrastic auxiliary of the present as well as of the past tense. The second point is one of the few differences in linguistic usage to be found within the **Gawain**-group. It may also be noted that all but one of the examples of **con** are accompanied by the bare infinitive. The periphrastic **do** occurs, very rarely, for the sake of rhyme or emphasis.

After full verbs both the bare infinitive and the **to-infinitive** are used as objects, but the latter is far more common except after **dar**, **benk** (=intend, expect), **ose**, **kepe**, **trawe**, **wene**, and **had better**. Of these verbs, **dar**, **trawe**, **wene**, and **had better** never take the **to-infinitive**. The **to-infinitive** as object is introduced only once by the formal object 'it'.

(4) In the **Gawain**-poet the most common use of the infinitive is as an adverbial adjunct. In this function only the **to-infinitive** is used; there is no instance of the bare infinitive except for one doubtful example after **endure**. The infinitive denotes various adverbial relations, such as direction, purpose, consequence, condition. The infinitive of purpose is by far the most frequent, especially after verbs of motion such as **go** and **come**. In conjunction with **go** and **come** the bare infinitive of purpose is not infrequent in ME, but no such examples are found in the **Gawain**-poet. The further noteworthy thing is that there are two instances of the infinitive of purpose introduced by **as**, which are much older than
The earliest instance (c. 1590) given in OED.

The infinitive of direction is also fairly common after verbs of motion or after verbs of inclination, disinclination and the like. The infinitive denoting other adverbial relations is extremely rare. With verbs of motion or of rest, the bare infinitive of manner is not uncommon in ME but it never occurs in the Gawain-poet, its place being taken by the present participle. In the Gawain-poet the infinitive is sometimes used where in ModE we would expect the present participle or the gerund. In this regard the infinitive may be said to show a wider functional range in the Gawain-poet than in PE. The absolute use of the infinitive is occasionally found in set phrases. On the other hand, there is no clear example of the so-called 'nominative with infinitive' construction although there are a few similar examples of the infinitive with a substantive or one of the pronouns which do not distinguish cases.

(5) The to-infinitive as an adjunct to an adjective (or very rarely an adverb) occurs pretty frequently in the Gawain-poet, expressing purpose, direction, cause, etc. The bare infinitive depending on an adjective is exceedingly rare, occurring only after loth, wont, hardy, little, and 'so + adjective or adverb + as'. The instance where an adjective is followed by an infinitive, active in form but passive in meaning, are not infrequent, but the periphrastic passive infinitive with be occurs only once after loth. In ModE the idea of consequence is frequently expressed by 'so + adjective or adverb + as + infinitive'. In the Gawain-poet the types with and without as are both in use, but the type with as is always followed by the bare infinitive while the type without as is always followed by the to-infinitive. The examples of the former are much older than the earliest example (c. 1445) in OED.
(6) The infinitive is very common as an attributive adjunct to a substantive. In this function all infinitives are preceded by to except for the single special case expressed by 'such + substantive + as + bare infinitive'. The periphrastic passive infinitive with be after substantives is very rare, occurring only twice. Occasionally a verbal phrase consisting of 'a verb + a preposition' or 'a verb + its object and a preposition' governs a preceding substantive as its logical subject. In all the examples of this type except for one found in the Gawain-poet, the prepositions (on and with) are placed before the infinitive, as in: Patience 199 on to calle. Examples of this word-order are often found elsewhere with the other functions of the infinitive. Hence the Gawain-poet appears to favour placing on and with before the infinitive.

(7) There are a few instances in the Gawain-poet of the infinitive with, or without to being used in place of the finite verb. One of them occurs in an exclamatory sentence, while the others seem to be coordinated with another clause. This practice is, however, by no means common in the Gawain-poet.

4. (1) The infinitive is separated from the particle to by an adverb in four instances and by the object of the infinitive in one. The Gawain-poet's use of this split infinitive is quite remarkable in view of the fact that it is practically non-existent in most ME writers besides Pecock.

(2) The infinitive of verbs of motion is occasionally left unexpressed after auxiliary verbs, the direction of motion being indicated by an adverbial adjunct. This non-expression of the infinitive occurs
not only in the case of infinitives of verbs of motion, but also with other infinitives. This practice is only very common after auxiliary verbs, when a form of the verb in question occurs in the context. Otherwise, it never occurs in the Gawain-poet, though it does occur very rarely in other ME writers.

To sum up, in the Gawain-poet the to-infinitive is firmly established in many constructions in which the bare infinitive was generally used in OE. This is most notable in the use of the infinitive as: (1) objective predicative (the "accusative with infinitive"), (2) direct object, (3) adverbial adjunct of purpose after verbs of motion such as go and come, and (4) adverbial adjunct of manner after verbs of motion or rest. Nevertheless, the bare infinitive is still retained quite conspicuously after: (1) a number of impersonal constructions, (2) some verbs of causation (let, gar, do, bede, beseche, etc.) and verbs of perception (see and hear), (3) some other verbs (dar, ben, o3e, etc.); (4) so...as and such...as; (5) a few adjectives (hardy, lobe, wont), and, obviously, (6) auxiliary verbs. On the other hand, a fair number of verbs (do (=cause), bede, benk, o3e, kepe, etc.) show fluctuation regarding their choice of infinitive form.
CONCLUSION

I have attempted to describe the Gawain-poet's usage of the non-finite forms of the verb (i.e. the participle, the gerund, and the infinitive), referring as often as possible to facts about earlier, contemporary, and later usage. It would, however, be impossible to clarify fully what kind of expression is characteristic of his language or to decide with assurance whether his syntax was far in advance of, or agreed with, the usual practice of the latter half of the 14th century. In order to know the position of his usage in the syntactic development, we must make a careful investigation into nearly all the works of the ME period, which was beyond my power to attempt in the present thesis.

With due reservation, however, the following points may be said either to be characteristic of the Gawain-poet's language, or to be different from the language of his contemporaries: (1) The present participle is used particularly frequently in the attributive function; (2) The absolute participle is comparatively frequent; (3) The absolute participle is occasionally introduced by various prepositions, such as without, or (=before), by; (4) The gerund followed by a simple object—the regular construction in ModE—is already found rather frequently (mostly in Purity), whereas the use of adverbial adjuncts with the gerund—the regular construction in ModE—is very rare; (5) The bare infinitive is quite frequent as the logical subject of impersonal expressions while it never occurs as adverbial adjunct of purpose after verbs of motion such as go and come, and as adverbial adjunct of manner after verbs of motion or rest; (6) The periphrastic auxiliary con (=did, or very rarely, do) is very frequent with the
infinitive following in rhyme while it is very rare in unrhymed lines. Only the rhymed Pearl shows the use of con as a periphrastic auxiliary of the present as well as of the past tense; (7) The periphrastic do occurs only very rarely and only for the sake of rhyme or emphasis; (8) The so-called split infinitive occurs several times.

With the exception of these points, the Gawain-poet's use of the non-finite forms seems to conform in general to late ME usage.

As compared with the syntax of his contemporaries, however, some of the above particulars about the Gawain-poet's syntax might be said to be rather modern. Since this study is limited to the non-finite forms of the verb, however, more definite conclusions concerning the Gawain-poet's language must be reserved for some future time, until the examination of all aspects of his language has been assembled.
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