A STUDY OF

THE NON-FINITE FORMS OF THE VERB

IN THE GAWAIN-POET

by

Matsuji Tajima

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EXAMINING COMMITTEE APPROVAL

Joseph E. Gallagher
Senior Supervisor

Rudolph E. Habenicht
Examining Committee

Mrs. Philippa Polson
Examining Committee

Tai Whan Kim
Assistant Professor
Department of Modern Languages
Simon Fraser University
External Examiner

Name: Matsuji Tajima

Degree: Master of Arts

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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, Poutsma, 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; -yng 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, er (=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, þenke, oȝe, etc.), so...as and such...as, and a few adjectives (hardy, loþe, wont). On the other hand, a fair number of verbs (do (=cause), bede, þenke, oȝe, 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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INTRODUCTION

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

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[1] T. A. Knott, "Aspects of Linguistic Research," Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature, p. 415.

[2] Gordon (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."[3] 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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[3]"Pronominal This: A Quantitative Analysis," Applied English Linguistics, ed. H. B. Allen, New York (Appleton-Century-Crofts), 1958, p. 275.

old-fashioned to transformationalists or structuralists. While being fully aware of the weaknesses of this approach, however, I feel inclined to repeat G. Scheurweghs' 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."[4] 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:

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, ed., J. R. Tolkien and
    E. V. Gordon; 2nd ed., ed. N. Davis, Oxford (Clarendon
    Press), 1968.

Pearl, ed. E. V. Gordon, Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1963.

Purity, ed. R. J. Menner, New Haven (Yale University Press), 1920.

Patience, ed. J. J. Anderson, Manchester (Manchester University
    Press), 1969.

The following abbreviations are used throughout this thesis:

Gawain	Sir Gawain and the Green Knight
PP1	Piers Plowman (B-text)
Ch.TC	Chaucer: Troilus and Criseyde
OE	Old English (c.450-1100)
ME	Middle English (c.1100-1500)
ModE	Modern English (c.1500-)
PE	Present-Day English (current English)
OED	The Oxford English Dictionary
MED	Middle English Dictionary

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[4]Present-Day English Syntax, pp. vi-vii.

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.

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[1]Cf. G. Scheurweghs, 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 -yng 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 -yng, 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 -yng. On the other hand, in PP1 written in the West Midland dialect in the second half of the 14th century, the ending -yng(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: -yng(e) (103 exs.), -ing(e) (2), -enge (1), -ende (3), -ande (2), -ant (1). In Chaucer the present participle ends in -ynge(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,[4] 2069 brayde[4]), 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,

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[4]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[4], in which case
i- is required metrically.[5] Examples of this prefix are, however, not
infrequent in PPl (e. g. VI. 184 ybroken; VIV 1 yrobed; 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.

[6]Op. cit., p. 447: Cf. Mossé, Handbook of Middle English, p. 80.

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

   (a) predicative nominative

   (b) predicate accusative

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

   (a) attributive, when the connection between the participle and its
       principal is so close that the two constitute one indivisible
       idea

   (b) 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 co-
       ordinate, 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 towrast; (2) Objective Predicative—Pearl 385 In blysse I se þe blyþely 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 ȝet haldande 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 particple is infrequently used substantivally. I have found only six such examples in the Gawain-poet, all of which are past participles:

> Pearl 368 my dere endorde (=adored one); Purity 114 Ay þe best byfore
> and bryȝtest atyred; Ib. 1628 Þou unhyles uch hidde; Ib. 1094-5 ȝet
> comen lodly to þat Lede, as lazares monye, Summe lepre, summe lome
> and lomerande blynde, Poysened (=poisoned), and perlatyk, and
> pyned in fyres (=those pained with fevers); Patience 163 þo wery for-

<u>wroʒt</u> wyst no bote (=those men, worn out from overwork saw no remedy).[7]

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 <u>PP1</u>, the phrase 'past participle +

object' as a whole expresses one concept and functions substantivally:

> VIII. 101-3 Blynde and bedered and <u>broken here membres</u>
> ---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 (<u>be</u> + present participle), the perfect tenses (<u>have</u> + past

participle, or <u>be</u> + past participle of certain intransitive verbs of motion,

such as <u>go</u> and <u>come</u>) and the passive voice (<u>be</u> + 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"[8] or as implying

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[7]The construction '<u>wery</u> + <u>for-</u> + past participle' is an idiomatic
expression in ME. According to Mustanoja (<u>op. cit.</u>, 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.

[8]Zandvoort, <u>A Handbook of English Grammar</u>, p. 37.

"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 folȝande, in forme þat he hade; Purity 1015-7 a sea... is drovy and dym, and ded in hit kynde, Blo, bluberande and blak, unblyþe to neȝe.

In the first instance, 'folȝande' 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 þat pared out of papure purely hit semed; Ib. 1662-3 how-so-euer þe dede turned towrast; Purity 1687 mony þik thyȝe (= grew) þryȝt 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 PP1 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:

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[9]Scheurweghs, op. cit., p. 319.

Pearl 836-7 Þe apostel John hym saȝ as bare, _Lesande_ þe boke with leueȝ sware.

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,[10] 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 _warpe_). 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_; _Ib._ 648-9 At þis cause þe knyȝt comlyche hade Inþe 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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[10]_Op._ _cit._, pp. 552-3.

additional interest is the fact that the present participle is most

frequently used as an attributive. By contrast, in PP1, 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,[11] 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 spat 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 þe glemande
> glory; Purity 382 Þe ro₃ raynande ryg, þe raykande wowez; Patience
> 445 þe dawande day; etc.

> Past Participle: Gawain 2412 myn honoured ladyez; Pearl 77 As bornyst
> sylver; Purity 330 þy wedded wyf; Patience 246 þat schended shyp; etc.

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

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[11]"The Participle in Wycliffe with Special Reference to His Original
English Works," University of Texas Bulletin: Studies in English, IX (1929),
pp. 23-4.

[12]Quoted by A. S. Irvine, op. cit., p. 24.

to the transitive verbs as shown above. But the past participles of some

intransitive verbs, classed as the so-called mutative verbs[13] 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_ tyme; _Ib_. 305 his _bresed_ broȝez; _Ib_. 1740
> Hir _þryuen_ face (also _Purity_ 298); _Purity_ 367 Mony _clustered_
> clowde (also in 951); _Ib_. 115 his fader _forloyne_[14] (=his erring
> father) ...feched hem wyth strenþe; _Patience_ 196 _doted_ wrech.

The one example which deserves to be mentioned is:

> _Pearl_ 461-2 Ryȝt so is vch a krysten sawle A _longande_ lym to þe
> 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 þat _longed_ to luþer 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:

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[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).

Gawain 1207 Wyth lyppez smal la3ande (rhyme: 1203 hande, 1205 blande);
Pearl 865 Lest les þou leue my tale farande (rhyme: 867 stande, 869
þowstande, 871 fande); Ib. 1136 þur3 hynde torente (rhyme: 1130
went, 1132 spent, 1134 gent).

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 Forþy 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 þys giserne
ryche; etc.

Gawain 800 So mony pynakle payntet watz poudred ayquere; Purity
1758 Segges slepande were slayne; Ib. 554 As þe 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,[15] 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;

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[15]Op. cit., pp. 268-9.

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, depend-
ing upon the reader's interpretation of the context. As a matter of fact,
most examples of the appositive participle admit of more than one inter-
pretation, 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[16]
himself seems to think that this co-ordinate use is adverbial. Such being
the case, the appositive participle can be largely divided into the follow-
ing 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 þat watz a palayce of pryde passande alle oþer;
Gawain 2320 Neuer syn þat 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

_____

[16] Op. cit., pp. 144-9.

186 <u>Sloberande</u> he routes; <u>Pearl</u> 1193-4 As helde, <u>drawn</u> to Goddeȝ present,
To mo of his mysterys I had ben dryuen).

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".[17] In the <u>Gawain</u>-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 <u>PPl</u>. 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 <u>Gawain</u>-poet and
Langland seem to agree with Koziol's statement that the appositive past
participle is quite common in ME alliterative poetry.[18]

3.4 (1) The Adjectival Use

In the <u>Gawain</u>-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 <u>PPl</u> 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.[19]

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[17]<u>Op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 555.

[18]<u>Grundzüge der Syntax der Mittelenglischen Stabreimdichtungen</u>, pp. 110-11.

[19]Cf. A. S. Irvine, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 26-7.

Callaway[20] 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
> Þenne in worlde watz a wy3e wonyande on lyue; Ib. 1535 Non oþer
> forme bot a fust faylande þe wryste, Pared on þe parget, purtrayed
> 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 þou knowez
> þe couenauntez 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 þe sydez; Ib. 1405-7
> Burnes...served þerwyth, Lyfte logges þerover 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 þe 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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[20] Op. cit., p. 298.

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 PP1 (the present

participle, 51; the past particile, 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 Þe alder he haylses, heldande ful lowe; Purity 445 Hit
> saȝtled on a softe day sykande to grounde; Patience 169 Þenne
> bispeke þe spakest, dispayred wel nere; Gawain 1151 Der drof in
> þe dale, doted 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".[21] 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 Þe lady luflich com laȝande swete; Ib. 2266
> As hit com glydande adoun; Patience 457-8 þe gome...Lys loltrande
> þer-inne. Cf. PP1 VIII. 62 I went wide-where walkyng myn one.

> Examples of the past participle (2 exs.): Gawain 1195 Þe lede lay
> lurked a ful longe quyle; Ib. 2334-5 þat doȝty...stondez Armed, ful
> aȝlez.

Of the 113 adverbial appositive participles which refer to the

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[21]Mustanoja, 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
> ȝarrande hym ȝelde; _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 sleped in his yrmes; _Pearl_ 228-9 Pyȝt in perle, þat precios
> pyce On wyþer half water com doun 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 co-
ordinated with the main sentence by the conjunction _and_. Three examples
are found in _Gawain_-poet:

> _Pearl_ 484-6 þou cowþeȝ neuer God nauþer plese ne pray,...And quen
> mad on þe fyrst day! (=made queen on the first day)[22]; _Purity_ 929-31
> fyne þou never,...And ay goande on yor gate; _Gawain_ 2180-1 Hit hade
> a hole on þe end and on ayþer syde, And overgrown with greese in
> glodes aywhere.

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 heȝ 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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[22]H. 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".[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 PP1.[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, though seeming short (Shakespeare, Venus and Adonis 842).   In the Gawain-poet's works, however, is found no istance of type 'Conjunction + Participle'. This type of construction seems to make its first appearance in the 16th century.[25]

3.5   Absolute Participle

The absolute participle has been one of the much-debated problems of English syntax.   Today it is generally agreed[26] that the absolute participle, not very frequent in OE, sppears as the dative absolute in

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[23]On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden, p. 89.

[24]See Prol. 205-6 (2 exs.); IV. 129-30 (2 exs.), 145; XI. 297-8; XVIII. 297-8; XIX. 152-4 (2 exs.).

[25]O. P. Rhyne, "Conjunction + Particile Group in English," 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.

[26]   See M. Callaway, Jr.   The Absolute Participle in Anglo-Saxon, p. 30; Quirk & Wrenn, Old English Grammar, p. 66; H. Sweet, Anglo-Saxon Primer, §87; Mustanoja, op. cit., p. 559; etc.

imitation of the Latin ablative absolute, as in: gefultumigendum Gode

(L dẽ favente), him sprecendum hi comon (L eo loquente veniunt). Accord-

ing to C. H. Ross in his important article "The Absolute Participle in

Middle and Modern English",[27] 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".[28] 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.[29] According to A. S. Irvine,[30]

in Wycliffe's original English writings (1,940 pages) there are about 15

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[27]In PMLA, VIII (1893), pp. 260-1.

[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 hatȝ hette
> in þis halle, herande þise knyȝtes[31]; Patience 251 Þe folk ȝet
> haldande his fete, þe fysh hym tyd hentes.
>
> Other examples: Gawain 866-8; Purity 1405.
>
> Examples with the past participle: Pearl 433-4 'Cortayse Quen',
> þenne sayde þat gaye, knelande to grounde, folde vp hyr face[31];
> Gawain 72-5 When þay had waschen worþyly þay wenten to sete, Þe
> best burne au abof, as hit best semed, When (=Queen) Guenore, ful
> gay, graybed in þe myddes, Dressed on þe dere des, 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[32]: 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 þerinne.

[33]C. H. Ross, op. cit., p. 262. I have found three examples thus
used in PPl (XII. 288-9; XIV. 231-2; XIX. 163).

Purity 1402-4 Sturmen trumpen strake steven in halle, Aywhere by þe
wowes wrasten krakkes, And brode baneres þerbi blusnande 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 folde by fonden on lyve, Outtaken
yow aȝt in þis ark staued; Ib. 1512-3 And of my reme þe rychest to
ryde wyth myselven, 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 sūa 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 PP1, 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 shewynge; 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 PP1 (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 PP1.

The absolute participle is often introduced by the preposition

with. This introductory preposition is "the sign of subordination to the

principal verb".[34] 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".[35] I have found 11 examples (with 14 participles)

in the Gawain-poet. All of them are found with the past participle.

> Purity 987 Wyth ly3t-lovez vplyfte þay loved hym swyþe; Patience
> 197-202 Al blysnande whyt wat3 hir beau biys,...With lappe3 large,
> ...Dubbed with double perle and dy3te.

> 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 þis sted without stryf hent; Ib. 2277 And þou, er any
> harme hent, ar3ez in hert; Purity 1131 And he may polyce hym at þe
> 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

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[34]Curme, Syntax 20. 3.

[35]Op. cit., pp. 116-7. Incidentally this introductory preposition is
also found with non-participial phrase, as in Pearl 183 Wyth y3en 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".[36] 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]

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[36]_Op. cit._, p. 93.

[37]Y. M. Biese, _Notes on the Compound Participle in the Works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries_, pp. 16-7.

[38]_Op. cit._, p. 549.

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 PP1 (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 -yng 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 substantival 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 thy₃e (=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 parti-
ciple 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 PP1.

(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 <u>with</u>, <u>without</u>, <u>er</u> (=before), and <u>by</u> are not infrequently found in the <u>Gawain</u>-poet. This type of absolute participle is not common in ModE except when used after <u>with</u>.

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 <u>Gawain</u>-poet and his contemporaries.

CHAPTER II GERUND

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. -_ing_[1]), 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 becomes

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 ex-
presses 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,[1] 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 gérondif seems to play a significant part in the develop-
> ment of the English gerund.... One significant contributory factor
> is obviously the analogy of the English present participle, and

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[1]To 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
(-ing) 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. -ing'; 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 com-

plicated 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 PP1. 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

ur ler 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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[2]Mustanoja, Middle English Syntax, p. 572.

[3]Ibid., p. 569; Curme, G. O. "History of the English Gerund,"
Englische Studien, XLV (1912), p. 353.

scarcely 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.), -ynge (pl. -ynges) (5 exs.), -ing (pl. -inges) (11 exs.) and -ande (1 ex.). In PP1, on the other hand, the gerund appears as: -ynge (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,[4] 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 PP1:

Purity 751 What if þretty þryvande[5] be þrad in ȝon taunez;

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[4]See 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 Twelth Century (4 exs.), The Life of Saint Katherine (2 exs.), Saint Marherete (1 ex.), Ancrene Riwle (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.).

[5]This example may be construed as the substantival use of the present participle (cf. H. Koziol, Grundzüge der Syntax der Mittelenglischen Stabreimdichtungen, p. 111). Cf. PP1 X. 431. There aren witty and wel-libbynge ac her werkes ben yhudde.

PP1 VIII. 80-2 Who-so...is trusty of his _tailende_[6] taketh but his owne.

Incidentally I have noted one example of the old -_ung_ form in _The Towneley Plays_: XXIII. 103 ffor _fallvng_ 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 Habel, by heuen, _þyn askyng_ is nys; _Pearl_ 1180 _A longeyng hev_ me strok in swone; _Purity_ 408 _no sprawlvng awayled; Purity_ 578-9 Bot non nuyez hym...As harlottryc unhost, _heþyng of selven_.[7]

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[6]Skeat (_Glossary_) comments that it is "a false form for _tailynge_, by confusion of the sb. ending -_ynge_ with the pres. pt. suffix -_ende_."

[7]Properly, an _ing_-group is compared with the subject by means of _as_.

Other examples: Gawain 191, 349, 1017; Pearl 452, 754[8], 1049; Purity 751, 1101-2 (2 exs.), 1362; Patience 53.

(b) Gawain 853 Þat broȝt hym to a bryȝt bourne, þer beddyng watz noble; Pearl 262 Þer mys nec mornyng com neuer nere; Ib. 897 For neuer lesyng...Ne towched 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,[9] the construction there wꞏꞏ . . -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 lenþe þe lude to beholde; Purity 1513 Þer watȝ rynging, on ryȝt, of rych metalles; Patience 237 Þer watz louyng on lofte, when þay þe 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.[10]

3.1(2) As a Predicative:

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

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

[9]Op. cit., p. 576.

[10]Jespersen (M.E.G. V, 8.3.4) has its earliest instance from Ancrene Riwle (c. 1230-50): AR 28 þet ter nis non wiþ sigginge (=there is no refusing): Wycliffe, Mat. 22.23 there is no rysyng aȝein.

hobby is _gardening_, but such a construction is extremely rare, occurring

only twice in the _Gawain_-poet.

> _Purity_ 489-50 Þat was þe syne of savyte þat sende hem oure Lorde,
> And þe _saȝtlyng_ of hymself wyth þo sely bestez; _Patience_; 115 Hit watz
> a _wenyng_ vnwar þat welt in his mynde. Cf. _PP1_ 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 myȝt; _Pearl_ 244 Much _longeyng_ haf I for þe
> layned; _Ib_. 932 I se no _bygyng_ nawhere aboute; _Purity_ 1504 He wayned
> hem a _warnyng_; _Patience_ 418-9 Wel knew I...þy longe _abydyng_ wyth lur.

> Other examples: _Gawain_ 1160, 1800, 2253, 2360-1; _Pearl_ 558, 935;
> _Purity_ 378, 688, 921, 1625.

> Without adjuncts:

> _Gawain_ 492 he ȝerned ȝelpyng to here; _Pearl_ 859 We þurȝoutly hauen
> cnawyng; _Purity_ 1794-6 Dere Daryous..._saȝtlyng_ makes Wyth all þe
> barounz þeraboute; _Ib_. 764 Wylt þou..._menddyng_ abyde; _Ib_. 1150 Sone
> so þe kyng for his care _carping_ myȝt wynne.

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[11]Quoted by Soderlind in _Verb Syntax in John Dryden's Prose_, Part
II, §551.

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. Cf. Give truth-telling a chance (q. Jespersen).

The now common phrase cannot help -ing 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.

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[12] Op. cit., §553.

[13] "History of the English Gerund," Englische Studien, XLV (1912), p. 378.

[14] Cf. Curme, Ibid., p. 380.

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

<u>at</u> (1 ex.): <u>Gawain</u> 1798 Now, dere, <u>at þis departyng</u> do me þis ese.

<u>by</u> (1 ex.): <u>Patience</u> 213 He ossed hym <u>by vȝaynges</u>.

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

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

<u>Gawain</u> 1333-4 Þen brek þay þe bale,...Lystily <u>for laucyng</u> þe lere of þe knot; <u>Purity</u> 739-40 I schal...wythhalde my honde <u>for hortyng</u> on lede.

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

<u>of</u> (12 exs.): <u>Purity</u> 971 Such a ȝomerly ȝarm <u>of ȝellyng</u> þer rysed;
<u>Gawain</u> 917, 927, 1489, 1514; <u>Pearl</u> 247, 450; <u>Purity</u> 46,
887, 1060, 1611, 1803.

<u>on</u> (2 exs.): <u>Gawain</u> 1102 <u>On huntyng</u> wyl I wende; <u>Ib</u>. 1143 þay chastysed
and charred <u>on chasyng</u> þat went.

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

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[15]<u>Op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 577-8.

The weakened forms <u>a</u> and <u>an</u> never occur in the <u>Gawain</u>-poet, whereas in

<u>PP1</u> <u>a</u> and <u>an</u> each occur only once:

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

<u>to</u> (4 exs.):   <u>Pearl</u> 1154 My mane3 mynde <u>to maddyng</u> malte; <u>Gawain</u> 1433
<u>to þe fyndyng</u>; <u>Pearl</u> 791 <u>to þe weddyng</u>; <u>Purity</u> 811 <u>to his</u>
<u>byggyng</u>.

> Those <u>ing</u>-forms are substantival enough to be found after <u>to</u>.

<u>þur3</u> (1 ex.): <u>þur3 þe eggyng</u> of Eve he ete of an apple.

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

<u>Gawain</u>-poet there are six examples of this use, five of which occur in

apposition to the subject.

> <u>Gawain</u> 471-2 Wel bycomes such craft vpon Cristmasse, <u>Laykyng of</u>
> <u>enterludes</u>, to la3e and to syng; <u>Ib</u>. 2378 Lo! þer þe <u>falssyng</u>,
> foule mot hit falle!; <u>Purity</u> 158-60 Depe in my doungoun þer doel
> ever dwellez, <u>Greving</u> and <u>gretyng</u> and <u>gryppyng</u> harde of teþe tenfully
> togeder.

The remaining example occurs in apposition to the object of a

preposition:

> <u>Gawain</u> 44-7 For þer þe fest watz ilyche ful fiften dayes, With
> all þe mete and þe mirthe þat men couþe avyse; Such glaum and gle
> glorious to here, Dere dyn vpon day, <u>daunsyng</u> on ny3tes.

3.1(6) As an Attributive:

The gerund as an attributive to substantives is met with only

twice in the <u>Gawain</u>-poet:

<u>Gawain</u> 267 For had I founded in fere in <u>fe3tyng</u> wise;[16]
<u>Pearl</u> 59 I slode vpon a <u>slepyng-sla3te.</u>

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 <u>Gawain</u>-poet.

> <u>Gawain</u> 1982 With ful colde <u>sykyngez</u>; <u>Pearl</u> 935 If þou hatz oþer
> <u>bygyne3</u> stoute; <u>Patience</u> 213 He osses hym by <u>vnnynges</u>;[17] <u>Purity</u>
> 1611 Danyel of derne <u>coninges</u>; <u>Ib.</u> 1803 And 3et of <u>lykynges</u> 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.

<u>PPl</u> II. 89 As in werkes and in wordes and <u>waitynges with eies.</u>

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 <u>sake.</u>"[18]

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[16]<u>OED</u> quotes this example as a special combination meaning 'battle
array'.

[17]The only example recorded in <u>OED</u> (<unne=to relate, tell).

[18]Jespersen, <u>M.E.G.</u>, V, 8.3.2.

As a matter of fact, not a single instance of this construction is found

in the <u>Gawain</u>-poet. In the C-text of <u>PPl</u>, however, we come across the

following example: XXI. 360 A lyttel ich ouer-lep for <u>lesynges</u> sake.

This may be a case in point, though Skeat regards the word <u>lesynges</u> as

plural in his <u>Glossary to PPl</u>.

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

  With the indefinite article (2 exs.):

Purity 921 Nou wale þe <u>a wonnyng</u>; Ib. He wayned hem <u>a warnyng</u>.

  With the definite article (11 exs.):

Gawain 1134 Arayed for <u>þe rydyng</u>; <u>Patience</u> 53 What grayþed me þe
<u>grychchyng</u> bot grame more seche; <u>Purity</u> 172 And Lyued wyth þe
lykyng.

Other instances: <u>Gawain</u> 1433, 2361, 2378; <u>Pearl</u> 791; <u>Purity</u> 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 <u>Gawain</u>-poet, as will be shown below.

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

Gawain 1404 in <u>her burdyng</u>; <u>Purity</u> 887 Þay lest of <u>Lotez logging</u>;
Pearl 450 Bot vcho fayn of <u>oþere3 hafyng</u>.

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

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

Gawain 2360-61 Now know I...þe <u>wowyng of my wyf</u>; <u>Purity</u> 1513 Þer
watz <u>ryngyng</u>, on ry3t, <u>of rych metalles</u>.

Other examples: <u>Gawain</u> 1160, 1514, 1954, 2460; <u>Purity</u> 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 trawþe_; Patience 30 If we þyse ladyes wolde lof in _lyknyng of þewes_.

> 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 _þis departyng_ do me þis ese.

> such an (1): Gawain 349 er _such an askyng_ is heuened so hyȝe in your sale.

> no (or ne) (5): Pearl 932 I se _no bygyng_ nawhere aboute; Gawain 2367 for no wylyde werke, _no wowyng_ nauþer; Gawain 2253; Pearl 262; Purity 408.

> wich (1): Purity 1060 Of _wich beryng_ þat 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 _smoþe smylyng_ and _smolt_; Patience 400 in his _mylde amesyng_ he mercy may fynde; Pearl 80 Wyth _schymeryng schene_; Patience 115 Hit watȝ a _wenyng vnwr_.

> 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 _feȝtyng wyse_; Pearl 59 vpon a _slepyng-slaȝte_. 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-la3yng a lyt he layd hym bysyde; Gawain 926-7
I hope þat may hym here Schal lerne of luf-talkyng; Pearl 1152 For
luf-longyng; Ib. 754 Ɖyn angel-hauyng (=angelic demeanour). (Cf.
PPl XI. 144 wythouten and bede-byddynge; XII. 282 in blode-shedyng;
XIII. 451 in his deth-deyinge; etc.)

OED has no record of the above compounds except 'luf-longyng', whose

earliest record is from a1300: Cursor Mundi 24629 Ɖar laii 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-partynge; XIV. 141 in 3owre here-beyng;
XIV. 165 after her hennes-goynge.

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), PP1 (=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 (þæs mynstres clænsunge; - 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 mendyng); B = determiner + gerund + of-adjunct (e.g. PP1 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 Þese men shuld for no þyng Come yn
> Wymmens 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 traillyng 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 persawyng Off the tresoun; Ch. TC V. 1833 And thus began his
> lovyng of Criseyde; Mandev. 209. 27-8 withouten ony more rehercyng
> 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

_____

[19]Cf. Purity 241 þur3 þe 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).

[20]Abbott, _A Shakespearian Grammar_, §93.

by an adjunct. Although it is generally considered that this type makes

its first appearance about the time of Chaucer,[21] it is doubtless far

older. I have examples from c.1300 on: <u>Cursor</u> 483 with-outen <u>coueryng</u>

<u>of his care</u>; <u>Handl. Synne</u> 7716 yn <u>handlyng of sum vyce</u>. As a matter of

fact, this is the regular construction in ME and early ModE although it

is nowadays considerably rarer.[22]

In the <u>Gawain</u>-poet as well, this type is most frequent, occurring

12 times.

> <u>Gawain</u> 1601 There watz <u>blawyng of prys</u> in mony breme horne (Cf.
> 1362 Baldely thai <u>blw prys</u>); <u>Purity</u> 1565 <u>In expounyng of speche</u>;
> <u>Patience</u> 30 in <u>lyknyng of þewes</u>.

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

The following quotation is quite interesting in that the gerund

with an <u>of</u>-adjunct shows its mixed (i.e. verbal and substantival)

character by taking an adverbial adjunct:

> <u>Purity</u> 159-60 Greving and gretyng and <u>gryspyng harde</u>
> <u>Of teþe tenfully togeder</u>.

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 <u>of</u>-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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[21]Cf. Jespersen, <u>M.E.G.</u>, V, 8.4.6.

[22]Jespersen: <u>Growth and Structure of the English Language</u>, § 208;
Poutsma, <u>The Infinitive, the Gerund, and the Participles of the English
Verb</u>, § 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,[23] 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[24] 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 þat may hym here Schal lerne of luf-talkyng. 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 handlyng; PP1 VII. 87 vsage...of seyntes lyues redyng; Ib. XV. 76 in-to heigh clergye shewynge; Towneley XXIX. 363 my son myssyng makes me to mowrne; Ib. XXXI. 160 in mes syngyng.

> Other examples from PP1: IV.117, XI.171, XII.282, XIX.72, XIX. 373, XIX.374.

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[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, Mossé[29] believes that the
construction makes its first appearance at the end of the 12th century.
Curme[30] remarks that it is much older and very common in early ME, and
quotes his earliest example from Luke 7:45, Lindsfarne MS., about A.D.
950. But the few OE examples are, Mustanoja[31] 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 Mandev. 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 þe body wyth moche fastyng; Ib. 10989-90
> 'Eleccyoun' ys 'weyl chesyng A gode man to kepe holy þyng; PPl XIV.
> 186-7 crauyng thi mercy Shulde amende vs; Ib. XIX. 450 Bot if thei

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[25]Op. cit., p. 92. [26]Op. cit., p. 41. [27]M.E.G., V, 9.3.1. [28]Op.
cit., §417.

[29]Histoire de la forme périphrastic 'être + participe présent' en
germanique, II. p. 104.

[30]"History of the English Gerund," Englische Studien, XLV, pp.
352-3.

[31]Op. cit., p. 568.

sei3e as by sy3te somewhat to wynnynge (=to win something); Mandev. 12.23 in schauyng oure berdes; Ib. 110. 35-6 he fayle 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 Þen brek þay þe bale, Lystily for laucyng [þe lþere of þe knot; Purity 3 in forþ þjering his speche; Ib. 544 In devoydynge þe vylanye; Ib. 740 for hortyng on lede; Ib. 1448 in lovyng hymselven; Ib. 1542 wyth plattyng 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 shewynge Howe the ordre of causes stant. Incidentally I have one example from Chaucer of the gerund followed by a

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[32]The same sort of construction is found in: PPl XV. 467 In menynge after mete; Mandev. 156.28 in huntyng for the hente; Gower CA I. 1784-5 he wolde hise yhen hyde fro lokyng on that foule whyt. Other examples: Handl. Synne 3132, 7578, 8286; PPl. Prol. 203.

bare infinitive: Ch. TC V. 837 In durryng 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 PP1 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,[33] 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 voundir; PP1 V. 385 This shewyng
> shrifte...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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[33]An 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 wythholdyng you_ fro it can do yow 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: "Ol 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."[34]   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.[35] 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."[36]

4.3 Gerund + Adverbial Adjunct

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

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[34]"History of the English Gerund," _Englische Studien_, XLV, p. 374.

[35]_M.E.G._ V, 9.3.10.

[36]_Loc. cit._

modified by adverbial adjuncts. According to Curme,[37] the use of adverbial

adjuncts with the gerund appears first in the ninth century and gradually

becomes common. Mustanoja[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.), OED (s. v. -ing'), Trnka,[39] and Poutsma[40]

think that this use begins in the 14th century, their earliest example

being c. 1340 from Ayenbite 263 ate 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 Handlyng Synne

(c. 1303):

> 1482 By þe drawyng vp of his honde; 126 With oft redyng, mayst
> þou lere. Other examples: 127, 10989-90.

In the Gawain-poet only two instances occur, both of them in Purity;

> Purity 159-60 Grevyng and gretyng and gryspyng harde
>   Of teþe tenfully togeder, to teche hym by quoynt;
> Purity 1031 He most ay lyue in þat loȝe in losyng evermore.

Examples of the gerund with a pure adverb are not frequent in the other

14th-century texts except for Mandeville, being largely limited to four

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[37]Op. cit., p. 351.

[38]Op. cit., p. 575.

[39]Op. cit., p. 92.

[40]Op. cit., p. 163.

examples in Handl. Synne, two in Bruce, four in PP1, 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... þy longe abydyng wyth lur.

Examples of this kind are found fairly often in Mandeville

(20 exs.), PP1 (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 PP1 and this one has the verbal force marked by the

addition of an adverbial phrase.

> PP1 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 hortyng
       on lede.

(2) present time: Purity 1542 And he wyth plattyng his paumes displayes
       his lers.

(3) past time: Patience 241 Bot þur3 þe eggyng of Eve he ete of an
                 apple.

(4) no time: Gawain 1489 3et I kende yow of kyssyng. Cf. PP1 V. 238
               I wende ryflynge were restitucioun.

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 þer beddyng watz noble;
> Purity 921 Nou wale þe a wonnyng þat þe warisch my3t; Patience 115
> Hit watz a wenyng 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 Mustanoja[43] 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

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[41]Op. cit., p. 93.

[42]Op. cit., p. 362.

[43]Op. cit., p. 573.

[44]The Grammar of Faerie Queene, pp. 143-4.

the intuse deepe, She with her scarfe did bind the wound). OED quotes

an example from Sidney: Arcadia I. (1725) 68 want of consideration in

not having demanded thus much. In any case, examples of the perfect

gerund are not found in the works of the Gawain-poet and his contem-

poraries.

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 kyssyng 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 þat lo₃e in losing[45] evermore; Ib. 1123 ho...wax ever in
> þe 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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[45]The earliest example of this use in OED is c. 950 from Lindsf.
Gosp. Matt. vii. 13 We₃ ðiu lædas to losing.

[46]Op. cit., p. 573.

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 Haþel, by heuen, þyn askyng is nys; Pearl 1049 þur3 wo3e and won my lokyng 3ede; Pearl 450 Bot vchon fayn of oþere3 hafyng; Purity 887 Þay lest of Lotez loggyng any lysoun to fynde; etc.

(b) Gawain 2360-61 Now know I wel...þe wowyng of my wyf; Ib. 1953-4 Þay maden as mery as any men mo3ten— With la3yng 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 tale vntrwe Ne towched her tonge for no dysstresse; Gawain 1489 3et I kende yow of kyssyng; etc.

(b) Gawain 1979 With care and wyth kyssyng he carpez hem tille; Purity 3 Fayre formes my3t he fynde in forþering his speche; etc.

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[47] Ibid., p. 573.

(c) <u>Gawain</u> 924-5 In <u>menyng</u> of manerez mere þis burne now schal vus
 bryng; <u>Purity</u> 1354-5 In <u>notyng</u> of nwe metes and of nice gettes,
 Al watz þe mynde of þat man on mischapen þinges; etc.

(d) <u>Pearl</u> 791 Araryed to þe <u>weddyng</u>; Gawain 853 þer <u>beddyng</u> watz
 noble; <u>Ib</u>. 2378 þer þe <u>falssyng</u>, foule mot hit falle; etc.

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[48]

as in: ModE "I insist upon Miss Sharp appearing" (q. <u>OED</u> s. v. -<u>ing</u>^{1} 2).

As a result of that, it is sometimes impossible or very difficult to tell

whether a given -<u>ing</u> form is construed as a gerund or as a participle as

in: I remember my grandfather <u>describing</u> 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[49] asserts that this kind of construc-

tion 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" (<u>English Studies</u>, 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[50] is of much the same

opinion as van der Gaaf, though his earliest quotation is c. 1300 from

Cursor 2397 þoru <u>corn</u> wanting.

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[48]Mustanoja, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 574.

[49]<u>M.E.G.</u>, V, 9.4.1.

[50]<u>Op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 574.

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 PP1 (B-Text).

> An Alphabet of Tales 11:24-5 So he grawntid, and þe day of hym commyng drew nere; PP1 VIII. 31-2 The wynde and the water and the bote waggynge Maketh 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 waggynge. 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 -and. 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,

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[51]Op. cit., p. 71.

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, includ-
ing the periphrastic genitive with <u>of</u>. 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 <u>Gawain</u>-poet the object of the gerund is expressed in the follow-
ing ways: 'objective genitive + gerund', 'gerund + <u>of</u>-adjunct', and 'gerund
+ object'. Such patterns as 'determiner + gerund + <u>of</u>-adjunct' and
'determiner + gerund + object', however, never occur. Of the three
patterns that do occur, the 'gerund + <u>of</u>-adjunct' (the <u>of</u>-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 <u>Gawain</u> and five times in <u>Purity</u>). Relatively speaking,
the construction is unusually often found in <u>Purity</u>.

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

5. The use of adverbial adjuncts with the gerund is not common in the
<u>Gawain</u>-poet, although a few examples are found in <u>Purity</u>, while it is
fairly common in <u>Handlyng Synne</u>, <u>PP1</u>, and <u>Mandeville</u>.

6. There are no compound forms of either the perfect or the passive
gerund not only in the <u>Gawain</u>, 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 <u>of</u>. 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

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 sub-
stantive 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.

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[1]Cf. J. Söderlind, Verb Syntax in John Dryden's Prose, Part II,
p. 1.

[2]Mustanoja, 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.[3] 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.[4] 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[5] says that this development of to begins early and is completed in the course of the 13th century. Nevertheless the original

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[3]Quoted by Fries in _American English Grammar_, p. 130.

[4]_Ibid._, 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).

[5]_Op. cit._, p. 514.

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 preposi-
> tional 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 3et I hope Efte _to trede_ on þy temple and _teme_ to
> þy seluen.

[6]_On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden_, p. 75.

[7]_An Outline of Middle English Grammar_, tr. by G.K.W. Johnston, p. 89.

[8]Cf. U. Ohlander, "A Study on the Use of the Infinitive Sign in
Middle English, "_Studia Neophilologica_, XIV, p. 59.

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 PP1 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 setten..., Cod.

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[9]To make my statistics compared with those of Callaway and Fries
given on page 64, 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 praysed, 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 comaunded þe kynge þe kny3t
> _for to ryse_; _Pearl_ 333 Now rech I neuer _for to declyne_; _Purity_ 373
> Þer watz moon _for to make_ when mesches was cnowen; etc.

For this reason, no distinction is made between _for to_ and _to_ in the

following discussion.

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[10]_Op. cit._, p. 514.

[11]Kaartinen, A., and T. F. Mustanoja, "The Use of the Infinitive
in _A Book of London English 1384-1425_," _Neuphilologische Mitteilungen_,
LIX (1958), p. 181.

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

(b) <u>King Horn</u> 517-8 Hi gunne <u>for arive</u> Ther King Mody was sire.

The example of (b) from <u>King Horn</u> (dated c. 1225) is quite older than Mustanoja's example from <u>Cursor Mundi</u> 20914.[12] There is no clear example of <u>for</u> with the bare infinitive in the <u>Gawain</u>-poet, but one possible instance does occur:

<u>Purity</u> 184-9 <u>For</u> roborrye, and riboudrye, and resounez untrwe And <u>dysheriete</u> and <u>depryve</u> dowrie of wydoez, For marryng of maryagez,...Man may mysse þe myrþ þat much is to prayse.

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

(3) 'Till' and 'For Till'—<u>Till</u> and <u>for till</u>, which occur only in Northern texts, are first recorded about 1300: <u>Cursor</u> 5330 (Cotton MS) he praid þe god men þat þar wer To lith a quil his word <u>til her</u>; <u>Ib.</u> 12989 (Fairfax MS) <u>for tille be</u> myne underloute.[13] In the <u>Gawain</u>-poet, however, there are no examples of either preposition.

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[12]Cf. Mustanoja, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 515.

[13]Quoted by Mustanoja, <u>op. cit.</u>, 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.

> PP1 (C-text) VI. 164 Lytel hadde lordes a-do[15] to ʒeue 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 sich 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 bayþen, 374 byden, 827 seruen, 1271 chepen, 1672 helden,

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[14]Ibid., p. 515.

[15]The 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 lyþen, 1784 lausen, 2040 sauen, 2511 hyden); 3 in Pearl (68

dyscreuen, 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 ly3ten, 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 lifian), 1066 lovy (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 com-

plicated 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 finitive 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 pers .al expressions,

of which 30 are 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 sub-

ject is quite common in ModE, but in the OE poetry[16] it is non-existent

and even in ME[17] it is still rather unusual. _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.

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[16]Jespersen, _M. E. G._, V, 11.12.

[17]Mossé, F., _A Handbook of Middle English_, pp. 101-2.

Gawain 676 To fynde hys fere vpon felde, in fayth, is not
eþe; Pearl 674 Two men to saue is god by skille; Purity 1376
to neven þe noumbre to much nye were; Patience 354 On to
þrenge þerþurȝe watz þre dayeȝ 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 laȝe and to syng, Among þise kynde caroles
of kynȝtez 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 knaw þe gladdest chere (cf.
Gawain 719 Hit were t(tore for to telle of þe tenþe 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
subjc t is:

> Purity 1539 Hit is not innoghe to þe nice al na₃ty þink use
> (=to practice wicked things). Cf. Floris and Blancheflour
> 948-9 Hit were nou₃t right juge..ent Without answere make
> acoupement.

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 exa:·les), 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:

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[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'.

Gawain 1784 Þat yow lausen ne lyst; Pearl 341-2 Þe oȝte better þyseluen blesse, and loue ay God, in wele and wo; Purity 68 To see hem pulle in þe plow aproche me byhovez; Patience 50 What dowes me þe dedayn oþer dispit make?

Other examples: byhoue (or contracted form bos) (Gawain 324, 456, 717, 1065, 1068, 1239-40, 1771-2 (2 exs.), 2040, 2296; Pearl 927-8; Purity 398, 554, 687-8 (2 exs.); Patience 46, 465, 529), burde (Gawain 2278-9, 2248; Pearl 316; Patience 117), be lyȝtloker (Patience 47-8 (5 exs.)), lyst (Gawain 2049, 2142).

The impersonal verbs or phrases that take the to-infinitive as their logical subject are: lyke (5), þynke (4), lyst (2), byhoue (1), paye (1), seme (1), oȝe (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-fleme; Purity 1649 Who so hym lyked to lyft, on lofte watz he sone; Patience 7 Þen is better to abyde þe bur vmbe-stoundez Þen ay þrow forth my þro.

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

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

Gawain 2037-42 Bot wered not þis ilk wyȝe for wele þis gordel,... Bot for to sauen hymself, when suffer hym byhoued, To byde bale withoute debate of bronde hym to were oþer 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 bisemez þe
wy3e wruxled in grene Dele here his deuocioun on þe deuelez
wyse; Pearl 323 Þur3 drwry deth bo3 vch man dreue; Purity 1000
And alle lyst on hir lik þat arn on launde bestes; Ib. 1356
Til þe Lorde of þe lyfte liste hit abate; Patience 151-2 þenne
suppe bihoued Þe coge of þe colde water, and þenne þe cry ryses.

Examples of the to-infinitive: Gawain 941 Þenne lyst þe lady
to loke on þe kny3t; Pearl 1141 The Lombe délyt 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 combina-

tions 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.[19] 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 inno3e þat leuer wer nowþe
Haf þe[20]; Ib. 1753-4 when he þe gome metes, And bihoues his
buffet abide without debate more; Ib. 2134-5 as þe wyrde lykez
hit hafe; Purity 435-6 Bot quen þe Lorde of þe lyfte lyked
hymseluen For to mynne on his mon his meth þat abidez; Patience
51 Oþer 3if my lege lorde lyst on lyue me to bidde; Ib. 507 Þe
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

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

[20]OED (s.v. lief 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...þat is
lever to lose his) but no examples of the bare infinitive are recorded in
OED.

constructions is worthy of note, considering that in PP1 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 predica-
tive 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,[21] 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,[22] and particularly in Langland (PP1). In
fact the only instance in which it seems to occur is:

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

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[21]Op. cit., p. 77.

[22]Kenyon, The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer, p. 137.

I have noted 25 clear examples of this use in PP1 (B-text), some of which will be given below:

XI.264   That parfyte pouert was no possessioun to haue; XVIII.174
My will is to wende,...and welcome 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 constructions 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)

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[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[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.

> _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
> Þay la3ed, and made hem blyþe Wyth lotez þat were _to lowe_; _Pearl_
> 68 Where rych rokke3 wer _to descreuen_; _Ib._ 563 Fyrre þen couenaunde
> is no3t _to plete_; _Ib._ 914 If 3e can se hyt be _to done_; _Ib._ 955
> In þat oþer is no3t bot pes _to glene_; _Purity_ 76 More _to wyte_ is
> her wrange þen any wylle gentyl; _Patience_ 523 For malyse is no3
> _to mayntyne_ boute mercy withinne. Cf. _PP1_ VII.60 3if that I lye
> Mathew is _to blame_; VI. 307-8 ale...that in borghe is _to selle_.

Of this type of expression, the phrase _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[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 þey beth to be blamed eft þarfare. He further goes on to say that
"by the end of the fifteenth century the predicative passive infinitive

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[25]_Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon_, p. 200. Cf. Jespersen, _M. E. G._, V, 15.4.1.

[26]"The Predicative Passive Infinitive," _English Studies_, X, p. 110.

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, agree-
ment, sometimes becomes predominant in the signification of the con-
struction.   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 Þat nys to yow no more to mene Bot "ceté of God",
oþer "syȝt of pes"; Ib. 1041 Þat is to say, as her byrþ-whateȝ.[30]

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[27]Ibid., p. 110.

[28]"Beon and habban connected with an inflected infinitive," English
Studies, XIII, p. 186.

[29]Op. cit., p. 79.

[30]This 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. G., V, 11.2.1.

Cf. PP1 I. 11 What is this to mene; X. 473-4 Crysptes tresore, the which is mannes soule to saue aš god seith in the gospel: XV. 592 And hopen that he be to come that shal hem releue.

In the last two instances from PP1, 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 laþe (=urge), of which do is more often followed by the bare infinitive in the corresponding active construction. In PP1, however, the bare infinitive is also found twice.

> Pearl 942 For þere þe olde gulte watz don to shake; Purity
> 44-5 he schulde...be forboden þat borȝe to bowe þider never;
> Ib. 89-91 Kepte wer þay fayre,...Ful manerly wyth marschal
> mad for to sitte; Ib. 163-4 alle arn laþed luflyly, þe luþer
> and þe better,...þat fest to have. Cf. PP1 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 Syþen he is chosen to be chef chyldryn fader; Ib.
> 1734 Þy wale rengne is walt in weȝtes to heng; Patience 245
> Now is Jonas þe 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',[31] 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

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[31]The problem as to this construction is adequately discussed by
Jespersen, M. E. G., 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 PP1, 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

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[32]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), beseche, 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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[33]Callaway, The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, p. 107; Zeitlin, The
Accusative with Infinitive and Some Kindred Constructions in English,
p. 43.

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 PP1 as well):

> With to: Gawain 1733-4 Bot þe lady for luf let not to slepe,
> Ne þe purpose to payre þat py3t in hir hert (cf. no instances
> in PP1, but one in Chaucer: TC V. 226 I not, alas! whi lete
> ich hire to go).

> Without to: Pearl 718 Do way, let chylder vnto me ty3t; Purity
> 1434 Let þise 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 bisinesse, for I bayþe hit yow neuer.

But in Pearl 901 Neuer þe less let be my þonc, let be is not interpreted

in the same way, because the logical subject of the infinitive is merely

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[34]OED has examples from c. 1175. Another possible example of this
is: Pearl 71ʳ His dessypele3 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 express-
ions of this type, though not found in the Gawain-poet, are let go (e.g.
PP1 V. 334 let go the cuppe) and let pass (=pass by, neglect) (e.g. PP1
III. 196 She leteth passe prisoneres). The last example from PP1 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 vus he lette hym fly3e and folde And brede vpon
> a bostwys bem (=For us he let himself be scourged and bent and
> stretched upon a cumbrous cross).

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

> Gawain 468 He let no semblaunt be sene, bot sayde ful hy3e;
> Ib. 1083-4 þe syre...Let þe ladiez be fette to lyke hem þe better.

gar (8): with this causative verb both forms of the infinitive
occur four times respectively. Cf. PP1 with to, 6; without to, 4.

> Without to: Pearl 331 What serue3 tresor, bot gare3 men grete;
> Purity 1361 Baltazar þur3 Babiloyn his banne gart crye; Pearl
> 86; Purity 896.

> With to: Gawain 2460 For to haf greued Gaynour and gart hir to
> dy3e; Pearl 1151 Þat sy3t me gart to þenk to wade; Purity 1643-6
> þe Soverayn of heven...Gart hym grattest to be of governores alle
> And alle þe worlde in his wylle welde[35] 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 Þe best...didden hem derely vndo as
> þe dede askez; Ib. 2210-11 My lyf þa3 I forgoo, Drede dotz me
> no lote; Patience 443-4 Þe whyle God of his grace ded growe of
> þat soyle Þe fayrest bynde hym abof þat euer burne wyste.

> With to: Pearl 306 Þa3 fortune dyd your flesch to dy3e; Ib.
> 556 And þou dotz hem vus to counterfete.

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

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[35]This 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.

into disuse, being supplanted by make or cause.

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.[36] Examples from the Gawain-poet are:

Gawain 1564-5 bawemen...madee hym mawgref his hed for to mwe vtter; Ib. 1567 Bot ȝet þe styffest to start bi stoundez he made; Purity 1566 And make þe mater to malt my mynde wythinne; Patience 299-300 For þat mote in his mawe made hym...to wamel 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 droȝt þe dust for to ryse; Patience 235 Þat drof hem dryȝlych adoun þe depe to serue; Gawain 524, 1047-8.

gyue (=grant, allow) (2): found twice with the to-infinitive. Mustanoja[37] 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 þe to passe, when þou art tryed; Ib. 1211 He gef vus to be his homly hyne.

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

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36Cf. Kenyon, The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer, p. 104.

37Op. cit., p. 531.

verb of preventing, this _stere_ is the only example followed by the

infinitive as an objective predicative.

> Pearl 1159-60 And _to start_ in þe strem schulde non _me_ stere,
> _To swymme_ þe remnaunt, þaȝ I her swalte.

Other verbs belonging to this group are: _graunt_ (2) (_Gawain_ 921;

Patience 240), _entyse_ (_Purity_ 1808), _leuel_ (=allow) (_Gawain_ 98), _suffer_

(_Gawain_ 1967), _þole_ (=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. _PP1_ without _to_, 40: with _to_, 5.

> Without _to_: _Gawain_ 1437 Þenne þay beten on þe buskez, and bede
> hym _vpryse_; _Purity_ 1551 He bede _his burnes boȝ_ to; _Patience_ 187
> Þe 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 ȝif my lege lorde lyst on
> lyue _me_ to bidde, Oþer _to ryde_ oþer _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 broȝt_ to Babyloyn þe
> ryche, And þere in doungoun _be don_ to dreȝe 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 Þen he stac up þe,stangez, stoped þe wellez, [38]
        Bed blynne of þe rayn (=bade the rain cease).

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

Gawain 366 Þen comaunded þe kyng þe kny3t for to ryse; Purity 898
Þay comaunded hym cof to cach þat he hade; Gawain 1372-3; Purity
624, 1428-9 (2 exs.).

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

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

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

Gawain 1672 Þe lord hym letted of þat, to lenge hym resteyed.

(3) Less frequently with Verbs of Advising, Teaching, Persuading and
the like. Seventeen examples belong to this group.

teche[39] (4 exs.): with this verb the to-infinitive occurs three
times and the bare infinitive once:

Without to: Purity 160 Of teþe 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 þy knokke cowardyse me ta3t
To acorde me couetyse, my kynde to forsake; Ib. 2075 Þat shulde
teche hym to tourne to þat tene place.

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

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

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[38]Cf. 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.).

[39]Regarding 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. 26).

pochace þy perle maskelles.

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

  warne (2): both forms of the infinitive occur only once:

Without to: Patience 469 And syþen he warneȝ þe West waken ful
softe. Cf. PPl Prol. 207 For-thi vche a wise wiȝte I warne wite
wel his owne.

With to: Gawain 521-2 heruest...Warnez hym for þe wynter to wax
ful sone.

  Other verbs belonging to this group are: amonest (Purity 818),
enchace (=urge) (Pearl 173), kenne (Gawain 1484), laþe (=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.

  beseche (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 ȝette;
Patience 413 I besech þe, Syre, now þou self jugge; Gawain 1862.

With to: Gawain 1861-3 ho...bisoȝt hym, for hir sake, disceuer
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 ȝe...pray hym to ryse; Pearl 714 To touch her chylder þay fayr hym prayed; Patience 327 Prayande him for pete his prophete to here. Cf. PPl XX. 337 I preye the hele nouȝte thi name

bid (< OE biddan=pray, beȝ) (2): in ME biddan and heodan (=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. PPl without to, 6; with to, 2.

Gawain 2089-90 Þe burne þat rod hym by Bede his mayster abide; Pearl 520 And no mon byddeȝ vus do ryȝt noȝt. Cf. PPl XVI. 64-5 I...bade hym ful fayre To discreue the fruit.

Other verbs of this group are eþe (=entreat) (Gawain 2467-8 (2 exs.)) and þrete (=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 dyȝt (=appoint, ordain). With this verb two examples of the to-infinitive occur; however, the infinitive used here may also be considered to be that of direction.

Gawain 697-8 Warloker to haf wroȝt had more wyt bene, And haf dyȝt ȝonder dere a duk to haue worþed; Patience 488 Why ne dyȝtteȝ þou me to diȝe?

(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 fynde3 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 PP1 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 þat iueler lyttel to prayse...And much to blame. Cf. PP1 I. 143 This I trowe be treuthe.

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

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[40]Mustanoja, op. cit., p. 527; Trnka, op. cit., p. 84.

[41]Cf. J. S. Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 102-106.

[42]The Language of Pecock, pp. 117-9.

'accusative', as in <u>Gawain</u> 2390 I halde <u>hit</u> hardily <u>hole</u>; <u>Pearl</u> 282
I trawed <u>my perle don</u> out of dawe₃.

(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,[43] this con-
struction is widely used from the 14th century onwards, largely owing
to the influence of Latin. In the <u>Gawain</u>-poet, however, there is only
one possible example, and in <u>PPl</u> there is no example. In Chaucer, too,
it is practically non-existent.[44] Just as after verbs of mental perception,
Pecock's extensive use of this construction after verbs of declaration
is remarkable.[45] 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 <u>Gawain</u>-poet is found after <u>mynn</u>
(=declare):[46]

> <u>Gawain</u> 141 Bot mon most I algate mynn <u>hym to bene</u>. Cf. Pecock
> <u>Repressor</u> 446 he clepith and seith <u>Thy mothie to be</u> such a bischop.

This verb <u>mynn</u> 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

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[43]Mustanoja, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 527; Trnka, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 84.

[44]J. S. Kenyon, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 102-106.

[45]Schmidt, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 117-9.

[46]No instances of this verb with the infinitive are recorded in
<u>OED</u> (s.v. <u>min</u> 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 syþen þay redden all same (=together) To kyd þe
> kyng wyth croun, And gif Gawan 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 infiritive 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 þerof.

> With to: Purity 1558-9 Þenne þe bolde Baltazar...[b]ede þe
> cete to seche segges þurȝout.

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 <u>Gawain</u>-poet:

> <u>Gawain</u> 26 Ay watz Arthur þe hendest, as I haf herde <u>telle</u>; <u>Ib</u>.
> 263 And here is kydde cortaysye, as I haf herd <u>carp</u>; <u>Ib</u>. 1144
> A hundreth of hunteres, as I haf herde <u>telle</u>.

In these cases the finite verb (<u>here</u>) and the bare infinitive (<u>telle</u> or

<u>carp</u>) seem almost to form a compound.

There is one more example in the <u>Gawain</u>-poet of <u>here</u> where the

unexpressed logical subject of the infinitive is not indefinite, but is

contained in the preceding prepositional phrase:

> <u>Gawain</u> 1182-3 And as in slomeryng he slode, sleʒly he herde
> A little dyn at his <u>dor</u>, and dernly <u>vpon</u> (="heard it stealthily
> open").

<u>comaund</u> (3): always found with the <u>to</u>-infinitive:

> <u>Gawain</u> 850-51 Þe lorde hym charred to a chambre, and chefly
> cumaundez <u>To délyuer</u> hym a leude; <u>Ib</u>. 1372 Thenne comaunded
> þe lorde in þat sale <u>to samen</u> alle þe meny; <u>Purity</u> 1741-2 Þe
> kyng comaunded anon <u>to clebe</u> þat wyse In frokkes of fyn cloþ.

<u>let</u> (3): found three times solely with the bare infinitive:

> <u>Gawain</u> 299-30 Now hyʒe, and let <u>se</u> tite Dar any herinne oʒt say;
> <u>Ib</u>. 413-4 Ta now þy gryʒne tole to þe, And let <u>se</u> how þou cnokez;
> <u>Pearl</u> 715 His dessypeleʒ wyth blame let <u>be</u> hem bede.

<u>do</u> (=cause) (1): found once only with the bare infinitive:

> <u>Patience</u> 385-6 Samnes yow bilyue; Do[47] <u>dryue</u> out a decree, demed
> of my seluen.

<u>make</u> (1): found with the bare infinitive:

> <u>Pearl</u> 539 To take her hyre he mad <u>sumoun</u>.[48]

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[47]In their editions, Gollanz and Bateson take this <u>do</u> as causative while Anderson considers this to be the periphrastic 'do'.

[48]In 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, <u>Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose</u>, 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 syttez unclene—On
> spec of a spote may spede to mysse Of þe sy3te of þe Soverayn
> þat syttez 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; Ib. 492 he 3erned 3elpyng to
> here; Ib. 1804-1 I bayþe hit yow neuer to graunte; Pearl 225-6 I
> hope no tong mo3t endure[49] 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. Never-

theless 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,[50] 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 þenk. 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.[51] 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

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[50]OED 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 comforte may þy langour lyþe; 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 Þer alle men for meruayl myȝt on hit loke, And bi trwe þerof to telle þe wonder; Purity 53-4 And sende his sonde þen to say þat þay samne schulde, And in comly quoyntis to com to his feste; Pearl 969-70 Vtwyth to se þat clene cloystor Þou 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, dying 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 PP1

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:

> Pearl 293 Þou ne wost in worlde quat on dotȝ mene (289 clene, 291
> ene, 295 fle); Ib. 629-30 Anon þe day... Þe niyȝt of deth dotȝ to
> enclyne (626 lyne, 628 vyne, 632 hyne); Ib. 17-8 Þat dotȝ bot þrych
> my hert þrange, My breste in bale bot bolne and bele (14 wele, 16
> hele, 20 stele).

The remaining example is found in the imperative construction:

Patience 204 Do gif glory to þy godde, er þou glyde hens.

Judging from the context, this use of the periphrastic do seems to

intensify the force of the main verb.

con (=did or do) (94 exs.): this is the Northern (Scottish) and

North Midland phonetic variant of gan. According to Mustanoja and

Mossé,[55] the following may be said of this verb: in OE the verb occurs

in the form 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

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[52]Op. cit., p. 44.

[53]Ibid., p. 52.

[54]See PP1 (B-text) V. 245; VII. 176-8; X.11; XII. 169; XIX. 306.

[55]Mustanoja, op. cit., pp. 610-12; Mossé, F., 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 indicator 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 Þa3 cortaysly 3e carp con; Ib. 709 Ry3t wysly quo con rede; Ib. 729 Þen is þe 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 accompanied 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 studie (rhyme: 228 yȝe)
      Quo walt þer most renoun.
Pearl 820-21 When Jesus con to hym warde gon, (818 Jon, 822
      ston, 824 vpon) He sayde of hym þys professye.

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 knyȝt con calle ful hyȝe; Pearl 721-2
> Jesus con calle to hym hys mylde, And sayde hys ryche no wyȝ
> myȝt 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[56] 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 quat dotȝ mene; Þy worde
> byfore þy wytte con fle; 509-10 Into acorde þay con declyr
> For a pene on a day, and forth þay gotȝ.

> 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:

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[56]E. V. Gordon (ed.), Pearl, p. 63.

XII. 346 some tyme 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 PP1.

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, þenk (=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 PP1. 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 OED has no earlier instances of dare with the to-

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

[58]Op. cit., p. 530.

infinitive than c. 1555, it seems that dar 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
> þat durst I not do, lest I deuayed were; Purity 615 ʒif I hit
> pray durst.

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

þenk (< OE þencan=intend, expect) (6): both forms of the

infinitive occur with this verb, but, contrary to Mustanoja's argument,[59]

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. PP1 without to, 7; with to, 6.

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

> With to: Pearl 1151 Þat syʒt 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. PP1 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. PP1 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 loueʒ not for to chyde; Gawain 87-8 (2 exs.).

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

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[59]Mustanoja says that with this verb the to-infinitive is prevailing
(op. cit., p. 534).

<u>Purity</u> 1103-4 Þat for fetys of his fyngeres fonded he neuer
Nawþer <u>to cout</u> ne <u>to kerve</u> wyth knyf ne wyth egge; <u>Gawain</u> 986;
<u>Pearl</u> 150.

<u>oȝe</u> (4): both the bare infinitive and the <u>to</u>-infinitive occur

twice in the <u>Gawain</u>-poet. According to Mustanoja,[60] in early texts,

in <u>PPl</u> and the Wyclifite Bible the bare infinitive is rare, while

Chaucer, Occleve and, above all, Pecock favour the bare infinitive.

Incidentally, in <u>PPl</u> after <u>oȝe</u> the bare infinitive is found once and

the <u>to</u>-infinitive five times. Thus in the case of 'oȝe', the ME usage

is very unsettled. After a long competition with the bare infinitive,

however, the use of the <u>to</u>-infinitive is now established after <u>ought</u>.

Examples from the <u>Gawain</u>-poet are:

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

With <u>to</u>: <u>Gawain</u> 1525-7 And ȝe...Oghe to a ȝonke þynk ȝern <u>to</u>
<u>schewe</u> And <u>teche</u> sum tokenez of trweluf craftes.

<u>kepe</u> (=care, desire) (3): accompanied by the bare infinitive

once and by the <u>to</u>-infinitive twice. What is interesting here is that

all the examples are found with negatives:

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

With <u>to</u>: <u>Gawain</u> 546-7 Ȝe knowe þe cost of þis cace, kepe I no
more <u>To Telle</u> yow tenez þerof; <u>Patience</u> 1464 Iwysse, a worþloker
won <u>to welde</u> I neuer keped.

<u>coueyte</u> (2): found only with the <u>to</u>-infinitive in the <u>Gawain</u>-

poet. Cf. <u>PPl</u> without <u>to</u>, 2; with <u>to</u>, 10.

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[60]<u>Op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 533.

Purity 1054-5 And to be coupe in his corte þou coveytes þenne,
To see þat Semly in sete and his wete face.
Cf. PP1 III. 163 alle þe comune in kare þat coueyten lyue in
trewth; IX. 171 For-thi I conseille alle Crystene coueite nouȝt
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 swymmed þeron þat save hemself trawed.

wene (1): accompanied by the bare infinitive in the Gawain-poet.
But the two instances which are found in PP1 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. PP1 VI. 248 And that he weneth wel to haue; V. 476.

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

Gawain 67ᶠ-80 A lowande leder of ledez in londe hym wel semez,
And so had better haf ben þen britned to noȝt.

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.

(Patience 353, 1030-1), hete (=promise) (2) (Pearl 305; Purity 1162),

schape (2) (Purity 762; Gawain 2138-9), seche (2) (Purity 201, 1286),

ty3t (=intend) (2) (Gawain 2483; Purity 1108), atte (=intend) (1)

(Gawain 27), biþenkke hym (1) (Purity 1357-8), compas and kest (1)

(Purity 1455), frayst (1) (Gawain 455), forbid (1) (Purity 1147),

dry3e (=endure) (1) (Purity 599), disserue (1) (Gawain 452-3), lest

(=fail) (1) (Purity 887), wylne (1) (Pearl 318), graunt (1) (Purity

810).

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 Þat þay hym graunted to go, and gru3t no lenger; Ib.
> 1161-2 folk... Þat haden hy3t þe 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 Þay kallen hym of aquoyntaunce, and he hit quyk askez
> To be her seruaunt sothly, if hemself lyked.
> Cf. PPl 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 Þenne lyst þe lady to loke on þe kny3t; Patience 51 Oþer 3if my lege Lorde lyst on lyue me to bidde.

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

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

   With to: Purity 435-6 Bot quen þe Lorde of þe lyfte lyked hym seluen For to mynne on his mon his meth þat abydez. Cf. PP1 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 þe ('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 Þyse ilk renkez...Schul never sitte in my sale my
> soper to fele ('purpose' or 'manner'?); Patience 97 Þus he passes
> to þat 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

moȝt _endure_ No sauerly sagh _say_ of þąt syȝt. 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."[63] 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...ryȝt hym _to speke_; 337-8 any burne upon bench
> hade broȝt hym _to drynk_ of wyne; 509 Bryddez busken _to bylde_;
> 936 Þe lorde...ledez hym _to sytte_; 492 he ȝerned ȝelpyng _to here_;
> 826-7 þer hiȝed innoghe _For to hent_ it at his honde; etc.

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[63]Jespersen, _M. E. G._, V, 16.1.1.

Pearl 131-2 Þe wyȝ...Hytteȝ <u>to haue</u> ay more and more; 958 Fro þat oure flesch be layed <u>to rote</u>; etc.

Purity 1395 And Baltazar upon bench was busked <u>to sete</u>; 1541 His enes cachches <u>to close</u>; 780 Whyle þe Soverayn to Sodamas sende <u>to spye</u>; etc.

Patience 216 þay ruyt hym <u>to rowwe</u>; 435 And farandely on a felde he fetteleȝ hym <u>to bide</u>; 497-8 Þou...trauayledez neuer <u>to tent</u> hit þe tyme of an howre, etc.

In the following instance, the infinitive may be the substantive-modifying

infinitive which will be discussed later:

Purity 51-3 þat man ryche...sende his sonde þen <u>to say</u> þay þay 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 <u>Gawain</u>-poet, occurring more than

120 times.   In OE the primary use of the <u>to</u>-infinitive was that of

purpose.   In PE, too, this is one of the commonest uses of the <u>to</u>-

infinitive.   The same is the case with the <u>Gawain</u>-poet's use of the

<u>to</u>-infinitive.   The infinitive of purpose in the <u>Gawain</u>-poet is in-

variably preceded by <u>to</u> or <u>for to</u>, and is very frequent after verbs

of motion, especially 'come' and 'go':

Gawain 1053 I ne wot in worlde whederwarde to wende hit <u>to fynde</u>; Ib. 1472-3 Þe lady...Come to hym <u>to salute</u>; Ib. 1857 When he acheued to þe chapel his chek <u>for to fech</u>; Pearl 506-7 Þe lorde ful erly vp he ros <u>To hyre</u> werkmen to hys vyne; Purity 685 Þat so folk schal falle fro, <u>to flete</u> alle þe worlde; Ib. 797 he ros vp ful radly and ran hem <u>to mete</u>; Patience 179-80 A lodesmon lyȝtly lep vnder hachches, <u>For to lyte</u> no ledes and hem to lote <u>bryng</u>; Ib. 416 I schulde tee to þys toun þi talent <u>to preche</u>; etc.

After <u>go</u> and <u>come</u>, the bare infinitive of purpose is also found as

early as OE and survives far beyond the end of the ME period.[64] In

fact, it is not infrequent in Chaucer and Langland. For example, in

PP1 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 PP1 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 loue þat gay juelle; Ib. 613 Bot now þou moteჳ, 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 cowþe 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'.[66] 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).[67] 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 þe wynne worschip þat he hym wayued hade, As to
> honour his hous on þat hyȝe tyde, And enbelyse his burȝ with his
> bele chere: Purity 566-7 Þat 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[68] 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. PP1 XVIII. 13 a knyȝte...cometh to be dubbed.

66Quoted by R. W. Zandvoort, A Handbook of English Grammar, 28.

67Op. cit., p. 140.

68"The Predicative Passive Infinitive," English Studies, X, p. 109.

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 þe men in þat mote maden much joye To apere in his presence prestly þat tyme.
> Cf. PP1 II. 115-6 now sorwe mot thow haue, Such weddyngs to worche to wratthe with Treuthe.

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 watʒ me þat euer I was borne to sware þat swete in perleʒ pyʒte; Purity 1347 if þay gruchen him his grace to gremen his hert; Patience 362-3 Vp so doun schal ʒe dumpe depe to þe abyme, To be swolʒed swyftly wyth þe swart erþe.

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...Þen alle þe wyʒeʒ in þe worlde myʒt wynne By þe way of ryʒt to aske dome; Purity 870 To samen wyth þo semly þe solace is better.

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[69]A Handbook of Present-day English, p. 142.

3.4(6)   Infinitive of Concession

Mustanoja[70] says that a concessive infinitive with _to_ is occasionally

found in ME texts, and adduces a few examples from Gower and Chaucer.

In the _Gawain_-poet only one possible example occurs:

> Pearl 333 Now rech I neuer _for to declyne_, Ne how fer of folde
> þat 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: com...siȝian '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,[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:

Gawain 2266 As hit com _glydande_ adoun on glode hym to schende. In _PP1_,

on the other hand, there are two such examples:

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[70]Op. _cit_., p. 536.

[71]Ibid., pp. 536-7.

XI. 109 lete the remenaunt go _rowme_; XVIII. 10-11 One semblable to the Samaritan...Barfote on an asse bakke boteless 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 vnslayn_, þe sle3t were noble; _Patience_ 154 Mony ladde þer 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 Gawayn þe god mon in gay bed _lygez_, _Lurkkez_ quyl þe dayly3t lemed on þe 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. Mustanoja[73] 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 yow sum game; _Purity_ 105-7 þyse ilk renkez...Schul never sitte in my sale my soper _to fele_.

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[72]"The Connection between Verbs of Rest (_Lie_, _Sit_, and _Stand_) and Another Verb, Viewed Historically," _English Studies_, XVI, p. 88.

[73]_Op. cit._, p. 537.

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 þe more comfort to karp yow wyth
> (=(from) talking with you); Pearl 21-2 For soþe þer fleten to
> me fle, To þenke hir color so clad in clot; Ib. 473-4 Þyself
> in heuen ouer hyӡ þou heue, To make þe quen þat watӡ só ӡonge
> (=by making yourself a queen); Purity 184-9 For roborrye, and
> riboudrye, and resounez untrwe, And dysheriete and depryve
> dowrie of wydoez (=for disinheriting and depriving...),...Man
> may myss þe myrþe 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, þe 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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[74]M. Callaway, op. cit., p. 169.

to be fond of it.[75]   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 Þat is þe cyté þat þe Lombe con fonde To suffer inne
> sor for maneȝ sake, Þe olde Jerusalem to vnderstonde; Pearl 949-50
> Of motes two to carpe clene, And Jerusalem hyȝt boþe nauþeles; Ib.
> 653 Þe water is baptcm, þe soþe to telle; Purity 425-6 Of þe lenþe
> of Noe lyf to lay a lel date Þe sex hundreth of his age and none
> odde ȝerez; Ib. 1733 To teche þe of Techal, þe terme þus menes;
> Ib. 1736 And Phares folȝes for þose fawtes, to frayst þe trawþe.

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[76] 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,[77] 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 PP1 there are four.   Examples from PP1 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 euere; 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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[75]J. Kerkhof, Studies in the Language of Geoffrey Chaucer, pp. 73-5.

[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, þay lachen her leue, Vchon to
> wende on his way þat watz wy3e stronge; Purity 337-8 And ay þou
> meng wyth þe malez þe mete ho-bestez Uche payre by payre to plese
> ayþer oþer; Ib. 834-6 Er euer þay bosked to bedde, þe bor3 watz
> a' vp; Alle þat weppen my3t welde, þe wakker and þe stronger, To
> umbely3e 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 grayþe to go as þou hettez; Ib. 495
> Gawan watz glad to begynne þose gomnez in halle; Pearl 680 Himself
> to onsware he is not dylle; Purity 869 Hit arn ronk, hit arn rype,
> and redy to manne; Purity 663 Hopez ho o3t may be hard my hondez[78]
> to work?; Patience 136 So bayn wer þay boþe two, his bone for to
> wyrk; etc.

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[78]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 try3e; Purity 608 Hit is eþe to leve by
> þe last ende; Patience 324 Vur3 my3t 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[79] prefers to look upon the infinitive as active and as govern-
ing 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,[80] 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 Þe derþe þerof for to devyse Nis no wy3 worþe þat
> tong here3. 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.

[80]"The Post-adjectival Passive Infinitive," English Studies, X,
pp. 130-31.

century and examples are fairly frequent in 15th-century English.[81]   Only

one example seems to occur in the Gawain-poet's works and one in PP1.

> Gawain 1578-9 Þat al þu3t þenne ful loþe Be more wyth his tusches
> torne.   Cf. PP1 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: PP1 Prol. 188 And

be we neuever so bolde the belle hym to shewe.[82]   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 Þat so worþy as 3e 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.r adubbement;
> Purity 519-20 For-þy schal I never schende so schortly at once As
> dystrye for manez [dedes], dayes of þis erþe.

> Without as: Gawain 291 If any freke be so felle to for¹e þat 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:

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[81]Ibid., p. 133.

[82]In PP1, the as is always lacking here.   Other examples: VI. 188.;
XVIII. 75, 77; XIX. 19-20.

Pearl 810 Þat watʒ so fayr on to byholde; Purity 147 Þat watz so prest to aproche my presens hereinne; Ib. 262 For þy so semly to see syþen wern none; Patience 136 so bayn wer þay...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 Þat wont watʒ whyle deuoyde my wrange And heuen my happe and al my hele; Purity 143 How watz þou hardy þis hous for þyn unhap neʒe;[84] Ib. 1232 ʒet take[85] Torkye hem wyth, her tene had been little.

Incidentally, in 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 noʒt 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:

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[83]Op. cit., p. 538.

[84]In their editions of Purity, Morris, Menner, and Gollancz supply to before neʒe, 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.

Gawain 1251-2 Bot hit ar ladyes innoʒe þat leuer wer nowþe llaf þe, hende, in hor holde, as I þe habbe here.

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 infinitve

modifies a substantive and is adjectival, or modifies a verb and is

adverbial. The difficulty is illustrated by:

Patience 226 Þat 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 buʒy bot bare þre dayes; Patience 347-8 ʒisse
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 Þat a haþel and a horse myʒt 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[86]

assumes that it "does not seem to occur in Old English; it came into

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[86]"The Predicative Passive Infinitive," English Studies, X. p. 109.

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 Þer he expounez a speche, to hym þat 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 my3tez so wayke; Pearl 414-5 He...Corounde me quene in blysse to brede; Purity 148 Hopez þou I be a harlot þi erigaut to prayse?; Gawain 1024 Þer 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]

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[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 norne; Pearl 811-2 he...never hade
> non hymself to wolde; Purity 373 Þer watz moan for to make when
> meschef was cnowen; Patience 223 Þenne was no cumfort to keuer,
> ne counsel non oþer; etc.

One instance to be noted here is: Patience 81 "Þis 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 dyȝt, þe dynt with to ȝelde; Purity 477 ho
> fyndez no folde her fote on to pyche; Ib. 1049 Alle þyse ar
> teches and tokenes to trow upon ȝet; Ib. 1661 blynnes he not of
> blasfemy on to blame þe Dryȝtyn; Patience 199 Hatz þou, gome, no
> gouernour, 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 PP1 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

with;[88] etc.

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 Þat þe lude my3t haf leue liflode to cach; Ib. 624
> I am in tent (=intention) yow to telle; Pearl 971 To strech in
> þe strete þou hat3 no vygour; Purity 67 to bowe haf I mester
> (=need); Purity 1773-4 ledes of armes...now hatz spyed a space
> to spoyle Caldeea; Patience 157 Þer wat3 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 schwue ne to
> smyte (=against shoving and smitting); Pearl 1127-8 To loue þe
> Lombe...Iwysse I la3t 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:

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[88]In PP1, 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 bot erþe ful evel and usle so blake, For to mele
wyth such a Mayster as myȝtez hatz alle (=Who am I to match words
with a Master of limitless might?).[89]
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 ȝe halde þis hes here at þys one?' 'Ȝe, sir,
for soþe,' sayd pe segge trwe, 'Whyl I byde in yowre borȝe, be
bayn to ȝowre hest.'; Pearl 295-9 You says þou traweȝ me in þis
dene,...; Another þou says, in þys countre Myself schal won myth
me ryȝt here; Þe þrydde, 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 cus-

tomarily referred to as the 'split' infinitive.

As to the type split by an adverb, some scholars[90] contend that

it makes its first appearance in the 14th century, its earliest example

being Gawain 87-8. W. van der Gaaf,[91] 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.[92]

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

[90]Curme, 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.

[92]Cf. Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 158-9.

Gawain 87-8 His lyf liked hym ly3t, he louied þe lasse Auþer to
longe lye or to longe sitte; Ib. 1860-3 ho...biso3t hym, for his
sake, disceuer hit neuer, Bot to lelly layne fro hir lorde; Pearl
1-2 Perle...To cla·ly clos in golde so clere.
Cf. PP1 XI. 225-6. a gret wille to wepe and to wel bydde.

Of the type split by the object of the infinitive, the earliest

example cited by van der Gaaf is La3amon Brut 11018: heo cleopede him

to alle his wise for to him reade.[93] I have only found one example in

the Gawain-poet's works and none in PP1. In Chaucer's works only one

instance seems to occur.[94]

Gawain 1540 Bot to take þe toruayle to myself to trwluf expoun.
Cf. Ch. Compl. to Lady 121-3 Wel lever is me liken yow and deye
Than for to anything or thynke or seyc That yow myghte offende
in any tyme (q. Kenyon).

According to van der Gaaf,[95] 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. Koziol[96] 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 PP1 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

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[93]Op. cit., p. 16.

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

[95]Op. cit., p. 15.

[96]Grundzüge der Syntax der Mittelenglischen Stabreimdichtungen,
pp. 148-9.

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."[97] In Shakespeare, however, this practice is not uncommon.[98] In the Gawain-poet there are 13 examples of this type, of which 12 occur after auxiliary verbs:

> Gawain 2132 Bot I wyl to þe chapel; Ib. 1671 hit watx neʒ
> at þe 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 erþe; Patience 346 Nylt þou neuer to Nuniue bi
> no-kynnes wayeʒ?

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

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

> Gawain 1959 Burne to hor bedde behoued at þe last (sc. to go).

In PP1, 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 thouʒte; 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.

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[97]Op. cit., p. 86.

[98]Abbott, 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.[99] In the Gawain-poet, examples are numerous:

> Gawain 1681 Make we mery quyl we may; Pearl 521 Gos into my vyne, dotȝ þat ȝe conne; Purity 1570-1 He schal be prymate and prynce of pure clergye, And of my þrevenest lordez þe þrydde he schal; etc.

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:

> Ch. T. 3947 For simkin wolde (sc. have) no wyf, as he said; Le Morte Darthur 138, 35 And thenne he rode vnto morgan ageyne asked yf she wold (sc. communicate) ony thyng vnto kynge Arthur.[100]

5. Summary

1. The most noteworthy feature of the Gawain-poet's use of the infinitive is that the use of the infinitive with to (including 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

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[99]Cf. Quirk and Wrenn, An Old English Grammar, p. 86.

[100]A. Dekker, "Some Observations in Connection with B. Trnka: On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden," Neophilologus, XX, p. 119.

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 functi n of the subjective predicative as a substantive-

equivalent (e.g. My wille 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, gar, do (=cause), bede and comaund, far less frequent after verbs

of sense perception, such as se and here. This construction is practi-

cal'y 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, comaund, 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 Mid-
land 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,
þenk (=intend, expect), oȝe, 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 sub-
stantive. 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 substan-
tives 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. Other-

wise, 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. Never-

theless, 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, þen, oȝe, etc.); (4) so...as and such...as;

(5) a few adjectives (hardy, loþe, wont), and, obviously, (6) auxiliary

verbs. On the other hand, a fair number of verbs (do (=cause), bede,

þenk, oȝe, kepe, etc.) show fluctuation regarding their choice of

infinitive form.

CONCLUSION

I have attempted to describe the <u>Gawain</u>-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 <u>Gawain</u>-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 <u>without</u>, <u>er</u> (=before), <u>by</u>; (4) The gerund followed by a simple object—the regular construction in ModE—is already found rather frequently (mostly in <u>Purity</u>), 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 <u>go</u> and <u>come</u>, and as adverbial adjunct of manner after verbs of motion or rest; (6) The periphrastic auxiliary <u>con</u> (=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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