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THE SYNTACTIC DEVELOPMENT
OF THE GERUND IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

BY

MATSUJI TAJIMA

Thesis presented to the
School of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of English,
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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Matsuji Tajima was born in Kanoya, Kagoshima, Japan, on 10 October 1942.

He received his B.Litt. and M.Litt. degrees in English from Kyushu University, Fukuoka, Japan, in 1965 and 1967 respectively. In 1970 he was awarded an M.A. degree in English from Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada.

Since 1967 he has been teaching English, first at Fukuoka Women's College (till 1972), then at Hokkaido University in Sapporo (till 1975), and finally at Kyushu University, Fukuoka, where he is currently an Associate Professor.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On completing this study, I would like to record my special thanks to Professors A.P. Campbell and Raymond St-Jacques. I began my doctoral work under the guidance of Professor Campbell in 1977 and have since profited by his wise judgement and his constructive criticism. Following his retirement in 1979, I have continued my studies under the direction of Professor St-Jacques. I wish to thank him for his continued interest in my work, his encouragement at every stage of its execution, and, above all, for his careful, critical and always helpful supervision.

An expression of gratitude is also due to Professors Laurence Eldredge and David Jeffrey for their careful reading of the thesis and for their useful suggestions for its improvement. I also wish to thank Professor David Staines for his friendship and encouragement during the past five years.

Ottawa, August 1983

M.T.
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ABBREVIATIONS

EETS = Early English Text Society
EETS ES = Early English Text Society, Extra Series
EETS SS = Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series
Jespersen, Growth = Jespersen 1948
Jespersen, MEG = Jespersen 1909-49
ME = Middle English
MED = Middle English Dictionary
ModE = Modern English
Mustanoja, ME Syntax = Mustanoja 1960
OE = Old English
OED = The Oxford English Dictionary
OF = Old French
Visser, HS = Visser 1963-73
Visser, More = Visser 1946-56

Abbreviated titles of primary material are listed in the Introduction (B). References to secondary material are to the author's name and the year of publication; details will be found in the Bibliography (B). Other abbreviations should be self-evident or will be explained where they are first employed.
INTRODUCTION

A. Problems and Aims

The purpose of this study is to investigate the syntactic development of the verbal noun in -ing (-ung), commonly called the gerund, in the Middle English period, here regarded as lasting from about 1100 to about 1500. For the sake of simplicity, the term 'gerund' will be used throughout for the -ing (-ung) form which is derived from a verb and functions as a noun.

Originally the gerund was simply an abstract noun of action derived from a verb and was treated exclusively as a noun, syntactically as well as inflectionally. That is, it possessed all the syntactic features of a noun, functioning as the subject, predicative, or object of a finite verb and the object of a preposition, and, while serving these functions, forming a plural, taking various adnominal adjuncts, or entering freely into compounds. Although it has retained all of its nominal qualities, however, the gerund has subsequently, albeit gradually, acquired most of the properties and, hence, syntactic characteristics of a verb. This syntactic development is clearly reflected in the following verbal characteristics that the gerund can exhibit (and for which it is commonly used in ModE):

(1) it can govern an "accusative" or direct object (e.g. He practices writing leading articles—q. [1])
(2) it can govern a predicative or complement (e.g. Your being so sick forbids me to discuss the matter with you now—q. Curme; OED has no reference);

(3) it can be modified by an adverbial adjunct (instead of an adjective) (e.g. He has hopes of coming back speedily; the habit of speaking loosely—q. OED);

(4) it can show tense and voice by means of compound forms (e.g. of having done it; the necessity of loving and being loved—q. OED);

(5) it can take a subject in the common case (instead of the genitive) (e.g. I insist upon Miss Sharp appearing—q. OED).

Thus, the English gerund, which began as a pure noun, has expanded its syntactic role beyond anything characteristic of its own past history or of the other Germanic languages.

The acquisition of these verbal characteristics by the gerund has been one of the much-discussed, at times hotly debated, problems of the syntax of the English verb, as the Bibliography ("B. Secondary Sources") shows. As yet however, there has been no consensus among scholars as to when and how this development actually took place. The most
important theories put forward so far have been so well summarized by G. van Langenhove (1925, pp. v-ix), M. Callaway, Jr. (1924, pp. 32-40), Mustanoja (ME Syntax, pp. 567-72), and more recently by B. Irwin (1967, pp. 27-41) that they call for no detailed reiteration, though naturally they will be mentioned whenever occasion warrants it. The majority of these previous studies favour native origin, a theory stoutly advocated by Curme (1914, p. 496), but some opt for foreign (chiefly French) influence, as strongly urged by Einenkel (1914, pp. 19-22 and 27-28). Perhaps the most satisfying explanation is Mustanoja's all-inclusive summary statement based upon the research on the subject up to 1960, which is quoted below, although we should read 'the gerund with certain verbal properties' for 'the gerund':

...the first sporadic signs of the gerundial function of the noun in -ing appear in late OE. They are slavish imitations of Latin gerunds, but they do suggest that the noun in -ing is at least capable of acquiring verbal properties. The rise of the gerund seems to take place essentially within the ME period. The influence of the OF gerondif seems to play a significant part in the development of the English gerund. It is difficult to say how far Celtic influence has a part in this development, but the
possibility may be worth closer investigation. One significant contributory factor is obviously the analogy of the English present participle, and 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, -nd, and -ng in ME.

[Mustanoja, ME Syntax, p. 572]

As will be apparent from this account, the development was a very complicated process involving various factors and contributions.

The evidence collected to date strongly suggests that the Middle English period provides the historical key to the initial acquisition by the gerund of certain verbal properties. As yet, however, there has been no comprehensive treatment of this ME development of the gerund with verbal qualities. Most previous studies, if they have discussed the verbal function at all, have focussed primarily on the gerund governing an accusative or direct object (characteristic (1) above), and, to a lesser extent, on the gerund being modified by an adverbial adjunct (characteristic (3)) and on the gerund taking a subject in the common case (characteristic (5)). The remaining characteristics, namely, the gerund governing a predicative
(characteristic (2)) and the gerund showing tense and voice by means of compound forms (characteristic (4)), have not received any serious consideration. The only seemingly general agreement has been that the gerund begins to take a direct object and to be modified by an adverbial adjunct in the ME period, more specifically in the 14th century. The reason for this lack of consensus is that practically all previous studies have been based on a fairly limited amount of material and, as a result, have overlooked very substantial evidence. Thus, the potentially available ME data has been only fragmentarily represented in standard handbooks and histories of the English language, even in the monumental works of historical syntax by Jespersen (A Modern English Grammar, 7 vols.), Mustanoja (A Middle English Syntax, Part I), and, most importantly, Visser (An Historical Syntax of the English Language, 3 parts in 4 vols.). Much the same criticism applies to specialized works, such as Irwin's (1967) dissertation — perhaps the most recent and most detailed study dealing chiefly with the development of the gerund — which is, in fact, extremely limited in corpus, thereby preventing an adequate analysis of the verbal qualities of the gerund and adding nothing important to the facts previously established by the general texts. Therefore the traditional neglect and limited treatment of the verbal aspects of the gerund are reason enough to bring into question the credibility of the
existing and limited agreement found on this topic. Thus, the Middle English period as a whole — and not merely the pre-14th century period — has not received the thorough examination that would be required in order to solve or, at least, throw some light on some of the problems yet to be properly explored concerning the historical development of the gerund, particularly its acquisition of verbal qualities. As a result, a fresh and in-depth study is certainly warranted.

In view of this unsatisfactory state of affairs, the present study proposes to delineate the syntactic development of the gerund, that is, its acquisition of various verbal characteristics in ME during the period c.1100-c.1500. The main aims of this work are to present and analyze the ME uses of the gerund from the syntactic viewpoint, in as much detail and with as much illustration as possible, and to establish more firmly the chronology of its syntactic changes by reference to fresh evidence. Such a study would reveal previously unrecognized aspects and answer unsolved questions regarding the development of the gerund and thus supplement historical studies such as Visser's. For the purposes of this work, I have examined a large number of printed texts (not manuscripts), 183 in all, representing all dialects and all periods of ME. The ME texts which have come down to us are,
however, spread unevenly over the centuries and dialects. For example, 12th-century texts are but few, which has obliged me to limit my examination to only one text for the period 1100-1150 and six for the period 1150-1200. On the other hand, 15th-century texts have been consulted on a selective basis, since their number is so large as to make a full treatment of all of them impossible within a work so limited in time and space. As a look at the list of the texts examined which follows shows, however, the majority of the extant ME texts of any importance, prose or verse, literary or non-literary, have been covered.

In the present study the discussion is divided into chapters on the basis of the verbal features that the gerund can exhibit: 'Gerund with Object' (Chapter I), 'Gerund with Predicative' (Chapter II), 'Gerund with Adverbial adjunct' (Chapter III), 'Compound Tense and Voice Forms' (Chapter IV), and 'Gerund with Subject' (Chapter V). Facts about earlier and later usage are to be found in footnotes or introductory sketches to the respective chapters and sections so that the features dealt with can be viewed in their historical perspective. In analyzing and reporting the significant facts of the material, I have chosen an essentially quantitative or statistical approach, with all the conclusions based on numerical data, in the belief that, despite its weaknesses and inadequacies, such an approach is especially suitable for describing syntactic
It is only to be expected that a number of relevant instances may have escaped my attention in spite of every care and effort; yet, I trust and hope that the number of such involuntary omissions would not be so great as to have an appreciable effect upon the results obtained.
B. Texts Examined

The following is a list of the ME texts which I have actually examined. These are arranged in chronological order, as far as possible, by half-centuries. (For an alphabetical list of the texts see the Bibliography: A.) The abbreviations of titles, with those of base manuscripts enclosed in parentheses, are generally those of MED. As a rule I have followed the readings of one MS in preference to those of another or others. Hence the MS designation. An exception to this practice is, however, made in certain texts, such as St. Kath., Rolle EWr., Chaucer, Usk TL, Paston, where the enclosed indication is that of editors, not manuscripts, since the texts are either critical editions or collections of various manuscripts. For each text the abbreviated title is followed by the full title of the text. Then bibliographical details of the edition used follow. As in UED; Jespersen, Mustanoja, Visser, and other similar studies, the dates and dialects given refer to originals rather than manuscripts, although the manuscript dates are also taken into account whenever occasion arises. These dates and dialects are generally based on MED ("Plan and Bibliography"); unless precisely dated, each text is given a date in a quarter-century system, with c (= circa), a (= ante), and ? (= doubtful) prefixed to the date, and assigned to one of the following five dialect
areas: East Midland ("EMid"), Northern ("N"), West Midland ("WMid"), Southwestern ("SW"), and Southeastern ("SE"). In some cases, especially where MED provides no information about either or both of them, however, I have followed Severs and Hartung (eds.), A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500, Vols. 1-6 (1967-80) and the editors of the texts involved. To give an idea of the length of the various texts, I have provided the number of lines for verse and the number of ordinary pages for prose. Unless otherwise noted in the list below, references to the texts in the body of this work are to the line for verse (e.g. Gawain 247) and to the page and line for prose (e.g. Ayenb. 125/19).
1100 – 1150


1150 – 1200

Bod.Hom. (Bod) = Twelfth Century Homilies in MS. Bodley 343, ed. A. O. Belfour, EETS 137 (1909), even pp. 2-140. 70 pages. Prose. c1175 (or ?OE). SW.


1200 – 1250

Vices & V. (Stw) = Vices and Virtues, ed. F. Holthausen, EETS 89 (1888) and 159 (1921), odd pp. 3-151. 75 pages. Prose. c1200. EMid.


HMa id. (Bod) = Hali Meidenhad, ed. Oswald Cockayne (1866), rev. F. J. Furnivall, EETS 18 (1922), even pp. 2-66. 33 pages. Prose. ?c1200. SW.


Vsp.A.Hom. (Vsp) = Vespian A Homilies, ed. R. Morris in Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, I, EETS 29 (1867) and 34 (1868), odd pp. 217-45. 15 pages. Prose. a1225. SE.

Lamb.Hom. (Lamb) = Lambeth Homilies, ed. R. Morris in Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, EETS 29 (1867) and 34 (1868), odd pp. 3-159. 78 pages. Prose (and 305 lines of rhymed verse, pp. 55-71). a1225. WMid.
Wooing Lord (Tit) = De Wohunge of ure Lauerd, ed. W. Meredith Thompson, EETS 241 (1955), pp. 20-38. 19 pages (658 lines). Prose. c1225. SW. (Reference by line.)


Orison Lord (Lamb) = On Ureisun of ure Louerde, ed. W. Meredith Thompson, EETS 241 (1955), pp. 1-4. 4 pages (121 lines). Prose. a1250. SW. (Reference by line.)

Lofsong Lefdi (Nero) = On Lofsong of ure Lefdi, ed. W. Meredith Thompson, 241 (1955), pp. 16-18. 3 pages (85 lines). Prose. a1250. SW. (Reference by line.)

Harrow.H. (Dgb) = The Middle English Harrowing of Hell, ed. W. H. Hulme, EETS ES 100 (1907), even pp. 2-22. 256 lines. Rhymed verse. a1250. SW.


1250 – 1300


Floris (Cmb) = Floriz and Blauncheflur, ed. G. H. Mcknight, EETS 14 (1901), right cols. pp. 80-110. 824 lines. Rhymed verse. c1250. SW.


SLeg. (LD) = The Early South-English Legendary, ed. Carl Horstmann, EETS 87 (1887). 16,389 lines. Rhymed verse. c1280-90 (Horstmann, p. x). SW. (Reference by legend and line.)


'Arth.& M. (Auch) = Of Arthur and of Merlin, ed. O. D. Macrae-Gibson,
EMid.

Tristrem (Auch) = Sir Tristrem, ed. George P. McNeill, STS (=The Scottish
3,344 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1300. EMid.

KAlgy. (Ld) = Kyng Alisaunder, ed. G. V. Smithers, EETS 227 (1952) and

1300 – 1350

Assump.Virg. (Cmb Gg) = The Assumption of Our Lady, ed. J. R. Lumby
and G. H. McKnight, EETS 14 (1866; re-ed. 1901), left cols. pp.
111-18. 240 lines. Rhymed verse. c1300. SW.

Havelok (Ld) = The Lay of Havelok the Dane, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS ES 4
(1868). 3,001 lines. Rhymed verse. c1300. EMid.

ed. W. A. Wright, Rolls Series 86 (1887; rpt. Lessing-Druckerei,
c1300. SW.

NHom. (Phys-E) = English Metrical Homilies, ed. John Small (Edinburgh:
Rhymed verse. c1300. N. (Reference by page and line.)

NPass. (Cmb Gg 1.1) = The Northern Passion (Supplement), ed. Wilhelm
Heuser and Francis A. Foster, EETS 183 (1930), pp. 1-50. 1,974 lines.
Rhymed verse. ?c1300. EMid.


Mannyng HS (Hr1) = Robert Mannyng of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS 119 (1901) and 123 (1903). 12,630 lines. Rhymed verse. c1303. EMid.

Davy Dreams (Ld) = Adam Davy's 5 Dreams about Edward II, etc., ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS 69. (1878), pp. 11-76. 166 lines. Rhymed verse. ?c1308. EMid.


Medit. Supper (Hr1) = Meditations on the Supper of our Lord, and the Hours of the Passion, ed. J. Meadows Cowper, EETS 60 (1875). 1,142 lines. Rhymed verse. a1325. EMid.

Cursor (Vsp) = Cursor Mundi, ed. R. Morris, EETS 57 (1874), 59 (1875), 62 (1876), 66 (1877), 68 (1878), 99 (1892), and 101 (1893). 24,968 lines (including Cotton Insertion 446 lines). Rhymed verse. a1325 (MS a1400). N.
Degare (Auch) = Sir Degare, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale in Middle
pp. 288-320. 1,073 lines. Rhymed verse. a1325. SW.

Otuel & R. (Fil) = Otuel and Roland, ed. M. I. O'Sullivan, EETS 198
(1935), pp. 59-146. 2,786 lines. Rhymed verse. a1325. EMid.

Harley Lyrics (Hrl) = The Harley Lyrics (= The Middle English Lyrics
of MS. Harley 2253), 4th ed., ed. G. L. Brook (Manchester: Manchester
Univ. Press, 1968 [1948]), 1,582 lines. Rhymed verse. c1325.
SW. (Reference by poem and line.)

EMid.

Roland & V. (Auch) = Rouland and Vernagu, ed. S. J. H. Hertrage, EETS
c1330. EMid.

Seven Sages (Auch) = The Seven Sages of Rome, ed. K. Brunner, EETS 191

Orfeo (Auch) = Sir Orfeo, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale in Middle
pp. 323-41. 604 lines. Rhymed verse. c1330. EMid.

Shoreham Poems (Add) = The Poems of William of Shoreham, ed. M. Konrath,
EETS ES 86 (1902). 4,518 lines. Rhymed verse. a1333. SE.
(Reference by page and line.)

Minot Poems (Gl) = The Poems of Laurence Minot, ed. Joseph Hall (Oxford:
Clarendon Press, 1914). 923 lines. Rhymed and partly alliterative
verse. c1333-52. N.


Prose. a1350. EMid.


Nicod. (Glb) = Gospel of Nicodemus, ed. W. H. Hulme, EEETS ES 100 (1907), left cols. even pp. 22-134. 1,764 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1350. N.
1350 – 1400


Eglam. (Thmn) = Syr Eglamour of Artois, ed. F. E. Richardson, EEVS 256 (1965). 1,335 lines. Rhymed verse. c1350. N.


1400 – 1450


St.Anne (Min-U) = *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne*, ed. R. E. Parker, EETS 174 (1928). 3,546 lines. Rhymed verse. c1400. N.


Lydg. RS (Frf) = *Lydgate's Reson and Sensualyte*, ed. E. Sieper, EETS ES 84 (1901) and 89 (1903). 7,042 lines. Rhymed verse. ?c1408. EMid.


Alph. Tales (Add) = *An Alphabet of Tales*, ed. Mary M. Banks, EETS 126 (1904) and 127 (1905). 532 pages. Prose. c1420. N.


Audelay Poems (Dc) = The Poems of John Audelay, ed. E. K. Whiting, EETS 184. 6,375 lines. Rhymed verse. c1426. WMid. (Reference by poem and line.)


Degrev. (Thrn) = The Romance of Sir Degrevant, ed. L. F. Casson, EETS 221 (1941). 1,920 lines. Rhymed verse. c1440. N.


Gener. (Trin-C) = Generydes, ed. W. A. Wright, EETS 55 (1873) and 70 (1878). 6,995 lines. Rhymed verse. a1450. EMid.


1450 – 1500


Scrope DSP (Bod) = The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers [Scrope Text], ed. Curt F. Bühler, EETS 211 (1941), even pp. 2–292. 146 pages. Prose. 1450. EMid.


cl454. EMid.


(Reference by page and line.)

DSPhilos. (Helm) = The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, ed. Curt F. Bühler, EETS 211 (1941), odd pp. 3-293. 146 pages. Prose.

a1460. EMid.


Ludus C. (Vsp) = Ludus Coventriae or the Plai Called Corpus Christi, ed. K. S. Block, EETS ES 120 (1922). 11,394 lines. Rhymed verse. a1475. EMid. (Reference by page and line.)


NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. Some scholars distinguish between the gerund (when the verbal force is syntactically recognizably) and the verbal noun (when the verbal force is not syntactically recognizable). On the futility of such a distinction, however, see Poutsma 1926, pp. 504-07, and Curme 1931, p. 483. The term 'gerund' is also employed for the OE infinitive after to, ending in -enne, -anne (e.g. J.J. Farrar 1902), which is not our present concern.

2. As noted in OED (s.v. -ing1), the -ung variant, which obtained in OE, rapidly died out in early ME, being scarcely used after 1250. In our material, only a few texts such as Peterb.Chron. and the Katherine Group provide examples of it, as in: Peterb.Chron. 18/3 on hergunge; St. Marg. 38/11 of pin easkunge; Hmaid. 17/178 from rotunge; Sward. 247/16 vnder wittes wissunge; etc.

3. It must not, of course, be inferred that all nominal forms in -ing which have been derived from verbs should be regarded as gerunds. Many (e.g., wedding, calling, covering, clothing; paintings, buildings; etc.) do not denote any action or state at all and are, therefore, to be treated as pure nouns. Cf. "Deverbal nouns" in Quirk et al. 1972, p. 134 (sec. 4.10).
4 See the comment in OED (s.v. -ing\textsuperscript{12}) that this notable development "is peculiar to English, of which it is a characteristic and most important feature; it was unknown to OE and early ME."

5 See, for instance, OED, s.v. -ing\textsuperscript{12}; Jespersen, Growth, sec. 208; Beugholm 1939, p. 256; etc. See also Curme 1912, p. 353.

6 Visser's work, which presents most of the data collected by earlier scholars, covers OE, ME, and ModE, and his coverage of early ModE is especially complete, drawing, as it does, from his earlier three-volumed A Syntax of the English Language of St. Thomas More (1946-52).

7 The Development of the -ing Ending of the Verbal Noun and the Present Participle from c.700 to c.1400 (The Univ. of Wisconsin diss., 1967).

8 The phonological and morphological aspects of the gerund have been amply discussed by OE and ME scholars (e.g. Langenhove 1925 and Irwin 1967). In the present work, they are touched upon only when they seem to be of interest for the study of the syntactic aspects.
It should also be emphasized that, with the growing popularity of theoretical linguistics, the need for empirical, data-oriented investigations like this study has grown rather than diminished. Cf. Anderson 1973, p. 5, and Rydén 1979, p. 37.

Exceptions include The Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290-1483, Higden's Polychronicon (a1387), and Shillingford's Letters and Papers, 1447-50, to which regrettably I have had no access.

In this connection, I would like to quote the following remarks by P. Roberts and R. Quirk, respectively:

"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." [Roberts 1952, p. 178].

"...the frequency survey is also a sure way of determining and ranking the features that condition variation in grammatical structure." [Quirk 1958, p. 42]

Fundamental problems connected with the coverage, dates and dialects of the texts selected in studying ME usage are lucidly discussed by Kjellmer (1971, pp. 113-17). See also MED, "Plan and Bibliography", pp. 17-18.
13 Note that "WMid" and "SW" in MED correspond to "North-West Midland" and "Southwestern + South-West Midland" respectively in the traditional classification.

14 MED ("Plan and Bibliography," p. 11) places the work under EMid, which is probably a slip, as is rightly pointed out by Kjellmer 1971, p. 122.

15 Listed in MED as Cleanness (Nero).

16 Although dated 1384-1424, the work is placed under the period 1400-1450, because the majority of the documents collected belong to the first quarter of the 15th century.

17 Placed here under 1450-1500, because the greater part of the text was written in the second half of the 15th century.
CHAPTER I

GERUND WITH OBJECT

The gerund developed in the OE period as a pure noun. Its logical object (i.e. the object of the verbal concept implied in it) was, therefore, expressed in the genitive (possessive), and later, as a result of the tendency to use analytic patterns in place of synthetic ones, in the periphrastic genitive with of. This object also formed the first part of a compound (e.g. blood-letting). In the course of the ME period, however, the gerund also began to take an "accusative" or direct object without the help of the preposition of. In ME, therefore, constructions of the gerund with its object may roughly be classified into the following six types:

Type I = objective genitive (possessive) + gerund
(e.g. Bevis 4566 at be kinges couroning; Launfal 78 He most to hys berynge);

Type II = object + gerund (e.g. Rolle Prose 22/19-20 be othir pennaunce doynge);

Type III = gerund + of-adjunct (e.g. Alex. Maced. 430 He was chosen for cheefe in chesing of werre);

Type IV = determiner + gerund + of-adjunct (e.g. Morte Arth. 2377 for the beryenge of his bolde knyghtez);

[36]
Type V = gerund + object (e.g. Des.Troy 11230 in sauyng hor lyuis);
Type VI = determiner + gerund + object (e.g. Caxton Reyn. 24/7-8 The wythholdynge you fro it can doo yow no good).

In Types I and II the object has front-position; in III and IV it has post-position and is preceded by the preposition of; and in V and VI it has post-position and is directly joined to the gerund. Of these six types, I, III, and IV are obviously strongly nominal in character, the -ing form having no syntactical verbal force at all, whereas in V and VI the -ing form is syntactically verbal in that it governs an object without a preposition. Type II, which retains vestiges of OE synthetic expressions as will be discussed later, is transitional from nominal to verbal, sometimes verbal, sometimes nominal, depending upon the context in which it occurs. Of incidental interest is the fact that in present-day English only Types IV and V are the regular constructions when the gerund has an object, the former being 'nominal' and the latter 'verbal'.

The texts examined provide 4,959 examples of the gerund with its object (Types I-VI). The following is a tabular statement of the frequency of each type in the respective texts examined; for the sake of convenience the number of occurrences of the gerund with an adverbial adjunct will also be given here, although discussion will
be postponed to Chapter III (A = gerundial compound 'adverbial element + gerund'; B = gerund + adverb; and C = gerund + adverb phrase):
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<td>2</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
A cursory glance at the above table shows that the gerund with an object of its own remains infrequent until the close of the 13th century, but then occurs with increasing frequency (in all kinds of writings), becoming remarkably common in late ME, especially in *Bk.Lond.* (1384-1425), *Jacob's W.* (c.1440), *Pecock Donet* (c.1445), *Pecock Fol.* (c.1454), and *Paston* (1442-1520), to mention a few. It is also to be noted that the construction is of a wider range in Pecock than in any other writer or work.

The data given above for the individual texts will be combined below to indicate the number and percentage of occurrences of the six types in question by half-centuries from 1100 to 1500, but the periods 1100-1150 and 1150-1200 will be grouped together as '1100-1200' because the corpus for the former is so extremely limited.
### TABLE II

**Occurrence of Gerund with Object by Half-Centuries**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1100-1200</td>
<td>12 (23.1)</td>
<td>9 (17.3)</td>
<td>23 (44.2)</td>
<td>8 (15.4)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>54 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200-1250</td>
<td>22 (51.2)</td>
<td>9 (20.9)</td>
<td>3 (7.0)</td>
<td>9 (20.9)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>43 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1250-1300</td>
<td>17 (26.6)</td>
<td>22 (34.4)</td>
<td>19 (29.7)</td>
<td>5 (7.8)</td>
<td>1 (1.5)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>64 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300-1350</td>
<td>82 (19.5)</td>
<td>51 (12.1)</td>
<td>160 (38.0)</td>
<td>103 (24.5)</td>
<td>23 (5.4)</td>
<td>2 (0.5)</td>
<td>421 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1350-1400</td>
<td>35 (3.5)</td>
<td>60 (6.0)</td>
<td>595 (59.4)</td>
<td>250 (24.9)</td>
<td>58 (5.8)</td>
<td>4 (0.4)</td>
<td>1002 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400-1450</td>
<td>82 (4.8)</td>
<td>227 (13.4)</td>
<td>717 (42.1)</td>
<td>414 (24.4)</td>
<td>253 (14.9)</td>
<td>7 (0.4)</td>
<td>1700 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1450-1500</td>
<td>74 (4.4)</td>
<td>102 (6.1)</td>
<td>562 (33.5)</td>
<td>594 (35.4)</td>
<td>328 (19.6)</td>
<td>17 (1.0)</td>
<td>1677 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>324 (6.5)</strong></td>
<td><strong>480 (9.7)</strong></td>
<td><strong>2079 (41.9)</strong></td>
<td><strong>1383 (27.9)</strong></td>
<td><strong>663 (13.4)</strong></td>
<td><strong>30 (0.6)</strong></td>
<td><strong>4959 (100%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The diagram below, which is based on the above percentages, gives a visual idea of the rise and fall during the ME period of the six types of construction of the gerund with its object.
Diagram to Table II

Type I (Genitive (possessive) + gerund)
Type II (Object + gerund)
Type III (Gerund + of-adject)
Type IV (Determiner + gerund + of-adject)
Type V (Gerund + object)
Type VI (Determiner + gerund + object)
Of the graphs, the one for Type III before 1200 is the most irregular and does not seem to reflect the general trend of gerundial development. This is probably due above all to the relatively small number of texts and instances at our disposal. Hence it follows that the statistics before 1200 in the present corpus must be considered as incomplete.

Table I and Table II, with its diagram reveal several points worth mentioning:

(1) Type I, derived from the OE inflected genitive object, continues to be common in early ME but becomes obsolescent in late ME, particularly from 1350 onwards.

(2) Type II, which also retains vestiges of OE synthetic expressions, is frequent before 1300 but then shows a sharp decrease in late ME, except in a few works, such as Mirk Fest. and Pecock Donet.

(3) Apart from the unusually high frequency before 1200 indicated above, Type III, which is generally regarded as the regular construction in ME, begins to develop after 1250 and reaches its peak in the second half of the 14th century but then decreases steadily, being slightly supplanted by Type IV as the most common construction in the second half of the 15th century.

(4) Type IV, although first found before 1200, becomes frequent only after 1300, competing with, and finally ousting, its rival Type III by 1500.
(5) Type V, with which this study is especially concerned, appears for the first time in the period 1250-1300 and develops steadily although very gradually thereafter.

(6) Type VI, another 'verbal' type of construction, is first instanced in the period 1300-1350 and continues to occur in the subsequent periods, although very infrequently.

In short, it may be said that in early ME (1100-1300) four types of constructions (Types I-IV) competed with each other, the OE types being more prevalent; whereas in late ME (1300-1500) two more types (Types V-VI), both with syntactical verbal force, were added. Type III was the most characteristic of the period but Type IV and also Type V gained ground slowly but steadily. With this overview in mind, a separate discussion and exemplification of each of the six types of gerund with object is now in order.

1.1 Type I: Objective Genitive (Possessive) + Gerund

This is the type of construction in which the gerund takes the genitive or possessive as its object and accordingly has nominal force. In OE the genitive (possessive) was regularly used as the object of the gerund, as in: Alfred Orosius 17/35 "toeacan hæs landes sceawunge 'in addition to observing the land'.” As is shown in Table II, this OE type of construction, although it
happens to lack instances in our 1100-1150 corpus (cf. Table I), continues to be fairly common in early ME, being by far the most frequent in the period 1200-1250, but decreases sharply after 1350, occupying less than 5% of the whole. As regards the use of the genitive and the possessive respectively in this function, Visser (HS, secs. 1105-1106) states that the objective genitive was common in OE, but in ME it is extremely rare, its function being supplanted by the periphrastic genitive with of, whereas the objective possessive was rare in OE but common in ME. Our corpus shows the following distribution, which seems to corroborate Visser's general observation:
### TABLE III.
Genitive Object and Possessive Object

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gen. Obj.</th>
<th>Poss. Obj.</th>
<th>Total (100%)</th>
<th>Type I Types I-VI</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1100-1200</td>
<td>6 (50.0)</td>
<td>6 (50.0)</td>
<td>12 (100%)</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1200-1250</td>
<td>7 (31.8)</td>
<td>15 (68.2)</td>
<td>22 (100%)</td>
<td>51.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1250-1300</td>
<td>2 (11.8)</td>
<td>15 (88.2)</td>
<td>17 (100%)</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300-1350</td>
<td>13 (15.8)</td>
<td>69 (84.2)</td>
<td>82 (100%)</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1350-1400</td>
<td>4 (11.4)</td>
<td>31 (88.6)</td>
<td>35 (100%)</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400-1450</td>
<td>14 (17.1)</td>
<td>68 (82.9)</td>
<td>82 (100%)</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1450-1500</td>
<td>3 (4.1)</td>
<td>71 (95.9)</td>
<td>74 (100%)</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>49 (15.1)</td>
<td>275 (84.9)</td>
<td>324 (100%)</td>
<td><strong>6.5%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III shows that as the object of the gerund the genitive decreases considerably from early ME, becoming extremely rare by 1500, whereas the possessive is relatively rather common after 1200, despite the marked decrease in the overall frequency of Type I in late ME. Here are some examples of the genitive object:

1100-1200 (6 exs.): *Bod.* Hom. 52/28 'per bίβlī eagnē wop 7 toðane grībatung; *Trin.* Hom. 290/7 'ure rode ... is ure lichames clensing; *Anncr.* 190/5-6 'pe earste bitternesse is i sunne bireowsunge 7 i deadbote. (Other examples:
1200-1250 (7 exs.): S.Ward. 251/113-14 þer is ... toðes hechelunge i þe snawi weattres; Lamb.Hom. 125/28-29 al hit bilimpeð to godes luue and to godes herunge; Bestiary 204/07 Go ju ðan to godes hus þe godspel to heren, ðat is, soule drink, sinnes quenching; Owl & N. 981-82 Ac þar is Cristes heriinge, þar me shal grede & lude singe. (Other examples: Lamb.Hom. 33/14-15, 49/34-35 (2 exs.).)

1250-1300 (2 exs.): S.Pass. 560 And al hare bought and dede to lhesu cristes likynge wende; KAlex. 7974 For þe bodyes herizing.

1300-1350 (13 exs.): Glo.Chron. 5964 of þe kinges corouning in þe foure & twenty yere; NHom. 154/22 Es this dai cald Maryes clensing; Mannyng HS 7689-90 þese men shuld for no þing. Come yn wymmens handelyng; Shoreham Poems 14/379-80 A prince toongeþ for te do þe knijtes dobynge. (Other examples: Glo.Chron. 9068; NHom. 153/3, 154/24; Bevis 4566; Cursor 11319, 28720; Seven Sages 1381, 2310)
1350-1400 (4 exs.): Chaucer HF 636 in his 
folkes furtherynges; Chaucer TC V 1499 Of 
Archymoris burying. (Other examples: Chaucer Bo. 
II pr. 3.55-57; Chaucer CT VIII 766)

1400-1450 (14 exs.): Ld.Troy 7914-16 Wo was 
him, that he was born, For sorwe and care and 
mornyng That he toke for his lordis takyng; 
St.Anne 388 Scho ... answerde pam to goddes 
louynge; Hoccl. RP 3810 to his helthes 
susteynyng; Mkempe 130/28-29 It was telde be 
Erchebishop of hys mannys presonyng: (Other 
examples: St.Anne 347, 1149; Wycl.Prelates 
57/16-17; Hoccl RP 4161; Audelay Poems 9.221, 
50.8-9; Bokenham Sts. 6094, 9878; Pecock Donet 
2/3, 133/1)

1450-1500 (3 exs.): Towneley Pl. 53/43 In 
godis lovyng I rayse this stone; Ludus C. 
244/368-69 I xal ordeyn with-inne short space 
Ffor my good lordys wel cormyng; Ib. 267/SD in be 
mene tyme marye magdalene xal renyn to our lady 
and telle here of our lordys takyng.

Since the possessive object is farily well instanced
in ME, especially late ME as is stated above, only a few examples need to be given for the respective periods:

1100-1200 (6 exs.): Bod. Hom. 8/19-20 he wolde swiðor þa soðæn eadmëdnyssé on him bringan to his heterunge; Ančr. 200/22-23 Efter kene-cnihtes deá me hongeð hehe ichirche his scheld on his mungunge; etc.

1200-1250 (15 exs.): SWARD. 252/149-50 euch her me ræk up of bi munegunge; Lofsong Lefdi 61 halewen weneð þet to-þe blod-rune was in his erest<e>.nimunge; etc.

1250-1300 (15 exs.): SLEG. 59:309 Graunte us one stude to ore martyrdom and to ore burijngue also; Arth.Æ M. 9241-42 He hadde iuel goldën þe kissinge þat Gvenour him gaf at his arminge; etc.

1300-1350 (69 exs.): Glo. Chron. 1918 he bicom in is baptizinge hol of al is wo; Cursor 23901 Hir louwing aght i neuer blin; Mannynge Chron. 14154-55 Arthur made here byrying At Wybyry; etc.
1350-1400 (31 exs.): Jos.Arim. 241 he tolde
hem of his crucifiing how he [be] cros sougte;
Pearl 452 If possyble were her mending; Usk TL
II ili 87 Loke to their forminge; etc.

1400-1450 (68 exs.): Lydg. RS 1639 To give
hem mylke to her fosterynge; Peço ck Donet
161/12-13 our cristen religioun, bi whos keping
cristen men schulen be trewe cristen; Gener. 392
he ... curtesly gave them ther welcomyng;
Alph. Tales 6/22-23 bye vs such thynge as vs nedis-
vnto our fyndyng; etc.

1450-1500 (71 exs.): Towneley Pl. 366/406
Sekys to thare savyng, ye apostilles eleven;
Capgr. Chron. 149/23 in his crownyng thel sette
on his hed but a chapelet; etc.

The following example from Bevis may be worthy of
special note in that is 'his' is used as a substitute for
the singular genitive ending -es with female referent:
Bevis 2597-98 After Iosian is cristing Beues dede a
gret filtynge.
It may be possible, however, to take Josian is as the
phonetic equivalent of the genitive Josianis/Josianes.
1.2 Type II: Object + Gerund

This is the type of construction in which the non-genitival object precedes the gerund. Regarding the origin of this Type II, Einenkel (1916, p. 8) and, more recently, Brunner (1962, p. 354) consider OF gerondif as a model for it. Cogently refuting this view, however, Gaaf (1928, pp. 33-41) suggests not only that it can be traced back to OE compounds consisting of 'accusative + gerund' (e.g., Aelfric Hom. I 354/16 sian organ godspelbodung) but that it may also have developed from OE synthetic expressions such as 's-less genitive singular + gerund' (e.g., Bede 52/31 biscopas mid folcum buton aenigre are sceawunge ...) fornumene wæron) or 'genitive plural + gerund' (e.g., Blick Hom. 65/20 ne þær ne bip ... lapra gesamnunge), as will be later discussed. It must be recalled here that, owing to the decay of inflectional endings in ME, the genitive in these constructions no longer differed from the accusative, so that it very often became practically impossible to distinguish the one from the other. In addition to these three sources, Visser (HS, secs. 1109-1112) suggests another possibility, namely that the construction was developed from OE combinations of present participles with objects, as in OE Riddle 16.5 "he beod mec slitende"; Alfred Orosius 188/19 "he maes monega gefeoh donte". It is, therefore, often difficult to decide
whether the noun in constructions of this type should be regarded as accusative or genitive; in other words, whether the -ing form in Type II constructions has verbal force or nominal force. It is, however, certain that this type was comparatively freely used throughout the ME period and even beyond.

Table II, and its diagram indicate that the Type II construction is comparatively frequent in early ME, actually being the most common pattern in the period 1250-1300 (34.4%), but that its relative frequency decreases markedly after 1300. The relatively high figures for 1400-1450 and 1450-1500 are mainly the result of the predilection for this construction by Pecock (Donet & Fol.), Mirk Fest., and the very large text of Paston (cf. Table I). If these texts were discounted, the construction would be found to be rare in the 15th century, being as infrequent as the Type I construction.

The ME examples of Type II ('Object + Gerund') can roughly be divided into four patterns (i)-(iv):

(i) 'Noun (sg.) + gerund,' in which the object is a noun in the singular, without any adnominal adjunct (e.g. Mannyang Chron. 4254 of truage askynge he had wonder);

(ii) 'Adjunct + noun (sg.) + gerund,' in which the adjunct modifies the whole combination (e.g. Alph. Tales 524/18 And purgh his penance-doyng he his sawle was saviyd);
(iii) 'Adjunct + noun (sg.) + gerund,' in which the adjunct qualifies only the first element of the combination (e.g. Mirk *Fest.* 58/20-21 For pes skylles God made mynde of our lady purefiyng);

(iv) '(Adjunct +) noun (pl.) + gerund,' in which the object is a noun in the plural, with or without an adnominal adjunct (e.g. *M*Kempe 121/8-9 for pacyens is more worthy þan myraclys werkyng; *Pecock* *Donec* 5/24-25 þe labour of my bokis making is not wipoute hardnes).

Table IV provides a breakdown into the four patterns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(i)</th>
<th>(ii)</th>
<th>(iii)</th>
<th>(iv)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Type II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Types I-VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1100-1200</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200-1250</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>51</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400-1450</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>227</td>
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<tr>
<td>1450-1500</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
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</table>

(35.2) (21.5) (20.0) (23.3) (100%)
Of the four patterns, Pattern (i) is by far the most common, the other three occurring with more or less equal frequency.

(1) Pattern (i): Noun (sg.) + Gerund (169 exs.)

Instances of the combination 'noun (sg.) + gerund' from our ME material include:

1100-1200 (5 exs.): Peterb. Chron. 25/29-30
ac mæn paer ne gespaedde, butan manmyrringe 7
feohspillinge; Bod. Hom. 76/14-15 On monige wisum
men peniaæ Criste; ... sume on mæessepenunge 7
on monige bedum; Ancr. 12/14 of doddunge 7 of
blodletunge (also in 221/20).

1200-1250 (1 ex.): Wooing Lord 520-21 Ewa
Bale drinch i blodleting.

1250-1300 (6 exs.): KAlex. 197-200 þere was
champouns skirynge, ... Of lyons chace, of þere
baiting, A-bay of bore, of bole slatyng; Ib.
7165 þere was ostel lyuerynge; Ib. 7970 of honde
wryngynge; etc.
1300-1350 (29 exs.): Havelok 2320-27 per mouthe men se pe moste pat mouhte men se: ...
Romanz reding on be bok; NHom. 73/7 Forthi flede Criste man louynge; Guy 6645 Fram dere hunting y-comen he is; Bevis 897 Loue-longing me hap be-couyt; Amis 676 When pai were comen fram dere-hunting; Horn Child 484-85 Horn pan ... Bilaft at hom for blodeleiteing; Cursor 26231 Als spous-brecking, and also hordom; Ib. 26234-35 Fals wijntes and trouth breking, Mans slaughter and hus brening; Seven Sages 2235 Wij bacyn beting and kandel lijt; Mannyng Chron. 4273-74 3e ne wil passe vs forby Wypoute truage askynge greuously; Rolle Ewr. 98/51 mowe makyng on any man; etc.

1350-1400 (30 exs.): Bruce III 346 At leve-takyng the ladys gret; Ib. V 90-91 Till the toun soyn cumin ar thai ... bot noyg making; Chaucer HF 1241 in fight and bloed-shedyng; Chaucer TC III 48 to Venus heryinge; Chaucer CT I 447 Of clooth-makyng she hadde swich an haunt; Ib. VI 587 Of wyn-yeving to hem; Ib. VII 1345 in vengeance-takyng, in werre, in battaille; PPL.B XIX 72 with-outen mercy askynge; Ib. XI 171 he lyueth in deth-deyinge; Usk TL II 111 23 without
violence moving; lb. III iii 121 in soth
knowing; Gower CA 5.1226-28 he fond of his oghne
wit The ferste craft of plowh tilinge Of Eringe
and of corn sowinge; PConsc. 3610 Another es
erhe thurgh assethe makyng; Wars Alex. 4948 Ser,
waite at pou be wemles for woman touching; etc.

1400-1450 (67 exs.): Bk.Lond.E. 11 v 105 of
almesdede ʒyuyng; Ld.Troy 3113 in sorwe and
dele-makyng; Wycl.Prelates 67/16 wip-outen
covenant makyng; Mirk Fest. 269/15-16 pre
þynge ... devot prayng, almęs-ʒyuyng, and
masse-syngyng; lb. 216/17 he was meke yn passion
suffryng, and perfet yn ensamplę ʒyuyng;
Alph.Tales 337/2 he hád loste paime be blode-
lattyn; lb. 22/2 paime pát er slaw in penance
doyng; MKemp. 245/5-7 [pei] wer rebukyd of her
owyn honeste, Obeyng hem to a-seeth makyng;
PLAlex. 18/36 in sacrifice makyng vn-to godd;
Jacob's N. 196/7 to lessyn his blood in blood-
letyn; Pecock Donet 71/9 for childe bigetyng;
lb. 179/19-20 0on is bi mark taking of goddis
technig; York Pl. 1/3 I am lyfe and way unto
welth wynnyng; Gener. 942 of malice compassing
in hys mynd; etc.
1450-1500 (31 exs.): Paston 615.5 Suthwell
desyred me to tarye for evydens gevyng; Pecock
Fol. 145/29-30 lordschip geuynq and lordschip
translatynq ben of such nature pat pei ben not
made wipout inward willyng; Capgr. Chron. 8/23
the grete laboure in schep-kepyng schuld have
sum solace of musik; Treat.I. 128/33-34 by
pacyence beryng; etc.

In some of the above quotations it is hard to decide on
which occasions the preceding noun is accusative or s-less
genitive (i.e. uninflected genitive), and on which
occasions the noun and the gerund form a compound or not.
As is indicated above, however, the examples tend to stiffen
into more or less set phrases in late ME. Those frequently
recurring phrases are: leave-taking, vengeance-taking,
blod-letting/shedyng, loue-longing, penaunce-doyng,
covenant-makyng, dere-hunting, masse syngyng/seying, asseb
makyng, almes giving/doing, truage askyng, hond wryngyng,
etc. in which the noun and the gerund seem to be held
firmly together, possibly being recognized as compounds.

There are, however, some clear examples in which the
preceding noun and the gerund do not constitute a compound,
nor is the noun s-less genitive:
Chaucer CT VII 1581-82 ye shul geten richesses by youre wit ... Withouten wrong or harm doynge to any oother persone; Mirk Fest. 52/4 Thus Crist was schowet by water ynto wyn turynyng for pe fest of Ion pe Euangelyst and Mary Mawdelen (also in 48/2); Paston 177.4-5 as fore that materere, Master Constantyn sewyd hym fore feyth and trowth brekyng; Ib. 200.12 wyth-ought assaught or distresse takyng; Caxton Blanch. 190/1 wythout answer nor replye makyng.

Pecock's idiolectic constructions should be especially noted:

Pecock Donet (8 exs.): 78/10 in reverence to him doynge; 77/6-8 Chargys of pe wiijd toward pe husbonde stondip in reverence to him doing; in obeisaunce to alle hise comaundermentis afore touchid paiyng; 99/24 pe viij is amendis or satisfaccioun making to oure neigbouris. (Other examples: 67/15, 72/13, 74/6, 98/32)

Pecock Fol. (3 exs.): 36/5 as foxes and apes doon in many of her wiles wirchyng; 70/7-8 of euer eiper of pe seid premyssis concludyng for feip; 129/20-21 pouy be lettid and constreyyned
in the iij\textsuperscript{e} maner fro executioun of be outward deedis performyng.

In these examples, the preceding object is clearly a noun in the accusative (or 'common', to use Gaaf's term) case, and the gerund may, therefore, be said to have verbal force.

The gerundial construction with the objective of the personal pronoun as well as the pronouns it and this as its preceding object should also be examined here. Examples seem to be extremely rare. Visser (HS, sec. 1113) quotes only six instances (including one wrong example) from late ME, the oldest dated c1303 from Mannya\textsuperscript{y} HS. However, the texts examined herein have yielded 12 examples, ten of which are found in Pecock (Donet and Fol.):

Mannya\textsuperscript{y} HS 3749-52 Bef pow for yere a man slogh \ldots pat hyt was nat be defendyng. But for wrapp and yre brennyng \ldots; Bokenham Sts. 10353-56 She dysshys in be kechyn ful oftyn \ldots to exclude lettyng, Hyr maydys she sent opir thynys to do. In be mene tyme of his doyng; Pecock Donet 5/24-26 be labour of my bokis making is not withoute hardnes, firste in hem conceyving in suche foorme as pei ben; Ib. 34/15-16 be receyver, in it receiving, schuld
make a couenaunt wip god to kepe al þat is now afore seid; Pecock Fol. 52/1-2 in eny treupis fyndyng or hem sureli knowyng; 1b. 134/34-35 y am not constreyynyd ... forto fijte agens myne assailers in me defendyng. (Other examples: Pecock Donet 70/23, 70/24, 72/13, 72/16; Pecock Fol. 97/32-35 (2 exs.))

In these examples, the gerund can be said to have verbal force since it does not form a compound with the preceding object-indicating pronoun. Notice that the gerund in Pecock Fol. 52/1-2 is also accompanied by an adverb. Pecock's frequent use of this idiom apparently has much to do with the fact that he tends to place the object before the verb, or in general, a modifier before its head-word.

(2) Pattern (ii): Adjunct + Noun (sg.) + Gerund (103 exs.)

This is the construction in which the combination 'noun (sg.) + gerund', discussed as Pattern (i), is preceded by such adjuncts as articles, demonstratives, possessives, and adjectives, the adjunct qualifying the whole combination, not simply its first element. According to van der Gaaf (1928, pp. 34-35), this pattern dates back to OE, as in: Aelfric De Novo Test. 12.16 "æt him ongann seo godspellbodung" and Id. Hom. 1.176 "nan lustfullung ne hrepede his mod". Visser (HS, secs. 1116-1118) further adds
that constructions of the 'adjunct + noun + gerund' type (i.e. Patterns (ii) and (iii)) were common in ME, but are no longer so frequent in ModE, and that as a rule the adjunct seems to qualify the combination as a whole. Table IV seems to confirm Visser's first point but contradict his second. That is, these two patterns preceded by the adnominal adjunct were used with almost equal frequency, rating 21.5% with Pattern (ii) and 20.0% with Pattern (iii).

The following quotations illustrate Pattern (ii), in which the adjunct seems to modify the whole combination 'noun (sg.) + gerund', rather than its first element (although some of them (e.g. Chester, Pl. 48/149-50) may admit of either interpretation):

1100-1200 (3 exs.): Angr. 30/3 wiþ hare blod schedunge; Ib. 61/9 i be ilke blodletunge; Ib. 217/8-9 Swa wisliche witeð ow in ower blodletunge.

1200-1250 (2 exs.): Hmaid. 52/549-52 Lutel wät meiden ... of hire wa-siøes of bet fode fostrunge; Lofsong Lefdi 57-58 in his blod spetunge.

1250-1300 (5 exs.): SPass. 1793 be
eorge-quekyng was ymad wip gret soun; Arth. & M. 8502 In al his diol-makeinge; KAlex. 2159 Now rist grete tabour-betyng; etc.

1300-1350 (6 exs.): Glo.Chron. 11413 suppe ber after com much blod ssedinge; Munnyng HS 6906 Forpenkep nat of soure almes-yyuyn; Ayenb. 112/3-4 he hit oue let: at his yleauqe nymynge and at his laste bequide; etc.

1350-1400 (15 exs.): Chaucer BD 1312-13 al was doon. For that tyme, the hert-huntyng; Bruce 1561 Sa fell off this conand making; Chaucer CT VII 1431 by the vengeance-takyng; Ib. VIII 922 Somme seyde it was long on the fir makyng; PPl.B XIII 451 in his deth-deyinge; Ib. XI 144 wyth-outen any bede-byddyng his bone was vnderfongen; Gower CA 5.1202-03 sche fond ferst 17 in hire avis The cloth making of wolle and lyn; etc.

1400-1450 (49 exs.): Bk.Lond.E. 37/121-22 with any wronge wytnesse beryng; Ld.Troy 14538 With-oute any debate-makyng; Wycl.Prelates 70/19 for be dede doynte is proff of loue; Beryn 1267-68 I wol nat leve ... my dis-pleyng, for all
yeur heretages; Mirk Fest. 35/9 pay were not nyes to God by pride, ... nor to hor neghbur by no wrong doyng; Alph. Tales 467/24 pur his penance-doyng sho was delyvered out of payn; Ib. 64/13 he lefte his almos-giffyng; Ib. 442/28-29 be bisshopp ... left his mes-saying; Chester Pl. 48/149-50 An hundred winters and twentye this 18 shippe-makinge tarryd have I; PLAlex. wit- owten any assawte gyffyng; Jacob's W 108/29 of bi trewth brekyng; Pecock Donet 165/30 pou schalt do no mansleyng; GRom. 410/30 I have bought the full dere with my passyon sufferyng; etc.

1450-1500 (25 exs.): Paston 569.17-18 pere were at be distresse takyng yonge Henre Wentworth; yonge Calthorpe, ...; Merlin 111/13-14 Vyfin hym-self was at be couenaunt makyng; Ib. 652/15 Gawein lepte on his horse also withoute other leve-takinge; Pecock Fol. 144/32-33 in be tyme of be couenaunt makyng; Malory Wks. 261/30 for his herborow askyng; Cely 77/12 I here off non exchaunge makyng yet; etc.
With various degrees of closeness — though to exactly what degree it is hard to say — the noun and the gerund in these examples seem to be united, possibly being recognized as a kind of compound. The gerund used thus points to its nominal rather than verbal force. The most frequently recurring combinations include: blood-letting/shedding, almes-giving, leave-taking, conand/covenant-making, vengeance-taking, love-longing, fir-making, bede-byddynge, penance-doing, mess-saying, law-keeping. These are much the same expressions as those commonly found in the preceding section (1).

(3) Pattern (iii): Adjunct + Noun (sg.) + Gerund (96 exs.)

This pattern differs from Pattern (ii) in that the preceding adjunct appears to qualify only the first element of the combination 'noun + gerund'. As a possible prototype van der Gaaf (1928, p. 38) provides the following example from OE: Aelfric Hom. II "se hælpe is purgh his brobur hatung 19 swa scyldig, swa se manslaga", but only in ME and early ModE does the construction under consideration seem to be of frequent occurrence. As is apparent from Table IV, unambiguous examples of this pattern begin to occur first in the period 1200-1250, and become nearly as frequent as those of Pattern (ii) in late ME — despite Visser's claim that the adjunct mostly modifies the combination as a whole.
(HS, secs. 1117-1118). Examples from the different periods include:

1100-1200: none.

1200-1250 (3 exs.): Lofsong Lefdi 40-42 Ich bide þe ... bi his flech founge of hine eadi-
21 bodie; ib. 55-60 Ich bide þe bi his side
openunge ... in his side burlunge wih ute sore
wunde.

1250-1300 (1 ex.): Gen.& Ex. 3408-10 Letro ...
tagte him siþen witterlike Vnder him helps
oþere don, þat folc stereng to streng[t]hen on.

1300-1350 (8 exs.): Glo.Chron. 7859 it was
noȝt fourtene after is fader buriinge; Mannyng
HS 7887 Whedyr hyt be yn a woman handlyng, Or
yn any ober lusty pyng; Cursor 2049-50 Noe wit
þat mantil woke, His sun hething he vnder-toke;
Cursor (Cotton Insertion) 89-93 Mary maudlayn &
mari Iacobe ... had boght þam oynementz for oure
lord anoynynge; Seven Sages 1524-27 þe maister
... hādde mani a blessyng, For his disciple
deliuying; Rolle Prose 22/19-20 be obir
pennaunce doynge; etc.
1350-1400 (6 exs.): PP1.B XV 76 in housyng, in haterynge and in to hiegh clergeye shewynge; Wycl. Leaven 20/10-11 bi false procurynge of matrymonyne by sotelytes ... and fals dyuors makyng; Perceval 1573-74 pen, said Arthour be Kyng Of bold Perceuell techynge; etc.

1400-1450 (53 exs.): Ld. Troy 7902-04 Pilodomas myȝt not forȝete ... His dere fader takynge; Mirk Fest. 169/28-29 for Cristis passione mynnynge, for gret loue schowyng, and for gret mede getynge; MKempe 181/33-34 grettar peyn may I not suffyr in his worlde þan be put fro bi holy worde herynge; Ib. 153/2-3 of þe wondyrful swetnesse þat sche had in þe world of God getynge; Jacob's W. 306/7 for a peny getynge pou wylt lyen, & forswere þe; Pecock Donet 2/1-2 in tyme of þe said book ... writing; Ib. 213/8 to suffre for god in his lawe kepynge; etc.

1450-1500 (25 exs.): Paston 54.125 at the time of þe said astate takynge; Ib. 538.18 of myn acquitaile to my seyd lord in his seyd wille fulfyllynge; Pecock Fol. 13/22 wipoute clerre s[i]ȝt hauynge; Ib. 103/20-21 whiche seruen as
profitable meenes into his fynal purposid entent getynge; Towneley Pl. 365/363 my son myssyng makys me to morwe; Malory Wks. 186/32-33 suffir me not to dye for a fayre worde spekyng; Ib. 632/31 that slyeve berynge repents me; etc.

In some of the above quotations (e.g. Glo.Chron. 7859, Cursor 2049-50, Towneley Pl. 365/313, etc.) it may be possible to regard the noun preceding the gerund as s-less genitive and, consequently, to interpret the construction as belonging to Type I ('Objective genitive + Gerund'), because in these works the uninflected genitive is not infrequently used, as in: Glo.Chron. 7855 "after is fader depe"; Towneley Pl. 34/358 "for my son lyf". This can also be suggested from other MSS readings; for example, Cursor 2050 "His sun hething" reads as follows: MS Fairfax, "his sones hethyng"; MS Göttingen "His suenes scornynge"; MS Trinity "his sones scorne"; while Seven Sages 1526 "his disciple deliuiering" reads as MS Egerton "his dyscypelys deliuiering and MS Balliol College "his dissiples deliuiering". Otherwise, the fact that only the noun before the gerund can be modified by an adjunct shows that the noun and the gerund seem to be less firmly connected, the former appearing somewhat detached from the latter and functioning as its preposed direct object. Accordingly, the gerund used can be said to have verbal force.
This idiom is most idiosyncratically represented in Pecock, who is again outstanding on account of his lengthy, involved noun-modifying adjuncts as in:

Donet 75/26 and to goddis vertuose lawe kepíng; 96/29-31 who so wole in bis laboure of his schrīft to god or to man making, seche his ese and his alijting, he may hereof fynde a foorme of schryft; 99/21-22 pe vij is also goddis lawe in so moche be better kepíng and fulfílling; etc.

Fol. 103/20-21 whiche seruen as profitable meenes into his fynal purpoisid entent getyng; 131/25-26 ffadir, y banke gow for al bis good informacioun to me makyng and geuyng; etc.

These are definitely not instances of compounding nor of the s-less genitive object + gerund, but are unambiguous examples of the gerundial construction in which its front-placed object is a noun in the accusative (or 'common') case.

(4) Pattern (iv): (Adjunct +) Noun (pl.) + Gerund (112 exs.)

In this pattern the object preceding the gerund is a noun in the plural and the adjunct may or may not occur.
This construction might have come from those OE combinations whose first element is a plural noun in the genitive, as in: Blick.Hom 65/20 "ne paer ne bap ... Iabra gesammung". In ME, however, those nouns end in -(e)s, and can no longer be recognized as genitives, their presence being consequently realized as direct objects.

As van der Gaaf (1928, p. 39) remarks, whether the noun in this pattern ever occurs in the plural in OE is highly doubtful. Both Gaaf and Visser (HS sec. 1119) quote their earliest examples from the same texts dated about 1200. Visser also comments that the idiom is well represented in ME, but falls into disuse in ModE. Our corpus provides some 112 examples from about 1200 onwards, which may (56 exs.), or may not (56 exs.), be preceded by an adjunct. That Pattern (iv) seems to be especially common in the 15th century (cf. Table IV) is due to its frequent occurrence in several works, such as Mirk Fest., M Kempe, and Pecock Donet. Here again Pecock should be noted for the use of such involved combinations as Donet 99/27-28 "pe ixe is obire mennys defautis with pite and compassioune birewing".

The 56 examples in the corpus of noun (pl.) + gerund without adjunct are presented first:

1100-1200 (1 ex.): Trin.Hom 65/8-10 mepinga ne bring no synful man quemere loc bene teares shedding for his sinnen.
1200-1250 (2 exs.): Orm. 18026-27 Judea
tacnepp uss Misedess annzæetinng eg; Lamb. Hom.
Pater N. 260-61 purh festing and purh wacunge and ec purh ibodenes biddunge.

1250-1300 (10 exs.): Arth. & M. 2427-30 Our king ... Him assailed and ek his men ... wip mangunels casteinge; KAlex. 2167 Now rist ...
Swedes draweyng, lymes lesyng; Ib. 3841 pere was speres babing; etc.

1300-1350 (4 exs.): Havelok 234-35 per was sobbing, ... Handes wringing; NHom. 128/25-26 In ouer mirkenes, thar sare greting Sal euer be, with teth ganisting; Shoreham Poems 39/1088-89 repentaunce hys signe also of sennys for-zenyeung; Ayenb. 176/33-34 in trossinge an ine sseweres pouringne.

1350-1400 (4 exs.): Chaucer CT VIII 796-97
Nat nedeth it for to reherce hem all; Watres rubifiyng; PP1.B IV 117 childryn cherissyng be chastynge with jerdes; Ib. XIX 373-74 Somme thorw bedes-byddynge, ... some thorw penyes-delynge.
1400-1450 (28 exs.): Bk. Lond. E. IV xvii
189 in medicyns doyng or makyng; Ld. Troy 4587-88
He was weri of men scleyng, ... and of strokes
jeuyng; Mirk Fest. 260/22 he was merwyle ye
myracles doyng; Alph. Tales 412/10 he contynewid
in syngyn, prayers-saying; Bokenham Sts. 368 In
nams yeuyn; Peckock Donet 67/15 trespacis and
giltis forfeving; Ib. 100/11-13 be xiiij is ... peynes taking in body and in spirit; etc.

1450-1500 (7 exs.): Paston 604.12 in viages
makyng; Capgr. St. Gilb. 72/11 Offten wold he
wepe in ympnis & Psalmys redyng; Caxton Charles
27/17 in yeftes ye-uyng he was ryght large;
Partenay 6162-63 More swefter she gote then arew
any, smitting man without wurdes saing seere;
etc.

In our corpus there are 56 examples of the
combination 'noun (pl.) + gerund' preceded by an adjunct.
As a rule the preceding adjunct qualifies only the first
element of the combination. Nevertheless, there are six
ambiguous cases in which it seems as if the whole
combination is modified by the adjunct, as in:
Manning HS 797. Now shul we leue oure obys sweryng: M Kempe 124/4-5 ye amende 30w of heuer othys sweryng: Alpha Tales 81/20 he had neuer presumpcion in heys mynde of his prayers-saying: Ib. 305/21-22 all be vertue of his meracles-doyng: Paston 774.9-10 the fete of her armys doyng: Partenay 5212 [he] hasted to complesh his dedes doing.

In all but these six cases, the adjunct seems to modify the first element only:

1100-1200: none.

1200-1250 (1 ex.): Lofsong Lefdi 48-49 Ich bide be ... bi his clohes wrixlunge.

1250-1300: none.

1300-1350 (3 exs.): Medit. Supper 40 be secunde ys hys dyciples fete wasshyng: Rolle Prose 11/4-5 with all athes brekyng: Ib. 30/20 in oper gude werkes doyng.

1350-1400 (5 exs.): Chaucer CT VIII 769-70 of the care and wo That we hadde in oure
matires sublymyng; PPl.B VII 87 Late vsage be
jowre solace of seyntes lyues redynge; Perceval
517-18 hafe bou my blessyng For bi feres
folouynge; PConsc. 4258 Another thrugh fals
miracles shewyng; RRose 5450-51 They maken
foolis glorifie Of her wordis spekyng.

1400-1450 (27 exs.): Bk.Lond.E. IV xvii 15-
16 for a paire of newe Sherys gisting and
gryndyng; Mirk Fest. 6/8 for gret myracles
doyng; MKempe 205/29-33 in manys bedys byddyn.
... in gret almes dedys doyng ... in good wordys
spekyng wyth be mowth; Alph.Tales 213/1 in bies
wurdis sayling he swelt; Pecok Donet 99/28-31 pe
xe is her trespasis doon to vs forgeving; her
restoringis and her satisfacciouns dewe to vs
... pardoning or relesing; lb. 100/11 pe xiiije
isoure lustys of body and of spirit
withdrawing; etc.

1450-1500 (14 exs.): Paston 919.29 ye shall
pray God ... in good dedes preseueryng; Merlin
597/30-31 wery thei were of the traujile of the
strokes yevinge and also recey[u]inge in the
stour; Pecok Fol. 51/39 he schewip him silf be
blunt in any treubis fyndyng or hem sureli
knowyng; Caxton Reyn. 65/32-34 in longe fastyng
and many thyngis reedyng and syngyng; etc.

The fact that the noun before the gerund can be
plural and can also be modified by an adjunct shows that
the noun is more or less clearly detached from the gerund,
functioning as its preposed direct object. Accordingly, the
gerund used can be said to have verbal force.

As will be clear from this discussion of the
different patterns of Type II ('Object + Gerund'), there
are a number of cases in ME in which the combination 'noun
+ gerund' may be assumed to be compounds or vestiges of OE
synthetic expressions such as 's-less genitive singular +
gerund' or 'genitive plural + gerund' (where the -ing form
has nominal force), because the decay of the inflectional
endings has made practically impossible a formal
distinction between s-less genitive and accusative
singular, or between genitive plural and accusative plural.
From about 1200 onwards, however, there are also a number
of examples in which the preceding object is unambiguously
a (pro)noun in the accusative (or 'common') case, as is
evident from the following facts: that the noun takes an
adjunct by itself or occurs in the plural, that the noun is
separated by an adverb from the gerund, and that the
objective form of the personal pronoun is employed instead of the noun-object. These features suggest that the noun is no longer a part of a compound or synthetic expression but is detached from the -ing form, functioning syntactically as its pre-posed, direct object. This analytic tendency is most characteristically and even idiolectically represented in Reginald Pecock (Donet & Fol.). Hence the Type II construction can be said to be sometimes nominal, sometimes verbal, depending on the context in which it occurs, but in any case it is very characteristic of ME (and possibly early ModE). Comparatively speaking, however, the object + gerund construction is frequent in early ME, but becomes obsolescent in late ME, where the gerund + object construction (Type V) begins to increase. This process seems to have much to do with the firm establishment of the word-order 'Subject-Verb-Object' in late ME. The following example symbolizes this transitional stage:

Alph.Tales 12/10-11 “eyur he contynewid in syngyng, prayers-saying, and wurshippiyn our Lady vnto pe stounde of dead”.

1.3 Type III: Gerund + Of-Adjunct

This is the type of construction in which the gerund is followed by the of-adjunct (i.e. the periphrastic genitive with of) which is syntactically equivalent to a
direct object, and accordingly nominal in character. This construction, Visser (HS, sec. 1120) explains, came into being as a result of the general tendency to use the periphrastic genitive with of instead of the inflected genitive, which began in late OE and becomes established by 1300, as in: Lay.Brut (MS Clg dated a1225) 19228 "for mines drihtenes lufe". Lay.Brut (MS Otho dated c1300) "for loue of mine drihte". It has generally been considered that this type of construction makes its first appearance about the time of Chaucer and that it is the regular or most common construction of gerund with object in ME and early ModE, but that it is only archaic or dialectal or vulgar in Present-day English. This commonly held view seems to call for some modification.

First of all, Visser (HS, sec. 1120) quotes his earliest example from Gen.& Ex. dated c1250, which antedates by a century the generally acknowledged appearance of this construction. In fact, however, our corpus provides some even earlier instances, namely those from Trin.Hom. and Ancr. dated ?a1200, as evidenced in Table I. Secondly, the observation that it is the regular or most common construction in ME not only lacks factual evidence but does not reflect the actual state of affairs regarding its use in ME. It is true that the Type III construction is by far the most common pattern in ME generally, but its relative frequency is by no means uniform throughout the ME
period. As is clear from Table II, the construction first appears about the end of the 12th century (\textit{a}1200. \textit{Trin.Hom.} and \textit{a}1200 \textit{Ancr.}), remaining rare until 1250, but then gradually becomes more common in the second half of the 13th century and overwhelmingly predominant during the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century. After 1400, however, its relative frequency begins to decrease, so that by the end of the ME period its predominance has been superseded, albeit only slightly, by the Type IV construction 'determiner + gerund + \textit{of}-adjunct'. Its relatively unusually frequent use in \textit{Trin.Hom.} and \textit{Ancr.} dated \textit{a}1200 should be regarded as a sporadic phenomenon, considering the historical fact that this construction makes its first appearance in these works but that it remains very rare until about 1250, as stated above. Thus our corpus indicates that it is not until somewhere between 1300 and 1350, and most probably the second quarter of the 14th century (cf. Table I), that Type III actually establishes itself as 'the regular construction in ME', thereby making doubtful any claim that Type IV is the regular or most common construction in or throughout the ME period. Examples of Type III are so abundant that only some typical ones are given below, although all available instances before 1300 are recorded so as to redress the above-mentioned erroneous view.
1100-1200. (23 exs.): Trin. Hom. 49/31-32 bidde we
... bat he us give be bitocinge bat is imene
34
turtlen and duues pat is bireusinge of ure
fule sinnes; lb. 63/21-22 be lichames festing is
wiætging of estmetes and oueretes; Ancr. 27/21-
23 Euchar segge as best berea hire on heorte.
Verseilunge of sawter. Redunge of englisc oder
of frensch; lb. 62/19-20 putten hond utward ...
is wohunge efter grome 7 tollunge of his eorre;
lb. 144/13-15 alswa as prude is wilnunge of wuræ-
schipe, riht alswa þer togeines eadmodnesse is
forkeastunge of wuræschipe. (Other examples:
Trin. Hom. 63/25-26, 135/15-16; Ancr. 8/8,
13/14, 42/23, 62/22-23, 78/13-14, 102/3, 102/9-
10, 104/7-8, 105/22-23, 108/26-28, 122/8,
142/23, 196/23-24, 215/26-27)

1200-1250 (3 exs.): Vices & V. 19/1 and har
is chiueringe of toæen for ðe unmate chele;
Wooing Lord 3-5 Swetter is munegunge of þe þen
mildeu o musæ; Lofsong Lefdi 21-22 prude 7
wilnunge of pris me habbed sore iwunded.

1250-1300 (19 exs.): Gen. & Ex. 831-32 þo
wuræen waxen so wide and spred, pride and
giscing of louerd-hed; SLeg. 52.6 with-out e hurtingue of ani-pinc. SPass. 2080 How hi' him ffurst knewe porw brekyng of brede; Thursh & N. 5-6 For longing of be nighttegale pis fowles murie singeb; Arth.& M. 936 Wipouten knoweinge of mannes sade; KAlex. 558 Wipouten doynge of any harme. (Other examplis: SLeg. 26.33, 45.556, 62.40, 62.171-72; SPass. 123, 339, 376, 658, 795-96; Arth.& M. 1198; KAlex. 2159-60, 6824, 7815)

1300-1350 (160 exs.): Glo.ChPen. 5909 In ssedinge of bi broder blod; NHom. 112/3 in ordaining of priestes and clerkes; Manynyng HS 7716 yn handlyng of sum wyce; Cursor 12775 For sauweing of vr dampnacioun; Otuel & R. 2369 ffor huntyng of an hare; Ayenb. 268/34-35 More hy byepe glede wyp-oute gesyng ye of godes holynesse; Rolle Prose 31/24 in helpynge of his euencristyn; Rolle EWr. 106/64-65 pe saule es anely comforted in loyving and lufyng of God; MPPsalter 10.9 pe biginnynge of wysdome is dreyng of our Lord; Nicod. 1685-86 kan ye any witnes draw by kasting of clergise; etc.
1350-1400 (595 exs.): Eglam. 554-55 ye sall dy For slayng of my bare; Alex. & Maced. 969 I had minde on my slepe by meting of sweuen; WPal. 4362 meke pe of pi majencoli for marring of pi-selue; Bruce V 81-82 thai ly trasty, but dreading of vs; PPl.B V1.9 Somme shal sowe the sakte ... for shedyng of the whete; Firumb. 4071 Wyp-out takeynge of vengeance; Chaucer HF 305-06 of oon he wolde haue fame In magnyfyinge of hys name; Wycl.Leeven 24/19-20 vp peyne of lesynge of her lordischiphe ... and lesynge of bodi and soule; Usk TL 14.1 viii 55 in engendring of children; Gower CA 5.2794 in savinge of hire goode name; PPl.Creed 843 for amending of bise men; Siege Jerus. 247 pan was wepyng, & wryngynge of hondis; Dest.Troy 464 hir talent was taken for tastynge of wyne; Par1.3.Ages 443 David ... Was caughte from kepyng of schepe; Cloud 2/17 in eschewing of pis' error; Wars Alex. 1797 In bilding of his bachelers he breuys pire wordis; Quatref.Love 58-59 Withowten ... castynge of colore or changynge of hewe; Le Morte Arth. 911 In chalengynge of his brothers dede; etc.
1400-1450 (717 exs.): Bk. Lond. VI 1078 with amendyng of be dore; St. Anne 3234 In mending of bi trespas; Wycl. Prelates 90/4-5 in prechemyng of be gospel; Beryn 2368 for plukking of my scleve; Lydg. RS 23 in hyndring of my name; Hoc. RP 5161 Making of Eue tokned be makyng of holy chirche; Mirk Fest. 254/12 yn etynge of bys bred; Alph. Tales 488/31 be pis obstacle he was lett fro halsyng of his wyfe; Ben. Rule 43/28-29 be autors of chesyng of be prioresse; Castle Perew. 1522 In forsakyng of bryn angyl good; M. Kempe 198/3-4 her mende was raueschyd in-to beholdyne of orn Lady Jacob's W. 261/24 for dreed of lesyng of my good; Pecock Donet 107/18 bi disputing of manye questiouns; Gener. 6322 In easyng of myn hert I haue don this; GRom. 315/33 for doyng of synne; etc.

1450-1500 (562 exs.): Paston 851.12 for washyng of my sherte and botys; Scrope DSP 244/3-4 to kepe him from doyng of schamefulle thingis; Capgr. St. Aug. 58/12-13 affir making of bat werke he mad many obir bokes; Merlin 80/16 in makyng of this pees; Capgr. St. Gilb. 74/23 for doyng of myracles; Pecock Fbl. 41/13-14 as for nurishcyng of al be bodi; Towneley Pl. 243/7
for doyng of myracles; Pecock Fol. 41/13-14 as
for nurischyny of al be bodi; Towneley Pl. 243/7
In bradyng of batels I am the most bold;
DSPhilos. 269/19 for getynge of good; Capgr.
Chron. 74/21 He deyed with cuttyng of his
veynes; Malory Wks. 216/20 there was drawynge of
swerdys; Ass.Gods 1293 I thanke God & yow of
sauyng of myn honour; Mankind 791 He wenyth
Mercy were honge for stelyng of a mere; Wis.
337-38 In reformynge of my place ys dyght Man;
Cely 74/16 in byeng of ther stowe; Caxton En. to
preyssinge of the place; Lancelot 1422 In
satisfaccione and doynig of penans; Golagrus &
G. 467 Thair wes blauing of bemyrs, braging, and
beir; etc.

Some of the examples belonging here are qualified by
an adverbiai adjunct or take an objective predicative (or
complement), showing that even the strongly nominal -ing
form had begun to acquire a verbal character. The
construction modified by an adverbiai adjunct first appears
as early as c1280 in SPass. and then gradually becomes
frequent in the 14th and 15th centuries. Only a few
examples need to be quoted here:

1250-1300 (1 ex.): SPass. 376 pere worp wop
and gruntyng of tep ffasste.
1300-1350 (6 exs.): Rolle Prose 13/10-11
Consaile es doyng awaye of worlde de ches; Ib.
25/27 in fullfyllynge of the dedit of mercy
bodili and gostely; etc.

1350-1400 (13 exs.): Purity 159-60 gryspynge
harde of tepe tenfully togethe; Wycl.Leaven 3/2
for getynge more plenitousli of wordli godis;
Dest.Troy 11194 ff for deiryng with dethe of the
derfe grekes; etc.

1400-1450 (25 exs.): Bokenham Sts. 6040 in
lernynge of be feyth dylygently; Pecock Donet
52/10 bi not weerlyng of resoun; etc.

1450-1500 (25 exs.): Paston 880.53 for
takyng away of John of Berneys; Cely 36/22-23 of
settyng done of the golde; etc.

The construction 'gerund + of-adjunct + objective
predicative' occurs only once in Rolle EWr. (a1349) and
seven times in Bk.Lond.E. (1384-1425) in which practically
the same expression is, however, repeated seven times:

Rolle EWr. 99/77-79 Other many syns par er of
omission, pat es, of leveyng of gude undone, whne men leves be gude pat pai suld do; Bk. Lond. E. VI 942 to an laborer for makynge clene of our halle (also in VI 1021, 1035, 1038, 1041, 1053, and 1058).

1.4 Type IV: Determiner + Gerund + Of-Adjunct

In this type of construction, while being preceded by such determiners as articles, possessives, demonstratives, the gerund is followed by the of-adjunct which is syntactically equivalent to a direct object. Its strong nominal nature is doubly indicated by the presence of the preceding determiner and the following of-adjunct. In other words, the gerund here has no syntactical verbal force at all. The determiner is most frequently represented by the definite article the, but forms other than the are also used. This 'the + gerund + of-adjunct' construction has received some attention from scholars. For example, Abbott (1872, sec. 93) comments that in Shakespeare it still seems to have been regarded as colloquial, and Trnka (1930, p. 90, n 95) remarks that it was established as late as the beginning of the 18th century. More recently, however, Partridge (1953, p. 92) who only quotes instances from c1400 Mandev. states that it appears to have been regular in ME. Visser's amply illustrated view that it begins to appear first in the beginning of the 14th
century (c1303 Mannyng HS) and subsequently becomes usual seems to be the most reliable one so far put forward. The construction with determiners other than the, on the other hand, has hardly received any treatment, except for poorly illustrated, passing comments made by Jespersen (MEG, V, secs. 8.4.2-8.4.5) and Visser (HS, sec. 1120).

Our data correct the earlier views in several respects. Tables I and II clearly indicate that the Type IV construction first appears around the end of the 12th century (?a1200 Ancr.) but does not become at all common for a century thereafter and then occurs with increasing frequency in the 14th and 15th centuries, finally becoming the most frequently used of the gerund with object constructions in the second half of the 15th century. This fact foreshadows its increasing frequency in ModE. The following table is classified according to the kinds of determiners used before 'gerund + of-adjunct' constructions. (Def = Definite article; Dem = Demonstrative; Poss = Possessive; Adj = Adjective.)
TABLE V

Determiners before Gerunds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Def</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Poss</th>
<th>Adj</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1100-1200</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(62.5)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(37.5)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200-1250</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(33.3)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(55.6)</td>
<td>(11.1)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1250-1300</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(80.0)</td>
<td>(20.0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300-1350</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(53.4)</td>
<td>(1.0)</td>
<td>(1.9)</td>
<td>(26.2)</td>
<td>(17.5)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1350-1400</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(59.2)</td>
<td>(2.0)</td>
<td>(4.0)</td>
<td>(14.0)</td>
<td>(20.8)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400-1450</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(66.9)</td>
<td>(2.9)</td>
<td>(6.0)</td>
<td>(12.6)</td>
<td>(11.6)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1450-1500</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(83.5)</td>
<td>(0.8)</td>
<td>(3.7)</td>
<td>(4.4)</td>
<td>(7.6)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>988</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>1383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(71.4)</td>
<td>(1.7)</td>
<td>(4.3)</td>
<td>(10.7)</td>
<td>(11.9)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The instances from before 1300 are too scanty to make any definite statement about them, but the above table provides the evidence for a steady increase in the frequency of use of the definite article before gerunds from the first half of the 14th century onwards. This 'the + gerund + of-adjunct' construction is first attested before 1200, namely, in ?a1200 Ancr (cf. Table 1), at least a century earlier than Visser's oldest quotation (c1303 Mannyng HS).
In late ME the definite article occurs with such increasing frequency (and at the expense of the other determiners) as to become practically the regular determiner in Type IV constructions by the end of the 15th century. It is also clear that constructions with the other determiners with the exception of the indefinite article a(n) also make their first appearance very much earlier than suggested by the oldest examples previously noted—as will be evidenced below.

(1) Definite article (988 exs.)

Those instances which precede Visser's oldest citation from cl303 are all recorded in the following list of examples:

1100-1200 (5 exs.): Auncr 17/16-18 heal mi blodi sawle of alle be sunnen þ ha is wið wundet þurh mine fif wittes i be muneyunge of ham; Ib. 18/10 [1] be wunðunge iesu crist of pine tweof apostles; Ib. 42/9-10 þe tilunge of rihtwisnesse: þ is silence. Silence til ðe hire; Ib. 135/4-5 apet te schedunge of ower blod; Ib. 169/8-9 þe wesschunge wiþ uten bitacne þ þe wesschunge of sawle wiþ innen.
1200-1250 (3 exs.): St.Kath. 1380 i be cnawlechunge of his kinewurē nome; St.Juliana 3/2-3 ipe deore wurēmunt of his deorewurē sune 7 ipe heilunge of be hali gast; Wooning Lord 6-8 Hwat herte is swa hard þe mei to melte ipe muneyunge of be.

1250-1300 (4 exs.): SPass. 367 þe net lo is þe preching of oure lorde lawe; Ib. 1010 þe preouynge of louve is ffol wirchynge in dede; Ib. 1085 ffram ham he wente þo þe browynge of a stone; KAlex. 4073-74 of þe draweyng of bowjes and stykke þe eyre bicom trouble and þicke.

1300-1350 (55 exs.): NPass. 1040-41 of þis ded wol i be cleene And of þe spilling of his blod; Cursor 18260 And thoru þe tinning of paradis; Otuel & R. 118-19 he wyl thy body spylle, ffor þe wynnyng off Spayne; etc.

1350-1400 (148 exs.): NHom.Pass. 2441-42 Scho was þe first pat sufferd shame ffor þe
neuencyng of Ihesu name; Chaucer LGW 2459-60 Ye han wel herd of Theseus devyse in the betraysynege of fayre Adryane; Chev. Assigne 194 for be sauynge of hem þank pou haste serueth; etc.

1400-1450 (277 exs.): Hoccl. RP 5437-38 That is the wye vn-to the conqueryng Of hevenes blysse; Alph. Tales 228/9-10 he ... dischargid þaim be company & spekyng with of any 39 strangiers; PLAlex. 78/31-32 be wirchipyng of many goddes we eschu; GRom. 376/32-33 they all thanked god, for the deluyeryng of the yonge synfulle man; etc.

1450-1500 (496 exs.): Paston 929.57 to the bying of a gowne for hir; Cely 94/5 at the makynge of thys lettyr; Caxton Curial 10/8-9 in the pourchassynge of it; Treat. L. 98/11-13 they ... will for the purchasyng & receuyng of erthele weles trespace ayenste god; etc.

There are some cases in which, despite its strong nominal character, the gerund in Type IV also has the verbal force marked by the addition of an adverbial adjunct. Constructions of this sort are occasionally,
although not as often as in Type III, found after 1300:

1300-1350 (2 exs.): Manynge HS 1482 By be drawyn vp of hys honde; Rolle Prose 23/15 in the turnynge of thi will enterely to his seruyce.

1350-1400 (4 exs.): Wynner & W. 2 Thurgh the takynge of Troye with tresone with-inn; Chaucer CT X 483 This sacrement bitokneth the knyttynge togidere of Crist and of hooly chirche; etc.

1400-1450 (9 exs.): Mandev. 156/32 til the takynge vp of the boordes; Pecock Donet 102/14-15 vpoun be weel vsing and keping of be v wittis; etc.

1450-1500 (24 exs.): Paston 290.8-9 for the hauynge ageyn off my place in castre; DSPhilos. 39/17-18 it is be puttyng away of love; Cely 153/10 in the latynge owte of my mony; etc.

The following instance is doubly interesting in that the gerund is in the plural, thereby reinforcing its strong
nominal character, and is followed by both an of-adjunct and an objective predicative:

Pecock Fol. 2/18-19 our synnes ben not ellis pan be leuyngis of bo vertues vndoon.

This is the only example found in the texts examined in our study.

(2) Demonstratives (24 exs.)

Both Visser (HS, sec. 1120) and Jespersen (MEG, V, sec. 8.4.4) record no examples from ME of the 'demonstrative + gerund + of-adjunct' construction. However, I have noted as many as 25 examples from c1280 (Sleg.) onwards:

that (2 exs.): Sleg. 62.173 pat biddingue of beden beoth guode; Caxton Blanc. 72/9-10 to that loenge and praysynge of her lover and frende speyall.

bilk (9 exs.): found only in Pecock (seven times in Donet and twice in Fol.): Pécock Donet 181/3 bilk forbeding of be vice is not known; Pécock Fol. 152/36 in ilk chaungynge and turnynge of is wil; etc.

this (13 exs.): Cursor 10692 O bis vouing of chastite; Firumb. 3243 Let leue al bys balaunysynge & castynge of speres & stones;

Cloud 73/16-17 in bis blynde beholdingyn of synne; etc.
(3) Possessives (Genitives) (59 exs.)

The earliest instance of the 'possessive (or genitive) + gerund + of-adjunct' construction which has hitherto been noted is dated c1385 from Chaucer TC V 1833 ("And thus began his loving of criseyde"). Cursor (a1325) and Winner & W. (c1353), however, provide earlier examples:

Cursor 18281-82 Quils pat hell and sir sathan
Mad his pair mening o pair man; Ib. 28316-17
Ober mans beginyng of gode ded Oft-sith i letted
for to sped: Winner & W. 255 Let be thy
cramynge of thi kystes; etc.

(4) Adjectives (148 exs.)

The earliest instance of the 'adjective + gerund + of-adjunct' construction so far given is again from Chaucer 41 and is dated c1375-a1400: CT V 243 "They spoken of sondry hardyng of metal" As will be clear from Table W, however, constructions with adjectives before gerunds already appear before 1200 (?a1200 Ancr.) and are found not infrequently throughout the ME period, although they again decrease considerably by the second half of the 15th century. Some examples earlier than Chaucer's are given below:

Ancr 72/25-26 cusse be wunde studen i swote
munegunge of be soma wunden; Ib. 91/11 wið lah
haldung of hire seoluen; Ib. 145/25 bisfallunge
is eadmod cnawunge of pin ahne wacnesse; Orm.
5612-13 riht drædung off Godd te dop All
bindenn swa pin herrte; Orison Lord 66-67 wia
swote munegunge of pine god deden; Bevis 3647
gret scorning of hire; Pay made; Cursor 28578
With worthi taking o be fode; Avenb. 21/30 be
oper is fol nimminge of greate spendinge; Rolle
Prose 28/9 at grete releuyng & comfortynge of
oper men; Alex. & D. 951-52 mirpe we havyn, In-
tendere touchinge of bing; Bruce VI 349-50 it
has so gret vransying of vit; etc.

(5) Other Determiners (164 exs.)

Other determiners before gerunds (in order of
frequency) are:

a(n) (68 exs.): instanced herein since c1303 (Mannyng HS),
which is the date of the earliest quotation give by Visser
(HS, sec. 1120):

Mannyng HS 8333-34 byf men or womman be so wylde
To fordo a getynge of a chylde; Cursor 27248 a
wasting of his rent; Avenb. 72/2-3 be dyap is
bot a todelinge of be zaule and of be bodye;
Rolle Prose 34/30-31 na thyng bot a lathynge of all
bis werldis blyss; etc.
na(n). no (34 exs.): found in this corpus since ?c1200 (HMaidd.), although Visser (HS, sec. 1120) has no quotations and Jespersen (MEG, V, sec. 8.4.4) has examples only from Shakespeare onwards:

HMaidd. 36/386 of bis lure his nan acouverunge;
Cursor 11169-70 Fra pat tim forth had ioseph nan
Mistruing of pat maidan; Bruce I 596-97 he ...
had na persawyng Off the tresoun; Chaucer CT X
1008 this is no departynge of shrifte; etc.

any (24 exs.): found in this corpus since ?a1400 (Cloud),
which is far earlier than Visser's first quotation (HS, sec. 1120) dated c1475:

Cloud 73/20-21 withoutyn any chaungyn of
contenaunce; Ib. 78/21 wip-outyn ... any
pronounsyng of worde; Mirk Fest. 109/1-2 wythout
... any enpayryng of be sta[l]ke; etc.

muche. mekil, more (10 exs.): not previously mentioned elsewhere, but attested herein since 1369 (Chaucer BD):
Chaucer BD 536-37 wher I myght ought Have more knowynge of hys thought; PLAex. 27/21 vggande for to see so mekil scheddyng of blude; Scrope DSP 14/24-25 kepe you fro to muche laughinge and mokking of other; etc.

al (9 exs.): not previously noted, but found herein since

?a1400 (Dest.Troy):

Dest.Troy 9206 Hit semith me vnsertain, all serchynge of wayes; Cloud 8/13 for to distroie alle wetynge & feling of be owne being; MKempe 248/19-20 I myth han al knowynge & vndirstondynyng of be preuyteys of God; etc.

such (a), sli (8 exs.): not previously mentioned, but attested in this corpus since c1300 (Havelok):

Havelok 2684 per was swilk dreping of be folk;

Cursor 19239 To mak sli lesing o pi sale; Usk TL I vili 87 as fer as suche doinge of my cure strecceth; Pecock Fol. 212/9-10 for whych y deuyyd such a departryng of bo tablis; etc.

a/all/any maner (6 exs.): not previously commented upon, but exemplified herein since Chaucer:
Chaucer CT VIII 94-96 Cecile ... is joyned, by a manere conjoyynge of "hevene" and "Lia"; Pecock Donet 109/19-20 In be first poyn of be first table is conteyned al maner kunnyng and knowing of god and of godli bingis; DSPhilos. 87/25-26 swere nat by God for any maner wynnyng of syluer; etc.

som/sum (3 exs.): not hitherto mentioned, but attested in our corpus once in the second half of the 14th century (c1385 Usk TL) and twice in the first half of the 15th century:

Usk TL III iii 144 som doing of accion ... is comminge fer toforn it be; York Pl. 66/334 Harke sone! sum saluyng of our sare; Gener. 2298 Of amelok to haue sum knowlachyng.

quhat 'what' (1 ex.): not previously noted, but exemplified herein once in the second half of the 15th century (c1475 RCoilyear):

RCoilyear 499-500 It might be preisit prejudice, ...
... To se quhat granting of grace the king wald the gaif.
1.5 Type V: Gerund + Object

This is the type of construction in which the gerund with no determiner preceding takes a direct object without the help of the preposition of, and clearly has a verbal character in addition to its inherent nominal one. In Present-day English it is the regular construction when the gerund has an object of its own; it competes with the construction 'the + gerund + of-adjunct' with strong nominal force dealt with in section 1.4.

Many previous scholars have placed the origin of this construction in the 14th century, more specifically its second half, taking their earliest examples from Chaucer or Langland: Chaucer CT VII 1624 "in getynge of your richesses and in usynge hem"; PPl.B XIV 186-87 "Confessioun, and knowlechyng and crauynge thi mercy Shulde amende ys". Mossé (1938, p. 104), on the other hand, believes that the construction first appears about the end of the 12th century, disguised in the form of the present participle in -ende, as in: Trin.Hom. 65/24 "be briddis menende his synnes before gode"; 1b. 157/23-25 "welnehg ech man gife his almesse eifor for godes luee and for hauende heresword and for to be wurðed fer and ner be he cnowen is". But the forms in -ende from Trin.Hom. may be better explained as due to a phonemic tendency of the inflected infinitive after to to become -ende, which has been
instance since late OE and is very frequent in Trin. Hom., although in the above cases to is absent. Curme (1912, pp. 352-55) puts it even further back and cites his earliest example from c950 Lindisfarne Gospel, Luke 7.45: "ne blann cossetungēs foeta mine." Curme's example and, for that matter, practically all OE examples of the gerund with an accusative object are, as some scholars rightly point out, interlinear glosses or slavish imitations of the Latin original, which are perhaps the least reliable of all classes of documents for syntactic purposes. More recently, B. Irwin's study (1967, pp. 158-59), which is based on selected prose texts from c700 through c1400, claims that the construction under discussion first appears in MPPsalter dated c1350. However, Visser (HS, sec. 1123) has much earlier indisputable quotations from c1303 (Mannya MHS) onwards.

Our data shown in Tables I and II indicates that the gerund + object construction (Type V) first appears before 1300, namely, in ?al300 (MS c1330) Arth. & M. at least slightly earlier than the examples recorded by Visser and more than half a century earlier than has generally been considered to be the case. It does, however, remain very rare until 1400, being used in only 5.4% of the instances from 1300-1350 and 5.8% of the examples from 1350-1400. This construction then gradually comes into common use,
ranking third in frequency by the middle of the 15th century (14.9\% and 19.6\% for 1400-1450 and 1450-1500 respectively), which foreshadows a great future ahead for that construction. A dialectal study of Type V brings to light some interesting and conflicting points. The dates of the oldest instances over dialects are: East Midland \(? a1300 (Arth. & M.), Northern c1300 (NHom), Southeastern 1340 (Ayenb.), Southwestern c1378 (PPl. B), and West Midland \(? c1380 (Purity). From this the West Midland dialect would seem to have been the last to initiate this construction, but it is nonetheless instanced unusually often in the late 14th-century West Midland texts Purity and Dest. Troy. On the other hand, it occurs as early as c1300 and c1325 in the Northern dialect, but it does not appear again therein until c1420 (Alph. Tales). Furthermore, its development seems to have actually taken place mainly and consistently in the East Midland dialect; however, there are a number of East Midland texts in which not a trace of it can be detected. It thus appears that the statistical evidence (displayed in Table I) reveals no clear-cut or particularly significant tendencies concerning dialectal variations. On the contrary, the statistics reveal a marked inconsistency in usage within, as well as between, dialects and even within individual texts. In this connection the development of this notable verbal feature does not seem to be connected with the form of composition of the text; or, rather, the
variation observed may be due to factors other than the
dialect and form of composition used, such as the length
and date of composition of the text. Thus, the construction
under consideration is comparatively common in some of the
late ME texts examined, such as c1380 Purity, c1385 Usk
TL, a1400 Dest. Troy, c1400 Mandev, a1425 Chester Pl.,
c1445 Pecock Donet, 1425-1520 Paston, c1454 Pecock Fol.,
and a1460 DSPhilos., and, more interestingly, it can even
be said to be the regular construction in such texts as
c1440 Jacob's W., 1450 Scrope DSP, most of Caxton's works
dated 1474-90, and a1500 Partenay. However, although this
15th century situation may suggest the probable
predominance of Type V over the other types in time to
come, it cannot be said to be the prevailing type in late
ME, even during the period 1450-1500, as is occasionally
claimed:

In view of the importance of the earlier stage of
development of Type V, all of the limited examples
collected for the period up to 1350 are quoted or noted
below, with composition and manuscript dates added.
Thereafter, the number of Type V examples becomes too great
to list more than some typical examples:

1100-1200: none.
1200-1250: none.

1250-1300 (1 ex.): ?a1300 (MS c1330) Arth. & M. 1301-02 be messanger made anon asking Whi he made swich leizeing. (Cf. MS Linl (a1425) 1336-38 beo messangeres ... Sone askeden him bo Wherfore bat he lowz so.)

1300-1350 (23 exs.): c1300 (MS a1400) NHom. 112/2-4 Sain Jon was ... bisi In ordaining of priestes, and clerkes, And in casting kirc 49 werkes; c1303 (MS a1400) Manyng HS 408 yn febyng be body with moche fastyng; Ib. 8103 Y 50 tole of handlyng synne as y koude (also in 80, 86, 94, 114, 138, and 1802); Ib. 10989-90 51 'Eleccyoun' ys 'weyl chesyng A gode man to kepe holy byng'; a1325 Med.Supper 173-74 Yn goyn to be dep, he shewed orderyns Yn fulfyllyng hys faders comoundemens; a1325 (MS a1400) Cursor 781 0 wityng bath god and ill gie suld be lauerc at your will; Ib. 5195 With- outen asking help of sun; Ib. 12756-57 In baptising bath yong and ald Men soght til him; a1338 (MS a1450) Manyng Chron. 93-95 I see in song, in sedgeyng tale of Erceldoun & Kendale, Non pam says as pai pam wroght; 1340 Ayenb.
82/32-34 be zöpe wyt ... is in knauynge wyp-oute wypnymyng is et ech bing is worp; a1349 (MS a1450) Rolle EWr. 36/279-81 Now, swet Jhesu, graunt me grace to touche be with criynge mercy for my synnes (also in 28/26-30); Ib. 78/167 in wirkyng profitabel thynge; a1350 MPPsalter 18.12 mechel jelding is it in keping hem; Ib. 56.4 in reproceing be defouland me; Ib. 88.32 in chasteing hir wickednesses; Ib. 118.9 In what byynge amendent be zenge man his waie in keping by wordes?

1350-1400 (58 exs.): Chaucer Fortune 53-54 The negardye in keping hir richesse Prenostik is thou wolt hir tour assayle; Purity 1542 wyth plattyng his paumes;Usk IL II iii 104-05 Fyr is cheef werker in fortheringe sustenaunce to mankynde; St.Erk.124 In confirmynge bi Cristen faithe; Dest.Troy 12204 This Vlixes ... callis hym the cause of cacchyng his toun; etc.

1400-1450 (253 exs.): Mandev. 110/35 Jif he fayle of takynge his praye; Song Roland 80 For drechinge and dremyng & trobling his wittis; Chester Pl. 362/130-31 By breaking the bread I knew his face; Audelay Poems 54.139-40 A
mynster bai made with masse, Fore metynge be men on be masse; Death & L. 136-38 in liking this liuinge ... there was rydinge & revell that ronge in the bankes; GRom. 10/12 in borowing be armour of be ded knygt; etc.

1450-1500 (328 exs.): Paston 569.35-36 for the licence of morteisyng certein lyuelode;
Scrope DSP 286/7 without hating thayme; Merlin 30/31-32 I may not go with yow with-oute takynge leve of here; Malory Wks. 31/34-35 withoute makyng any more debate; Ludus C. 300/817 for onys haskyng mercy hefne is his mede; Cely 42/19 I schall aquytte you in takyng dowble the payne for your sake; Caxton Paris & V. 50/28 wythoute hauyng ony chylde; Treat.L 129.3-4 bi beryng paciently aduersite; Partenay 1437-38 Thes wordes outrd the kyng of Cipriens, After demaundynge vriens ful sad; etc.

The examples quoted above are all those of the gerund followed by a simple noun or a noun clause as its object. In the following seven cases, the object of the gerund is a to-infinitive:
1400-1450: Jacob's W. 121/2 in makyng ... & noȝt wylyng to zeldyn him; Pecock Donet 52/20 in forberyng to take moche more of hem offrid to him; Ib. 57/26-27 oon is in chesyng rāpir and more to do pe parfiter vertuose werk þan þe lasse; Ib. 58/15 in not sparyng forto worche þe vertu.

1450-1500: Caxton Charles 14/22-23 he hath lytel to do in desyryng to haue my nyece to wyf; Ib. 117/9 wythoute demaundyng to opene the dore; Caxton En. 29/31 in eschewynge to falle in-to olde age.

There is, however, one interesting instance in which the gerund appears to govern the bare infinitive as its object, although another interpretation may be possible:

Chaucer TC V 835-37 Troïlus was nevere ... in no degree secounde In durryng don that longeth to a knyght.

This construction is also found to occur four times with direct and indirect object (a), and 15 times with object and objective predicative (b):
(a) Jacob's W. 61/31-33 Also alle that comoun wyttynly wyth ony persone acursyd be name in yeuyn g hym comfort in the same synne; Ib. 69/13-15 in wytyng an-oper man bi defauyte, & in wytyng bi-self be goodness pat pou hast of an-oper; DSPhilos. 119/21 withoute doyynge himself any proufite.

(b) Jacob's W. 69/13 in trowyn g bi-self bettyr ban pou art; Ib. 182/5-6 no3 t in holdyn g grete synnes smale, ne in heldyn g smale synnes grete; Ib. 201/30 in makyng hem be boldere, be hardyere; Pecock Donet 78/9-10 Chargys of parischens toward her curate or her prelate stonden ... in sufferyn g him to fulfille alle be deedis of his office; Pecock Fol. 181/31 in comaundyng hem fle fro vs; Caxton Prol. & Epil. 7:43 in making the sayd langage ornate and fayr; Caxton Charles 193/28-29 wythoute letyn g them to be known; Partenay 1787-88 After commaundyng thes brethren com hir to, lenger myght not she it withold well. (Other examples: Jacob's W. 121/1, 159/2-3 (2 exs.), 296/14; Pecock Donet 76/21, 97/25)

In some of the above examples (i.e. Pecock Donet 78/9-10,
Pocock Fol. 181/31, Caxton Charles 193/28-29, Pantenay 1787-88) the objective predicative is an infinitive with, or without, to. The examples in (a) and (b) are all dated from about the middle of the 15th century onwards, occurring over half a century earlier than any examples quoted by Jespersen (MEG, V, secs. 9.3.8-9.3.9) from More, Sidney, and Shakespeare.

1.6 Type VI: Determiner + Gerund + Object

This is the type of construction in which the gerund, preceded by such determiners as articles, possessives, and demonstratives, governs an object without the help of the preposition of. Here the gerund is of a mixed character; to some extent verbal (by governing a direct object), to some extent nominal (by taking an adnominal adjunct before it). This mixed construction is occasionally found in early ModE, notably in Shakespeare, but it is by no means common in Present-day English except after possessives (genitives) and no (as in the formulaic 'there is no -ing + object'). It is difficult to ascertain at what stage this type of construction first came into existence, owing to the scarcity of studies devoted to it. Regarding the construction 'the + gerund + object' — the most representative pattern of Type VI, Visser (HS, sec. 1124) states that it occurs from the beginning of the 14th century. The first instance he gives
is dated a1333 from Shoreham Poems II.151-53 "At complyn
nyt was y-bore To be beryngye, bat noble corps of ihesu
cryst", which is cited in Visser as "... To be beryngye bat
noble corps of ihesu cryst" without comma between beryngye
and bat. This interpretation is obviously wrong, because
bat noble corps of ihesu cryst is in apposition to the
preparatory subject hit, not the object of the gerund be
beryngye. The remaining six quotations from the 14th
century (e.g. c1350 MPPsalter 14.5 "God glorifys be
dredand our Lord") are all of the expression 'the + -and +
object', referring to human beings (as Visser himself
rightly notes), which would, however, better be regarded as
examples of the present participle used nominally. As it
turns out, the earliest indisputable examples recorded by
Visser are: a1400 (MS a1425) Paul.Epist. 166/1-2 "be 3e
schod be feet in be dyghtynge be euangelie of pees"; c1410
York MGame 76 "3e may know a greet hert by be beryng be
woode". As for determiners other than the before gerunds,
Jespersen and Visser make only brief references to them, as
will be shown later.

Our statistical evidence shown in Tables I and II
indicates that the Type VI construction is first found in
the period 1300-1350 but remains extremely rare down to the
end of the ME period, being found only a few times in a
limited number of texts. This makes questionable Visser's
remark that the two constructions 'the + gerund + of-
adjunct' and 'the + gerund + object' were used with almost
equal frequency after 1500 (FH sec. 1124). This scarcity
should not be unexpected, considering the fact that the
gerund governing a direct object (Type V) was still in
embryo in late ME. The following table gives the frequency
distribution of determiners before 'gerund + object' and
demonstrates that determiners other than the definite
article and possessives rarely precede the gerund + object
construction:

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<th>Table VI</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Determiners before 'Gerund + Object'</strong></td>
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<td>Totals</td>
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* Includes one dative example.
This study was unable to produce any indisputable examples of the construction 'the + gerund + object' that were earlier than the first acceptable citations from Visser. Our corpus provides the following instances, all dated from the period 1450-1500:

Scrope DSP 6/5-7 he saieth that experiences makith good chastising and the taking heed to the ende draught to good trust; lb. 138/5 be it be service or bi the yeuynge it a-yen; lb. 234/25 the settinge a-side businesses upon vnprofitable pingis; lb. 276/31 in the biholdinge the feire fethers of his tale; DSPhilos. 19/33-34 of the seyenge naye to, he is wors than the ignoraunt whiche is of euel wille; Paston 396.54-55 within ej dayes after the so takynge as well the names of the seyd prisoners as theire estate, degré, or condiucion; lb. 901.31-33 grete remorse I haue in my soule of the vntrewe forgynge and contrvynge certayne testamentys and last wyll by naked wordes; lb. 914.93 The iiiijth consideracion is th'encresse also of cunnyng and ... the necessary havynge the grete merite of such doctrine of our faith and Cristes lawe; Caxton Reyn. 24/7-8 The wythholdeynge you fro it can doo yow no good; Treat.L. 101/31-33 for the
auoutrye that the folke of gaba dyde one nyghte in the rauysshynge, the wyf of a man, were slayne lx. & v. M. men.

In the two quotations from Paston (901.31-33 and 914.93) the nominal character of the gerund is still more predominant on account of the presence not only of the definite article but of an adjective as well. The construction with the also occurs, although only twice, with object and objective predicative:

Pecock Fol. 122/27-30 neipir ignorance excusip a man from synne in deede which he doop, or in leuyng a good deede of comaulement vndoon vndir be same ignorance; Paston 336.32 for the leuyng me have knowledge of the areragys of your lyuelod, he hath he don resonably well hys deuer.

These two citations (dated cl454 and 1469 respectively) are far earlier than the oldest examples of this construction given by Jespersen (MEG, V, sec. 9.3.9) from Daniel Defoe and by Visser (More, sec. 126) from St. Thomas More.

To date, Schmidt (1900, p. 126) seems to have presented the earliest noted example of this Type VI construction with the demonstrative: cl449 Pecock Repr. 556 "of this forbering the touche cometh noon yuel". (Visser
makes no mention of this.) Nevertheless, I have come across
two earlier instances with the demonstrative this, one of
them actually being from the second half of the 14th
century, but no examples with the demonstrative that:

c1378 PPl.B V 385 This shewing shrifte 58
shal be meryte to the; c1445 Pecock Donet
206/27-30 bi bis stif attending and occupying
hem aboute be maters of preising and of preiynge,
þou schalt lete hem not wæuer aboute spire
þingis and maters vnpertinent to be maters of þi
preising and preiynge.

Turning to the Type VI construction in which a
possessive pronoun precedes the gerund followed by a direct
object, it is noted that, although Visser (HS, sec. 1123)
quotes one instance from ME under his 'gerund + object'
classification, it is dated c1470. Actually, the
construction with the possessive appears much earlier,
being attested from 1340 (Ayeb.) on:

Ayeb. 270/26-28 wylne myd guode wylle to polye:
be byne ofseruynge pet he bolede myd guode wylle;
Dest. Troy 13765-66 Thus Achilles ahevit his awne
choyse frendes, Jhurch his prokuryng prestly all
the pure Trojens; Mandev. 127/11-12 we han here makynge houses and schippes of oke or of ony ober trees; Ld.Troy 12023-24 His long lokynge hir louely sight Be-rafft him cleene of his myght; Mirk Fest. 273/30-32 pou woldest leue by pursuyng crysten pepull, and aske God mercy wyth a meke hert, y tryst to God þat he wold geue þe mercy, and take þe to grace; Jacob's W. 133/26 in þi bygyng onythyng pou lackyst it; Paston 576.9-10 After my takyng leefe he called me agayn; DSPhilos. 265/11-12 I haue grete merueile of hem that spoken thinges that bene hurtfulle, for his holdyng þeas were moche bettir; Cely 144/3-5 I fynde hym the same man that he whas in his sayeng that that money ys the dewte of Wylliam Brereley; Treat.L. 96/12-13 beholde how he vpon the harde crosse was sore trauyelled the day of his, letyng blood

The following quotation provides a remarkable example with the gerund in the plural followed by a direct object:

Jacob's W. 108/25-28 þou hast ... noȝt kepþ þe haly-day, noȝt kepþ thy penaunce, takyng non hede of þi wycked suspecktys, & of þi fals
demynges, ne of bi strynges obere to synne.

Another case which deserves particular mention is found in:

\[\text{RRose 2061-62 If thee lyst to undirstande, I} \]
merveile the askyny this demande.

This is apparently an example of the gerund preceded by the dative (not possessive) pronoun the 'thee', not by the definite article the as Visser and others have assumed.

Jespersen (MEG, V, sec. 9.3.3) and subsequently Visser (HS, sec. 1123) give an early instance from early ModE of the Type VI construction preceded by an adjective:

1624 Francis Bacon, New Atlantis 3.8 "the deniale of landing, & hasty warning us away". The ME texts examined, however, did not yield any similar examples, with the possible exception of Paston 901.31-33 and Pecock Donet 206/27-30 already quoted, in which an adjective co-occurs with the and this respectively.

Examples of Type VI with other, miscellaneous determiners are found three times with no and once with al maner 'all manner of':

\[\text{Cursor 23811-14 Quen we it prove pat es to late,}\]
Es þar na mending þan be state, Es þar na wai be-for vs ridd Cun tak us better þan we did; 
Dest.Troy 1937-38 loke þat no lettyng ger þe lenge here, Ne no taryng the tyde for tene þat may folow; Paston 912.31-34 a wrytyng ... that he ne none yn hys name make no distreynyng ne manassyng or inquietyng none tennaunt ne person that occupyeth the londes ne pastures.

Pecock Donet 108/20-22 in þe first poyn of þe first table, ... is tretid of al maner leernyng, knowing and remeberyng what god is, and what hise benefetis and punysschingis ben.

The quotation from Cursor seems to be the earliest instance of 'there is no -ing + object', now a frequent idiom meaning 'it is impossible to —'.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. The term 'accusative' simply implies that the object is non-genitival and non-prepositional.

2. The term 'determiner' is used in a wider sense, to cover all grammatical words which act as adjuncts to nouns.

3. I have excluded from these statistics the frequency of the participial suffixes -inde, -ende, -ande used as gerundial suffixes in some ME, especially early ME texts, owing to their functional and phonological merging, although they will be referred to in the subsequent discussion as occasion arises.

4. Gaaf (1928, p. 39) regards this sinnes as plural, but the meaning here is clearly 'sin's quenching', but not 'sins' quenching'. Cf. EETS 49, p. 7, side-note.

5. Note that the object here is not expressed by the personal pronoun, but by the relative pronoun. Visser (HS, sec. 1106) also adduces several instances from the 14th and 15th centuries.

6. This instance (?c1300) antedates the earliest quotation (a1325) in MED (s.v. his 6. (c)).
Cf. Gaaf 1928, p. 33, and Mušanoja, ME Syntax, p. 574

The following examples are excluded from our statistics:

Body & S. 375-76 Merci criende litel availede
ȝwan Crist it wolde so harde wrac; Ayenb. 35/15-17 þer is anoper lenere corteys þet leneþ wyp-oute chapfare makiinde; lb. 42/12-15 þe vifte is ine ham þet be markat makinde, letþ hare benefices ȝer chongeþ. þe ziste is ine ham þet be markat makinde guþ in-to religion.

Here we have instances of the gerund with participial ending -inde/-ende standing after an object-indicating noun, where in ModE the gerundial form in -ing would be used. W.P. Few (1896, pp. 271 and 274) explains that the cases from Ayenb. are translations of the OF gerund ("san marchie faisant", "par marchie fesant", "par marche fesant" respectively) and that the one from Body & S. might also very well be due to contact with OF. Visser (HS, sec. 1112) comments, however, that they were possibly developed from OE combinations of present participles with objects.

These texts are from the East Midland and West Midland areas, but this archaism cannot be said to be a feature of Midlands English at this time. It is also noted
(to a lesser degree) in *Alph.Tales* (Northern) and *M Kempe* (EMid), but no other 15th century texts examined from the Midlands areas point to this feature, as is clearly seen from Table I.

10 Visser (HS, sec. 1119) misinterprets this Romanz as plural, but the form is clearly singular.

11 This is a remarkable example in that the of-adjunct is separated by the gerund from the noun it modifies. Three such instances have been discovered in our corpus, the other two being: Cursier 28161 For skath takynge of his catell; York Pl. 172/17 In witnesse-berying of bat light.

12 For example, Kittredge (1891, p. 100) regards the noun Venus in Chaucer TC III 48 as genitive singular without ending.

13 Gaaf, 1928. Cf. also Sweet 1891, sec. 140.

14 Visser's wrong example is: Jacob's W. 192/4-7 "pere was a tollere clepyd Perys, wondyr-ryche, to be pore vnmercyfull, non almes yeuynge, but be pore dyspysing, & hem betynge or cachhyng out at his gatyss, wyth his doggys", in which hem betynge or cachhyng out is clearly a participial, not gerundial, construction, modifying a tollere clepyd Perys.

15 MED (s.v. defending 1.(a)) construes be defeyndynge as
'defense of yourself, self-defense'.

16 Schmidt 1900, p. 132.

17 This is a noteworthy example in that the of-adjunct is separated by the gerund from the noun it modifies. Visser has found only three such instances, including the one from Gower CA, in ME and ModE (HS, sec. 1118). I have come across another instance in Caxton En. 113/29 "in the coniunction makyng of the with Pluto". See also n. 11 above.

18 By hyphenating shippe and makinge the editors (Lumiansky and Mills) seem to have taken the whole combination as a compound, modified by this, but the question arises whether it is 'the makinge of this shippe' or 'this [shippe-makinge]'. There is nothing that may be seen as an indication one way or another, as is rightly pointed out by Visser (HS, sec. 1116).

19 Brunner (1962, p. 354), however, takes the noun brobur as s-less genitive.

20 See Gaaf 1928, pp. 35-37.

21 Gaaf (1928, p. 34), however, takes flech founge as a compound, meaning 'conception'.

22 See also Schmidt 1900, pp. 130-32, and Visser, HS,
Sec. 1117.

23. Quoted from Gaaf 1928, p. 40.


25. Visser (HS sec. 1119) remarks that in the ModE period, 'painingstaking', replacing paintaking from the latter half of the 16th century, is perhaps the only example in existence of the gerund preceded by its plural object. His earliest instance is, however, the 1556 quotation in OED (s.v. painstaking). Yet, the example from Pecock Donet (c1445) is about a century older.


29. Quoted by Mustanoja, ME Syntax, p. 74.

30. See Jespersen, Growth, sec. 208; Jespersen, MEG V, sec. 8.4.6; Poutsma 1926, p. 484; Visser, HS, sec. 1120; Visser, More, sec. 123; etc.
Out of 4,959 examples of the gerund with its object, 2,079, or 41.9%, come under this category (cf. Table II).

This supremacy of Type IV over Type III may, however, be ascribed to its very frequent occurrence in Pecock Fol. and Cely, because the latter still actually remain more common in the majority of texts examined for the period 1450-1500 (cf. Table I).

See also Tajima 1977, p. 123

MED (s.v. bireusinge) construes this word as a noun, not a gerund.

Poutsma (1926, p. 511) seems to be wrong in suggesting that the construction with of is rarely used when the object is indicated by a pronoun, because the construction in question is not infrequently met with throughout the late ME period. See, for instance, Bruce V 81-82, 289, VI 556, X 571-72; Chaucer CT VII 1636, X 497; Usk TL I viii 20, II xii 121-22; Gower CA 1.1929, 8.336; Cloud 61/23-24, 93/13, 122/12; Wycl.Prelates 70/13, 98/9-10, 103/1-2; Alph.Tales 157/28-29, 435/15-16, 501/3-4; MKempe 53/13-15, 69/21-22, 96/29, 150/33; Pecock Donet 57/21, 98/32-33; Paston 156.5, 331.17, 337.7-8; Capgr. St.Kath. 3.175, 5.988; Towneley Pl. 288/286, 358/169; DsPhilos. 89/22-23, 287/7; Cely 53/26, 133/40; Caxton
Reyn. 6/8, 6/15; etc.

36 For the definition of the term 'determiner', see n. 2 above.

37 Note, however, that Franz (1939, sec. 667) makes no such comment, although he discusses the construction concerned.

38 Visser, HS, sec. 1124. Cf. also Kysbye 1971, p. 57.

39 This is the only instance found in our corpus in which the gerund (speakyng), forming a kind of syntactic unit with a preposition (with), is followed by an of

-adjunct. Visser (HS, sec. 1124) merely repeats Jespersen's quotation from 1930: Somerset Maugham, Cakes and Ale 70: "... if she had the looking after of me" (MEG, V, sec. 8.4.7).

40 See Visser, HS, sec. 1120 and Jespersen, MEG, V, sec. 8.4.5.

41 Again, see both Visser, HS, sec. 1120 and Jespersen, MEG V, sec. 8.4.2

42 Note that in all the instances collected here (a/all/any) manner is used in apposition with the following gerund, although the form with 'of' is also common before the
noun in ME, as in: ?a1300 Tristem 289-90 "He taught him ich aled of ich manner of glewe".

43
See OED, s.v. -ingl2; Jespersen, MEG, V. sec. 9.3.1; Trnka 1930 p. 92; Gaaf 1928, p. 41; Brunner 1962, p. 355; Poutsma 1926, p. 511; etc.

44
For this interpretation see Visser, HS, sec. 1018.

45
The Latin original runs: "non cessavit osculari pedes meos" (Onions 1914-15, p. 170).

46
Onions 1914-15, p. 170; Mustanoja, ME Syntax, pp. 568 & 572; Visser, HS, sec. 1005. In Mustanoja's view, however, "they do suggest that the noun in -ing is at least capable of acquiring verbal properties" (ME Syntax, p. 572).

47
As a matter of fact, Visser gives two earlier examples from ?a1200 Trin.Hom., neither of which can be looked upon as genuine instances. One is Trin.Hom 65/24, the same as Mossé's earliest example discussed above, and the other is Ib. 55/14-17 "we auen ... don us in to helle wite for ure muses mete on bre wise on ेtinge to michel on estmetes be brede sinnes ...", which must be regarded as an instance of the gerund modified by an adverb (cf. Chapter III).
48 See Kisbye 1971, pp. 56 and 61; OED, s.v. *-ing*.

49 This instance shows the two types (III and V) in juxtaposition in one and the same sentence. Visser (HS sec. 1123) records only six instances from ME, but I have come across 10 such examples. The remaining nine are: Chaucer CT VII 1624, X 464-65; Usk TL I Prol. 65-66; Dest.Troy 2282; Mandev. 12/33-35; Jacob's W. 17/15, 99/22-24, 130/13.14; Caxton Prol. & Epit. 96a.37-40. They may at least suggest that the 'modern' type V was encroaching upon the territory of Type III as the prevailing type in late ME.

50 Mossé (1952, sec. 110) construes this *synne* as genitive plural and glosses *handlyng synne* as 'sins' handbook = 'handbook of sins', but as Visser (HS, sec. 1123) points out, it appears from the context (viz. 11.80-96) that *Mannyng* takes the combination in question as 'committing (of) sins'. Therefore, it is classified here as an instance of the gerund followed by a direct object.

51 Note that the gerund followed by a direct object doubly asserts its verbal character when it is also modified by an adverb or adverb phrase, as in this instance. Examples of this kind abound in late ME, especially in the 15th century, and some are to be found among the above quotations.
As well as the two earlier examples already quoted (i.e. Arth. & M. 1301-02 and Ayenb. 82/32-34), I have encountered four in the period 1350-1400 (e.g. Usk TL II iii 60-61 [she] is put in- to wening that al men ben so untrewen), 13 in 1400-1450 (e.g. Jacob's W. 144/20-22 bei synnen ... in veynylorye in reheresyng how bei are fed), and 12 in 1450-1500 (e.g. Pecock Fol. 115/27 in notifyng to us what pingis ben moral vertues). The following are, however, not looked upon as those of the gerund governing a noun clause as its direct object: NHom. Pass. 1624-25 "yhe sall haue knawyng pat l in him kan fynd ryght nught"; Siege Milan 1213-15 "be Messangere bare a wande Of ane Olefe in his hande, In takynynge he come of pece"; PPL B XVIII 135-36 "And that is cause of this clips that closeth now the sonne, In menynge that man shal fro merkenesse be drawe"; Mirk Fest. 52/14 "This myracull he dyd yn schewyng pat he blessyth be weddyng". The above have knowyng that, in tokenynyng (that), in showyng (that), and in menynge (that) (the last three expressions signifying 'as a sign or token (that)') are idioms of common occurrence in ME. In these, the that-clause should be considered to be in apposition to the -ing form rather than to be in the object-relation. In other words, the -ing form may be better explained as purely nominal than as verbal. Cf. Gower CA l 2210-11 "The trompe of deth was at my gate, In tokne that l scholde
dere"; Malory Wks. 710/7-8 lattynge the to have knowleche that the tenth day of May I was smytten uppon the olde wounde".

53 Robinson (ed., The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, p. 837) interprets the phrase in question as 'in daring to do what belongs to a knight', but MED (s.v. durring don) regards this durryng don as a compound, defining it as 'courage to engage in feats of arms, prowess in battle'. Davis, et al. (1979, s.v. durring) supports Robinson's view.

54 For the definition of wytyng, see OED, s.v. wite, wyte, v.

55 Cf. Visser HS, sec. 1124; Onions 1971, pp. 121-22; Partridge 1953, p. 93. See, however, Sugden 1936, p. 144, in which he claims that he has encountered in Spenser's Faerie Queene no examples of the type 'the + gerund + object'

56 See Abbott 1872, sec. 93 and Franz 1939, sec. 667c.

57 In MPPsalter I have found some 16 examples of this pattern with -and, all referring to persons collectively:
14.5, 16.12, 24.15, 33.18, 34.1, 34.12, 36.1, 36.23, 56.4, 60.5, 68.12, 71.14, 102.6, 118.121, 124.5, and 147.12.

58 Some scholars (e.g. Dunn and Byrnes 1973, p. 305) regard shewynge as present participle, glossing This shewynge
shrift as "This frank confession'. Apparently, however, the phrase in question contextually means 'This showing of shrift'. That is, the ing-form is a gerund followed by a direct object. This reading has been accepted by Koziol (1932, p. 125) and others.

59 Visser (HS, sec. 1123) quotes one instance of the plural gerund followed by a direct object but not preceded by any determiner: c1425 Chauliac (1) 23b/a "he 2a intencioun is complete in cesingz or lissyngez dolour ... & rectifying yuel qualitee". This is first recorded in MED (s.v. lissing(e c)), which puts a different, perhaps wrong interpretation on this idiom, defying syntactic analysis by regarding the gerund as a pure noun.

60 It reads in Skeat's edition as "...I merveile thee asking this demande". The reading of the as 'thee' is also justified by the fact that this example is quoted in MED (s.v. merveilide 3. (c)) under the definition of 'to wonder at (sb. doing sth.)'.

61 Visser, HS, sec. 1124; Einenkel 1914, p. 67; and Wik 1973, p. 127.

62 Visser (HS, sec. 1123) merely cites this example from Cursor in his section 'gerund + object', taking no special note of the formula, whereas Jespersen (MEG, V,
secs. 8.3.4 & 9.3.3) gives some such examples from Jonson and Shakespeare.
CHAPTER II
GERUND WITH PREDICATIVE

The verbal character of the gerund is also prominent when it governs a predicative, or complement as it may be called. This mode of expression is occasionally found in ModE, as in: "Your being so sick forbids me to discuss the matter with you now" (q. Curme 1912, p. 374) or "Your being strangers is what makes me wish to accompany you" (q. Onions 1971, sec. 165). The construction has, however, received little attention from the historical point of view. For example, both Mustanoja (ME syntax) and Visser (HS) make no mention of it, nor does even the most recent study by Irwin (1967) although her main purpose was to determine when the -ing noun acquired verbal qualities. Only Curme and a few others have touched on it.

Curme (1912, p. 374) places the origin of this construction in such OE gerundial compounds as Bede's Ecclesiastical History 280/17-18 "He wæs bewered from þære biscoþpegunne". Nevertheless, he claims that he has discovered not a single trace of these gerundial compounds containing a predicative in any form nor any dissolutions of them in ME or even in the 16th century. Hence he concludes that the construction must be quite modern and that it is the last stage of gerundial development.

[135]
Jespersen (MEG, V, sec. 9.3.10) quotes his earliest example from St. Thomas More: 1551 *Utopia* [Ralph Robynson's transl.] 84 "in a standing reddie at all occasions".

Söderlind (1958, pp. 197-98) adduces a number of examples, with and without determiners, from John Dryden's prose written mainly in the second half of the 17th century. Lastly, Schibsbye (1974, sec. 7.4.5) cites one instance from the 16th century: *Faerie Queene* I.1.6 "Behind her farre away a Dwarfre did lag, That lasie seemd in being euuer last" and another from the 17th century. From this scanty evidence it would appear that the earliest instance of the gerund + predicative construction hitherto noted is Jespersen's quotation from More, dated 1551.

In reality, however, our corpus indicates that the gerund with predicative construction appears about a century earlier, namely, as early as 1450 (Scrope DSP). In fact, five such instances have been noted in the second half of the 15th century; three in 1450 Scrope DSP, one in c1450 Capyr. St.Kath., and one in 1485 Caxton Charles:

2 Scrope DSP 236/27-28 ye have more repented me of spekinge than ye have do of beinge still;

Ib. 244/1-2 good wit is sette in x condicions,
pat is to say; ... in being content with thingis necessarie to thi life; Ib. 264/11-12 I mervaile of tho that seithe harmefulle thingis when the
beinge stille were profitable; Capgr. St. Kath.

1.393-95 In astronomye pis lady eke so hey stey.

She kneue the strengthe and the stondyng stille

Of alle the planetes pat regnen vp-on hey;

Caxton Charles 56/6-7 thou knowest the comyn

prowerbe that sayth that there is a tyme of

spekynge and tyme of beyng stylle.

It is interesting to note that out of the five instances

four take still(e) as predicative. Also interesting is the

fact that in the third quotation the construction is

preceded by the definite article and consequently the

gerund is dual in nature; to some extent verbal (governing

a predicative), to some extent nominal (taking an adnominal

adjunct before it).

It can thus be said that the gerund's verbal feature

of governing a predicative (or complement) is a 15th-

century, not early ModE, development.

As for the gerund followed by an of-adjunct + an

objective predicative or by a direct object + an objective

predicative, this has already been discussed in Chapter 1

(sections 1.3, 1.4, 1.5 and 1.6).
NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1 Curme's modern translation runs: 'He was prevented from serving as bishop'.

2 The corresponding lines in a1460 DSPhilos—an anonymous translation and modification of Scrope's translation (cf. Baugh 1967, p. 302, n. 23)—for Scrope DSP 236/27-28, 244/1-2, and 264/11-12 read: 237/29-30 "... for holdynge my peas"; 245/3-4 "..., to holde hym contente with these things that been necessarie to his lyffe"; 265/12 "... for his holdyng peas were moche bettir".

3 Note, however, that OED (s.v. Still, a. 1, and Still, adv. 2) construes the word still in "stand still" as an adverb.
CHAPTER III
GERUND WITH ADVERBIAL ADJUNCT

The verbal nature of the gerund asserts itself when
the gerund is modified by an adverbial adjunct (i.e. adverb
or adverb phrase) which can only be used together with a
verb. Regarding the development of the gerund with an
adverbial adjunct, OED (s.v. -ing) gives the following
account, based on the findings of Blume (1880, pp. 7-8):

The first traces of it as yet pointed out ... occur c1340 in the Ayenbite of Inwit and in the
writings of Richard Rolle of Hampole, in the
separation of the adv. in downcoming,
downfalling, ingoing, etc., and the placing of
it after the vbl. sb. coming down, falling down,
going in, as in the finite verb, come down, fall
down, go in. This was soon extended to adverbs
and adverbial phrases generally, so that it
became established that any vbl. sb. could, like
the vb. to which it belonged, take an adverbial
qualification.

Relating to the gerund modified by an adverb, most previous
scholars seem to agree with the OED statement, quoting
their first instance of it from 1340 Ayenb.: 262/32 "at
uerste guoinge in". Curme disagrees with this. Again, Curme
(1912, pp. 351-52) attempts to trace this usage back to OE, citing an example from the ninth century: Bede, *Ecclesiastical History* II ii 102 "paet ... ge ba begnunge fulwichte ... gefyllen". However, Curme's example of an adverbial adjunct is, in fact, a noun in the instrumental case, which is not the required pure, simple adverb. Visser (HS, sec. 1035) makes a brief comment on the capacity of the gerund to take adverbial adjuncts, quoting only one instance from the 14th century (c1382 Wyclif) and two from the 15th century (?a1439 Lydg FP 2.109 and a1450 Gener. 206). Mossé (1938, p. 105), however, yields a much earlier instance: ?a1200 Trin.Hom. 55/14-17 "we auen ... don us in to helle wite for ure mucês mete on pre wise on etinge to michel on estmetes þe bredeþ sinnes", which seems to be the earliest instance as-yet discovered of the gerund modified by an adverb. On the other hand, the earliest example hitherto noted of the gerund modified by an adverb phrase seems to be one quoted by Curme (1912, p. 352): c1175 Bod.Hom 92/28 "Tactus, repung, òðer grapung on alle limæn and þæ þewunelycost on þam hondæn". These citations suggest that the gerund's verbal property of taking adverbial adjuncts is an early ME departure.

Keeping this information in mind, we will examine our relevant data from the 1100-1500 corpus, which may be classified essentially into three types, which we shall
refer to as A, B, and C respectively:

A: Gerundial compound with an adverbial element (e.g. Chaucer CT I 905 at myn hom-comynge);
B: Gerund with an adverb (e.g. PPL.B XIX 57 at her partynge hennes;
C: Gerund with an adverb phrase (e.g. Alph.Tales 294/4 with-oute labyryng with his handis).

Of these three types, A is an old nominal construction in which the preceding adverbial element forms a compound with the gerund, whereas B and C are new verbal constructions in that, like a finite verb, the gerund is modified by an adverb or adverb phrase. The number of occurrences of each type in the ME works examined have already been given in Table I. The data given there for the individual texts is rearranged below to show the number and percentage of occurrences of these three types by half-centuries from 1100-1500:
TABLE VII

Occurrence of Gerund with Adverbial Adjunct by Half-Centuries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1100-1200</td>
<td>2 (16.7)</td>
<td>2 (16.7)</td>
<td>8 (66.6)</td>
<td>12 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200-1250</td>
<td>4 (50.0)</td>
<td>4 (50.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>8 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1250-1300</td>
<td>9 (40.9)</td>
<td>6 (27.3)</td>
<td>7 (31.8)</td>
<td>22 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300-1350</td>
<td>52 (42.3)</td>
<td>32 (26.0)</td>
<td>39 (31.7)</td>
<td>123 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1350-1400</td>
<td>36 (16.3)</td>
<td>74 (33.5)</td>
<td>111 (50.2)</td>
<td>221 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400-1450</td>
<td>37 (10.3)</td>
<td>181 (50.3)</td>
<td>142 (39.4)</td>
<td>360 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1450-1500</td>
<td>28 (4.6)</td>
<td>329 (54.4)</td>
<td>247 (41.0)</td>
<td>604 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>168 (12.5)</td>
<td>628 (46.5)</td>
<td>554 (41.0)</td>
<td>1350 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once again, the examples from before 1300 are too scanty to say anything definite about them. Nevertheless the figures of Table VII suggest some significant observations:

1. As to the rivalry between the old gerundial compound with an adverbial element (Type A) and the new analytic expression 'gerund + adverb' (Type B), Type A appears to be far more prevalent than Type B up to the middle of the 14th century but then shows a sharp decrease, being supplanted in the majority of cases by the latter by 1500.
(2) The gerund with an adverbial adjunct, simple adverb (Type B) or adverb phrase (Type C), occurs for the first time before 1200, remains rare until 1300, but subsequently increases considerably in frequency, becoming very common in the 15th century. This development of the gerund with an adverbial adjunct more or less parallels with the development of another important verbal feature of the gerund, i.e. its accusative-governing power dealt with in Chapter 1, although the former appears in writing much earlier than the latter.

3.1 Type A: Gerundial Compound with an Adverbial Element

The old compound 'adverbial element + gerund' continues to be dominant until 1350 but then rapidly becomes obsolescent, being for the most part replaced by its new analytic counterpart 'gerund + adverb'. The following examples demonstrate this compound:

1100-1200 (2 exs.): Bod. Hom. 86/16-17 beo

*be* iwur-mod mid his onwununeg; Anocr. 58/3 *be*

*be uprowuneg* agein his worldes stream.

1200-1250 (4 exs.): Orm. 10794 For*purh*

Jorrdan, ... Iss dunstighning bitacnedd;

St. Marq. 2/4-5 after his *upastihuneg;*
Horn 844 At his vprisinge; Lofsong Lefdi 57 Ich
bide pe ... In umbe keorunge.

1250-1300 (9 exs.): SPass. 1050 in his
vprisyng (this compound is also found in Sleg.
60.453; SPass. 1728, 1900, 2214; Arth.& M. 3865,
9906); Arth.& M. 9905 Often pai made downfalleing;
KAlex. 2164 Launces breche and in crepyng.

1300-1350 (52 exs.): Glo.Chron. 11804 Me
flemde ir out of engelond wipoute age coming;
NHom. 11/8 Of Jhesu Cristes to coming (also in
NHom. 12/9 and Cursor 13676); Guy 7240 Wip his
vp-coming; Cursor 25821 wit-vten vp-couereng;
Ib. 12593 at pe vt-cuming o pe yaste; Ayenb.
22/16 pe vifte out-kestinge of pe ilk stocke is
scorn; Ib. 116/6 pet he hine loky uram ayen-
uallyng; Ib. 190/5 ate out-guoinge of melane
(also in 32/3-4; MPPsalter 21.9, 64.8, 79.4,
104.34, 113.1, 118.136); Ib. 199/29-30 pe uerste is
way and inguoinge to pe obren (also in 72/25,
105/10, 264/9; MPPsalter 9.14); MPPsalter 17.47
of oagain-syggeynges of pe folk (also in 30.26);
Ib. 67.4 pe doungoin of pe sunne; Ib. 88.18 our
vp-steigeing; Ib. 104.36 in pe forgoing of
Iacobes childer; Ib. 147.11 ne wele-likeing ne
shal nouȝt be to hym in mannes legges; etc. (The compound uprisinge is frequently found in the period as well.)

1350-1400 (36 exs.): Bruce I 115 but gayne-gelyng; lb. I 580 but gane-saying; Ib. V 361 of his weill-doing; lb. V 82 of our neir-cummyng; lb. XX 310 his agane-cummyng; Ib. XX 315 his furth-passyng ordanit he; Chaucer CT I 884 at hir hoom-comynge (also in I 905, II 765; Chaucer TC V 503; Chaucer LGW 2101); PPl.B X 462 at her hennes-partynge; lb. XIV 141 in gowre here-beyny; lb. XIV 165 after her hennes-goynge; Firumb. 4478 At hure azen comynge; Chaucer HF 1523 Ayen her tyme of out-flyenge; Chaucer TC II 1308 at his in-comynge; Usk TL II x 92 with good forth-going; lb. II x 112 of wel-doing in vertue (also in II x 119); lb. II xiv 93 thyne amisse-going; Gower CA II 1599 the weï-meninge of love; lb. 5.1021-22 the forth drawinge Of bestaile; PConsc. 4779 Til be tyme of be doun gangynge; RRose 5857 Delit and wel-Heelynge; Perceval 493 At his firste in-comynge; etc.

1400-1450 (37 exs.): Bk.Lond.E II vi 66 at his incomynge; Mirk Fest. 172/24 he myȝt not receue
hit for vpcasting; Chester Pl. 377/181 by his uppsteyinge; Bokenhama Sts. 5701 of here pedyrgoynge; Pecock Donet 91/1 in hige wel willing; 1b. 107/30 As for be good reule and wel spending of be v outward wittis; Gener. 3162 in ther ayeyn goynge; Grrom. 187/11 with outen anye ayene-stondynge; etc.

1450-1500 (28 exs.): Paston 907.13 of theire hasty ayne-commyng; Merlin 287/13-14 his well doynge myght not but litill be sene; 1b. 482/23-24 she dressed hir vp-standinge; Ludus C. 118/75 ffor your hedyr comynge; Caxton Prol. & Epil. 59b.26 in alle theyr wel-sayeng and wrytyng; Caxton Curial 16/6-7 by defaute of wel luyynge; Partenay 340 In hys forth-passynge; etc.

On closer examination, it appears that examples of the compound in question tend to stiffen into more or less stereotyped phrases, such as uprisynge, ingoynge, out-goynge, vpsteying, agayne-commyng, hom-comynge, well-doyng, and their variants. Needless to say, these compounds are all nominal in character, but in some of the examples, it is difficult to tell whether the gerund forms a compound with a preceding adverbial element, as is illustrated by the
following:

Medit. Supper 801-02 A sone! where ys now my ioyyn, bat y hadde yn by furpe beryng (802 beryng, rhyming with 801 ioyyn); Gower CA 5.6121-22 the wif ... sitt alday wisthinge After hir lorde hom comynge (6122 comynge, rhyming with 6121 wisthinge; cf. 6123 Bot whan that he comth hom at eve, ...); PCOnsc. 5271-72 He sal pan at his doun comynge, be taken of pe croyys wyth hym bring (5271 comynge, rhyming with 5272 bring); Yck Pl. 96/87-88 He likenes cryste ... Like to pe dewe in doune comynge (88 comynge, rhyming with 86 thynge); Firumb. 4476-78 Crystene men ... pat come from Char[lis] kyng; ... My trew pay sayde pay wolde pay At hure azen comynge (4478 comynge, rhyming with 4476 kyng); etc.

Rather than being compounds, these quotations may be better regarded as instances in which the adverb precedes the gerund either for emphasis, or most probably for the sake of rhyme, in which case the gerund is verbal in character, as will be shown in the following section.

3.2 Type B: Gerund with Adverb

The gerund accompanied (followed or preceded) by a
simple adverb is first attested in ?a1200 (MS a1225) 
Trin. Hom. and ?a1200 (MS c1230) Ancr. in our corpus, the 
former having already been noted by Mossé, as mentioned 
earlier. Table VII indicates that the use of a simple 
adverb with the gerund remains extremely rare down to 
1300 but appears with increasing frequency from about the 
middle of the 14th century, a century earlier than has 
usually been assumed. The dates of the earliest instances 
over dialects are: East Midland ?a1200 (Trin. Hom.), 
Southwestern ?a1200 (Ancr.), West Midland a1225 (Lamb. Hom.), 
Northern a1325 (Cursor), and Southeastern 1340 (Ayenb.). 
Judging from our statistical evidence shown in Table I, 
however, there appears to be little dialectal variation 
concerning the subsequent development of the construction, 
the variation observed between dialects and even within 
individual texts being due in the main to such factors as 
the length and date of composition of the text. Thus it is, 
to some extent, developing in Mannying HS (EMid), Ayenb. 
(SE), Rolle Prose (N), and MPPsalter (EMid) from the period 
1300-1350; PPl.B (SW), Chaucer's works (EMid), Usk TL 
(EMid), and Dest.Troy (WMid) from 1350-1400; and becomes 
increasingly common in the 15th-century texts, the great 
majority of which were written in the East Midland dialect. 
In point of fact, it is safe to say that this usage is 
firmly established in such texts as Bk.Lond.E., Jacob's W.
Pecock Donet, Paston, Pecock Fol. Cely, and Caxton's works, among others.

Although the accompanying adverb sometimes precedes the gerund (106 exs.), examples of the more common form in which the adverb follows the gerund (522 exs.) are first exemplified:

1100-1200 (2 exs.): Trin. Hom. 55/14-17 we auen ... don us in to helle wite for ure mukes mete on pre wise on etinge to michel on estmetes be brede sinnes; Ancr. 118/1-2 be feorde froure is sikernesse of godes help ipe fehtunge agein as seinte pawel witneæ.

1200-1250 (3 exs.): HMaid. 42/452-53 his lokynge on ageasted pe; Ib. 46/491-92 in his fosttrunye forâ, moni earm hwille; Lofsong Lefdi 47-48 Ich bide be ... bi his ledunge forâ.

1250-1300 (5 exs.): SLeg. 63.436 it of-pouȝte heom sore; heore hizinge buder so faste; SPass. 376 þere worp wop and gruntyng of tepe ffaste; Arth. & M 1874 Vnder þe Monument þeo stod wopoute wepyng sore; Ib. 8601 Wipouten bileueing ani more; Tristrem 2620 Wip outen coming again.
1300-1350 (28 exs.): NPass. 1433 þe daies
ben on coming faste; Mynyng HS 1482 By þe
drawyn vp of hys honde; Cursor 29210 Wit-þten
ani couering again; Roland & V. 545 at his
coming bare; Mynyng Chron. 4274 Wypoute
truage askynge greuously; Ayenb. 261/32 at uerste
guoinge in; Ib. 269/9-13 zuche lyue ... non
uallyng doun ssolle habbe; Ib. 87/10-11 wypoute
comynge ayen of huyche þinges; Ib. 242/5-6
wypoute lokynge ayen; Ib. 22/25 þe zixte
kestynge out of þe ilke boje; Rolle Prose 13/10
Consaile es doynge awaye of wordes reches;
MMPsalter 105.28 fallsynge doun is multiplied in
hem; etc.

1350-1400 (67 exs.): Jos.Arim. 421 Of þi
comynge ðe-þin; Bruce IV 761-62 man is in-to
dredynge ay Of thingis that he has herd saie;
Chaucer CT IX 67 In liftyng up his hepvy dronken
cors; Ib. X 620 swich cursynge wrongfully
returneth agayn to hym that curseth; PPL.B VII
57 at her partyng hennes; Chaucer Bo. II
pr.3.91-92 sche ... folsete the in fleynge awy;
Purity 189-60 gryspynge harde Of teþe tenfully togýder;
Wycliffe

Leaven 3/2 for getynge more plentifousli of
worldli godis; Chaucer TC V 1380 with youre
comyng hom ayen to Troie; Usk TL II x 117 by
knitting so faste; St. Erk. 205 of my lyinge
here; PConsc. 6113 pe day of departyng fra God
away; Chev. Assigne 316 for rennenge aȝeyn;
Destr. Troy 5639 with fightynge full fell with a
fuerse pepull; Clowd 94/14-15 in offryng up of
pis reuerent; Morte Arth. 4022 At my comyng a-
gayne; etc.

1400-1450 (145 exs.) Bk. Lond. E VI 458 for
settynge on of an lok; Mandev. 64/35 in comyng
doun fro the mount of Olyuete; Æbyn 2751 At his
first comyng in; Mirk Fest. 193/27 yn bryngynge
forth of hym; Alph. Tales 414/21 abyde my comyng
hom; Lydg. ST 4556-57 for al her crying loude
Chester Pl. 195/287 at your comminge downe;
MKempe 37/25-26 he ... held it was gret myracle
hir comyng & hir goyng to and fro; Ib. 245/23 in
sobbyng ful boistowsly & wepyng ful
plenteuowsly; Jacob's W. 17/15 in doing
openly pe synne of leccery; Ib. 182/24 in
obeying lowly to pe préest; Bokenham Sts.
10045 in goyng up & doun; Pecock Donet 144/29
in vndirmynynng it derkely and laborously; Gener.
5653 hir comynng theder likid hym full ill; GRom.
368/14-15 of gaderyng togadre of wordly goodes;

1450-1500 (272 exs.): Paston 716.2-3 of my
maisters your husbondes comyng hastily hom;
Scrope DSP 90/23 in obeieng holy to him; Merlin
342/20 in the lepinge vp Arthur hym smote;
Capgr. St.Gilb. 121/29 in doing on of pat cloth
Pecock Fol. 190/31 bi be drawynng vpward;
Towneley Pl. 364/352 his stvynynng vp to blys in
hy; DSPhilos. 281/34-35 it is bettur to have a
sharpe lyfe in doyne wele thanne to have a
pleasaunte lyfe in doyne euel; Malory Wks. 3/18
of theire departyng soo sodenly; Ass.Gods 274 in
sittyng next; Mankind 154/20 at yowr going
hence; Cely 241/50 in makyng ower of yowre
monys; Caxton Curial 11/24 in spekyng
vnpourveydly; Caxton Paris 49/29-30 in wepyng
strongely; Caxton Charles 8/17 wythoute goynge
ony fether; Caxton Blanch. 28/22 atte the
pullynng out ayen; Caxton En. 158/14 atte his
comynge on; Treat.L. 129/3-4 bi beryng paciently
aduersite; Partenay 201 she is ful glad of duynge
ille;
Many of the examples just quoted are found preceded by determiners such as articles, possessives, demonstratives, and adjectives, or followed by an of-adjunct. This points to the dual or mixed nature of the ing-form; to some extent verbal (by taking an adverbial modifier), to some extent nominal (by taking an adnominal adjunct before it or an of-adjunct after it). This dual nature is also more characteristically seen in the following interesting example: cl454 Pecock Fol. 11/20-21 "teche first be causis and be bryngynnis forb of moral vertues", in which the gerund in the plural is accompanied by an adverb. Although its verbal force is prominent in the adverb forb, it also shows a strong nominal nature by being preceded by the and followed by an of-adjunct, not to mention its being in the plural. Only one such instance has been discovered in our corpus, but it is worthy of special attention because it is about a century and a half earlier than Jespersen's oldest quotation from 1611: AV Job 7.4 "I am full of tossings to and fro" (MEG, V, sec. 9.1.2). There are, of course, some examples in which the gerund is strongly verbal in governing a direct object in addition to an adverb (e.g. Treat.I 129/3-4), or in taking two adverbs (e.g. SLeg. 63.436) or an adverb and an adverb phrase (e.g. Mandev. 64/35); however, this uncertain state of affairs, regarding
the use of an adverb with the gerund, which characterizes a number of ME examples, seems to linger on into the early ModE period. This hesitancy also testifies to the fact that the gerund had not fully developed its verbal character down to the close of the ME period.

As stated earlier, the accompanying adverb sometimes precedes the gerund, although less frequently by far than it follows the gerund. Examples include:

1100-1200: None.

1200-1250 (1 ex.): [Lamb. Hom. 49/34-35]
Operis satisfactione .. pohred hepel endinge.

1250-1300 (1 ex.): [Arth. & M. 4655-56] And in her togider coming pai maden ioie and get kisseing.

1300-1350 (4 exs.): [Mannyng HS 126 With oft redyng, mayst pou lere; Ib. 127 pou mayst nat, with onys redyng; Ib. 10989-90, 'Eleccyoun' ys 'weyl chesyng A gode man to kepe holy pyng'; Ayenb. 178/15-16 pet line clop pet is y-huyted be ofte wessinge.

1350-1400 (7 exs.): [Bruce I 341 For oft]
feynzeyng off rybbaldy; Chaucer CT II 21 what
pryvely sleyng; Chaucer IC IV 423-24 selde
seynge of a wight; Usk TL II i 82 in Bodly
doinge the lykynge of the soule; etc.

1400-1450 (36 exs.): Mandev. 78/26 in agen
comyng fro bat castel; Mirk Fest. I05/2-3 for
oft spekyng with hym; Lydg. ST 4423 her ofte
swounyng with facys ded and pale; MKempe 9/27 be
ons chastysyng; Jacob's-W. 179/11 custome of
ofté hauntyng; Bokenham Sts. 10002 Of to & fro
goyng both up & doun; Gener. 209 Be cause of
ther so sodenly departyng; Ib. 4242 With onys
wasshyng it will away anone; etc.

1450-1500 (57 exs.): Paston 862.6-7 at your
then commyng; Scrope DSP 30/21-22 without to
muche doubting the commyng on of enmys;
DSPhilos. 243/8 by wele kepinge of his tyme;
Ludus C. 300/817 for onys haskyng mercy; Caxton
Prol.& Epil. 47a.60 in so doyng; Caxton Reyn.
6/16 wyth ones ouer redyng; Caxton En. 31/16 in
so makynge; etc.

In some cases (e.g. Arth. & M. 4655-56), the adverb may
have preceded the gerund for the sake of rhyme or rhythm, but otherwise this inverse order is largely limited to some specific adverbs, such as wel (8 exs.), onys (8 exs.), oft (6 exs.), so (14 exs.), not (10 exs.), etc.

An interesting fact worth noting is that the use of negative not, noȝt with the gerund first appears as early as c1385 (Usk TL)—despite the claim of Jespersen (1926, p. 154 and MEG, V, sec. 9.1.6), based on the findings of Blyme (1880, p. 43), that the placing of not before the gerund begins in the Elizabethan era, his earliest example being quoted from Sidney's Arcadia. Ten examples of these negatives have been gleaned from our ME corpus:

c1385 Usk TL II v 82 As faire ben they in their not having as when thou hast hem; c1440 Jacob's W. 121/2 in makyng ... & noȝt wyllynge to jeldyn hem; c1445 Pecock Donet 52/17-18 as manye richessis as he may come to bi not weernynge of resoun; c1454 Pecock Fol. 18/23-24 in not causynge be spirit; a1460 Capgr. Chron. 200/10-11 his meny were of evel governauns, speciali in taking of vital, and not payynge. (The remaining five examples are all found in Pecock Donet: 58/15, 71/21, 76/6-7 (2 exs.), and 76/24.)
An examination of the relative frequency of the positioning of the adverb before and after the gerund should not omit to note, as the figures below indicate, that Pecock tends to ignore the general ratio and to place adverbs—and all kinds of adverbs, for that matter—as frequently before the gerund as after it:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adv. + gerund</th>
<th>Gerund + adv.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c1445 Donet</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c1454 Fol.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This, of course, parallels his idiosyncratic habit of placing direct objects before the gerund, as already mentioned in Chapter I (section 1.2). Some examples of his use of the adverb after the gerund have already been given; the following quotations demonstrate his use of the adverb before the gerund:

Donet (22 exs.): 24/13-14 be ful, hool out braunching of meenal moral vertue into his spicis; 49/25 [resoun] wel allowip and deemepe pis vttirly forbering to be mowe do; 88/5 bi agen coupling of pe bodi; 110/3 be to gider gadering of alle be moral vertues; 135/1 into hoom bringing, of pingis being oute or aroume; 153/7 in so seiyng; etc.
Fol. (28 exs.): 13/7 his maner of forb settyng: 52/1-2 in ... hem sureli knowynge; 60/24-26 wipout shewing ... and sufficientli goundyng: 65/7 in so varyyng; 70/7-8 of ever eiper of pe seid premyssis conclusyng for feip; 93/3-5 bi ... ovre higly takyng sum circumstaunce; 126/7-8 in his out browynge; 194/26-27 bi pries puttyng, nombrynge and namynge eche of pe seid meenal poynsis; etc.

3.3 Type C: Gerund with Adverb Phrase

The earliest example hitherto noted of the gerund accompanied by an adverb phrase is the one from c1175 Bod.Hom which Curme (1912, p. 352) first recorded, as was mentioned earlier. Our corpus has not yielded any earlier examples. Tables I and VII indicate that this construction has been recorded since c1175 (Bod.Hom.), although there happen to be no instances in the texts for the period 1200-1250. It becomes frequent in the first half of the 14th century, but only after 1350 does it become increasingly common. The construction under discussion is comparatively well represented in KAlex. from 1250-1300; Mannyng HS, and Rolle from 1300-1350; Chaucer, PPl.B, Usk Th, and Dest.Troy from 1350-1400; and in many of the 15th century texts examined, among which Pecock Donet, Paston, and Cely in
particular stand out. Examples of the gerund taking an adverb phrase concurrently with an adverb have already been presented in the preceding section, so that only the gerund modified and, generally, followed by an adverb phrase alone is illustrated here:

1100-1200 (8 exs.): Bod.Hom 92/27-30 ða anzite beoð þus ihaten: ... Gustus, fondung on pam muðe; ... Tactus, repung, oðer grapung on alle limen; Trin.Hom. 151/17-18 þe teares þe man wepeð for longenage to heuene ben cleped rein water oðer deu water; Ancr. 103/24 Her to falleð ... scleaterung mid smirles; Ib. 190/13-14 þe oðer bitternesse is i wretlung 7 i wragelunge ażeines fondunges. (Other examples: Trin.Hom. 27.15, 107/26; Ancr. 62/19-20)

1200-1250: None

1250-1300: (7 exs.): SPass. 394 Of þi comyng at domesday; Ib. 542 þe wise ... in ponkyng to God redi were euermo; KAlex. 673-76 Now can Alisaundre of skirmyng; ... And wip swerdes Turneyeing; Ib. 3285-86 he ordeyneb his wendyng Toward Darrye. (Other examples: KAlex. 675, 678, 6178-79)
1300-1350 (39 exs.): Havelok 234-35 per was sobbing ... and drawing bi hor; Guy 4619 At our wending of bat cite; Mannyg HS 8103-04 Y tolde of ... kyssynge with moube; Ib. 12132 For long lyggyng yn oure synne; Shoreham Poems 111/357 boryʒ, geskyngę efter gode; Rolle Prose 14/26 Ane es, ternynge of sensualite to the skyll; Rolle EWr. 78/167 in spekyng of Cristes passyon; MPPsaler 67.19 pou ... toke wrecchedehe in fallyng into helle; etc.

1350-1400 (111 exs.): Ywain 3000 He send jow covering of jowre care; Chaucer Truth 16 The wrastling for this world axeth a fal; Chaucer CT X 1055 in scourgyngę with yerdes; PPl.B 11 84 With the chasteleot of chest and chateryng-oute-of-resoun; Patience 237 per watz louyng on loftę; Usk TL III vii 35-36 in gettyng of this blisse for ever; PPl.Creed 649 For stappyng on a too of a styncande frere; PConsc. 4111 thurgh his turnyng fra gode til ille; Awntyrs Arth. 42-43 There might hapeles ... Herken huntyng with hornes in holtes so hare; Dest.Troy 11194 ffor deiryng with dethe of the derfe grekes; RRose
2796 Thenkyng in absence is good to thee;
Siege Milan 1525 For Isschuynge owte of be
Cite; etc.

1400-1450 (142 exs.): Bk.Lond.E. VI 377 for
his dawbyng be viij daybes; Mandev. 132/19 in
goynge be see toward the south; Emaire 302-03 of
wepyng For bat comely; Beryn 3134 ffor pleyng
atte ches; Mirk Fest. 27/16 by schamyng yn
dysputeson; Castle Persey. 14 pe case of oure
comyng ye to declare; Chester Pl. 279/261-62
Wakes and have my benisonn for fallinge into
temptation; PLAlex. 55/18 thurgh fallynge in
wrechidnesse & disesse; Jacob's W. 155/6 on is
grucchyng azens god; Ib. 121/21 in kepyng monye
in exces; Bokenham Sts. 9715 In goyng to
cherche; York Pl. 283/320 In knelyng on knes to
bis knave; etc.

1450-1500 (247 exs.): Paston 284,4 att my
last beyng wyth yow; Scrope DSP 54/1 in lieng
with wommen; Capgr. 'St.Gilb. 96/29 he sat in
talkyng with othir men; Pecock Fol. 197/10 in
figtyng azens him; DSPhilos. 121/34 it is a
redusynge in-to goodnesse; Malory Wks. 310/12-13
for the fyghtyng with sir Marhalt; Ludus C.
28/406 with delvyng and dyggyng with myn hond;
Mankind 785 Be wyse for schotynge wyth your
takylys; Wisdom 595-96 A lover ys son
perceyvable Be pe smylynge on me; RCoilear 239
For my dwelling to nict; Cely 46/9 at my comyng
houyr se; Ib. 47/16 The caus of his askynge for
him; Caxton Prol.& Epil. 79f.27-28 in gooyng on
pargremage unto Jerusalem; Caxton En. 38/19 in
plongynge vnder the water; Treat.L. 53/31-32 I
have sore trauellyd in prayeng for your soules;
Golagrus & G. 916 The stedis starkerit in the
stour, for streking on stray; etc.

As in the case of examples with a simple adverb, many of
these examples are also preceded by determiners such as
articles and possessives, or followed by an of-adjunct, in
which case, as well as demonstrating a verbal nature by
taking an adverb phrase, the gerund has its nominal force
marked by the addition of an adnominal adjunct. This dual
nature can also be seen in this interesting example: PPl.B
II 86-89 "I hem graunte ... al the lordezhip of lecherye in
lenthe and in brede, As in werkes and in wordes and
waitynges with eies", in which the ing-form is strongly
nominal in forming a plural, but its verbal character is
also prominent in the adverb phrase with eies. This is the
only instance of the plural gerund followed by an adverb phrase that has come to hand.

The adverb phrase almost always follows the gerund, as mentioned earlier. However, the reverse order 'adverb phrase + gerund' does also occur very infrequently, namely in eight cases out of the 554 at our disposal. Seven are found in Pecock Donet (but none in Pecock Fol.) and the remaining one in Paston:

Pecock Donet 67/9 Ensamiple of be first maner is bis: feding, ... out of prisoun quytyng; 70/23 into vertues h[i]m leding and customyng; 78/10-12 in ... to him obeiyng; 99/21-24 goddis lawe in so muche be bettir keping and fulfilling, and in so moche be more plenteoueseli moral vertu[es] doing and wirching; 99/27-28 be ix:e is opire mennys defautis with pite and compassioun birewing; 121/1-2 be now seid office of remembring or of into mynde bringyng.

Paston 236.19 and a lytel descuveryng of your good wy l to hyre.

Pecock's notable use of this order may also be due to his idiosyncracy of placing a modifier before its head-word, as already referred to.
NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1 Jespersen, MEG, V, sec. 9.3.1; Mustanoja, ME Syntax, p. 575; Trnka 1930, p. 92; Schmidt 1900, sec. 133; Kisbye 1971, p. 58; etc.

2 Curme (1912, p. 353) and even Visser (HS, sec. 1123) quote this example as an early instance of the gerund followed by a direct object (Type V), which is clearly wrong, as Onions (1914-15, p. 170) rightly points out.

3 To this number two more examples may be added: Glo.Chron. 3965 “Wip.pleynde atte tables ober atte chekere” and MPPsalter 9.3 "I[n] turnand ogainward my enemy", which are instances of the gerund with participial ending -ynde/-and; but these are, nevertheless, excluded from our discussion. Cf. Mossé 1938, p. 104, and Few 1896, p. 272.

4 According to Poutsma (1926, p. 510), the earliest instances of the construction "are said to appear with any frequency about the middle of the 15th century".

5 Cf. Kisbye 1971, p. 64.

6 Note that our examples (from c1303 Mannyang HS onwards) of the use of oft before the gerund are all earlier than Jespersen's oldest quotation from More's...
Utopia (1551) (MEG, V, sec. 9.1.7). We have also found two instances in which ofte follows the gerund: Rolle EWR 98/65 "fallyng ofte to syn"; Hoccl. RP 2343 "In sweryng ofte, of periurie is cause".

7 There is also one instance, however, in which not follows the gerund: Scrope DSP 244/1 "in preising not himself".

8 Note, however, the position of ever in Dest.Troy 2050 "Uncertain of his Sister for seynge hir ever".

9 See Chapter I (section 1.2 (1), (3), (4)) and Chapter III (section 3.2). Cf. also Schmidt 1900, p. 132.
CHAPTER IV

COMPOUND TENSE AND VOICE FORMS

Just as a noun does not ordinarily admit of any indications of time or voice, so the gerund was originally, and to a considerable extent still is, indifferent to tense and voice. At some point in time, however, the gerund begins to assume compound forms (having + past participle; being + past participle) to show the perfect tense and the passive voice after the analogy of other verbal forms. In other words, it acquires another verbal characteristic. This chapter now examines the development of the gerund in this direction in the ME period.

4.1 Compound Tense Form (Having + Past Participle)

As stated above, the gerund had originally, and to a great extent still has, no reference to time. Accordingly, the simple, non-compound -ing form was employed to express any time or no time in particular, as illustrated by the following examples from PPL.B:

(1) future time: VI 9 Somme shal sowe the sakke ... for sheding of the whete;

(2) present time: XVII 168 And al the myyte myd hym is in makyng of thynges;

(3) past time: XV 285 Poule, after his prechyng panyers he made;
(4) no time: V 238 I wende ryflynge were restituciones.

In its subsequent development, however, the gerund begins to appear with compound forms (consisting of having plus the past participle of the verb) for the perfect tense, denoting the past time-sphere. Nevertheless, no examples of the compound tense form of the gerund are found in the ME texts examined. This leads to the conclusion that the perfect gerund is not yet introduced in the ME period where the simple form remains the invariable rule. Instead, we shall have to look to a later period for the development of the perfect gerund.

Previous studies suggest that the perfect gerund comes into existence as late as early ModE, more specifically the close of the 16th century. It is never used by More, and only exceptionally by Spenser (3 exs.), and Shakespeare (3 exs.). Even as late as the second half of the 17th century it seems to be still very rare; John Dryden's prose furnishes only six instances. Visser (HS, Ill-2, sec. 2053) attempts to give all the examples collected by earlier scholars for the period up to 1614, beginning with c.1528; however, the collection, for the most part, actually consists of those of the perfect participle. The first recorded instances do not seem to occur until 1580-81 in Sidney's Arcadia, as indicated by Blume (1880,
(p. 41). For reference purposes, they are quoted below with all other early instances hitherto noted from the collections of: Blume (1880, pp. 40-41), Sugden (1936, p. 143), Jespersen (MEG, IV, sec. 7.8(2)), and Visser (HS, III-2, sec. 2053):

1580-81 Sidney Arcadia I 36 He should have suffered death for having slaine the Kings Nephew; Ib. 51 after having failed to take him into the fisher boate, he had ... come to this Gentlemans house; Ib. 68 want of consideration in not having demanded thus much; Ib 169 At the first word (thanking his wife for having entertained Zelmane,) he desired her she would 6 now returne into the lodge.

1590-96 Spenser, Faerie Queene I.6.42 Yet ill thou blamest me, for having blent My name with guile and traiterous intent; Ib. III.2.50 And after having whispered a space Certaine sad words, with hollow voice and bace; Ib. III.5.33 And after having sercht the intuse deepe, She with her scarfe did bind the wound; 1595 Spenser, Colin Clout. Comes Home Againe 904 That ill ... they him requite, For having loved ever one most dear.
1591 Shakespeare, Gent. I iii 14-16 To
let him spend his time no more at home, Which
would be great impeachment to his age, In having
_knowen_ no travel in his youth; 1592 Shakespeare,
_Venus & ad._ 809-10 Mine ears ... Do burn
themselves for _having so offended_; 1610
Shakespeare, _Tempest_ III i 19 'Twill weep for
_having wearied_ you.

For the perfect passive form (_having been_ + past
participle), see the following section.

4.2 Compound Voice Form (_Being_ + Past Participle)

The gerund was also originally, and to a great
extent, still remains, neutral as regards voice, that is, as
to the distinction between the active and the passive
voice. In consequence, as the following illustrations
indicate, the simple or active -_ing_ form had to serve for
passive function as well until a new passive form
developed:

_PPE_B_ III 48 We han a wyndowe a wirchynge; _Ib._
_XIV_ 300-01 _je_ ... Pouerte myȝte passe with-oute
peril of robbynge; _Purity_ 1031 He most ay lyve
in bat _loȝe_ in _losing_ evermore; _Ib._ 1123 _ho_ ...
wax ever in be worlde in weryng so olde; Paston
156.8-9 she dare not aventure here money to be
brought vp to London for feere of robbynge; etc.

This inherent, nominal indifference to voice has been
maintained into Present-day English in more or less set
phrases after need, want, deserve, worth, past, and a few
others, as in: "My shoes need mending"; "The book is worth
reading". In the course of time, however, a new compound
form (being plus the past participle of the verb) comes
into use for passive import. Although it is commonly held
that this new passive gerund makes its first appearance
about 1600, Mossé (1938, secs. 259-60) records three
instances from the 15th century, the earliest dated 1417:

141 Ellis Orig. Lett. II i 59 but now your sayd.
beiges, both their and elsewhere, May suffer
their goods and cattels to remayne in the feilds
day and night without being stolen; c1454 Pecock
Fol. 126/26-29 be instrument is not wircher of
be same actyue deede principali and boug his
owne strenghe in being restid, but in strenghe of
an obir, and in being movid.

Mossé's quotation from Ellis Orig. Lett. seems to be the
oldest instance of the compound passive gerund yet pointed out. The ME texts examined have not produced any earlier examples; however, I have noted two additional instances in c1454 Pecock Fol.:

126/14-17 pow3 pe stoon have a wirching, ꞌt he wirchip not and doop not pilk wirchyng bi him silf and bi his owen strengp, as in a being restid, but in strengp of pilk vertu, and in a beyng movid.

It is to be noted, however, that, although the two instances from Pecock display strong verbal force (because of the compound voice form employed), the fact that each is preceded by an article makes it impossible to ignore the nominal content also involved. These five are all the examples so far found for the ME period.

The compound passive gerund apparently remains scarce until about 1600, being non-existent in More (1478-1535), still very infrequent in Ascham (1515-1568), Jonson (1572-1637), Spenser (1552?-1599), and Shakespeare (1564-1616), only after which does it become a regular feature. In order to demonstrate its yet slow progress in early ModE, all relevant examples have been gathered from the collections prior to 1631 and found in: Blume (1880, p. 42), Mossé (1938, sec. 260), Jespersen (MEG V, sec. 9.2.5),
Trnka (1930, p. 93), Sugden (1936, secs. 211 & 352), Visser (HS, III-2; sec. 1920), and Kisbye (1971, p. 65):

1545 Ascham Tox. 52 whiche should take more honour in being coupled to Englande, then we shulde take profite in being joyned to Scotlande.

1565 Th. Stapleton, Hist. of the Church of England 108 v., 21 Ecgbert recovered, and liuing many yeres after being made priest, ... departed this worlde.

1580-81 Sidney Arcadia I. 14 for fear of being mistaken; Ib. 103 But she that followed, conquered indeed with being conquered.

1585-91 Hooker Eccl.Pol. I.xi.2 Although we be men, yet by being unto God united we live as it were the life of God.

c1587 Marlowe Tamburlaine Pt.II. IV.i.130 Cloth'd with a pitchy cloud for being seen; c1588 Faustus 84 In being depriv'd of everlasting bliss.
1590-96 Spenser, Faerie Queene

III.4.50 fear of being fowly shent; lb. III.4.58 for fear of being shent; lb. V.2.16 for dread of being drowned; lb. V.4.5 Either by being wreckt upon the sands, or being carried farre from forraigne lands; lb. V.7.21 To hide thy state from being understood.

1596 Shakespeare I Henry IV, III.ii.47 By being seldom seen I could not stir; 1607-08 Ant. I.iv.44 by being lack'd; 1609-10 Cymb. II.iii.134-36 to be ... hated For being prefer'd so well; 1605-06 Oth. I.iii.136 I spake ... of being taken by the insolent foe; 1608-09 Per. I.i.ii.22 And what may make him blush in being known.

1603 Jonson, Sejanus Is this the happiness of being born great?; 1607 Volpone III.vii.40-41 What, is my gold The worse for touching? clothes, for being look'd on?; 1631 Staple of News 241 stale, stinking butter, and such, I fear, ... by the being barrelled up so long.
The compound perfect passive gerund 'having been past participle' is not attested in our ME material. Kisbye (1975, p. 138) suggests that it begins to occur only in the 18th century, but gives no factual evidence. Judging from Jespersen's quotations which follow, it appears to be a 19th-century development:

1837 Dickens Pickwick Papers 54 certificates of her having been brought up in the way she should go when young; 1849-50 Id. David Copperfield 4 I am indebted to Miss Betsy for having been born on a Friday; 1895 Wilde Imp 42 if you are not quite sure about your ever having been christened; 1911 Bennett The Card 175 his arm was not in a sling, and showed no symptom of having been damaged. [Quoted by Jespersen MEG, IV, sec. 7.8(4)]
NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1 See, for example, Curme 1912, p. 362; Trnka 1930, pp. 93-94; Mustanoja, ME Syntax, p. 573; etc.

2 See Visser, More, I, sec. 386.

3 See Sugden 1936, sec 353.

4 See Jespersen, MEG, IV, sec. 7.8 (2).

5 See Söderlind 1958, p. 201.

6 In Albert Feuillerat's edition The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney, Vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1969), these examples appear on p. 37 (II. 3-4), p. 51 (I. 15), p. 66 (II. 3-4) and p. 150 (II. 5-6). Note also that the work was begun in 1580, but not published until 1590, after Sidney's death.

7 Cf. Jespersen, MEG, V, secs. 9.2.3-9.2.4.

8 See Curme 1912, p. 362, Poutsma 1926, p. 512; Trnka 1930, p. 93; Jespersen, Growth (1935), sec. 209; Bøgholm 1939, p. 257; Franz 1939, sec. 665; and, more recently, Strang 1970, p. 152, and Visser, HS, III-2, sec. 1920, in which he quotes a number of examples from 1425 onwards.
most of which are, however, those of the participle, not the gerund. His earliest instance of the passive gerund is actually dated 1565.


10 Cf. also Kisbye 1971, p. 65, in which he notes that it is not current till the 19th century.
CHAPTER V
GERUND WITH SUBJECT

The acquisition of several verbal characteristics has been discussed in this analysis of the development of the gerund during the ME period. Only the gerund's subject has yet to be treated.

Like a verb, the gerund may have a subject of its own, expressed or unexpressed. However, its expressed subject, in accordance with its nominal origin, has normally been indicated by a noun in the genitive case or a possessive pronoun from OE down to the present day, or by a periphrastic genitive with of from ME onwards, as in: OE "burn beora segnunge"; ME "be dedes commynge", "be commynge of be dede"; ModE "do you mind my coming?"

Thus the gerund with its subject in the genitive (possessive) case is so common throughout all periods of English and so amply illustrated by Visser (HS, secs. 1090-1095) that it would call for no further demonstration. Only a few examples from ME will, therefore, be given below to show the use of (a) a noun in the genitive, (b) a possessive pronoun, and (c) the periphrastic genitive with of before the gerund:
(a) Arth. & M. 595 Wipouten mannes
  Þigeteing; Ib. 2596 þurh neige mennes
  conseyling; Nicod. 1690-92 tell vs þe sail in
  whilk þeres and when þat cristes cuming suld
  fall; Emare 962 abyde þat lordys komyng; Hoccl.
  RP 4314 Til þe day com of þe fadirs deying:
  Malory Wks. 194/17-18 the lady ... had worde of
  þir sisteris komyng; etc.

(b) St. Kath. 186-87 al þe world is iwald
  þurh his wissunge; Tristrem 804-06 His frendes,
  glad were þai Of his coming; Mannyng Chron.
  761-62 He ... fayn of hys comynge was; Nicod.
  1017 at þi cuming; PP1.B XIV 1 after my wakyng;
  EToulouse 469 Of hys comynge hys men were gladde;
  Alph.Tales 91/23 in hur slepyng she dyed;
  Towneley Pl. 198/121 I love the for thi comynge;
  Malory Wks. 12/7 kyng Arthur was glad of their
  comynge; etc.

(c) St. Kath. 140-45 ha iherde a swuch nur
  ... lowinge of þa ante/ludinge of þe
  men/glowinge of euch gleo; Arth. & M. 5737 in þe
  coming of Cleodalis; Glo.Chron. 9922-23 in to
  þis kinedom Hunger & deiinge of þem & muche
wrecchede com; PPl.B 11 229-30 Freres ... for 
knowynge of comerers copeyd hym as a frere; Gawain 
2360-61 Now know I wel ... be powyng of my wyf; 
Chaucer CT IV 2134 Thourgh eggyng of his wyf; 
Mark Fest. 3/8-9 an horybul fyre schall aryse 
at be sonne goyng downe, and ben ageyne at be 
vprysyng of hym; Malory Wks. 27/35 aftir the 
departynge of kyng Bans and Bors; etc.

One noteworthy point arises from the use of the periphrastic 
genitive with of (c) as subject of the gerund. Kisbye 
(1971, p. 68) puts the date of its first appearance at 
about 1200, but presents no factual evidence, his only 
quotations being taken from Mandev. (c1400). Visser (HS, 
sec. 1095) records a number of instances from the 13th 
century onwards, but only one 13th-century example, whose 
exact date is unknown, being referred to as ?12... Our 
random sampling from the corpus, as given in (c) above, 
however, serves to substantiate Kisbye's dating.

As observed above, the subject of the gerund was, 
and is, regularly expressed by a genitive or a possessive 
pronoun. Nevertheless, a common-case subject (i.e., a noun 
in the common (or accusative) case) or an objective-case 
subject (i.e., a pronoun in the objective case) has been on 
record since ME, and has steadily gained ground down 
through ModE, as in: 1848 Thackeray, Van. Fair X 1 48 “1
insist upon Miss Sharp appearing", a stock example quoted in OED (s.v. -ing 1) 2 and many other studies. As a result it is often difficult to decide whether a given -ing form is to be construed as a gerund or as a present participle, as in: "I remember Tom saying so". The use of the common-case or objective case subject, however, shows that the gerund, which was a pure noun in origin, has furthered its verbal character in one more respect.

The actual history of the gerund with its subject in the common case has been a much-discussed problem among scholars because of some difference of opinion as to its development. Jespersen (MEG, V, sec. 9.4.1) maintains that the construction begins to be frequent about 1700, and that it can be explained as a natural native development.

Criticizing Jespersen's original view (1925), Gaaf (1928, pp. 65-72) insists that it was in use long before 1700, as was evidenced by a number of quotations from about 1300 onwards, and that it was probably of French origin. Recent scholars have generally agreed that this construction begins to appear about 1300. Visser (MS, secs. 1096-1097), however, asserts that it has been used since the beginning of the 13th century, as in: c1225 King Horn (MS Ld) 847 "To morwe schal be be figtyng At be sonne op rysyng". He ascribes its origin to the decay of inflectional endings in ME, which often made it impossible to distinguish the
genitive from the accusative or common case. Apart from this lack of consensus on earlier incidence, previous studies seem to agree that the construction is scarce down to about 1600, but that it gains ground constantly down through ModE, and especially in Present-day English, for a variety of circumstances, formal and syntactical, in spite of some puristic grammarians' strictures on it.

Our material indicates that the subject of the gerund is normally expressed by a genitive or a possessive pronoun and is also occasionally expressed by a noun in the common (or accusative) case or a pronoun in the objective case. There are also, however, some borderline cases like:

Arth. & M. 8801-02 po bigan knytes rideing ...

11 tabours dassing; Cursor 25487-89 Iesus, pat wald after mid-night, bi swete face, pat was sa bright, With Iuus spitting file; Chaucer Bo. I.pr.4, 110-11 thurw the same accusours accusynge I am condemned; Dest.Troy 1625-26 And in the moneth of may mekil pay vsit, With floures and fresshe bowes fecchyng of somer; etc.

where, owing to the non-existence of the apostrophe at the time, it is difficult or even impossible, without contextual aid, to make a formal distinction between
common-case plural and genitive plural or singular.

When these ambiguous examples with their seemingly plural noun ending in -s are excluded, there remain 58 examples with a noun subject in the common or accusative case, in which the noun before the gerund is in the singular or in the plural not ending in -s (although even some of these may allow of another interpretation, as will be mentioned later), and seven instances with a pronominal subject in the objective case. Their chronological distribution is as follows:

**TABLE VIII**

*Common- and Objective-case Subjects before Gerunds*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Common Case</th>
<th>Objective Case</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1100-1200</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200-1250</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1250-1300</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300-1350</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1350-1400</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400-1450</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1450-1500</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>58</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>65</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table suggests that the gerund with a noun
subject in the common case occurs from the first half of
the 13th century while the gerund with a pronominal subject
in the objective case develops from the second half of the
14th century, but that both constructions remain extremely
rare throughout the remainder of the ME period.

All examples found in our ME texts of the common-
case subject before the gerund are recorded, in anticipation
of their discussion because so many of them have not been
noted in Visser's quotations (HS, sec. 1099) which are
generally regarded as comprehensive.

1100-1200: None.

1200-1250 (2 exs.): ?c1200 A Maíd.
36/377 of wif 7 were gederunge, worldes weole
awakened; lb. 42/437-38 ter walde wakenin of
wif 7 were somnunge, richesce 7 worldes weole.

1250-1300 (4 exs.): ?a1300 Arth. & M.
5131-32 Lete we now ben her cominge And speke we
of be children fytting; lb. 8799 Passed was be
dayspringing; ?a1300 KAlex. 911 Cler and fair is
day-springynge (also in 4283).

1300-1350 (9 exs.): a1325 Cursor 2395-97
Bot son quen he had seised be land, pat in pan
fel a hunger strong, Thoru corn wanting or thoru werre; Ib. 8445 His fader biding wel he heild; Ib. 28771 For suilk it es sant paule bidding (cf. MS Cotton Galba: For his same es saint paules biding); Seven Sages 1421 men ... kep'en him til be sonne vprising; Mannyny Chron. 682 ffor be quene comynge he was fol'glad; Ib. 1187 At morny be sonne rysynge (also in 9237 and 12143); MPPsalter 49.2 Fram be sonne arisyng vn-to be going a-doune.

1350-1400 (14 exs.) Bruce XI 375 effir the sonne-Rising (also XII 212, XIV 166, and XIV 205); PPl.B VIII 31-32 The wynde and the water and the bote waygyngge Maketh the man many a tyme to falle and to stonde (cf. PPl.A IX 26 the waygyng of the bote; PPl.C XI 34 waggyng of the bote); Ib. XVIII 67 Er Sondey aboute sonne- rysyng; PConsc. 1952-53 And what es mare uncertayn thyng, pan es be tyme of the dede 13 comyng (also in 2901) ; Ib. 3994-96 Byfor be day sere takens sal com, Of whilk men may here fynd wretan some, Als of ancrist comyng, and his pouste (cf. 4407 anticristes lawe); Ib. 4025-26 Says us ... of bi comyng Som taken and of be
world endyng (cf. 4229 pe worldes bygynnyng); 
Ib. 4103-04 Als clerkes says, pat has 
understandyng Of Daniel and of Saynt Paul 
saying; Ib. 4154-56 I wille hym telle Of pe 
maner of anticrist bygynnyng, And of his lif and 
of his endyng; Ib. 4778 fra pe son rysynge; Ib. 
4779 Til pe tyme of pe son doun gangyng.

1400-1450 (21 exs.): Mandev. 182/7 at the 
sonne risynge; Emare 973-75 Emaré thawȝte her 
sone ȝyng Agayn pe Emperour kommyng How pat he 
sholde done; Ld. Troy 3729 at the sonne rysynge 
(also in 13719, 14664, and 18620); Mirk Fest. 
3/8-9 an horrubul fyre schall arȝse at pe sonne 
goyng douné (also in 281/18 and 281/21); Ib. 
58/22 He made also mynde of Symones and Anne 
agayncomyng (note the preceding genitive Symones): 
Alph. Tales 296/25-26 he had bene ioyllfull of his 
bruther kommyng; Chester Pl. 388/248-50 ye shall 
have understandinge of every lond speakinge, 
whatsoever the saye (cf. MS Bod: of every londes 
speakinge; MS Hrl: every leed speakinge); 
Audelay Poems 9.243-45 Fore bi hert dissiryn 
þou hast part of beedis and masse syn[g]yng (cf. 
14.67 in our hertis mynyng); Ib. 11.380-81 þis 
was Seynt Ancelme cownseyling; Ib. 18.497 þis was.
be Hole Gost wercheng; PL Alex. 49/11-12 Thay began for to faghte at be son-rysynge, and faghte to be son-settyng (be son-rysynge also found in 76/20 and 90/4, and be son-settyng also found in 90/5); Gener. 596-97 The knyghtes all, and the squyers truely, Were full sory of his sone departyng.

1450-1500 (8 exs.): Merlin 321/36 thei shulde move at the first cok crowynge (also in 231/19 and 517/15): Towneley Pl. 228/11 we have had for the mekill hart stangynge; Ib. 228/12 at last shall we be out of hart langyng; Malory 14 Wks. 706/30-31 by youre myght encresyng ye have desceyved many a full noble knyght; Ib. 673/1-3 man and woman rejoysyth and gladith of somer commynge with his freyshe flowres; Caxton En. 84/25-30 about the lymytes of the grete see that men calle occeane, in the marches or the sonne goyng-under, right nyghe to that place where he lyeth at the endes, ... is a certeyn contre of habitacion merueyllouse.

Despite the pattern in which the common-case subject precedes the gerund, many of the above quotations seem to
admit of a different interpretation. In the two earliest
instances, both of which come from HMaíd., the inflectional
genitive ending -s may be taken as being added to the whole
group of words connected by and ("wif 7 were"), not to the
second noun ("were") alone. In the third oldest instance
(?a1300 Arth. & M 5131-32), some confusion with the
appositive participle may be presumed, as Mustanqja (ME
Syntax, p. 574) observes. In quite a few cases (e.g. Arth. &
M. 5131-32, Cursor 8445, Mannyng Chron. 682, Alph. Tales
296/25-26, etc.) the noun before the gerund may, in fact,
be a survival of OE genitives without -s, in the light of
the fact that the s-less genitive is used in all ME
dialects, especially Northern, as in: Cursor 1297 "of his
fader care"; Chaucer TC I 678 "thi brother wif"; Capgr.
Chron. 195/28 "On the queen's side". Some others (e.g. Arth. &
M. 8799, KAlex 91, Seven Sages 1421, etc.) may be compounds
consisting of 'common-case subject + gerund': "sonne
rysyn/ariseyng", "be son settyng/doun gangyng", "hert
stangyng/langyng" "coxt crowynge", "day-springyng". These
combinations should be compared with the following
citations:

Arth. & M. 3865 in be sonnes vpriseing; KAlex.
2877 Mery it is in sonnes risynge (cf. MS LinI
2883 in sonne risynge): MPPsalter 106/13 Fram be
risynge of be sunne vnto be goyne adoune;
Chaucer Bo. I, m. 5, 15 at rysynge of the sonne; 
Chaucer Astr. II.12.2 fro the arisyng of the 
sonne; Usk TL III iii 170 to-morowe be comminge 
the rysinge of the sonne; Trev. Barth. 127a/a by 
crowinge of kockes (q. MED); Higd. (1) 535 
About cokkes crowynge (q. MED); Pecock Repr. 224 
after the synnys going doun (q. Gaaf); Caxton 
En. 80/10 about ye goynge vnder of ye sonne; 
etc.

These quotations seem to testify that, as Gaaf (1928, p. 
16) asserts, the type (the) sun rising consisted of (the) 
sun + rising and was possibly not felt to be a compound in 
ME. Gaaf (1928, p. 69) also maintains that this frequently 
occurring ME idiom be sonne rising/going down is an 
imitation of OF le soleil levant/colchant. Whether our ME 
idioms are OF calques or not, it can hardly be denied that 
17 they have something to do with the OF idioms.

Thus, practically all the examples before 1300 and 
most of the later ones are found to allow of a different 
interpretation. If these ambiguous examples were regarded 
as those of the gerund with a common-case subject, this 
construction could be said to occur from the beginning of 
the 13th century on (c1200 HMaid.), which agrees with 
Visser's observation mentioned earlier. If, on the other
hand, the ambiguous examples were left out of consideration, the construction in question would be said to appear only about 1300, its earliest unambiguous example being from a1325 (Cursor 2397), and to remain extremely rare throughout the ME period. This supports the recently held view also mentioned above (see note 6).

As for the gerund with a pronominal subject in the objective case (i.e. me, him, them, etc. instead of my, his, their, etc.), earlier studies show that examples have been on record since about 1500, but that this construction is not really current until after 1800, when it becomes increasingly frequent. Visser (HS, sec. 1102) provides only three instances from late ME (Caxton alone), all of them being first quoted by Kellner (1892, sec. 418). According to our data in Table VIII, however, this construction appears from the second half of the 14th century onwards, much earlier than has previously been noted, as these illustrations indicate:

?al400 RRose 2061-62 Sire, if thee lyst to
undirstande, I merveile the askynyng this
20
demande ; c1400 Ld.Troy 6317-18 he was war of
hem comyng and of here malice and here thynkyng;

cl420 Alph.Tales 11/22-25 hur accusers ...

desirid hym to com vnto per place and see hur
...
be day of hym comyng drew nere; lb. 178/12-
13 per was so many fendi in per quere, pat with sight of baim gonyng vp and doun, be ta side falsd in be psalm; 1477 Caxton Prol. & Epil. 29a.151-52 Humbly requyrynq and besechynq my sayd lord to take no displaysir on me so presumynq; c1477 lb. 71a.65-67 Moost humblie beskyng my ... lorde, the Kyng, and also the Quene to pardon me so presumynq; 1481 lb. 96b.24-25 humbly besechynq his Hyenes to take no displesyr at me so presumynq.

These seven are all the examples found in the corpus, four of them being over half a century earlier than those quoted by Kellner and subsequently by Visser from Caxton. Hence it can be said that the gerund with a pronominal subject in the objective case appears as early as about 1400 (more specifically, ?a1400 RRose), but that it remains exceedingly scarce, much more so than even the gerund with a noun subject in the common case, throughout the late ME period.
NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1 Quoted from Mustanoja, ME Syntax, p. 573.

2 Visser's example from ?12. . tr. Charter of Aeölstan, which is first quoted by OED, is placed after the one from HMaid. in OED (s.v. Pricking, vbl.sb. 4). This fact might suggest that our example from St.Kath. (?c1200) is slightly earlier than the one in question.

3 See also Jespersen's comment that "the rise of the construction in question is the latest step in a long and most interesting development, in which the ing adopts more and more of the specific verbal qualities and is more and more freed from the restrictions which at first were inherent in it as in other substantives" (1926, p. 150).

4 Jespersen (1926, p. 155) originally stated that "If I am not mistaken, it begins to appear about the year 1700" [italics mine], which has apparently invited Gaaf's rebuttal.

5 Notice, however, that Gaaf's quotations contain numerous wrong or ambiguous examples, as was rightly pointed out by Jespersen (MEG, V, sec. 9.4.1).

6 Mustanoja, ME Syntax, p. 574; Brunner 1962, p. 357; Kisbye 1971, p. 58; Schibsbye 1974, p. 123; etc.

8 Cf. Lindelöf 1923, p. 10; Fries 1940, p. 87; Visser, HS, sec. 1100.

9 See, for example, those enumerated by Jespersen (1926, pp. 155-56).

10 See especially Fowler 1926, pp. 215-18. The treatment of the construction in modern times by various scholars is well summarized in Bartlett 1950, p. 456; Vallins 1956, pp. 128-31; and Visser, HS, sec. 1100.

11 In his edition (EETS 277, Glossary s.v. tabours), Macræe-Gibson construes this tabours as genitive plural.

12 From this figure is excluded the following example: c1275 Ken.Serm. 26/6-8 "si sterre ... apierede to bo brie kinges of hepenesse to-janes bo sunne risindde", in which the present participle form risindde is due to a mistaken interpretation of the OF -ant form as a present participle, although it is in fact a gerund (cf. Bennett and Smithers (eds.), Early Middle English Verse and Prose, p. 394, Note to XVII. 7); otherwise it is one of the earliest cases of the confounding of the present participle in -inde with the gerund in -ing (cf. Curme 1912, p. 370).
13 It is of some interest to note that in PConsc. (1400) the dede commynge (the common case subject) is found twice (1953, 2901), (he) dedys commynge (the genitive subject) four times (1969, 1971, 1977, 2167), and the commynge of be dede (the periphrastic genitive subject) once (2015).

14 Dekker (1932, sec. 269) notes that the word myght hardly allows of a genitive construction.


16 Gaaf notes, however, that in PLAlex. 7620 pe son rysynge apparently means 'the East'; in such a case the term 'compound' might be justifiable.

17 Note, for instance, that Caxton's the sonne goyng-\underline{\text{\textit{wnder}}} (En. 84/25-26) directly translates F. "de souleil couchant".

18 Constructions with her as subject are not treated here because it cannot formally be decided whether it is a possessive or a personal pronoun in the objective, as in: Alph. Tales 91/23 "in hur slepyng sho dyed"; Bokenham Sts. 5701 "And of here pedyrgoyng pis was pe entent"; Malory Wks. 42/16-17 "I shall telle you the cause of hir commynge"; etc.

19 See, for instance, Kisbye 1971, pp. 58 and 63, and Schibsbye 1974, sec. 7.4.7. Cf. also Visser, HS, sec. 1102.
Visser places this instance under the type 'the + gerund + object', but this the is not the definite article the, but a pronoun in the objective case the 'thee', functioning as the subject of the -ing form, as has already been discussed in Chapter I, sec. 1.6, n. 56, with reference to Skeat's edition of R. Rose.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The principal object of this study has been to investigate the syntactic development of the gerund in the ME period and thereby to ascertain when its acquisition of various verbal characteristics took place. The chief results of the foregoing study may now be summarized as follows:

Chapter I discusses the object of the gerund. Six different types were found: Type I = objective genitive (possessive) + gerund; Type II = object + gerund; Type III = gerund + of-adjunct; Type IV = determiner + gerund + of-adjunct; Type V = gerund + object; Type VI = determiner + gerund + object. The gerund obviously has nominal force in Types I, III and IV, whereas in Types V and VI it displays verbal force by governing a direct object. In Type II it may be sometimes nominal, sometimes verbal, depending upon the degree of closeness of the combination 'object + gerund'. Types I, II, III and IV are found in early ME (1100-1300). Types V and VI, both with syntactic verbal force, appear only in late ME (1300-1500), with Type V's frequency steadily increasing and Type VI's usage remaining extremely rare. Types I and II (survivors of OE synthetic expressions) are the most commonly used in early ME. Type III, however, becomes by far the most frequently used
pattern until the end of the 15th century, when it is
slightly superseded by Type IV (the regular construction
with strong nominal force in ModE). The research suggests
many hitherto unknown facts about these six types. The
Type III construction 'gerund + of-adjunct' appears as
early as ?a1200 (Trin.Hom. and Ancr.), half a century
earlier than the oldest example hitherto noted (c1250 Gen.&
Ex.). The 'the + gerund + of-adjunct' construction — the
most representative Type IV pattern — first occurs in
?a1200 Ancr., about a century earlier than the oldest
instance previously pointed out (c1303 Mennyng HS), while
Type IV examples with determiners other than the (viz.
demonstratives; possessives, adjectives, etc.) also occur
much earlier than have previously been noted. Type V, the
gerund followed by a simple object, is first evidenced in
?1300 Arth.& M. and c1300 NHom., slightly earlier than
Visser's earliest quotation (c1303 Mennyng HS) and over
half a century earlier than has generally been assumed.
Although no examples of the construction 'the + gerund +
object' — the chief pattern of Type VI — have been found
prior to the oldest previously documented instance (a1400
Paul.Epist.), the construction with determiners other than
the (viz. this, possessives, etc.) is noted from a1325
(Cursor), all earlier than previous citations.

Chapter II reveals that the gerund governing a
predicative or complement, occurs as early as 1450 (Scrope
DSP), a century before the oldest instance on record (1551 More *Utopia* [Ralph Robynson's Trans.]), thereby disproving the belief that this is only a ModE product. Its five occurrences in three different texts during the second half of the 15th century testify to the fact that this verbal property is a late ME, rather than a ModE, development.

Chapter III deals with the development of the gerund modified by an adverbial adjunct. Until about 1350, the OE type of compound 'adverbial element + gerund' obtains. It then rapidly falls into disuse, being mostly replaced by the new analytic type 'gerund + adverb'. This new construction, evidenced since c1200 (Irin.Hom.), remains rare until 1300 and then becomes more common, ousting its rival, nominal compound in the majority of cases from 1350 onwards.

Another verbal type, the gerund with an adverb phrase, is also used as early as c1775 (Bod.Hom.), but only after 1350 does it become common. This data confirms the fact that the verbal property of taking adverbial adjuncts is, in fact, an early ME gerundial development, starting about a century and a half earlier than has generally been considered, notwithstanding the fact that our earliest examples of an adverb and an adverb phrase used with the gerund are no earlier than previously reported. Another noteworthy fact is that the use of *oft* and *not/not* before the gerund is attested from c1303 (Mannyng HS) and
c1385 (Usk TL) respectively, both of which are far earlier than have previously been noted.

Chapter IV is concerned with the assumption of compound tense and voice forms by the gerund. The compound perfect form does not occur at all in our ME material, as was to be expected from the fact that its earliest instance as yet noted is from 1580-81 (Sidney Arcadia). However, the compound passive form appears as early as 1417 (Ellis Orig.Lett.) as has been evidenced by Mossé. Our research adds two more examples from c1454 Pecock Fol. to his three 15th-century examples. It thus appears that, even in late ME, the perfect gerund has not yet appeared, and the passive gerund is still in embryo.

Chapter V studies the subject of the gerund. Being a noun in origin, the gerund has expressed its subject in the genitive (possessive) throughout all periods of English. The periphrastic genitive with of has also been instanced since ?c1200 (St.Kath). As the -ing form increases in verbal force, however, a common-case subject has also been used, although it is still extremely rare even in late ME. This research discovers the gerund with its noun-subject in the common case from ?c1200 (HMaid.), a century earlier than its first example so far noticed (a1325 Cursor). However, practically all the examples from before a1325 seem to allow of a different interpretation. The gerund with an objective-case pronoun as subject, though even
rarer, is found as early as 1400 (RRose), over half a century earlier than its oldest example previously established (1477 Caxton Prol. & Epil.).

The following list shows in tabular form the earliest dates of the various gerundial constructions ascertained in this study as compared with those noted in the previous research consulted. The asterisk (*) denotes that our findings antedate the evidence found elsewhere.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAP.</th>
<th>CONSTRUCTIONS</th>
<th>DATES OF EARLIEST APPEARANCE FOUND IN THIS STUDY</th>
<th>EVIDENCE FOUND ELSEWHERE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.(poss.) obj. + gerund</td>
<td>c1175 (Bod. Hom)</td>
<td>OE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obj. + gerund</td>
<td>a1121–a1160 (Peter. Chron)</td>
<td>OE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund + of-adjunct</td>
<td>?a1200 (Trin. Hom. &amp; Ancr.)*</td>
<td>c1250 (Gen. &amp; Ex.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Det. (the) + gerund + of-adjunct</td>
<td>?a1200 (Ancr.)*</td>
<td>c1303 (Mannyang HS)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Det. (other than the) + gerund + of-adjunct</td>
<td>?a1200 (Ancr.)*</td>
<td>c1303 (Mannyang HS)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund + object</td>
<td>?a1300 (Arth. &amp; M.)*</td>
<td>c1303 (Mannyang HS)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Det. (the) + gerund + obj.</td>
<td>1450 (Scrope DSP)</td>
<td>a1400 (Paul. Epist.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Det. (other than the) + gerund + object</td>
<td>a1325 (Cursor)*</td>
<td>c1449 (Pecock Rep.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund + predicative</td>
<td>1450 (Scrope DSP)*</td>
<td>1551 (More Utopia)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compound (adv. + gerund)</td>
<td>c1175 (Bod. Hom.)</td>
<td>OE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund + adverb</td>
<td>?a1200 (Trin. Hom.)*</td>
<td>?a1200 (Trin. Hom.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund + adv. Phrase</td>
<td>c1175 (Bod. Hom.)</td>
<td>c1175 (Bod. Hom.)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect gerund</td>
<td></td>
<td>1580-81 (Sidney Arcadia)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive gerund</td>
<td>c1454 (Pecock Fol.)</td>
<td>1417 (Ellis Orig. Lett.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.(poss.) sub. + gerund</td>
<td>passim</td>
<td>OE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund + of-adjunct</td>
<td>?a1200 (St. Kath.)*</td>
<td>?12... (Charter of Aegyptian)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common-case subj. (noun) + gerund</td>
<td>?c1200 (HMaid)* or a1325 (Cursor)</td>
<td>a1325 (Cursor)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective-case subj. (pronoun) + gerund</td>
<td>?a1400 (RRose)*</td>
<td>1477 (Caxton Prol. Epil.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the basis of the above list and the general summary of the findings of this study, it is possible to establish more firmly the rise and development of the gerund's acquisition of various verbal characteristics (cf. characteristics (1)-(5) in the Introduction):

The first step in the development of the verbal aspect of the gerund was the acquisition of an adverbal adjunct (adverb or adverb phrase). That is, the gerund modified by a simple adverb or an adverb phrase (characteristic (3)) comes into existence in ?a1200 and c1175 respectively, but does not become common for a century thereafter, and then increases significantly in the course of the 14th century. Then comes the salient feature of governing a direct object (characteristic (1)), which is first instanced in ?a1300, and makes only slow progress...
until the end of the 14th century, but then becomes
appreciably more frequent in the 15th century. The gerund
followed by its object but preceded by a determiner is also
first found in a1325, but remains extremely rare throughout
the remainder of the ME period. At just about the same time
the gerund with its noun-subject, in the common case
(characteristic (5)) develops — although this can be
traced back to c1200, albeit with some reservation —
while the gerund with its pronominal subject in the
objective case (also characteristic (5)) first shows up in
a1400. Nevertheless, both forms, and especially the
latter, remain extremely rare until the close of the 15th
century. Still later comes the assumption of compound tense
and voice forms (characteristic (4)); the compound passive
form is attested from 1417, but remains only in embryo in
the 15th century, whereas the compound perfect form does
not come into use at all in ME, to be developed only in
early ModE (1580-81). To the last stage of gerundial
development belongs the property of governing a predicative
(characteristic (2)). Although cited from 1450, it is only
sporadically instanced down to the close of the 15th
century. These observations may be better represented by
the following chart, in which (unadorned) dates refer to
our own findings while those dates in parentheses refer to
the evidence found elsewhere:
As will appear from the above chart, the development of a gerundial -ing form, initially purely nominal into one partly nominal and partly verbal in character can be detected as early as in the second half of the 12th century. The subsequent development is, however, so gradual that the modern full-fledged gerund can only be seen in early ModE or, more specifically, in the second half of the 16th century. It is safe to say that the gerund was almost exclusively treated as a noun until about 1300, but it would be too hasty to insist that the use of the gerund with syntactic verbal force was fully or firmly established "about 1300" (cf. Kisbye 1971, p. 55) or "before 1400" (cf. OED, s.v. -ing) 2). Instead, the evidence presented in this study strongly suggests that it was not until the first half of the 15th century that the gerund appreciably developed certain verbal properties, particularly those of governing a direct (or accusative) object and of being modified by an adverbial adjunct. The other features: governing a predicative, indicating voice by means of compound forms, and taking a common (or accusative) case subject or an objective case subject are still far from fully developed, being only very sporadically instanced down to the close of the ME period. In addition, a final verbal characteristic, namely the creation of time-distinctions by means of compound forms remains totally
undeveloped until early ModE. Nevertheless, it can reasonably be concluded that the ME period was instrumental in the formative stage of the syntactic development of the gerund as we know today; a noun whose role has been broadened by its acquisition of verbal characteristics.
NOTE TO SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1 As a matter of course, it should be pointed out that "it is difficult to fix the dates of introduction and disappearance of a form or construction, which are not usually identical with its first and last appearance in writing" (Rydén 1979, p. 19).
A. Primary Sources: Alphabetical List of Texts Examined

Note: The number within parentheses refers to the page on which bibliographical information about the text in question is given.

Alex. & D. = Alexander and Dindimus. (19)
Alex. Maced. = Alisaungor of Macedoine. (19)
Alph. Tales = An Alphabet of Tales. (26)
Amadace = Sir Amadace. (22)
Amis = Amis and Amiloun. (16)
Ancr. = Ancrene Wisse. (11)
Arth. & M. = Of Arthour and of Merlin. (15)
Ass. Gods = The Assembly of Gods. (30)
Assump. Virg. = The Assumption of Our Lady. (15)
Athelston = Athelston. (22)
Audelay Poems = The Poems of John Audelay. (27)
Avow. Arth. = The Avowing of King Arthur, Sir Gawain, Sir Kay, and Baldwin of Britain. (26)
Awntyrs Arth. = The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne. (23)
Ayenb. = Dan Michael's Ayenbite of Inwyt. (18)

Beryn = The Tale of Beryn. (25)

Bestiary = A Bestiary (13)

Bevis = The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun. (16)

Bk. Courtesy = The Boke of Curtasye. (29)

Bk. Lond. E. = A Book of London English 1384-1425. (24)

Blewes = Song of the Battle of Lewes. (14)


Body & S. = The Debate of the Body and the Soul. (14)


Bruce = John Barbour: The Bruce (20)


Castle Persev. = The Castle of Perseverance: The Macro Plays. (26)

Caxton Blanch. = Caxton's Blanchardyn and Eglantine. (30)

Caxton Charles = Caxton: The Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce. Charles the Great. (30)
Caxton Curial = Caxton: The Curial made by maistre Alain Charretier. (30)
Caxton En. = Caxton's Enydos. (31)
Caxton Paris = Caxton: Paris and Vienne. (30)
Caxton Prol. & Epil. = Caxton's Own Prose (Prologues, Epilogues, Colophons & Interpolations). (30)
Caxton Reyn. = Caxton: The History of Reynard the Fox. (30)
Cely = The Cely Letters. (30)
Chaucer Anel. = Chaucer: Anelida and Arcite. (20)
Chaucer Astr. = Chaucer: A Treatise of the Astrolabe. (22)
Chaucer BD = Chaucer: The Book of the Duchess. (19)
Chaucer Bo. = Chaucer: Boece. (21)
Chaucer CT = Chaucer: The Canterbury Tales. (20)
Chaucer HF = Chaucer: The House of Fame. (21)
Chaucer LGW = Chaucer: The Legend of Good Women. (22)
Chaucer PF = Chaucer: The Parliament of Fowls. (21)
Chaucer "Short Poems" (20)
Chaucer IC = Chaucer: Troilus and Criseyde. (21)
Chester Pl. = The Chester Mystery Cycle. (26)
Chev. Assigne = Chevelere Assigne. (23)
Cleges = Sir Cleges. (25)
Cloud = The Cloud of Unknowing. (23)
Cursor = Cursor Mundi. (16)
Davy Dreams = Adam Davy's 5 Dreams about Edward II, etc. (16)
Death & L. = Death and Liffe. (27)

Degare = Sir Degare. (17)

Degrev. = The Romance of Sir Degrevant. (27)

Dest.Troy = The 'Gest Hystoriale' of the Destruction of Troy. (23)

DSPhilos. = The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers. (29)

Eylam. = Syr Eylamour of Artois. (19)

Emare = Emare. (25)

EToulouse = The Earl of Toulouse. (25)

Everyman = Everyman. (31)

Firumb. = Sir Ferumbras. (20)

Floris = Floriz and Blancheflur. (13)

Fox & W. = The Fox and the Wolf (14).

Gamelyn = Gamelyn. (18)

Gawain = Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. (22)

Gen.& Ex. = The Story of Genesis and Exodus. (13)

Gener. = Generydes. (27)


Golagrus & G. = The Knightly Chronicle of Golagros and Gawane. (31)

Gower CA = Confessio Amantis: The English Works of John Gower. (22)

Gowther = Sir Gowther. (25)

GRom. = The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum. (28)
Guy = The Romance of Guy of Warwick. (16)
Harley Lyrics = The Harley Lyrics. (17)
Harrow.H. = The Middle English Harrowing of Hell. (13)
Havelok = The Lay of Havelok the Dane. (15)
H Maid. = Hali Meidénhad. (12)
Hoccl. RP = Hoccleve's Regement of Princes. (26)
Horn = King Horn (13)
Horn Child = Horn Childe. (16)
Isumb. = Sir Isumbras. (18)
Jacob's W. = Jacob's Well. (27)
KAlex. = Kyng Alisaunder. (15)
KEd.w. S. = King Edward and the Shepherd. (24)
Ken.Serm. = Kentish Sermons. (14)
Lamb.Hom. = Lambeth Homilies (12)
Lancelot = The Romans of Lancelot of the Laik. (31)
Launfal = Sir Launfal. (24)
Lay.Brut = Lazamon: Brut. (11)
Ld.Troy = The Laud Troy Book. (25)
Le Morte Arth. = Le Morte Arthur [Stanzaic]. (24)
Lofsong Lefdi = On Lofsong of ure Lefdi. (13)
Ludus C. = Ludus Coventriae or the Plai Called Corpus Christi. (30)
Lydg. RS = Lydgate's Reson and Sensualyte. (26)
Lydg. ST = Lydgate's Siege of Thebes. (26)
Lydy. TG = Lydgate's Temple of Glas. (26)
Malory Wks. = The Works of Sir Thomas Malory. (29)
Mandev. = Mandeville's Travels (24)
Mankind = Mankind: The Macro Plays. (29)
Mannyng Chron. = The Story of England by Robert Mannyng of Brunne. (18)
Mannyng HS = Robert Mannyng of Brunne's Handlyng Synne. (16)
Medit. Supper = Meditations on the Supper of our Lord, and
the Hours of the Passion. (16)
Merlin = Merlin, or The Early History of King Arthur. (28)
Minot Poems = The Poems of Laurence Minot. (17)
Mirk Fest. = Mirk's Festival. (26)
MKempe = The Book of Margery Kempe. (27)
Morte Arth. = Morte Arthure [Alliterative]. (24)
MPPsalter = Midland Prose Psalter: The Earliest Complete
English Prose Psalter. (18)
NHom. = English Metrical Homilies. (15)
NHom. Pass. = The Northern Passion (Supplement). (20)
Nicod. = Gospel of Nicodemus. (18)
NPass = The Northern Passion (Supplement). (15)
Octav. = Octavian. (19)
Orfeo = Sir Orfeo. (17)
Orison Lord = On Vereisun of ure Louerde. (13)
Orm. = The Ormulum. (12)
Otuel = The Romance of Otuel. (17)
Ouel & R. = Ouel and Roland (17)
Owl & N. = The Owl and the Nightingale. (13)
Parl.3 Ages = The Parlement of the Thre Ages. (23)
Partenay = The Romans of Partenay or of Lusignen. (31)
Paston = Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century (28)
Patience = Patience (21)
PConsc. = The Price of Conscience. (22)
Pearl = Pearl. (21)
Pecock Donet = The Donet by Reginald Pecock. (27)
Pecock Fol. = The Folewer to the Donet by Reginald Pecock (29)
Perceval = Sir Perceval of Galles. (24)
PLAlex. = The Prose Life of Alexander. (27)
PMor. = Poema Morale. (11)
PPl.B = The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman (B-text). (20)
PPl.Creed = Pierce the Ploughmans Crede. (22)
Procl. Hen. III = The Proclamation of Henry III. (14)
Prov. Alf. = The Proverbs of Alfred (14)
Purity = Purity [=Cleanness]. (21)
Quatref. Love = The Quatrefoil of Love. (24)
RCoilyear = The Taill of Rauf Coilyear. (30)
Roland & Q. = The Romance of Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell of Spayne. (24)
Roland & V. = Rouland and Vernayu. (17)
Rolle EWr. = English Writings of Richard Rolle. (18)
Rolle Prose = English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole. (18)
RRose = The Romaunt of the Rose. (23)
RSicily = Robert of Sicily. (20)
St. Anne = The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne. (25)
St. Erk. = St. Erkenwald. (22)
St. Juliana = Ye liflade ant te passiun of Seint Iuliene. (12)
St. Kath. = The Life of Saint Katherine. (12)
St. Mary. = Seint Marherete. (12)
Scrope DSP = The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers [Scrope Text]. (28)
Seven Sayes = The Seven Sages of Rome. (17)
Shoreham Poems = The Poems of William of Shoreham. (17)
Sieye Jerus. = The Siege of Jerusalem. (23)
Sieye Milan = The Seye off Melanye. (23)
Sieye Troy = The Seege or Batayle of Troy. (18)
SLey. = The Early South-English Legendary. (14)
Song Roland = Fragment of the Song of Roland. (25)
SPass. = The Southern Passion. (14)
Spec.Guy = Speculum Gy de Warewyke. (16)
Sward = Sawles Warde. (12)
Thrush & N. = The Thrush and the Nightingale. (14)
Tourn.Tott. = The Tournament of Tottenham. (28)
Townley Pl. = The Towneley Plays. (29)
Treat.L. = The Tretys of Love. (31)

Tristrem = Sir Tristrem. (15)
Usk TL = Thomas Usk's Testament of Love. (21)
Vices & V. = Vices and Virtues. (11)
Vsp.A.Hom. = Vespyan A Homilies. (12)
Wars Alex. = The Wars of Alexander. (23)
Winner & W. = A Good Short Debate between Winner and Waster. (19)

Wisd. = Wisdom: The Macro Plays. (29)
Wooing Lord = Ye Wohung of ure Lauerd. (13)
Worc.Frag. = Worcester Fragments. (11)
WPal. = The Romance of William of Palerne. (20)

Wycl.Leaven = "Of the Leaven of Pharisees" in The English Works of Wyclif. (21)

York Pl. = York Plays (27)

Ywain = Ywain and Gawain. (19)
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ABSTRACT

Initially a pure noun, the gerund has eventually expanded its syntactic role beyond anything characteristic of its own past history by acquiring a number of verbal properties. Although a gradual evolution, the ME period was definitely crucial to this process. Nevertheless, exactly when and how this metamorphosis took place remains a subject both of much scholarly debate and limited in-depth inquiry—most notably by the ME specialist.

This study attempts to provide a firmer basis for general inquiry into this syntactical process by providing a specialized analysis of the development of these gerundial verbal characteristics in the ME period. The corpus consists of 183 ME texts, or almost all important ME verse and prose available in print, both literary and non-literary written from c.1100-c.1500. The analysis of the gerundial verbal characteristics observed in these ME texts has been divided into five chapters: 'Gerund with Object' (Chapter I), 'Gerund with Predicative' (Chapter II), 'Gerund with Adverbial Adjunct' (Chapter III), 'Compound Tense and Voice Forms' (Chapter IV), and 'Gerund with Subject' (Chapter V).

The development of a gerundial -ing form, at first purely nominal, into one partly nominal and partly verbal in character can be detected as early as in the second half of the 12th century. However, it would be too hasty to say that the use of the gerund with syntactic verbal force was fully or firmly established "about 1300" or "before 1400", as has often been claimed. Instead, the evidence presented in this study strongly suggests that it was not until the first half of the 15th century that the gerund appreciably developed certain verbal properties, particularly
those of governing a direct object and of being modified by an adverbial adjunct. The other features: governing a predicative, indicating voice by means of compound forms, and taking a common-case subject are still far from developed, being only very sporadically instanced down to the close of the ME period. In addition, a final verbal characteristic, namely the development of time-distinctions, remains to take place in early ModE. Nevertheless, there is sufficient documentation to suggest that future studies of the gerund should start with a proper ME perspective.