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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ  
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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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1983.

*[Handwritten scribble]*



UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA  
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### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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Ottawa, August 1983

M. T.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Biographical Note . . . . .	ii
Acknowledgements . . . . .	iii
Abbreviations . . . . .	v
Introduction . . . . .	1
A. Problems and Aims . . . . .	1
B. Texts Examined . . . . .	9
Chapter I Gerund with Object . . . . .	36
Chapter II Gerund with Predicative . . . . .	135
Chapter III Gerund with Adverbial Adjunct . . . . .	139
Chapter IV Compound Tense and Voice Forms . . . . .	166
Chapter V Gerund with Subject . . . . .	177
Summary and Conclusions . . . . .	195
Bibliography . . . . .	206
A. Primary Sources: Alphabetical List of Texts Examined . . . . .	206
B. Secondary Sources . . . . .	216

#### ABBREVIATIONS

EETS	= Early English Text Society
EETS ES	= Early English Text Society, Extra Series
EETS SS	= Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series
Jespersen, <u>Growth</u>	= Jespersen 1948
Jespersen, <u>MEG</u>	= Jespersen 1909-49
ME	= Middle English
<u>MED</u>	= <u>Middle English Dictionary</u>
ModE	= Modern English
Mustanoja, <u>ME Syntax</u>	= Mustanoja 1960
OE	= Old English
<u>OED</u>	= <u>The Oxford English Dictionary</u>
OF	= Old French
Visser, <u>HS</u>	= Visser 1963-73
Visser, <u>More</u>	= 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),<sup>1</sup> 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)<sup>2</sup> form which is derived from a verb and functions as a noun.<sup>3</sup>

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.

OED);

- (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 <sup>4</sup>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. (1929, 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 Einkenkel (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 gérondif 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>). Much the same criticism applies to specialized works, such as Irwin's (1967) dissertation<sup>7</sup>—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<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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,

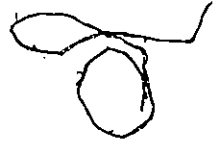
however, spread unevenly over the centuries and dialects. For example, 12th-century texts are but few, which has obliged me to limit my examination to only one text for the period 1100-1150 and six for the period 1150-1200. On the other hand, 15th-century texts have been consulted on a selective basis, 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.<sup>10</sup>

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

11  
structure. 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 OED, 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. <sup>12</sup> 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



13  
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

Peterb.Chron. (Ld) = The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154, 2nd ed.,  
ed. Cecily Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970). 59 pages. Prose.  
a1121-?a1160. EMid.

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.

PMor. (Lamb) = Poema Morale, ed. Joseph Hall in Selections from Early  
Middle English (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), even pp. 30-46.  
270 lines. Rhymed verse. ?c1175. WMid.

Worc.Frag. (Wor) = Worcester Fragments, ed. Joseph Hall in Selections  
from Early Middle English (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), pp. 1-4.  
113 lines. Alliterative verse. c1180. SW.

Lay.Brut (Clg) = Lazamon: Brut, ed. G. L. Brook and R. F. Leslie, EETS  
250 (1963) and 277 (1978). 16,095 lines. Rhymed and/or alliterative  
verse. ?a1200. SW.

Trin.Hom. (Trin-C) = Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, Series  
II, ed. R. Morris, EETS 53 (1873), odd pp. 3-219. 109 pages. Prose.  
?a1200. EMid.

Ancr. (Corp-C) = Ancrene Wisse (= The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe),  
ed. J. R. R. Tolkien, EETS 249 (1962). 218 pages. Prose. ?a1200  
(MS c1230). 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.

Orm. (Jun) = The Ormulum, ed. Robert Holt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1974). 20,440 lines. Unrhymed, syllabic verse. ?c1200. EMid.

St.Kath. (Einenkel) = The Life of Saint Katherine, ed. Eugene Einenkel, EETS 80 (1884). 122 pages. Prose. ?c1200. SW.

St.Juliana (Bod) = Þe liflade ant te passiuon of Seint Iuliane, ed. S. R. T. O. d'Ardenne, EETS 248 (1961), odd pp. 3-71. 35 pages. Prose. ?c1200. SW.

ST.Marg. (Bod) = Seint Marherete, ed. Francis M. Mack, EETS 193 (1934), even pp. 2-53. 27 pages. Prose. ?c1200. SW.

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

SWard (Bod) = Sawles Warde, ed. J. A. W. Bennet and G. V. Smithers in Early Middle English Verse and Prose (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 247-61. 15 pages. Prose. ?c1200. SW. (MS Bod to 259/382 and MS Roy from 259/382 to end, p. 261.)

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.<sup>14</sup>

Wooring 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.)

Horn (Cmb) = King Horn, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale in Middle English Metrical Romances (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964 [1930<sup>1</sup>]), pp.

25-70. 1,530 lines. Rhymed verse. ?c1225. SW.

Bestiary (Arun) = A Bestiary, ed. R. Morris in An Old English Miscellany, EETS 49 (1872), pp. 1-25. 802 lines. Rhymed verse. a1250. EMid.

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.

Owl & N. (Clg) = The Owl and the Nightingale, ed. E. G. Stanley (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1960). 1,794 lines. Rhymed verse.

a1250 (cf. Stanley, p. 19, "1189-1216"). SW.

1250 - 1300

Gen. & Ex. (Corp-C) = The Story of Genesis and Exodus, ed. R. Morris, EETS 7 (1865; rev. 1873). 4,162 lines. Rhymed verse. c1250. EMid.

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

- Prov.Alf. (Trin-C) = The Proverbs of Alfred, ed. Olaf S. A. Arngart, 2 vols. (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1955). 673 lines. Rhymed verse. c1250. SW.
- Procl.Hen.III (PRO) = The Proclamation of Henry III, ed. B. Dickins and R. M. Wilson in Early Middle English Texts (Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1951), pp. 8-9. 1 page. Prose. 1258. EMid.
- BLewes (Hr1) = Song of the Battle of Lewes, ed. B. Dickins and R. M. Wilson in Early Middle English Texts (Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1951), pp. 10-12. 46 lines. Rhymed verse. 1265. SW.
- Ken.Serm. (Ld) = Kentish Sermons, ed. W. Morris in An Old English Miscellany, EETS 49 (1872), pp. 26-36. 11 pages. Prose c1275. SE.
- 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.)
- SPass. (Pep) = The Southern Passion, ed. Beatrice D. Brown, EETS 169 (1927). 2,546 lines. Rhymed verse. c1280. SW.
- Body & S. (Ld) = The Debate of the Body and the Soul, ed. O. F. Emerson in A Middle English Reader (New York: Macmillan, 1905), pp. 47-64. 488 lines, Rhymed verse. a1300. EMid.
- Fox & W. (Dgb) = The Fox and the Wolf, ed. J. A. W. Bennet and G. V. Smithers in Early Middle English Verse and Prose (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 67-76. 295 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1300. SW.
- Thrush & N. (Dgb) = The Thrush and the Nightingale, ed. B. Dickins and R. M. Wilson in Early Middle English Texts (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1951), pp. 71-105. 192 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1300. SW.

Arth. & M. (Auch) = Of Arthour and of Merlin, ed. O. D. Macrae-Gibson,  
EETS 268 (1973) and 279 (1979). 9,938 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1300.  
EMid.

Tristrem (Auch) = Sir Tristrem, ed. George P. McNeill, STS (=The Scottish  
Text Society) 8 (1886: rpt. New York: Johnson Reprint, 1966).  
3,344 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1300. EMid.

KAlex. (Ld) = Kyng Alisaunder, ed. G. V. Smithers, EETS 227 (1952) and  
237 (1957). 8,021 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1300. EMid.

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 E5 4  
(1868). 3,001 lines. Rhymed verse. c1300. EMid.

Glo. Chron. (Clg) = The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, 2 vols.,  
ed. W. A. Wright, Rolls Series 86 (1887; rpt. Lessing-Druckerei,  
Wiesbaden: Klaus Reprint, 1965). 12,049 lines. Rhymed verse.  
c1300. SW.

NHom. (Phys-E) = English Metrical Homilies, ed. John Small (Edinburgh:  
W. Paterson, 1862; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1973). 4,116 lines.  
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.

Guy (Auch) = The Romance of Guy of Warwick, ed. J. Zupita, EETS 42 (1883), 49 (1887), and 59 (1891). 8,021 lines. Rhymed verse. ?c1300. EMid.

Bevis (Auch) = The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun, ed. E. Kölbinger, EETS ES 46 (1885) and 48 (1886). 4,620 lines. Rhymed verse. ?c1300. EMid.

Amis (Auch) = Amis and Amiloun, ed. M. Leech, EETS 203 (1937). 2,508 lines. Rhymed verse. ?c1300. EMid.

Spec. Guy (Auch) = Speculum Gy de Warewyke, ed. G. L. Morrill, EETS ES 75 (1898). 1,034 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. 11-16. 166 lines. Rhymed verse. ?c1308. EMid.

Horn Child (Auch) = Horn Childe, ed. Joseph Hall in King Horn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), pp. 179-92. 1,136 lines. Rhymed verse. c1320. 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 Degaré, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale in Middle English Metrical Romances (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964 [1930<sup>1</sup>]), 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 (Hr1) = The Harley Lyrics (= The Middle English Lyrics of MS. Harley 2253), 4th ed., ed. G. L. Brook (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1968 [1948<sup>1</sup>]). 1,582 lines. Rhymed verse. c1325. SW. (Reference by poem and line.)
- Otuel (Auch) = The Romance of Otuel, ed. S. J. H. Herrtage, EETS ES 39 (1882; rpt. 1969), pp. 65-116. 1,738 lines. Rhymed verse. c1330. EMid.
- Roland & V. (Auch) = Rouland and Vernagu, ed. S. J. H. Herrtage, EETS ES 39 (1882; rpt. 1969), pp. 37-61. 880 lines. Rhymed verse. c1330. EMid.
- Seven Sages (Auch) = The Seven Sages of Rome, ed. K. Brunner, EETS 191 (1933). 3,846 lines. Rhymed verse. c1330. EMid.
- Orfeo (Auch) = Sir Orfeo, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale in Middle English Metrical Romances (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964 [1930<sup>1</sup>]), 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 (G1b) = The Poems of Laurence Minot, ed. Joseph Hall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914). 923 lines. Rhymed and partly alliterative verse. c1333-52. N.

- Mannyng Chron. (Petyt & Lamb) = The Story of England by Robert Mannyng of Brunne, 2 vols., ed. F. J. Furnivall, Rolls Series 81 (1887; rpt. Lessing-Druckerei, Weisbaden: Klaus Repring, 1965). 16,730 lines. Rhymed verse. a1338. EMid. (MS Petyt: pp. 1-7 [l. 198], and MS Lamb: pp. 7 [l. 199]-580.)
- Ayenb. (Arun) = Dan Michael's Ayenbite of Inwyt, ed. R. Morris, rev. Pamela Gradon, EETS 23 (1866; rev. 1965) and 278 (1979). 271 pages. Prose. 1340. SE.
- Rolle Prose (Thrn) = English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole, ed. G. G. Perry, EETS 20 (1886; rev. 1921). 48 pages. Prose. a1349. N.
- Rolle Ewr. (Allen) = English Writings of Richard Rolle, ed. Hope Emily Allen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), pp. 4-16, 61-72, and 85-119. 60 pages. Prose. a1349. N.
- Isumb. (Clg) = Sir Isumbras, ed. Maldwyn Mills in Six Middle English Romances (London: Dent; Totowa, N. J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973), pp. 125-47. 798 lines. Rhymed verse. a1350. N.
- MPPsalter (Add) = Midland Prose Psalter: The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter, ed. K. D. Bülbring, EETS 97 (1891). 179 pages. Prose. a1350. EMid.
- Siege Troy (Suth) = The Seëge or Batayle of Troy, ed. M. E. Barnicle, EETS 172 (1927). 2,067 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1350. EMid.
- Nicod. (Glb) = Gospel of Nicodemus, ed. W. H. Hulme, EETS ES 100 (1907), left cols. even pp. 22-134. 1,764 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1350. N.

1350 — 1400

Gamelyn (Hri 7334) = Gamelyn, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale in Middle English Metrical Romances (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964 [1930<sup>1</sup>]), pp. 209-35. 902 lines. Rhymed verse. c1350. EMid.

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

Alex.Maced. (Grv) = Alisaunder of Macedoine (= Alex. Fragment A), ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS ES 1 (1867), pp. 117-218. 1,249 lines. Alliterative verse. c1350. WMid.

Alex.& D. (Bod) = Alexander and Dindimus (= Alex. Fragment B), ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS ES 31 (1878). 1,139 lines. Alliterative verse. c1350. WMid.

Octav. (Cmb) = Octavian, ed. Maldwyn Mills in Six Middle English Romances (London: Dent, 1973), pp. 75-124. 1,791 lines. Rhymed verse. c1350. N.

Jos.Arim. (Vrn) = Joseph of Arimathie, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS 44 (1871), pp. 1-23. 709 lines. Alliterative verse. ?c1350. WMid.

Ywain (Glb) = Ywain and Gawain, ed. A. B. Friedman and N. T. Harrington, EETS 254 (1964). 4,032 lines. Rhymed verse. ?c1350. N.

Winner & W. (Add) = A Good Short Debate between Winner and Waster, ed. I. Gollnacz (London: Oxford Univ. Press; rpt. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1974). 503 lines. Alliterative verse. c1353. EMid.

Chaucer BD (Rob.) = Chaucer: The Book of the Duchess, ed. F. N. Robinson in The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 267-79. 1,334 lines. Rhymed verse. 1369. EMid.

- RSicily (Vrn) = Robert of Sicily, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale in Middle English Metrical Romances (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964 [1930<sup>1</sup>]), pp. 933-46. 444 lines. Rhymed verse. a1370. EMid.
- WPal. (KC) = The Romance of William of Palerne, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS ES 1 (1867). 5,540 lines. Alliterative verse: a1375. EMid.
- Bruce (StJ-C & Adv) = John Barbour: The Bruce, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS ES 11 (1870), 21 (1874), 29 (1877), and 55 (1889). 13,684 lines. Rhymed verse. 1375. N("Scottish").
- Chaucer Anel. (Rob.) = Chaucer: Anelida and Arcite, ed. F. N. Robinson in The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 304-08. 357 lines. Rhymed verse. c1375. EMid.
- NHom.Pass. (Rwl) = The Northern Passion (Supplement), ed. N. Heuser and F. A. Foster, EETS 183 (1930), pp. 51-142. 3,574 lines. Rhymed verse. ?c1375. N.
- Chaucer "Short Poems" (Rob.), ed. F. N. Robinson in The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 524-43. 1,379 lines. Rhymed verse, c1370-a1400. EMid. (Reference by poem and line.)
- Chaucer CT (Rob.) = Chaucer: The Canterbury Tales, ed. F. N. Robinson in The complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 17-265. 249 pages (in Robinson's edition). Rhymed verse and prose. c1375-a1400. EMid.
- PPl.B (Ld) = The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman (B-text), ed. W. W. Skeat, 2 vols. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1961 [1866<sup>1</sup>]). 7,241 lines. Alliterative verse. SW.
- Firumb. (Ashm) = Sir Ferumbas, ed. S. J. H. Herrtage, EETS ES 34 (1879; rpt. 1966). 5,790 lines. Rhymed verse. c1380. SW.

- Chaucer PF (Rob.) = Chaucer: The Parliament of Fowls, ed. F. N. Robinson in The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 310-18. 699 lines. Rhymed verse. c1380. EMid.
- Chaucer HF (Rob.) = Chaucer: The House of Fame, ed. F. N. Robinson in The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 282-302. 2,158 lines. Rhymed verse. c1380. EMid.
- Chaucer Bo. (Rob.) = Chaucer: Boece, ed. F. N. Robinson in The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 320-84. 65 pages. Prose. c1380. EMid.
- Pearl (Nero) = Pearl, ed. E. V. Gordon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953). 1,212 lines. Alliterative and rhymed verse. ?c1380. WMid.
- Purity<sup>15</sup> (Nero) = Purity, ed. R. Menner (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1920). 1,812 lines. Alliterative verse. ?c1380. WMid.
- Patience (Nero) = Patience, ed. J. J. Anderson (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1969). 532 lines. Alliterative verse. ?c1380. WMid.
- Wycl.Leaven (Corp-C) = "Of the Leaven of Pharisees" in The English Works of Wyclif, ed. F. D. Matthew, EETS 74 (1880; rev. 1902), pp. 2-27. 26 pages. Prose. c1383. EMid.
- Chaucer TC (Rob.) = Chaucer: Troilus and Criseyde, ed. F. N. Robinson in The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 389-479. 8,239 lines. Rhymed verse. c1385. EMid. (Reference by book and line.)
- Usk TL (Skeat) = Thomas Usk's Testment of Love, ed. W. W. Skeat in The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, VII: Chaucerian and Other Pieces (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), pp. 1-145. 145 pages. Prose. c1385. EMid. (Reference by book, chapter, and line.)

Chaucer LGW (Rob.) = Chaucer: The Legend of Good Women, ed. F. N. Robinson in The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 482-518. 2,723 lines. Rhymed verse. c1386. EMid.

St.Erk. (Hr1) = St. Erkenwald, ed. H. L. Savage (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1926). 352 lines. Alliterative verse. c1386. WMid.

Gawain (Nero) = Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, ed. J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, rev. Norman Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967). 2,531 lines. Alliterative verse. ?c1390. WMid.

Chaucer Astr. (Rob.) = Chaucer: A Treatise of the Astrolabe, ed. F. N. Robinson in The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 545-63. 19 pages. Prose. 1391. EMid.

Gower CA (Frf) = Confessio Amantis: The English Works of John Gower, ed. G. C. Macaulay, EETS ES 81 (1900) and 82 (1901). 33,444 lines. Rhymed verse. a1393. EMid.

PPl.Creed (Trin-C) = Pierce the Ploughmans Crede, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS 30 (1867; rpt. 1969). 855 lines. Alliterative verse. ?c1395. SW.

Amadace (IrB1) = Sir Amadace, ed. M. Mills in Six Middle English Romances (London: Dent, 1973), pp. 181-92. 840 lines. Rhymed verse. a1400. WMid.

PConsc. (Glb) = The Prick of Conscience, ed. R. Morris (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1863; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1973). 9,624 lines. Rhymed verse. a1400. N.

Athelston (Cai) = Athelston, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale in Middle English Metrical Romances (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964 [1930<sup>1</sup>]), pp. 179-205. 812 lines. Rhymed verse. a1400. EMid.

- Chev.Assigne (Clg) = Chevelere Assigne, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale in Middle English Metrical Romances (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964 [1930<sup>1</sup>]), pp. 859-73. 370 lines. Alliterative verse. a1400. EMid.
- Siege Jerus. (Ld) = The Siege of Jerusalem, ed. E. Kölbing and M. Day, EETS 188 (1932). 1,334 lines. Alliterative verse. a1400. WMid.
- Awntyrs Arth. (Thrn) = The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Terne Wathelyn, ed. Ralph Hanna III (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1974). 715 lines. Alliterative and rhymed verse. a1400. WMid.
- Dest.Troy (Htrn) = The 'Gest Hystoriale' of the Destruction of Troy, ed. G. A. Panton and D. Donaldson, EETS 39 (1869) and 56 (1874). 14,044 lines. Alliterative verse. ?a1400. WMid.
- Parl.3 Ages (Thrn) = The Parlement of the Thre Ages, ed. M. Y. Offord, EETS 246 (1959). 665 lines. Alliterative verse. ?a1400. EMid.
- Cloud (Hr1 674) = The Cloud of Unknowing, ed. Phyllis Hodgson, EETS 218 (1944; rpt. 1973). 133 pages. Prose. ?a1400. EMid.
- RRose (Htrn: Rob.) = The Romaunt of the Rose, ed. F. N. Robinson in The Complete Works of Geoffery Chaucer, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 565-637. 7,696 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1400. EMid.
- Wars Alex. (Ashm) = The Wars of Alexander (= Alex. Fragment C), ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS ES 47 (1886). 5,677 lines. Alliterative verse. ?a1400. N.
- Siege Milan (Add) = The Sege off Melanye, ed. S. J. H. Herrtage, EETS ES 35 (1880), pp. 1-52. 1,602 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1400. N.

- Perceval (Thrn) = Sir Pérceval of Galles, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale in Middle English Metrical Romances (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964 [1930<sup>1</sup>]), pp. 531-608. 2,288 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1400. N.
- Roland & O. (Add) = The Romance of Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell of Spayne, ed. S. J. H. Herrtage, EETS ES 35 (1880), pp. 55-104. 1,596 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1400. N.
- Launfal (Clg) = Sir Launfal, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale in Middle English Metrical Romances (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964 [1930<sup>1</sup>]), pp. 345-80. 1,044 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1400. SE.
- Quatref.Love (Add) = The Quatrefoil of Love, ed. I. Gollancz and M. M. Weale, EETS 195 (1935). 520 lines. Alliterative and rhymed verse. ?a1400. N.
- KEdw. & S. (Cmb) = King Edward and the Shepherd, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale in Middle English Metrical Romances (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964 [1930<sup>1</sup>]), pp. 950-85. 1,090 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1400. N.
- Morte Arth. (Thrn) = Morte Arthure [Alliterative], ed. E. Brock, EETS 8 (1865; rpt. 1967). 4,346 lines. Alliterative verse. ?a1400. N.
- Le Morte Arth. (Hrl) = Le Morte Arthur [Stanzaic], ed. J. D. Bruce, EETS ES 88 (1903; rpt. 1959). 3,969 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1400. EMid.

1400 - 1450

- BK.Lond.E.<sup>16</sup> = A Book of London English 1384-1425, ed. R. W. Chambers and M. Daunt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931). Approx. 195 pages. Prose 1384-1425. EMid. (Reference by chapter, section, and line.)
- Mandev. (Tit) = Mandeville's Travels, ed. P. Hamelius, EETS 153 (1919) and 154 (1923). 211 pages. Prose. c1400. EMid.

- Emare (Clg) = Emaré, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale in Middle English Metrical Romances (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964[1930<sup>1</sup>]), pp. 423-35. 1,035 lines. Rhymed verse. c1400. EMid.
- Ld.Troy (Ld) = The Laud Troy Book, ed. J. E. Wülfing, EETS 121 (1902) and 122 (1903). 18,664 lines. Rhymed verse. c1400. EMid.
- 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.
- Cleges (Adv) = Sir Cleges, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale in Middle English Metrical Romances (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964 [1930<sup>1</sup>]), pp. 877-95. 552 lines. Rhymed verse. c1400. WMid.
- Wycl.Prelates (Corp-C) = "Of Prelates" in The English Works of Wyclif, ed. F. D. Matthew, EETS 74 (1880; rev. 1902), pp. 55-107. 53 pages. Prose. c1400. EMid.
- Gowther (Adv) = Sir Gowther, ed. M. Mills in Six Middle English Romances (London: Dent, 1973), pp. 148-68. 750 lines. Rhymed verse. ?c1400. EMid.
- EToulouse (Cmb) = The Earl of Toulouse, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale in Middle English Metrical Romances (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964 [1930<sup>1</sup>]), pp. 383-419. 1,224 lines. Rhymed verse. ?c1400. EMid.
- Beryn (Nthld) = The Tale of Beryn, ed. F. J. Furnival and W. G. Stone, EETS ES 105 (1909). 4,024 lines. Rhymed verse. ?c1400. EMid.
- Song Roland (Lnsd) = Fragment of the Song of Roland, EETS ES 35 (1880), pp. 107-36. 1,049 lines. Rhymed verse. ?c1400. EMid.

- 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.
- Hoccl. RP (Hr1) = Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes, ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS ES 72 (1897). 5,439 lines. Rhymed verse. c1412. EMid.
- Mirk Fest. (Gough) = Mirk's Festial, ed. T. Erbe, EETS ES 96 (1905). 288 pages. Prose. a1415. WMid.
- Lydg. TG (Tan) = Lydgate's Temple of Glas, ed. J. Schick, EETS ES 60 (1891; rpt. 1924). 1,403 lines. Rhymed verse. ?1420. EMid.
- Alph.Tales (Add) = An Alphabet of Tales, ed. Mary M. Banks, EETS 126 (1904) and 127 (1905). 532 pages. Prose. c1420. N.
- Lydg. ST (Arun) = Lydgate's Siege of Thebes, ed. Axel Erdmann, EETS ES 108 (1911) and 125 (1930). 4,716 lines. Rhymed verse. ?c1421. EMid.
- Ben.Rule (Lnsd) = The Northern Prose Version of the Rule of St. Benet, ed. E. A. Kock, EETS 120 (1902), pp. 1-47 pages. Prose. a1425. N.
- Castle Persev. (Folg) = The Castle of Perseverance: The Macro Plays, ed. Mark Eccles, EETS 262 (1969), pp. 3-111. 3,648 lines. Rhymed verse. EMid.
- Chester Pl. (Hnt) = The Chester Mystery Cycle, ed. R. M. Lumiansky and David Mills, EETS SS 3 (1974). 11,075 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1425. WMid. (Reference by page and line.)
- Avow.Arth. (IrB1) = The Avowing of King Arthur, Sir Gawain, Sir Kay, and Baldwin of Britain, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale in Middle English Metrical Romances (New York; Russell & Russell, 1964 [1930<sup>1</sup>]), pp. 607-46. 1,148 lines. Rhymed verse. ?c1425. WMid.

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.)

MKempe (Butler-Bowden) = The Book of Margery Kempe, ed. S. B. Meech and H. E. Allen, EETS 212 (1940). 254 pages. Prose. a1438. EMid.

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

PLAlex. (Thrn) = The Prose Life of Alexander, ed. J. S. Westlake, EETS 143 (1913). 115 pages. Prose. c1440. N.

Jacob's W. (Sal) = Jacob's Well, ed. Arthur Brandeis, EETS 115 (1900). 313 pages. Prose. c1440. EMid.

Bokenham Sts. (Arun) = Bokenham's Legendys of Hooly Wummen (Lives of the Saints), ed. M. S. Serjeantson, EETS 206 (1938). 10,616 lines. Rhymed verse. 1443-47. EMid.

Pecock Donet (Bod) = The Donet by Reginald Pecock, ed. E. V. Hitchcock, EETS 156 (1921). 214 pages. Prose. c1445. EMid.

York Pl. (Add) = York Plays, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1963). 13,211 lines. Rhymed verse. a1450. N. (Reference by page and line.)

Death & L. (Pcy) = Death and Liffe, ed. James H. Hanford and J. M. Steadman, Jr. in Studies in Philology 15 (1918), pp. 221-94. 459 lines. Alliterative verse. a1450. WMid.

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

Tourn.Tott. (Hr1) = The Tournament of Tottenham, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale in Middle English Metrical Romances (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964 [1930<sup>1</sup>]), pp. 990-98. 234 lines. Rhymed verse. a1450. N.

GRom. (Hr1) = The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum, ed. S. J. H. Herrtage, EETS ES 33 (1879). 428 pages. Prose. ?a1450. EMid.

1450 – 1500

Paston (Davis)<sup>17</sup> = Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century, ed. Norman Davis, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971 & 1976). 1,288 pages. Prose. 1425–1520. EMid. (Reference by document and line.)

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.

Capgr. St.Kath. (Arun 396) = The life of St. Katherine of Alexandria, by John Capgrave, ed. Carl Horstmann, EETS 100 (1893), odd pp. 3-261; pp. 262-403. 8,619 lines. Rhymed verse. c1450. EMid. (Reference by book and line.)

Capgr. St.Aug. (Add) = John Capgrave's Lives of St. Augustine and St. Gilbert of Sempringham, and a Sermon, ed. J. J. Munro, EETS 140 (1910), pp. 1-60. 60 pages. Prose. c1450. EMid.

Merlin (Cmb) = Merlin, or The Early History of King Arthur, ed. H. B. Wheatley, EETS 10 (1865), 21 (1866), 36 (1869), and 112 (1899). 697 pages. Prose. ?c1450.

Capgr. St.Gilb. (Add) = John Capgrave's Lives of St. Augustine and St.

Gilbert of Sempringham, and a Sermon, ed. J. J. Munro, EETS 140

(1910), pp. 61-142. 82 pages. Prose. 1451. EMid.

Pecock Fol. (Roy) = The Folewer to the Donet by Reginald Pecock, ed.

Elsie V. Hitchcock, EETS 164 (1924; rpt. 1971). 227 pages. Prose.

c1454. EMid.

Towneley Pl. (Hnt) = The Towneley Plays, ed. G. England and A. W. Pollard,

EETS ES 71 (1897). 12,276 lines. Rhymed verse. a1460. 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.

Capgr. Chron. (Cmb) = The Chronicle of England, by John Capgrave, ed.

Francis C. Hingeston, Rolls Series 1 (1858; rpt. Nendeln, Liechtenstein:

Kraus Reprint, 1972). 317 pages. Prose. a1464. EMid.

Mankind (Folg) = Mankind: The Macro Plays, ed. Mark Eccles, EETS 262

(1969), pp. 154-84. 914 lines. Rhymed verse. c1465-70. EMid.

Wisd. (Folg) = Wisdom: The Macro Plays, ed. Mark Eccles, EETS 262 (1969),

pp. 114-52. 1,163 lines. Rhymed verse. c1465-70. EMid.

Malory Wks. (Win-College) = The Works of Sir Thomas Malory, 2nd ed.,

ed. Eugène Vinaver (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1971). 726 pages.

prose. a1470. EMid.

Bk. Courtesy (Sln) = The Boke of Curtasye, ed. F. J. Furnival in Early

English Meals and Manners, EETS 32 (1868; rpt. 1969), pp. 299-327.

848 lines. Rhymed verse. a1475. WMid.

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.)

Ass.Gods (Trin-C) = The Assembly of Gods, ed. O. L. Triggs, EETS ES 69

(1896). 2,107 lines. Rhymed verse. ?a1475. EMid.

RCoilyear (Adv) = The Taill of Rauf Coilyear, ed. Sidney J. H. Herrtage,

EETS ES 39 (1882), pp. 3-33. 975 lines. Rhymed verse. c1475

(Printed ed., 1572). N.

Cely (PRO) = The Cely Letters 1472-1488, ed. Alison Hanham, EETS 273

(1975). 247 pages. Prose. 1472-88. EMid.

Caxton ProI. & Epil. = Caxton's Own Prose (Prologues, epilogues, colophons,

& interpolations), ed. N. F. Blake (London: André Deutsch, 1973),

pp. 55-143. 89 pages. Prose. 1474-90. EMid.

Caxton Reyn. = Caxton: The History of Reynard the Fox, ed. N. F. Blake,

EETS 263 (1970). 110 pages. Prose. 1481. EMid.

Caxton Curial = Caxton: The Curial made by maystere Alain Charretier,

ed. P. Meyer and F. J. Furnivall, EETS ES 54 (1888). 16 pages.

Prose. 1484. EMid.

Caxton Paris = Caxton: Paris and Vienne, ed. MacEdward Leach, EETS 234

(1957). 78 pages. Prose. 1485. EMid.

Caxton Charles = Caxton: The Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce, Charles

the Great, ed. S. J. H. Herrtage, EETS 36 (1880) and 37 (1881).

249 pages. Prose. 1485. EMid.

Caxton Blanch. = Caxton's Blanchardyn and Eglantine, ed. Leon Kellner,

EETS ES 58 (1890). 204 pages. Prose. c1489. EMid.

Caxton En. = Caxton's Eneydos, ed. W. T. Culley and F. J. Furnivall,  
EETS ES 57 (1890). 157 pages. Prose. 1490. EMid.

Treat.L. (Mrg) = The Tretyse of Love, ed. John H. Fisher, EETS 223  
(1951). 130 pages. Prose. c1493. EMid.

Everyman (Hnt) = Everyman, ed. A. C. Cawley (Manchester: Manchester  
Univ. Press, 1961). 921 lines. Rhymed verse. c1495. EMid.

Lancelot (Cmb) = The Romans of Lancelot of the Laik, ed. W. W. Skeat,  
EETS 6 (1865; rev. 1870; rpt. 1965). 3,487 lines. Rhymed verse.  
a1500. N.

Partenay (Trin-C) = The Romans of Partenay or of Lusignen, ed. W. W.  
Skeat, EETS 22 (1866; rev. 1899). 6,615 lines. Rhymed verse.  
a1500. EMid.

Golagrus & G. (Chepman & Myllar) = The Knightly Tale of Golagrus and  
Gawane, ed. F. Madden in Syr Gawayne: A Collection of Ancient  
Romance-Poems, by Scottish and English Authors, Relating to that  
Celebrated Knight of the Round Table (1839; rpt. New York: AMS Press),  
pp. 131-83. 1,362 lines. Alliterative and rhymed verse. a1500. N.

## NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

<sup>1</sup> Some scholars distinguish between the gerund (when the verbal force is syntactically recognizable) 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.

<sup>2</sup> As noted in OED (s.v. -ing<sup>1</sup>), 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 þin easkunge; H Maid. 17/178 from rotunge; SWard. 247/16 vnder wittes wissunge; etc.

<sup>3</sup> 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).

<sup>4</sup> See the comment in OED (s.v. -ing<sup>1</sup>2) 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."

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, OED, s.v. -ing<sup>1</sup>2; Jespersen, Growth, sec. 208; Bøgholm 1939, p. 256; etc. See also Curme 1912, p. 353.

<sup>6</sup> 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).

<sup>7</sup> 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).

<sup>8</sup> 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.

<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> Exceptions include The Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290-1483, Higden's Polychronicon (1387), and Shillingford's Letters and Papers, 1447-50, to which regrettably I have had no access.

<sup>11</sup> 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]

<sup>12</sup> 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"<sup>1</sup> 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 pe kinges couroning;

Launfal 78 He most to hys beryynge);

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<sup>2</sup> + gerund + of-adjunct (e.g.

Morte Arth. 2377 for the beryenge of his bolde knyghtez);

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 wythholdyng 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):

TABLE I  
 Occurrence of Gerund with Object <sup>3</sup> (and Gerund with  
 Adverbial Adjunct)

Text	With Object						With Adverbial Adjunct		
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	A	B	C
1100-1150									
<u>Peterb.Chron.</u>	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1150-1200									
<u>Bod.Hom</u>	4	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
<u>PMor.</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Worc.Frag.</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Lay.Brut</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Trin.Hom.</u>	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	3
<u>Ancr.</u>	7	5	19	8	0	0	1	1	3
1200-1250									
<u>Vices &amp; V.</u>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Orm.</u>	0	1	0	4	0	0	1	0	0
<u>St.Kath.</u>	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
<u>St.Juliana</u>	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
<u>St.Marg.</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
<u>HMaid.</u>	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0
<u>SWard</u>	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Vsp.A.Hom</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Lamb.Hom</u>	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

<u>Wooing Lord</u>	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Horn</u>	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
<u>Bestiary</u>	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Orison Lord</u>	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Lofsong Lefdi</u>	7	5	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
<u>Harrow.H.</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Owl &amp; N.</u>	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1250-1300									
<u>Gen. &amp; Ex.</u>	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Floris</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Prov. Alf.</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Proc. Hen. III</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>BLewes</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Ken. Serm.</u>	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>SLeg.</u>	4	0	5	1	0	0	1	1	0
<u>SPass.</u>	3	1	6	3	0	0	4	2	2
<u>Body &amp; S.</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Fox &amp; W.</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Thrush &amp; N.</u>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Arth. &amp; M.</u>	3	2	2	0	1	0	3	2	0
<u>Tristrem</u>	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
<u>KAlex.</u>	6	16	4	1	0	0	1	0	5
1300-1350									
<u>Assump. Virg.</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Havelok</u>	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	4



<u>MPPsalter</u>	16	0	3	7	4	0	13	8	2
<u>Siege Troy</u>	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Nicod.</u>	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
1350-1400									
<u>Gamelyn</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Eglam.</u>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Alex.Maced.</u>	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Alex.&amp; D.</u>	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Octav.</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Jos.Arim.</u>	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
<u>Ywain</u>	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	1
<u>Winner &amp; W.</u>	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Chaucer BD</u>	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
<u>RSicily</u>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>WPal</u>	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Bruce</u>	1	5	19	13	0	0	8	3	1
<u>Chaucer Anel.</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>NHom.Pass.</u>	1	0	5	2	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Chaucer "Short Poems"</u>	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	3
<u>Chaucer CT</u>	6	18	79	33	11	0	3	16	19
<u>PP1.B</u>	1	11	21	1	1	1	3	4	16
<u>Firumb.</u>	3	1	4	2	0	0	1	0	0
<u>Chaucer PF</u>	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0
<u>Chaucer HF</u>	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1
<u>Chaucer Bo.</u>	3	0	19	44	4	0	0	6	2

<u>Pearl</u>	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Purity</u>	0	0	5	0	4	0	0	2	3
<u>Patience</u>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
<u>Wycl.Leaven</u>	0	3	26	8	1	0	0	3	2
<u>Chaucer TC</u>	2	2	15	4	2	0	2	3	5
<u>Usk TL</u>	4	4	93	19	15	0	4	7	15
<u>Chaucer LGW</u>	0	0	7	4	0	0	1	0	1
<u>St.Erk.</u>	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	1	1
<u>Gawain</u>	0	1	4	0	1	0	0	0	1
<u>Chaucer Astr.</u>	0	0	7	2	1	0	0	0	1
<u>Gower CA</u>	1	3	39	14	1	0	7	1	1
<u>PPl.Creed</u>	1	0	11	1	0	0	0	0	3
<u>Amadace</u>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>PConsc.</u>	2	3	27	19	0	0	3	5	3
<u>Athelston</u>	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
<u>Chev.Assigne</u>	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
<u>Siege Jerus.</u>	1	0	6	1	0	0	0	0	1
<u>Awntyrs Anth.</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
<u>Dest.Troy</u>	0	0	73	14	14	2	0	7	21
<u>Parl.3 Ages</u>	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Cloud</u>	0	2	68	51	0	0	0	4	4
<u>RRose</u>	3	1	10	3	0	1	2	3	1
<u>Wars Alex.</u>	0	1	15	2	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Siege Milan</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
<u>Perceval</u>	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0

<u>Roland &amp; O.</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Launfal</u>	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Quatref. Love</u>	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>KEdw. &amp; S.</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Morte Arth.</u>	0	0	4	2	0	0	0	1	0
<u>Le Morte Arth.</u>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1400-1450									
<u>Bk. Lond. E.</u>	1	8	146	51	15	0	2	22	11
<u>Mandev.</u>	1	0	9	6	6	1	2	15	22
<u>Emare</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
<u>Ld. Troy</u>	11	9	8	1	0	1	0	2	0
<u>St. Anne</u>	4	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Cleges</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
<u>Wyct. Prelates</u>	2	6	79	14	2	0	0	3	0
<u>Gowther</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>EToulouse</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Beryn</u>	1	4	14	1	1	0	0	1	4
<u>Song Roland</u>	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	0
<u>Lydg. RS</u>	2	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Hoccl. RP</u>	3	0	12	3	1	0	0	1	0
<u>Mirk Fest.</u>	7	40	42	23	8	1	4	11	10
<u>Lydg. TG</u>	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1
<u>Alph. Tales</u>	1	23	45	11	3	0	0	12	9
<u>Lydg. ST</u>	1	0	7	3	0	0	4	3	2
<u>Ben. Rule</u>	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
<u>Castle Persev.</u>	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1

<u>Chester Pl.</u>	0	5	8	4	6	0	1	3	4
<u>Avow.Arth.</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Audelay Poems</u>	9	4	5	4	1	0	0	0	0
<u>MKempe</u>	2	24	43	23	3	0	0	9	7
<u>Degrev.</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>PLAlex.</u>	0	3	6	4	0	0	2	0	1
<u>Jacob's W.</u>	1	6	96	30	109	2	0	25	19
<u>Bokenham Sts.</u>	5	4	7	8	0	0	1	3	3
<u>Pecock Donet</u>	12	83	104	203	93	2	10	46	31
<u>York Pl.</u>	14	3	21	6	2	0	3	0	7
<u>Death &amp; L.</u>	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
<u>Gener.</u>	3	1	6	5	0	0	1	14	0
<u>Tourn.Tott.</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>GRom.</u>	2	1	45	11	1	0	6	9	7

## 1450-1500

<u>Paston</u>	23	32	183	190	48	6	1	104	103
<u>Scrope DSP</u>	0	0	15	15	46	4	0	17	9
<u>Capgr. St.Kath.</u>	1	1	8	4	0	0	0	1	2
<u>Capgr. St.Aug.</u>	0	1	11	6	0	0	0	1	0
<u>Merlin</u>	0	5	15	10	1	0	7	9	6
<u>Capgr. St.Gilb</u>	2	2	19	12	0	0	0	3	1
<u>Pecock Fol.</u>	15	33	54	154	51	1	0	55	15
<u>Towneley Pl.</u>	7	2	12	2	0	0	2	3	4
<u>DSPhilos.</u>	0	0	32	21	26	2	0	15	9
<u>Capgr. Chron.</u>	5	1	34	10	0	0	1	5	1

<u>Mankind</u>	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	1
<u>Wisdom</u>	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	1
<u>Malory Wks.</u>	3	11	44	26	3	0	7	15	14
<u>Bk. Courtesy</u>	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Ludus C.</u>	8	1	13	4	3	0	4	6	2
<u>Ass. Gods</u>	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	1	0
<u>RCoilyear</u>	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
<u>Cely</u>	0	1	26	60	3	1	0	23	40
<u>Caxton Prol. &amp; Epil</u>	1	1	18	17	20	0	1	10	5
<u>Caxton Reyn.</u>	0	2	5	5	2	1	0	4	2
<u>Caxton Curial</u>	1	0	2	2	6	0	1	2	0
<u>Caxton Paris</u>	0	0	4	0	8	0	0	5	1
<u>Caxton Charles</u>	2	1	15	7	56	0	0	16	9
<u>Caxton Blanch.</u>	2	3	12	19	12	0	0	15	8
<u>Caxton En.</u>	2	2	2	11	36	0	0	11	9
<u>Treat. L.</u>	0	1	2	12	2	2	1	3	3
<u>Everyman</u>	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Lancelot</u>	1	0	12	2	0	0	1	1	0
<u>Partenay</u>	0	2	0	1	5	0	1	3	0
<u>Golagrus &amp; G.</u>	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	2

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.E. (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.

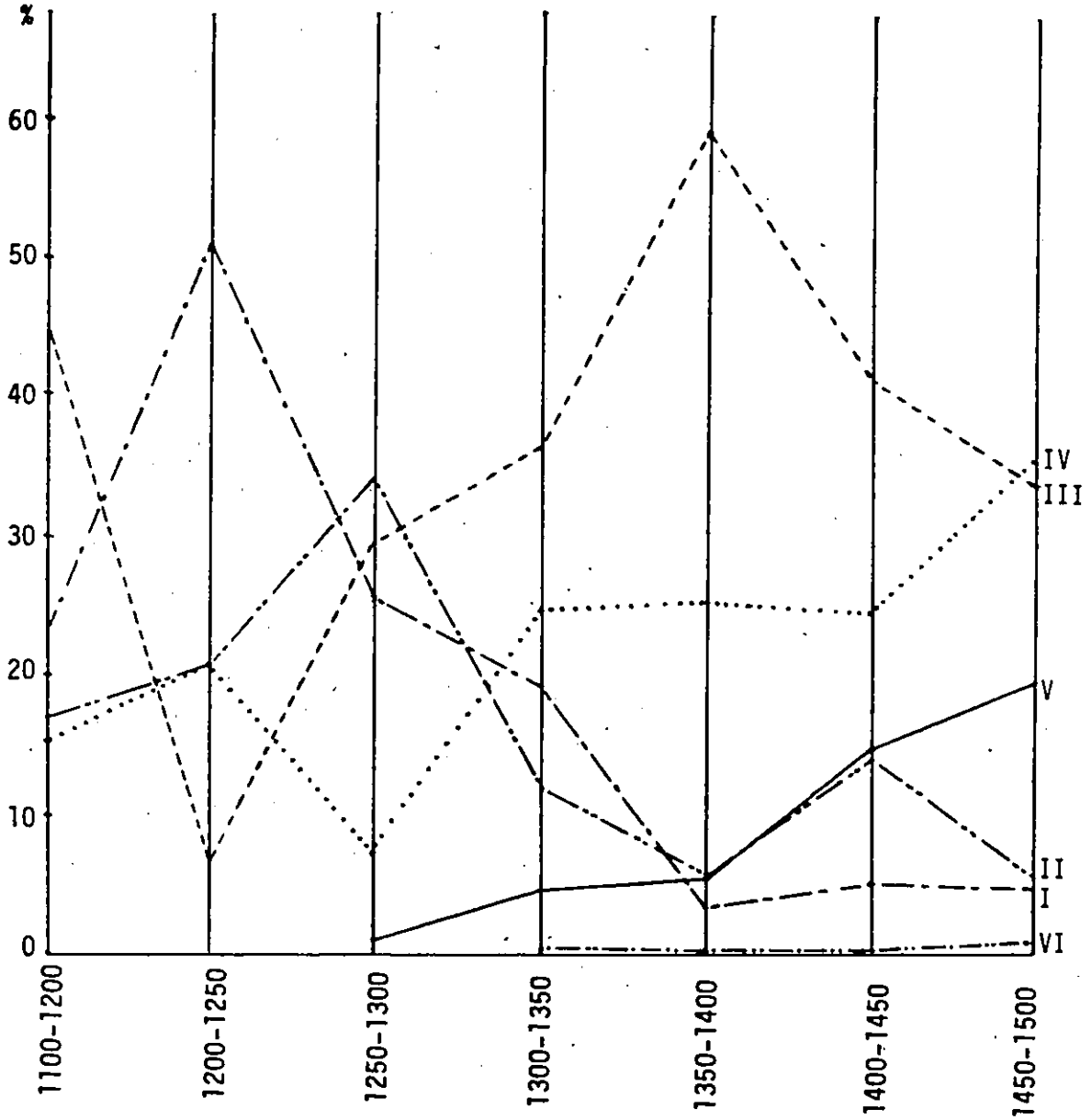
The data given above for the individual texts will be combined below to indicate the number and percentage of occurrences of the six types in question by half-centuries from 1100 to 1500, but the periods 1100-1150 and 1150-1200 will be grouped together as '1100-1200' because the corpus for the former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

TABLE II  
Occurrence of Gerund with Object by Half-Centuries

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

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-adjunct)
- ..... Type IV (Determiner + gerund + of-adjunct)
- 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 paes 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

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

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 þer biþ eagine wop 7 toþane grisbatung; Trin.Hom. 290/7 ure rode ... is ure lichames clensing; Ancr. 190/5-6 þe earste bitternesse is i sunne bireowsunge 7 i deadbote. (Other examples:

Bod.Hom. 96/7-8, 134/1; Ancr. 208/12-13.)

1200-1250 (7 exs.): SWard. 251/113-14 þe  
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 ðu  
ðan to godes hus ðe 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.): SPass. 560 And al hare  
þouzt and dede to ihesu cristes likyng wende;  
KAlex. 7974 For þe bodies 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 longeþ for te do þe kniztes  
dobbynge. (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  
 mornynge That he toke for his lordis takynge;  
St.Anne 388 Scho ... answerde þam to goddes  
louynge; Hoccl. RP 3810 to his helthes  
susteynyng; MKempe 130/28-29 It was telde þe  
 Erchebischof 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 comyng; Ib. 267/SD in þe  
 mene tyme marye magdalene xal renyn to our lady  
 and telle here of our lordys takynge.

Since the possessive object is fairly 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 eadmodnyse on him bringan to his heterunge; Ancr. 200/22-23 Efter kene cnihtes deað me hongeð hehe ichirche his scheld on his mungunge; etc.

1200-1250 (15 exs.): SWard. 252/149-50 eugh her me rueð up of þi munegunge; Lofsong Lefdi 61 halewen weneð þæt to-ðe 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.& M. 9241-42 He hadde fuel zolden þe kisseinge þæt Gvenour him zaf at his arminge; etc.

1300-1350 (69 exs.): Glo.Chron. 1918 he bicom in is baptizinge hol of al is wo; Cursor 23901 Hir louuing aght i neuer blin; Mannyng Chron. 14154-55 Arthur made here byryng At Wybyry; etc.

1350-1400 (31 exs.): Jos.Arim. 241 he tolde  
hem of his crucifying how he [þe] cros souzte;  
Pearl 452 If possyble were her mendyng; Usk TL  
II.iii 87 Loke to their forminge; etc.

1400-1450 (68 ex.): Lydg. RS 1639 To give  
hem mylke to her fosterynge; Peçock Donet  
161/12-13. our cristen religioun, bi whos<sup>5</sup> keping  
cristen men schulen be trewe cristen; Gener. 392  
he ... curtesly gave them ther welcomyng;  
Alph.Tales 6/22-23 bye vs such thyng as vs nedis  
vnto our fyndyng; etc.

1450-1500 (71 exs.): Towneley Pl. 366/406  
Seķys to thare sayng, ye apostilles eleven;  
Capgr. Chron. 149/23 in his crownyng thei 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:<sup>6</sup>

Bevis 2597-98 After Iosian is cristing Beues dede a  
gret figting.

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 *gérondif* 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 siððan ongan 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 ænigre are sceawunge ... fornumene wæron*) or 'genitive plural + gerund' (e.g. *Blick.Hom. 65/20 ne þær ne biþ ... lapra gesamnung*), 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 beoð ... mec slitende"*; *Alfred Orosius 188/19 "He wæs monega gefeoht donde"*. 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.<sup>7</sup>

Table II<sup>8</sup> 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 Pecoek (Donet & Fol.), Mirk Fest. and the very large text of Paston (cf. Table I).<sup>9</sup> 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. Mannyng Chron. 4254 of truage askyng he had wonder);

(ii) 'Adjunct + noun (sg.) + gerund,' in which the adjunct modifies the whole combination (e.g. Alph. Tales 524/18 And purgh bis penance-doyng he his sawle was sauid);

(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 þes skylles God made mynde of our lady purefyng);

(iv) '(Adjunct +) noun (pl.) + gerund,' in which the object is a noun in the plural, with or without an adnominal adjunct (e.g. MKempe 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 IV  
Object + Gerund

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	Total	Type II Types I-VI
1100-1200	5	3	0	1	9	17.3%
1200-1250	1	2	3	3	9	20.9%
1250-1300	6	5	1	10	22	34.4%
1300-1350	29	6	8	8	51	12.1%
1350-1400	30	15	6	9	60	6.1%
1400-1450	67	49	53	58	227	13.4%
1450-1500	31	23	25	23	102	6.1%
Total	169 (35.2)	103 (21.5)	96 (20.0)	112 (23.3)	480 (100%)	9.7%

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 man þær ne gespædde, butan manmyrringe 7  
feohspillinge; Bod.Hom. 76/14-15 On monize wisum  
men þeniæð Criste; ... sume on mæsseþenunge 7  
on monize 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 skirmyng, ... Of lyons chace, of bere  
baiting, A-bay of bore, of bole slatyng; Ib.  
7165 þere was ostel lyuerynge; Ib. 7970 of honde  
wryngyng; etc.

1300-1350 (29 exs.): Havelok 2320-27 per  
 mouthe men se þe moste þat mouhte men se: ...  
 10  
Romanz reding on þe 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-couȝt; Amis 676 When þai were comen fram  
dere-hunting; Horn Child 484-85 Horn þan ...  
 Bilaft at hom for blodeleteing; Cursor 26231 Als  
spous-brecking, and also hordom; Ib. 26234-35  
 Fals wijtnes and trouth breking, Mans slaughter  
 and hus brening; Seven Sages 2235 Wiȝ bacyn  
beting and kandel liȝt; Mannyng Chron. 4273-74  
 ȝe ne wil passe vs forby Wypoute truage askyng  
 greuously; Rolle EWr. 98/51 mowe making on any  
 man; etc.

1350-1400 (30 exs.): Bruce III 346 At leve-  
takyng the ladyis gret; Ib. V 90-91 Till the  
 toun soyn cumin ar thai ... bot noys making;  
 Chaucer HF 1241 in fight and blod-shedyng;  
 Chaucer TC III 48 to Venus heryng; 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 bataille; PPl.B  
 XIX 72 with-uten mercy askyng; Ib. XI 171 he  
 lyueth in deth-deyng; Usk TL II ffi 23 without

violence meving; Ib. 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 here thurgh assethe making; Wars Alex. 4948 Ser, waite at pou be wemles for woman touching; etc.

1400-1450 (67 exs.): Bk.Lond.E. II v 105 of almesdede zuyng; Ld.Troy 3113 in sorwe and dele-making; Wycl.Prelates 67/16 wip-ouren couenant making; Mirk Fest. 269/15-16 pre bynges ... devot prayng, almes-zeuyng, and masse-syngyng; Ib. 216/17 he was meke yn passion suffryng, and perfet yn ensampull zeuyng; Alph.Tales 337/2 he had loste paim be blode-lattyng; Ib. 22/2 paim pat er slaw in penance doyng; MKemp. 245/5-7 [pei] wer rebukyd of her owyn honeste, Obeyng hem to a-seeth making; PLAlex. 18/36 in sacrafice making vn-to godd; Jacob's W. 196/7 to lessyn his blood in blood-letyng; Pecock Donet 71/9 for childe bigetyng; Ib. 179/19-20 Oon is bi mark taking of goddis teching; York Pl. 1/3 I am lyfe and way unto welth wynnynng; 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 zeuyng and lordschip  
translatyng ben of such nature þat þei ben not  
 made wipout inward willyng; Capgr. Chron. 8/23  
 the grete laboure in schep-kepyng schuld have  
 sum solace of musik; Treat.L. 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),<sup>12</sup> 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,  
couenant-makyng, dere-hunting, masse syngyng/seying, assep  
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 riches  
 by youre wit ... Withouten wrong or harm doynge  
 to any oother persone; Mirk Fest. 52/4 Thus  
 Cryst was schowet by water ynto wyn turnyng for  
 þe fest of Ion þe Euangelyst and Mary Mawdelen  
 (also in 48/2); Paston 177.4-5 as fore that  
 matere, 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 repleye makyng.

Pecock's idiolectic constructions should be especially  
 noted:

Pecock Donet (8 exs.): 78/10 in reuerence to him  
doynge; 77/6-8 Chargys of þe wijf toward þe  
 husbonde stondip in reuerence to him doing; in  
obeisaunce to alle hise comaundementis afore  
touchid paiyng; 99/24 þe viij<sup>e</sup> is amendis or  
satisfaccioun making to oure neizbouris. (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 þe seid premyssis concludyng for  
 feip; 129/20-21 pouȝ y be lettid and constreyned

in þe ije maner fro execucioun of þe outward  
deedis performyng.

In these examples, the preceding object is clearly a noun in the accusative (or 'common', to use Gaaf's term<sup>13</sup>) 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<sup>14</sup>) from late ME, the oldest dated c1303 from Mannyng HS. However, the texts examined herein have yielded 12 examples, ten of which are found in Pecock (Donet and Fol.):

Mannyng HS 3749-52 Ȝyf þou for yre a man slogh  
... þat hyt was nat þe defendyng,<sup>15</sup> But for  
wrapp and yre brennyng ...; Bokenham Sts. 10353-  
56 She dysshys in þe kēchyn ful oftyn ... to  
exclude lettyng, Hyr maydyns she sent opir  
thynys to do. In þe mene tyme of þis doynyng;  
Pecock Donet 5/24-26 þe labour of my bokis  
making is not withoute hardnes, firste in hem  
conceyuing in suche foorme as þei ben; Ib.  
34/15-16 þe receyver, in it receyving, 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; Ib. 134/34-35 y  
 am not constreynyd ... forto fizte azens 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.<sup>16</sup>

(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. I.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.): Ancr. 30/3 wið hare blod schedunge; Ib. 61/9 i þe ilke blodletung; Ib. 217/8-9 Swa wisliche witeð ow in ower blodletunge.

1200-1250 (2 exs.): HMaid. 52/549-52 Lutel wat meiden ... of hire wa-siðes of þet fode fostrunge; Lofsong Lefdi 57-58 in his blod spetunge.

1250-1300 (5 exs.): SPass. 1793 þe

eorpe-quakyng was ymad wip gret soun; Arth.& M.  
8502 In al bis diol-makeinge; KAlex. 2159 Now  
rist grete tabour-betyng; etc.

1300-1350 (6 exs.): Glo.Chron. 11413 suppe  
per after com much blod ssedinge; Mannyng HS  
6906 Forpenkep nat of zoure almes-zyuyng; Ayemb.  
112/3-4 he hit ous let: at his yleau nymyng  
and at his laste bequide; etc.

1350-1400 (15 exs.): Chaucer BD 1312-13 al  
was doon, For that tyme, the hert-huntyng; Bruce  
I 561 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; PPI.B  
XIII 451 in his deth-deyng; Ib. XI 144 wyth-  
outen any bede-byddyng his bone was  
vnderfongen; Gower CA 5.1202-03 sche fond ferst  
in hire avis The cloth making <sup>17</sup> 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 pe dede doynge is proff of loue; Beryn 1267-  
68 I wol nat leve ... my dise-pleyng, for all

your heretages; Mirk Fest. 35/9 þay were not  
 nyes to God by pride, ... nor to hor neightbur by  
no wrong doying; Alph. Tales 467/24 þur his  
penance-doyng sho was delyvered out of payn; Ib.  
 64/13 he lefte his almos-giffyng; Ib. 442/28-29  
 þe bisshopp ... left his mes-saying; Chester Pl.  
 48/149-50 An hundred winters and twentye this  
shippe-makinge <sup>18</sup> tarryed have I; PLAlex. wit-  
 owten any assawte gyffyng; Jacob's W 108/29 of  
þi trewth brekyng; Pecock Donet 165/30 þou  
 schalt do no mansleyng; GRom. 410/30 I have  
 bought the full dere with my passyõn sufferyng;  
 etc.

1450-1500 (25 exs.): Paston 569.17-18 þere  
 were at þe distresse takyng yonge Henre  
 Wentworth, yonge Calthorpe, ...; Merlin 111/13-  
 14 Vlfin hym-self was at þe couenaunt makyng;  
Ib. 652/15 Gawein lepte on his horse also with-  
 oute other leve-takinge; Pecock Fol. 144/32-33  
 in þe tyme of þe couenaunt makyng; Malory Wks.  
 261/30 for his herborow askyng; Cely 77/12 I  
 here off non exchange makyng yett; 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: blod-letting/shedding, almes-giving, leave-taking, conand/couenauht-making, vengeance-taking, love-longing, fir-making, bede-byddyng, penance-doing, mess-saying, law-keping. 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 þe is þurgh his broþur hatung swa scyldiȝ swa se manslaga"<sup>19</sup>, but only in ME and early ModE does the construction under consideration seem to be of frequent occurrence.<sup>20</sup> 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 þine eadi bodie; Ib. 55-60 Ich bide þe bi his side openunge ... in his side þurlunge wið ute sore wunde.

1250-1300 (1 ex.): Gen.& Ex. 3408-10 Ietro ... tagte him siðen witterlike Vnder him helpes oðere don, ðat folc stering to streng[t]hen on.

1300-1350 (8 exs.): Glo.Chron. 7859 it was nozt fourtene after is fader buriinge; Mannyng HS 7887 Whedyr hyt be yn a womman handlyng, Or yn any oper lusty þyng; 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 anoyntyng; Seven Sages 1524-27 þe maister ... hadde mani a blessing, For his disciple deliuering; Rolle Prose 22/19-20 be opir pennaunce doynge; etc.

1350-1400 (6 exs.): PPl.B XV 76 in housyng,  
in haterynge and in-to hiegh clergye shewyng;  
Wycl.Leaven 20/10-11 bi false procuryng of  
matrymonye by soteltees ... and fals dyuors  
makyng; Perceval 1573-74 þen, said Arthour þe  
Kyng Of bold Perceuell techyng; etc.

1400-1450 (53 exs.): Ld.Troy 7902-04  
Pilodomas myzt not for-ȝete ... His dere fader  
takyng; Mirk Fest. 169/28-29 for Cristis passione  
mynnyng, for gret loue schowyng, and for gret  
mede getyng; MKempe 181/33-34 grettar peyn may I  
not suffyr in þis worlde þan be put fro þi holy  
worde heryng; Ib. 153/2-3 of þe wondirful  
swetnesse þat sche had in þe word of God  
heryng; Jacob's W. 306/7 for a peny getyng þou  
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 keping; etc.

1450-1500 (25 exs.): Paston 54.125 at the  
tyme of þe said astate takyng; Ib. 538.18 of myn  
acquitaile to my seyð lord in his seyð wille  
fulfylling; Pecock Fol. 13/22 wipoute cleer sȝt  
hauyng; Ib. 103/20-21 whiche seruen as

profitable meenes into his fynal purposid entent  
getyng; 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 sunes scornynge"; MS  
 Trinity "his sones scorne"; while Seven Sages 1526 "his  
disciple deliuering" reads as MS Egerton "his dyscypelys  
deliuering and MS Balliol College "his dissiples  
deliuering". 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<sup>22</sup> as in:

Donet 75/26 and to goddis vertuose lawe  
keping; 96/29-31 who so wole in bis laboure  
of his schrift to god or to man making, seche his  
 ese and his alizting, he may hereof fynde a  
 foorme of schryft; 99/21-22 þe vij<sup>e</sup> is also  
goddis lawe in so moche þe better keping and  
fulfilling; etc.

Fol. 103/20-21 whiche seruen as profitable  
meenes into his fynal purposid entent getyng;  
 131/25-26 ffadir, y þanke þow for al bis good  
informacioun to me makyng and zeuyng; 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 <sup>23</sup> p̄ær ne biþ ... lapra gesamnung". In ME, however, those nouns end in -(e)s,<sup>24</sup> 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., MKempe, and Pecock Donet. Here again Pecock should be noted for the use of such involved combinations as Donet 99/27-28 "pe ix<sup>e</sup> is opire mennys defautis with pite and compassioun 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 mepingð  
 ne brinð no synful man quemere loc þene teares  
sheding for his sinnen.

1200-1250 (2 exs.): Orm. 18026-27 Judea  
 tacnepp uss Misededess anndzaetinng; Lamb.Hom.  
Pater N. 260-61 þurh festing and þurh wacunge  
 and ec þurh 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 ...  
Swerdes draweyng, lymes lesyng; Ib. 3841 þere  
 was speres baping; etc.

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

1350-1400 (4 exs.): Chaucer CT VIII 796-97  
 Nat nedeth it for to reherce hem all; Watres  
rubifyng; PPl.B IV 117 childryn cherissyng be  
 chastyng with zerdes; Ib. XIX 373-74 Somme thorw  
bedes-byddyng, ... some thorw penyes-delyng.

1400-1450 (28 exs.): Bk.Lond.E. IV xviii  
 189 in medicyns doynge or makynge; Ld.Troy 4587-88  
 He was weri of men scleyng, ... and of strokes  
yeuyng; Mirk Fest. 260/22 he was mervayles yn  
myracles doynge; Alph.Tales 412/10 he contynewid  
 in syngyng, prayers-saying; Bokenham Sts. 368 In  
namys yeuyng; Pecock Donet 67/15 trespacis and  
giltis forzeving; Ib. 100/11-13 þe xiiij<sup>e</sup> 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 ymnis & Psalmys redyng; Caxton Charles  
 27/17 in yeftes ye-uyng he was ryght large;  
Partenay 6162-63 More swefter she goth 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 opys  
sweryng; MKemp 124/4-5 ze amende zow of zowr  
othys sweryng; Alpha.Tales 81/20 he had nevir  
presumpcion in hys mynde of his prayers-saying;  
Ib. 305/21-22 all be vertue of his meracles-  
doynge; Paston 774.9-10 the fete of her armys  
doynge; Partenay 5212 [he] hasted to complish 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 clothes wrixlunge.

1250-1300: none.

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

1350-1400 (5 exs.): Chaucer CT VIII 769-70  
of the care and wo That we hadde in oure

matires<sup>25</sup> sublymyng; PP1.B VII 87 Late vsage be  
 zowre solace of seyntes lyues redyng; Perceval  
 517-18 hafe pou my blessing For pi feres  
folouynge; PConsc. 4258 Another thurgh fals  
miracles shewyng; RRose 545Q-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 gistryng and  
gryndyng; Mirk Fest. 6/8 for gret myraeles  
doynge; MKempe 205/29-33 in many bedys byddyng,  
 ... in gret almes dedys doynge ... in good wordys  
spekyng wyth pe mowth; Alph.Tales 213/1 in pies  
wurdis saying he swelt; Pecock Donet 99/28-31 pe  
 x<sup>e</sup> is her trespasis doon to vs forgyving; her  
restoringis and her satisfacciouns dewe to vs  
 ... pardoning or relesing; Ib. 100/11 pe xiiij<sup>e</sup>  
 is oure 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, very thei were of the traueile of the  
strokes yevinge and also recey[u]inge in the  
 stour; Pecock Fol. 51/39 he schewip him silf be

blunt in eny treubis fyndyng or hem sureli  
knowyng; Caxton Reyn. 65/32-34 in longe fastyng  
and many thyngis redyng 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.<sup>27</sup> The following example symbolizes this transitional stage:

Alph. Tales 412/10-11 "evur he contynewid in syngyng, prayers-saying, and wurshippyng our Lady vnto be 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,<sup>28</sup> as in: Lay.Brut (MS Clg dated a1225) 19728 "for mines drihtenes lufe" > Lay.Brut (MS Otho dated c1300) "for loue of mine drihte".<sup>29</sup> It has generally been considered<sup>30</sup> 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 Anchr. 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;<sup>31</sup> 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 (?a1200 Trin.Hom. and ?a1200 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 + of-adjunct'. Its relatively unusually frequent use in Trin.Hom. and Ancr. dated ?a1200 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), <sup>33</sup> 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  
 ... þat he us giue þe bitocninge þat is imene  
 turtlen and duues þat is bireusinge <sup>34</sup> of ure  
fule sinnes; Ib. 63/21-22 þe lichames festing is  
wiðtiging of estmetes and oueretes; Ancr. 27/21-  
 23 Euchan segge as best bereð hire on heorte.  
Verseilunge of sawter. Redunge of englisc oðer  
of frensch; Ib. 62/19-20 putten hond utward ...  
 is wohunge efter grome 7 tollunge of his eorre;  
Ib. 144/13-15 als wa as prude is wilnunge of wurð-  
schipe, riht als wa þer to ȝeines eadmodnesse is  
forkeastunge of wurðschipe. (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 þar  
 is chiuringe of toȝen for ðe unmate chele;  
Wooing Lord 3-5 Swetter is munegunge of þe þen  
 mildeu o muðe; Lofsong Lefdi 21-22 prude 7  
wilnunge of pris me habbeð sore iwunded.

1250-1300 (19 exs.): Gen.& Ex. 831-32 þo  
 wurðen waxen so wide and spred, pride and

giscing of louerd-hed; SLeg. 52.6 with-oute  
hurtinge of ani-pin; SPass. 2080 How hi' him  
ffurst knewe þorw brekyng of brede; Thursh & N.  
5-6 For longyng of þe nigttegale þis fowles  
murie singeþ; Arth. & M. 936 Wipouten knoweinge  
of mannes sade; KAlex. 558 Wipouten doying of  
any harme. (Other examples: SLeg. 26.33, 45.556,  
62.40, 62.171-72; SPass. 123, 339, 376, 658,  
795-96; Arth. & M. 1198; KAlex. 2159-60, 6821,  
7815)

1300-1350 (160 exs.): Glo.Chfon. 5909 In  
ssedinge of þi broðer blod; NHom. 112/3 in  
ordainyng of priestes and clerkes; Mannyng HS  
7716 yn handlyng of sum vyce; Cursor 12775 For  
saueing of vr dampnacioun; Otuel & R. 2369 ffor  
huntyng of an hare; Ayenb. 268/34-35 More hy  
byeþ glede wyþ-oute gessyng of godes holynesse;  
Rolle Prose 31/24 in helpyng of his euencristyn;  
Rolle EWr. 106/64-65 þe saule es anely comforted  
in lovyng and lufyng of God; MPPsalter 10.9 þe  
bigynnyng of wysdome is dredyng of our Lord;  
Nicod. 1685-86 kan 3e any witnes draw by kastyng  
of clergise; etc.

1350-1400 (595 exs.): Eglam. 554-55 ge sall  
dy For slayng of my bare; Alex.& Maced. 969 I  
had minde on my slepe by meting of sweuen; WPal.  
4362 meke þe of þi malencoli for marring of pi-  
selue; Bruce V 81-82 thai ly trastly, but  
dreding Of vs.<sup>35</sup> ; PPl.B VI 9 Somme shal sowe the  
sakke ... for shedyng of the whete; Firumb. 4071  
Wyp-oute takyng of vengeance; Chaucer HF 305-06  
of oon he wolde haue fame In magnyfyng of hys  
name; Wycl.Leaven 24/19-20 vp peyne of lesyng  
of here lordischepe ... and lesyng of bodi and  
soule; Usk TL III viii 55 in engendring of  
children; Gower CA 5.2794 in savinge of hire  
goode name; PPl.Creed 843 for amending of þise  
men; Siege Jerus. 247 þan was wepyng, & wryngyng  
of hondis; Dest.Troy 464 hir talent was taken  
for tastyng of wyne; Parl.3.Ages 443 David ...  
Was caughte from kepyng of schepe; Cloud 2/17 in  
eschewing of þis errour; Wars Alex. 1797 In  
bilding of his bachelers he breuys þire wordis;  
Quatref.Love 58-59 Withowten ... castyng of  
coloure or changyng of hewe; Le Morte Arth. 911  
In chalengyng of his brothers dede; etc.

1400-1450 (717 exs.): Bk.Lond.E. VI 1078 with amending of þe dore; St.Anne 3234 In mending of þi trespas; Wycl.Prelates 90/4-5 in prechyng of þe goſpel; Beryn 2368 for plukking of my ſcleve; Lydg. RS 23 in hyndring of my name; Hocc. RP 5161 Making of Eue tokned þe making of hōly chirche; Mirk Feſt. 254/12 yn etyng of þys bred; Alph.Tales 488/31 be þis obſtacle he was lett fro halsyng of his wyfe; Ben.Rule 43/28-29 þe autors of chesyng of þe prioſſeſſe; Castle Perſey. 1522 In forsakyng of þyn aungyl good; MKempe 198/3-4 her mende was raueſchyd in-to beholdyng of our Lady; Jacob's W. 261/24 for dreed of leſyng of my good; Pecock Donet 107/18 bi diſputyng of manye queſtiouns; Gener. 6322 In easyng of myn hert I haue don this; GRom. 315/33 for doynge 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 froo doynge of ſchamefulle thingis; Capgr. St.Aug. 58/12-13 afftir making of þat werke he mad many opir bokes; Merlin 80/16 in makyng of this pees; Capgr. St.Gilb. 74/23 for doynge of myracles; Pecock Fbl. 41/13-14 as for nuriſchyng of al þe bodi; Towneley Pl. 243/7

for doynge of myracles; Pecock Fol. 41/13-14 as  
 for nurischynge of al þe bodi; Toweley 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  
sauynge 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  
preysynge of the place; Lancelot 1422 In  
 satisfaccione and doynge of penans; Golagrus &  
G. 467 Thair wes blauynge of bemys, braging, and  
 beir; etc.

Some of the examples belonging here are qualified by  
 an adverbial 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 adverbial 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 þere worþ wop  
 and gruntyng of teþ ffasste.

1300-1350 (6 exs.): Rolle Prose 13/10-11  
 Consaile es doynge awaye of worldes riches; Ib.  
25/27 in fulfillynge of the dedis of mercy  
bodili and gostely; etc.

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

1400-1450 (25 exs.): Bokenham Sts. 6040 in  
lernyng of be feyth dilygently; Pecock Donet  
 52/10 bi not weernyng 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, þat es, of levyng of gude undone, whne  
 men leves þe gude þat þai suld do; Bk.Lond.E. VI  
 942 to an laborer for makyng 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,<sup>36</sup> 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,<sup>37</sup> 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<sup>38</sup> 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 Anchr.) 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

	Def	Dem	Poss	Adj	Other	Total	Type IV Types I-VI
1100-1200	5 (62.5)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (37.5)	0 (0)	8 (100%)	15.4%
1200-1250	3 (33.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (55.6)	1 (11.1)	9 (100%)	20.9%
1250-1300	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (100%)	7.8%
1300-1350	55 (53.4)	1 (1.0)	2 (1.9)	27 (26.2)	18 (17.5)	103 (100%)	24.5%
1350-1400	148 (59.2)	5 (2.0)	10 (4.0)	35 (14.0)	52 (20.8)	250 (100%)	24.9%
1400-1450	277 (66.9)	12 (2.9)	25 (6.0)	52 (12.6)	48 (11.6)	414 (100%)	24.4%
1450-1500	496 (83.5)	5 (0.8)	22 (3.7)	26 (4.4)	45 (7.6)	594 (100%)	35.4%
Total	988 (71.4)	24 (1.7)	59 (4.3)	148 (10.7)	164 (11.9)	1383 (100%)	27.9%

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 ?al200 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 c1303 are all recorded in the following list of examples:

1100-1200 (5 exs.): Ancr 17/16-18 heal mi  
 blodi sawle of alle þe sunnen þ̅ ha is wið iwundet  
 þurh mine fif wittes i þe munegunge of ham; Ib.  
 18/10 [1] þe wurðgunge iesu crist of þine tweof  
apostles; Ib. 42/9-10 þe tilunge of  
rihtwisnesse: þ̅ is silence. Silence tileþ hire;  
Ib. 135/4-5 aþet te schedunge of ower blod; Ib.  
 169/8-9 þe wesschunge wið uten bitacneþe  
wesschunge of sawle wið innen.

1200-1250 (3 exs.): St.Kath. 1380 i þe  
cnowlechung of his kinewurðe nome; St.Juliana  
 3/2-3 iþe deore wurðmunt of his deorewurðe sune  
 7 iþe heunge of þe hali gast; Wooing Lord 6-8  
 Hwat herte is swa hard þ ne mei to melte iþe  
munegunge of þe.

1250-1300 (4 exs.): SPass. 367 þe net lo is  
þe preching of oure lordes lawe; Ib. 1010 þe  
preouyng of loue is ffol wirchyng in dede; Ib.  
 1085 ffram ham he wente þo þe prowynge of a  
stone; KAlex. 4073-74 Of þe draweyng of bowzes  
and stykke þe eyre bicom trouble and picke.

1300-1350 (55 exs.): NPass. 1040-41 Of þis  
 ded wol i be clene 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 the wynnyng off Spayne; etc.

1350-1400 (148 exs.): NHom.Pass. 2441-42  
 Scho was þe first þat sufferd shame ffor þe

neuenyng of Ihesu name; Chaucer LGW 2459-60 Ye  
han wel herd of Theseus devyse in the  
betraysynge of fayre Adryane; Chev.Assigne 194  
for be sauynge of hem þank þou haste serueth;  
etc.

1400-1450 (277 exs.): Hoccl. RP 5437-38  
That is the wey vn-to the conqueryng Of hevenes  
blysse; Alph.Tales 228/9-10 he ... dischargid  
þaim be company & spekyng with of any  
strangers <sup>39</sup>; PLAlex. 78/31-32 be wirchipyng of  
many goddes we eschu; GRom. 376/32-33 they all  
thanked god, for the delyueryng 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 purchassyng of it; Treat.L. 98/11-13 they  
... will for the purchasyng & receyuyng of  
erthly 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.): Mannyng HS 1482 By þe drawyng vp of hys honde; Rolle Prose 23/15 in the turnyng of thi will enterely to his seruyce.

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

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

1450-1500 (24 exs.): Paston 290.8-9 for the hauyng ageyn off my place in castre; DSPhilos. 39/17-18 it is þe puttyng away of loue; Cely 153/10 in the latyng 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 oure synnes ben not ellis  
 pan be leuyngis of po 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 praysyng of her louer and frende  
specyall.

pilk (9 exs.): found only in Pecock (seven times in Donet and twice in Fol.): Pecock Donet 181/3  
pilk forbeding of pe vice is not knowun; Pecock  
Fol. 152/36 in pilk chaungyng and turnyng of his  
wil; etc.

this (13 exs.): Cursor 10692 0 pis vouing of  
chastite; Firumb. 3243 Let leue al pys  
balaunsyng & castyng of speres & stones;  
Cloud 73/16-17 in pis blynde beholdyng 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 þis pair mening o pair man; Ib. 28316-17  
oper mans beginyng of gode ded Oft-sith i letted  
 for to spede; 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 and is dated c1375-a1400: CT V 243 "They speken of sondry hardyng of metal". As will be clear from Table V, 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 þe wunde studen i swote  
munegunge Of þe soþe wunden; Ib. 91/11 wið lah

haldung of hire seoluen; Ib. 145/25 .bis fallunge  
is eadmod cnawunge of pin ahne wacnesse; Orm.  
5612-13 riht draedung off Godd te dop All  
bindenn swa pin herrte: Orison lord 66-67 wið  
swote munegunge of pine god deden; Bevis 3647  
gret scorning of hire; þay maked; Cursor 28578  
With worthi taking o þe fode; Ayenb. 21/30 þe  
oper is fol nimminge of greate spendinge; Rolle  
Prose 28/9 at grete releuyng & comforthynge of  
oper men; Alex. & D. 951-52 mirþe we hauen, In-  
tendere touchinge of þing; Bruce VI 349-50 it  
has so gret varnsyng of vit; etc.

(b) 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 3yf men or womman be so wyld  
To fordo a getyng of a chylde; Cursor 27248 a  
wasting of his rent; Ayenb. 72/2-3 þe dyap is  
bot a todelinge of þe zaule and of þe bodye;  
Rolle Prose 34/30-31 na thyng bot a lathynge of all  
þis werldis blysse; etc.

na(n), no (34 exs.): found in this corpus since ?c1200 (HMaid), although Visser (HS, sec. 1120) has no quotations and Jespersen (MEG, V, sec. 8.4.4) has examples only from Shakespeare onwards:

HMaid. 36/386 of pis lure nis nan acouerunge;  
Cursor 11169-70 Fra pat tim forth had ioseph nan  
Mistruing of pat maidan; Bruce I 596-97 he ...  
 had na persaw yng Off the tresoun; Chaucer CT X  
 1008 this is no departyng 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 chaunging of  
contenance; Ib. 78/21 wip-outyn ... any  
pronounsyng of worde; Mirk Fest. 109/1-2 wythout  
 ... any enpayryng of þe sta[l]ke; etc.

much, 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; PLAlex. 27/21 vggande  
 for to see so mekil scheddyng of blude; Scrope  
DSP 14/24-25 kepe you fro to mucche laughinge and  
mokking of other; etc.

al (9 exs.): not previously noted, but found herein since  
 ?al400 (Dest.Troy):

Dest.Troy 9206 Hit semith me vnertain, all  
serchyng of wayes; Cloud 8/13 for to distroie  
alle wetyng & feling of þe owne being; MKempe  
 248/19-20 I myth han al knowyng & vndirstondyng  
of þe preuyteys of God; etc.

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

Havelok 2684 þer was swilk dreping of þe folk;  
Cursor 19239 To mak sli lesing o þi sale; Usk TL  
 I viii 87 as fer as suche doinge of my cure  
streccheth; Pecock Fol. 212/9-10 for whych y  
 deuysid such a departyng of þo tablis; etc.

<sup>42</sup>  
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 conjoynynge of "hevene" and "Lia"; Pecoock  
Donet 109/19-20 In þe first poynt of þe first  
table is conteyned al maner kunnyng and knowing  
of god and of godli þingis; DSPhilos. 87/25-26  
swere nat by God for any maner wynnynge 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 micht be preisit preiudice,  
... 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<sup>43</sup> 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 getyng of your riches and in usyng hem"; PPl.B XIV 186-87 "Confessioun, and knowlechyng and crauyng thi mercy Shulde amende vs". 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 "þe bridde is menende his synnes bifore gode"; Ib. 157/23-25 "welnehg ech man ȝifeð his almesse eiðer for godes luue and for hauende hereword and for to be wurðed fer and ner þe þe 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

instanced since late OE and is very frequent in Trin.Hom.,  
 although in the above cases to is absent<sup>44</sup>. Curme (1912, pp.  
 352-55) puts it even further back and cites his earliest  
 example from c950 Lindisfarne Gospel, Luke 7.45: "ne blann  
cossetunges foeta mine"<sup>45</sup>. Curme's example and, for that  
 matter, practically all OE examples of the gerund with an  
 accusative object are, as some scholars<sup>46</sup> 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 (Mannyng  
HS) onwards.<sup>47</sup>

Our data shown in Tables I and II indicates that the  
 gerund + object construction (Type V) first appears before  
 1300, namely, in ?a1300 (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 (PP1.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:<sup>48</sup>

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 þe messenger made anon asking Whi he made swich leizeing. (Cf. MS Linl (a1425) 1336-38 þeo messangeres ... Sone askeden him þo Wherfore þat he lowꝝ 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 werkes; <sup>49</sup> c1303 (MS a1400) Mannyng HS 408 yn feblyng þe body with moche fastyng; Ib. 8103 Y <sup>50</sup> tolde of handlyng synne as y koude (also in 80, 86, 94, 114, 138, and 1802); Ib. 10989-90 <sup>51</sup> 'Eleccyoun' ys 'weyl chesyng A gode man to kepe holy þyng'; a1325 Med.Supper 173-74 Yn goyng to þe dep, he shewed obedyens Yn fulfylling hys faders comoundemens; a1325 (MS a1400) Cursor 781 0 wityng bath god and ill ȝee suld be lauerds at ȝour will; Ib. 5195 Wit-outen asking help of sun; Ib. 12756-57 In baptising bath yong and ald Men soght til him; a1338 (MS a1450) Mannyng Chron. 93-95 I see in song, in sedgeyng tale of Erceldoun & Kendale, Non þam says as þai þam wroght; 1340 Ayenb.

82/32-34 þe zoþe wyt ... is in knauyng wyb-oute  
wyþnimyng þet ech þing is worþ; a1349 (MS  
a1450) Rolle EWr. 36/279-81 Now, swet Jhesu,  
graunt me grace to touche þe with criyng mercy  
for my synnes (also in 28/26-30); Ib. 78/167 in  
wirkyng profitabel thynges; a1350 MPPsalter  
18.12 mechel zelding is it in keping hem; Ib.  
56.4 in reproceinge þe defouland me; Ib. 88.32  
in chasteing her wickednesses; Ib. 118.9 In what  
þyng amendeþ þe zenge man his waie in keping þy  
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 TL II iii 104-05 Fyr is  
cheef werker in fortheringe sustenaunce to  
mankynde; St.Erk. 124 In confirmyng þi Cristen  
faiþe; Dest.Troy 12204 This Vlixes ... callis  
hym the cause of cacchyng þis toun; etc.

1400-1450 (253 exs.): Mandev. 110/35 3if  
he fayle of takyng his praye; Song Roland 80  
For dreching 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 þai made with masse, Fore metyng þe men  
 on þe masse; Death & L. 136-38 in liking this  
liuinge ... there was rydinge & revell that  
 ronge in the bankes; GRom. 10/12 in borowing þe  
armour of þe ded knyzt; 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 takyng  
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 outred the kyng of Cipriens, After  
demaundyng 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 making ... & noȝt wylling 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 chesing rapir and more to do þe parfiter vertuouse werk þan þe lasse; Ib. 58/15 in not sparing 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 eschewyng 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: 53

Chaucer TC V 835-37 Troilus was nevere ... in no degree secoude 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 pat comoun wyttyngly wyth ony persone acursyd be name in zeuyng hym comfort in the same synne; Ib. 69/13-15 in wytyng<sup>54</sup> an-oper man pi defauzte, & in wytyng pi-self be goodness pat pou hast of an-oper; DSPhilos. 119/21 withoute doynge himself any proufite.

(b) Jacob's W. 69/13 in trowyng pi-self bettyr pan pou art; Ib. 182/5-6 nozt in holdyng grete synnes smale, ne in heldyng 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 suffring him to fulfille alle pe dedis 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 letyng 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,

Pecock Fol. 181/31, Caxton Charles 193/28-29, Partenay 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,<sup>55</sup> notably in Shakespeare,<sup>56</sup> 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 beryyng, pat noble corps of ihesu  
 cryst", which is cited in Visser as "... To be beryyng pat  
noble corps of ihesu cryst" without comma between beryyng  
 and pat. This interpretation is obviously wrong, because  
pat noble corps of ihesu cryst is in apposition to the  
 preparatory subject hit, not the object of the gerund be  
beryyng. The remaining six quotations from the 14th  
 century (e.g. c1350 MPPsalter 14.5 "God glorifies 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.<sup>57</sup> As it  
 turns out, the earliest indisputable examples recorded by  
 Visser are: a1400 (MS a1425) Paul.Epist. 166/1-2 "be 3ee  
 schod be feet in be dyghtyng 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 (HS 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:

TABLE VI

Determiners before 'Gerund + Object'

	Def	Dem	Poss	Adj	Other	Total	Type VI Types I-VI
1100-1200	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
1200-1250	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
1250-1300	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
1300-1350	0	0	1	0	1	2	0.5%
1350-1400	0	1	2*	0	1	4	0.4%
1400-1450	0	1	5	0	1	7	0.4%
1450-1500	12	0	4	0	1	17	1.0%
Totals	12 (40.0%)	2 (6.7%)	12 (40.0%)	0 (0%)	4 (13.3%)	30 (100%)	0.6%

\* 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 saithe that experiences makith good chastising and the taking hede to the ende drauyth to good trust; Ib. 138/5 be it be seruice or bi the yeuyng it a-yen; Ib. 234/25 the settinge a-side businesses upon vnprofitable pingis; Ib. 276/31 in the biholdinge the feire fethers of his taile; DSPPhilos. 19/33-34 of the seyenge naye to, he is wors than the ignoraunt whiche is of euel wille; Paston 396.54-55 within vj dayes aftire the so takyng as well the names of the seyde prisoners as their estate, degré, or condicioun; Ib. 901.31-33 grete remorse I haue in my soule of the vntrewe forgyng and contryvyng certayne testamentys and last wyll by naked wordes; Ib. 914.93 The iijth concideracion is th'encrese also of cunnyng and ... the necessary havyng the grete merite of such doctrine of our faith and Cristes lawe; Caxton Reyn. 24/7-8 The wythholdyng 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 rauysshyng 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 ignoraunce excusip  
 a man from synne in þe deede which he doop, or  
 in þe leuyng a good deede of comaundement vndoon  
vndir þe same ignoraunce; Paston 336.32 for the  
letyng me haue knowlage of the areragys of your  
lyuelod, he hathe don resonably well hys deuer.

These two citations (dated c1454 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 exmple of this Type VI  
 construction with the demonstrative: c1449 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:

58

c1378 PP1.B V 385 This shewyng shrifte ...  
 shal be meryte to the; c1445 Pecoock Donet  
 206/27-30 bi bis stif attending and occupi yng  
hem aboute þe maters of preising and of preiyng,  
 þou schalt lete hem not wauer aboute opire  
 þingis and maters vnþertinent to þe maters of þi  
 preising and preiyng.

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 (Ayenb.) on:

Ayenb. 270/26-28 wylne myd guode wylle to polye:  
 be þyne ofseruyng þet he þolede myd guode wylle;  
Dest.Troy 13765-66 Thus Achillis achevit his awne  
 choyse frendes, Thurgh his prokuryng prestly all

the pure Trojens; Mandev. 127/11-12 we han  
here makynge houses and schippes of oke or of  
ony oper trees; Ld.Troy 12023-24 His long lokyng  
hir louely sight Be-rafft him clene 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 byggyng 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 speken thinges that bene hurtefulle,  
 for his holdyng peas 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 traueyllled the  
 day of his letyng blood

The following quotation provides a remarkable example  
 with the gerund in the plural followed by a direct  
 object:  
 59

Jacob's W. 108/25-28 pou hast ... nozt kept þe  
 haly-day, nozt kept thy penaunce, takyng non  
 hede of þi wycked suspectys, & of þi fals

demynges, ne of bi strynges opere to synne.

Another case which deserves particular mention is found in:

RRose 2061-62 If thee lyst to undirstande, I merveile the askyng this demande.

This is apparently an example of the gerund preceded by the dative (not possessive) pronoun the 'thee', <sup>60</sup> not by the definite article the as Visser and others have assumed. <sup>61</sup>

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':

Cursor 23811-14 Quen we it proue pat es to late,

✓

Es þar na mending þan þe 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 jnquietyng none tenaunt ne person  
 that occupyeth the londes ne pastures.

Pecock Donet 108/20-22 in þe first poynt of þe  
 first table, ... is tretid of al maner leernyng,  
knowyng and remembring what god is, and what  
hise benefetis and punysshingis ben.

The quotation from Cursor seems to be the earliest instance  
 of 'there is no -ing + object',<sup>62</sup> now a frequent idiom  
 meaning 'it is impossible to —'.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER I

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

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

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> This instance (?c1300) antedates the earliest quotation (a1325) in MED (s.v. his 6. (c)).

7

Cf. Gaaf 1928, p. 33, and Mustanoja, ME Syntax, p.

574

8

The following examples are excluded from our statistics:

Body & S. 375-76 Merci criende litel availede  
 3wan Crist it wolde so harde wrac; Ayenb. 35/15-  
 17 þer is anoper lenere corteys þet lenep wyþ-  
 oute chapfare makiinde; Ib. 42/12-15 þe vifte is  
 ine ham þet be markat makiinde, letep hare  
 benefices oþer changeþ. þe ziste is ine ham þet  
 be markat makiinde guop 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.

9

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 MKempe (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: Cursor 28161 For skath takyng of his catell; York Pt. 172/17 In witnesse-bering of pat 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 pe pore vnmercyfull, non almes zeuyng, but pe pore dyspysing, & hem betyng or cachhyng out at his gatys, wyth his doggys", in which hem betyng or cacchying out is clearly a participial, not gerundial, construction, modifying a tollere clepyd Perys.

15

MED (s.v. defending 1.(a)) construes pe defendyng 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 makynge 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 bropur 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.

24

Cf. Visser, HS, sec. 1111.

25

Visser (HS sec. 1119) remarks that in the ModE period, 'painstaking', 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.

26

W.W. Skeat takes this matires as genitive plural (The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Vo. V [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894], Glossary, s.v. Matere).

27

Cf. Fries 1940, pp. 253-54.

28

Cf. Williams 1975, p. 253 and Mustanoja, ME Syntax, pp. 74-75.

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.

<sup>31</sup> Out of 4,959 examples of the gerund with its object, 2,079, or 41.9%, come under this category (cf.<sup>3</sup> Table II).

<sup>32</sup> 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).

<sup>33</sup> See also Tajima 1977, p. 123

<sup>34</sup> MED (s.v. bireusinge) construes this word as a noun, not a gerund.

<sup>35</sup> 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 Kisbye 1971, p. 57.

39

This is the only instance found in our corpus in which the gerund (spekyng), 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) maner is used in apposition with the following gerund, although the form with of is also common before the

noun in ME, as in : ?a1300 Tristrem 289-90 "He tauzt him ich alede Of ich maner of glewe".

43

See OED, s.v. -ing<sup>1</sup>2; 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 muæes mete on þre wise on etinge to michel on estmetes þe bredeþ sinneþ ...", 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<sup>1</sup> 2.

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. & Epil. 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.

52

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 untrewē), 13 in 1400-1450 (e.g. Jacob's W. 144/20-22 pei synnen ... in veynglorye in rehersyng how bei are fed), and 12 in 1450-1500 (e.g. Pecock Fol. 115/27 in notifyng to vs 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 hæue knawynge pat I in him kan fynd ryght noght"; Siege Milan 1213-15 "þe Messangere bare a wande Of ane Olife in his hande, In takynnyng he come of pece"; PP1.B XVIII 135-36 "And that is cause of this clips that closeth now the sonne, In menyng that man shal fro merkenesse be drawe"; Mirk Fest. 52/14 "This myracull he dyd yn schewyng pat he blessyth þe weddyng". The above have knowyng that, in tokenyng (that), in showyng (that), and in menyng (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 I 2210-11 "The trompe of deth was at my gate, In tokne that I scholde

dere"; Malory Wks. 710/7-8 lattyng the to have knowlecche 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<sup>1</sup>.

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 shewyng as present participle, glossing This shewyng

shrifte 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 "pe 2a intencioun is complete in cesingz or lissynggez 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. merveiljen 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 biscoppegnunge".<sup>1</sup> 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.

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 1.i.6 "Behind her farre away a Dwarfe did lag, That lasie seemd in being euer 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 Capgr. St.Kath., and one in 1485 Caxton Charles:

2

Scrope DSP 236/27-28 y haue more repented  
me of spekinge than y haue 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 þis lady eke so hey stey,  
She knewe the strengthe and the stondyng stille<sup>3</sup>

Of alle the planetes þat regnen vp-on hey;

Caxton Charles 56/6-7 thou knowest the comyn

prouerbe that sayth that there is a tyme of

spekyng and tyme of beyng stulle.

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

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

<sup>2</sup> The corresponding lines in a1460 DSPPhilos. — 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 thinges that been necessarie to his lyffe"; 265/12 "... for his holdyng peas were moche bettir".

<sup>3</sup> 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<sup>1</sup> 2) 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<sup>1</sup> seem to agree with the OED statement, quoting their first instance of it from 1340 Ayenb.: 262/32 "at uerste goinge 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 "p̄aēt ... ge p̄a p̄egnunge fulwhte ... 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 mūes mete on p̄re wise on etinge to michel on estmetes p̄e bredeð 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, oðer grapung on alle limāen and p̄aē zewunelycost on p̄am hondāen". 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-comyng);

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 laboryng 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

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

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 I, 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 heo  
 bið iwurðod mid his onwununge; Ancr. 58/3 þ is  
 þe uprowunge agein þis worldes stream.

1200-1250 (4 exs.): Orm. 10794 Forþ þurh  
 Jorrdan, ... Iss dunstizhinng bitacnedd;  
St.Marg. 2/4-5 efter his upastihunge;

Horn 844 At his vprisinge; Lofsong Lefdi 57 Ich  
bide þe ... In umbe keorunge.

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

1300-1350 (52 exs.): Glo.Chron. 11804 Me  
flemde ir out of engelond wipoute aye 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-covering;  
Ib. 12593 at þe vt-cuming o þe yaþte; Ayenb.  
22/16 þe vifte out-kestinge of þe ilk stocke is  
scorn; Ib. 116/6 þet 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 þe uerste is  
way and inguoinge to þe opren (also in 72/25,  
105/10, 264/9; MPPsalter 9.14); MPPsalter 17.47  
of ozain-syggeynges of þe folk (also in 30.26);  
Ib. 67.4 þe dounging of þe sunne; Ib. 88.18 our  
vp-steizeng; Ib. 104.36 in þe forþgoing of  
Iacobes childer; Ib. 147.11 ne wel-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-gevyng; Ib. I 580 but gane-saying; Ib. V 361 of his weill-doing; Ib. V 82 of our neir-cummyng; Ib. XX 310 his agane-cummyng; Ib. XX 315 his furth-passyng ordanit he; Chaucer CT I 884 at hir hoom-comyng (also in I 905, II 765; Chaucer TC V 503; Chaucer LGW 2101); PPI.B X 462 at her hennes-partyng; Ib. XIV 141 in ȝowre here-beyng; Ib. XIV 165 after her hennes-ȝoyng; Firumb. 4478 At hure azen comyng; Chaucer HF 1523 Aȝen her tyme of out-flyenge; Chaucer TC II 1308 at his in-comyng; Usk TL II x 92 with good forth-going; Ib. II x 112 of wel-doing in vertue (also in II x 119); Ib. II xiv 93 thyne amisse-going; Gower CA II 1599 the wel-meninge of love; Ib. 5.1021-22 the forth drawinge Of bestaile; PConsc. 4779 Til þe tyme of þe doun gangyng; RRose 5857 Delit and wel-Heelyng; Perceval 493 At his firste in-comyng; etc.

1400-1450 (37 exs.): Bk.Lond.E II vi 66 at his incomyng; Mirk Fest. 172/24 he myȝt not receue

hit for vpcasting; Chester Pl. 377/181 by his  
uppsteyinge; Bokenhama Sts. 5701 of here  
bedyrgoyng; Pecock Donet 91/1 in hiȝe wel  
willing; Ib. 107/30 As for þe good reule and wel  
spending of þe v outward wittis; Gener. 3162 in  
ther ayeyn goyng; GRom. 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 wel  
doynge myght not but litill be sene; Ib. 482/23-  
24 she dressed hir vp-standinge; Ludus C. 118/75  
ffor þour hedyr comynge; Caxton Prol.& Epil.  
59b.26 in alle theyr wel-sayeng and wrytyng;  
Caxton Curial 16/6-7 by defaute of wel lyuyng;  
Partenay 340 In hys forth-passyng; etc.

On closer examination, it appears that examples of the  
compound in question tend to stiffen into more or less  
stereotyped phrases, such as uprisyng, ingoyng, out-goynge,  
vpsteyng, agayne-commyng, hom-comyng, welldoynge, 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  
ioyng, þat y hadde yn þy furþe beryng (802  
ber yng, rhyming with 801 ioyng); Gower CA  
5.6121-22 the wif ... sitt alday wisshinge After  
hir lordes hom comynge (6122 comynge, rhyming  
with 6121 wisshinge: cf. 6123 Bot whan that he  
comth hom at eve, ...); PConsc. 5271-72 He sal  
þan at his doun commyng, þe taken of þe croys  
wyth hym bring (5271 commyng, rhyming with 5272  
bring); York Pl. 96/87-88 He likenes criste ...  
Like to þe dewe in doune commyng (88 commyng,  
rhyming with 86 thyng); Firumb. 4476-78 Crystene  
men ... þat come from Char[lis] kyng; ... My  
trew þay sayde þay wolde pay At hure aʒen  
comyng (4478 comyng, 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 Mannyng HS (EMid), Ayenb. (SE), Rolle Prose (N), and MPPsalter (EMid) from the period 1300-1350; PP1.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 muðes mete on þre wise on etinge to michel on estmetes þe breðeð sinnes; Ancr. 118/1-2 þe feorðe froure is sikernesse of godes help iþe fehunge azein as seinte pawel witneð.

1200-1250 (3 exs.): H Maid. 42/452-53 his lokyng on ageasteð þe; Ib. 46/491-92 in his fosttrunge forð, moni earm hwille; Lofsong Lefdi 47-48 Ich bide þe ... bi his ledunge forð.

1250-1300 (5 exs.): S Leg. 63.436 it of-þouzte heom sore; heore hizingue þuder so faste; S Pass. 376 þere worp wop and gruntyng of tepe ffaste; Arth. & M 1874 Vnder þe Monument 3eo stod wopoute wepyng sore; Ib. 8601 Wipouten bileueing ani more; Tristrem 2620 Wip outen coming ozain.

1300-1350 (28 exs.): NPass. 1433 þe daies  
 þen on coming faste; Mannynge HS 1482 By þe  
drawyng vp of hys honde; Cursor 29210 Wit-vten  
 ani couering again; Roland & V. 545 at his  
coming þare; Mannynge Chron. 4274 Wypoute  
 truage askyng greuously; Ayenb. 261/32 at uerste  
quoyng in; Ib. 269/9-13 zuche lyue ... non  
uallynge doun ssolle habbe; Ib. 87/10-11 wypoute  
comynge ayen of huyche þinges; Ib. 242/5-6  
 wipoute lokyng ayen; Ib. 22/25 þe zixte  
kestynge out of þe ilke boþe; Rolle Prose 13/10  
 Consaile es doynge awaye of worldes reches;  
MMPsalter 105.28 fallyng doun is multiplied in  
 hem; etc.

1350-1400 (67 exs.): Jos.Arim. 421 Of þi  
comynge a-zein; Bruce IV 761-62 man is in-to  
dreding ay Of thingis that he has herd say;  
 Chaucer CT IX 67 In liftyng up his hevy dronken  
 cors; Ib. X 620 swich cursynge wrongfully  
 retorneth agayn to hym that curseth; PPl.B VII  
 57 at her partynge hennes; Chaucer Bo. II  
 pr.3.91-92 sche ... folsete the in fleyng awaye;  
Purity 159-60 gryspyng harde Of teþe tenfully togyder;

Wycl. Leaven 3/2 for getyng 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 þe day of departyng fra God  
away; Chev.Assigne 316 for rennenge azeyn;  
Dest.Troy 5639 with fightyng full fell with a  
 fuerse pepull; Cloud 94/14-15 in offryng up of  
 þis reuerent; Morte Arth. 4022 At my comyng a-  
gayne; etc.

1400-1450 (145 exs.) Bk.Lond.E VI 458 for  
settyng on of an lok; Mandev. 64/35 in comyng  
doun fro the mount of Olyuete; Beryn 2751 At his  
 first comyng in; Mirk Fest. 193/27 yn bryngyng  
forth of hym; Alph.Tales 414/21 abyde my commyng  
hom; Lydg. ST 4556-57 for al her crying loude  
Chester Pl. 195/287 at your commyng downte;  
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 þe synne of lechery; Ib. 182/24 in  
obeyng lowly to þe preest; Bokenham Sts.

10045 in goynge up & down; Pecock Donet 144/29  
 in vndirmynynge it derkely and laborously; Gener.  
 5653 hir comynge 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 comynge hastily hom;  
Scrope DSP 90/23 in obeieng holy to him; Merlin  
 342/20 in the lepynge vp Arthur hym smote;  
Capgr. St.Gilb. 121/29 in doing on of þat cloth  
Pecock Fol. 190/31 bi þe drawynge vpward;  
Towneley Pl. 364/352 his stvyngynge vp to blys in  
 hy; DSPPhilos. 281/34-35 it is bettir to haue a  
 sharpe lyfe in doynge wele thanne to haue a  
 pleasaunte lyfe in doynge euel; Malory Wks. 3/18  
 of theire departynge soo sodenly; Ass.Gods 274 in  
sittynge 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 wepynge  
strongely; Caxton Charles 8/17 wythoute goynge  
ony ferther; Caxton Blanch. 28/22 atte the  
pullyng out ayen; Caxton En. 158/14 atte his  
comynge on; Treat.L. 129/3-4 bi berynge 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 þe causis and þe bryngyngis forþ of moral vertues", in which the gerund in the plural is accompanied by an adverb. Although its verbal force is prominent in the adverb forþ, 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.L 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 satisfacione .. purh dede wel endinge.

1250-1300 (1 ex.): Arth.& M. 4655-56 And in

her togider coming pai maden ioie and gret 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 slepyng; Chaucer IC IV 423-24 selde  
seyng of a wight; Usk TL II i 82 in bodily  
doinge the lykyng of the soule; etc.

1400-1450 (36 exs.): Mandev. 78/26 in agen  
comyng fro pat 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  
onys chastysyng; Jacob's W. 179/11 custome of  
ofte haundyng; 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 comyng; Scrope DSP 30/21-22 without to  
muche doubting the comyng on of enmys;  
DSPPhilos. 243/8 by welke kepyng 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 makyng; 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 (14 exs.), <sup>6</sup> 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 Blume (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:<sup>7</sup>

c1385 Usk TL II v 82 As faire ben they in their not having as whan thou hast hem; c1440 Jacob's W. 121/2 in makynge ... & noȝt wyllynge to ȝeldyn 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 þe 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:

	Adv. + gerund	Gerund + adv.	Total
c1445 <u>Donet</u>	22	24	46
c1454 <u>Fol.</u>	28	27	55

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 þe ful, hool out braunching of meenal moral vertue into his spicis; 49/25 [resoun] wel allowip and deemep þis vttirly forbering to be mowe do; 88/5 bi aȝen coupling of þe bodi; 110/3 þe to gider gadering of alle þe moral vertues; 135/1 into hoom bringing, of þingis being oute or aroume; 153/7 in so sei yng; etc.

Fol. (28 exs.): 13/7 his maner of forþ  
settyng; 52/1-2 in ... hem sureli knowyng;  
 60/24-26 wipout shewyng ... and sufficientli  
groundyng; 65/7 in so varyyng; 70/7-8 of euer  
 eiper of þe seid premyssis concludyng for feip;  
 93/3-5 bi ... ouer hizli takyng sum  
 circumstaunce; 126/7-8 in his out þrowyng;  
 194/26-27 bi pries puttyng, nombryng and namyng  
 eche of þe seid meenal poyntis; 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 TL, 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 anʒite beoð þus ihaten: ... Gustus, fondung on þam muðe; ... Tactus, repung, oðer grapung on alle limen; Trin.Hom. 151/17-18 þe teares þe man wepeð for longenge to heuene ben cleped rein water oðer deu water; Ancr. 103/24 Her to falleð ... sclætering mid smirles; Ib. 190/13-14 þe oðer bitterness is i wreatlung 7 i wragelunge aʒeines 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 þonkyng to God redi were euermo; KAlex. 673-76 Now can Alisaundre of skirmyng, ... And wip swerdes Turneyeing; Ib. 3285-86 he ordeyneþ 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 pat cite; Mannyng HS 8103-04 Y tolde of ... kyssyng with moupe; Ib. 12132 For long lyggyng yn oure synne; Shoreham Poems 111/357 porz, geskyng after gode; Rolle Prose 14/26 Ane es, ternynge of sensualite to the skyll; Rolle EWr. 78/167 in spekyng of Cristes passyon; MPPsalter 67.19 pou ... toke wrechedhede in fallyng into helle; etc.

1350-1400 (111 exs.): Ywain 3000 He send 3ow covering of 3owre care; Chaucer Truth 16 The wrastling for this world axeth a fal; Chaucer CI X 1055 in scourgyng with yerdes; PPl.B II 84 With the chastelet of chest and chaterynge-oute-of-resoun; Patience 237 per watz louyng on lofte; Usk TL III vii 35-36 in gettyng of this blisse for ever; PPl.Creed 649 For stappynge 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 Isschuyng owte of pe  
Cite; etc.

1400-1450 (142 exs.): Bk.Lond.E. VI 377 for  
his dawbyng be vij dayes; Mandev. 132/19 in  
goyng be see toward the south; Emare 302-03 of  
wepyng For pat comely; Beryn 3134 ffor pleying  
atte ches; Mirk Fest. 27/16 by schamyng yn  
dysputeson; Castle Persev. 14 pe case of oure  
comynge zou 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  
pis 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  
fiytyng azens him; DSPhilos. 121/34 it is a  
redusyng 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 schotyng wyth your  
takyllys; Wisdom 595-96 A loue ys son  
 perceivable Be þe smylyng on me; RCoilear 239  
 For my dwelling to nycht; Cely 46/9 at my comyng  
houyr se; Ib. 47/16 The caus of hys askyng for  
him; Caxton Prol. & Epil. 79f.27-28 in gooyng on  
pylgremage unto Jerusalem; Caxton En. 38/19 in  
plongyng vnder the water; Treat.L. 53/31-32 I  
 haue sore traueylled in prayng 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 lordeship 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 Ensaumple of þe first maner is þis: 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 mucche þe bettir keping and fulfilling, and in so moche þe more plenteuouseli moral vertu[es] doing and wirching; 99/27-28 þe ix<sup>e</sup> is opire mennys defaultis with pite and compassioun birewing; 121/1-2 þe now seid office of remembring or of into mynde bringyng.

Paston 236.19 and a lytel descueryng of your good wyl to hyre.

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

## NOTES TO CHAPTER III

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> To this number two more examples may be added: Glo.Chron. 3965 "Wip pleynde atte tables oper atte chekere" and MPPsalter 9.3 "I[n] turnand ozainward 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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".

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Kisbye 1971, p. 64.

<sup>6</sup> Note that our examples (from c1303 Mannyng 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".

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

<sup>8</sup> Note, however, the position of ever in Dest.Troy 2050 "Uncertain of his Sister for seyng hir ever".

<sup>9</sup> 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 shedyng of the whete;

(2) present time: XVII 168 And al the myzte 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  
restitucioun.

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<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> and only exceptionally by Spenser (3 exs.)<sup>3</sup>, and Shakespeare (3 exs.).<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> Visser (HS, III-2, sec. 2053) attempts to give all the examples collected by earlier scholars for the period up to 1614, beginning with c1528; 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 demaunded thus much; Ib 169 At the first word (thanking his wife for having entertained Zelmane.) he desired her she would now returne into the lodge.  
6

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  
known 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:

PP1.B III 48 We han a wyndowe a wirchyng; Ib.  
 XIV 300-01 3e ... Pouerte myzte passe with-oute  
 peril of robbynge; Purity 1031 He most ay lyve  
 in pat loze in losing evermore; Ib. 1123 ho ...

wax ever in þe worlde in weryng so olde; Paston  
 156.8-9 she dare not aventure here money to be  
 brought vp to London for feere of robbyng; 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,<sup>7</sup> 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,<sup>8</sup> Mossé (1938, secs. 259-60) records three instances from the 15th century, the earliest dated 1417:

1417-Ellis Orig. Lett. II i 59 but now your sayd  
 teiges, 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 þe instrument is not wircher of  
 þe same actyue deede principali and þouȝ his  
 owen strengþ in being restid, but in strengþ of  
 an opir, 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 þouȝ þe stoon have a wirching, ȝit he wirchip not and doop not þilk wirchyng bi him silf and bi his owen strengþ, as in a being restid, but in strengþ of þilk 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 shoulde  
take more honour in being coupled to Englande,  
then we shuldē take profite in being ioyned 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.

cl587 Marlowe Tamburlaine Pt.II,  
IV.i.130 Cloth'd with a pitchy cloud for being  
seen; cl588 Faustus 84 In being depriv'd of  
everlasting bliss.

1590-96 Spenser, Faerie Queene

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

1596 Shakespear's 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.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 2<sup>d</sup> 1 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 (ll. 3-4), p. 51 (l. 15), p. 66 (ll. 3-4) and p. 150 (ll. 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.

<sup>9</sup> See Visser, More, sec. 384 (pp. 439-40). Cf. also Sugden 1936, sec. 211, and Jespersen, MEG, V, sec. 9.2.5.

<sup>10</sup> 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 "purh þeora segnunge"; ME "þe dedes commyng", "þe commyng of þe 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  
þizeteing; Ib. 2596 þurh heize mennes  
conseyling; Nicod. 1690-92 tell vs 3e sall in  
 whilk 3eres 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  
hir sisteris comyng; 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; PPl. B XV 1 after my wakyng;  
EToulouse 469 Of hys comyng hys men were gladde;  
Alph. Tales 91/23 in hur slepyng she dyed;  
Towneley Pl. 198/121 I loue the for thi comyng;  
Malory Wks. 12/7 kyng Arthur was glad of their  
comynge; etc.

(c) St. Kath. 140-45 ha iherde a swuch nurȝ  
 ... lowinge of þ ahte/ludinge of þe  
men/gleowinge of each gleo; Arth. & M. 5737 in þe  
coming of Cleodalis; Glo. Chron. 9922-23 in to  
 þis kinedom Hunger & deinge of men & muche

wrechede com; PP1.B II 229-30 Freres ... for  
knowyng of comeres coped hym as a frere; Gawain  
 2360-61 Now know I wel ... be wowyng of my wyf;  
 Chaucer CT IV 2134 Thurgh eggynge of his wyf;  
 Mark Fest. 3/8-9 an horrybul fyre schall aryse  
 at þe sonne goyng downe, and þen ageyne at þe  
vprysyng of hym; Malory Wks. 27/35 aftir the  
departyngé 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. 58) puts the date of its first appearance at about 1200, but presents no factual evidence, his only quotation 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...<sup>2</sup> 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 XI 48 "I

insist upon Miss Sharp appearing", a stock example quoted in OED (s.v. -ing<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> and that it was probably of French origin. Recent scholars<sup>6</sup> have generally agreed that this construction begins to appear about 1300. Visser (HS, 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 moowe schal be be fiztyng. 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<sup>7</sup> but that it gains ground constantly down through ModE, and especially in Present-day English,<sup>8</sup> for a variety of circumstances, formal and syntactical,<sup>9</sup> in spite of some puristic grammarians' strictures on it.<sup>10</sup>

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 þo bigan knyghtes rideing ...  
<sup>11</sup>  
tabours dassing; Cursor 25487-89 Iesus, þat wald  
 after mid-night, þi swete face, þat was sa  
 bright, With Iuus spitting file; Chaucer Bo.  
 I.pr.4, 110-11 thurw the same accusours  
accusyng I am condempned; Dest. Troy 1625-26 And  
 in the moneth of may mekil þay 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

	Common Case	Objective Case	Total
1100-1200	0	0	0
1200-1250	2	0	2
1250-1300	4 <sup>12</sup>	0	4
1300-1350	9	0	9
1350-1400	14	1	15
1400-1450	21	3	24
1450-1500	8	3	11
Total	58	7	65

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 RMaid.

36/377 of wif 7 weres gederunge, worldes weole awakeneð ; ib. 42/437-38 ter walde wakenin of wif 7 weres somnunge, richesce 7 worldes weole.

1250-1300 (4 exs.): ?a1300 Arth. & M.

5131-32 Lete we now ben her cominge And speke we of þe children fytting; ib. 8799 Passed was þe dayspringing; ?a1300 KAlex. 911 Cler and fair is day-springyng (also in 4283).

1300-1350 (9 exs.): a1325 Cursor 2395-97

Bot son quen he had seised þe land, þat in þan

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 pis same es saint paules biding); Seven Sages 1421 men ... kepen him til pe sonne vprising; Mannyng Chron. 682 ffor pe quene comynge he was fol glad; Ib. 1187 At morn, y pe sonne rysynge (also in 9237 and 12143); MPPsalter 49.2 Fram pe sonne arisyng vn- to pe going a-doune.

1350-1400 (14 exs.) Bruce XI 375 eftir the sonne-Rising (also XII 212, XIV 166, and XIV 205); PPl.B VIII 31-32 The wynde and the water and the bote waggyng Maketh the man many a tyme to falle and to stonde (cf. PPl.A IX 26 the waggyng of the bot; PPl.C XI. 34 waggyng of the bote): Ib. XVIII 67 Er Sondey aboute sonne-rysynge; PConsc. 1952-53 And what es mare uncertayn thyng, þan es pe tyme of the dede comyng (also in 2901) <sup>13</sup>; Ib. 3994-96 Byfor pe day sere takens sal com, Of whilk men may here fynd wreten some, Als of ancrist comyng, and his pousté (cf. 4407 anticristes lawe); Ib. 4025-26 Says us ... of þi comyng Som taken and of pe

world endyng (cf. 4229 pe worldes bygynnyng);  
Ib. 4103-04 Als clerkes says, pat has  
 understanding 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 rysyng; 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 thawzte her  
 sone zyng Azeyn pe Emperour kommyng How pat he  
 sholde done; Ld.Troy 3729 at the sonne rysyng  
 (also in 13719, 14664, and 18620); Mirk Fest.  
 3/8-9 an horrybul fyre schall aryse at pe sonne  
goyng downe (also in 281/18 and 281/21); Ib.  
 58/22 He made also mynde of Symones and Anne  
azeyncomyng (note the preceding genitive Symones):  
Alph.Tales 296/25-26 he had bene ioyfull of his  
bruther comyng; 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 pi hert dissiryng  
 pou hast part of beedis and masse syn[g]yng (cf.  
 14.67 in our hertis mynyng); Ib. 11.380-81 pis  
 was Seynt Ancelme cownselynge; Ib. 18.497 pis was

be Hole Gost wercheng; PLAlex. 49/11-12 Thay began for to faghte at be son-rysyng, and faghte to be son-setting (be son-rysyng also found in 76/20 and 90/4, and be son-setting 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 crowyng (also in 231/19 and 517/15); Towneley Pl. 228/11 we haue had for the mekill hart stangyng; Ib. 228/12 at last shall we be out of hart langyng; Malory Wks. 706/30-31 by youre myght <sup>14</sup> encresyng ye have desceyved many a full noble knyght; Ib. 673/1-3 man and woman rejoysyth and gladith of somer commyng with his freyshe floures; 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 HMaid., 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 (?al300 Arth.& M 5131-32), some confusion with the appositive participle may be presumed, as Mustanoja (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, <sup>15</sup> as in: Cursor 1297 "of his fader care"; Chaucer TC I 678 "thi brother wif"; Capgr. Chron. 195/28 "On the qween side". Some others (e.g. Arth.& M. 8799, KAlex 91, Seven Sages 1421, etc.) may be compounds consisting of 'common-case subject + gerund' : "sonne rysyng/arysyng", "þe son setting/doun gangyng", "hart stangyng/langyng" "cok crowyng", "day-springyng". These combinations should be compared with the following citations:

Arth.& M. 3865 in þe sonnes vpriseing; KAlex.  
 2877 Mery it is in sonnes risyng (cf. MS Lini  
 2883 in sonne risyng): MPPsalter 106/13 Fram þe  
risyng of þe sunne vnto þe goyng 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 rysynge of the sonne; Trev. Barth. 127a/a by  
crowinge of kockes (q. MED); Higd.(1) 535  
 About cokkes crowyng (q. MED); Pecoock Repr. 224  
 after the synnys going down (q. Gaaf); Caxton  
En. 80/10 about y<sup>e</sup> goyng vnder of y<sup>e</sup> sonne;  
 etc.

These quotations seem to testify that, as Gaaf (1928, p. 71) asserts,<sup>16</sup> 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<sup>17</sup> 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:

?a1400 RRose 2061-62 Sire, if thee lyst to undirstande, I merveile the askyng this demande ; c1400 Ld.Troy 6317-18 he was war of hem comyng and of here malice and here thynkyng; c1420 Alph.Tales 11/22-25 hur accusers ... desirid hym to com vnto per place and see hur ... þe day of hym commyng drew nere; lb. 178/12-

13 þer was so many fendis in þer quere, þat with  
 sight of þaim goyng vp and down, þe ta side  
 falid in þe psalm; 1477 Caxton Prolog. & Epil.  
 29a.151-52 Humbly requyryng and besechyng my  
 sayd lord to take no displaysir on me so  
presumyng; c1477 Ib. 71a.65-67 Moost humblie  
 besekyng my ... lorde, the Kyng, and also the  
 Quene to pardon me so presumyng; 1481 Ib.  
 96b.24-25 humbly besechyng his Hyenes to take no  
 displesyr at me so presumyng.

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

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Mustanoja, ME Syntax, p. 573.

<sup>2</sup> Visser's example from ?12.. tr. Charter of Aeghelstan, 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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).

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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).

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

<sup>7</sup>  
Cf. Söderlind 1958, p. 171, n.2, and Visser More,  
sec. 370 (pp. 427-28).

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

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

<sup>10</sup>  
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.

<sup>11</sup>  
In his edition (EETS 277, Glossary s.v. tabours),  
Macrae-Gibson construes this tabours as genitive plural.

<sup>12</sup>  
From this figure is excluded the following example:  
c1275 Ken.Ser<sup>m</sup>. 26/6-8 "si sterre ... apierede to þo prie  
kinges of hepenesse to-janes þo 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. (a1400) the dede commyng (the common case subject) is found twice (1953, 2901), (pe) dedys commyng (the genitive subject) four times (1969, 1971, 1977, 2167), and the commyng of pe dede (the periphrastic genitive subject) once (2015).

14

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

15

Cf. Mustanoja, ME Syntax, pp. 71-72.

16

Gaaf notes, however, that in PLAlex. 76/20 pe son rysyng apparently means 'the East'; in such a case the term 'compound' might be justifiable.

17

Note, for instance, that Caxton's the sonne goyng-vnder (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 commyng"; etc.

19

See, for instance, Kisbye 1971, pp. 58 and 63, and Schibsbye 1974, sec. 7.4.7. Cf. also Visser, HS, sec. 1102.

20

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 RRose.

## 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 unexpected 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 Mannyng 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 Mannyng 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 Transl.]), 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 ca 1200 (Trin.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 ca 1175 (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/nozt before the gerund is attested from ca 1303 (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 Pecoock 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 ?a1400 (RRose), over half a century earlier than its oldest example previously established (1477 Caxton Prolog. & 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.

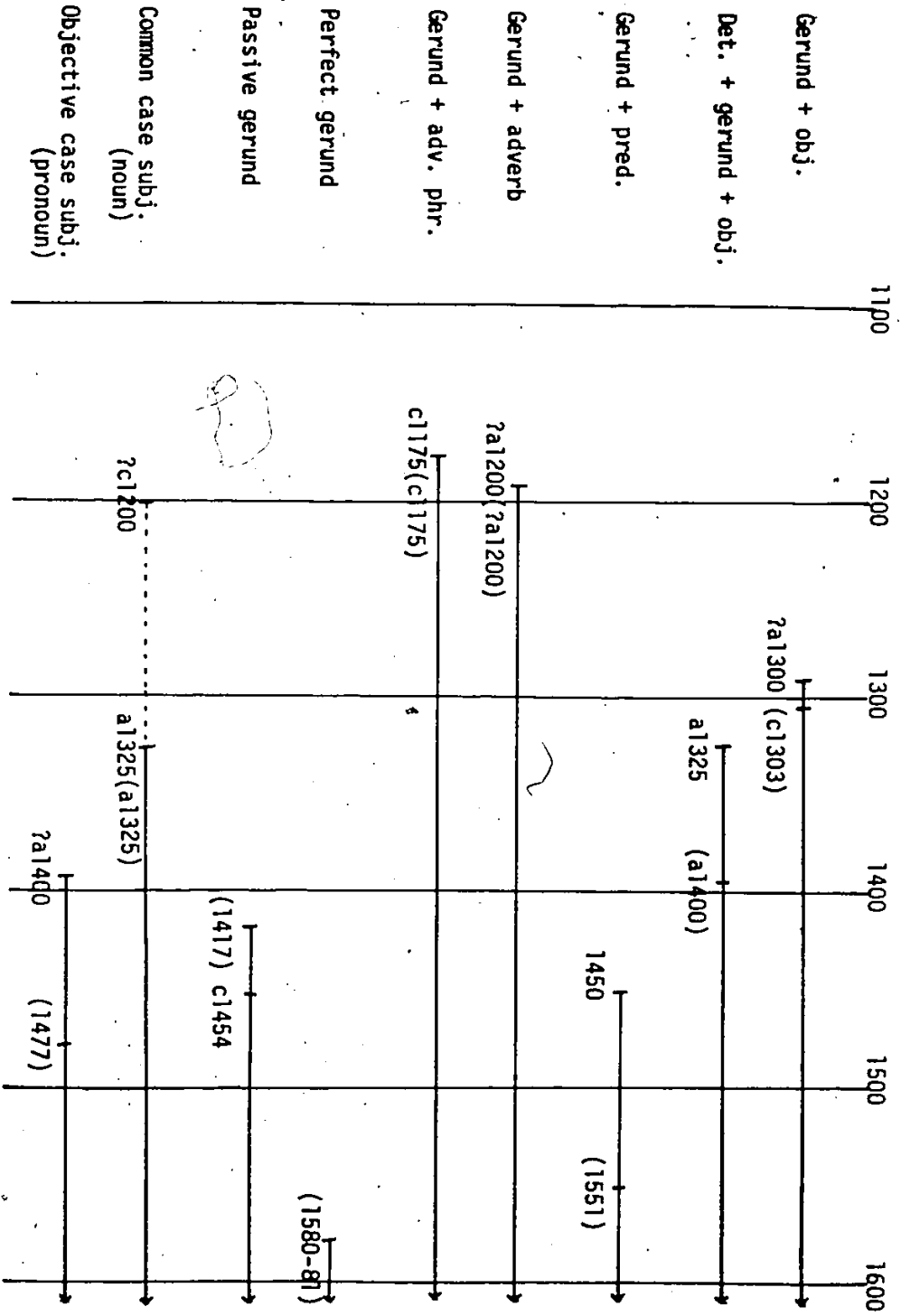
CHAP.	CONSTRUCTIONS	DATES OF EARLIEST APPEARANCE FOUND IN THIS STUDY	EVIDENCE FOUND ELSEWHERE
	Gen.(poss.) obj. + gerund	c1175 ( <u>Bod.Hom</u> )	OE
	Obj. + gerund	a1121-?a1160 ( <u>Peter.Chron</u> )	OE
	Gerund + <u>of</u> -adjunct	?a1200 ( <u>Trin.Hom.</u> & <u>Ancr.</u> )*	c1250 ( <u>Gen.&amp; Ex.</u> )
I	Det. ( <u>the</u> ) + gerund + <u>of</u> -adjunct	?a1200 ( <u>Ancr.</u> )*	c1303 ( <u>Mannyng HS</u> )
	Det. (other than <u>the</u> ) + gerund + <u>of</u> -adjunct	?a1200 ( <u>Ancr.</u> )*	c1303 ( <u>Mannyng HS</u> )
	Gerund + object	?a1300 ( <u>Arth.&amp; M.</u> )*	c1303 ( <u>Mannyng HS</u> )
	Det.( <u>the</u> ) + gerund + obj.	1450 ( <u>Scrope DSP</u> )	a1400 ( <u>Paul.Epist.</u> )
	Det.(other than <u>the</u> ) + gerund + object	a1325 ( <u>Cursor</u> )*	c1449 ( <u>Pecock Repr.</u> )
II	Gerund + predicative	1450 ( <u>Scrope DSP</u> )*	1551 ( <u>More Utopia</u> )
	Compound (adv. + gerund)	c1175 ( <u>Bod.Hom.</u> )	OE
III	Gerund + adverb	?a1200 ( <u>Trin.Hom.</u> )	?a1200 ( <u>Trin.Hom.</u> )

	Gerund + adv. Phrase	c1175 ( <u>Bod.Hom.</u> )	c1175 ( <u>Bod.Hom.</u> )
	Perfect gerund	.....	1580-81 ( <u>Sidney Arcadia</u> )
IV	Passive gerund	c1454 ( <u>Pecock Fol.</u> )	1417 ( <u>Ellis Orig. Lett.</u> )
	Gen.(poss.) sub.+ gerund-	<u>passim</u>	OE
	Gerund + <u>of</u> -adjunct	?a1200 ( <u>St.Kath.</u> )*	?12.. ( <u>Charter of Aedelstan</u> )
V	Common-case subj. (noun) + gerund	?c1200 ( <u>HMaid.</u> )* or a1325 ( <u>Cursor</u> )	a1325 ( <u>Cursor</u> )
	Objective-case subj. (pronoun) + gerund	?a1400 ( <u>RRose</u> )*	1477 ( <u>Caxton Prol. &amp; Epil.</u> )

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 adverbial 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. 56) or "before 1400" (cf. OED, s.v. -ing<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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).

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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. = Alisaunder 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 Terme Wathelyne. (23)

Ayenb. = Dan Michael's Ayenbite of Inwyt. (18)

- Ben.Rule = The Northern Prose Version of the Rule of St. Benet. (26)
- 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 = Sony of the Battle of Lewes. (14)
- Bod.Hom. = Twelfth Century Homilies in MS. Bodley 343. (11)
- Body & S. = The Debate of the Body and the Soul. (14)
- Bokenham Sts. = Bokenham's Legendys of Hooly Wummen (Lives of the Saints). (27)
- Bruce = John Barbour: The Bruce (20)
- Capgr. Chron. = The Chronicle of England by John Capgrave. (29)
- Capgr. St.Aug. = John Capgrave's Lives of St. Augustine. (28)
- Capgr. St.Gilb. = John Capgrave's Lives of St. Gilbert of Sempringham. (29)
- Capgr. St.Kath. = The Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria by John Capgrave. (28)
- 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 mastere Alain Charretier. (30)
- Caxton En. = Caxton's Eneydos. (31)
- Caxton Paris = Caxton: Paris and Vienne. (30)
- Caxton ProI.& 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 TC = 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.

Death & L. = Death and Liffe. (27)

Degare = Sir Degaré. (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)

Eglam. = Syr Eglamour of Artois. (19)

Emare = Emaré. (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)

Glo.Chron. = The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of  
Gloucester. (15)

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)
- HMaid. = Hali Meidenhad. (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)
- Jos.Arim. = Joseph of Arimathie. (19)
- KAlex. = Kyng Alisaunder. (15)
- KEdw.& 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)

- Lydg. 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 Festial. (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 Ureisun of ure Louerde. (13)
- Orm. = The Ormulum. (12)
- Otuel = The Romance of Otuel. (17)

- Otuel & R. = Otuel 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)
- Peterb.Chron. = The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154. (11)
- PLAlex. = The Prose Life of Alexander. (27)
- PMor. = Poema Morale. (11)
- PP1.B = The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman  
(B-text). (20)
- PP1.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 Tail of Rauf Coilyear. (30)

Roland & O. = The Romance of Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell of Spayne. (24)

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Rolle EWr. = English Writings of Richard Rolle. (18)

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RRose = The Romaunt of the Rose. (23)

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(12)

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[Scrope Text]. (28)

Seven Sayes = The Seven Sages of Rome. (17)

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Siege Milan = The Sege off Melanye. (23)

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SLeg. = 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)
- Towneley Pl. = The Towneley Plays. (29)
- Treat.L. = The Tretyse of Love. (31)
- Trin.Hom. = Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century.  
(11)
- Tristrem = Sir Tristrem. (15)
- Usk TL = Thomas Usk's Testament of Love. (21)
- Vices & V. = Vices and Virtues. (11)
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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.