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chiefly through its formal identity with the present participle. In spite of this evolution, the verbal nature of the gerund has not developed to the full in *PPI*. For example, the gerund followed by a simple object — the regular construction in Present-day English — occurs only once and there are, further, no compound forms of both the perfect and the passive gerund. As a matter of fact, it seems that many of the examples collected from *PPI* are generally more substantival in character; they do not share any of the verbal characteristics of the gerund. In spite of that, however, it is a fact of considerable interest that we can find the germ of the modern gerund here and there in *PPI*, as we have hitherto seen.

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(II. 230) And for *knowyng of comeres* coped hym as a frere; (XI. 58) By *wissyng of this wenche* I wrouzte here wordes were so swete. Other examples: VI. 218, 313; XI. 390; XIII. 344 (2 exs.), XIV. 262; XVII. 147, 256; XVIII. 213; XIX. 470-1; XX. 8 (2 exs.), 70.

(iii) The common case may be used as the subject of the gerund as in: I insist upon *Miss Sharp appearing* (q. *OED*). With regard to this construction Jespersen remarks that it began to be frequent about 1700, and that it can be explained as a natural native development.³⁶⁾ In his article "The Gerund Preceded by the Common Case" (*English Studies* X, pp. 33-41 and 65-72), van der Gaaf insists that the construction was in use long before 1700, and that it is probably of French origin. And he substantiates his view by showing many quotations from 1350 on. Mustanoja³⁷⁾ is of much the same opinion as van der Gaaf. From the B-text I have two doubtful instances of this:

(VIII. 31 - 2) The wynde and the water and *the bote waggyng* Maketh the man many a tyme to falle and to stonde; (XVIII. 67) Er sonday aboute *sonne-rysyng* and sank with that til erthe.

In the first quotation, Skeat (*Glossary*) regards *waggyng* as a present participle. When we compare the B-text with the A-text and the C-text, this part reads as follows: (A) *the waggyng of the bot*; (C) *waggyng of the bote*. From this it will be natural to suppose that in the B-text *the bote* is the subject of the gerund *waggyng*. In the second, *sonne-rysyng* may be a compound consisting of subject+gerund, whereas van der Gaaf does not think so in his article.³⁸⁾ Thus they are somewhat doubtful examples, but from a morphological standpoint, they may be regarded as 'the gerund preceded by the common case,' as van der Gaaf says. In this connection, no examples can be found of the oblique case of personal pronouns in Langland.

So far I have dealt with the use of the gerund in *PPl*. As we have seen, the gerund has performed nearly all the functions of a substantive. Yet, in the ME period it has acquired certain syntactic characteristics of a verb,

36) *M.E.G.*, V, 9.4.1.

37) *A Middle English Syntax*, Part I, p. 574.

38) "The Gerund Preceded by the Common Case," *English Studies* X, p. 71.

genitive case or a possessive pronoun. Of the former 24 examples have come to hand.

(V. 642) Shulde I neuere ferthere a fote for no *freres prechyng*;
(VII. 74) *Cui des, videto* is *Catounes techynge*.

Other examples: II. 42; IV. 122; V. 112, 427, 593; X. 194, 211, 250, 321; XI. 220, 287; XII. 84, 253; XIII. 53, 94; XV. 67, 466, 469; XVII. 123; XVIII. 158; XIX. 377, 459.

Of the latter (i. e. a possessive pronoun as the subject of the gerund), at least 60 examples and upwards can be found in the B-text. Accordingly the possessive pronoun here is far more frequent than the genitive. A few examples will be given below:

(VII. 57) Her pardoun is ful petit at *her partyng* hennes; (XV. 1) Ac after *my wakyng* it was wonder longe; (XVIII. 399) tho that me loued and leued in *my comynge*.

Other examples: Prol. 127; V. 122; VII. 34; XIII. 426, 451; XIV. 165, 197; XV. 456, 589; XVI. 155; XIX. 57, 395; etc.

Some attention may here be drawn to the following quotations.

(VII. 117) I shal cessen of *my sowyng*; (XI. 406) Ac for *thine entermetyng* here artow forsake.

As the above examples show, the subject of the gerund is often expressed even though it is the same as that of the main sentence. The construction is not infrequently met with in the B-text I have examined. Further examples: III. 218; V. 3, 368; VII. 58; VIII. 82; X. 462; XI. 146; XII. 112; XIV. 141, 260; XV. 285, 398, 418, 472; XVIII. 400; XIX. 126.

In this section, a special case of common occurrence is *of* — 's *making* meaning 'which — has made.'³⁵⁾ I have five examples of this:

(X. 211) 3et ar there fybicches in forceres *of fele mennes makynge*;
(XI. 287) It is a careful kny3te and *of a caytyue kynges makynge*.

Other examples: XI. 220; XIII. 53; XIX. 233.

(ii) The subject of the gerund is also expressed by the periphrastic genitive with *of* (i. e. 'of + common case'). Fifteen examples of this combination occur in the B-text.

35) Jespersen, *M. E. G.*, V, 8.5.2.

250; XI. 145, 171 349; XIII. 74; XIV. 54, 63, 177, 301; XV. 338; XVII. 115; XVIII. 128-9; XIX. 72, 428, 450; XX. 36, 124; etc.

(iii) Often the subject of the gerund is implied in some word in the sentence. First, let us pay attention to the following quotation, in which the gerund refers to a noun or pronoun contained in the subject part of the main sentence.

(V. 88-9) Of *chydyng* and of *chalangyng* was his chief lyflode, With *bakbityng* and bismer and *berying* of fals witnesse; (XI. 144) wyth-outen any bede-*byddyng* his bone was vnderfongen.

Next, the understood subject is the object of the main sentence.

(IX. 181) Wreke the with *wyuyng* 3if thow wilt ben excused. (XIV. 186-7) Confessioun and knowlechyng and *crauyng* thi mercy Shulde amende vs as many sithes as man wolde desire.

Other examples: Prol. 70-1; III. 48; X. 164-5, 318; XI. 231, 309; XIX. 242.

Similarly the gerund may refer to the object of the infinitive.

(XI. 326-7) Resoune I seighe sothly suen alle bestes In *etyng*, in *drynkyng* and in *engendryng* of kynde; (XIX. 61) Ther-with to fyzte and fenden vs fro *fallyng* in-to synne.

Other examples: II. 176; XI. 182; XVI. 25.

Some gerunds relate to some other element of the rest of the sentence.

(XI. 311) Ac moche more in *metyng* thus with me gan one dispute; (XV. 232-3) In courte amonge Iaperes he cometh but selde, For *braulyng* and *bakbytyng* and *berying* of fals witnesse.

Other examples: Prol. 202-3; VII. 87; IX. 165-6; XIII. 447; XVII. 168; XIX. 230.

(iv) The subject of the gerund is not implied in any word in the sentence, whereas the reference is neither general nor indefinite. Examples of this kind are comparatively rare in the B-text. In most cases, however, the unexpressed subject is easily inferred from the context.

(II. 148-9) Tho this golde was gyue grete was the *thonkyng* To Fals and to Fauel for her faire 3iftes.

Other examples: I. 98-101; II. 136-7; III. 60-2; V. 344; XVI. 200-1.

2. 5. (2) Subject Expressed

(i) In *PPI* the subject of the gerund is usually expressed by the

(VII. 57) Her pardoun is ful petit at her *partyng* hennes;
(XVIII. 399) Tho that me loued and leued in my *comynge*.

Occasionally, however, we come across the simple gerund in a passive meaning. Nine instances of this have come to hand:

(III. 48) We han a wyndowe a *wirchyng*; (XIV. 300-1) 3e... Pouerte my3te passe with-oute peril of *robbynge*; (XV. 589) Danyel of her *undyng* deuyned and seyde.

Other examples: Prol. 88; III. 250; V. 360; XIV. 139; XV. 444; XV. 465.

2. 5. Subject of the gerund

I have already treated of various problems concerning the gerund. There remains only the subject of the gerund.

Like a verb a gerund may have a subject of its own, expressed or unexpressed. According to Mustanoja,³⁴⁾ from OE down to the present day the subject of the gerund has been in the genitive. The periphrastic genitive with *of* has also occurred with the gerund since the time of its appearance. On the other hand, the common case has been recorded since the beginning of the 14th century. With these historical facts in mind, I will deal with the subject of the gerund from two points: (1) No Subject Expressed and (2) Subject Expressed.

2. 5. (1) No Subject Expressed

(i) When the subject of the gerund is general or indefinite, it is often unexpressed as in: (XX. 33) *Wenyng* is no wysdome ne wyse ymaginacioun. This sort of construction is found fairly frequently in the B-text:

(V. 238) I wende *ryflyng* were restitucioun; (XI. 415) Shal neuere *chalangyng* ne *chydyng* chaste a man so sone.

Other examples: II. 84; IV. 34, 117; V. 130, 396; IX. 78, 98; XI. 78; XII. 282; XIII. 95; XVI. 149; etc.

(ii) When the subject of the gerund is identical with that of the main sentence, it is mostly not expressed. This is most commonly the case with the gerund in *PPI*. A few quotations will be enough here:

(Prol. 62) Many of this maistres freris mowe clothen hem at *lykyng*;
(X. 38) But tho that feynen hem folis and with *faityng* libbeth.

Other examples: Prol. 21; I. 27; II. 124; III. 294; V. 442; VI.

34) Mustanoja, *op. cit.*, pp. 573-4.

(3) past time :

(I. 27) For Loth in his lifdayes for *likyng* of drynkne, Dede bi his douȝtres ; (XI. 311) Ac moche more in *metynge* thus with me gan one dispute ; (XV. 285) after his *prechyng* panyers he made. Other examples : V. 25 ; XI. 144, 145, 309, 326-7 ; XII. 242 ; XIV. 63 ; XV. 1, 398, 456 ; XIX. 4, 72 ; etc.

(4) no time :

(IV. 117) And childryn *cherissyng* be chastyng with ȝerdes ; (V. 238) I wende *ryflynge* were restitucioun ; (XX. 33) *Wenyng* is no wysdome ne wyse ymagynacioun.

Other examples : II. 148 ; IV. 34 ; IX. 98 ; XI. 78 ; XIX. 451 ; etc.

The examples quoted below in which the gerund is nearly purely substantival in character, seem to admit of no temporal idea. In that sense, they are a little different from those cited above.

(IV. 55-6) He ... fȳteth in my *chepyng* ; (VIII. 57) I haue no kynde *knowyng* ... to conceyue alle ȝowre wordes ; (XI. 238) Seynt Iohan and other seyntes were seyne in pore *clothynge* ; (XI. 412) Tho hadde he no *lykyng* forto lere the more.

Examples abound : Prol. 24 ; I. 77, 140 ; II. 102 ; III. 197 ; VI. 301 ; V. 35, 130, 176, 301 ; VII. 25 ; X. 471 ; XI. 48, 231 ; XII. 163 ; XIII. 424 ; XIV. 184 ; XV. 443 ; XVI. 194 ; XVIII. 310 ; XIX. 280 ; XX. 381 ; etc.

Here belong the great majority of the examples of the gerund used in Langland. In other words, in the great majority of cases the gerund is used without reference to time. This means that in *PPI* the gerund is still more substantival in character.

Apart from the instances mentioned just above, however, it may be generally said that the simple gerund refers to a time simultaneous with that of the main verb.

Now let us proceed to the voice of the gerund. The non-finite forms of the verb were originally indifferent to voice. In the case of the gerund, therefore, the active forms had to serve also for passive function until a new passive developed. This is the case with the gerund in *PPI*. That is, in Langland there are yet no compound forms of the passive gerund.

In *PPI*, the simple gerund is, for the most part, active in meaning. A few examples will be enough here to show this :

lettynge.

The last quotation, however, admits of another explanation. That is, *more* may be looked upon as an adjective, not an adverb.

2. 4. Tense and Voice of the gerund

In ModE the gerund can indicate time and voice, though it has fewer forms than the finite verb. According to Trnka and Curme,³²⁾ the gerund begins to show tense and voice as late as the close of the 16th century. Mustanoja³³⁾ holds the same opinion concerning the first appearance of the compound tense forms, but affirms with regard to the passive forms of the gerund that they are first recorded at the beginning of the 15th century, and quotes his earliest examples from *Ellis Letters* II. i. 59 [1417] and Pecok *Fol. Donet.* 126.

In *PPI* written in the second half of the 14th century, examples of the compound forms of both the perfect and the passive gerund are by no means found as expected. Accordingly we may easily imagine that the simple gerund had to denote the past-time sphere and the passive voice in Langland's days.

First we will consider the tense of gerund. A substantive does not ordinarily admit of any indication of time. Similarly the gerund had originally and to a great extent still has, no reference to time. Accordingly the simple gerund was used to express any time or no time in particular. From the context in which the gerund occurs, we may divide the collected examples largely into the following four:

(1) present time:

(XV. 232-3) In courte amonge Iaperes he cometh but selde, For *braulyng* and *bakbytyng* and *beryng* of fals witnesse; (XVII. 168) And al the myȝte myd hym is in *makyng* of thynges.

Other examples: VII. 117; X. 462; XIII. 451; etc.

(2) future time:

(VI. 9) Somme shal sowe the sakke ... for *shedyng* of the whete; (VII. 34) That no deuel shal ȝow dere ne fere ȝow in ȝowre *deyinge*.

Other examples: VII. 117; X. 462; XIII. 451; etc.

32) Trnka, *op. cit.*, p. 93; Curme, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

33) *A Middle English Syntax* Part I, p. 573.

adverbial adjuncts. According to Jespersen (*M. E. G.*, V, 9. 1. 1.), this begins in the 14th century, but Curme says that "the use of adverbial modifiers with the gerund appeared first in the ninth century and gradually became more common."³⁰⁾ It may be safe to assume, therefore, that adverbial adjuncts have been used with the gerund since early ME, as pointed out by Mustanoja.³¹⁾

Examples of this are found fairly commonly in the B-text. I have got twenty-four instances at hand. Some of them will be given below:

(II. 84) With the chastelet of chest and *chater yng-oute-of-resoun*; (XI. 311) in *metynge thus*; (XIX. 61) fenden vs fro *fallyng in-to synne*; (XIX. 242) in *longynge to ben hennes*.

Other examples: Prol. 203; III. 294; IV. 117; VI. 250; IX. 166; X. 138; XI. 156; XIII. 322; XV. 467.

In the following cases the demonstrative or the possessive pronoun stands before the gerund and an adverbial adjunct after it, so that the verbal and substantival nature of the gerund both find a formal expression in the same sentence.

(VII. 57) at *her partyng hennes*; (XIV. 260) After *her endynge here*; (XIV. 141) in *zowre here-beyng*.

Other examples: X. 462; XI. 146; XIV. 165; XIX. 57; XIX. 395.

We have only one construction preceded by the demonstrative.

(XI. 309) *This lokynge on lewed prestes* hath don me lepe fram pouerte.

In PE, however, constructions of this kind would be unusual or impossible except the ones with the possessive pronoun.

Of the plural gerund with an adverbial adjunct, I have found only one instance:

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

On occasion the adverbial adjunct could stand before the gerund. Four instances show up in the B-text:

(X. 462) at her *hennes-partynge*; (XIV. 165) after *her hennes-goynge*; (XIV. 141) in *zowre here-beyng*; (X. 219) with-oute *more*

30) *Ibid.*, p. 351.

31) Mustanoja, *op. cit.*, p. 575.

it.”²⁸⁾

Further, the object of a gerund may be a clause as in the following quotation :

(XVIII. 135-6) And that is cause of this clips that closeth now the sonne, *In menynges that* man shal fro merkenesse be drawe.

This combination may be better explained as an idiomatic expression than as a gerund, as I have mentioned in 1. 4.

From the facts so far discussed it is apparent that in *PPI* Type B (i. e. the *of*-construction after a gerund not preceded by any adjunct) is most frequent. In other words, the *of*-genitive construction is most commonly used as the object of the gerund, though not a single instance of the inflected genitive object shows up save for one doubtful example. Further it should also be borne in mind that the construction where the object precedes the gerund occurs comparatively frequently, while the construction where the object follows the gerund appears only once. These phenomena seem to be characteristic of the English language of Langland's days in which the substantival nature of the gerund was still more strongly felt than the verbal nature.

2. 2 Gerund+Predicative (or Complement)

As one of its verbal characters the gerund can take a predicative (or complement). In PE this type of expression is not infrequently found, as in “your being so *sick* forbids me to discuss the matter with you now” (q. Curme), but in *PPI* I was unable to find any examples of this. As to the construction concerned, Curme says thus: “Old English compounds were later in large measure dissolved and the parts arranged as syntactical elements. Not a single trace of these gerundial compounds containing a predicate in any form has been discovered in Middle English nor any dissolution of them.”²⁹⁾ After this remark he concludes that the construction must be quite modern and that it is the last stage of gerundial development.

2. 3 Gerund+Adverbial Adjunct

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

28) Mustanoja, *op. cit.*, p. 574.

29) “History of the English Gerund,” *Englische Studien* XLV, p. 374.

(VII. 87) Late vsage be zowre solace of *seyntes lyues redynge*²⁵⁾;
(XII. 282) in *blode-shedyng*; (XV. 76) in-to *hiegh clergie shewynge*;
(XIX. 72) with-uten *mercy askynge*.

Other examples: IV. 117; XI. 171; XIX. 373, 374, 450.

Sometimes the adjunct qualifies the 'object+gerund' as a whole, not the first of it, as in the following:

(XI. 144) with-uten any *bede-byddynge*; (XIII. 426) In zowre *deth-deyng*; (XIII. 451) in his *deth-deyng*.

Some of the examples mentioned above may, to all intents and purposes, have been felt to be compounds in Langland: *deth-deyng* (XI. 171; XIII. 426, 451); *bede(s)-byddynge* (XI. 144, 373); *blode-shedyng* (XII. 282).

As regards the latter, i. e. the use of the gerund followed by a simple object, some scholars such as Trnka, van der Gaaf, and Jespersen have placed the origin of this construction in the 14th century. On the other hand, Mossé believes that the construction makes its first appearance at the end of the 12th century.²⁶⁾ Curme remarks that it is much older and very common in early ME, and quotes his earliest example from Luke 7: 45, Lindsfarne MS., about A. D. 950.²⁷⁾

It does not seem, however, that the construction has been firmly established in Langland's days, though some instances are found in Chaucer (e. g. CT H Mcp. 67; B 2787). As a matter of fact I have found only one instance of this in the B-text:

(XIV. 186-7) Confessioun, and knowlechyng and *crauyng thi mercy*
Shulde amende vs as many sithes as man wolde desire.

All things considered, Mustanoja seems to be right in stating that "this word-order does not become common until later ME, while the construction where the object precedes the *ing*-noun is of comparatively frequent occurrence from early ME down to the end of the period and beyond

25) Gaaf remarks that in constructions of this kind the substantive is frequently in the plural (*op. cit.*, p. 38). Here in the B-text 4 out of 12 instances are plural.

26) *Histoire de la forme p'riphrastique 'être+participe présent' en germanique* II, p. 104.

27) "History of the English Gerund," *Englische Studien* XLV, pp. 352-3.

146, 182, 327; XIII. 288; XIV. 177; XV. 233; XVI. 203-4; XVII. 168; XVIII. 128-9; XX. 36.

2. 1. (3) Type C

This is the construction in which the gerund preceded by adjuncts such as *the*, *this*, *that*, etc., governs an object without the help of the preposition *of*. Accordingly this type of construction shows the mixed (i. e. verbal and substantival) character of the gerund by having a simple object even if it is preceded by an adjunct. The only instance that has come to hand is not after *the*, but after *this*:

(V. 385) *This shewyng shrifte* ... shal be meryte to the.

(Cf. XI. 309 *This lokyng on lewed prestes* hath don me lepe.)

This type of construction is not so usual in PE, but is of common occurrence in Shakespeare. According to Onions,²¹ the type under discussion is very characteristic of early ModE. Jespersen²² quotes one of his examples from Caxton; *the wythholdyng you* fro it can doo zow no good. When we take these facts into consideration, it seems that the construction made its first appearance in the 14th or 15th century.

2. 1. (4) Type D

Examples of this type can be divided into two groups: (i) cases where the object precedes the gerund and (ii) those where the object follows it.

With regard to the former, van der Gaaf made a historical study of it in his article "The Gerund Preceded by the Common Case." According to him, the beginnings of the construction 'substantive + gerund' are found in OE where it was evidently felt to be a compound. In ME the substantive and the gerund sometimes are, or at any rate seem to be, less firmly cemented together than in OE, and constructions of this kind were freely made and used in ME.²³ In addition, Kellner says that this practice was continued to the last of the Middle English period.²⁴

As a matter of fact, the construction is not infrequently met with in the B-text. Twelve instances come under this category.

21) *An Advanced English Syntax*, p. 130.

22) *M. E. G.*, V, 9.3.4.

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

24) *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, § 416.

have no particular reason to think so, because in ME the genitive plural of nouns soon lost its distinctive form. Here in this paper, therefore, the plural noun in question will be regarded as the accusative or the common case as it may be called.

From the above-mentioned facts it becomes apparent that there are various ways of indicating the object of a gerund. So the examples collected from the B-text may be roughly divided into the following four types referred to as A, B, C and D respectively: (A) *the procuring of money*, (B) *procuring of money*, (C) *the procuring money* and (D) *procuring money*. Of these four types, C and D are particularly characteristic of the verbal nature of the gerund.

2. 1. (1) Type A

This type of construction is now the normal construction, together with type D, but is very rarely found in Langland. In Shakespeare the substantival use of the verbal with "the" before it and "of" after it seems to have been regarded as colloquial.¹⁸⁾ As far as the B-text is concerned, I have found only one instance of this:

(XII. 242) For *the traillyng of his taille* ouertaken is he sone.¹⁹⁾

Mereover, in ME there are cases in which the gerund is preceded by the indefinite article or other limiting adjective adjuncts instead of "the", but no such constructions are met with in *PPl*.

2. 2. (2) Type B

This is the *of*-construction after a gerund which is not preceded by any adjunct. In *PPl*, this mode of expression is most frequent though nowadays considerably rarer than in former times.²⁰⁾ Twenty instances occur in all.

(I. 101) And neuer leue hem for loue ne for *lacchyng of syluer*;
(X. 318) And bete zow... for *brekyng of zowre reule*; (XI. 145)
And I saued, ... with-oute *syngyng of masses*.

Other examples: I. 27; V. 19, 89, 442; VI. 9; IX. 78, 98; XI.

18) Abbot, *A Shakespearian Grammar*, § 93.

19) Koziol seems to construe this "of" as subjective in function (*op. cit.*, p. 124).

20) Jespersen, *M. E. G.*, V, 8.4.6.

1. 11. (3) The first part of a compound may be an adverb to the verbal idea. Three examples occur :

X. 462) at her hennes-*partyng*; (XIV. 141) in 3owre here-*beyng*; (XIV. 165) after her hennes-*goyng*.

In these cases, too, the possessive pronoun modifies the whole compound, not the first part of it.

(II) Verbal Nature

As mentioned more than once, the gerund was originally a verbal substantive and more substantival in character though the verbal force was to some extent present. In course of time, its verbal idea becomes prominent. That is, it begins to take an accusative object, a predicative and adverbial adjuncts, and to show tense and voice by means of the compound forms. And further it comes to have a subject of its own like a verb. Thus, the verbal function of the gerund is said to be finally established during the ME period,¹⁶⁾ though its assumption of tense and voice forms develops still later. In view of these facts it may be safely said that *PPI* belongs to the period of the germ of the modern gerund. In the following pages, with these in mind, I will inquire into the verbal nature of the gerund used in *PPI*.

2. 1. Object of the gerund

According to Mustanoja,¹⁷⁾ since OE the genitive has been commonly used as the object of the gerund (*pæs mynstres clænsunge*; — *in excusinge of me*; — *in stoppyng of the noyse*). Later, i. e. since late OE there have been instances with an accusative object.

Here we will pay attention to the following quotation :

(IV. 117) And *childryn cherissyng* be chastyng with ȝerdes.

In this construction, Skeat (*Glossary*) and Jespersen (*M. E. G.*, V, 9. 4. 1.) consider the substantive 'children' as a genitive plural without *s*. If this is the case, the construction just quoted is the only example with an inflectional genitive object that has come to hand. Nevertheless, we

16) Mustanoja, *op. cit.*, p. 569.

17) *Ibid.*, p. 574.

ways, but this type of construction is not so frequently met with in *PPl*. Twenty-one examples occur in the B-text.

1. 11. (1) A gerund is the first member of a compound. Ten instances belong to this mode of expression :

(III. 78) To punyschen on pillories and *pynyng* stoles ; (XIII. 349) in *fastyng*-days (also in V. 313, 381 and 416); (V. 564) Treuthes *dwellyng*-place¹³⁾ ; (XV. 445) in *fullyng*-stokkes ; (XVI. 26) in *blowyng*-tyme ; (XVI. 31) in *flouryng*-tyme ; (XI. 278) *spendyng*-syluer.¹⁴⁾

In these cases the *-ing* form is used attributively, as mentioned in 1.6.

1. 11. (2) A gerund is the last part of a compound.

In this combination the first part is very often the object. Seven examples are found in the B-text :

(XI. 144) wyth-outen any bede-*byddyng* ; (XII. 282) in blode-*shedyng* ; (XIX. 373-4) Somme thorw bedes-*byddyng* ... and some thorw penyes-*delyng* ; (XI. 171) in deth-*deyng* ; (XIII. 426) In 3owre deth-*deyng* ; (XIII. 451) in his deth-*deyng*.

Here it should be noted that in the last three quotations the first part is the cognate object of the gerund and that in the last two the possessive pronoun modifies the compound as a whole, not the first element of it.

The first part is very rarely the subject of the gerund. The only instance that has come to hand is :

(XVIII. 67) Er Sondey aboute *sonne-rysyng* and sank with that til erthe.

As regards this type of construction, however, W. van der Gaaf says, "Compounds consisting of subject + gerund have always been rare in English ; it is very doubtful whether they existed at all in Middle English."

¹⁵⁾ In spite of his doubt, we may regard the above instance as a compound.

13) This quotation is a little older than *OED*'s earliest quotation, which is dated c. 1380.

14) Koziol considers this *spendyng* as the passive use of the present participle. (*Grundzüge der Syntax der mittenglischen Stabreimdichtungen*, p. 110.)

15) "The Gerund Preceded by the Common Case," *English Studies* X, 1928, p. 71.

(VI. 313) for *chillyng of her mawe*.

The only instance of the gerund with the substantive in the common case is :

(VIII. 31-2) The wynde and the water and *the bote waggyng* Maketh the man many a tyme to falle and to stonde.

1. 10. (2) With demonstrative and indefinite pronouns

this: (II. 117) ar *this weddyng* be wrouzte; (XIII. 4) of *this metyng* many tyme moche thougt I hadde.

such: (III. 64) Ac god to alle good folke *suche grauyng* defendeth; (XV. 71) Bettere byleue were mony doctoures *such techyng*.

such a: (XV. 51) For *such a* luste and *lykyng* Lucifer fel fram heuene.

any: (XIX. 288) Maken hym for *any mournyng* that he nas merye in soule.

no (or *ne*): Brouzte me fro bitter peyne there *no biddyng* myzte; (X. 138) for *no carpyng* I couth.

Other examples: V. 35; XIX. 287.

In connection with *no*, I have already pointed out in 1.3 that “have no -ing (to)” is a frequent idiomatic expression. All the examples of this have been given there, so that no quotation of them would be necessary here.

1. 10. (3) With adjectives

The combination of ‘adjective+gerund’ is of frequent occurrence in Langland, but the important thing here is that descriptive adjectives with gerunds are what Jespersen terms ‘shifted subjunct-adjuncts.’¹²⁾ Here in this respect the characteristic of the gerund as a nexus will be perceptible. Several examples will be given below :

(XI. 32) And Pryde-of-*parfyt-lyuyng* to moche peril the bryng; (XX. 115) And armed hym in ydelnesse and in *hiegh beryng*; (Prol. 7) for thi *riztful rewling*; (XVI. I) for zowre *faire shewyng*.

Other examples: VI. 7; X. 471; XI. 238; XIII. 277, 356; XV. 410, 416, 441; XVIII. 311; XIX. 350, 377, 450; etc.

1. 11. Compounds

Like a substantive, a gerund may enter into compounds in various

12) M. E. G., II, 12.2.

1. 8. Genitive of a gerund

This is a construction like 'reading for reading's sake'. Jespersen remarks on this sort of construction: "The genitive of a gerund is naturally rare, because as a general rule only words denoting persons are used in the genitive. I have no examples except before *sake*."¹¹⁾ As a matter of fact not a single instance of this is found in the B-text upon which my study is based. In the C-text, however, we come across the following example: (C XXI. 360) A lytel ich ouer-lep for *lesynges sake*. This may be a case in point, though Skeat looks upon the word *lesynges* as plural in his Glossary to *PPl*.

1. 9. With the indefinite and the definite article

The gerund is found with the indefinite and the definite article. With the former five examples occur:

(Prol. 10) I sombred in *a slepyng*; (II. 101-2) And thei to haue and to holde ... *A dwellyng* with the deuel; (V. 301) that man shal gif *a rekenyng*; (XII. 218) *a rebukyng* as it were; (XX. 381) freres hadde *a fyndyng*.

In the examples just quoted the meaning seems to be concrete rather than abstract.

With the definite article:

(III. 62) I shal ... paye for *the makynge*; (V. 360) Glotoun was a gret cherle and a grym in *the lifynge*; (VII. 24-5) they shulde ... saue *the wynnynge*; (XV. 66) For in *the lykyng* lith a pryde and a lycames coueitise.

Other examples: II. 148; V. 363, 434; XII. 242; XV. 444.

1. 10. With adjectives and other adjuncts

1. 10. (1) With a possessive pronoun and a substantive in the genitive or in the common case and further with the periphrastic genitive with *of*.

Examples of these combinations are found in large numbers throughout the B-text. A few examples will be enough here:

(V. 122) May no sugre ne swete thinge asswage *my swellynge*; (XI. 406) Ac far *thine entermetyng* here artow forsake; (XVIII. 158) thorw *the deuelles entysynge*; (XI. 58) By *wissynge of this wenche*;

11) *A Modern English Grammar*, V, 8.3.2.

Very infrequently the gerund is found after the words *like* and *than* as well, though not prepositions :

like(1): (XII. 253) His ledne be in owre lordes ere *lyke a pyes chite-ryng*.

than(1): (IX. 77-8) For more bilongeth to the litel barne ar he the lawe knowe, *Than nempnyng* of a name.

1. 5 In apposition

The gerund is used as subject, object, predicative, and after a preposition. It would be natural, therefore, to expect it in apposition also with any one of these. In the B-text, however, there is only one example, in which case the gerund is in apposition with the subject.

(XVI. 148-9) And which tokne to this day to moche is y-vsed, That is, *kissyng* and faire contenaunce and vnkynde wille.

1. 6. As an attributive

The gerund may be used attributively, as in the following quotations : (V. 564) Treuthes *dwellyng*-place ; (XI. 278) *spendyng*-syluer. Of this type of construction mention will be made in details in the section 1. 11.

1. 7 Plurals of a gerund

The gerund can form a plural as one of its substantival characters. Examples of the plural of such gerunds :

(II. 124) For al by *lesynges* thow lyuest (*lesynges* occurs also in V. 138, 414 ; X. 22, 164, 415 ; XV. 591 ; XVI. 44 ; XVIII. 308, 310) ; (II. 116) such *weddynges* to worche to wratthe with Treuthe ; (XII. 137) all her kynde *knowynges* ; (XX. 124) with *glosynges* and with *gabbynges* he gyled the peple ; (XIX. 126) For dete thorw his *doynge*s to here and dombe speke he made.

Other examples : II. 90 ; V. 363 : XII. 16 ; XIV. 298 ; XV. 418, 469.

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

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

For I have three instances of the type from the B-text (c. 1376).

(XIX. 61) Ther-with to fyzte and *fenden vs fro falllyng* in-to synne.
Other two instances: X. 164; XVI. 25.

in (52): (XVIII. 399) Tho that me loued and leued *in my comynge*.

A special case of common occurrence is *in menyge that* which means 'as a sign or token that' and seems to be rather idiomatic in Langland. The following example is the earliest quotation in *OED*.

(XV. 300-1) Ac god sent hem fode bi foules and by no fierse bestes,
In menyge that meke thinge mylde thinge shulde fede;

Other examples: XIV. 45; XVI. 200; XVIII. 136.

A similar case is *in tokenynge of* which means 'in token, as a token or evidence of'. This phrase is older than the above one. *OED* has examples from c. 890 on. There are two in the B-text:

(V. 18-9) Beches and brode okes were blowen to the grounde, Torned upward her tailles *in tokenynge of* drede; (XVI. 203-4) Wedloke and widwehode with virgynyte ynempned, *In toknyng of* the Trinite was taken oute of o man.

in-to(1): (XV. 76) In housyng, in haterynge and *in-to hiegh clergy* shewynge.

of (44): (V. 88) *Of chydynge* and *of chalangynge* was his chief lyflode.

on (1): (XIX. 350) To wasten, on welfare and *on wykked kepyng*.

thorw (with variants like *thorugh*, *thorough* and *thoruz*) (14): (XV. 554) Holy cherche is honoured heyzliche *thoruz his deyng*.

to(7): (XV. 81) If I lye on 3ow to my lewed witte ledeth me *to brennyng*.

Other examples: VI. 301; XI. 20; XVIII. 414; XIX. 4, 450.

The following quotation is interesting in that the object of the gerund precedes the preposition as is often the case with the infinitive in ME.

(XIX. 450) But if thei seize as by syzte *somwhat to wynnynge* (= to win something).

wlth (15): (X. 38) But tho that feynen hem folis and *with faityng* libbeth

without(-e, -en)(12): (XV. 338) For charite *with-out* *chalengynge* vnchargeth the soule.

a(1), *an*(1): (III. 48) we han a wyndowe *a wirchyng* will sitten vs ful heigh; (XVII. 115) And Hope the hostelleres man shal be there the man lith *an helynge*.

As to these *a* and *an*, Mustanoja says thus; "The verbal noun in *-ing* (*-ung*) preceded by the preposition *on* has been used since OE,... The phrase *on -ing* becomes increasingly common in ME ... The preposition often occurs in a weakened form (*an* and *a*)."⁹⁾

aboute(1): (XVIII. 67) Er Sondey *aboute sonne-rysyng* and sank with that til erthe.

at(9), *atte*(3): (I. 110) To be buxome *at his biddyng* he bad hem nouȝte elles; (XVII. 147) That toched and tasted *atte techyng* of the paume.

In this case *atte* is put for 'at the'.

azein(1): (XV. 67) *Azein* Crystes conseilte and alle clerkes *techyng*.

after(10): (XV. 285) Poule, *after his prechyng* panyers he made.

but(1): (IX. 167) Haue thei no children *but* cheste and *choppyng* hem bitwene.

by(13), *bi*(3): (XI. 231) Ac by clothyng thei knewe hym nouȝte ne *bi carpyng* of tonge.

for(37): (XV. 233) *For braulyng and bakbytyng and beryng* of fals witnesse.

Occasionally *for* shows up in the meaning of 'for fear of, to prevent, against'. I have found three examples: II. 230; VI. 9, 218. One of them is: (II. 230) And *for knowyng* of comeres coped hym as a frere.

fro(3), *fram*(1): (XV. 444) Cloth that cometh *fro the weuyng* is nouȝt comly to were.

Here special attention may be drawn to the type: *To let a man from going*. As to the construction, Visser¹⁰⁾ remarks that the usage was known before More's time and can be traced further back than Kruisinga's earliest example which is dated (a1450,) and quotes his earliest example from Wyclif (c. 1380). So far as my observation goes, however, the construction under discussion is, in all probability, older than Visser thinks.

9) Mustanoja, *op. cit.*, pp. 577-8.

10) *A Syntax of the English Language of St. Thomas More*, § 645.

424) And *han likynge to* lythen hem to do ȝow to lawghe; (XV. 167) Ne *no lykyng hath to* lye ne laughe men to scorne.

Similar cases: (I. 13) ȝet *haue I no kynde knowing*; (VIII. 57) I *haue no kynde knowyng ... to* conceyue alle ȝowre wordes; (XV. 19) Clerkes *haue no knowyng*.

The now common phrase *cannot help -ing* is not yet found in *PPl*. OED has examples from 1711 on.

As referred to above, ten instances occur as the object of the infinitive:

(I. 77) And brouȝtest me borwes my *biddyng* to fulfille; (V. 122) May no sugre ne swete thinge asswage my *swellynge*; (V. 434) Reuthe is to here the *rekenynge*; etc.

In all the cases so far discussed, the gerund is used as a direct object. But as an indirect object it is never used in the B-text.

1. 4. As the object of a preposition

The gerund can be very freely used with any preposition, except *to*, so that it can express much finer shades of meaning than the infinitive with its one preposition. As Curme puts it, its extensive development here in this category gives English one of its most distinctive features.⁷⁾

The infrequency of the gerund after *to* may be ascribed in part to the fact that although the gerund was commonly used to express purpose, especially in OE, the infinitive was still more common here.⁸⁾ The same explanation seems to be true of Langland's use of the gerund.

In *PPl*, 230 examples of the gerund occur after prepositions and amount to some 68.5 percent of the whole. The prepositions used here are; *a, an, about, at* (or *atte*), *after, aȝein, but, by* (or *bi*), *for, fro* or *fram, in, into, of, on, thorw, to, with, with-out* (-e, -en). We may note in passing that the gerund thus used is a prepositional adjunct, whether to nouns, adjectives, or verbs. The phenomenon is so familiar that a bare enumeration of examples will be sufficient to show combinations of this kind except in a few cases. (The figures given below in parentheses are based upon the number of the gerund used after each preposition.)

7) "History of the English Gerund," *Englische Studien* XLV. 1912, p. 378.

8) Cf. Curme, *Ibid.*, p. 380.

And grete loue and *lykyng* for eche of hem loueth other.

In spite of the examples just quoted, the idiomatic phrase 'there is no -ing' never appears in *PPI*, though Jespersen has an instance from *Ancrene Riwe*.⁶⁾

1. 2. Aa a predicative (or complement)

In ModE the gerund is often used as the complement, but such a construction is of rare occurrence in the B-text. Only twelve examples are found. Some of them will be cited below.

(I. 140) It is a kynde *knowyng* ... that kenneth in thine herte;
(XII. 218) And aresonedest Resoun a *rebukyng* as it were; (XIII. 95) And but if the fyrst lyne be *lesyng* leue me neuere after!

Other examples: II. 42; VI. 7, 117; VII. 74; X. 194; XII. 222; XV. 591; XVI. 7; XVIII. 213.

Here it is to be noticed that all the gerunds quoted above are used as subjective predicatives. No instances of the gerund as an objective predicative are met with in the B-text so far as my observation goes.

1. 3. As an object

The use of the gerund as object is very common in *PPI*. Forty-five instances of this are found in all, ten of which, strictly speaking, occur as the object of the infinitive. Sometimes the gerund as a direct object has a strong substantival character and, as a result, appears with various adjuncts.

(III. 250) Prestes and persones that *plesynge* desireth; (XVIII. 279) And dwelle with vs deueles this *thretynge* he made; (III. 64) Ac god to alle good folke suche *grauynge* defendeth; (XVIII. 310) we leued thi *lesynges*; (VII. 25) And sithenes selle it aȝein and saue the *wynnyng*.

Other examples: III. 197, 311; V. 130; IX. 28; XIV. 194; XIX. 229; etc.

Here attention should be paid to the phrase 'haue (no) *lykyng* to' because it seems to be one of the idiomatic phrases favoured by Langland. Examples of this combination:

(V. 176) For-thi *haue* I *no lykyng* with tho leodes *to* wonye; (XI. 48) I *had no lykyng*, leue me if the leste of hem aȝte *to* knowe; (XI. 412) Tho *hadde* he *no lykyng* *forto* lere the more; (XIII.

6) *Modern English Grammar*, V, 8. 3. 4. (AR 228 pet ter nis non wiðsigginge.)

tives, substantives or pronouns in the genitive or in the common case, possessive and indefinite pronouns. On the other hand, it is used as subject, object, predicative (or complement) of a finite verb, and after a preposition. And further it can enter into compounds. These substantival natures and functions will be referred to separately in the following sections.

1. 1. As a subject

The gerund as a subject is pretty frequent with (a) or without various adjuncts (b) in *PPl*. In the B-text examined here, there are, in all, thirty-seven instances of this use.

- (a) (V. 238) I wende *ryflynge* were restitucioun; (XI. 78) *Baptizyng* and *buryng* bothe ben ful nedeful; (XX. 33) *Wenyng* is no wysdome ne wyse ymaginacioun.

Other examples: IV. 34; XI. 68, 415 (2 exs.); XIV. 186; XV. 443; XIX. 280.

- (b) (II. 148) Tho this golde was gyue grete was *the thonkyng* To Fals and to FaueI for her faire ȝiftes; (IV. 122) And til *prechoures prechyng* be preued on hemseluen; (V. 396) Sholde no *ryngyng* do me ryse; (XI. 309) *This lokyng* on lewed prestes hath don me lepe fram pouerte; (XIV. 186-7) Confessioun, and knowlechyng and *crauyng thi mercy* shulde amende vs as man wolde desire.

Other examples: II. 117; IV. 117; V. 385; VIII. 31, 108; IX. 98; XI. 147, 156, 160; XII. 84, 137; XIV. 129, 197; XIX. 287, 377.

In ModE the gerund is common with the formal or preparatory subject 'it', but no example of this type is found in *PPl*. Though very infrequently, however, we come across the construction with the preparatory 'there'. According to Mustanoja, the construction *there was -ing* is frequently used in ME for the expression of indefinite agency.⁵⁾ In the B-text the construction occurs only six times (though the exact number of 'there' is three).

(V. 344) there was *laughyng* and *louryng*; (XII. 282-3) For there is *fullyng* of fonte and *fullyng* in blode-shedyng, And thorough fuire is *fullyng*; (X. 304-5) In scole there is scorne but if a clerke wil lerne,

5) Mustanoja, *op. cit.*, p. 576.

the verbal force of the gerund gradually develops.³⁾ Here it must be remembered that *Piers the Plowman* (hereafter referred to as *PPl*) was written in the second half of the 14th century. In this stage of the historical development of the gerund, however, it is very often difficult or impossible to distinguish between the verbal substantive and the gerund: in fact, the form *-ing* may then be conceived in either sense. Accordingly, all the *ing*-forms, except those of the present participle, which are made of verbs will be dealt with here in this paper.

As to the forms of the gerund, I have already mentioned that the *ing*-suffix was dominant in ME. The same is the case with *PPl* in which the gerund appears as *-ynge*(pl. *-ynges*), *-yng*, *-inge*, *-ing*, and *-ende*. The frequency of use of each form is as follows:

Form	-ynge(pl. -ynges)	-yng	-inge	-ing	-ende	Total
Number	200	123	9	3	1	336

The above table shows that the *-yng(e)* (i. e. *-ing*) is firmly established in Langland. As regards the only exception ending in *-ende* (VIII. 82 *tailende*), Skeat comments that it is "a false form for *tailynge*, by confusion of the sb. -ending *-ynge* with the pres. pt. suffix *-ende*."⁴⁾

So far a rough survey has been made of the historical development of the gerund. The gerund so developed partakes of the functions of both a substantive and a verb. In the following pages Langland's use of the gerund will be considered under two different headings: (I) Substantival Nature and (II) Verbal Nature.

(I) Substantival Nature

As already remarked, the gerund was once felt only as a substantive. Accordingly it may show all the syntactic functions of a substantive. That is, in the same way as any other substantive, the gerund can form a plural and a genitive, and take various adjuncts, such as articles, adjectives,

3) Curme, "History of the English Gerund," *Englische Studien* XLV, 1912, p. 353; Mustanoja, *Middle English Syntax*, Part I, p. 569.

4) Langland's *Vision of Piers Plowman*, Pt. IV, Section II, p. 778.

Verbals in *Piers the Plowman* (II)¹⁾: Gerund

Matsuji Tajima

The origin of the gerund has been one of the much-debated problems of English Syntax, but still there is much divergence of opinion among scholars on this problem. In spite of that, it will be helpful to recall the historical development of the English gerund.

The gerund was originally a verbal substantive in *-ing* or *-ung* and, therefore, was largely substantival in character. In the subsequent development its verbal character becomes gradually marked, which is evidently reflected in the fact that it governs an object or a predicative, or is qualified by an adverbial adjunct, and that it expresses tense and voice. On the other hand, the *-ung* form disappears in early ME and the *-ing* form becomes common in ME and ModE, with the result that the gerund becomes identical in form with the present participle. From these facts we can easily surmise that the development of the gerund was facilitated by the analogy of the present participle which in ME had the same form and took an accusative object, and also, by the analogy of the infinitive which, though originally a substantive, had acquired verbal function to such an extent that it took an accusative object, like a verb. According to Trnka, "the development of the gerund from Old English verbal nouns in *-ing* (*-ung*) is undoubtedly due to the tendency of Middle English to adopt the easy and flexible Old French constructions *par la paiz faisant*, *en faisant la paiz* and *en ton vivant*."²⁾ At any rate, it is a very complicated process involving various factors.

To sum up, however, the rise of the modern gerund seems to take place essentially within the ME period, especially in the 14th century in which

1) For the first part of the paper ("Verbals in Langland (I): Participle"), see *Cairn* No. 8, pp. 76-90.

2) *On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden*, p. 92.