

governs a preceding substantive as its logical subject. In all the examples of this type except for one found in the *Gawain*-poet, the prepositions (*on* and *with*) are placed before the infinitive, as in: *Patience* 199 *on to calle*. Examples of this word-order are often found elsewhere with the other functions of the infinitive. Hence the *Gawain*-poet appears to favour placing *on* and *with* before the infinitive.

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

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

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

To sum up, in the *Gawain*-poet the *to*-infinitive is firmly established in many constructions in which the bare infinitive was generally used in OE. This is most notable in the use of the infinitive as: (1) objective predicative (the "accusative with infinitive"), (2) direct object, (3) adverbial adjunct of purpose after verbs of motion such as *go* and *come*, and (4) adverbial adjunct of manner after verbs of motion or rest. Nevertheless, the bare infinitive is still retained quite conspicuously after: (1) a number of impersonal constructions, (2) some verbs of causation (*let*, *gar*, *do*, *bede*, *beseche*, etc.) and verbs of perception (*se* and *here*), (3) some other verbs (*dar*, *penoze*, etc.); (4) *so ... as* and *such*

Gawain-poet. The further noteworthy thing is that there are two instances of the infinitive of purpose introduced by *as*, which are much older than the earliest instance (c. 1590) given in *OED*.

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

(5) The *to*-infinitive as an adjunct to an adjective (or very rarely an adverb) occurs pretty frequently in the *Gawain*-poet, expressing purpose, direction, cause, etc. The bare infinitive depending on an adjective is exceedingly rare, occurring only after *loth*, *wont*, *hardy*, *little*, and 'so + adjective or adverb + *as*'. The instances where an adjective is followed by an infinitive, active in form but passive in meaning, are not infrequent, but the periphrastic passive infinitive with *be* occurs only once after *loth*. In ModE the idea of consequence is frequently expressed by 'so + adjective or adverb + *as* + infinitive'. In the *Gawain*-poet the types with and without *as* are both in use, but the type with *as* is always followed by the bare infinitive while the type without *as* is always followed by the *to*-infinitive. The examples of the former are much older than the earliest example (c. 1445) in *OED*.

(6) The infinitive is very common as an attributive adjunct to a substantive. In this function all infinitives are preceded by *to* except for the single special case expressed by '*such* + substantive + *as* + bare infinitive'. The periphrastic passive infinitive with *be* after substantives is very rare, occurring only twice. Occasionally a verbal phrase consisting of 'a verb + a preposition' or 'a verb + its object and a preposition'

is obsolete in PE.

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

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

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

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

function seem to reflect the transition from the impersonal to the personal construction.

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

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

asked yf she wold (sc. *communicate*) ony thyng vnto kynge Arthur.¹⁰³

5. Summary

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

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

The 'prepositional' infinitive in the *Gawain*-poet is normally preceded by *to* or *for to*, between which there appears to be no particular functional distinction. The proportion between *to* and *for to* is roughly 7.6: 1. In addition to these two, there does occur one peculiar example of *for* before the bare infinitive, for which the gerund would be used in ModE.

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

3. In the *Gawain*-poet, the infinitive shows a wide functional range:

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

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

¹⁰³ Quoted from A. Dekker, "Some Observations in Connection with B. Trnka: *On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden*," *Neophilologus*, XX(1935), p. 119.

the infinitive are frequent, but later on it is avoided in the literary language."¹⁰⁰ In Shakespeare, however, this practice is not uncommon.¹⁰¹ In the *Gawain*-poet there are 13 examples of this type, of which 12 occur after auxiliary verbs:

Gawain 2132 Bot I *wyl* to pe chapel; *Ib.* 1671 hit watx nez at pe terme pat he to *schulde*; *Pearl* 347 When pou no fyrre *may*, to ne fro; *Purity* 289 Al *schal* doun and be ded and dryuen out of erpe; *Patience* 346 *Nylt* pou neuer to Nuniue bi no-kynnez wayez?

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

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

Gawain 1959 Burne to hor bedde *behoued* at pe last (sc. *to go*).

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

The non-expression of the infinitive occurs not only in the case of infinitives of verbs of motion, but also with other infinitives. Since OE this practice has been very common after auxiliary verbs, particularly when a form of the verb in question occurs in the context.¹⁰² In the *Gawain*-poet, examples are numerous:

Gawain 1681 Make we mery quyl we may; *Pearl* 521 Gos into my vyne, dotz pat ze *conne*; *Purity* 1570-1 He schal be prymate and prynce of pure clergye, And of my prevenest lordez pe prydde he *schal*; etc.

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

Ch. T. 3947 For simkin wolde (sc. *have*) no wyf, as he said; *Le Morte Darthur* 138, 35 And thenne he rode vnto morgan ageyne

¹⁰⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁰¹ Abbott, E. A., *A Shakespearian Grammar*, § 405.

¹⁰² Cf. Quirk and Wrenn, *An Old English Grammar*, p. 86.

13th century. In the *Gawain*-poet there are as many as four instances of the type with an intervening adverb, while there is only one in Langland and none in Chaucer.⁹⁵

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

Of the type split by the object of the infinitive, the earliest example cited by van der Gaaf is *Lazamon Brut* 11018: heo cleopede him to alle his wise for to him reade.⁹⁶ I have found only one example in the *Gawain*-poet's works and none in *PPl*. In Chaucer's works only one instance seems to occur.⁹⁷

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

According to van der Gaaf,⁹⁸ both types of split infinitive occur only sporadically in ME; in most texts there are no instances of it. The only early writer that is really fond of the split infinitive is Pecock. As we have mentioned above, the construction is practically non-existent both in Langland and Chaucer, although one instance is found in each of them. Koziol⁹⁹ finds in the unrimed ME alliterative poems only three examples in *Gawain* and two in *The Wars of Alexander*, although the one instance found in *PPl* seems to have escaped his notice. All these facts considered, the *Gawain*-poet's use of the split infinitive may be said to be remarkable, even if it is not as extensive as that of Pecock.

4.2 Non-expression of the Infinitive

The infinitive of verbs of motion is often unexpressed after auxiliary verbs and other verbs, the direction of the motion being indicated instead by an adverbial adjunct. With regard to this type of construction, Trnka says: "In Old and Middle English the instances of the ellipsis of

⁹⁵ Cf. Kenyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-9.

⁹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁹⁷ Cf. Kenyon, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁹⁹ *Grundzüge der Syntax der Mittelenlischen Stabreimdichtungen*, pp. 148-9.

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

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

3.7 Infinitive for Finite Verb

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

Purity 747-8 I am bot erpe ful evel and usle so blake, *For to mele wyth such a Mayster as myztez hatz alle* (=Who am I to match words with a Master of limitless might?).⁹²
Cf. Ch. *TC* III 806-7 Horaste! allas, and *falsen* Troilus? I knowe hym nought, God help me so.

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

Gawain 1090-2 'Wyl ze halde þis hes here at pys onez?' 'Ze, sir, for sope,' sayd þe segge trwe, 'Whyl I byde in yowre borge, *be bayn to zowre hest.*'; *Pearl* 295-9 Pou says pou trawez me in þis dene, ...; Anoper pou says, in pys countré Pyself schal won wyth me ryzt here; Þe prydde, *to passe* pys water fre—.

4. Other Aspects of Use

4.1 Split Infinitive

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

As to the type split by an adverb, some scholars⁹³ contend that it makes its first appearance in the 14th century, its earliest example being *Gawain* 87-8. W. van der Gaaf,⁹⁴ however, quotes the earliest example of it from *Passion of our Lord* written about the beginning of the

⁹² Quoted from J. Gardner (tr.), *The Complete Works of the Gawain-poet*, p. 170.

⁹³ Curme, *Syntax*, 49.2.c.; Mustanoja, *op. cit.*, p. 515; Jespersen, *M. E. G.*, V, 20.4.1.

⁹⁴ "The Split Infinitive in Middle English," *English Studies*, XV (1933), p. 17.

by 'for'.

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

Gawain 695-6 Hade he . . . no gome bot God bi gate *wyth to karp*; *Ib.* 2223 A demez ax nwe dyzt, pe dynt *with to zelde*; *Purity* 477 ho fyndez no folde her fote *on to pyche*; *Ib.* 1049 Alle pyse ar teches and tokenes *to trow upon zet*; *Ib.* 1661 blynnes he not of blasfemy *on to blame pe Dryztyn*; *Patience* 199 Hatz pou, gome, no gouer-nour, ne god *on to calle*.

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

VI. 126 we haue no lymes *to laboure wyth*; VI. 309 Laboreres . . . haue no lande *to lyue on*; XVII. 245 thow haue towe *to take it with*; ⁹¹ etc.

Considering these facts, we may be able to say that the placing of the prepositions (*with* and *on*) before the infinitive is a characteristic of the *Gawain*-poet's language.

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

Gawain 133 Pat pe lude myzt haf *leue liflode to cach*; *Ib.* 624 I am in *tent* (=intention) yow *to telle*; *Pearl* 971 *To strech* in pe strete pou hatz no *vygour*; *Purity* 67 *to bowe* haf I *mester* (=need); *Purity* 1773-4 ledes of armes . . . now hatz spyed a *space to spoyle Caldeez*; *Patience* 157 Per watz *busy* ouer borde bale *to kest*; etc.

⁹¹ In *PPI*, however, *with* is more often placed near its verb, as in: VI. 297 this present *to plesse with hunger* (=to please hunger with); XV. 322 that water *to woke with Themese*, etc. There are 11 instances of this odd position of *with* as compared with 9 of the normal position of it.

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

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

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

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

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

Gawain 282 Here is no mon me *to teche*, for myztez so wayke; *Pearl* 414-5 He ... Corounde me quene in blysse *to brede*; *Purity* 148 Hopez pou I be a harlot pi erigaut *to prayse?*; *Gawain* 1024 Per wer gestes *to go* vpon pe gray more; etc.

Jespersen explains the infinitive thus used, as denoting simple futurity (e. g. in days *to come*), or ‘what might, would or should, or what can or may ...’.⁹⁰

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

Gawain 1823 I haf none yow *to norne*; *Pearl* 811-2 he ... neuer hade non hymself *to wolde*; *Purity* 373 Per watz moan *for to make* when meschef was cnowen; *Patience* 223 Penne was no cumfort *to keuer*, ne counsel non oper; etc.

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

⁹⁰ *Essentials of English Grammar*, 32.2.2.

Incidentally, in *PPI* only two examples of the bare infinitive occur after *worthy* and *loth*, while *wont* is always construed with the *to*-infinitive, as in: VI. 169 I was nozt wont *to worche*; XX. 368 as he was wont *to come*.

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

Gawain 1251-2 Bot hit ar ladyes innoze pat leuer wer nowpe *Haf* pe, hende, in hor holde, as I pe hadde here.

3.6 Infinitive with Substantives (or Pronouns)

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

Patience 226 Pat he gaf hem pe grace *to greuen* hym neuer; *Purity* 323 For I schal waken up a water *to wasch* alle pe worlde; *Gawain* 1066 Naf I now *to busy* bot bare pre dayez; *Patience* 347-8 3isse, lorde, ... lene me py grace *For-to go* at pi gre; etc.

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

Gawain 234-5 Pat a hapel and a horse myzt *such* a hwe lach, *As growe grene* as pe gras and grener hit semed.

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

With regard to the attributive passive infinitive, van der Gaaf⁸⁹ assumes that it "does not seem to occur in Old English; it came into

⁸⁹ "The Predicative Passive Infinitive," *English Studies*, X (1928), p. 109.

in *OED* (s. v. *So* 28 b) of this type used with *as* dates from 1445. In the *Gawain*-poet, however, the types with and without *as* are both in use:

With *as*: *Gawain* 1537-8 Þat so worpy as 3e wolde wynne hidere,
And pyne yow with so pouer a man, *as play* wyth your knyzt;
Pearl 95-6 So gracios gle coupe no men gete *As here and se* her
adubement; *Purity* 519-20 Forpy schal I never schende so schortly
at ones *As dysstrye* al for manez [dedes], dayes of pis erpe.

Without *as*: *Gawain* 291 If any freke be so felle *to fonde* þat I
telle; *Purity* 904 Bot bes neuer so bolde *to blusch* yow bihynde.

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

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

Pearl 810 Þat watz so fayr on *to hyholde*; *Purity* 147 Þat watz so prest *to aproche* my presens hereinne; *Ib.* 262 Forpy so semly *to see* syþen wern none; *Patience* 136 so bayn wer þay ... his bone *for to wyrk*.

As for the bare infinitive accompanying an adjective, Mustanoja⁸⁶ says that it is a rare feature in OE and occasionally found in ME, mostly in conjunction with *worth* (*worthy*) and *wont*. Besides those found after *as*, I have noted only five other examples in the *Gawain*-poet, of which one after *loth* has already been given above. The other four examples are found after *wont*, *hardy*, and *little*.

Pearl 15 Þat wont watz whyle *deuoyde* my wrange And *heuen* my happe and al my hele; *Purity* 143 How watz þou hardy pis hous for pyn unhap *neze*;⁸⁷ *Ib.* 1232 3et *take*⁸⁸ Torkye hem wyth, her tene had been little.

⁸⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 538.

⁸⁷ In their editions of *Purity*, Morris, Menner, and Gollancz supply *to* before *neze*, although there is no such preposition in MS., on which the above quotation is based.

⁸⁸ In their editions of *Purity*, Gollancz takes this to be subjunctive while Menner regards it as an infinitive. Both interpretations may be possible, but I have followed the latter interpretation.

Gawain 963 And pose were soure *to se* and sellyly blered; *Pearl* 311 To leue no tale be true *to tryze*; *Purity* 608 Hit is epe *to leve* by pe last ende; *Patience* 324 Purz myzt of py mercy pat mukel is *to tryste*.

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

Undoubtedly each of these active infinitives may be said to have a passive meaning, although we see no necessity for considering it passive. Jespersen⁸² prefers to look upon the infinitive as active and as governing a preceding item as its object.

On the other hand, English also uses the periphrastic passive infinitive with *be* in this type of construction. With the adjective *worthy* the passive infinitive form has been used since OE. According to van der Gaaf,⁸³ this construction with *worthy* is common throughout the ME period. In the *Gawain*-poet, however, there is no instance of *worthy* followed by the passive infinitive form, the only instance of *worthy* being found with the active infinitive:

Pearl 99-100 Þe derpe perof *for to devyse* Nis no wyȝ *worpe* pat tong hereȝ. Cf. *PPl* V. 236 Thow haddest be better *worthy be hanged* therefore.

Except in conjunction with *worthy*, the first instances of the post-adjectival passive infinitive only appear towards the end of the 14th century and examples are fairly frequent in 15th-century English.⁸⁴ Only one example seems to occur in the *Gawain*-poet's works and one in *PPl*.

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

In ModE the idea of consequence is frequently expressed by 'so + adjective or adverb + *as* + infinitive', as in 'Be so kind *as* to shut the door'. In ME, however, *as* is usually lacking as in: *PPl* Prol. 188 And be we neuer so bolde the belle hym *to shewe*.⁸⁵ The earliest example

⁸² *M. E. G.*, V, 15. 2. 1.

⁸³ "The Post-adjectival Passive Infinitive," *English Studies*, X(1928), pp. 130-31.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁸⁵ In *PPl*, the *as* is always lacking here. Other examples: VI. 188.; XVIII. 75, 77; XIX. 19-20.

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

In the *Gawain*-poet there are, however, three examples of the infinitive preceded by a substantive or one of the pronouns (as its logical subject), which do not distinguish cases:

Gawain 1027-8 when hit watz late, pay lachen her leue, *Vchon to wende on his way pat watz wyze stronge*; *Purity* 337-8 And ay pou meng wyth pe malez pe mete ho-bestez, *Uche payre by payre to plese ayper oper*; *Ib.* 834-6 Er euer pay bosked to bedde, pe borz watz al vp; *Alle pat weppen myzt welde, pe wakker and pe stronger, To umbelyze Lothez hous pe ledez to take.*

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

3.5 Infinitive with Adjectives

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

Gawain 448 Loke, Gawan, pou be graype *to go* as pou hettez; *Ib.* 495 Gawan watz glad *to begynne* pose gomnez in halle; *Pearl* 680 Himself *to onsware* he is not dylle; *Purity* 869 Hit arn ronk, hit arn rype, and redy *to manne*; *Purity* 663 Hopez ho ozt may be harde my hondez⁸¹ *to work?*; *Patience* 136 So bayn wer pay bope two, his bone *for to wyrk*; etc.

The instances where an adjective is followed by an infinitive which is active in form but passive in sense are not infrequently found in the *Gawain*-poet:

⁸¹ In ModE the logical subject of the infinitive here would be preceded by 'for' as in 'hard for my hands to work'. Trnka remarks that the construction 'for + substantive (or pronoun) + *to*-infinitive' was fully established in English by the middle of the 16th century (*op. cit.*, p. 85).

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

3.4(9) Absolute Infinitive

This term is applied to a parenthetical use of the infinitive, as in: *Pearl* 653 *Ʒe water is baptem, pe sope to telle*. In this kind of construction, the logical subject of the infinitive is not generally identical with the subject of the finite verb, while the infinitive depends on the rest of the sentence rather than the main verb. This construction comes into existence as early as OE,⁷⁷ and Chaucer seems to be fond of it.⁷⁸ In ModE it occurs frequently in set phrases, such as *to tell the truth*, *to conclude*, *to return*, *to be short*, and the like. Needless to say, the *to*-infinitive is the rule in this function through all periods of English. In the *Gawain*-poet six instances are found:

Pearl 939-41 *Ʒat is pe cyté pat pe Lombe con fonde To suffer inne sor for manez sake, Ʒe olde Jerusalem to vnderstonde; Pearl* 949-50 *Of motes two to carpe clene, And Jerusalem hyzt bope naupeles; Ib.* 653 *Ʒe water is baptem, pe sope to telle; Purity* 425-6 *Of pe lenpe of Noe lyf to lay a lel date Ʒe sex hundreth of his age and none odde zerez; Ib.* 1733 *To teche pe of Techal, pe terme Ʒus menes; Ib.* 1736 *And Phares folzes for pose fawtes, to frayst pe trawpe.*

The term 'absolute infinitive' may also be applied to a construction with a nominative subject, or the 'nominative with infinitive' construction as it may be called. This construction is occasionally used in ME to express futurity, purpose, command, etc. Kellner⁷⁹ contends that the construction first turns up in the second half of the 14th century, but is not explicit about its earliest instance. On the other hand, Zeitlin,⁸⁰ who has fully treated this construction, adduces its earliest example from *Cursor Mundi* (7121 *he het men to gyue hem made If thei coude hit rightly rede And thei to gyue the same ageyn*). In the *Gawain*-poet's works there are no examples with the clearly nominative subject, while in *PPl* there are four. Examples from *PPl* are:

⁷⁷ M. Callaway, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

⁷⁸ J. Kerkhof, *Studies in the Language of Geoffrey Chaucer*, pp. 73-5.

⁷⁹ *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, p. 249.

⁸⁰ *The Accusative with Infinitive and Some Kindred Constructions in English*, pp. 141-66.

manner is found in the *Gawain*-poet. According to van der Gaaf,⁷⁴ a bare infinitive of manner after verbs of rest had probably disappeared before the end of the 14th century. As a result of that, the place of the bare infinitive is often taken by the present participle, by another verb (e.g. *Gawain* 1179-80 Gawayn þe god mon in gay bed *lygez*, *Lurkkez* quyl þe daylzt lemed on þe woves; *PPI* Prol. 9 I *lay* and *lened*), or by the *to*-infinitive (e.g. Ch. *TC* III 229-31 And on a paillet al that glade nyzt By Troilus he *lay*, with mery chere, *To tale*), all these occurring from OE to ModE. Mustanoja⁷⁵ also remarks that instances of the *to*-infinitive are not uncommon in ME, but I have found no clear examples of this type either in the *Gawain*-poet or in Langland. In the following examples, the infinitive seems to have a final sense:

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

Thus in the *Gawain*-poet the bare infinitive of manner is non-existent after verbs of motion and rest, for which the present participle is, for the most part, used.⁷⁶

3.4(8) Infinitive for Participle or Gerund

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

Gawain 1221 I schulde keuer þe more comfort *to karp* yow wyth (= (from) talking with you); *Pearl* 21-2 For sope per fleten to me fle, *To penke* hir color so clad in clot; *Ib.* 473-4 Þyself in heuen ouer hyz þou heue, *To make* þe quen pat watz so zonge (=by making yourself a queen); *Purity* 184-9 For roborrye, and riboudrye, and resounez untrwe, And *dysheriete* and *depryve* dowrie of wydoez (= for disinheriting and depriving...), ... Man may myss þe myrpe pat much is to prayse; *Patience* 58 *To sette* hym to sewrte (=in trying to achieve safety), vnsoude he hym feches; *Pearl* 257-8, 1157-8; *Patience* 197-8; etc.

⁷⁴ "The Connection between Verbs of Rest (*Lie, Sit, and Stand*) and Another Verb, Viewed Historically," *English Studies*, XVI (1934), p. 88.

⁷⁵ *Op, cit.* p. 537.

⁷⁶ Cf. my article "On the Use of the Participle in the Works of the *Gawain*-poet," *Studies in the Humanities* (『文芸と思想』), No. 34 (1970), p. 62.

wy3e3 in þe worlde my3t wynne By þe way of ry3t *to aske dome;*
Purity 870 *To samen wyth þo semly* þe solace is better.

3.4(6) Infinitive of Concession

Mustanoja⁷² says that a concessive infinitive with *to* is occasionally found in ME texts, and adduces a few examples from Gower and Chaucer. In the *Gawain*-poet only one possible example occurs:

Pearl 333 Now rech I neuer *for to declyne*, Ne how fer of folde þat man me fleme.

3.4(7) Infinitive of Manner

A few OE verbs of motion, mainly *cuman*, and verbs of rest can be accompanied by the bare infinitive of another verb of motion or rest, as in: *com... siðian* 'came travelling' (q. Quirk and Wrenn). In this case, the infinitive, expressing a simultaneous action, serves to indicate the manner in which the activity takes place. According to Mustanoja,⁷³ in ME, too, down to the later part of the period, the bare infinitive of a verb of motion is not uncommon with *come*. Towards the end of the ME period the infinitive disappears in instances of this kind, its place being taken by the present participle which appears in this function even as early as OE. In the *Gawain*-poet, however, there is no instance of the bare infinitive of a verb of motion. Instead, it is invariably supplanted by the present participle, as in: *Gawain* 2266 *As hit com glydande adoun on glode hym to schende*. In *PPI*, on the other hand, there are two such examples:

XI. 109 *lete the remenaunt go rowme*; XVIII. 10-11 *One semblable to the Samaritan... Barfote on an asse bakke boteless com prykye*.

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

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

With verbs of rest as well, no example of the bare infinitive of

⁷² *Op. cit.*, p. 536.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 536-7.

should, of course, be noted that the above instances are far older than the one in *OED*.

As to the passive infinitive of purpose, van der Gaaf⁷⁰ remarks that it is unknown in OE and that Orm appears to be one of the first to make use of it. In the *Gawain*-poet it is practically unused although in Langland it occurs five times. The only possible example occurring in the *Gawain*-poet is:

Purity 1029 If any schalke *to be schent* wer schowved perinne.
Cf. *PPL* XVIII. 13 a knygte... cometh *to be dubbed*.

3.4(3) Infinitive of Cause

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

Gawain 910-11 And alle pe men in pat mote maden much joye *To apere* in his presence prestly pat tyme.
Cf. *PPL* II. 115-6 now sorwe mot thow haue, Such weddyngs *to worche* to wratthe with Treuthe.

3.4(4) Infinitive of Consequence

The infinitive of consequence is so closely related to the infinitive of purpose that it is often very difficult to distinguish one from the other, as was discussed at the beginning of this section 3.4. Kruisinga says that "the difference is only that purpose is an intended result."⁷¹ The examples given below may be considered as denoting consequence:

Gawain 512 And blosmez bolne *to blowe*; *Pearl* 239-40 Wel watz me pat euer I was borne *to sware* pat swete in perlez pyzte; *Purity* 1347 if pay gruchen him his grace *to gremen* his hert; *Patience* 362-3 Vp so doun schal ze dumpe depe to pe abyme, *To be swolzed* swyftly wyth pe swart erpe.

3.4(5) Infinitive of Condition

This infinitive is very rare in the *Gawain*-poet. Only two possible examples are found:

Pearl 576-80 More haf I of joye and blysse hereinne... Pen alle pe

⁷⁰ "The Predicative Passive Infinitive," *Englisch Studies*, X(1928), p. 109.

⁷¹ *A Handbook of Present-day English*, p. 142.

there being 16 examples of the former as compared with 5 of the latter. By contrast, the *to*-infinitive is always found after *come*. Not a single instance of the bare infinitive of purpose, however, occurs in the works of the *Gawain*-poet. A few examples from *PPI* will be given below:

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

As to this type of construction, Jespersen explains that "as this seems to be found chiefly after the infinitive and the imperative, it is felt to be short for *go (come) and*."⁶⁷

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

Gawain 1474-5 Ful erly ho watz hym ate His mode *for to remwe*; *Ib.* 402 I schal ware alle my wyt *to wynne* me peder; *Pearl* 1124 Al songe *to loue* pat gay juelle; *Ib.* 613 Bot now pou motez, me *for to mate*; *Purity* 984 *To wakan* wederez so wylde pe wyndez he callez; *Patience* 421-2 I hade worded quat-so-euer I cowpe *To manace* alle pise mody men; etc.

In ModE the idea of purpose is often emphasized by the use of the phrases *in order (to)* and *so as (to)* before the infinitive, as in: 'you'd better repeat them every day, in order not to forget them', 'I do them very carefully, so as not to spoil them'.⁶⁸ According to *OED* (s.v. *Order* sb. 28. b. (b); s.v. *As* 20), the earliest example for the former phrase is dated 1711 while the latter occurs from 1662. Söderlind has, however, found earlier examples of '*in order to* + infinitive', of which the earliest dates from 1681 (John Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*, Preface).⁶⁹ As expected, neither of them is found in the *Gawain*-poet. But we do come across the following two instances introduced by *as* alone, which seem to express purpose:

Gawain 1032-4 Of pe wynne worschip pat he hym wayued hade, *As to honour* his hous on pat hyze tyde, And *enbelyse* his burz with his bele chere; *Purity* 566-7 Pat he shulde never, for no syt, smyte al at onez, *As to quelle* alle quykez for qued pat knyzt falle.

Concerning the use of *as* with the infinitive of result or purpose, the earliest instance in *OED* (s.v. *As* 20) is c. 1590 from Marlowe. It

⁶⁷ *M. E. G.*, V, 16.4.2.

⁶⁸ Quoted by R. W. Zandvoort, *A Handbook of English Grammar*, § 28.

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

Pearl 131-2 þe wyȝ... Hyttez *to haue* ay more and more; 958 Fro pat oure flesch be layed *to rote*; etc.

Purity 1395 And Baltazar upon bench was busked *to sete*; 1541 His cnes cachches *to close*; 780 Whyle þe Soverayn to Sodamas sende *to spye*; etc.

Patience 216 pay ruyt hym *to rowwe*; 435 And farandely on a felde he fettelez hym *to bide*; 497-8 Þou... trauayledez neuer *to tent* hit þe tyme of an howre, etc.

In the following instance, the infinitive may be the substantive-modifying infinitive which will be discussed later:

Purity 51-3 pat man ryche... sende his sonde þen *to say* pat þay samne schulde.

3.4(2) Infinitive of Purpose

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

Gawain 1053 I ne wot in worlde whederwarde to wende hit *to fynde*; *Ib.* 1472-3 þe lady... Come to hym *to salute*; *Ib.* 1857 When he acheued to þe chapel his chek *for to fech*; *Pearl* 506-7 þe lorde ful erly vp he ros *To hyre* werkmen to hys vyne; *Purity* 685 Pat so folk schal falle fro, *to flete* alle þe worlde; *Ib.* 797 he ros vp ful radly and ran hem *to mete*; *Patience* 179-80 A lodesmon lyztly lep vnder hachches, *For to layte* mo ledes and hem to lote *bryng*; *Ib.* 416 I schulde tee to pys toun þi talent *to preche*; etc.

After *go* and *come*, the bare infinitive of purpose is also found as early as OE and survives far beyond the end of the ME period.⁶⁶ In fact, it is not infrequent in Chaucer and Langland. For example, in *PPI* after *go* the bare infinitive is far 'more frequent than the *to*-infinitive,

⁶⁶ Cf. Mustanoja, *op. cit.*, p. 435; Jespersen (*M. E. G.*, V, 16.4.2) says to the effect that even in ModE *go* and *come* with the bare infinitive are found here and there, chiefly in colloquial or even vulgar speech, and are fairly frequent in American English.

ilk renkez... Schul never sitte in my sale my soper *to fele* ('purpose' or 'manner?'); *Patience* 97 Þus he passes to pat port his passage *to seche* ('purpose' or 'manner?'); etc.

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

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

3.4(1) Infinitive of Direction

Mustanoja has made no mention of the infinitive of direction (cf. *Middle English Syntax*, pp. 534-7), but this kind of infinitive is found in those instances where "the usual meaning of the preposition *to*, movement or direction to or towards a goal, physical or psychic, is still more or less clearly perceptible."⁶⁵ The infinitive of direction is, however, often indistinguishable from that of purpose, as already discussed at the beginning of this section 3.4. As will be seen below, this kind of infinitive is used chiefly after verbs of motion or after verbs of inclination, disinclination, and the like. Examples are numerous in the *Gawain*-poet:

Gawain 307-8 he... ryzt hym *to speke*; 337-8 any burne upon bench hade brozt hym *to drynk* of wyne; 509 Bryddez busken *to bylde*; 936 Þe lorde... ledez hym *to sytte*; 492 he zerned zelpyng *to here*; 826-7 per hized innoghe *For to hent* it at his honde; etc.

⁶⁵ Jespersen, *M. E. G.*, V, 16.1.1.

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

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

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

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

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

Patience 507 Þe sor of such a swete place burde *synk* to my hert. These doubtful examples may be said to be characteristic of the language at the *Gawain*-poet's time, or of the language in a stage of transition from ME to ModE.

3.4. Adverbial Uses of the Infinitive

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

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

Gawain 2362 I send hir *to asay* þe ('direction' or 'purpose?'); *Purity* 401-2 Luf lokez to luf and his leve takez, *For to ende* alle at onez and for ever *twynne* ('purpose' or 'consequence?'); *Ib.* 105-7 þyse

(2) (*Gawain* 2483; *Purity* 1108), *attle* (=intend) (1) (*Gawain* 27), *bipenkke hym* (1) (*Purity* 1357-8), *compas and kest* (1) (*Purity* 1455), *frayst* (1) (*Gawain* 455), *forbid* (1) (*Purity* 1147), *dryze* (=endure) (1) (*Purity* 599), *disserue* (1) (*Gawain* 452-3), *lest* (=fail) (1) (*Purity* 887), *wylne* (1) (*Pearl* 318), *graunt* (1) (*Purity* 810).

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

Purity 810 *Pat pay hym graunted to go, and gruzt no lenger: Ib. 1161-2 folk... Pat haden hyzt pe hyze God to halde of hym ever.*

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

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

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

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

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

With *to*: *Gawain* 941 *Penne lyst pe lady to loke on pe knyzt; Patience* 51 *Oper zif my lege Lorde lyst on lyue me to bidde.*

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

Without *to*: *Gawain* 2140-2 now pou so much spellez, pat pou wylt pyn awen nye nyme to pyseluen, ...pe *lette* I ne kepe. (The earliest example in *OED* is from c. 1200)

With *to*: *Gawain* 546-7 3e knowe pe cost of pis cace, kepe I no more *To Telle* yow tenez perof; *Patience* 1464 Iwysse, a worplokter won *to welde* I neuer keped.

coueyte (2): found only with the *to*-infinitive in the *Gawain*-poet.

Cf. *PPI* without *to*, 2; with *to*, 10.

Purity 1054-5 And *to be coupe* in his corte pou coveytes penne, *To see* pat Semly in sete and his wete face.

Cf. *PPI* III. 163 alle pe comune in kare pat coueyten *lyue* in trewth; IX. 171 For-thi I conseilte alle Crystene coueite nouzt *be wedded*.

trawe (=hope, expect) (1): the only instance that occurs in the *Gawain*-poet is found with the bare infinitive:⁶³

Purity 388 Summe swymmed peron pat *save* hemself trawed.

wene (1): accompanied by the bare infinitive in the *Gawain*-poet.

But the two instances which are found in *PPI* are both followed by the *to*-infinitive. Thus both forms of the infinitive are used after the verb in ME (cf. *OED* s.v. *Ween* v. I. b.).

Gawain 1707-11 he ... Went *haf wylt* of pe wode with wylez fro pe houndez. Cf. *PPI* VI. 248 And that he weneth wel *to haue*; V. 476.

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

Gawain 679-80 A lowande leder of ledez in londe hym wel semez, And so had better *haf ben* pen britned to nouzt.

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

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

Other verbs which take the *to*-infinitive as their direct object are: *hope* (3 exs.) (*Purity* 860; *Patience* 315-6 (2 exs.)), *deme* (2) (*Gawain* 1089, 1668-9), *fayle*⁶⁴ (2) (*Gawain* 278; *Purity* 548), *fyne* (2) (*Patience* 353, 1030-1), *hete* (=promise) (2) (*Pearl* 305; *Purity* 1162), *schape* (2) (*Purity* 762; *Gawain* 2138-9), *seche* (2) (*Purity* 201, 1286), *tyzt* (=intend)

⁶³ *OED* has examples of this verb with the *to*-infinitive as its object from 1340-70 onwards, but records no examples of the verb with the bare infinitive.

⁶⁴ The earliest example given in *OED* (and *MED*) is 1393 from Gower.

two. Cf. *PPl* without *to*, 7; with *to*, 6.

Without *to*: *Gawain* 330-31 *Arthure*... pat *stryke* wyth hit pozt; *Purity* 138 and *greve* hym he pozt; *Ib.* 304 and *forper* hit I penk; *Ib.* 1729 Now *expowne* pe pis speche spedly I penk.

With *to*: *Pearl* 1151 Pat syzt me gart to penk *to wade*; *Purity* 711 Hem *to smyte* for pat smod smartly I penk.

bygynne (5): found only with the *to*-infinitive in the *Gawain*-poet.

Cf. *PPl* without *to*, 1; with *to*, 9.

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

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

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

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

Purity 1103-4 Pat for fetys of his fyngeres fonded he neuer Nawper *to cout* ne *to kerve* wyth knyf ne wyth egge; *Gawain* 986; *Pearl* 150.

oze (4): both the bare infinitive and the *to*-infinitive occur twice in the *Gawain*-poet. According to Mustanoja,⁶² in early texts, in *PPl* and the Wyclifite Bible the bare infinitive is rare, while Chaucer, Occleve and, above all, Pecoock favour the bare infinitive. Incidentally in *PPl* after *oze* the bare infinitive is found once and the *to*-infinitive five times. Thus in the case of 'oze' the ME usage is very unsettled. After a long competition with the bare infinitive, however, the use of the *to*-infinitive is now established after *ought*. Examples from the *Gawain*-poet are:

Without *to*: *Pearl* 1139 Ani breste for bale ayt *haf forbrent*; *Purity* 122 And alle pe laykez pat a lord ayt in londe *schewe*. Cf. *PPl* II. 28 I auzte *ben* herre than she I cam of a better.

With *to*: *Gawain* 1525-7 And ze... Oghe to a zonke pynk zern *to schewe* And *teche* sum tokenez of trweluf craftes.

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

⁶² *Op. cit.*, p. 533.

iary of the present tense will be given below:

Pearl 293-4 Þou ne woste in worlde quat dotz mene; Þy worde byfore þy wytte *con fle*; 509-10 Into acorde þay *con declyne* For a pené on a day, and forth þay gotz.

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

3.3(2) After Full Verbs

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

dar (13 exs.): in PE this verb (now *dare*) is not only treated as a common verb with the *to*-infinitive after it, but when not in the form of a present participle or in a compound tense, is often also used, like a modal auxiliary, with a bare infinitive after it, especially in negative and interrogative sentences.⁵⁹ Originally, however, this verb was always followed by the bare infinitive. As expected, in the *Gawain*-poet *dar* is always followed by the bare infinitive, whether in negative sentences or in affirmative ones. No instances happen to occur in interrogative sentences. Exactly the same thing is also said of Langland's use of *dar* in *PPI*. Mustanoja also seems to have found no examples of *dar* with the *to*-infinitive in ME.⁶⁰ In view of these facts and the fact that *OED* has no earlier instances of *dare* with the *to*-infinitive than c. 1555, it seems that *dar* was never followed by the *to*-infinitive in ME. A few examples of the bare infinitive from the *Gawain*-poet are given below:

Pearl 1089 For I dar *say* wyth consciens sure; *Gawain* 1493 For þat durst I not *do*, lest I deuayed were; *Purity* 615 zif I hit *pray* durst.

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

penk (<OE *pencan*=intend, expect) (6): both forms of the infinitive occur with this verb, but, contrary to Mustanoja's argument,⁶¹ the bare infinitive prevails in the *Gawain*-poet. That is, this verb is accompanied by the bare infinitive in four instances and by the *to*-infinitive in

⁵⁹ Cf. Curme, *Syntax* 49.4.C(1)a.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 530.

⁶¹ Mustanoja says that with this verb the *to*-infinitive is prevailing (*op. cit.*, p. 534).

The remaining example is found in the imperative construction:

Patience 204 *Do gif* glory to py godde, er pou glyde hens.

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

con (or *can*) (=did or do) (94 exs.): this is the Northern (Scottish) and North Midland phonetic variant of *gan* and serves mostly as an indicator of the past tense (i. e. *did*), or very rarely, of the present tense (i. e. *do*). In a few cases of the latter, however, it is difficult to decide whether the *con* in question is the periphrastic *con* or the modal *con* (=can, be able), as in: *Pearl* 381 *Paʒ cortaysly ʒe carp con; Ib.* 709, 729. Except for these doubtful cases, there are as many as 94 instances of the periphrastic *con* (including 3 of *can*): 62 exs. in *Pearl*, 23 in *Gawain*, 6 in *Purity* and 3 in *Patience*, which are invariably accompanied by the bare infinitive with the exception of one example: *Pearl* 1181 *And rewfully penne I con to reme.* Out of the 94 examples 79 are apparently used in conjunction with rhyme as in:

Gawain 230-31 *He stemmed, and con studie* (rhyme: 228 *yʒe*)
Quo walt per most renoun; Pearl 820-21 *When Jesus con to hym*
warde gon, (rhyme: 818 *Jon,* 822 *ston,* 824 *vpon*) *He sayde of hys*
pys professye.

On the other hand, the instances in which the infinitive after *con* is not in rhyme are very rare, occurring 4 times (out of 62) in *Pearl*, 2 (out of 23) in *Gawain*, 6 in *Purity* and 3 in *Patience*:

Gawain 2212 *Thenne pe knyzt con calle ful hyʒe; Pearl* 721-2 *Jesus*
con calle to hym hys mylde, And sayde hys ryche no wyʒ myʒt
wynne; Purity 301 *Now God in nwy to Noe con speke; Patience*
138 When bope brepes con blowe vpon blo watteres; etc.

These facts considered, the *Gawain*-poet's frequent use of the periphrastic *con* with the bare infinitive is, no doubt, due primarily to the great demands of metrical structure, particularly rhyme.

It may also be noted in passing that only *Pearl* shows the use of *con* as a periphrastic auxiliary of the present as well as of the past tense, there being 13 examples of the former as compared with 49 of the latter.⁵⁸ Some examples of the use of *con* as a periphrastic auxil-

⁵⁸ In his edition of *Pearl*, p. 63, Gordon points out that this feature is one of the few differences in linguistic usage to be found within the *Gawain*-group.

infinitive is also found after these auxiliaries in the *Gawain*-poet. That is, out of 819 examples found after the auxiliaries, 7 are accompanied by the *to*-infinitive:

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

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

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

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

do (4 exs.): according to *OED* (s.v. *Do* 25.a.), the merely periphrastic *do* is found already in OE, frequently in ME, very frequently from 1500 to 1700, dying out in normal prose in the 18th century, while Trnka says that "A few sporadic instances of this construction are quoted from OE prose, but as late as 1450 the construction was comparatively rare, and it is only later that it begins to occur frequently."⁵⁵ He goes on to say that "As to Chaucer's and Gower's works, the periphrastic *do* is used very rarely."⁵⁶ The construction is by no means common in the *Gawain*-poet's works, and *PPI* as well, since there are only four examples in the former and five in the latter.⁵⁷ Hence Trnka's statement appears to be more accurate than that of *OED*. Of the four examples found in the *Gawain*-poet three seem to be used for the sake of rhyme:

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

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁵⁷ See *PPI* (B-text) V. 245; VII. 176-8; X. 11; XII. 169; XIX. 306.

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

In the *Gawain*-poet this use of the infinitive as object is fairly frequent, compared with that of the infinitive as direct subject (cf. 3.1) or subjective predicative as a substantive-equivalent (cf. 3.2 (1) (a)). In the *Gawain*-poet's works there are, excluding those used after the auxiliary verbs, at least 73 instances of this usage, of which 23 are the bare infinitive and 50 the *to*-infinitive. Whereas in OE the infinitive as object was normally the bare infinitive,⁵³ in the *Gawain*-poet the *to*-infinitive is used twice as frequently as the bare infinitive, the latter being found exclusively after a few verbs, such as *dar* and *penk*. Before discussing these 73 examples, we will briefly describe the use of the infinitive after auxiliary verbs, which is left out of the above statistics.

3.3(1) After Auxiliary Verbs

From a historical point of view Jespersen recognizes the infinitive as object after such auxiliary verbs as *will* and *can*.⁵⁴ Examples of this kind will, therefore, be discussed here in this section.

The future and modal auxiliaries *shall*, *will*, *may*, *can*, *must* and the periphrastic auxiliary *do* are regularly construed with the bare infinitive through all periods of English. Much the same applies to the *Gawain*-poet's use of the infinitive after the above-mentioned auxiliaries as well as another periphrastic auxiliary *con* (=did, or do) which seems to be characteristic of his style, as in: *Pearl* 390 I *wolde bysech*, wythowten debate; *Ib.* 357 Hys comforte *may* py langour lype; *Ib.* 149 Aboute me *con* (=did) I *state* and *stare*. Very rarely, however, the *to*-

⁵³ *OED* s. v. *To* B. 14.

⁵⁴ *M. E. G.*, V, 12.1.1.

Gawain 850-51 Þe lorde hym charred to a chambre, and chefly cumaunderz *To delyver* hym a leude; *Ib.* 1372 Thenne comaunded þe lorde in pat sale *to samen* alle þe meny; *Purity* 1741-2 Þe kyng comaunded anon *to clepe* pat wyse In frokkes of fyn clop.

let (3): found three times solely with the bare infinitive:

Gawain 299-30 Now hyze, and let *se* tite Dar any herinne ozt say; *Ib.* 413-4 Ta now þy grymme tole to þe, And let *se* how pou cnok-
ez; *Pearl* 715 His dessypelez wyth blame let *be* hem bede.

do (=cause) (1): found only once with the bare infinitive:

Patience 385-6 Samnes yow bilyue; Do⁵⁰ *dryue* out a decree, demed of my seluen.

make (1): found with the bare infinitive:

Pearl 539 To take her hyre he mad *sumoun*.⁵¹

spede (=cause) (1): found only once with the *to*-infinitive, in which case the logical subject of the infinitive is inferred from the preceding line:

Purity 550-2 If he be sulped in synne, pat syttez unclene—On spec of a spote may *spede to mysse* Of þe syzte of þe Soverayn pat syt-
tez so hyze.

3.3 Infinitive as Object

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

Patience 333-4 Bot I dewoutly *awowe*, . . . Soberly *to do* þe sacrafyse; *Pearl* 333 Now *rech* I neuer *for to declyne*; *Gawain* 804 If he myzt *keuer to com* þe cloyster wythinne; *Ib.* 492 he *zerned* zelpyng *to here*; *Ib.* 1804-1 I *baype* hit yow neuer *to graunte*; *Pearl* 225-6 I hope no tong mozt *endure*⁵² No sauerly saghe *say* of pat syzt.

⁵⁰ In their editions, Gollancz and Bateson take this *do* as causative while Anderson considers this to be the periphrastic 'do'.

⁵¹ In his edition, Gordon takes this to be a noun. Here I have followed Sisam's reading of the line ('he had (them) summoned' or 'he caused (them) to be summoned') (cf. K. Sisam, *Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose*, p. 226 and pp. 230-31).

⁵² *MED* glosses this word as "(of things): to be sufficient or adequate; to remain serviceable, . . ." of which the second earliest example is the above one from *Pearl*.

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

Gawain 363-5 And sypen pay redder all same (=together) *To kyde* þe kyng wyth croun, And *gif* Gawan þe game; *Ib.* 1733 Bot þe lady for luf let not *to slepe*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gawain 1182-3 And as in slomeryng he slode, sleȝly he herde A little dyn at his *dor*, and dernly *vpon* (= "heard it stealthily open" —N. Davis).

comaund (3): always found with the *to*-infinitive:

Pearl 301-3 I halde *pat iueler* lyttel *to prayse*... And much *to blame*. Cf. *PPI* I. 143 *This* I trowe *be treuthe*.

One of the reasons why, after verbs of mental perception, this construction is very rare may be that some predicative other than an infinitive—an adjective, participle or substantive—is often employed with the ‘accusative’, as in: *Gawain* 2390 I halde *hit* hardily *hole*; *Pearl* 282 I trawed *my perle don* out of dawez.

(D) Verbs of Declaration

As already stated, the ‘accusative with infinitive’ construction after verbs of declaration is found in OE only in slavish translations from Latin originals. According to Mustanoja and Trnka,⁴⁶ this construction is widely used from the 14th century onwards, largely owing to the influence of Latin. In the *Gawain*-poet, however, there is only one possible example, and in *PPI* there is no example. In Chaucer, too, it is practically non-existent.⁴⁷ Just as after verbs of mental perception, Peacock’s extensive use of this construction after verbs of declaration is remarkable.⁴⁸ Hence it may be safely said that this construction is only very sporadically found before Peacock (c. 1450). The only possible example that seems to occur in the *Gawain*-poet is found after *mynn* (=declare):⁴⁹

Gawain 141 Bot mon most I agate *mynn hym to bene*. Cf. Peacock *Repressor* 446 he clepith and seith *Thy mothie to be* such a bischop.

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

3.2(2) (Add.) Non-expression of the logical subject of the infinitive as an objective predicative

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

⁴⁶ Mustanoja, *op. cit.*, p. 527; Trnka, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁴⁷ J. S. Kenyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-106.

⁴⁸ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-9.

⁴⁹ No instances of this verb with the infinitive are recorded in *OED* (s. v. *min* v² 5 trans. To say, tell, mention, record, relate).

panied by the *to*-infinitive.

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

Gawain 697-8 Warloker to haf wrozt had more wyt bene, And haf dyzt *zonder dere* a duk to *haue worpet*; *Patience* 488 Why ne dyzttiez pou *me to dize*?

(B) Verbs of Sense Perception

Though far less frequently than with Verbs of Causation, the infinitive as an objective predicative is occasionally found with Verbs of Sense Perception. Eleven examples fall within this group, all of which are the bare infinitive.

here (5): *Pearl* 879 A note ful nwe I herde *hem warpe*; *Gawain* 690, 1523; *Purity* 1586; *Patience* 301-2

se (5): *Purity* 68 To see *hem pulle* in pe plow aproche me by-houez; *Gawain* 1582, 2315; *Pearl* 867; *Purity* 788.

fynde (1): *Pearl* 514 And *ydel men stande* he fyndez perat.

(C) Verbs of Mental Perception

Some scholars⁴³ contend that the 'accusative with infinitive' construction occurs frequently from the 14th century onwards after verbs of mental perception. This statement, however, seems to be quite misleading. The construction is exceedingly rare in the *Gawain*-poet, occurring only twice after verbs of this kind. It seems to be very rare in Chaucer, too.⁴⁴ Even in *PPl* where the 'accusative with infinitive' construction is very common, it occurs only twice after verbs of mental perception, whereas in Pechock (c. 1450) it is widely used. Judging from these facts, F. Schmidt⁴⁵ seems to be correct in assuming that before Pechock this construction is to be found only very sporadically. The only two examples in the *Gawain*-poet are both found after *halde*, where the infinitive has a passive meaning:

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

⁴⁴ Cf. J. S. Kenyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-106.

⁴⁵ *The Language of Pechock*, pp. 117-9.

wax ful sone.

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

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

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

Without *to*: *Gawain* 776 Now bone hostel... I beseche *yow zette*; *Patience* 413 I besech *pe*, Syre, now pou self *jugge*; *Gawain* 1862.

With *to*: *Gawain* 1861-3 ho... bisozt *hym*, for hir sake, disceuer hit neuer, Bot *to lelly layne* for hir lorde.

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

pray (3): always accompanied by the *to*-infinitive. Cf. *PPI* without *to*, 5; with *to*, 17.

Gawain 1218-9 wolde ze... pray *him to ryse*; *Pearl* 714 *To touch* her chylder pay fayr *him* prayed; *Patience* 327 Prayande *him* for pete his prophete *to here*. Cf. *PPI* XX. 337 I preye *the hele* nouzte thi name

bid (<OE *biddan*=pray, beg) (2): in ME *biddan* and *beodan* (=command) were levelled under the form *bidden*, which was used in the two senses of 'pray' and 'command'. Here we are concerned with the former meaning. Only two instances occur, both of which are the bare infinitive. Cf. *PPI* without *to*, 6; with *to*, 2.

Gawain 2089-90 *pe burne* pat rod *hym* by Bede *his mayster abide*: *Pearl* 520 And no mon byddez *vus do* ryzt nozt. Cf. *PPI* XVI. 64-5 I...bade *hym* ful fayre *To discreue* the fruit.

Other verbs of this group are *epe* (=entreat) (*Gawain* 2467-8 (2 exs.)) and *prete* (=beseech) (*Gawain* 1980), both of which are accom-

Purity 439-40 Þen he stac up þe stangez, stoped þe wellez,
Bed *blynne of þe rayn* (=bade the rain cease).⁴¹

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

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

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

Purity 877 Who joyned *þe be* jostyseoure japez to blame.

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

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

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

*teche*⁴² (4 exs.): with this verb the *to*-infinitive occurs three times and the bare infinitive once:

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

With *to*: *Gawain* 2379-80 For care of þy knobbe cowardyse *me tagt To acorde* me couetyse, my kynde *to forsake*; *Ib.* 2075 Þat shulde teche *hym to tourne* to þat tene place.

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

Without *to*: *Pearl* 743-4 I rede *þe forsake* þe worlde wode And *porchace* þy perle maskelles.

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

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

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

With *to*: *Gawain* 521-2 heruest... Warnez *hym* for þe wynter *to*

⁴¹ Cf. Hawlett O 45 she did not let *go of the child*... she kissed him again, and let him go (q. Jespersen, *M. E. G.*, III, 13.4.3.).

⁴² Regarding the construcion with *teach*, some scholars take the infinitive as a direct object and the person as an indirect object (cf. Söderlind, *op. cit.*, p. 28).

tanoja⁴⁰ states that the peculiar OE use of the bare infinitive after *give* survives in a few ME cases. No such examples are, however, found in the *Gawain*-poet (and Langland as well).

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

stere (=restrain) (2): accompanied by the *to*-infinitive. As a verb of preventing, this *stere* is the only example followed by the infinitive as an objective predicative.

Pearl 1159-60 And *to start* in pe strem schulde non *me stere*,
To swymme pe remnaunt, pez I her swalte.

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

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

This group is composed of the following:

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

Without *to*: *Gawain* 1437 Penne pay beten on pe buskez, and *bede hym vpryse*; *Purity* 1551 He *bede his burnes boz to*; *Patience* 187 Pe freke...*bede hym ferk vp*.

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

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

There are two passive infinitives used after *bede*:

Purity 1221-4 he...*bede pe burne to be brozt to Babyloyn pe ryche*,
And pere in dounoun *be don to dreze* per his wyrdes.

The following example is very interesting in that the logical subject of the infinitive is expressed by the periphrastic genitive with *of*:

pe Soverayn of heven... Gart *hym* grattest *to be* of governores alle,
And alle pe worlde in his wylle *welde*³⁸ as hym lykes.

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

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

With *to*: *Pearl* 306 *pa3* fortune dyd *your* *flesch* *to* *dyze*; *Ib.* 556 And pou dotz *hem* vus *to* *counterfete*.

Thus in ME *do* is current in causative function but later in ModE it falls into disuse, being supplanted by *make* or *cause*.

make (4): this causative verb is always accompanied by the *to*-infinitive in the *Gawain*-poet. In PE the bare infinitive is the rule, but in ME the *to*-infinitive seems to be prevailing in this function although both forms of the infinitive occur. For example, in *PPI* out of 35 instances 21 are the *to*-infinitive while 14 are the bare infinitive. In Chaucer, too, the *to*-infinitive is more common after this verb.³⁹

Examples from the *Gawain*-poet are:

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

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

Gawain 523 He *dryues* wyth drozt *pe* *dust* *for* *to* *ryse*; *Patience* 235 Pat drof *hem* *dryzlych* adoun *pe* *depe* *to* *serue*; *Gawain* 524, 1047-8.

gyue (=grant, allow) (2): found twice with the *to*-infinitive. Mus-

³⁸ This infinitive is governed by the *to* of the preceding 'to be', but it may also be considered to be a bare infinitive since the verb *gar* is equally construed with the bare infinitive.

³⁹ Cf. Kenyon, *The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer*, p. 104.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 531.

Without *to*: *Pearl* 718 Do way, let *chylder* vnto me *tyzt*; *Purity* 1434 Let *pise ladyes* of hem *lape*; *Gawain* 2387 Letez *me ouertake* your wylle.

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

Generally the logical subject of the infinitive is placed before the infinitive as shown above. Occasionally, however, we find the inverse order whereby *let* enters into a fixed combination with the following infinitive and forms nearly one semantic whole with it, followed by an object. The only expression of this type that I have come across in the *Gawain*-poet is *let be* (=to leave off, cease from):³⁷ *Gawain* 1840 And lettez *be your businessse*, for I baype hit yow neuer. But in *Pearl* 901 Neuer pe less let *be my ponc*, *let be* is not interpreted in the same way, because the logical subject of the infinitive is merely placed after it, owing to the requirements of the rhyme.

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

Pearl 813-4 For vus he lette *hym flyze and folde And brede* vpon a bostwys bem (=For us he let *himself be scourged and bent and stretched* upon a cumbrous cross).

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

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

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

Without *to*: *Pearl* 331 What seruez tresor, bot garez *men grete*;
Purity 1361 Baltazar purz Babiloyn *his banne gart crye*; *Pearl* 86;
Purity 896.

With *to*: *Gawain* 2460 For to haf greued Gaynour and gart *hir to dyze*;
Pearl 1151 Pat syzt *me gart to penk* to wade; *Purity* 1643-6

³⁷ *OED* has examples from c. 1175. Another possible example of this is: *Pearl* 715 His dessypelez wyth blame let *be* hem bede, in which case, however, 'hem' is the logical subject of the infinitive *let* (i.e. bede hem let be), that of the infinitive *be* being unexpressed. Other expressions of this type, though not found in the *Gawain*-poet, are *let go* (e.g. *PPl* V. 334 let go the cuppe) and *let pass* (=pass by, neglect) (e.g. *PPl* III. 196 She leteth *passe* prisoners). The last example from *PPl* is far older than the earliest one (dated 1530) in *OED*.

the figures given above, the relative frequency of both infinitives seems to be much the same, but it does not follow from this that the one is used as freely as the other in this function. The bare infinitive is found almost exclusively after only a limited number of verbs like *let*, *bede*, *do* (=cause), *beseche*, *se*, *here*, etc., most of which are, even today, almost invariably construed with the bare infinitive, but otherwise the *to*-infinitive is by far the more common. The periphrastic passive infinitive form in this function is exceedingly rare, occurring only five times in the *Gawain*-poet.

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

(A) Verbs of Expressed or Implied Causation

The 'accusative with infinitive' construction occurs most often, namely 104 times with verbs of causation, expressed or implied, as is the case with OE and ME examples of the construction.³⁶ The instances considered belonging here will be found with the following groups of verbs, although we often hesitate to determine to which group a given verb may belong:

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

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

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

³⁶ Callaway, *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 107; Zeitlin, *The Accusative with Infinitive and Some Kindred Constructions in English*, p. 43.

remarkably ancient, too. In conjunction with verbs of saying it is found in OE only in slavish translations from Latin originals. In early ME there is a remarkable increase in the use of the construction after verbs of causation, and since the beginning of the 14th century the accusative with infinitive has been practically the only construction used with these verbs. It is also quite common after verbs of perception. It is used in an increasing measure after verbs denoting mental activity of various kinds. From the 14th century onwards the accusative with infinitive is widely used also in conjunction with verbs of saying and believing. The great increase in the use of the construction between the 14th and the 16th centuries seems to be largely due to the influence of Latin. This is especially the case after verbs of saying. Wyclif and Pecock appear to be particularly fond of the accusative with infinitive (Mustanoja, *Middle English Syntax*, Part I, pp. 526-7). What is to be remembered here is that since OE, a substantive, participle or adjective besides an infinitive have been commonly used in this function (e. g. *Gawain* 2390 I halde hit hardily *hole*). Hence the construction with these predicative forms must have been a very important factor in the historical development of the one with the infinitive.

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

As regards the form of the infinitive used in this function, the bare infinitive was originally the rule, but in the course of time there came in the *to*-infinitive. According to Kellner, in the 16th century the latter becomes the rule.³⁵ In the *Gawain*-poet, out of the 122 instances, 60 are the bare infinitive while 62 are the *to*-infinitive. Judging from

³⁵ *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, § 404.

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

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

Pearl 942 For pere pe olde gulte watz don *to shake*; *Purity* 44-5 he schulde . . . be forboden pat borze *to bowe* pider never; *Ib.* 89-91 Kepte wer pay fayre, . . . Ful manerly wyth marschal mad *for to sitte*; *Ib.* 163-4 alle arn laped luflyly, pe luper and pe better, . . . pat fest *to have*. Cf. *PPI* II. 218 He was. . . ouer-al yhowted and yhote *trusse*; XIII. 33 This maister was made *sitte* as for the most worthy.

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

Purity 684 Sypen he is chosen *to be* chef chyldryn fader; *Ib.* 1734 Py wale rengne is walt in weztes *to heng*; *Patience* 245 Now is Jonas pe jwe jugged *to drowne*.

3.2(2) Objective Predicative

The infinitive is also used as a kind of objective predicative in a construction customarily referred to as the 'accusative with infinitive',³⁴ equivalent to an object clause, in which the 'accusative' is regarded as the logical subject of the infinitive and the infinitive assumes the function of a predicate verb, the 'accusative' and the infinitive as a whole functioning as the direct object of the main verb. The history of this construction may be summarized according to Mustanoja as follows: Even in earliest OE, as in other early Indo-European languages, the infinitive occurs as a kind of objective predicative (or, to use the term of Mustanoja, 'predicate accusative'). The construction seems to occur first after certain causative verbs, but its use after verbs of perception is

³⁴ The problem as to this construction is adequately discussed by Jespersen in *M. E. G.*, V, 18.1.1-18.1.4.

it from 1303 (MS. 1360) Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*: 1546 þey beth to be blamed eft þarfare. He further goes on to say that "by the end of the fifteenth century the predicative passive infinitive had acquired the status of a regular, recognized construction."³⁰ In the works of the *Gawain*-poet (and in *PPI*), however, there is no instance of this type of passive infinitive.

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

According to van der Gaaf,³¹ this type of construction, denoting futurity mostly with a slight admixture of predestination, began to be used in late OE as an imitation of Latin *esse* + future participle. In late ME and early ModE the idea of predestination, arrangement, agreement, sometimes becomes predominant in the signification of the construction. In PE this is the usual meaning. In late ME and early ModE we also find instances of the construction in the sense of obligation or necessity. As a result, *be to* is often synonymous with *ought to*, *have to*, *must*. In PE, however, this meaning is getting less common, as *have to* often takes the place of *be to*. In view of the fact that the earliest instance of the construction in question dates from the end of the 10th century, however, Trnka is undoubtedly wrong in stating that the first to use 'be to + infinitive' in the active meaning was Wyclif.³² In the *Gawain*-poet there are only two examples of this use, in which the implication of futurity is practically non-existent.

Pearl 951-2 þat nys to yow no more *to mene* Bot "ceté of God", oper "syzt of pes"; *Ib.* 1041 þat is *to say*, as her byrþ-whateȝ.³³ Cf. *PPI* I. 11 what is this *to mene*; X. 473-4 Crysptes tresore, the which is mannes soule *to saue* as god seith in the gospel: XV. 592 And hopen that he be *to come* that shal hem releue.

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

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

³¹ "Beon and habban connected with an inflected infinitive," *English Studies*, XIII (1931), p. 186.

³² *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

³³ This may be better considered to be an example of the subjective predicative as a substantive-equivalent discussed in 3.2(1)(a). Cf. Jespersen, *M. E. G.*, V, 11.2.1.

(i) retroactive infinitive²⁷ (e. g. He is *to blame*) and (ii) non-retroactive infinitive (e. g. He is *to come*). The two constructions just quoted are identical in form, but different in meaning. That is, in the former the infinitive is passive in sense while in the latter it is active; or we may say that in the former the infinitive refers to the subject of the main sentence as its logical or latent object though in the latter the logical subject of the infinitive is the same as the subject of the main sentence.

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

This type of construction, generally implying necessity or obligation, is frequent in OE, but from the circumstance that OE examples are very scarce in poetry and original prose, while they are found in great numbers in translations from Latin, Callaway²⁸ thinks that the construction cannot be organic, but must be due to Latin influence as rendering Latin *sum* + gerundive or similar constructions. In the *Gawain*-poet there are 10 examples which are active in form but passive in meaning.

Gawain 356 Bot for as much as 3e ar myn em I am only *to prayse* ("be to prayse" also in *Pearl* 1131, *Purity* 189); *Ib.* 1398-9 Pay lazed, and made hem blype Wyth lotez pat were *to lowe*; *Pearl* 68 Where rych rokkez wer *to descreeuen*; *Ib.* 563 Fyrre pen couenaunde is nozt *to plete*; *Ib.* 914 If 3e can se hyt be *to done*; *Ib.* 955 In pat oper is nozt bot pes *to glene*; *Purity* 76 More *to wyte* is her wrange pen any wylle gentyl; *Patience* 523 For malyse is noz *to mayntyne* boute mercy withinne. Cf. *PPI* VII. 60 3if that I lye Mathew is *to blame*; VI. 307-8 ale ... that in borghe is *to selle*.

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

As early as the 14th century also appears the periphrastic passive infinitive used predicatively. Concerning this problem, van der Gaaf²⁹ contends that the predicative passive infinitive did not make its appearance until after the 13th century, and he cites the earliest instance of

²⁷ For this term see Jespersen, *M. E. G.*, V, 15.2.1.

²⁸ *Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 200. Cf. Jespersen, *M. E. G.*, V, 15.4.1.

²⁹ "The Predicative Passive Infinitive," *English Studies*, X(1928), p. 110.

3.2 Infinitive as Predicative

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

3.2(1) Subjective Predicative

(a) Subjective predicative as a substantive-equivalent:

The predicative infinitive we are now going to deal with is equivalent in function to a predicative substantive, as in Ch. *TC* II 294 That 'first vertu is *to kepe* tonge'. According to Trnka,²⁴ this use appears first in early ME, no instance being found as yet in OE. In the *Gawain*-poet this type of construction is practically non-existent, while it is often found in Chaucer,²⁵ and particularly in Langland (*PPl*). In fact the only instance in which it seems to occur is:

Patience 342 Hit may wel be pat mester were his mantyl *to wasche*.
In *PPl* (B-text) I have noted 25 clear examples of this use, some of which will be given below:

XI. 264 That parfyte pouert was no possessioun to haue; XVIII. 174 My will is *to wende*,... and *welcome* hem alle; XIX. 352-3 My con-seille is *to wende* Hastiliche in-to Vynte.

The bare infinitive in this function²⁶ never occurs in the works of the *Gawain*-poet (and Langland and Chaucer as well).

(b) Subjective predicative as an adjective-equivalent:

The construction *be to* with an infinitive which we are going to deal with here is different from the predicative infinitive mentioned above in that here the infinitive is an adjective-equivalent. The construction under discussion is divided from a historical point of view into two types:

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

²⁵ Kenyon, *The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer*, p. 137.

²⁶ Instances are plentiful in Present-day American English. Some examples from Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (Penguin Books): All they did was *shout* ché at one another (p. 83); What I would like to do is *use* thy orders for that purpose (p. 148); All Pilan did was *be* an intelligent woman (p. 163): All I could do was *cry* (p. 335).

personal expression are found in the following quotations where it is impossible to decide whether the verb in question is used impersonally or personally, because it stands either with a substantive or with one of the pronouns that do not distinguish cases.

Examples of the bare infinitive: *Gawain* 2191-2 Wel *bisemez* þe wyze wruyled in grene *Dele* here his deuocioun on þe deuelez wyse; *Pearl* 323 Þurȝ drwry deth *boȝ* vch man *dreue*; *Purity* 1000 And alle *lyst* on hir *lik* pat arn on launde bestes; *Ib.* 1356 Til þe Lorde of þe lyfte *liste* hit *abate*; *Patience* 151-2 þenne *suppe bihoued* þe coge of þe colde water, and þenne þe ery ryses.

Examples of the *to*-infinitive: *Gawain* 941 Þenne *lyst* þe lady *to loken* on þe knyȝt; *Pearl* 1141 The Lombe delyt non *lyste to wene*.

All these verbs are used elsewhere impersonally in the *Gawain*-poet as we have already seen. Hence it is not hard to imagine that such combinations as these have largely assisted in establishing the transition from the impersonal to the personal construction which began in the course of ME, substantially in the 14th century.²² This transitional process may be considered to be furthered in the following in such a way that the word originally placed in the dative or accusative may more clearly be taken as the subject of the verb.

Gawain 1251-2 Bot hit ar ladyes innoȝe pat *leuer wer* nowþe *Haf* þe²³; *Ib.* 1753-4 when he þe gome metes, And *bihoues* his buffet *abide* without debate more; *Ib.* 2134-5 as þe wyrde *lykez* hit *hafe*; *Purity* 435-6 Bot quen þe Lorde of þe lyfte *lyked* hymselfen *For to mynne* on his mon his meth pat *abidez*; *Patience* 51 Oper ȝif my lege lorde *lyst* on lyue me *to bidde*; *Ib.* 507 Þe sor of such a swete place *burde synk* to my hert.

All the doubtful cases so far discussed serve to show the fluctuating state of linguistic usage at the *Gawain*-poet's time. On the other hand, the *Gawain*-poet's frequent use of the bare infinitive in impersonal constructions is worthy of note, considering that in *PPl lyke* is the only verb of this kind that takes the bare infinitive as its subject, although some other examples of the bare infinitive are also found after the phrases *better be* and *leuer be*.

²² Mustanoja, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

²³ *OED* (s.v. *lief* 2) explains that this use apparently resulted from a conversion of the construction with dative, *him is lief* becoming *he is lief*. The earliest example of it dates from c. 1340 (Man... pat is lever *to lose* his) but no examples of the bare infinitive are recorded in *OED*.

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

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

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

Other examples: *byhoue* (or contracted form *bos*) (*Gawain* 324, 456, 717, 1065, 1068, 1239-40, 1771-2 (2 exs.), 2040, 2296; *Pearl* 927-8; *Purity* 398, 554, 687-8 (2 exs.); *Patience* 46, 465, 529), *burde* (*Gawain* 2278-9, 2428; *Pearl* 316; *Patience* 117), *be lyztloker* (*Patience* 47-8 (5 exs.)), *lyst* (*Gawain* 2049, 2142).

The impersonal verbs or phrases that take the *to*-infinitive as their logical subject are: *lyke* (5), *pynke* (4), *lyst* (2), *byhoue* (1), *paye* (1), *seme* (1), *oze* (1), *be better* (1), and *be swetter* (2). Typical examples follow:

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

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

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

Gawain 2037-42 Bot wered not pis ilk wyze for wele pis gordel, . . . Bot for to sauen hymself, when *suffer* hym byhoued, *To byde* bale withoute debate of bronde hym to were oper knyffe.

Doubtful examples of the infinitive as the logical subject of an im-

Gawain 471-2 Wel bycommes such craft vpon Cristmasse, Laykyng of enterludes, *to laze* and *to syng*, Among pise kynde caroles of kyngetez and ladyez.

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

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

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

Other examples: *Gawain* 165, 719, 1008, 1198-9, 1540-5 (2 exs.), 1719, 1805, 1806-7, 2420-1 (2 exs.); *Pearl* 309-11, 1201-2 (2 exs.); *Patience* 490-1.

One curious instance of the use of the *to*-infinitive as the logical subject which might be best mentioned here is: *Pearl* 1108-9 And alle in sute her linez wasse; *Tor to knaw* pe gladdest chere (cf. *Gawain* 719 Hit ware to tore *for to telle* of pe tenpe dole), in which case the formal subject and the copula seem to be understood.

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

Purity 1539 Hit is not innoghe to pe nice *al nazty pink use* (=to practice wicked things). Cf. *Floris and Blancheflour* 948-9 Hit were nouzt right jugement Without answare *make acouplement*.

As already pointed out, in the function of the logical subject the infinitive occurs quite frequently in impersonal constructions.²¹ In the

²¹ By this is meant impersonal verbs or phrases which, while governing a dative or accusative, have no grammatical subject at all or have only a formal subject 'it'.

any sort of exact classification. No hard and fast classification of the infinitive is, therefore, intended in this section. An attempt here is made to classify the infinitive, whether with, or without, *to*, according to its dominant function in the sentence while always taking into account whether the infinitive is the bare infinitive or the *to*-infinitive. The major uses of the infinitive which will be discussed in the following subsections are as follows: the infinitive as the subject, object, and predicative of a finite verb, and as an adjunct to verbs, adjectives (or adverbs) and substantives (or pronouns). To these uses is added the use of the infinitive instead of the finite verb. Furthermore, other aspects of use of the infinitive, such as the split infinitive and the non-expression of the infinitive will be discussed in 4.

3.1 Infinitive as Subject

The infinitive as the subject of a finite verb is not infrequent, occurring about 97 times in the works of the *Gawain*-poet. The majority of examples belonging here are, however, found in impersonal constructions in which the infinitive functions as the logical subject. On the other hand, there are only 31 instances of the infinitive in personal expressions, of which 30 are the *to*-infinitive. Out of the 31 instances, only nine occur as direct subject, not introduced by the formal subject 'it'. The use of the *to*-infinitive as direct subject is quite common in ModE, but in the OE poetry¹⁹ it is non-existent and even in ME²⁰ it is still rather unusual. *OED* (s. v. *To* 13 b) does have examples of this type from the 14th century. As should be expected, the *to*-infinitive as direct subject is still unusual in the *Gawain*-poet.

Gawain 676 *To fynde* hys fere vpon felde, in fayth, is not epe;
Pearl 674 Two men *to saue* is god by skille; *Purity* 1376 *to neven*
pe noubre to much nye were; *Patience* 354 On *to prenge* perpurze
watz pre dayez dede.

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

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

¹⁹ Jespersen, *M. E. G.*, V, 11.12.

²⁰ Mossé, F., *A Handbook of Middle English*, pp. 101-2.

PPI (C-text) VI. 164 Lytel hadde lordes *a-do*¹⁸ to zeue londe for here aires; *English writings of Richard Rolle* 110:11-2 we sall af-force *at cleth* us in lufe (also in 87:12, 93:27); *Morte Arthure* 1165 To carye forthe sich a carle *at close* hym in siluere; *An Alphabet of Tales* 78:23-4 for she forgatt *at bliss* it (also in 92:22, 98:15, etc.).

Other prepositions like *of*, *without*, etc. are also occasionally found with the infinitive in early ME and even later in the period. But no such examples occur in the *Gawain*-poet.

2. Form

In the works of the *Gawain*-poet, the infinitive normally ends in *-e* (e. g. *Gawain* 719 *telle*, *Purity* 3 *fynde*, *Patience* 10 *teche*), and less frequently without ending (e. g. *Gawain* 347 *com*, *Pearl* 520 *do*, *Patience* 507 *synk*). The ending *-en* occurs only occasionally, with: 9 examples in *Gawain* (327 *baypen*, 374 *byden*, 827 *seruen*, 1271 *chepen*, 1672 *helden*, 1719 *lypen*, 1784 *lausen*, 2040 *sauen*, 2511 *hyden*); 3 in *Pearl* (68 *dyscreuen*, 69 *leuen*, and, in reduced form after a vocalic stem, 820 *gon*); 4 in *Purity* (128 *chaufen*, 444 *warpen*, 768 *conveyen*, 1347 *gremen*); and 6 in *Patience* (160 *lyzten*, 219 *helpen*, 226 *grenen*, 517 *greuen*, 526 *renden*). The ending *-y* is found only in a few verbs belonging to the second class of weak verbs in OE (i. e. infinitive *-ian*), and in some verbs of French origin: 1 ex. in *Gawain*, 1067 *fayly* (OF *faillir*); 5 in *Pearl*, 34 *fayly*, 284 *wony* (OE *wunian*), 437 *restay* (OF *resteir*), 549 *pleny* (OF *plaign-*), 551 *streny* (OF *estreign-*); 2 in *Purity*, 588 *lyvy* (OE *lifian*), 1066 *lovy* (OE *lufian*); 1 in *Patience*, 462 *wony*. The only other ending is *-ne* which is very rarely found in monosyllables: 2 in *Gawain* (141 *bene*, 712 *sene*) and 2 in *Pearl* (45 *sene*, 914 *done*). These may be considered to be survivals of the OE inflected infinitive.

3. Use

The use of the infinitive is so extensive, manifold, and complicated that it is clearly neither possible nor desirable in little space to attempt

¹⁸ The form *a-do* is doubtless short for *at do* (cf. Skeat (ed.), *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*, Vol. II, pp. 68-9). The corresponding line in the B-text reads as follows: X. 312 Litel had Lordes *to done*

urity 373 Þer watz moon *for to make* when mesches was cnowen; etc.

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

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

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

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

The example of (b) from *King Horn* (dated c. 1225) is much older than Mustanoja's example from *Cursor Mundi* 20914.¹⁵ There is no clear example of *for* with the bare infinitive in the *Gawain*-poet, but one possible instance does occur:

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

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

(3) 'Till' and 'for till'—*Till* and *for till*, which occur only in Northern texts, are first recorded about 1300: *Cursor* 5330 (Cotton MS) he praid þe god men þat þar wer To lith a quil his word *til her*; *Ib.* 12989 (Fairfax MS) *for tille* be myne underloute.¹⁶ In the *Gawain*-poet, however, there are no examples of either preposition.

(4) 'At'—Mustanoja explains that "*At* (cf. ON *at*), recorded from the 13th century to the 15th, occurs particularly with the infinitive of purpose. . . . it is obviously due to Scandinavian influence."¹⁷ No examples of *at* with the infinitive appear in the *Gawain*-poet, although I have come across several examples in his contemporaries.

¹⁵ Cf. Mustanoja, *op. cit.*, p. 515.

¹⁶ Quoted by Mustanoja, *op. cit.*, p. 515.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 515.

frequency of the two types of infinitive had more than reversed itself from its OE ratio of 3: 1. By comparing my statistics on the *Gawain*-poet and Langland with Fries' data on PE, it becomes evident that the relative use of the *to*-infinitive compared with that of the bare infinitive had already become almost as frequent as in PE.

1.2 Prepositional Infinitives except for the *To*-infinitive

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

(1) 'For to'—According to Mustanoja, "*for to*, used to express purpose since the beginning of the ME period (the earliest known instance occurs in a document dated 1066: Godes gerichtten *for to setten...*, *Cod. Dip.* IV 306, 3 (Harold)), becomes weakened into a mere sign of the infinitive, equivalent to *to*, in the course of the 13th century, when it becomes quite common. In the 14th century it begins to lose ground; ..." ¹³ This tendency toward decreasing usage continues in the 15th century and the combination gradually disappears from the literary language. It does, however, linger on, even today, in dialectal and vulgar speech (cf. *OED* s. v. *for* 11).

In the *Gawain*-poet 68 examples of *for to* are found as compared with 515 of *to*, the proportion between *for to* and *to* being roughly 1:7.6. Incidentally in *PPl* and in *A Book of London English 1384-1425* ¹⁴ the ratio between *for to* and *to* is roughly 1:12 and 1:5 respectively. The *Gawain*-poet's use of *for to* and *to* seems to support Mustanoja's statement. There seem to be neither functional distinctions between *for to* and *to*, nor functional limitations on the use of *for to*.

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

No purpose expressed: *Gawain* 366 Pen comaunded pe kynge pe knyzt *for to ryse*; *Pearl* 333 Now rech I neuer *for to declyne*; *Pu-*

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 514.

¹⁴ Kaartinen, A., and T.F. Mustanoja, "The Use of the Infinitive in *A Book of London English 1384-1425*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, LIX (1958), p. 181.

was employed regularly. Until the close of the 15th century there is, however, a great vacillation in the use of the preposition, which becomes slowly settled in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries.⁹

Brunner also says:

Towards the end of the OE period the simple infinitive (without *to*) appears less and less, and in ME it is found very rarely except after verbs of sense-perception, preterite-presents, and verbs specifying a type of action, such as *do*, *ginne(n)*, *let*, etc. Elsewhere, and in its ME use as a subject, the infinitive is preceded by *to* or *for to*, to express the aim or purpose more clearly.¹⁰

Although these remarks suggest that in ME the use of the *to*-infinitive is by far more common than that of the bare infinitive, no numerical data are available about their relative frequency. With these preliminary remarks in mind, we will deal in the following sections with the *Gawain*-poet's use of the infinitive. In my statistics, when two (or more) infinitives occur co-ordinated with only the first member preceded by *to*, the second member is counted as an instance of the *to*-infinitive,¹¹ as in:

Patience 315-6 ȝet I surely hope Efte *to trede* on py temple and *teme* to py seluen.

1.1 Bare Infinitive and *To*-infinitive in the *Gawain*-poet

The total number of infinitives in the *Gawain*-poet's works, excluding infinitives after auxiliary verbs,¹² is approximately 744, of which 159 or 21.4 percent are the bare infinitive and 585 or 78.6 percent the infinitive with *to* (including *for to*). The ratio between the bare infinitive and the *to*-infinitive is roughly 1:4. Much the same is said of Langland's use of the infinitive in *PPl* where, of some 1,599 examples, 351 or 22 percent are the bare infinitive and 1,248 or 78 percent the infinitive with *to* or *for to*. Thus, by the second half of the 14th century, the relative

⁹ *On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden*, p. 75.

¹⁰ *An Outline of Middle English Grammar*, tr. by G.K.W. Johnston, p. 89.

¹¹ Cf. U. Ohlander, "A Study on the Use of the Infinitive Sign in Middle English," *Studia Neophilologica*, XIV, p. 59.

¹² To make my statistics compared with those of Callaway and Fries given on page 3, I have excluded from my count about 819 examples of the infinitive after the future and modal auxiliaries *shal*, *wyl*, *may*, *con* and their past tense forms, and after the periphrastic auxiliaries *do* and *con* (=did, or very rarely, do), although they will be treated of in 3.3(1)

final *e* in course of time entirely disappears.) Thus both the bare infinitive and the *to*-infinitive coalesce and become identical in form (e.g. *write, to write*), and reduce eventually to the uninflected verb-stem.

As for the relative frequency of both types of infinitive, in OE the infinitive with *to* had a much narrower range of use than the bare infinitive without *to*. According to M. Callaway, Jr., out of 9,495 instances of the infinitive in OE only 2,402 or 25.3 percent are the *to*-infinitive, while 7,094 or 74.7 percent are the bare infinitive without *to*.⁶ From OE to PE, however, the use of the preposition *to* has been extended to nearly all the uses of the infinitive. In this regard, Fries' study of PE usage shows that 18 percent of the instances of the infinitive he has examined are the bare infinitive and 82 percent the *to*-infinitive.⁷ Hence it follows that the relative frequency of the two types of infinitive has been completely reversed. Nonetheless this substitution of the *to*-infinitive for the bare infinitive already begins in OE and is furthered in early ME, because of the coalescing of the infinitive endings. This comes about in many constructions where in OE the bare infinitive was generally used, notably in the use of the infinitive as the subject, object and predicative of a verb. As a result, the *to* accompanying the infinitive loses its prepositional force and becomes, in most cases, a mere marker for the infinitive. Mustanoja⁸ says that this development of *to* begins early and is completed in the course of the 13th century. Nevertheless the original meaning of *to*, to indicate direction ('towards'), is retained even today in such uses as the infinitive of purpose or direction.

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

In opposition to Old English the use of the preposition *to* before the infinitive in Middle English is much more extensive, owing perhaps to the influence of Old Norse, in which the prepositional infinitive

⁶ Quoted by Fries in *American English Grammar*, p. 130.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-31. The figures given above should be considered in view of the fact that "In both the figures for Old English and those for Present-day English the number of instances used with the future auxiliaries and the modal auxiliaries have been omitted, for there has been no shift here in the infinitive form used." (p. 130).

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 514.

lines), and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (hereafter referred to as *Gawain*) (2,531 lines),¹ which are generally considered to have been composed in the North-West Midland dialect in the second half of the 14th century (possibly “about 1360-95”²). The study is based upon a statistical reading of all instances of the infinitive in the corpus. For comparative purposes, however, occasional reference is made to his contemporaries’ works, particularly Langland’s *Piers Plowman* (B-text) (hereafter referred to as *PPl*).³

“Infinitive,” for the purposes of this paper, will be understood as: the verb stem used in positions where it does not indicate person, number, or mood.⁴ The infinitive with *to* will be called the *to*-infinitive and the one without *to* the bare infinitive. Before discussing the use of the infinitive by the *Gawain*-poet, we will first make a rough survey of the historical development of these two forms of the infinitive according to Mustanoja, Jespersen, *OED*,⁵ etc.

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

² Cf. Gordon (ed.), *Pearl*, pp. xliii-xliv.

³ For Langland’s use of the infinitive see my article “Verbals in *Piers the Plowman* (III): Infinitive,” *Studies in the Humanities* (『文芸と思想』), No. 32 (1968), pp. 1-55. The other works referred to in this paper are: *An Alphabet of Tales*, Part I, ed. M. M. Banks, EETS OS 126, 1904; *Floris and Blancheflour & King Horn*, ed. D. B. Sands, *Middle English Verse Romances*, New York (Holt, Rinehart and Winston), 1966; *Morte Arthure*, ed. E. Brock, EETS OS 8, 1865, repr. 1871; *Troilus and Criseyde*, ed. F. N. Robinson, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd ed., London (O. U. P.), 1957; *English Writings of Richard Rolle*, ed. H. E. Allen, Oxford, 1931.

⁴ Cf. J. Söderlind, *Verb Syntax in John Dryden’s Prose*, Part II, p. 1.

⁵ Mustanoja, *Middle English Syntax*, Part I, pp. 512-3; Jespersen, *Modern English Grammar*, V, 10.1.1; *OED* s.v. *To B*.

ON THE USE OF THE INFINITIVE IN THE WORKS OF THE *GA WAIN*-POET

Matsuji Tajima

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1. Introductory Remarks

The main purpose of this paper is to describe the syntax of the infinitive in the ME alliterative poems attributed to the anonymous writer known as the *Gawain*-poet. The poems are: *Patience* (532 lines), *Purity* (or *Cleanness*, as it is also called) (1,812 lines), *Pearl* (1,212

¹ The editions of the *Gawain*-poet used for this study are: *Patience*, ed. J. J. Anderson, Manchester (Manchester University Press), 1969; *Purity*, ed. R. J. Manner, New Haven (Yale University Press), 1920; *Pearl*, ed. E. V. Gordon, Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1963; *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. J. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, 2nd ed., ed. N. Davis, Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1968.