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**Diplomová práce**

Alena Novotná

*As v textu středoanglického románu **Sir Gawain and the Green Knight***

*As in the Middle English Romance **Sir Gawain and the Green Knight***

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vedoucí práce: prof. PhDr. Jan Čermák, CSc.

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Souhlasím se zapůjčením diplomové práce ke studijním účelům.

I have no objections to the MA thesis being borrowed and used for study purposes.

## **Abstrakt**

Cílem této diplomové práce je zmapovat užití *as* z hlediska formálního a funkčního v textu stredoanglického rytířského románu *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* jakožto slova, které procesem gramatikalizace během staré a střední angličtiny nabylo velkého množství možných funkcí. Teoretická část práce se nejprve zabývá historickým vývojem *as* ze staroanglického *swā* a *ealswā*. Dále popisuje užití *as* ve střední angličtině. *As* je v tomto období doloženo jako příslovce, spojka, předložka a vztažné zájmeno, přičemž každé z těchto užití lze rozdělit na více podtypů. Následně práce shrnuje, jaké má *as* funkce v dnešní angličtině. Poslední části teoretického přehledu krátce představují pojmy gramatikalizace a konstrukcionalizace, což jsou procesy, které jsou ve vývoji *as* stěžejní.

Praktická část se věnuje analýze všech výskytů *as* ve vybraném textu. Provádí jejich klasifikaci a jednotlivé typy užití blíže definuje. Analýza přitom přihlíží ke konkurenčním prostředkům vyjádření stejných funkcí v textu a vyjadřuje se k možným dvojznačnostem. Dále se zabývá užitími *as* v textu z hlediska jejich gramatikalizace a také zmiňuje ta užití, která v textu byla použita jen okrajově. Nakonec provádí srovnání nalezených užití s užitími v rané střední angličtině a hodnotí text z pohledu jazykové inovace.

## **Klíčová slova:**

*as*, gramatikalizace, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, střední angličtina

## **Abstract**

This diploma thesis aims to classify the uses of *as* in the text of the Middle English romance *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* from a formal and functional perspective. *As* has acquired a great number of functions through the process of grammaticalization. The theoretical part of the thesis firstly deals with the historical development of *as* from the Old English *swā* and *ealswā*. It then describes the uses of *as* in Middle English. In this period, *as* was found to function as an adverb, conjunction, preposition and a relative pronoun. Each of these uses can be further divided into a number of subtypes. The thesis subsequently summarizes the functions *as* can have in Present-Day English. The final sections of the theoretical overview briefly present the processes of grammaticalization and constructionalization, as these two processes have been instrumental in the development of *as*.

The practical section is concerned with the analysis of all the instances of *as* in the chosen text. It classifies them and defines each type of use in more detail. The analysis also considers competing means of expressing the same function and comments on possible ambiguities. Furthermore, this section deals with the uses of *as* in the text from the perspective of their grammaticalization and also points out uses which are only employed marginally in the text. Finally, it compares the found uses with uses from Early Middle English and evaluates the text in terms of linguistic innovation.

## **Key words:**

*as*, grammaticalization, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, Middle English

## List of abbreviations

<i>DOE</i>	<i>Dictionary of Old English</i>
EME	Early Middle English
EModE	Early Modern English
IE	Indo-European
ME	Middle English
<i>MED</i>	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
ON	Old Norse
OS	Old Swedish
PDE	Present-Day English
<i>SGGK</i>	<i>Sir Gawain and the Green Knight</i>

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## 1. Introduction

This thesis aims to examine and classify the various uses of *as*, which has had and still has a number of different functions, in one specific Middle English text. Its complexity stems both from its origin in the already complex Old English *swā* and from its original use as either a demonstrative adverb of manner and degree or as a determinative adverb; this use quite readily lent itself to gaining new shades of meaning through context. In Middle English, *as* can be used as an adverb, conjunction, preposition and a relative pronoun, conveying a whole range of meanings.

Middle English was a period of great change in English. Its mostly inflectional nature is being abandoned and a different syntax is being developed in turn. This syntax is much more variable. Some of the reasons for that fact is the lesser degree of standardization of written language. The material that we have is more diverse than that from Old English – there is regional, stylistic and social variation (Fischer, 2001: 68). The language is looking for new ways to express meaning. The situation is made more complex by language contact (especially with French and Latin), which is an important source of synchronic variation (Fischer, 2001: 19). The text chosen for this thesis illustrates this transitional period in the history of English.

The practical part of this thesis will be based on the analysis of *as* in the ME romance *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, which is written in the North West Midland dialect. It is problematic to describe any of the dialects of ME as standard, though Chaucer's London dialect would probably be the closest, as this was a variety that later formed the basis of Standard English. The *SGGK* is written in a less prestigious dialect, but no less well suited to demonstrate the range of meanings and uses of *as* that appeared in ME. Furthermore, it has been suggested that poetry employs a wider range of grammatical options, including informal ones, than prose (Fischer, 2001: 69).

The theoretical part of the thesis (2.) will provide an overview of what is known based on literature and lexicographic evidence. The very first section will briefly present what is known about the OE origin of *as*, which is the OE *swā* (2.1) and *ealswā* (2.2). The following section (2.3) will focus on *as* in ME; it will present its attested uses as an adverb, conjunction, preposition and relative pronoun in more detail. The next part will summarize the uses of *as* in PDE (2.4). Finally, as grammaticalization and constructionalization have been instrumental in

the development of *as*, these two processes will be briefly characterized in the last two sections (2.5 and 2.6). The overview will be accompanied by examples from a variety of texts. As existing translations are not available for all the used texts, and those that do exist are in some cases too literary to capture the grammar of the ME sentence, a more literal translation will be provided for every example cited.

The methodological section of the thesis (3.) will firstly introduce the text on which the analysis will be based – the medieval romance known as *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (3.1). Secondly, the methods used for the analysis itself will be briefly summarized. The final section will outline the aims of the thesis.

The analysis itself (4.) will then endeavour to describe and classify all the uses of *as* in the chosen text. The classification and terminology will mainly be based on Nummenmaa's monograph (1973), with some modifications (cf. 3.2). The first section (4.1) will focus on adverbial uses of *as* and its subtypes. Conjunctive uses will be dealt with next (4.2), followed by elliptical prepositional uses (4.3) and uses of *as* as a relative pronoun (4.4). The following section (4.5) will provide a discussion of the instances of *as* in the *SGGK* in terms of grammaticalization and constructionalization. The final part of the analytical section (4.6) will consider the level of innovation in the text, comparing the uses and functions of *as* found in the text with Nummenmaa's (1973) results from Early Middle English.

The conclusion (5.) will provide a summary of the analysis as well as discuss what the results reveal about the language of the so-called Gawain poet. It will also suggest further possible avenues of research.

All instances of *as* retrieved from the text will be provided in the appendix.

## 2. Theoretical background

### 2.1. Old English *swā*

It would be difficult to describe the development of *as* without mentioning *swā*<sup>1</sup>, PDE *so*, from which it originally developed. *Swā* had undergone grammaticalization, gradually acquiring an impressive array of grammatical functions (for a discussion of grammaticalization, cf. 2.5).

E. E. Ericson (1932) lists 24 main types of the syntactic use of *swā* based on evidence from all OE poetry and much of the prose. It is generally used as either an adverb or a conjunction; in both cases it mostly refers to the ideas of manner or degree. As an adverb, it is commonly used to modify a verb in the sense ‘in the way described,’ ‘thus’, shading into consequence ‘therefore’. With some verbs, it can acquire the character of a quasi-object (*he did so*) or a quasi-predicate (*it is so*) (Nummenmaa, 1973: 18). Also, it often modifies adjectives and other adverbs as an adverb of degree. Both as an adverb of manner and degree, it can appear in connection with a clause of manner or degree in coordinative structures like *swā – swā*, *swā – þæt*. *Swā* also frequently occurs in compound adverbs and conjunctions, e.g.: *swā same/some* ‘likewise’ or ‘also’, *swā þēah* ‘however’, *eal swā* ‘even so’. In OE, *eal swā* was most likely used mainly as an emphatic variant of *swā*.

*Swā* can also function as a local-temporal adverb and a multiplicative adverb (*syx swā micel* – ‘six times as much’ – Bosworth-Toller). It can additionally be a demonstrative adverb in connection with a comparative or two comparatives to express proportionate comparison of degree (*swā norðor swā smælre* – ‘the further north the narrower’ (Bosworth-Toller))

In terms of its uses as a conjunction, in OE, *swā* or its compound conjunctions can introduce many types of subordinate clauses. Most frequently, it implies manner or degree, introducing complete clauses of comparison, e.g.:

1) *Swā forð swā uncre wordgecwydu fyrmest wæron* (Bosworth-Toller)

“as far as ever our agreements went”

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<sup>1</sup> The IE origin of *swā* is uncertain, but can possibly be traced back to IE *\*swe*. The base was most likely reflexive-pronominal in character. The original function of the IE stem was probably a pronoun and adverb indicating possession. The early forms may have been used as possessive, reflexive or determinative pronouns or adverbs; the later Germanic use would probably be derived from the early forms’ use as determinative adverbs (Nummenmaa, 1973: 17).

*Swā* has a number of other functions as well: it can also express imaginary comparison, and can be used in elliptical constructions expressing comparison or similarity (PDE *like*) and identity (PDE ‘as a mother’). It can also appear in the consecutive clause, often with *swā þaet*, *swā oþþæt*, *swā – swā*. As a conjunction of result, *swā* alone is fairly rare. Furthermore, it can function as a causal, conditional and concessive conjunction (particularly in the combination *swā þēah*). Its use in asseverative clauses (term used by Nummenmaa, 1973 and Mitchell, 1985, referring to use in appeals and exhortations) is probably related to manner and degree. Finally, the OE *swā* is also used as a local-temporal link and a coordinating conjunction (Nummenmaa, 1973: 18-20).

*So* and its variants are most frequently used as adverbs of manner or degree in EME and in other Germanic languages. Due to this fact, *so* is often understood to have originally been a demonstrative adverb of manner and degree. However, not all uses of *so* could conceivably have developed from such expressions, such as the correlative *so* or many of the conjunctive uses. One of the theories which could resolve this, as suggested by Curme (1912), says that *so* was originally a determinative adverb, which merely pointed to a following explanatory statement containing the idea of time, manner, result, cause etc., i.e. one that did not really have a meaning of its own. It gained each particular shade of meaning through use in context. From this adverbial basis, *so* and then *as* (cf. 2.2) have developed various functions: part of a compound conjunction, conjunction, a quasi-pronoun, a correlative element, relative pronoun and a generalizing particle (Nummenmaa, 1973: 23-4).

## 2.2. *As* in Old English - *ealswā*

In OE, the phrase *eal + swā* (cf. 2.1) fused together and gradually lost its emphasis, effectively becoming an equivalent of *swā*. *Ealswā* would then become the basis for both PDE *also* and *as*, which came to be differentiated during the ME period both in terms of form and function. *Alswā – alswā*, then *also – ase*, *als – as*, *as – as* appeared around 1200 and this contracted form was soon generalized, though at an uneven pace, e.g.

2) *alse muchel ase heo ever con* (*Ancrene Riwle*, 28)

“as much as she ever can”

The antecedent *so* or *as* is frequently not expressed (Mustanoja, 2016: 278).

Originally, *eal* was merely used to intensify *swā* and in some functions, it was used in the same functions alongside a single *swā* and *swā swā*; using one over the others seemed to have been a matter of personal taste (Mitchell, 1985: 652). In his *Old English Syntax*, Mitchell does not treat *ealswā* separately but merely lists it as a variant of *swā*. According to the *OED*<sup>2</sup>, it appeared in all of *swā*'s main historical senses. *Ealswā* could be used in correlative constructions expressing comparison or equivalence, most commonly as an antecedent adverb in the main clause, or as a relative conjunction in the subordinate clause. Outside such constructions, in OE, *ealswā* could be used as a demonstrative adverb to express identity. The *DOE* furthermore lists its uses as a conjunction introducing clauses of manner, including clauses not dependent on the predicate of the main clause (disjunctive comment clauses), clauses of time, result and reason.

The mentioned phonetic reduction, which is one of the developments which are connected with the grammaticalization process that *eal* + *swā* had undergone (cf. section 2.5), apparently took place first in the relative use and then in *ealswā*'s use as an antecedent adverb. *As* is now the only form used in the relative function and shares the antecedent use with *so* (*as good as this, not so good as that*). The full reduction does not appear to have occurred in the demonstrative use. Since around 1500, the only permissible form in this function was the disyllabic form *also*, as e.g. in this example from the *OED*:

3) *When the seruauntes of God came & stode before the Lorde, Sathan came also amonge them, and stode before him.* (Bible (Coverdale) Job ii. 1, 1535)

“when the servants of God came and stood before the Lord, Satan came among them in the same way and stood before him”

Several Germanic cognates of *ealswā* have developed in a similar way. They had also in some contexts become phonetically reduced during the medieval period and in the modern period, the reduced and unreduced forms had become functionally distinguished. The reduced form is usually only used as a comparative conjunction and does not retain any of the adverbial senses and uses that *as* in English still has and has kept until today<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The *OED* entries for both *as* and *also* are updated to the third edition; the entry for *so* has not yet been updated.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, the Old High German *alsō* was used as a demonstrative adverb in correlative constructions or on its own and it could also serve as a relative conjunction. It then underwent phonetic reduction during the Middle High German period to *alse*, *als*, and occasionally even to *as*. The disyllabic form now functions as a demonstrative adverb similarly to the English *also*, but it has a wider range of uses. The reduced *als* is used mostly as a comparative conjunction (*OED*).

As can be seen, the original combination of the words *eal* and *swā* has had a complicated journey on its way to becoming *as* and *also*. Grammaticalization could have taken it in a number of directions in English, but certain uses and meanings prevailed over others. The following section will provide a more in-depth description of the functions of *ealswā*'s descendants in ME, focusing on *as*.

### 2.3. Uses of *as* in Middle English

The various uses of *as* in ME is not a topic that has been given much attention in the past by scholars. The following theoretical section therefore has to rely on a relatively limited number of sources.

Perhaps the most extensive work on *as*, *so* and *also* in ME has been done by Nummenmaa (1973). Her monograph is based on material from Early Middle English specifically. The earliest texts used are from before 1200, the latest from around the year 1300 and they include such works as e.g. *The Peterborough Chronicle*, *The Ormulum*, *Ancrene Wisse*, *The Bestiary*, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, *The Lay of Havelok the Dane* etc. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is a later work and as such is not included. Nummenmaa aims to analyse and illustrate the EME uses of *so*, *al so* and *as*, which she divides into adverbial, conjunctive and relative uses. It is important to note that in EME especially, the forms *as*, *also* and *so* are not yet completely differentiated and all three can appear in many of their possible uses (with some exceptions, where only one is permissible). This makes it difficult to isolate 'uses of *as*', since the lines between the OE *ealswā* and the later *also* and *as* are blurred. The account of EME uses of *as* (2.3.1, 2.3.2, 2.3.3) will therefore to some extent include *also*, only discounting functions in which only *so* could appear.

*As* in the *MED* described in two entries. If we look at the entry of *as*, we find it listed only as a conjunction. The adverbial uses can then be found in the entry for *also*. In both entries, the following forms are possible: *alswo*, *also*, *als(w)a*, *alse*, *als*, *ase*, and *os*; the *OED* lists a number of additional spellings as well, e.g.: *allswa*, *eallswa*, *ealswa*, *ælswa*, *alleswo*, *allswa*, *heallswa*, *alsua*, *alleso*, *allsua*, *allso*, *alsuo*, *alzo*, *alzo*. The longer forms which betray the word's origin are said to occur as late as 1400, but *as* predominates after 1200 and by 1400, it is fully established.

Mustanoja in his *A Middle English Syntax* (2016) describes *as* as a rather complicated adverb. It occurs in a number of peculiar uses and often seems redundant. When used with nouns and adjectives, it can indicate equality and similarity through comparison, often corresponding to PDE ‘like’:

4) *a wayle whyt ase whalles bon*, (*The ME Lyrics of MS Harley*, ix 1)  
“a beauty white as whalebone” (Mustanoja, 2016: 331).

The following sections will present an overview of the various uses of *as* in EME and ME in general based mainly on Nummenmaa’s monograph (1973), which provides a more detailed account of *as* in EME, then on the *Middle English Dictionary* and Mustanoja’s *A Middle English Syntax*, which have a wider scope, encompassing the entirety of the ME period.

More attention will be paid to the uses that were also found in the text of the *SGGK* analysed in the practical part of the thesis, other possible meanings will be mentioned more briefly.

### **2.3.1. Adverbial uses of *as***

As was already mentioned, *so* and its variants are most frequently used as adverbs referring to the ideas of manner and degree not only in English, but also in other Germanic languages, and the situation in EME is no different (Nummenmaa, 1973: 23).

Nummenmaa lists seven main types of adverbial use of *so*, *also* and *as*. However, *as* or *also* can only be used in three of these types of use: as an adverb of manner, an adverb of degree (both pointing back) and, finally, as a demonstrative adverb referring to a following clause. In the remaining four types, only *so* can appear.

#### **2.3.1.1. Adverb of manner**

*So* could be used as a demonstrative adverb of manner; this use is quite frequent in EME. Its meaning is close to ‘in the manner described’, often expressing similarity, and can even gain a consecutive meaning, summing up a previous argument. There are some meanings developed from it in which *also* can appear; however, they seem fairly rare. *Also* is frequently used to express similarity; when the idea of similarity is weakened, it gives rise to the additive *also*.



Other derived uses are the inferential *also* (= *ergo*) and the quasi-pronoun *also*, often appearing with the verb *to do*, serving as its object. It seems that in EME, *as* was not used in this way. In later ME, the additive *as* (in the meaning of ‘also’ or ‘as well’) does appear; this is the earliest occurrence in the *MED*:

5) *He and his oþir monk ... prayd god þat man to saue; As þai prayed þe confessour [etc.]. (Life of Saint Cuthbert, ?c1450, (Eg 3309) 5373)*

“he and his other monk prayed to god to save that man; they also prayed to the confessor”

### 2.3.1.2. Adverb of degree

In EME, (*al*) *so* can function as an adverb of degree, especially with adjectives and adverbs, in the meaning ‘equally’, pointing back to a previous expression of degree, as e.g. in:

6) *ʒef þu iwurþest him unwurþ, 7 he as unwurþ þe (Hali Meidenhad, 484)*

“if you become unworthy of him, and he just as unworthy of you”

In this sense, *as* appears, as in the cited example, but it is used less frequently than *so* or *also*. It can furthermore emphasize the degree expressed by the adjective or adverb (Nummenmaa, 1973: 23).

In *A Middle English Syntax* (Mustanoja, 2016: 317-8), *also*, *als* and *as* are listed as belonging to ME intensifiers. However, Mustanoja notes that they are only used with adverbs expressing or implying velocity or immediateness of action, such as *blive*, *fast*, *quick*, *soon*, *swithe*, *tite* etc. The combination of these forms can also be analysed differently, as discussed below.

*As* or *also* together with such adverbs can be analysed as a compound temporal adverb, such as *also rape* or *also swiþe*, as e.g. in:

7) *Apelbrus also swiþe Went to halle bliue (King Horn, 501)*

“Apelbrus at once went quickly to the hall”

Nummenmaa notes that such temporal adverbs only appear in 13th century texts. Their origin most likely lies in cases where *as* or *also* referred back to another expression of time but the

distance between them in the text was too great, preventing the similitive or equative sense from emerging, as e.g. here:

8) *Ac si lage **some** adiligde. þurh . . . manifald senne. Þer efter arerde god þas lage þurh moysen þe heretoche of his folce þe he þa zecas. and wrate his him self in stanene wax bredene. and si zeleste sume wile . . . Swa lange (M S lage) þat si **alswa swiþ** abreap. and adilizede. þurh unhersamnesse (Homilies from Cotton Vespasian, 235 b)*

“but this law was soon destroyed through ... many sins. Thereafter God raised this law through Moses, the leader of his people he then chose. And wrote it himself in stone tablets. And this lasted some while ... so long that it as quickly decayed”

Instead, *also* would be taken for either an additive or an intensifying adverb. The intensifying interpretation is what gave rise to the compound temporal adverbs (Nummenmaa, 1973: 47-8).

Another common use is *as* used as a demonstrative adverb referring to a following adverbial clause, which can express equality or correspondence of manner or degree:

9) *also ase ure vet bereþ us, also ure lustes bereþ us (Ancrene Riwe 123.13)*<sup>4</sup>  
“in the same manner as our feet carry us, our lusts also carry us”

A *that*-clause of result, purpose or manner can also appear. In EME, only *so* can refer to a following noun clause (subjective, objective, predicative) (Nummenmaa, 1973: 23).

### 2.3.1.3. Other adverbial uses in ME

In ME, *as* can furthermore appear together with adverbs, adverbial phrases and prepositions. It occurs especially in temporal expressions, meaning ‘having regard to the particular time or other circumstance mentioned’ where it has more of an emphatic function:

10) *no man no miȝt for stink com þer Tristrem ware Als þan (Sir Tristrem, 1120).*  
“no man could for stink come to where Tristrem then was”

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<sup>4</sup> Different forms of (*al*) *so* frequently appear together. *Swa* was frequently doubled in OE. If the adverb appears at the end of the main clause, it can result in a compound conjunction such as *swa swa, alswa as, also ase*, etc. (Nummenmaa, 1973: 82).

It survives in PDE in the phrase *as yet*. Not all uses had to be temporal, locative or more abstract expressions of position or rank could also appear:

11) *Constantin and Maxence weren on ane time, as in keiseres stude, hehest in Rome (The Life of Seinte Katherine, 3).*

“Constantin and Maxence were at one time in the position of emperors, the highest in Rome” (Mustanoja, 2016: 333).

The *MED* mentions other uses as well; *as* can appear introducing adverbial expressions of reference or specification, usually in the meaning ‘concerning’, e.g. *as for*, *as anent*. Similarly, it can precede an infinitive: *as to speak*. Uses such as *still as stone* are included among the adverbial uses, but these would perhaps be better analysed as prepositions, which have probably developed from elliptical uses, where *as* originally was a conjunction. This illustrates how grammaticalization can be brought about by ellipsis.

Regarding the frequencies of the adverbial uses of *as*, in Nummenmaa’s study on EME, 27.44% of all the uses of *so*, *also* and *as* were adverbial. Most were manner adverbs (14.95% of all uses), adverbs of degree were also relatively frequent (9.70%), and all the other uses were 1% or less (Nummenmaa, 1973: 189).

### 2.3.2. Conjunctive uses of *as*

Nine major conjunctive uses of (*al*) *so* have been identified by Nummenmaa. *As* can have seven of these: a conjunction introducing an adverbial clause of manner, degree, cause, concession, condition, place or time, or a conjunction introducing a noun clause. These clauses can be complete or elliptical

The *MED* lists 12 meanings, none of which are a later ME development, i.e. they do not add any new use to what has already been listed by Nummenmaa in EME. The difference in number is the result of a different classification.

### 2.3.2.1. Clauses of manner

Firstly, *as* may function as a conjunction which introduces a manner clause. These manner clauses can be classified in two ways. Firstly, we can identify two basic kinds: complete non-hypothetical or hypothetical clauses (where *as* is used in the sense ‘as if’). Clauses of manner can furthermore be divided into three types, which can be said to form a scale in terms of the strength of their connection to the main clause: additive clauses, clauses of accordance and clauses of comparison. *As* used to introduce clauses of manner, whether they are dependent or non-dependent on the predicate of the main clause, seem to represent a direct continuation from the OE *ealswā*.

#### 2.3.2.1.1. Additive clauses

Additive clauses can be difficult to define, as they can be treated differently from a synchronic and diachronic perspective. The clauses Nummenmaa classifies as additive clauses are a subtype (together with clauses of accordance) of what in the *MED* is termed ‘parenthetic clauses offering a comment, an illustration, an explanation, an appeal to the person addressed’. In both cases, the *as* which introduces the clause is viewed as a conjunction. These clauses have only a loose connection with the main clause and do not describe the manner of action. They belong to one end of a scale indicating the congruity between the ideas in the main clause and in the subordinate clause. On the opposite end we find clauses of comparison, which have a much closer relation to the main clause (Nummenmaa, 1973: 66).

In EME, these additive clauses most frequently refer to what has previously been said or written, seen or heard, usually serving to support the argument in the main clause. Most cases in Nummenmaa’s study come from religious texts, e.g.:

12) *and naht for englen unhele ... ac for mannen unhele ... also ure drihten seiþ on þe holie godspelle* (MS Trinity College Cambridge B 14.52 Homilies, 33 m).

“and not for sickness of angels ... but for the sickness of men ... as our Lord said in the Holy Gospel”

They can also describe feelings, thoughts or beliefs of a person, e.g.:

13) *hel me þ am þuruh wil tobroken ase idrede* (*Ancrene Riwe*, 16.21)

“heal me, who is broken through will, as I dread” (Nummenmaa, 1973: 68-9).

From a synchronic perspective, these types of clauses can also be analyzed as sentential relative clauses. They are similar to one of the subtypes of what Quirk et al. (1985: 1112) describes as comment clauses. According to Quirk et al., comment clauses are parenthetical style or content disjuncts, which can be divided into several types<sup>5</sup>. One of these types resemble adverbial finite clauses and is introduced by *as*; this *as* can either be a relative or a subordinator. In the relative function (similar to *which*), *as* introduces a sentential relative clause that can precede or even be inserted in its antecedent, making it an intermediate between the relative and adverbial construction, as e.g. in: *She is extremely popular among students, as is common knowledge (=which is common knowledge)*. As a subordinator, it introduces an adverbial clause: *He is the best candidate, as it seems*. The sentential antecedent is expressed by *it*. The two types can merge and the *it* does not always have to be included. Comment clauses tend to contain a transitive verb or adjective which requires a nominal *that*-clause as an object, such as *I believe, you know*. Adding *as* to these clauses modifies their meaning, making them more affirmative: *as you know* (Quirk et al., 1985: 1115-6).

### 2.3.2.1.2. Clauses of accordance

When the relation to the main clause is stronger and the idea in the subordinate clause is more explicit and not a mere addition, the relation of accordance arises, as e.g. in:

14) *þo gius hem wesse for clenesse. and for religiun. Ase þe custome was ine þo time*  
(*Old Kentish Sermons*, 29 b)

“to allow them to wash for cleanliness and for religion, as the custom was at that time”  
(Nummenmaa, 1973: 67).

They seem to describe the conditions affecting the manner of action in the main clause. In accordance clauses, ellipsis is not possible, and neither is the use of vicarious *do* or the omission of the verb – that would make it a clause of comparison. These clauses often express

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<sup>5</sup> Quirk et al. (1985) lists 6 types of comment clauses: like a main clause: *There were no other applications, I believe*; like an adverbial finite clause: *I'm working the night shift, as you know*; like a nominal relative clause: *What was more upsetting, we lost all our luggage*; infinitive clause *I'm not sure what to do, to be honest*; -ing clause: *I doubt, speaking as a layman, whether television is the right medium*; -ed clause: *Stated bluntly, he had no chance of winning* (Quirk et al., 1985: 1112-3).

a command, a request, instruction, a wish, obligation, or finally (in a few cases) they describe what is fitting, what has been promised or what is understood (Nummenmaa, 1973: 70-1).

If the clause somehow defines the action in the main clause, the connection is closer, but still not a true clause of comparison:

15) *and þe swin urnen alse deulen hem driuen* (MS Trinity College Cambridge B 14.52 Homilies, 39 t)

“and the swine ran as if the devils drove them” (Nummenmaa, 1973: 67).

Another subtype is represented by clauses that describe the limits of a performance, mostly with the verbs *can* or *may*:

16) *þe þ her leaſt. on wrat swa as he cuþe* (*Þe Liſlade and te Paſſiun of Seinte Juliene*, 779)

“he that here last wrote as best he could”

A clause of accordance can also be introduced by *buten as*, in which case the notion of exception is implied:

17) *þ nowþer ſturien ne mahen ne ſteoren ham ſeoluen, buten as þe hehe king hat ham* (*The Life of Seinte Katherine*, 363)

“that can neither move nor steer themselves, except as the High King commands them” (Nummenmaa, 1973: 72).

### 2.3.2.1.3. Clauses of comparison

Clauses of comparison have the closest relation to the main clause, providing an action or situation with which its content is compared. These clauses may be complete or elliptical. Some have a demonstrative adverb in the main clause, which points to it, but it is not obligatory. They can also be either hypothetical or non-hypothetical. In non-hypothetical comparisons, the comparison is possible and factual, and the verb is in the indicative mood. These often appear in religious texts:

18) *hem likede here lodliche ſinnes, alse werie men is lief to ſlapen* (MS Trinity College Cambridge B 14.52 Homilies, 7 m).

“they like their loathsome sins as a weary man loves to sleep”

If the main and subordinate clause contain identical elements, a pronominal reference to the main clause or even ellipsis is possible. This is quite frequent in EME:

19) *Pu art ..., godd ikenned of godd, as liht is of leome* (*Seinte Marherete*, 18.32)

“you are ... God born of God, as light is of flame.”

It is also possible to use a modal auxiliary without the full verb (less frequent) or the vicarious *do* (extremely frequent):

20) *hwi ne swimmest þu ... alse oþer fisses doþ* (MS Lambeth 487 Homilies, 51 b)

“why do you not swim ... as other fish do” (Nummenmaa, 1973: 72-4).

In hypothetical comparisons, the imaginary quality is indicated by the context and the subjunctive mood of the verb. It can appear in elliptical clauses as well. Other conjunctions can have the same functions – in EME, *swā þēah* (a concessive compound conjunction and adversative adverb in OE) gains the meaning ‘as if’, though it does not seem frequent in ME. The compound conjunctions *alls iff* and *swā summ* are, according to Nummenmaa’s study, only attested in *The Ormulum*. Of these, only *alls iff* becomes established in the language, however only much later, probably after the ME period. The clauses introduced by these compound conjunctions are always complete. An element that may help to distinguish non-hypothetical and hypothetical clauses is the presence of the vicarious *do*, which marks it as clearly non-hypothetical (Nummenmaa, 1973: 75-6).

In OE, both equality and similarity were expressed by the coordinated *swā – swā* (*swā beorht swā gold* – ‘as bright as gold’) (cf. 2.1 and 2.2). The first *swā* was on occasion preceded by *eall* (*seo beorhtnys is ealswā eald swā þæt fyr* – ‘that brightness is as ancient as the fire’). These two types were used in ME as well, but the variant with only *so* or *swā* at the beginning disappeared in the latter part of the period. *Ealswā – swā* survived in ME in the form of *also – so* and then later of *as – so*. The reverse order, *so – as*, occurred quite early as well. It was quite common for the antecedent *as* or *so* to be omitted (*fair so flour on hill* – ‘fair as a flower on a hill’; Sec. Lyr. clxxii 30) (Mustanoja, 2016: 278).

#### 2.3.2.1.4. Other uses of *as* a conjunction of manner

A common occurrence are also elliptical clauses of manner and expressions of identity (meaning oneness, not exact similarity), role or rank, e.g.:

21) *þu most, as moder, carien for al* (*Hali Meidenhad*, 541)

“you must, as mother, care for all”

Quite often, the meaning of cause is included in these expressions; the previous example could be rephrased as *being a mother*, which implies this sense more clearly. In these instances, *as* may be considered a preposition rather than a conjunction. Originally, the identifying meaning of *swā* may have developed from the demonstrative *swā*, or from the tendency of clauses of comparison to take no verb. While expressions of identity with *as* are relatively well established in EME, they are restricted mainly to expressing rank or position, often in a religious context. (Nummenmaa, 1973: 97-103). This use dates back to OE and can possibly be attributed to Latin influence as a special development of *swā* – *swā*, in the meaning of similarity and equality, as mentioned in section 2.1.

From early ME, *as* was used as a comparative particle:

22) *swetter smalle as þen was hem among* (*The Romance of Guy of Warwick*, 10419)

“a sweeter smell than was then among them”

A comparative *as* does not occur in PDE but can be found in Modern Scots. The comparative use of the cognates of *as* also developed in other Germanic languages (Mustanoja, 2016: 283).

#### 2.3.2.2. Clauses of degree

The basic type defines a quality described in the main clause by an adjective (more commonly) or an adverb, usually with a preceding demonstrative adverb. They are more commonly complete but can be elliptical as well. These clauses typically express similarity of degree, e.g.:

23) *heo, ase schene ase schininde sunne, wende up* (*Seinte Marherete*, 44.15);

“she, as beautiful as the shining sun, went up”



They can furthermore denote extent:

24) *þis nis nout ibet ʒet also wel also hit ouhte* (*Ancrene Riwe*, 1.14)

“this is not yet remedied as well as it ought to be”

Their meaning can develop to express a high degree or state, concession, and even locality or time (Nummenmaa, 1973: 103). Clauses of degree commonly do not imply comparison, but rather provide an example:

25) *blac ase a bloamon* (*Ancrene Riwe*, 105.9)

“black as a blackamoor”

They can also characterize by emphasizing a high degree of one of the entity’s qualities:

26) *þing as feble as flesh is* (*Hali Meidenhad*, 196)

“a thing as feeble as flesh is” (Nummenmaa, 1973: 109).

### 2.3.2.3. Clauses of time or place

The local and temporal uses of the connective (*al*) *so* seem to have a common origin and are generally quite similar. In EME, (*al*) *so* can be used either as a local relative adverb or a temporal conjunction. It also occurs in compound relative adverbs and conjunctions such as *some so*, *so wide so*, and also in generalizing connectives of the type *hwen so*, *hwer so* (Nummenmaa, 1973: 141). *As* used as a local relative adverb and temporal conjunction was mainly attested in 13th-century West Midland texts, apparently continuing the OE use of (*eal*) *swā* as a local temporal adverb and conjunction. The forms *also* and *so* are rare in this use. (ibid.: 182-4)

The EME temporal *as* is more frequent and widespread than the local relative adverb. It usually has no antecedent or relative notion (Nummenmaa, 1973: 145). It expresses more definite temporal relations, such as contemporaneity or succession, as e.g. in:

27) *as ha þis iherde ... ha sende swiþe for to witen* (*The Life of Seinte Katherine*, 148)

“as soon as she heard this ... she sent quickly to find out”

*As* can also imply continuous action or even preceding action:

28) *As ha þeos bone hefde ibeden, com akempe of helle (Be Liflade and te Passiun of Seinte Juliene, 309)*

“as she had prayed this prayer, a champion of Hell came”

The tenses used in the main and subordinating clause differ to signal the order of events (Nummenmaa, 1973: 145-6).

The local relative adverb *as* tends to have *þer* or another adverb as an antecedent, e.g.:

29) *turn þer uppe ase we speken of fuwelene cunde (Ancrene Riwle, 134.33)*

“turn to the place where we spoke of the nature of fowls”

The ideas of time and place can be difficult to distinguish, as was already the case in OE:

30) *to beon offeared of sunne, þer ase non nis ofte (Ancrene Riwle, 127.4)*

“to be afraid of sin, when/where there is often none”

In some cases, such as expressions of motion and rest, *as* has its original local-temporal character:

31) *comen dumbe 7 deaue to hire bodi as hit lei (Seinte Marherete, 52.11)*

“the dumb and deaf came to her body as it lay”

In such instances, *as* is best interpreted as a local relative adverb. The temporal notion is secondary and probably caused by the lack of antecedent. The antecedent is usually an adverb, but a noun may also appear, though this is quite rare:

32) *i þet eadi lond, as brude ne nimeþ gume (Hali Meidenhad, 158)*

“in that blessed land where the bride takes no man” (Nummenmaa, 1973: 144).

The origin of the temporal and local use is probably different than that of all other conjunctive uses of *as*, though some believe that the origin of all the conjunctive uses is the most frequent conjunction of manner. If that were the case, the temporal and locative uses would most likely have developed from correlative expressions of the type *swā wide swā*, i.e. comparisons of equality which had been worn down (Ericson, 1930-1: 343-50). However, this explanation does not consider the adverbial local-temporal *swā*. Johnsen (1916: 116) suggests a different approach – *so* primarily contained the idea of locality, from which the ideas of manner and time developed together. Curme (1912: 269) then believes the conjunction *as* originated in the

demonstrative adverb *so*, which referred to a group of words in the context, and that is where it acquired its shades of meaning (e.g. purpose, concession, cause, etc.), as was mentioned previously (cf. 2.1). This seems to be the most likely explanation (Nummenmaa, 1973: 64-5). The temporal meaning, being more abstract than local, has probably developed later, as tends to be the case in grammaticalization (section 2.5). In some EME clauses, the two ideas are undifferentiated as in example (31) (ibid.: 147).

More complex temporal conjunctions also appear in ME. For example, *as ofte as* was used in both OE and ME. It seems to have a generalizing meaning, similar to PDE *whenever*, and it can possibly acquire a conditional meaning as well. In EME, it is mainly found in West Midland texts. Other examples include *as soon as*, *as long as* and others. Complex local conjunctions are less frequent; in Nummenmaa's study, only two types were found, both only combining with *so*: *so feor so* and *so wide so*. (ibid.: 150-2).

#### 2.3.2.4. *Per as*

This compound functions as a relative adverb of place, referring to a noun. The use of *as* possibly started in expressions where the local clause preceded the main clause, which contained *þer* as a correlative, e.g.:

33) *þer ase þeos þincges beþ. þer is riht religium (Ancrene Riwe, 5.34).*

“where these things are, there is the right religion”

When the main clause comes first, the sequence *þer – as* was used, as in example (31), where *as* is used as a conjunctive element in a sequence with two local-demonstrative adverbs. The combination *þer as*, an antecedent and a relative adverb, is then used together as a relative adverb with a nominal antecedent:

34) *Goð nu þeonne gledluker bi stronge wei, 7 biswincfule, toward þe muchele feste of heouene, þer ase ower glede ureond ower cume ikepeþ (Ancrene Riwe, 83.29)*

“go now, then, more joyously by the hard and arduous road, toward the great feast of heaven, where your glad friend expects your arrival” (Nummenmaa, 1973: 144-5).

Some interpret the *as* pleonastic, but it is also possible to consider it a descendant of the OE local-demonstrative adverb. According to this view, *þer as* would be a conjunction that was

formed out of a double demonstrative construction in the same way as *so that* or *swā swā* (ibid: 142-3), where the two elements become functionally differentiated – one of the elements becomes conjunctive, while the other remains an adverb or disappears. The *as* in *þer as* is not redundant; it serves a disambiguating function, marking it as a conjunction.

### 2.3.2.5. Clauses of purpose and result

The idea of purpose is connected to the idea of result. In EME, *so* or the combination *so þat* was used to express result. *As* is not found in this use. Even in other Germanic languages, there are ways of differentiating between the two notions; to indicate result, a demonstrative adverb is used in the main clause. OS has *so – that*, German *so – dass*, ON has *svá – at*, and OE *swā – þæt*. *So – that* is in all periods of English more frequent in clauses of result than of purpose (Nummenmaa, 1973: 128). *Ealswā* could introduce clauses of result in OE already, according to *DOE*.

Infinitives of purpose introduced by *as* can be used instead of a clause when the subject of the subordinate statement is the same as that of the main statement. In PDE *so as to* is used, which arose in the 17th century (OED). The EME predecessors used *as for to*:

35) *heo wunep under þe chirche. ase uorte understipren hire (Ancrene Riwe, 63.9).*

“she dwells under the church, so as to/as if to support it from underneath”

(Nummenmaa, 1973: 129).

The *as* in these structures seems pleonastic. It may have originally been used to emphasize the notion of imaginary comparison as is the case in the example above. When the context makes the comparison obvious, the *as* becomes redundant.

### 2.3.2.6. Clauses of cause and reason

*Al (so)* used as a causal conjunction seems quite close in meaning to manner. Especially comparisons and asseverative clauses in homiletic contexts tend to acquire a causal meaning:

36) *God seiþ ase he luuede me, he sent me to his leoue ureond (Ancrene Riwe, 84.20)*

“god said that because he loved me, he sent me to his beloved friend”

At times, the structure is identical to that of hypothetical comparison and the two meanings seem to coexist, as in the following:

37) “*Nai*”, *quop he, hetterliche, as him þ hoker þuhte* (*The Life of Seinte Katherine*, 777)

“‘Nay’, he said angrily, because/as if it seemed to him like an insult”

Overall, it can be said that in EME, the use of (*al*) *so* as a causal conjunction is quite restricted, often conveying a mixture of ideas. One of the main reasons for that is its similarity with e.g. expressions of manner or hypothetical comparison (Nummenmaa, 1973: 130-1).

As early as OE, the conjunction *swā* could be used as a conjunction of cause or reason. Some other Germanic cognates of *swā* can be used in a similar way and in French, *comme* can be used as a causal conjunction as well. However, the development of the causal sense is not always the same. In some cases, as in German and Scandinavian languages, the sense arose from the temporal meaning, whereas in French, the origin was in the meaning of manner. In OE, the causal meaning had most likely developed from manner as well (Ericson, 1932: 61) (Nummenmaa, 1973: 129-30).

### 2.3.2.7. Clauses of concession

In EME, (*al*) *so* appears in many types of concessive clauses, in most cases, however, it is either *so* or *so* in combination with another element.

*As* can introduce generalizing clauses of time and place which acquire concessive meaning, e.g.:

38) *ase ofte ase ich am i schriuen, euer me þuncþeþ me unschriuen* (*Ancrene Riwe*, 150.10)

“however often I confess, I always feel as though I had not confessed”

*As* could also be used in expressions of state and degree of the type *rich as he is*:

39) *ha wes þuldi 7 þolemod se zung þing as ha wes* (*The Life of Seinte Katherine*, 175)

“she was patient and long-suffering even though she was so young”

The idea of degree in such constructions is still apparent (Nummenmaa, 1973: 131-8).

In OE, *swā* was used in several different types of concessive clauses. It could either introduce such a clause on its own, in the combination *swā þēah* or *swā þēah – hwæþere*, in disjunctive concessions with *swā – swā*, then in generalizing clauses with *swā hwær swā he sȳ*, generalizing relative clauses, in non-introduced concessions with the subjunctive or imperative, and in clauses implying a high degree or state. All of these uses continued into EME (Nummenmaa, 1973: 131-2).

### 2.3.2.8. Conditional clauses

The conditional conjunction (*al*) *so* usually combines the ideas of manner and condition. The ideas of condition and asseveration (cf. 2.3.2.9) are close to each other when the notion expressed by the clause can be considered as a certainty or possibility. All conditional clauses in Nummenmaa's study were found partly asseverative in character, e.g.:

40) *iswikeþ, al swa ze willeþ þes hali-gastes wunienge habben mid zeu (Vices and Virtues, 41.30)*

“be still, if you want to have the Holy Ghost's presence with you”

The form *also* (*al swa* above) is very frequent. There are also compound conditional conjunctions containing (*al*) *so*: *be so þat* and *but as*, but these are rare (Nummenmaa, 1973: 181-2).

Together with the causal and concessive conjunctions, the conditional (*al*) *so* most likely developed from a demonstrative adverb. Surprisingly, the *MED* does not list this use. Some developments brought on by grammaticalization never become widespread and eventually disappear.

### 2.3.2.9. Asseverative clauses

This type of clause introduced by *ealswā* did not appear in OE, according to *DOE*. In EME, there are two main types of asseverative clauses. One is based on similarity and serves to emphasize the truthfulness of an idea, e.g.:

41) *also þu ert ful of euerich god. also nis no god wone þer ase þeos þreo beop*  
(*Ancrene Riwe*, 11. 15).

“as you are full of everything good, so is there no good lacking where these three are”

The form is that of a comparative structure introduced by *also ... also*. The *ase* in the example is part of *þer ase* and serves as a local conjunction (cf. 2.3.2.4).

There is another frequent type of asseverative phrase of the type *so help me God*, e.g.:

42) *Als helpe God (Lay of Havelok the Dane, 1972)*

“so help [us] God”

Its origin may be seen as a continuation of the above-mentioned type of similarity-based asseverative clause; this, however, has little historical support, since no intermediate forms are attested (Nummenmaa, 1973: 118-9). This type had a tendency to become mixed with manner clauses, especially in asseverative wishes concerning everyday life that result in stereotyped phrases:

43) *Also mote I stervue, Þe king þu schalt serue (King Horn, 829)*

“as surely as I must die, you shall serve the king”

Widening the scope to ME in general, Chaucer’s works contain many instances where *as* introduces an exhortation or entreaty:

44) *whom so ye hate, as beth nat writh with me (Troilus and Criseyde, v 145);*

“whoever you hate, please do not be angry with me”

There are different explanations as to why *as* appears in such sentences. Some assume that it began as an imitation of *si* in OF constructions. It may have also developed out of the strictly logical use in asseverations such as *help me god*. Some believe that *as* is simply used here to add emphasis. It is also possible that it is a further development of the OE *swā – swā*. *As* occurs with infinitives and hortative forms of finite verbs, but it is not found with non-hortative finite verbs (Mustanoja, 2016: 334-5).

### 2.3.2.10. Conjunction introducing a noun clause

As early as EME, *as* could be used as a conjunction introducing a noun clause. There are two main types: exclamations or wishes without a main clause, and clauses attached to a verb denoting knowing or beholding.

In exclamations, *as* is used similarly to *how* or *that* in PDE:

45) *weilawei ase monie dop so* (*Ancrene Riwle*, 121.28)

“Alas! How many do the same!”

In the second type, *as* introduces object clauses, also equivalent to PDE *that* or *how*, e.g.:

46) *God hit wot ase me were muchele dole leouere þet ich iseie ...* (*Ancrene Riwle*, 50.31)

“God knows that I would a great deal prefer it if I saw ...”

However, all the instances (of both types) occur in the *Ancrene Riwle* and *The Life of Seinte Katherine* Group. As suggested by its distribution, this use is a new development in EME. No convincing cases have been found in OE. In the *OED*, the cases illustrating this use range from the 15th to the 19th century. The *MED* gives a number of examples described as object clauses (meaning 12), but Nummenmaa finds that many of them seem doubtful and also remarks that more research is needed to clarify the development of this use of *as*

In Nummenmaa’s study on EME, conjunctive uses of *so*, *also* and *as* accounted for 66.83% of all instances. Most commonly, they introduced manner clauses (33.04%), most being complete and non-hypothetical, followed by elliptical, hypothetical clauses, and finally by clauses with *(al) so ... (al) so*. Clauses of result and purpose were also frequent (15.45%), then clauses of degree (8.57%) and temporal and local clauses (7.14%). All the other types, clauses of concession, condition, cause, and noun clauses, were fairly marginal, all below 2% (Nummenmaa, 1973: 189).

### 2.3.3. Relative uses of *as*

The use of *as* as a relative pronoun has been debated by scholars. There is a general agreement about the relative character of *as* in the most common combination *swuch – (al) so*,



but most other instances are considered problematic (Nummenmaa, 1973: 158). The relative *as* arose in early ME in precisely this combination:

47) *wiþþ all swillc rime alls her iss sett (Ormulum, dedication 1.101)*

“with all the same rhyme as is set here”

This construction is still in use in PDE. It is asyndetic, which is characteristic of early ME constructions. The *alls* in the example is a demonstrative which points to the following asyndetic relative clause. Today, the relative use of *as* is limited to the combinations *such – as*, *the same – as*, *as/so much – as*, *as/so many – as*. Previously, it was used much more widely and could follow a noun or any demonstrative (48), which could on occasion even be omitted (49):

48) *Those as sleep and think not on their sins (Shakespeare’s “Merry Wives of Windsor” 5.5)*

“those who sleep and do not think of their sins” (Curme, 1912: 377).

49) *The first Soudan was Zarocon... as was fadre to Sahaladyn (Mandeville’s „Voiage,” v. 36)*

“the first sultan was Zarocon ... who was father to Saladin”

In EME, instances of (*al*) *so* as a relative pronoun come from all dialects except 13th century Kentish. *Swuch* could be used both attributively (50) and independently (51):

50) *swuche þinges ase þer abuten valleþ (Ancrene Riwle, 6.29);*

“such things as there fall”

51) *heo mei iseon baldeliche holi men. ȝe nomeliche swuche ase he is (Ancrene Riwle, 24.22)*

“she may look boldly at holy men, yea, namely at such (men) as he is”

Nummenmaa’s research on EME cast doubt on Jespersen’s (1961: 169) and Brunner’s (1952: 51) view that *as* functioned as a relative pronoun proper since the end of the 12th century. The only cases found seem uncertain, the most convincing only appearing in *Ancrene Riwle* (Nummenmaa, 1973: 161).

There have been instances of *swā* in OE that were described as relative pronouns, but most cases are perhaps better interpreted as conjunctions of manner<sup>6</sup>. In ME, the situation seems similar – whereas earlier studies classified these uses as relative, later research has tended to reject them.

In later English, the relative uses of *as* still appear restricted. In Shakespeare, it only occurs with a preceding strongly determinative pronoun. In Congreve, it is used without restriction, but only in colloquial and vulgar English. In PDE, it can only be used in the original combinations with *such*, *same*. The following uses are archaic or dialectal: with *so – as* (where *as* is originally a conjunction of manner which may acquire pronominal force), with a superlative or an attributive *all*, or, finally, with *that* and *those*, as in e.g.:

52) *I'm not one of those as holds with cossettin' and fussin'*. ('Rita' Darby & Joan (1887) i. 1, 1886; *OED*)

In OE, it was used in the combination *swylc – swā*, containing two demonstratives, which later developed into (*eal*) *swā*, (later *as*), spreading to other constructions of a strongly determinative character. Later, *such* could be omitted or exchanged for a different demonstrative. The development was probably supported by the tendency of *as* to become semi-pronominal when used as a conjunction of manner (Nummenmaa, 1973: 158-9), as e.g. in:

53) *Ha duden al as he bed (Ʒe LiƷlade and te Passiun of Seinte Juliene, 215)*  
“they did all as he bid”

In this case, *as* acquires the character of an antecedent and a relative pronoun (*ibid*: 87).

As a conjunction of manner, *as* may also become a quasi-relative with the meaning of ‘such as’:

54) *epeliche men also heordes buƷ* (MS Trinity College Cambridge B 14.52 Homilies, 35 b)  
“noble men such as shepherds are”

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<sup>6</sup> In other Germanic languages there does not seem to be much evidence that OHG *so* or OSwed. *sva* were used as relative pronouns (Behaghel, 1966: 730). However, the conjunction of manner and degree *so* in OHG and the corresponding OSwed. *sum* could as conjunctions of manner and degree gain a partly pronominal character. In MHG *so* was established as a relative.

This happens when the reference shifts from a manner to a quality or state described in the main clause, which is especially easy when the verb in the manner clause is *to be* as it is in the example above (Nummenmaa, 1973: 85).

In later ME, phrases of the type *as who says*, *as who should say* start appearing, likely meant to imitate similar constructions in French. They are fairly common from the end of the 13th century on (Mustanoja, 2016: 332). The form *who* is in today's English almost exclusively seen as a relative or interrogative, and its original use as an indefinite pronoun with the meaning *someone* is forgotten. This use has not survived into PDE. The *as* in *as who* is closest in meaning to *as if* (Curme, 1912: 373).

55) *þu wes hanged bituhhe twa þeofes. As hwase seie. He þis is mare þen þeof* (*De Wohunge of Ure Lauerd*, 417)

“you were hanged between two thieves, as if they were saying: he is more than a thief”

In Nummenmaa's study, *(al) so* used as a relative was not particularly frequent, accounting for 5.71% of all the instances. Most of these (82%) were of the indefinite or generalizing type, i.e. relative clauses introduced by indefinite pronouns formed with *so*, such as *hwo so*; the rest were relative clauses with *(al) so* or *swuch – (al) so* (ibid: 189).

## 2.4. Present day uses of *as*

The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists *as* an adverb and a conjunction with a very high frequency (it occurs more than 100 times per million words in typical modern English usage). Quirk et al. (1985: 660-1) notes that *as* together with *like* are the kind of items which are difficult to classify in terms of traditional word classes. It appears that *as* can be both a conjunction and preposition; since both of these word classes have a relating or connecting function, it is not uncommon for one item to serve as both<sup>7</sup>. While most seem to mainly view *as* as an adverb and conjunction, Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 19) describe *as* as a preposition as well as a conjunction. *As* can also be an adverb and finally a relative.

One of the main uses of *as* is in clauses of comparison. In this use, *as* alternates with *as if* and *as though*. *Like* can be used in the same way, but this use is seen as informal. While *as* is used

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<sup>7</sup> For example, *after* can be used to introduce a finite clause and a noun phrase: *after she spoke*, *after her speech* Quirk et al. (1985: 660).

to express comparison with a real event, the two complex conjunctions are used for hypothetical comparison with one that is imaginary (Dušková et al., 2006: 16.23.31).

According to the *OED*, *as* is used as an antecedent or a demonstrative adverb, introducing an explicit or implied subordinate clause, especially one which expresses a comparison of equivalence. If we discount all the meanings marked as obsolete, it is associated with two basic uses. Firstly, with a second *as* in a subordinate clause of quantity or degree, as in:

56) *Laptops with screens as big as 15 inches.*

Secondly, it can occur with without a subordinate clause, firstly in comparisons of degree, where the subordinate clause is contextually implied. This implied clause can have the meaning of ‘as that’ or ‘those just mentioned’, e.g.:

57) *They can be nearly three times as expensive.*

It can also be used in a hypothetical statement, where the implied clause would express ‘as not’, ‘as anything else’, most commonly with *good, lief, soon*, e.g.:

58) *Some of the drivers would as lief chuck out their present passengers for the chance of giving us a lift.*

When used as a conjunction, *as* is described in eight main uses in the *OED*, seven of which are part of standard usage. Within these eight uses, there are 30 different subtypes; 20 of these are not marked as either obsolete or regional. The seven uses are as follows: firstly, *as* can introduce a clause expressing quantity or degree:

59) *The engine of the Rolls-Royce purrs as contentedly as a big cat.*

The adverb in the main clause can also be *so*, not *as*:

60) *It is possible to live so well as a child at High Easter Offerance.*

Secondly, *as* can introduce a clause expressing quality or manner:

61) *She went about her daily life as she had done for thirty-odd years.*

Thirdly, *as* can be used in a relative clause (or a phrase of equivalent function) with the antecedents *such, same*, or their equivalents

62) *A dreariness such as he had never known before.*

*As* can furthermore be used in a temporal clause expressing a contemporaneous event or action, as in:

63) *I tarried with Bert but gave Brushy a palsy little wink as she departed.*

It also introduces clauses expressing reason, e.g.:

64) *She found everything easy, as her memory for facts was remarkable.*

*As* can precede adverbial phrases, however, this use is regional except the phrase *as yet*. Another use is in clauses expressing result, actual or intended:

65) *Mary says, so as only I can hear, 'Thanks.'*

Finally, *as* can appear with an infinitive of result or purpose:

66) *Its plot is ... woven so closely as to produce a narrative momentum.*

Only few new uses have appeared since the end of the ME period. The most recent development seems to be using *as* for emphasis without any antecedent *as* or *so*, as for example in *soft as*, *soon as*, *simple as*. The earliest given example in the *OED* is from 1990. Another use which appeared after 1500 is with the subordinate clause reduced to the complement in the meaning “in the way or condition that it is”, e.g.:

67) *The ministre pronounseth Christes wordes, as spoken of his mouth. (1551)*

*As* could also introduce an adverbial clause of respect: “so far as, in the degree, manner, or case in which”:

68) *Compositively, as it respects all times, and all occasions. (1633)*

Then it could introduce the ascription of a proverbial or familiar saying, typically in “as the — — said to the — —”. The earliest example is from 1579:

69) *as one said at the shearing of hogs.*

Another new addition is the theatrical use, meaning “in the role of”; the first use being of 1779. *As* can also be used to introduce a clause commenting on the application of a word or phrase in the main clause, as e.g. in:

70) *They ioyne them penaunce, as they call it.* (1528)

## 2.5. Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization is a process which has played a significant role in the development of *as*. This process can be defined as “a subset of linguistic changes whereby a lexical item or construction in certain uses takes on grammatical characteristics, or through which a grammatical item becomes more grammatical” (Hopper and Traugott, 2003: 2). This process is accompanied by “a reduction in or loss of phonetic substance, loss of syntactic independence and loss of lexical (referential) meaning” (Fischer et al., 2001: 286-7). The semantic changes commonly lead to categorial change. It is not uncommon for both the non-grammaticalized and grammaticalized forms (even a number forms reflecting various stages of the process) to exist side by side in a language; this is referred to as layering. (Fischer et al., 2001: 287-8). The loss of lexical meaning is also referred to as semantic bleaching, and is considered to be one of the central processes in grammaticalization, which is viewed as semantically driven (ibid.: 290).

The development of *as* can be described using the term ‘polygrammaticalization’, a phenomenon by which a single morpheme is the source of a number of grammaticalization chains, a term used to symbolize the step-by-step nature of the grammaticalization process, in which the outcome of one link becomes the source component of another link. These chains may then develop in separate functional domains within the same language (Craig, 1991: 456) and coexist, resulting in layering, as described above. Every chain moves in the direction typical of grammaticalization, i.e. from lexical to grammatical, and from free to bound (ibid.: 481). In the case of *as*, the different resulting forms existed and, in many cases, continue to exist in PDE.

It is important to highlight the fact that grammaticalization does not only affect lexical words and phrases. Cases in which grammatical forms become even more strongly grammatical items are equally as common. For example, there is a tendency for prepositions to develop

into conjunctions, temporal conjunctions often give rise to causal or concessive conjunctions, demonstratives may come to be used as definite articles or relative clause markers, verbal perfect inflections may turn into past tense markers etc.; all of these developments take place within the domain of functional categories. When compared to those in lexical categories, they tend to be more difficult both to identify and to reconstruct (Heine and Kuteva, 2002: 4).

### 2.5.1. Grammaticalization of *as*

If we relate this to the development of *as*, we can describe the changes it has undergone. *As* has definitely experienced loss of phonetic substance. The phrase *eal swā* has transformed into the generally unstressed one-syllable *as*. Naturally, phonetic reduction has also led to a loss of transparency – today, no one would guess that *as* was originally composed of *all* and *so*. *Also* is at first glance more transparent but given its current use and meaning, it is not seen as a compound either. This reduction has in some cases gone even further. The *OED* mentions that until the 18th century, *as* was often written together as one word with adjectives and adverbs it commonly co-occurred with, especially in idiomatic constructions such as *asmuch*, *aswell*, *asfaste*, *assoon*, *astite*, continuing on the grammaticalization path to become an affix. There are only few surviving examples of this in PDE, e.g. *forasmuch*, *inasmuch*, and *whereas*.

The semantic meaning of *eal* has been bleached during this process as well, be it the meaning of *all* or its secondary intensifying function. *Swā* was more of a grammatical word already. As mentioned previously (cf. 2.1), as early as OE, *swā* could already function as an adverb, conjunction, quasi-object or quasi-predicate.

Another process connected to grammaticalization is categorial change. *Eal* in OE behaved as an adjective and was inflected as such. It lost all its meaning when it became one with *swā* during the OE period. *Swā* already had many different functions at that point and merely gained some more after it fused with *eal*.

As was mentioned previously (cf. 2.5), prepositions are known to develop into conjunctions. They both have a relating or connecting function, and whereas prepositions introduce nominal or nominalized complements, conjunctions introduce subordinate clauses. From a synchronic perspective, prepositions are also often formally identical with adverbs (Quirk et al., 1985:

659-60). When looking at the development of the uses of *as*, it would make sense to see its uses as a preposition as preceding its uses as a conjunction. However, *swā* seems to have started as an adverb and had been used as a conjunction before it was used as a preposition, which seems paradoxical in the context of grammaticalization. This is evidenced by cases where *so* at first glance seems to be both an adverb and a conjunction:

71) *Rymenhild he makede his quene, So hit miȝte wel beon* (*King Horn*, 1640)  
“He made Rymenhild his queen, so it might well be.”

The prepositional use in comparisons appears to be based on ellipsis:

72) *Hē gedrēosan sceal, swā dēos eorðe eall*, (Bosworth-Toller, Exon. Th. 124, 27; Elen. Kmb. 1761; El. 882.)  
“he shall fall, as all of this world [has fallen].”

Another common development is that of temporal conjunctions developing into causal or concessive conjunctions. *As* could be used as a temporal conjunction in ME. However, its uses as a causal and concessive conjunction are usually understood as derived from the meaning of manner, together with that of condition (Nummenmaa, 1973: 187).

Both of these examples show that while there are definite tendencies in grammaticalization, they cannot be seen as universal rules.

## 2.6. Constructionalization

Loosely joined word combinations can develop into more tightly organized constructions in a process called constructionalization. These constructions then undergo changes, including expanding their range of use or the set of lexical items that can occur in them, or even decreasing their range of use due to competition with other constructions (Bybee, 2015: 169). A new construction only gradually takes over the functions of existing constructions (Bybee, 2015: 172). Once one construction becomes more popular, the competing construction comes to be seen as unfamiliar and eventually ungrammatical (ibid.: 174).

It is important to emphasize that such language change takes place in real contexts. The basic source of motivation for the reinterpretation and recategorization of linguistic forms can be



found in the details of the natural context in which a given change takes place as part of on-line production and reception (Fried, 2009: 263). In constructional analysis, indexicality (metonymic transfer) also plays an important role in grammatical reorganization. (Fried, 2009: 265). For example, *as* used as a conjunction of manner could only become a conjunction of cause in specific contexts which allowed for both interpretations to exist at the same time. After a time, the causal meaning of *as* became established in its own right.

Speakers can invoke the knowledge of an entire grammatical pattern by using just one of its constituent parts. This process then continues, and the range of syntactic contexts is expanded (Fried, 2009: 288). The factors that contribute to the change include the speaker's knowledge of conventionally expected discourse patterns and the reference to principles of textual organization – conventional expectations about structuring sequences of propositions. The meaning of a given form cannot be determined outside of specific constructions. (Fried, 2009: 289).

## 3. Material and Method

### 3.1. Material

This thesis makes use of an online version of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (*SGGK*), created by Giuseppe Brunetti of the University of Padua in 2009. Its main advantage lies in the fact is that it is searchable by word or lemma, meaning that one can easily retrieve all the lines containing the desired instances of *as*. Furthermore, this version of the text is morphologically tagged and contains a glossary.

In some cases, a scanned version of the actual manuscript (Cotton Nero A.x.), available in the Libraries and Cultural Resources Digital Collection of the University of Calgary, was consulted as well, usually to determine whether *as* was spelled together or separately with another word.

#### 3.1.1. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*

*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is an Arthurian romance; the poet seems to have been very familiar with courtly French literature, including French Arthurian romance (Cooper, 1998: xii). This literary work of art was discovered in a manuscript belonging to an Elizabethan antiquarian, Sir Robert Cotton, who had most probably acquired the manuscript from a library in Yorkshire. The author of the romance, the so-called Gawain Poet (or also Pearl Poet), must have lived in the Midlands of England, somewhere near present-day Stafford. He wrote in the North West Midland dialect. He was Chaucer's contemporary, though it is unlikely that Chaucer ever heard of him or his work. Apart from the *SGGK*, the manuscript contains three other poems that are considered to be the work of the same author.

Two of these, *Patience* and *Purity*, together with the *SGGK*, are written in alliterative verse (Cooper, 1998: x-xi). The alliterative line is unrhymed and can be divided into two *verses* or *half-lines*, which are separated by a *caesura*. The first half-line may have three *lifts* (metrically prominent syllable which may participate in alliteration), the second may have two; each half-line can also have one to four *dips* (one or several unstressed syllables) (Duggan, 1997: 223). In the *SGGK*, each stanza ends with a short, usually two-syllable line,

followed by four three-stress lines, also called the ‘bob and wheel’ (Cooper, 1998: xxxvi). The final poem, *Pearl*, was composed in an elaborate rhymed stanza (ibid: x-xi).

*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is dated to the late 14th century but the exact date is hard to determine. There is a general agreement that the manuscript was copied before the year 1400 and that the poems it contains were written between 1350 and 1380s (ibid: x). Research that has been done on the lexicon of the Gawain Poet has suggested a conscious effort on his part to use an older stage of the language (Hinton, 1987: 85). It may also be worth noting that there is no authorial text, meaning that the version we have at our disposal was written by a scribe. Scribes were known to frequently translate the texts they copied into their own dialect, which makes it difficult to determine with certainty which features of the text come from the author and which were created by the scribe (Duggan, 1997: 221).

In terms of the use of *as*, Nummenmaa’s study suggested that the West Midland dialect was at a stage that has the highest agreement with PDE usage. In the texts studied by Nummenmaa (listed in 2.3), the form *so* predominated only in asseverations of the type *so help me God*. In hypothetical manner clauses, *also* was the most frequent, and in manner clauses, clauses of time, place and clause as well as in noun clauses, *as* was by far the most frequently used form (Nummenmaa, 1973: 185-6). The West Midland dialect also contained most elliptical comparisons (ibid.: 178).

The *SGGK* is therefore expected to display an even more advanced stage, given its North West Midland dialect and the fact that it was composed roughly a hundred years later than the last text in Nummenmaa’s study. However, its genre may complicate this – as was mentioned, the Gawain Poet was likely to deliberately use older lexicon. It is not unthinkable that he would do the same in other areas of language, such as syntax.

## **3.2. Method**

### **3.2.1. Analysis**

All instances of *as* were collected from the text and then examined as to their word class, function and meaning. The related forms of *also* found in the text are briefly mentioned at the beginning of the analysis to demonstrate to what extent it was functionally and formally distinguished from *as*; the rest of the practical part focuses on *as* only. *So* could not be

entirely ignored either – in ME, it in some uses competed with *as*. These cases will be duly noted to provide comparison.

The analysis was carried out using individual lines excerpted from the text. However, the preceding and following lines were also examined so that the occurrences were not categorized without taking the wider context into account. As was mentioned, in a few cases, a scanned version of the manuscript was consulted to confirm spelling.

Every instance discussed in the analysis is accompanied by a translation into PDE, which is primarily meant to elucidate the syntactic structure and as such can be described as a relatively word-for-word kind of translation. Two existing translations were consulted to help clarify lines that were difficult to interpret, specifically the translations by Borroff (1967) and Tolkien (1975).

Firstly, the found instances of *as* were categorized as adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions or as relative pronouns, respectively. Each use was then examined as to its specific use and meaning and divided into further categories. The classification used to that end was based on Nummenmaa's monograph (1973), and was then adapted to the *SGGK*. It considers elliptical uses separately and analyses them as prepositional, while Nummenmaa only treats them as elliptical versions of the conjunctive uses; e.g.: *He was as still as a stone [is]*. The reasoning behind that is that these elliptical uses have in some cases developed unique functions and meanings which are probably best viewed as separate. Also, clauses of manner were treated together with clauses of degree; as noted by Mitchell (1985: 616), there are no syntactical differences between these types of clauses when they are introduced by the same conjunction.

Additional attention was given to any emerging compound conjunctions that were found as well as to uses that were part of longer phrases, which either already had or later gained an idiomatic meaning and developed special functions (e.g. *as it were, as long as*). Some instances of *as* were found to come closer to being prefixes (*astyt, asswyþe*) – these cases were also noted.

The final section discusses *as* in terms of its grammaticalization and constructionalization, pointing out what the uses of *as* in the *SGGK* reveal about the various grammaticalization paths *as* had embarked on. It will furthermore comment on how advanced the stage of its development seems to be when compared with the earlier stages of English as well as with PDE.

### 3.2.2. Aims

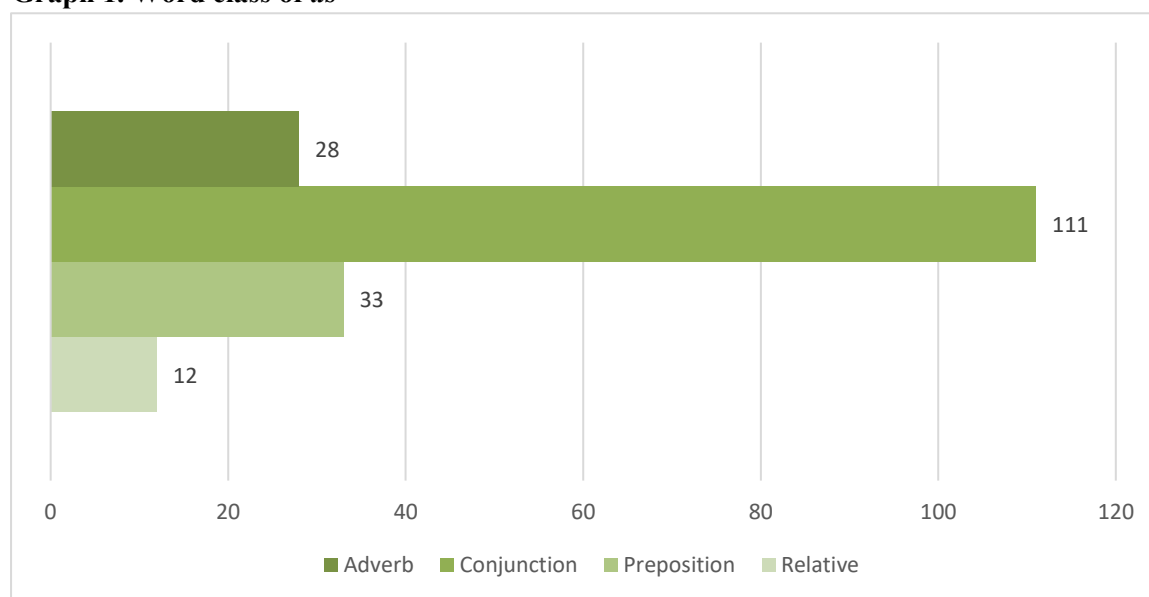
The aim of the analytical section of this thesis is to provide a classification of all uses of *as* in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and to determine which uses occur in the text, which do not, which are most frequent (in comparison with the frequencies found by Nummenmaa in EME), bearing in mind what other means of expressing their function they had to compete with. The thesis also hopes to shed some light on any of the potentially ambiguous lines, which may now be examined in the light of all the other possible functions *as* could have in the *SGGK* specifically. Finally, an attempt will be made to describe the uses of *as* in the text in terms of the level of innovation when compared to the previous stages of the English language as well as PDE, focusing on the grammaticalization paths *as* has taken.

## 4. Analysis

The following sections will focus on the classification and analysis of all the instances of *as* in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.

The total number of instances found was 184. In the majority of cases, *as* was found used as a conjunction (111 instances – 60.32%), while prepositional and adverbial use was nearly equally common (33 instances – 17.93%, and 28 instances – 15.22%, respectively). The smallest number (12 instances – 6.52%) was classified as a relative.

**Graph 1. Word class of *as***



The text also contains the other form that had developed from *ealswā* – *also* (cf. 2.2), which was used three times using this spelling. There were also a number of intermediary forms with several different spellings: *alse*, *alce* and *als*. Despite the variant spelling, these longer, less reduced forms seem practically fully differentiated from *as*, with one exception: in one case, *als* was found used as a correlative adverb of manner in the same way as *as* in an expression of comparison:

1) *And me als fayn to falle feye as fayly of myyn ernde* (line 1067)

“And I am as desirous to fall doomed as to fail in my errand.”

It is interesting that the fully reduced *as* appears next to *als* in the same sentence. Perhaps this shows an intermediate stage when the adverbial use, even in the correlative structures, was reduced to *as* later than the conjunctive or prepositional use. The variation may of course only

be the result of the lack of a standardized spelling, or even be caused by the scribe; there are not enough instances to come to a definite conclusion.

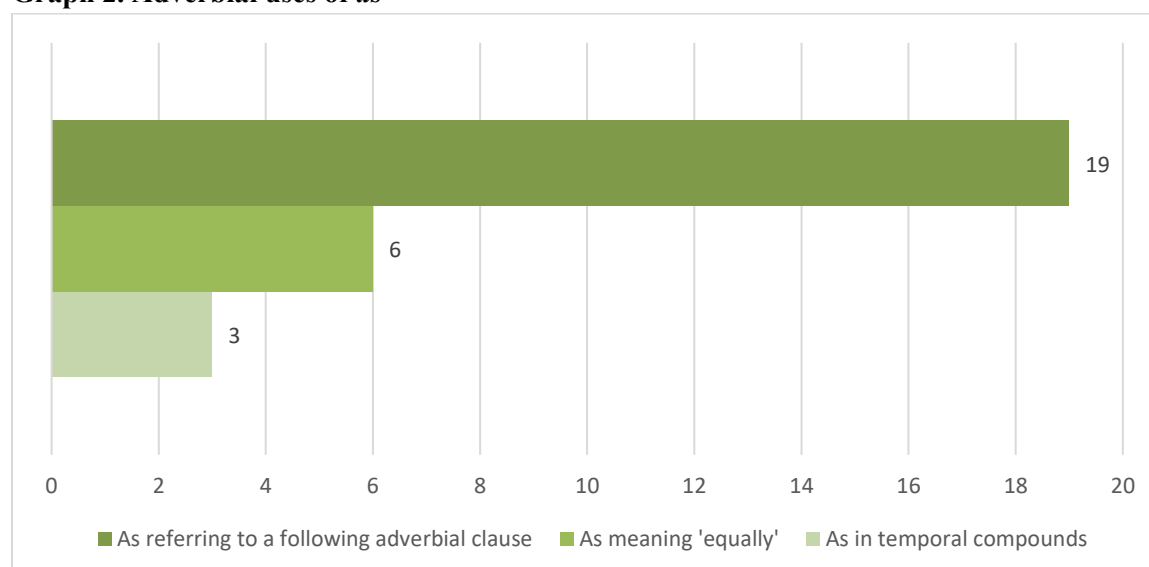
In all the other cases, *also* and its spelling variants were used as adverbs in the meaning ‘in the same manner’ or ‘too’. It is not surprising that the longer forms were used as adverbs, while the reduced *as* could also function as a conjunction, preposition and a relative pronoun. All of these can be understood as placed further down on the grammaticalization scale, so naturally, the phonetic reduction of the form progressed further as well (cf. 2.5 and 4.6).

#### 4.1. Adverbial uses

As was mentioned, 15.22% of all the instances of *as* were identified as adverbs. This use is discussed first due to the fact that from a diachronic perspective, it can be seen as primary. However, it is necessary to clarify that the processes which allowed the conjunctive, prepositional and relative uses to exist had already taken place with *swā* in the earlier stages of English.

The following sections will examine each of the main functions found in the text as well as any subtypes that could be identified. There were three main types of adverbial use of *as* in the *SGGK*: *as* referring to a following adverbial clause (67.86%), *as* in the meaning ‘equally’ or ‘just as’, referring to something mentioned previously (21.43%), and, finally, *as* used as part of compound temporal adverbs (10.71%) (cf. 2.3.1).

**Graph 2. Adverbial uses of *as***



#### 4.1.1. *As* referring to a following adverbial clause

The most frequent adverbial use of *as* is that of an adverb of degree or manner modifying an adverb or adjective in the main clause, which is then correlated with another *as*, used to introduce a following adverbial clause of comparison (discussed in more detail in section 4.2.1.3), or an elliptical clause of comparison (4.3.1), forming a correlative comparative structure. There was a total of 19 such instances found in the text.

Here is a relatively prototypical example of a comparative construction with an adverbial *as* (in bold) modifying an adverb:

2) *Hit þe hors with þe helez **as** harde as he myȝt* (line 2153)

“hit the horse with his heels as hard as he could”

The clause the adverbial *as* refers to is a clause of degree, introduced by a conjunctive *as*. The comparative structure describes the manner of the verb in the main clause.

*As* modified adverbs more frequently in the *SGGK* but there were examples with adjectives as well:

3) *And syþen he mace hym **as** mery among þe fre ladyes*

*With comlych caroles and alle kynnes ioye*

*as neuer he did bot þat daye, to þe derk nyȝt* (lines 1885-87)

“and then he made himself as merry among the noble ladies/with beautiful carols and all kinds of joy/as he never did but on that day, until the dark night”

The *as* in this particular instance (l. 1885) refers to a clause of comparison two lines down (l. 1887), introduced by another *as*, showing that the adverb and the clause it refers to could be separated by a substantial amount of text. When the adverbial *as* modifies an adjective (*mery*), the comparative structure functions as an object complement, as is the case in example (3).

There was only one exception:

4) *Hym þynk **as** queme hym to quelle **as** quyȝt go hym seluen.* (line 2109)

“to him, to kill them seemed as pleasant as to be alive”

In this case, the comparative structure serves as a subject complement. It is an impersonal construction (*Hym þynk*) and it also contains infinitives, rather than finite verbs.



In OE, these constructions originally contained *swā*. *Swā* or *so* (as it is spelled in the *SGGK*) was not entirely replaced by *as* in this function but continued to be used in ME alongside the newer *as*, though only in the function of the adverb, never as a conjunction or preposition. That is the case in the examined text, as illustrated by e.g.:

5) *Bot if þou be so bold as alle burnez tellen* (line 0272)

“but if you were so bold as all men say”

As was mentioned previously (cf. 3.1.1), in EME, the West Midlands dialect was rather similar to PDE usage in its use of *as*. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, which is written in the North West Midland dialect, is no exception – in correlative comparative constructions, *as* is more frequent (19) than *so* (15), though not by a large margin. There does not seem to be a significant difference between the two, both are most frequently followed by an adverbial clause or prepositional phrase of degree.

There is one single occurrence of the variant spelling *als* as well, which was discussed previously (cf. 4.1). One comparative structure contained *þus*:

6) *And meled þus much with his muthe, as ȝe may now here* (line 0447)

“and said thus much with his mouth, as you may now hear”

*As* in this function could be omitted, since only the second correlative element – the second conjunctive *as* – was often sufficient to relay the notion of comparison. Such cases will be discussed in section 4.2.1.3., which deals with comparative clauses.

#### 4.1.2. *As* in the meaning ‘equally’

This use was much less frequent than the previous one with only 6 instances. The *as* in these cases is an adverb of degree and seems to refer to some previously mentioned characteristic which may or may not be particularly clear or explicit; so rather than referring to something that follows, it calls back to something already said.

7) *‘Hit is sothe,’ quop þe segge, ‘and as siker trwe/Alle my get I schal yow gif agayn, bi my trawþe.’* (lines 1637-8)

“‘It is true,’ said the knight, ‘and just as truly/all I get I shall give to you again, on my honour’”

Here we can see clearly what the *as* points back to – the adjective *sothe* in the previous sentence, a synonym of *trwe*. Even so, there is no fixed correlative construction as in the case of *as – as*. The notion of comparison is still present but relies more on the context rather than on an explicit and unambiguous structure.

The following example is also fairly straightforward:

8) *Much dut watz þer dryuen þat day and þat oþer/And þe þryd as þro þronge in þerafter* (line 1020-1)

“much joy was enjoyed that day and on the second day/And the third one equally delightful crowded in after them”

It differs from the first example in that this *as* does not refer to a specific word contained in the previous sentence, but rather to the overall meaning of it – the delightfulness is expressed in the phrase *dryuen dut*, ‘to make merry’.

In one case, the connection is rather unclear and gives rise to a number of interpretations:

9) *He wex wroth as wynde  
So did alle þat þer were  
Ðe kyng as kene bi kynde  
Ðen stod þat stif mon nere* (lines 0319-22)

“he [the king] grew angry as the wind/so did all that were there/the king just as brave by nature/then stood closer to the bold man”

In this example, *as kene* could refer to the boldness of the Green Knight, who demonstrated this trait by a speech he has given in the previous lines. There is, however, no specific word or words in the preceding context it could refer to. A different analysis would interpret *as kene bi kinde* as ‘as someone who was bold by nature’, in which case the *as* would function as a preposition with an identifying meaning, or potentially even a similitive meaning, closer to PDE ‘like’, (such instances will be discussed in section 4.3). *Kene* would be nominalized, meaning ‘bold one’. Alternatively, it might also simply be a case of an intensifying *as*, though it seems unlikely, since there seem to be no other examples of this use in the text. For intensification, the poet frequently used *so* instead, alongside other intensifiers (especially *ful* and *wel*). It may also be important to note that this instance comes from the rhymed part of the

poem – the so-called wheel (cf. 3.1.1) – which means that this use of *as* may be merely metrical.

In this use, *as* could modify other adverbs (7) as well as adjectives (8) and (9).

#### 4.1.3. *As in compound temporal adverbs*

There are only three examples of this use in the text. In these expressions, *as* is an adverb of degree used with another adverb denoting a temporal or a similar kind of meaning, e.g.:

10) *I schal telle hit **as-tit**, as I in toun herde* (line 0031)

“I shall tell it at once, as I heard in the court”

As was mentioned in the theoretical part (2.3.1), this use is probably related to the previous use, in which the *as* originally referred to something mentioned previously but was separated from it to such an extent that the simulative meaning did not arise. Instead, the *as* came to be analysed as an intensifying adverb.

The frequent use of this intensifying *as* with these types of adverbs led to *as* becoming something that could be analysed as a prefix, forming a new word. Usually, however, these combinations are considered to be compounds, as by Nummenmaa and in the *MED*.

Whichever is the case, this may be seen as an instance of lexicalization.

The online edition of the text uniformly hyphenates these compounds: *as-tit*, *as-tyt* and *as-swyþe*, presumably to highlight the strong connection between the two elements and to deal with spelling inconsistency in the manuscript, but there is unsurprisingly no hyphenation in the original text. In the example above, the two words are written separately, while in the other two instances, they are spelled as one word:

11) *To soper þay 3ede **asswyþe**/Wyth dayntés nwe innowe* (line 1400)

“to supper they went at once/with plenty new dainties”

12) *Now ar 3e tan **astyt!*** (line 1210)

“Now you are caught at once!”

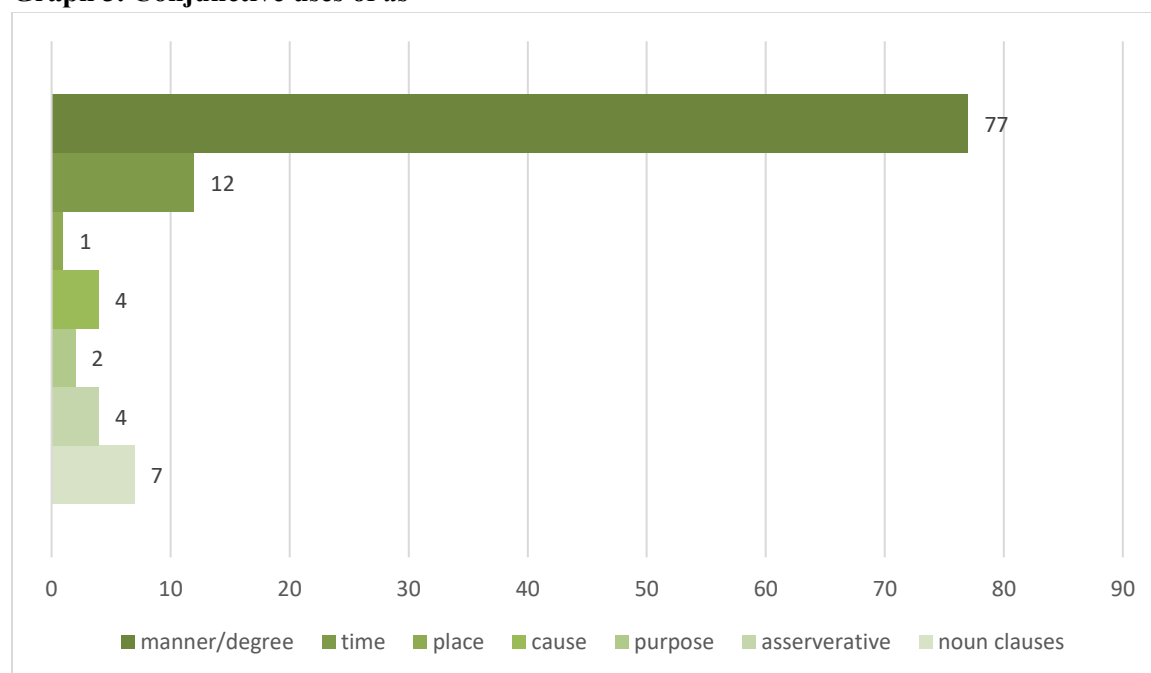
Such expressions were frequently written as one word in other texts throughout ME and in EModE (*OED*).

In example (10), the *as* at first glance appears to be part of a correlative structure, since it is immediately followed by a manner clause introduced by *as*. However, judging from the meaning, this correlative interpretation makes little sense – judging from the length of the poem, it is unlikely the poet intends to tell the story ‘as hastily as he heard it in the court’. Although the correlative *as – as* is a common and prominent use, it does not hamper understanding – each *as* simply has a function of its own, each sufficiently differentiated.

## 4.2. Conjunctive uses

The conjunctive use of *as* is by far the most frequent and the most varied. Out of the total 184 instances of *as* in the *SGGK*, 111, i.e 60.32% are conjunctions. As a conjunction, *as* can introduce a variety of subordinate clauses, though with varying frequencies.

**Graph 3. Conjunctive uses of *as***



As can be seen in the graph, the absolute majority of clauses that *as* introduces in the *SGGK* are adverbial clauses. Among these, clauses of manner or degree are undeniably the most frequent, accounting for 69.37% of all the clauses introduced by *as*. When divided into subtypes, 36.36% of them are clauses of comparison, 20.78% as additive clauses and the remaining 42.86% are classified clauses of accordance.

The second most frequent use is in temporal clauses, still used in PDE. Although it is the second most frequent type of use, the prevalence of the manner/degree type is such that the temporal clauses only account for 10.81% of all conjunctive uses.

All other adverbial uses may be described as marginal; that includes clauses of place (less than 1%), of cause (3.6%), and of purpose (1.8%). Asseverative clauses were equally rare (3.6%).

Finally, 6.3% of the conjunctive uses of *as* were in noun clauses.

#### **4.2.1. *As* introducing a clause of manner or degree**

One of the oldest and most basic conjunctive uses of *as* is in clauses of manner. Many of its other uses as a subordinator introducing adverbial clauses have developed from the notion of manner; though *as* was mentioned in the theoretical section (cf. 2.3.2.3), not all uses can be argued to have originated there. It is also the most frequent type of clause *as* can introduce; out of the 111 conjunctive instances of *as*, 77 (69.37%) are used in clauses of manner or degree.

These clauses of manner can be divided into hypothetical (where *as* is closer to *as if* in meaning) and non-hypothetical. A different kind of division can be drawn along the scale described in Nummenmaa (1973) – i.e. depending on how strongly the subordinate clause is connected to the main clause (cf. 2.3.2.1); this classification will form the basis of the following sections.

##### **4.2.1.1. Additive clauses**

As was outlined in the theoretical section, these clauses have a fairly loose connection to the main clause, serving as disjuncts (cf. 2.3.2.1.1). In Nummenmaa's sample, these clauses mainly provided some kind of support for the argument contained in the main clause – this was also the case in the *SGGK*, e.g.:

13) *A hundreth of hunteres, as I haf herde telle* (line 1144)

“a hundred hunters, as I have heard it told”

The poet emphasizes that he is relating a story he himself has heard, contributing to the oral nature of the text. There were many similar examples: *as I in toun herde* ('as I heard in the town'), *as þe crede tellez* ('as the Creed tells us'), *as I herde say* ('as I heard it said').

Another common type of additive clause were ones describing feelings or belief:

14) *And wel hym semed, for soþe, as þe segge þuʒt* (line 0848)  
“and well it suited him, truly, as the man thought”

Other such examples include: *as I trowe* ('as I believe'), which is used three times in the poem, then *as þe wyʒe þoʒt* ('as the knight thought'), or *as ʒe wot* ('as you know').

Practically all such instances contain either personal pronouns, most commonly *I* and *you*, or nouns of a general meaning: *segge* ('man'), *wyʒe* ('man' or 'knight'), as one would expect in comment clauses – their content merely adds information about the certainty or trustworthiness of what was said in the main clause, i.e. it does not describe the manner in which something is done as an adjunct would. In general, it can be said that most additive clauses have a fairly formulaic character.

There were 16 of such additive clauses in the text, making up 20.78% of all the manner clauses. None of them are correlated with an adverb in the main clause, which makes sense considering the lack of referential connection.

#### 4.2.1.2. Clauses of accordance

This second type of manner clause has a closer connection with the main clause, however it still describes the manner of action in fairly general terms (cf. 2.3.2.1.2). Clauses of accordance found in the *SGGK* often describe obligation, propriety, preference and similar constraints in accordance with which the action in the main clause takes place, e.g.:

15) *And þou hatz tyled þi trauayl as truee mon schulde* (line 2241)  
“and you have timed your travels as a trusty man should”

Many examples contained modal verbs such as *should*, *would*, or *will*.

Another formal feature of these clauses is that they often contain impersonal constructions. That is not surprising, as these are commonly used to express feelings concerning how something should be done, much like accordance clauses:

16) *Euen inmyddez, as þe messe metely come/And syþen þurȝ al þe sale as hem best semed.* (line 1004-5)

“right in the middle, where the food fittingly came/And then through all the hall as it seemed best to them”

Other similar examples were: *to handele as hym lykēs* (‘to handle as he likes’), *as a knyȝt fallez* (‘as befits a knight’), *as worþy hom þoȝt* (‘as they thought fitting’) etc. Instances with the alternative construction containing an empty *it* also appeared:

17) *þe best burne ay abof, as it best semed.* (line 0073)

“the better man always in the higher seat, as it seemed most fitting”

In many cases the verb in the clause is in the present tense, as the clauses describe what is proper in all circumstances, and not just in that specific situation, but the past tense is used frequently as well.

The high number of clauses describing proper conduct is not surprising, given the genre. One of the central themes in the *SGGK* is morality and what it means to be a true knight – these ideals are therefore frequently appealed to throughout the poem.

There were 33 clauses of accordance identified in the *SGGK* (making 42.86% of all manner clauses). However, it may be methodologically difficult to decide where to draw the line between additive clauses, clauses of accordance and clauses of comparison, as they are situated on a scale and do not form discreet categories. The completeness of the correlative structure was one of the main features that helped the classification; typical clauses of comparison have a demonstrative adverb (*as, so*) in the main clause correlated with the conjunctive *as*, while in additive clauses, this adverb was never present, at least in the *SGGK*. This was also the case in clauses of accordance. Another important feature was the criterion of content – additive clauses and clauses of accordance typically express certain meanings, as e.g. obligation or propriety. Additive clauses add very little information by contrast.

### 4.2.1.3. Clauses of comparison

*As* introducing a clause of comparison (cf. 2.3.2.1.3) seems to be the primary use, as in these clauses the correlative structure tends to remain intact. However, it was not the most frequent – 29 of the total 77 manner clauses (37.66%) could be classified as clauses of comparison. They can be further divided into non-hypothetical (18 instances) and hypothetical clauses (11 instances) of comparison. They have the strongest referential relation to the main clause, especially the non-hypothetical type. Nearly all instances are correlated with an adverb in the main clause, either *as* (cf. 4.1.1) or *so*. Out of the 28 clauses, 16 are correlated with *as*, one with *als* (cf. 4.) and 8 with *so*. One clause had *þus* and only three clauses had no correlating adverb in the main clause (discussed below).

#### 4.2.1.3.1. Non-hypothetical clauses of comparison

This type was more frequent than that featuring hypothetical comparison. The subordinate clause provides a comparison which helps to characterize the action in the main clause (if the antecedent is an adverb) or the quality ascribed to some entity in the main clause (if the antecedent is an adjective or a participle). There was one example where the clause seemed rather redundant:

18) *So harnayst as he watz he herknez his masse* (line 0592)

“armoured as he was he listens to mass”

Such clauses are in the *OED* described as parenthetical extensions of the subject and have a somewhat concessive meaning. This might be the case here as well, depending on how common it was to attend mass in full armour.

Some typical clauses of comparison were already mentioned in 4.1.1. In most cases, the clause expressed degree rather than manner, e.g.:

19) *Hade hit dryuen adoun as drez as he atled* (line 2263)

“had it driven down as hard as he intended”

Under normal circumstances, the subordinate clause follows the main clause. The opposite order is however not impossible:



20) *As perle bi þe quite pese is of prys more/So is Gawayn, in god fayth, bi oþer gay knyȝtez.* (lines 2364-5)

“as a pearl next to a white pea is of a greater price/so is Gawain, in good faith, next to other fair knights”

There was one instance in which the comparative structure as a whole had a temporal meaning:

21) *Quen þay hade played in halle  
as longe as hor wylle hom last* (lines 1664-5)

“when they had played in the hall/for as long as their will lasted them”

In PDE, this phrase can have an idiomatic meaning of condition, but that is not present in the *SGGK* as yet.

#### 4.2.1.3.2. Hypothetical clauses of comparison

There are 11 clauses of comparison that have hypothetical meaning. In PDE, this meaning cannot be expressed by *as* on its own and instead, *as if* or *as though* are used. These clauses are also closer to accordance than their non-hypothetical counterparts, as the imaginary nature of their content makes their connection to the main clause less direct.

As mentioned, in the *SGGK*, clauses of comparison practically always have a demonstrative adverb in the main clause, with only very few exceptions. The exceptions are all among hypothetical clauses of comparison, e.g.:

22) *Quat! hit clatered in þe clyff, as hit cleue schulde* (line 2201)

“What! It clattered in the cliff, as if it should cleave in half”

This possibility of the omission of the adverb in the main clause further demonstrates the slightly weaker relation to the content of the main clause. The omission can also be attributed to metrical factors.

In very few cases, the clause precedes the main clause:

23) *As al were slypped vpon slepe so slaked hor lotez* (line 0244)

“as if all have slipped into sleep so stilled were their noises”

Most instances were relatively easy to interpret despite the fact that they are at first glance formally identical with non-hypothetical clauses. There is one element though in which they do differ, and that is the tense or mood of the verb. In all of the hypothetical clauses, the verb was either in the subjunctive (20), or contained a modal verb, most frequently *should*, as in (19), but also *would*, or was in the past perfect tense form (21). This was the case most often.

Even so, the following example shows how potentially ambiguous this construction can be:

24) *Tortors and trulofez entayled so þyk/as mony burde þeraboute had ben seuen wynter* (lines 0612-3)

“turtle-doves and true-love flowers embroidered so thickly/as if many damsels had worked upon them for seven winters”

The most likely interpretation is that of hypothetical comparison. However, the clause could also be understood as a clause of reason – they were embroidered so thickly *because* many damsels had worked on it for so long. The only element which might help disambiguate the meaning of *as* is the tense. The tense used (*had ben*) is typical for hypothetical comparison; the only other clauses introduced by *as* with this tense in the *SGGK* are relative clauses, two of which are also hypothetical in meaning (cf. 4.4). In clauses of reason (discussed below in 4.2.2), tense does not seem to play a role in terms of their interpretation.

#### 4.2.2. *As* introducing a clause of reason or cause

There were only four clauses introduced by *as* which could be classified as adverbial clauses of cause or reason (cf. 2.3.2.6), each slightly different from the others.

25) *And as þou foly hatz frayst, fynde þe behoues.* (line 0324)

“and as you have asked for folly, it is fitting that you find it”

This use has survived until PDE, though it is more common in formal registers. That would not be out of place in the *SGGK*, especially in direct speech as in (25). From a formal point of view, it is identical with a manner or time clause. It is the context alone that gives rise to the causal meaning.

In one instance, there is an adverb (*so*) in the main clause which seems to be correlated with the *as* introducing the adverbial clause:

26) *Sir Gawain, so mot I þryue*

*as I am ferly fayn*

*Þis dint þat þou schal dryue.* (lines 0387-8)

“Sir Gawain, I may rejoice/as I am exceedingly glad/that you shall strike this blow”

As was mentioned in the theoretical part of the thesis (2.3.2.6), it is common in languages for the causal meaning of conjunctions to develop from the notion of time (e.g. *since* in PDE). That was most likely not the case in English, where it originated in the notion of manner. In example (26) the causal meaning seems to stem from a comparative structure, that is manner and not time, in line with what Ericson (1932: 61) states. However, the *so* in the main clause perhaps does not have to be correlated with the *as*. *So* could be used in asseverations of this type, which is perhaps the more probable interpretation.

The final example contains a complex conjunction which has developed from the correlative structure *as – as*:

27) *Bot for as much as ze ar myn em I am only to prayse,* (line 356)

“Only because you are my uncle do I deserve praise”

The *MED* lists *forasmuch as* as an adverbial phrase and conjunction; the oldest example is from 1300, suggesting that its usage would have been established at the time of the Gawain Poet. Many later quotations spell the phrase as one word. *Forasmuch as* means ‘in consideration that, seeing that’ and according to the *OED*, it is now somewhat formal or archaic.

#### 4.2.3. *As* introducing a clause of purpose

There are only two instances of *as* used with the meaning of purpose (discussed in 2.3.2.5); it however has to be said that neither is entirely convincing and can also be interpreted differently. In both cases, *as* is used with an infinitive.

28) *And sayned hym, as bi his saze þe sauer to worthe* (line 1202)

“and signed himself so as to become safer by his words”

There are two possible interpretations for this line. Apart from the meaning of purpose, one could understand the *as* to mean *as if*, making the clause a clause of manner.

The following instance is not much clearer:

29) *Gret is þe gode gle, and gomen to me huge,  
Þat so worþy as 3e wolde wynne hidere,  
And pyne yow with so pouer a mon, as play wyth your knyzt  
With anyskynnez countenaunce, hit keuzez me ese* (line 1536-9)

“great is the good joy, and an enormous pleasure to me/that one so worthy as you would come here/and trouble yourself with so poor a man, as to play with your knight/with any kinds of favour, brings me delight”

One could interpret the infinitive as expressing purpose (‘trouble yourself in order to play’), as is also the case in Borroff’s translation. Tolkien considers *play* to be the antecedent of *hit* and understands the line as ‘as for playing with your knight, it fills me with joy’. A third possibility is that the *as* could be causal in meaning, as in ‘trouble yourself [...] by playing’. A more far-fetched interpretation would consider the *as* to have an additive meaning, in the sense ‘trouble yourself as well as/also play’, but *as* is not used like this anywhere in the *SGGK*. This line (1538) demonstrates how ambiguous and context-dependent *as* can be.

Infinitives in the *SGGK* are much more commonly introduced by *to* or *for to* (33 instances) and can express purpose, as in the following example:

30) *Alle þis compayny of court com þe kyng nerre/For to counseyl þe knyzt, with care  
at her hert.* (lines 0556-7)

“all this company of court came nearer to the king/to counsel the knight with care at their hearts”

As mentioned above (cf. 2.3.2.5), *as* may have been used in infinitives of purpose to highlight the notion of imaginary comparison, but became mostly pleonastic. In the *SGGK*, this formal variation may perhaps be attributed to metre.

Another common way of expressing result or purpose in the text was *so þat*, e.g.:

31) *Wyth þis he lazes so loude þat þe lorde greued* (line 0316)

“with this he laughs so loud that the lord took offence”

*So that* was already an option in OE and continues to be in use in PDE. In the *SGGK*, even *þat* on its own is used in this meaning relatively often, e.g.:

32) *Hit hym vp to þe hult, þat þe hert schyndered* (line 1594)

“hit him up to the hilt so that the heart burst asunder”

#### 4.2.4. *As* introducing a clause of time or place

##### 4.2.4.1. Clauses of time

There are 12 adverbial clauses of time introduced by *as* in the text.

As was mentioned above (cf. 2.3.2.3), there are various theories as to the origin of the temporal meaning of *as* but many scholars agree that the temporal and local use has not developed from manner or reduced comparative structures containing temporal or local adverbs, but rather from a demonstrative use.

That does not mean that partially reduced comparative structures do not occur. There is one example of *as soon as* with the adverb *as* omitted to be found in the text:

33) *Sone as he on hent, and happed þerinne* (line 0864)

“as soon as he put one on, and wrapped himself in it”

All the other instances contained *as* on its own, as e.g. in the following:

34) *And as ho stod, ho stonyed hym wyth ful stor wordez* (line 1291)

“and as she stood, she astonished him with very severe words”

There was one instance which contained *þer*, suggesting that this might be a locative adverbial clause with *þer* as an antecedent:

35) *þer myzt mon se, as þay slypte, slentyng of arwes* (line 1160)

“there might one see, as they were loosed, the slanting flight of arrows”

As mentioned previously (2.3.2.3), the notions of time and place can sometimes be difficult to distinguish. The temporal interpretation seems to make more sense; the *þer* in the main clause does not necessarily have to be the antecedent of *as*. In this example, *as* seems to express a preceding or contemporaneous action.

Nummenmaa mentions that *as* used as a temporal conjunction usually has no antecedent or relative notion; it is the locative use that tends to be relative, with an adverbial or less commonly nominal antecedent (cf. 2.3.2.3). There is one example in the *SGGK* that is fairly clearly temporal and seems to be relative as well:

36) *On þe morne, as vch mon mynez þat tyme*  
*Þat Dry3tyn for oure destyné to de3e watz borne*  
*Wele waxez in vche a won in worlde for his sake* (line 0995-7)

“in the morning, when everyone remembers that time/when our Lord was born to die for our destiny/joy grows in every dwelling in the world for his sake”

This example also shows the kind of context in which a temporal clause might acquire the meaning of cause or reason; one might interpret sentence as meaning ‘joy grows because everyone remembers’.

#### 4.2.4.2. Clauses of place

There was only one clause introduced by *as* alone that seemed best interpreted as a clause of place. Of course, its uniqueness makes the interpretation less convincing.

37) *Euen inmyddez, as þe messe metely come* (line 1004)  
“right in the middle, where the food fittingly came”

Here *as* seems to have a more clearly locative meaning; this *as* seems to function as a locative relative pronoun. The clause is dependent on *inmyddez*, or perhaps only *myddez* – in the manuscript, the prepositional phrase is not spelled as one word. However, the temporal interpretation is still possible.

It is this ambiguity that perhaps contributed to this use not appearing more often. In all the other cases, the Gawain Poet chose a more straightforward subordinator to express locative meaning. Either he used the compound *per(e) as* (which will be discussed in more detail below in 4.2.3) or *per(e)* on its own, which appears to be the most frequent solution (31 instances), e.g.:

38) *At vche warþe oþer water þer þe wy3e passed* (line 0715)

“at each ford or stream where the knight passed”

Another option was the variant that is preferred in PDE – *where*, e.g.:

39) *On mony bonkkes ful brode Bretayn he settez  
wyth wynne  
**Where** werre and wrake and wonder  
Bi syþez hatz wont þerinne* (lines 0014-17)

“on many very broad hillsides he founds Britain/with joy/where war and misery and wondrous deeds/at times have lived”

This use of *where* is, however, not particularly frequent in the *SGGK*.

#### 4.2.4.3. *Þer as*

As was mentioned above (4.2.4.2), *þer(e) as* was used to introduced clauses of place more commonly than a lone *as*. Even so, it only appeared four times in the text. In this form, *as* is a locative relative pronoun, with the entire phrase *þer(e) as* introducing adverbial clauses of place.

40) *As he spreut ouer a spenne to spye þe schrewe/**Þer as** he herd þe howndes þat  
hasted hym swyþe* (line 1896-7)

“as he sprang over a hedge to spy the villain/where he heard the hounds that hastened quickly”

It could also function as a relative dependent on a noun, as e.g. in the following:

41) *Ner slayn wyth þe slete he sleped in his yrnes  
Mo nyztez þen innoghe in naked rokkez  
**Þer as** claterande fro þe crest þe colde borne rennez* (lines 0729-31)

“nearly slain by sleep he slept in his armour/more nights than enough in naked rocks/where splashing from the crest the cold stream runs”

It appears that *þer(e)* on its own could be used in the same way, both as a relative dependent on a noun as in example (38) and a conjunction introducing an adverbial locative clause:

42) *Hurtez hem ful heterly **per** he forth hyzez* (line 1462)

“hurts them very fiercely where he hastens forth”

In the manuscript, *per(e) as* is spelled in a number of ways. In one example, *pere* is used, and in that case and in (40), the words are written in their entirety in the manuscript. The other two instances including (41) are written using a scribal abbreviation – a line above *p*. In all the cases, the two words are spelled with a space between them.

#### 4.2.5. *As* introducing a nominal clause

There are seven instances in which the clause introduced by *as* is better interpreted as nominal, though the overlap with the idea of manner is apparent.

##### 4.2.5.1. Objective clauses

There are five instances of *as* introducing a nominal clause which functions as the object of the verb in the main clause. Four come after the same verb – *to let* in the sense ‘to pretend’. According to the *MED* (meaning 16.), this verb usually takes an object in the form of a *that*-clause, though there are cases with the *that* omitted, or a clause introduced by *as though* or just *as*, as was the case in the examined text:

43) *And layde hym down lystyly, and let **as** he slepte* (line 1190)

“and laid himself down craftily, and pretended that he was sleeping”

As *that*-clauses are nominal, it seems reasonable to interpret the *as*-clause in the same way. In all of the examples, the *as* seems to have a hypothetical meaning, being closer to *as if* or *as though*. Perhaps that is the reason why the poet used *as* rather than *that*, which is neutral. The verb *to let* can have a large number of different meanings in ME (18 in *MED*) and appears 25 times in the poem – an *as*-clause might therefore be less ambiguous.

The one remaining clause was the object of the verb *to do*, which also demands an object:

44) *Iche tolke mon do **as** he is tan, tas to non ille/ne pine.*’ (lines 1811-2)

“each man must do as his circumstances dictate, do not see it as an evil/or pain”



This is the one instance where the meaning is not hypothetical. The clause could have a meaning of manner – ‘to do/act according to what his circumstances dictate.’ The main argument for the nominal interpretation is the valency of the verb. However, the verb *don* has a number of meanings and its valency is not always the same. If one understands the verb as ‘act’ or ‘behave’, which the verb *don* could also have (meaning 9a. in the *MED*), the clause would better be analysed as a clause of manner, or more specifically, a clause of accordance.

#### 4.2.5.2. Predicative clauses

Two of the nominal clauses were used as a subject complement. Both examples contain the same verb *to seem*, which could in ME be followed by a clause introduced by *as*, *that* or nothing (*MED*).

45) *Hit semed as no mon myzt/Vnder his dynttez dry3e* (lines 201-2)

“it seemed as though no man might/survive under his blows”

46) *Hit semed as he mozt/Be prynce withouten pere* (lines 0872-3)

“it seemed as if he might be a prince beyond compare”

Both instances are rather similar. In both cases, *as* has a hypothetical meaning, best translated as either ‘as if’ or ‘as though’, and both contain the same modal verb.

#### 4.2.6. Asseverative clauses

There are four asseverative clauses introduced by *as* in the text, two of which are of the type *so help me God*:

47) *‘Nay, as help me,’ quop þe hapel, ‘he þat on hy3e syttes [...]’* (line 0256)

“‘Nay, so help me,’ said the knight, ‘he who sits in heaven’”

48) *as help me God and þe halydam, and oþez innoghe* (line 2123)

“so help me God and the holy relic, and many oaths”

Both examples are found in direct speech.

The other two examples are formally identical with a clause of manner:

49) *And 3e me take sum tolke to teche, as 3e hy3t*  
*Be gate to be grene chapel, as God wyl me suffer*  
*To dele on Nw 3erez day be dome of my wyrdes.* (lines 1966-8)

“if you assign to me some man to show, as you promised,/the gate to the Green Chapel,  
as God will permit/to receive on New Year’s day the judgement of my fate”

50) *To sech be gome of be grene, as God wyl me wysse* (line 0549)  
“to seek the knight of the green, as God will guide me”

Both of these may also be interpreted as a conditional clause, similar to ‘if God permits’;  
however, there were no other instances of *as* introducing a clause with a conditional meaning.  
The conjunction (3)*if* was used instead (46 instances). There was one instance of a clause very  
similar to both (49) and (50) introduced by *if*:

51) *And I wolde loke on þat lede, if God me let wolde* (line 1063)  
“and I would look on that knight, if God would let me”

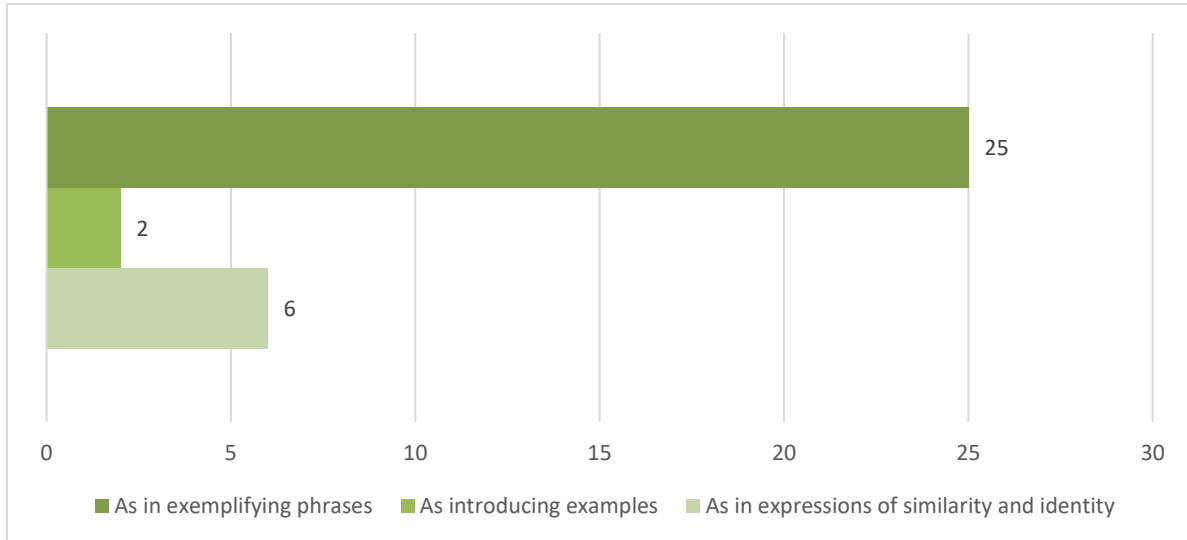
The poem contains many asseverations and appeals to God but most are shorter fixed phrases  
such as *bi God*.

### 4.3. Prepositional uses

Prepositional uses of *as* are not treated separately in Nummenmaa. Instead, they are treated as  
elliptical versions of constructions in which *as* is a conjunction. However, in the interest of a  
clearer and more structured arrangement, they are given their own section in the present thesis.  
Furthermore, some of these uses seem to have developed their own peculiar meanings which  
appear to deserve a distinct mention.

Out of the total 185 instances of *as* in the *SGGK*, 33 (18%) are prepositions, meaning that  
rather than introducing a clause, they function as the head of a prepositional phrase with a  
noun phrase as its complement.

**Graph 4. Prepositional uses of *as***



#### 4.3.1. *As* in elliptical exemplifying prepositional phrases

This was by far the most common use with 25 instances, accounting for 75.75% of all prepositional uses. This use arose through ellipsis in the correlative comparative structure *as – as*, especially in cases where the subordinate clause was a clause of degree.. As previously mentioned, clauses of degree often provide an example rather than comparison (cf. 2.3.2.2). The verb in the clause of comparison introduced by the second *as* is omitted, which is made possible when the verb would otherwise be identical with the verb in the main clause, as e.g. in the following:

52) *And I wol þe as wel, wyȝe, bi my faythe/as any gome vnder God for þy grete traube* (lines 2469-70)

“and I wish thee as well, knight, by my faith/as any man under God for thy great loyalty”

Interestingly, there were only three instances in the poem where the *as – as* structure was complete, as in (52). *So – as* was more common with 5 instances; in one of them, *so* even appears twice:

53) *Pat so ȝong and so ȝepe as ȝe at þis tyme* (line 1510)

“that one so young and so lively as you at this time”

Most often (15 instances), the adverbial *as* or *so* in the main clause was simply omitted:

54) *For hit is grene as my goune [...] (line 2396)*

“for it is as green as my gown”

In most cases, the prepositional phrase followed an adjective, serving as its complement, as in (54) or as e.g. in *grene as þe gres* (‘green as the grass’), *felle face as þe fyre* (‘face fierce as fire’), or as a participle, such as *blusschande bemez as þe bryzt sunne* (‘beams gleaming as the bright sun’). In only one case did it come after an adverb, though it might be interpreted as an adjective as well, depending on whether one considers the verb copular or not:

55) *Bot stode styлле as þe ston, oþer a stubbe auþer (line 2293)*

“But stood still as a stone or a stump.”

The phrase could also modify a verb directly:

56) *What! hit wharred and whette, as water at a mulne (line 2203)*

“What! It whirred and grinded, like water at a mill”

This seems like a step further in terms of ellipsis. As in example (55), (54) and (53) and many other instances, there is an adjectival or adverbial phrase in the main clause, which is modified by the comparative prepositional phrase. In (56), it is not present. Instead, the prepositional phrase functions as an adverbial, modifying the verb in the main clause directly.

Of interest may also be the following elliptical phrase which seems to be a reduced relative clause, rather than a clause of comparison:

57) *Who knew euer any kyng such counsel to take/as knyghtez in cauelaciounz on Crystmasse gomnez!’ (lines 0682-3)*

“Who ever knew a king to accept such counsel/as knights squabbling in Christmas games!”

There were two such examples, each with *such* + noun in the main clause. As mentioned in the theoretical part of the thesis (cf. 2.3.3), *as* could become a quasi-relative pronoun in some contexts and even develop the meaning of PDE ‘such as’ (further discussed below in 4.3.2). This instance does not introduce a list of examples of the antecedent noun but rather provide a comparison meant to characterize it.

There was one instance in which the order of the prepositional phrase and the antecedent were reversed:

58) *He loked as layt so lyzt* (line 0199)

“he looked as bright as lightning”

The change of order here is almost certainly motivated by the rhyme, as this line is part of the ‘wheel’ which concludes every stanza (cf. 3.1.1); the word *lyzt* rhymes with *myzt* two lines below.

#### 4.3.2. *As* introducing a set of examples

This use appeared only twice in the text. In PDE, *such as* would be used but it appears in neither of the two in the *SGGK*. In EME, *as* used as a conjunction of manner could in some contexts gain the meaning of PDE ‘such as’ and become a quasi-relative pronoun (cf. 2.3.3). This use seems to be a further development where the verb in the manner/relative clause is omitted.

59) *Enbrawdend and bounden wyth þe best gemmez*

*and bryddez on semez*

*as papiayez paynted peruyng bitwene*, (line 609-11)

“embroidered and adorned with the best gems/and birds on seams,/such as parrots painted periwinkle in between”

60) *Much glam and gle glent vp þerinne*

*Aboute þe fyre vpon flet, and on fele wyse*

*At þe soper and after, mony apel songez*

*as coundutes of Krystmasse and carolez newe* (lines 1654-5)

“much merrymaking and glee sprang up therein/around the fire in the hall, and in many ways/at supper and after, many noble songs/such as Christmas part-songs and new carols”

The prepositional phrase serves as a postmodification of a noun phrase, providing an example or a list of examples.

### 4.3.3. *As in elliptical expressions of similarity and identity*

There are only six such instances in the text. In an elliptical phrase of identity, rather than providing a comparison in order to describe something, the prepositional phrase expresses in what capacity something is performed.

61) *I quit-clayme hit for euer, kepe hit as his auen* (line 0293)

“I renounce it forever, let him keep it as his own”

62) *And praysed hit as gret prys þat he proued hade* (line 1630)

“and praised it as great excellence, which he had proven”

Unlike the exemplifying type, the *as* introducing the prepositional phrase of this kind is never correlated with anything in the main clause. There are several examples in the exemplifying type (4.3.1) in which there is no adjectival or adverbial phrase which the prepositional phrase follows as their complement. The same can be said of all the instances of the expressions of similarity and identity.

### 4.4. Relative uses

As was mentioned previously (2.3.3), the relative use of *as* has its origin in the combination *such – as*. Such instances appear 9 times in the text, e.g.:

63) *I may be funde vpon folde, and foch þe such wages/as þou deles me to-day bifore þis doube ryche.* (line 0397)

“I may be found in the world, and take from you such wages/as you deal me today before this noble company”

Here *such* functions as the predeterminer of the antecedent of the relative clause. The clause serves as its postmodification and is restrictive.

Interestingly, there are two instances with *such – as*, in which *as* seemed to have a hypothetical meaning, as in:

64) *Wyth such a crakkande kry as klyffes haden brusten* (line 1166)

“with such a ringing cry as if cliffs had burst”

It can perhaps be said that the only difference between a comparative structure with *as/so – as* and a relative clause with *such – as* is the word class of the antecedent, as both can provide a comparison, even a hypothetical one.

The majority of the relative clauses introduced by *as* in the text are correlated with *such*, and these are also the easiest to interpret. There are three cases where *as* functions as a relative without the presence of the determinative *such* in the main clause. In two cases, the determinative role is served by a different determiner:

65) *Of alle dayntygez double, as derrest myzt falle* (line 0483)

“with double of all dainties, as might be fitting to the most noble”

This is an example of how after a time, the number of items which can be used in a construction can expand (cf. 2.6). The determinative slot can be filled by another item. These cases would logically appear earlier than the elliptical constructions in which there is no kind of determiner present. In the third relative clause not preceded by *such*, the determiner was a possessive pronoun:

66) *And neuenes hit his aune nome, as hit now hat* (line 0010)

“and names it with his own name, which it is called now”

Despite its 12 instances, *as* or *such – as* was definitely not the most frequent means of introducing a relative clause of manner in the *SGGK*. By far the most common relative pronoun was *þat*, as e.g. in:

67) *With alle þe mete and þe mirþe þat men couþe avyse* (line 0045)

“with all the food and mirth that men could devise”

#### **4.5. Grammaticalization of *as* in the *SGGK***

As discussed in the theoretical part of the thesis (cf. 2.2, 2.5, 2.5.1 and 2.6), *as* has developed its form and various uses through the processes of grammaticalization and constructionalization. While *swā* (2.1) was already a grammatical word with a number of functions, *ealswā* was similarly complex from its beginning.

Its development can be described as polygrammaticalization – each new step in its continuing grammaticalization can give rise to another chain. *Ealswā* separated into *also* and *as*, both

forms existing side by side with *so* during ME, each form gradually becoming formally and functionally distinguished. *Also* could finally only be used as an adverb, most commonly in the meaning ‘in the same/similar way’ or ‘as well’, continuing the uses *ealswā* had in OE, as in e.g.:

68) *Ɔat haldez þe heuen vpon hy3e, and also yow alle!* (line 2057)

“that holds the heaven on high, and also all of you”

In PDE, all uses of *also* apart from ‘as well’ are obsolete.

*As* retained some of the adverbial uses of the OE *ealswā*, most importantly its use in comparative constructions, but also continued all of the conjunctive uses *ealswā* had in OE (introducing clauses of manner, time, cause, result). It also developed new uses (introducing clauses of condition, nominal clauses, elliptical clauses), most of which originated in the notion of manner. All of these uses exist side by side and differ in terms of frequency and longevity.

From what can be seen in the *SGGK*, for the Gawain Poet, *as* and *also* were already distinct. The less reduced form *also* (together with its spelling variants *alse*, *alce*, *als*) was only used as an adverb. *As* was much more complex and further down the grammaticalization scale; this is reflected in the number and nature of uses it could have as well as in the degree of its phonetic reduction.

In the text, *as* functions as an adverb, but mostly in correlated constructions, where it does not have much meaning on its own. In these cases, it serves to refer to something else in the context. This can either be a comparative clause or an exemplifying prepositional phrase, where the adverbial *as* is correlated with another *as*. It can also refer to something (a word or phrase) in the preceding context, in which case it is not correlated with any other item. It can even merge with certain adverbs, completely losing its syntactic independence (*astyt*, *asswyþe*). In the comparative structures, it alternates with other adverbs, such as *so* or *thus*. The overall number of instances is also quite low in comparison with the more grammatical uses, i.e. conjunctive and prepositional (15.22%).

As a conjunction, it primarily introduces adverbial clauses, especially of manner. The notion of similarity or identity is central and from that, other meanings have developed (cause, purpose), as well as functions (introducing nominal clauses, elliptical prepositional uses,



relative use). This is exemplified by instances which can be interpreted in more than one way, as e.g. the previously discussed example (cf. 4.2.1.3.2), where the notion of hypothetical comparison blends with the notion of cause:

69) *Tortors and trulofez entayled so þyk/as mony burde þeraboute had ben seuen wynter* (lines 0612-3)

“Turtle-doves and true-love flowers embroidered so thickly as if/because many damsels had worked upon them for seven winters.”

The entire correlative comparative structure could also become a phrasal conjunction, as e.g. *forasmuch as* or *as soon as* (cf. 4.2.2 and 4.2.4.1, respectively).

As discussed previously (2.3.2.3), the local and temporal use most likely has not developed from the notion of manner, but rather from the demonstrative adverb *so*, which gained this meaning from its contexts. In the *SGGK*, temporal clauses introduced by *as* are fairly frequent, but the same cannot be said of clauses of place.

An integral part of grammaticalization and constructionalization is reduction and ellipsis. It has previously been mentioned (2.6) that the speaker of a language can invoke the knowledge of a grammatical pattern from just one of its constituents. It is also natural to eliminate redundancy. The comparative structure *as/so – as* can be seen in various stages of completeness in the *SGGK*. The ellipsis of the verb in a clause of comparison due to its superfluous nature gives rise to exemplifying prepositional phrases:

70) *Pat so worþy as ȝe wolde wyne hidere* (line 1537)

“that someone as worthy as you [are] would come here”

The *as/so – as* construction is often simplified by omitting the first element of the construction, i.e. the adverbial *as/so*:

71) *For hit is grene as my goune [...]* (line 2396)

“for it is [as] green as my gown”

Furthermore, it often happens that these constructions omit the adverb or adjective which would be preceded by the adverbial *as* (or *so*), relying only on the prepositional *as* to relay the meaning of comparison.

72) *As burne bolde vpon bent his bugle he blowez* (line 1465)

“like a warrior bold in the battlefield he blows his bugle”

In some cases, the notion of comparison is not present, and the prepositional phrase conveys identity or similarity. In these cases, there is no adverbial *as/so* correlated with the prepositional *as*.

*As*, similarly to *so*, had the tendency to become pronominal in certain contexts when used as a conjunction of manner. This developed in two ways. Firstly, clauses of manner introduced by *as* could gain, after certain verbs, a nominal character and serve as objects or subject complements (cf. 4.2.5), as in:

73) *And layde hym down lystyly, and let as he slepte* (line 1190)

“and laid himself down craftily, and pretended that he was sleeping”

Secondly, *as* itself could be reanalysed as a relative pronoun. In the *SGGK*, *as* can introduce relative clauses of time and place as well as regular relative clauses. This use is based on a correlative structure *such – as*, which is similar to the comparative construction. This *such* functions as the determiner of a noun in the main clause and is followed by a clause introduced by *as*:

74) *I may be funde vpon folde, and foch þe such wages/as þou deles me to-day bifore þis doube ryche* (line 0397)

“I may be found in the world, and take from you such wages/as you deal me today before this noble company”

When this structure is reduced and the verb in the relative clause is omitted, *as* introduces a prepositional phrase, which provides an example for comparison:

75) *Who knew euer any kyng such counsel to take/as knyztez in cauelaciounz on Crystmasse gomnez* (lines 0682-3)

“who ever knew a king to accept such counsel/as knights squabbling in Christmas games”

### 4.5.1. Marginal uses

Not every development in diachrony proves to be successful. Any new grammatical item must compete with other means of expressing the same function and in some cases, that can end by its ultimate disappearance.

One such example are clauses of place (cf. 4.2.4.2), which share a common origin and form with temporal clauses. They do differ from them in that they are usually relative but temporal clauses could be relative as well, leading to ambiguity. There is only one clause of place introduced by *as* in the *SGGK*:

76) *euen inmyddez, as þe messe metely come* (line 1004)  
“right in the middle, where the food fittingly came”

Their ambiguity could be resolved by using the more complex *þer as* (cf. 4.2.4.3.), but even that was quite rare in the text. In this type of construction, it is common for the adverbial element (in this case *þer*) to become weakened and disappear, which makes the meaning of the remaining *as* unclear. Neither *as* nor *þer as* could compete with the other options to express the notion of place ME already had (e.g. *þer*) and that it was developing at the time (*where*). Adverbial or relative clauses of place introduced by *as* offered nothing that the other items could not.

Another unsuccessful use of *as* in the *SGGK* is the use of *as* to express purpose (cf. 4.2.3). The only two examples are dubious at best and *as* is technically not even necessary for the meaning of purpose to arise. Infinitives of purpose could be introduced by *to* or *for*, and for finite clauses, *so þat* is used instead.

Another use which is marginal was *as* in clauses of condition. The only time *as* was used to express condition is in asseverations (cf. 4.2.6), as in:

73) *To sech þe gome of þe grene, as God wyl me wysse.* (line 0549)  
“To seek the knight of the green, as God will guide me.”

*Ȝif* (*if, gif*) was used 46 times in the poem. In a number of cases, the conditional meaning is expressed using *and*.

Although *as* could also be used to introduce clauses of concession in ME, there were no examples of this in the *SGGK*. The most common conjunction which introduces adverbial clauses of concession in the text is *þaz* ('though').

#### 4.6. Innovation in the *SGGK*

There were no uses in the *SGGK* which were not mentioned in Nummenmaa's (1973) monograph on EME. However, there is a difference in the frequencies of individual uses.

The percentages of which word class *as* was used as in the *SGGK* do not align with what Nummenmaa (1973: 189) found: 27.44% of all instances of *al (so)* were adverbial, which is nearly twice as much as what is found in the *SGGK*. Conjunctive uses accounted for 66.83% of uses (including all the elliptical, i.e. prepositional uses), whereas in the *SGGK*, if we add up the numbers of conjunctive and prepositional uses, they constitute 78.25% of all the cases. Another significant difference is in the relative clauses – the *SGGK* contains a much higher proportion of them, especially if we discount indefinite and generalizing clauses containing e.g. *hwo so* (cf. 2.3.3) which are not relevant when considering *as*. This difference makes sense in the light of what was said regarding the more grammaticalized nature of *as* – *ealswā* was simply more likely to become the reduced *as* form when used as a conjunction (cf. 4.).

**Table 1. Comparison of word class percentages in the *SGGK* and EME**

	<i>as</i> in the <i>SGGK</i>	<i>(al) so</i> in EME - Nummenmaa
adverb	15.22%	27.44%
conjunction (+preposition)	(60.32% + 17.93) 78.25%	66.83%
relative pronoun	6.52%	5.71% [1.04% with <i>(al)so or swuch</i> – <i>(al)so</i> ]

It would seem that several uses which Nummenmaa describes as marginal were used relatively frequently in the *SGGK*, suggesting that these uses had been much better established at the time of the Gawain Poet, at least in his dialect.

The first is the use of *as* as a conjunction introducing nominal objective or predicative clauses (4.2.5). This use was very rare in EME (0.16% of all uses of *also*, *as*, and *so* in Nummenmaa's (1973) study). In the *SGGK*, this use accounted for 3.8% of all uses. It has to

be said that these clauses only appeared after a small number of verbs: *let* (4 instances), *do* (1, relatively dubious instance) and *seem* (2 instances). Nearly all the instances were also hypothetical, which was possibly the motivation behind using *as* rather than *pat*.

Another use which was very infrequent in the EME texts but comparatively common in the *SGGK* was the relative use of *as*, either in the combination *such – as* or on its own (cf. 4. 4). As mentioned in the theoretical section (cf. 2.3.3), *as* cannot be called a relative pronoun proper because the majority of examples found have been considered unconvincing by most scholars. In the *SGGK*, it appears almost solely with *such* in the main clause. Perhaps the few cases where *as* is used as a relative pronoun on its own can be seen as an innovative tendency to treat *as* as a regular relative pronoun.

## 5. Conclusion

*As* has a wide array of meanings in PDE and is one of the most frequent words in English, occurring more than 1,000 times per million words in typical modern English usage (*OED*). In ME, it is more frequent than *so* (PPCME2).

Not only does *as* serve a wide array of functions in ME generally, but a relatively wide range of them can appear in one text. These functions are sometimes not differentiated formally; their interpretation relies on the context leading to relatively frequent ambiguity and difficulty of conclusive interpretation when one relies only on the text itself. It is in such ambiguous contexts that new functions and meanings arise.

Firstly, in the *SGGK*, *as* could function as an **adverb of manner** or **degree**. This was not a particularly frequent use; only 15.22% of all the occurrences of *as* were adverbs. Among these, three main adverbial uses could be identified. In 67.86% of all the cases, it was used as part of a correlative comparative structure, referring to a following adverbial clause introduced by another *as*. In this function, it alternated especially with *so*, being only slightly more frequent. In 21.43% of cases it referred to a word or a group of words in the preceding context, also providing a comparison, only in a more vague way. As an adverb of degree, it could finally become part of a compound temporal adverb (only 10.71%). It was previously pointed out (4.1) that the low frequency is connected with the fact that *as* acquired its form especially in more grammatical uses. The other adverbial (and more lexical) uses of *ealswā* continued to exist in *also*. Another reason why the adverbial instances are not more numerous is the tendency for the first adverbial element in correlative structures to be omitted, only leaving the conjunction/preposition behind.

Secondly, *as* was used as a **conjunction**. This was the most prevalent use in the *SGGK*, accounting for 60.32% of all the instances of *as*. It was used primarily to introduce clauses of manner (69.37%), which can be divided into three types based on the strength of their connection to the main clause. Additive clauses, also referred to as comment clauses, function as style disjuncts and were overall quite formulaic. Clauses of accordance were most frequent, expressing manner in more concrete terms. Finally, the text contained clauses of comparison, which are the most closely connected with the main clause. They were part of the correlative structure *as/so – as*. Clauses of comparison could also have a hypothetical meaning. It was only in these clauses that the adverbial *as* in the main clause could be omitted. The notion of manner was central to the conjunctive *as* and from it, other meanings could arise; the text

contained several clauses expressing cause, purpose as well as asseverations introduced by *as*. None of these secondary uses were particularly frequent in the *SGGK*. Clauses of manner could also give rise to nominal clauses, which were either used as objects or subject complements – these accounted for 6.31% of the clauses introduced by *as*. *As* also introduced clauses of time (10.81%) and in one case, a clause of place; some of the uses had a relative character. Furthermore, *as* was used together with *per(e)* to form a less ambiguous conjunction of place. It can however be said that *as* was used to express the meaning of place only rarely, and other subordinators were employed more often.

When the verb in the subordinate clause introduced by *as* was omitted, the use was classified as **prepositional**. This was the case in 17.93% of all the uses of *as* in the *SGGK*. In most cases, these simply expressed comparison, providing an example. The correlative comparative structure was incomplete in a half of the cases, as the adverb in the main clause was omitted. In a number of cases, the entire adjectival or adverbial phrase in the main clause was not present and the prepositional phrase modified the verb in the main clause directly, serving as an adverbial. *As* was also used in the sense ‘such as’ to introduce a list of examples. A handful of cases did not express comparison but rather identity or similarity, describing in what capacity an action was performed. These were all uncorrelated.

Finally, *as* was used as a **relative pronoun**. Such instances were not particularly numerous (6.52%) and in most cases, *as* was correlated with *such* in the main clause, which is the construction in which this use originated. In two examples, *as* expressed a hypothetical meaning.

In PDE, *as* appears in a number of **multi-word expressions**, often with idiomatic meaning, or in complex conjunctions or prepositions. Some such instances can also be found in the *SGGK*, although they were not particularly frequent and did not yet seem to have gained idiomatic meaning.

In terms of **innovation**, it can be said that *as* is used in a relatively wide array of functions including some that were described as marginal in Nummenmaa’s study – namely its use to introduce nominal predicative and objective clauses, which appeared 7 times in the text, though they were used with a small number of verbs (*seem, let, do*). Some functions were not represented at all, such as concession. At the same time, there were no entirely new uses.

The relative use of *as* in the text was quite frequent, especially when compared with the frequency in Nummenmaa's monograph, suggesting that for the Gawain Poet, using *as* to introduce relative clauses was not particularly strange. This use, however, proved to be ultimately unsuccessful – in PDE, *as* as a relative only appears in specific constructions (with *such* etc.). In all other cases, different relative pronouns are employed instead.

In the adverbial function referring to a following adverbial clause of comparison, the number of occurrences of the competing and more conservative *so* was quite high (15 as opposed to 19 occurrences of *as*). As was previously mentioned, it was not uncommon for poets to deliberately use older language and in terms of lexicon, that has been shown to be the case. It seems that the frequent use of *so* instead of *as* in the comparative construction is another such feature.

In order to gain a better understanding of *as* in ME, more research is needed on other ME texts from the same time period. Additionally, more work could be done focusing on the constructionalization of *as*, which has been only briefly touched upon in the present thesis.



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## 7. Resumé

Cílem této práce je prozkoumat a klasifikovat všechna užití *as* v středoanglickém rytířském románu *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. *As* je jedním z nejfrekventovanějších slov v angličtině a má dnes mnoho různých funkcí, které získalo procesem gramatikalizace. Střední angličtina se dá z hlediska jazykového vývoje považovat za velmi dynamické období a lze tedy očekávat, že se tento fakt odrazí i na počtu možných užití *as*.

Teoretická část (2.) se nejprve věnuje historickému vývoji *as*. *As* se vyvinulo ze staroanglického *ealswā* (2.2), které vzniklo ze *swā* (2.1), předchůdce dnešního *so*. *Eal* ve spojení se *swā* původně plnilo jen emfatickou roli, ale postupně s ním splynulo a jeho funkce převzalo. Ve staré angličtině bylo *swā* a *ealswā* téměř ekvivalentní, ale postupně se *ealswā* začalo rozdělovat na dvě odlišná slova: *also* a *as*. Zatímco *also* si zachovalo velkou část z významů *ealswā* jako příslovce, v *as* pokračovala jen některá příslovečná použití a všechna užití spojková a předložková. Zůstala mu i tendence nabývat v určitých konstrukcích pronominálního charakteru.

Následující část (2.3) se věnuje *as* ve střední angličtině, což je hlavním zájmem této práce. Čerpá hlavně z práce Nummenmaa (1973), Mustanoji (2016) a dat středoanglického slovníku *Middle English Dictionary* (<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary>). *As* se v tomto období dalo použít jako příslovce, spojka, předložka a také vztažné zájmeno. Jakožto příslovce se nejčastěji objevovalo jako příslovce způsobu a míry, zejména ve srovnávacích korelativních konstrukcích typu *as – as*. Také mohlo odkazovat na výraz v předchozím kontextu ve významu ‚stejně tak‘. Dále se používalo například také v příslovečných určeních času a mohlo se stát součástí složených časových příslovčí (např. *astyt* – ‚okamžitě‘).

Středoanglické *as* uvozovalo velké množství různých typů vět. Nejčastěji šlo o příslovečné věty způsobové, které lze rozdělit do tří typů podle míry jejich začlenění do hlavní věty. Ty nejméně začleněné (*additive clauses*) se dají označit za disjunktní a většinou jen poskytovaly podporu argumentu v hlavní větě. Druhý typ (*clauses of accordance*) popisovaly, v souladu s čím se děj v hlavní větě odehrává. Nejčastěji šlo o vyjádření povinnosti nebo náležitosti. Posledním typem jsou věty srovnávací, které poskytovaly srovnání jak s dějem reálným, tak smyšleným. Tyto věty byly buď kompletní, nebo eliptické. *As* dále uvozovalo příslovečné věty účelu, příčiny, času a místa. Tvořilo také lokální složenou spojku *per as*. Dále se objevovalo ve větách podmínkových a přípustkových a také stálo v čele zvolání

(*asseverations*). V poslední řadě mohlo uvozovat věty nominálního charakteru, které slouží jako předmět slovesa v hlavní větě nebo jako jmenná část přísudku.

*As* ve střední angličtině také plnilo roli vztažného zájmena, a to zejména v konstrukci *such – as*. Determinátor antecedentu *such* mohl být v hlavní větě nahrazen i jinými determinátory (např. *all*), případně jej bylo možné i vynechat.

Poslední dvě sekce teoretické části (2.5 a 2.6) se věnují procesům gramatikalizace a konstrukcionalizace. Gramatikalizaci lze definovat jako proces jazykové změny, při kterém lexikální výraz získá gramatické rysy, nebo se z již gramatického slova stává slovo ještě gramatičtějšího charakteru (Hopper and Traugott, 2003: 2). Tento proces je provázen fonetickou redukcí, ztrátou syntaktické volnosti a sémantickým vyprázdněním (Fischer et al., 2001: 286-7). Vývoj *as* je možné popsat pojmem polygramatikalizace, kdy z jedné jednotky gramatikalizací vzniká několik větví, z nichž každá může tvořit výchozí bod další gramatikalizace (Craig, 1991: 456). Konstrukcionalizace je proces, při kterém se z volného uskupení slov stává ustálenější konstrukce. Tyto konstrukce následně procházejí změnami a navzájem si konkurují (Bybee, 2015: 169-72). Pro vývoj *as* je podstatná skutečnost, že k jazykovým změnám tohoto typu dochází v reálných kontextech, na jejichž základě může dojít k reinterpetaci (Fried, 2009: 263).

Následující sekce se věnuje charakteristice materiálu analýzy a metodologii (3.). *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (dále *SGGK*) je středoanglický rytířský román složený anonymním autorem na konci 14. století v dialektu North West Midlands. Tato část práce dále zdůvodňuje volbu textu a následně popisuje postup analýzy. Všechny výskyty v románu byly zanalyzovány a zasazeny do klasifikace, která je z velké části založena na práci Nummenmaa (1973). Liší se hlavně tím, že vyčleňuje předložková užití *as*, která Nummenmaa vnímá jen jako eliptická užití spojková.

Analytická část této diplomové práce (4.) nejprve předkládá frekvence všech užití *as* v *SGGK* (celkem 184 výskytů) podle slovních druhů. Krátce také zmiňuje *also* (společně s jeho dalšími pravopisnými variantami) a konstatuje, že v *SGGK* je *also* již od *as* v podstatě zcela odlišeno jak formálně, tak funkčně. *As* se v textu vyskytuje nejčastěji jako spojka (60,32%), dále jako předložka (17,93%), následně jako příslovce (15,22%) a nejméně časté je užití vztažné (6,52%). Následují sekce podle slovního druhu *as*.

*As* jako příslovce (4.1) se v *SGGK* nejčastěji objevuje ve srovnávacích strukturách typu *as – as* (67,86%), kdy druhé *as* je buď spojkou, nebo předložkou. Modifikuje přídavné jméno nebo příslovce v hlavní větě a odkazuje na následující srovnávací příslovečnou větu nebo frázi.

V této funkci alternuje se *so*. V druhém typu užití odkazuje na nějakou charakteristiku v předešlém kontextu. *As* se také několikrát vyskytuje ve složených temporálních příslovcích.

Jako spojka (4.2) nejčastěji uvozuje příslovečné věty způsobové (69,37%). Výše popsané typy způsobových vět jsou zastoupeny poměrně srovnatelně. Nejčastější jsou *clauses of accordance*, které obsahově odpovídají žánru. Nejčastěji popisují náležitost a povinnost.

Disjunktivní typ (*additive clauses*) je poměrně formulaický. Oba tyto typy (*additive clauses* a *clauses of accordance*) nikdy nejsou koordinovány s příslovečným *as* (případně *so*) v hlavní větě. Věty srovnávací v textu většinou vyjadřují srovnání s dějem reálným. V těchto případech jsou vždy součástí kompletní srovnávací konstrukce *as/so – as*. V hypotetických srovnávacích větách je někdy příslovečné *as* vynecháno. Po větách způsobových představují druhý nejfrekventovanější typ vět, které *as* v *SGGK* uvozuje, věty časové (10,81%), a to většinou příslovečné, ale i vztažné. Všechna ostatní užití se dají popsat jako okrajová. V textu se vyskytuje pouze jedna věta s lokálním významem, kterou uvozuje jen samotné *as*. O něco více je příkladů s *per as* (3,6%), avšak i ty jsou poměrně vzácné. Vedlejší věty s významem místa (přísl. i vztažné) v *SGGK* nejčastěji uvozuje samotné *per*. Stejně frekventované (3,6%) jsou příslovečné věty příčinné a nepříliš časté se ukázaly být i věty účelové (1,8%). *As* v několika případech uvozuje také věty zvolací (3,6%). Posledním typem vět, které *as* v *SGGK* uvozuje, jsou věty nominální (6,3%).

Předložková užití *as* (4.3) se ve většině případů (75,75%) vyskytují ve frázích vyjadřujících srovnání, které se dají chápat jako eliptické věty srovnávací. *As* také v několika případech (18,18%) uvozuje předložkové fráze vyjadřující podobnost nebo identitu. V poslední řadě se *as* používalo i k uvození výčtu příkladů (dnešní *such as*).

Posledním hlavním typem užití *as* je jeho funkce jakožto vztažného zájmena (4.4). Naprostá většina nalezených příkladů obsahuje původní konstrukci *such – as*. Některé mají dokonce hypotetický význam. V malém počtu příkladů bylo *such* nahrazeno jiným determinátorem a v jednom případě byl zcela vynechán.

Následující část analytické sekce práce se zabývá tím, co nalezené příklady vypovídají o gramatikalizaci *as*. Lze říci, že *as* se ve svém procesu gramatikalizace dostalo dále než *also*.

Všechna jeho adverbialní užití jsou poměrně prosta vlastního významu. Vyskytují se buď v korelativních srovnávacích konstrukcích, nebo odkazují na něco v předešlém kontextu. V posledním možném užití splývá s časovým příslovcem a připomíná předponu, což je jedním z posledních možných stadií gramatikalizace. Ústřední užití *as* představují příslovečné věty způsobu. Z tohoto významu se poté vyvinula většina ostatních významů (účel, příčina) a typů užití (*as* jakožto předložka, vztažné zájmeno).

Poslední část analytické kapitoly srovnává *as* v *SGGK* s užitími v raně středoanglickém období, jak je popisuje Nummenmaa (1973). Srovnání ilustruje, že *as* se od rané střední angličtiny, kdy ještě nebylo od *also* zcela oddělené, změnilo hlavně v tom, že se jeho gramatičtější funkce (jakožto spojka a předložka) staly mnohem častějšími na úkor lexikálnějšího užití příslovečného.

Závěrečná část práce shrnuje výsledky analýzy a navrhuje další možné směry výzkumu.

## 8. Appendix

0010	And neuenes hit his aune nome, <b>as</b> hit now hat;
0026	Ay watz Arthur þe hendest, <b>as</b> I haf herde telle.
0031	I schal telle hit <b>as</b> -tit, <b>as</b> I in toun herde,
0033	<b>as</b> hit is stad and stoken
0049	With lordez and ladies, <b>as</b> leuest him þoʒt.
0073	þe best burne ay abof, <b>as</b> hit best semed,
0099	<b>as</b> fortune wolde fulsun hom, þe fayrer to haue.
0126	Iche lede <b>as</b> he loued hymselfe þer laght withouten loþe;
0149	He ferde <b>as</b> freke were fade,
0182	A much berd <b>as</b> a busk ouer his brest henges,
0193	Dubbed wyth ful dere stonez, <b>as</b> þe dok lasted,
0199	He loked <b>as</b> layt <b>so</b> lyʒt,
0201	Hit semed <b>as</b> no mon myʒt
0213	<b>as</b> wel schapen to schere <b>as</b> scharp rasores,
0235	þat a habel and a horse myʒt <b>such</b> a hwe lach, <b>as</b> growe grene <b>as</b> þe gres and grener hit semed,
0244	<b>as</b> al were slypped vpon slepe <b>so</b> slaked hor lotez
0256	‘Nay, <b>as</b> help me,’ quop þe habel, ‘he þat on hyʒe syttes,
0263	And here is kydde cortaysye, <b>as</b> I haf herd carp,
0266	þat I passe <b>as</b> in pes, and no plyʒt seche;
0272	Bot if þou be <b>so</b> bold <b>as</b> alle burnez tellen,
0289	þis ax, þat is heué innogh, to hondele <b>as</b> hym lykes,
0290	And I schal bide þe fyrst bur <b>as</b> bare <b>as</b> I sitte.
0293	I quit-clayme hit for euer, kepe hit <b>as</b> his auen,
0319	He wex wroth <b>as</b> wynde,
0321	þe kyng <b>as</b> kene bi kynde
0324	And <b>as</b> þou foly hatz frayst, fynde þe behoues.
0348	For me þink hit not semly, <b>as</b> hit is soþ knawen,
0356	Bot for <b>as</b> much <b>as</b> ʒe ar myn em I am only to prayse,
0380	þat þou me telle truly, <b>as</b> I tryst may.’
0388	‘Sir Gawan, so mot I þryue <b>as</b> I am ferly fayn
0397	I may be funde vpon folde, and foch þe <b>such</b> wages <b>as</b> þou deles me to-day bifore þis douþe ryche.’
0432	And runyschly he raʒt out, þere <b>as</b> renkkez stoden,
0437	And <b>as</b> sadly þe segge hym in his sadel sette
0438	<b>as</b> non vnhap had hym ayled, þaʒ hedlez he were
0447	And meled þus much with his muthe, <b>as</b> ʒe may now here:
0448	‘Loke, Gawan, þou be grayþe to go <b>as</b> þou hettez,
0449	And layte <b>as</b> lelly til þou me, lude, fynde,
0450	<b>as</b> þou hatz hette in þis halle, herande þise knyʒtes;
0452	<b>Such</b> a dunt <b>as</b> þou hatz dalt – disserued þou habbez
0483	Of alle dayntyez double, <b>as</b> derrest myʒt falle;
0530	And wynter wyndez aʒayn, <b>as</b> þe worlde askez,



0549	To sech þe gome of þe grene, <b>as</b> God wyl me wysse.’
0559	þat <b>so</b> worþe <b>as</b> Wawan schulde wende on þat ernde,
0592	<b>So</b> harnayst <b>as</b> he watz he herknez his masse,
0604	þat al glytered and glent <b>as</b> glem of þe sunne.
0611	On brode sylkyn borde, and bryddez on semez, <b>as</b> papiayez paynted peruyng bitwene,
0613	Tortors and trulofez entayled <b>so</b> þyk <b>as</b> mony burde þerabout had ben seuen wynter
0630	Oueral, <b>as</b> I here, þe endeles knot.
0633	Gawan watz for gode knawen, and <b>as</b> golde pured,
0638	<b>as</b> tulk of tale most trwe
0643	þat Cryst kaȝt on þe croys, <b>as</b> þe crede tellez;
0683	Who knew euer any kyng <b>such</b> counsel to take <b>as</b> knyȝtez in cauelaciounz on Crystmasse gomnez!’
0690	þe bok <b>as</b> I herde say.
0703	And ay he frayned, <b>as</b> he ferde, at frekez þat he met,
0731	<b>Per as</b> claterande fro þe crest þe colde borne rennez,
0772	<b>as</b> hit schemered and schon þurȝ þe schyre okez;
0819	To welcum þis ilk wyȝ <b>as</b> worþy hom þoȝt;
0835	He sayde, ‘ȝe ar welcum to welde <b>as</b> yow lykez
0840	<b>As</b> frekez þat semed fayn Ayþer oþer in armez con felde.
0847	Felle face <b>as</b> þe fyre, and fre of hys speche;
0848	And wel hym semed, for soþe, <b>as</b> þe segge þuȝt, To lede a lortschyp in lee of leudez ful gode.
0864	Sone <b>as</b> he on hent, and happed þerinne,
0872	Hit semed <b>as</b> he moȝt Be prynce withouten pere
0890	Double-felde, <b>as</b> hit fallez, and fele kyn fischez,
0907	Comen to þat Krystmasse, <b>as</b> case hym þen lymped.
0921	þat <b>such</b> a gest <b>as</b> Gawan grauntez vus to haue,
0931	Rungen ful rychely, ryȝt <b>as</b> þay schulden,
0945	And wener þen Wenore, <b>as</b> þe wyȝe þoȝt.
0995	On þe morne, <b>as</b> vch mon mynez þat tyme
1002	þe lorde lufly her by lent, <b>as</b> I trowe;
1004	Euen inmyddez, <b>as</b> þe messe metely come,
1005	And syþen þurȝ al þe sale <b>as</b> hem best semed.
1021	And þe bryd <b>as</b> þro þronge in þerafter;
1033	Of þe wynne worschip þat he hym wayued hade <b>As</b> to honour his hous on þat hyȝe tyde,
1040	And I am wyȝe at your wylle to worch youre hest, <b>as</b> I am halden þerto, in hyȝe and in loȝe,
1067	And me <b>als</b> fayn to falle feye <b>as</b> fayly of myyn ernde.’
1087	þe lorde let for luf lotez <b>so</b> myry, <b>as</b> wyȝ þat wolde of his wyte, ne wyst quat he myȝt.
1104	Hym heldande, <b>as</b> þe hende.
1144	A hundreth of hunteres, <b>as</b> I haf herde telle,
1160	<b>Per</b> myȝt mon se, <b>as</b> þay slypte, slentyng of arwes –
1166	Wyth <b>such</b> a crakkande kry <b>as</b> klyffes haden brusten.

1172	And hem tofylched, <b>as</b> fast <b>as</b> frekez myzt loke,
1182	And <b>as</b> in slomeryng he slode, slezly he herde
1190	And layde hym doun lystyly, and let <b>as</b> he slepte;
1201	And vnlouked his yze-lyddez, and let <b>as</b> hym wondered,
1202	And sayned hym, <b>as</b> bi his saze þe sauer to worthe,
1210	Now ar ze tan <b>as</b> -tyt! Bot true vus may schape,
1243	To reche to <b>such</b> reuerence <b>as</b> ze reherce here
1252	Haf þe, hende, in hor holde, <b>as</b> I þe hadde here,
1281	And ay þe lady let <b>lyk as</b> hym loued mych;
1291	And <b>as</b> ho stod, ho stonyed hym wyth ful stor wordez:
1297	‘ <b>So</b> god <b>as</b> Gawayn gaynly is halden,
1302	þen quop Wowen: ‘Iwysse, worþe <b>as</b> yow lykez;
1303	I schal kysse at your comaundement, <b>as</b> a knyzt fallez,
1327	And didden hem derely vndo <b>as</b> þe dede askez;
1347	And þat þay neme for þe noumbles bi nome, <b>as</b> I trowe,
1358	Vche freke for his fee, <b>as</b> fallez for to haue.
1384	‘For by acorde of couenaunt ze craue hit <b>as</b> your awen.’
1387	þat I haf worthyly wonnen þis wonez wythinne, Iwysse with <b>as</b> god wylle hit worþez to zourez.’
1389	And kysses hym <b>as</b> comlyly <b>as</b> he couþe awyse:
1400	To soper þay zede <b>as-swyþe</b> , Wyth dayntés nwe innowe.
1425	þe howndez þat hit herde hastid þider swyþe, And fellen <b>as</b> fast to þe fuyt, fourty at ones;
1432	<b>þer as</b> þe rogh rocher vnrydely watz fallen,
1465	<b>as</b> burne bolde vpon bent his bugle he blowez,
1510	þat <b>so</b> zong and <b>so</b> zepe <b>as</b> ze at þis tyme,
1511	<b>So</b> cortayse, so knyztly, <b>as</b> ze ar knowen oute –
1537	þat <b>so</b> worþy <b>as</b> ze wolde wynne hidere,
1538	And pyne yow with <b>so</b> pouer a mon, <b>as</b> play wyth your knyzt
1544	To yow þat, I wot wel, weldez more slyzt Of þat art, bi þe half, or a hundreth of <b>seche</b> <b>As</b> I am, oþer euer schal, in erde þer I leue,
1547	<b>as</b> I am hyzly bihalden, and euermore wylle
1592	For þe mon merkkez hym wel, <b>as</b> þay mette fyrst,
1603	Brachetes bayed þat best, <b>as</b> bidden þe maysterez
1612	And hatz out þe hastlettez, <b>as</b> hiztly bisemez;
1630	And praysed hit <b>as</b> gret prys þat he proued hade,
1637	‘Hit is sothe,’ quop þe segge, ‘and <b>as</b> siker trwe
1655	<b>as</b> coundutes of Krystmasse and carolez newe
1665	<b>as</b> longe <b>as</b> hor wylle hom last,
1722	<b>Suche</b> a sorze at þat syzt þay sette on his hede <b>as</b> alle þe clamberande clyffes hade clatered on hepes;
1751	In dre3 droupyng of dreme draueled þat noble, <b>as</b> mon þat watz in mornyng of mony þro þoztes,
1795	I may bot mourne vpon molde, <b>as</b> may þat much louyes.’
1797	And siþen ho seueres hym fro, and says <b>as</b> ho stondes,
1811	Iche tolke mon do <b>as</b> he is tan, tas to non ille
1819	þat bere blusschande bemez <b>as</b> þe bryzt sunne;

1884	And he asoyled hym surely and sette hym <b>so</b> clene <b>as</b> domezday schulde haf ben diȝt on þe morn.
1885	And syþen he mace hym <b>as</b> mery among þe fre ladyes,
1887	<b>as</b> neuer he did bot þat daye, to þe derk nyȝt,
1896	<b>as</b> he sprent ouer a spenne to spye þe schrewe,
1897	<b>Per as</b> he herd þe howndes þat hasted hym swyþe,
1937	<b>as</b> sauerly and sadly <b>as</b> he hem sette coupe.
1946	And þat is ful pore for to pay for <b>suche</b> prys þinges <b>as</b> ȝe haf þryȝt me here þro, suche þre cosses
1951	He tolde hym <b>as</b> þay stode.
1953	þay maden <b>as</b> mery <b>as</b> any men moȝten –
1962	‘Of <b>such</b> a selly soiorne <b>as</b> I haf hade here,
1965	For I mot nedes, <b>as</b> ȝe wot, meue to-morne,
1966	And ȝe me take sum tolke to teche, <b>as</b> ȝe hyȝt,
1967	þe gate to þe grene chapel, <b>as</b> God wyl me suffer
1987	And vche segge <b>as</b> soré to seuer with hym þere
1988	<b>as</b> þay hade wonde worþyly with þat wlonk euer.
1999	þe day dryuez to þe derk, <b>as</b> Dryȝtyn biddez;
2019	And al watz fresch <b>as</b> vpon fyrst, and he watz fayn þenne
2109	Hym þynk <b>as</b> queme hym to quelle <b>as</b> quyk go hymseluen.
2110	Forþy I say þe, <b>as</b> soþe <b>as</b> ȝe in sadel sitte,
2123	<b>as</b> help me God and þe halydam, and oþez innoghe,
2134	Worþe hit wele oþer wo, <b>as</b> þe wyrde lykez
2153	Hit þe hors with þe helez <b>as</b> harde <b>as</b> he myȝt,
2171	Saue, a lyttel on a launde, a lawe <b>as</b> hit were;
2174	þe borne blubred þerinne <b>as</b> hit boyled hade.
2201	Quat! hit clatered in þe clyff, <b>as</b> hit cleue schulde,
2202	<b>as</b> one vpon a gryndelston hade grounden a syþe.
2203	What! hit wharred and whette, <b>as</b> water at a mulne;
2205	þenne ‘Bi Godde,’ quop Gawayn, ‘þat gere, <b>as</b> I trowe,
2227	And þe gome in þe grene gered <b>as</b> fyrst,
2241	And þou hatz tyled þi trauayl <b>as</b> truee mon schulde,
2246	Here ar no renkes vs to rydde, rele <b>as</b> vus likez.
2253	And warp þe no wernyng to worch <b>as</b> þe lykez,
2257	And lette <b>as</b> he noȝt dutte;
2262	Munt <b>as</b> maȝtyly <b>as</b> marre hym he wolde;
2263	Hade hit dryuen adoun <b>as</b> dreȝ <b>as</b> he atled,
2266	<b>as</b> hit com glydande adoun on glode hym to schende,
2289	And waytez <b>as</b> wroþely <b>as</b> he wode were.
2293	Bot stode styлле <b>as</b> þe ston, oþer a stubbe auþer
2340	Ne kyd <b>bot as</b> couenaunde at kynges kort schaped.
2349	Al þe gayne þow me gef, <b>as</b> god mon schulde.
2364	<b>as</b> perle bi þe quite pese is of prys more, <b>So</b> is Gawayn, in god fayth, bi oþer gay knyȝtez.
2393	I halde þe polysed of þat plyȝt, and pured <b>as</b> clene
2394	<b>as</b> þou hadez neuer forfeȝed syþen þou watz fyrst borne;
2396	For hit is grene <b>as</b> my goune. Sir Gawayn, ȝe maye
2469	And I wol þe <b>as</b> wel, wyȝe, bi my faythe,
2470	<b>as</b> any gome vnder God for þy grete traube.’

2486	Abelef <b>as</b> a bauderyk bounden bi his syde,
2521	<b>as</b> hit is breued in þe best boke of romaunce.

*also, alse, alce, als*

0090	And <b>also</b> an oþer maner meued him eke
0270	Ande oþer weppenes to welde, I wene wel, <b>als</b> ;
0720	Sumwhyle wyth wormez he werrez, and with wolues <b>als</b> ,
0933	þe lorde loutes þerto, and þe lady <b>als</b> ,
1067	And me <b>als</b> fayn to falle feye <b>as</b> fayly of myyn ernde.’
1155	þay let þe herttez haf þe gate, with þe hyȝe hede þe breme bukkez <b>also</b> with hor brode paumez;
1224	I schal happe yow here þat oþer half <b>als</b> ,
1232	Oþer burnez in her bedde, and my burdez <b>als</b> ,
1627	Of þe largesse and þe lenþe, þe liþernez <b>alse</b>
2057	þat haldez þe heuen vpon hyȝe, and <b>also</b> yow
2360	Now know I wel þy cosses, and þy costes <b>als</b> ,
2492	þe kyng kyssez þe knyȝt, and þe whene <b>alce</b> ,
2513	þe kyng comfortez þe knyȝt, and alle þe court <b>als</b>