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INFINITIVE

COMPLEMENTS

IN SHAKESPEARE'S

ENGLISH

SIGILLUM UNIVERSITAT COMPOSTELLAN REG

Infinitive complements in
Shakespeare's English:
synchronic and
diachronic aspects

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To Alfonso

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

Like its predecessor, "Finite complement clauses in Shakespeare's English" (Fanego 1990), the present analysis is intended as a contribution both to the study of Shakespeare's grammar and style, and to historical syntax. The difficult area of infinitive complementation in English has long been a central concern of modern syntactic theory, but has of late come under intensive study on the part of historical linguists as well, notably Anthony Warner (1982) and Olga Fischer (1989, 1990). However, neither of these deals in any detail with the Early Modern period (henceforth, EMODE), for Warner's study focuses solely on Middle English, and Fischer restricts herself to just one type of infinitive construction (that traditionally known as 'accusative with infinitive') in Old and Middle English. We shall therefore seek to offer an overall picture of the infinitive complement system by EMODE, as illustrated in the Shakespearian corpus specified below. For fuller details of this and of other corpora used in related syntactic studies, the reader is referred to Fanego (1990: I, 3 ff). As in that paper, our approach in the present study is essentially surface-based, but, inevitably, constant reference will be made to the abundant transformational literature on complementation. Also, a few terms originating with generative grammar, such as 'move' or 'raise', have been used throughout in a more or less informal fashion.

	prose lines	verse lines
Romeo and Juliet (1594?)	376	2 623
The Merry Wives of Windsor (1597)	2 417	316
The History of King Lear (1608)[1]	737	2 367
The Winter's Tale (1609?)	806	2 302
	4 336	7 608

TOTAL LINES: 11 944 = approximately 100 000 words.[2]

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[1] This title corresponds to the text of *King Lear* which first appeared in print in a quarto of 1608, as distinct from *The Tragedy of King Lear*, the heavily revised version of the same play printed in the 1623 Folio. According to Wells and Taylor (1986), p. 1025, "the 1608 quarto represents the play as Shakespeare originally wrote it, and the 1623 Folio as he substantially revised it."

[2] A calculation on the basis of 8 words per line would yield a figure of 95 552 words, but prose lines tend to be considerably longer than that, so that 100 000 seems a more accurate estimate.

Table 1. Infinitive clauses in the corpus (coordinated infinitives not included)

	Rom prose	Rom verse	Wiv prose	Wiv verse	Lear prose	Lear verse	Wint prose	Wint verse	TOTAL
Subject clauses	3	13	11	–	4	26	13	39	109
Predicative clauses	2	2	2	–	–	1	–	2	9
V (to)Inf	7	33	26	5	10	50	24	60	215
V NP (to)Inf									
Subtype 1 (V NP (- (to)Inf))	6	33	15	2	2	28	3	11	100
Subtype 2 (V (NP (to)Inf))	4	20	16	1	11	27	11	29	119
Subtype 3 (unassignable structures)	1	2	4	–	–	8	2	5	22
V – (to)Inf[1]	1	3	4	–	–	2	2	1	13
V PP toInf	–	2	–	–	–	1	–	–	3
V (it) PredComp/PredAdj[2] ObjCl	–	1	–	–	–	3	3	1	8
NP Complementation	–	19	10	2	4	17	1	15	68
Adj Complementation	3	9	16	1	4	15	4	16	68
TOTAL	27	137	104	11	35	178	63	179	734

Notes:
1. This is the pattern seen in, e.g., *Wint* 2.3.148 "We have always truly served you, and **beseech / So to esteem of us.**" Here the NP (i.e. *you*) which in PE would obligatorily intervene between *beseech* and the subsequent infinitive is not explicit.
2. PredComp = Predicative Complement; PredAdj = Predication Adjunct (in the sense of Quirk et al. 1985: 8.27 ff, 16.48).

Table 1 above shows the various syntactic patterns in which infinitives have been found to occur. Function labels have been assigned in some cases -for instance, to subject clauses and predicative clauses-, but have been avoided in the case of catenative constructions (such as PE *John began to read*, *I persuaded her to go out*, and so on). Provisionally, these have been denoted merely by surface form (e.g. **V (to)Inf, V NP (to)Inf**), since on the whole it was deemed advisable to defer to a later section the vexed question of the status and constituent structure of all such sequences.

Table 2 gives information on coordinated infinitives, the syntax of which involves specific problems, such as a generally distinct type of marking; to help keep this analysis within bounds, I have reluctantly had to leave them out of the discussion. Lastly, Table 3 displays the frequency of infinitive constructions in the four plays, and also in the prose scenes, as opposed to those in verse. On the evidence of this various data, it seems clear that, in Shakespeare's English, the occurrence of infinitive complements can be related to two different parameters, namely, type of discourse (infinitives being more frequent in the verse than in the prose) and date of composition (the late plays showing a marked increase in the figures for infinitives). The overall picture is thus the reverse of that found for finite clauses in the same corpus, the incidence of which proved to be higher in the prose, and did not vary in the chronological dimension (cf. Fanego 1990: I, 6).[3] All things considered, if we assume that infinitive clauses, because of their lack of tense markers and other structural elements, are generally less transparent and easy to decode than fuller syntactic structures, and therefore more complex, then our findings above seem to confirm the view, put forward in Fanego (1990), that Shakespeare's late plays are predominantly associated with greater complexity of syntax, rather than the other way round, as has at times been suggested.[4]

Table 2. Coordinated infinitives in the corpus

	Rom P	Rom V	Wiv P	Wiv V	Lear P	Lear V	Wint P	Wint V	TOTAL
Bare infinitives	1	4	7	4	1	12	1	20	50
To infinitives	-	1	4	2	8	8	1	6	30
TOTAL	1	5	11	6	9	20	2	26	80

[3] Also to be noted in connection with *that*- and *zero*-clauses is that they are less frequent than infinitives, namely, there are only 496 *that*-clauses in 9 642 lines of prose and

Table 3. Frequency of infinitive complements

A) Per play:

Rom	*Wiv*	*Lear*	*Wint*
1:17.64	1:20.70	1:12.83	1:11.51

B) According to type of discourse:

prose	verse
1:17.21	1:13.54

Note: *1:17.64* signifies '1 clause every 17.64 lines of prose or verse'.

In the pages that follow we first turn to some of the major problems of infinitive complementation, such as the categorial status of infinitive clauses (chapter 2), the status of modals and related verbs (chapter 3), infinitive marking (chapter 4), the '*for* NP *to*-Inf' and 'NP *to*-Inf' constructions (chapter 5), and the evidence for rules such as Tough Movement or Extraposition in EMODE (chapter 6). The various infinitive constructions represented in the corpus are discussed in detail in the long chapter 7, while a summary of the most important conclusions can be found in the final chapter.

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verse (= 1 clause every 19.44 lines), as against 814 infinitive clauses in 11 944 lines (= 1 clause every 14.67 lines). On the contrary, in Warner's set of Wyclifite sermons finite clauses were found to outnumber infinitives 7.3 to 6.2 (cf. Warner 1982: 99 ff); this difference might perhaps have to do with the didactic, expository nature of Warner's corpus. But see, however, Manabe (1989: 21 ff), who shows the enormous increase in infinitival constructions between the Old and the Middle English period; this same trend may have continued into the Early Modern period.

[4] Cf. in particular Burton (1973: 109 ff).

2 CATEGORIAL STATUS OF THE INFINITIVE CLAUSE

The problem of the categorial status of infinitive clauses, or, for that matter, of complement clauses in general, has long been a matter of controversy, since, as has often been noted, certain classes of clause bear a stronger syntactic resemblance than others to ordinary NPs, as is borne out by their behaviour under processes such as passivization or pseudo-clefting. Witness the following examples:

(1) Everyone preferred to remain silent.
To remain silent was preferred by everyone.

(2) We prefer for you to stay right here.
What we prefer is for you to stay right here.

(3) They condescended to see the prisoner.
*To see the prisoner was condescended by them.
*What they condescended was to see the prisoner.

In order to account for these and other differences, early generative treatments postulated two types of complement clause: one directly dominated by a NP node (so-called 'NP complementation', as in (1) and (2) above), and one dominated directly by VP without any intervening NP node ('VP complementation', as in (3)); cf. Rosenbaum (1967: 9-21) for the leading analysis, and, for various criticisms and refinements, Kajita (1968), Emonds (1970, 1972), Olsen (1981), and Seppänen (1986).

Among those working on historical syntax, the question of the categorial status of complement clauses has been taken up by Anthony Warner, who argues that "in WSerE (= Wyclifite Sermon English) complement clauses are probably all to be treated as NP" (1982: 59 ff), and that "NP→ S is in fact a reasonable analysis for late ME" (1983: 201),[5] a view in support of which he adduces the following distributional evidence:

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[5] In her study of the accusative with infinitive construction in OE, Olga Fischer seems to endorse this suggestion; cf. the tree diagram she gives on p. 183.

a) Like ordinary NPs, complement clauses can occur as subject in subject position (i.e. before the matrix verb).

b) They can occur after prepositions:

(4) and here men shulden thenken upon *to do* worship to the gospel (quoted from Warner, p. 63)[6]

c) They are found in coordination with NP, "including instances where such conjoining is unacceptable in PE" (p. 63):

(5) and this word shulde move men to mekenesse and *to leve* pride (p. 64)

d) Though only very sporadically, they may occur in structures "which are probably best treated as created by transformations which elsewhere affect only NP" (p. 64), for instance in passives like (6), or in certain topicalized constructions, "if topicalization is a test for NP" (p. 65):[7]

(6) Pecock *Repressor* 524 so it is, that *sectis and religiouns to be mad with inne the comoun Cristen religioun...* is not weerned and forboden bi Holi Scripture

e) They show extensive commutability with NP or PP: "the most impressive reason for treating WSerE complement clauses as NP is their close distributional equivalence with NP. With nearly all verbs and adjectives that take a complement clause there exists a construction which contains an abstract NP or PP and which is parallel in sense, or so close that the difference may be attributed to the distinction between clause and NP/PP (...) This regularity does not however extend to the group of verbs which

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[6] The characters *thorn* and *eth* have been modernized to *th* in all quotations from Old and Middle English.

[7] Some of the evidence adduced by Warner for this fourth test of NP status is questionable. Thus, the following example does not look to me like "a passive with preposition deletion" (p. 64), but simply like a straightforward case of cataphoric *that* anticipating a complement clause:

that is bitokned that the wenche was in the house ȝit

i.e. 'that is signified, that the girl was still in the house'. But not, as Warner would have it, 'that is signified (by the fact) that the girl was still in the house'.

contains some of the ancestors of our PE modals, in particular SHAL, MOT and DAR in WSerE. These verbs are only very restrictedly found with a following NP, if at all" (pp. 65-67).

Though on the whole we concur with this contention that, in earlier stages of the language, complement clauses were distributionally closer to NPs than at present, the evidence from some of the criteria listed above must be taken with caution. Thus, coordination is not always restricted to constituents of the same grammatical category even in PE (cf. Gazdar et al. 1982; Sag et al. 1985), while as late as the Early Modern period it seems to have been allowed as long as there existed functional identity of the various coordinates (as in (7)-(10) below), and irrespective of whether these were categorially identical or not. This being so, it was possible, in principle, to conjoin clauses with phrasal constituents of various kinds, whether nominal or other. For Old and Middle English instances of such mixed or asymmetrical coordinations, cf. Ohlander (1936, 1984); Mitchell (1985: II, 3771, 3886). EMODE examples, from the corpus and elsewhere, include the following:

NP + Inf clause

(7) *Wint* 1.2.66 /Two lads that thought there was not more behind /But *such a day tomorrow as today, /And to be boy eternal.*

(8) Marlowe *Jew of Malta* 4.1.167 /And understanding I should come this way, /Stands here a purpose, meaning me *some wrong, /And intercept my going to the Jew*

AdjP + Inf clause

(9) *Rom* 1.3.34 But, as I said, /When it did taste the wormwood on the nipple /Of my dug and felt it bitter, pretty fool, /To see it *tetchy and fall out wi'th' dug!*

(10) *Lear* 11.49 Poor Tom, whom the foul fiend hath led through fire and through ford and whirlypool (...); that has laid knives under his pillow and halters in his pew, set ratsbane by his potage, made him *proud of heart, to ride on a bay trotting horse over four-inched bridges*, to course his own shadow for a traitor.

Of the other tests of NP status cited above, *b* (occurrence after prepositions) seems to have been rare even in ME (cf. Visser II: section 976; Fischer and van der Leek 1981: 319, 344), and does not apply at all to our selection of plays. In general, the ability of complement clauses to be used after prepositions had largely died out by EMODE, except of course as regards indirect interrogatives, which are found in that position even today. On the contrary, there is some evidence that in Elizabethan English complement clauses could be moved by processes usually restricted to ordinary NPs (= test *d* above), for instance topicalization, as in (11)-(12), or relativization, as in (13):

(11) *Ado* 1.1.214 (prose) **Claudio.** That I love her, I feel.
Don Pedro. That she is worthy, I know.

(12) *As* 5.4.163 *This to be true* /I do engage my life.
I.e. 'I engage my life that this is true'.

(13) *2H4* 1.3.39 ...as in an early spring /We see th'appearing buds, *which to prove fruit* /Hope gives not so much warrant as despair /That frosts will bite them.
I.e. 'in an early spring our hopes of good fruit are less likely to be realized than our fears of a frosty blight.' The italized infinitive clause is in apposition to the noun *warrant*; on this example cf. further section 7.3.3 below.

However, as in Warner's corpus, it is the extensive commutability of complement clauses with NP or PP (criterion *e* above) that seems specially striking by comparison with PE; a few remarkable examples follow here:

ABLE

(14) *Wint* 5.2.25 ballad-makers cannot be able to express it.

(15) *All's* 1.1.62 Love all, trust a few, /Do wrong to none. Be *able for thine enemy* /Rather in power than use.
(Last quotations in OED for ABLE + *to-, for-* and *of*-phrases all date back to the fifteenth century.)

APT 'ready' (OED *Apt* a. 2.b)

(16) *Rom* 3.1.30 An I were so apt to quarrel as thou art, any man should buy the fee-simple of my life for an hour and a quarter.

(17) *ibid.* 3.1.40 **Mercutio.** Couple it with something; make it a word and a blow.
Tybalt. You shall find me *apt enough to that*, sir,

BEHOVE

(18) *Wint* 4.4.253 there are cozeners abroad, therefore it behoves men to be wary.

(19) *Timon* 3.6.22 with a noble fury and fair spirit, /Seeing his reputation touched to death, /He did oppose his foe; /And with such sober and unnoted passion /He did *behove his anger*, ere 'twas spent, /As if he had but proved an argument.[8]

BOAST

(20) *Lear* 14.18 (...) who, with some other of the lord's dependants, /Are gone with him towards Dover, where they *boast* /To have well-arméd friends.

(21) Ben Jonson *Sejanus* 5.885 Forbear, you things, /That stand upon the pinnacles of state, /To boast your slippery height;
(Last recorded use with an infinitive: *circa* 1610; cf. Visser III/1: section 1188.)

ENKINDLE 'inflame so as to incite to a course of action or object of pursuit' (OED v. 2.b).

(22) *Lear* 14.84 All dark and comfortless. Where's my son Edmund? /Edmund, *enkindle all the sparks of nature* /To quite (= 'requite') *this horrid act*.

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[8] This is the Folio reading; the Oxford editors, following Rowe (1709), emend to *behave* 'manage, regulate' (OED *Behave* v. 2).

(23) *Mcb* 1.3.119 **Macbeth** (to Banquo). Do you not hope your children shall be kings /When those that gave the thane of Cawdor to me /Promised no less to you?
Banquo. That, trusted home, /Might yet *enkindle you unto the crown./*

ENTREAT

(24) *Lear* 15.44 bring some covering for this naked soul, /Who I'll entreat to lead me.

(25) *Twelfth* 5.376 Pursue him, and entreat him to a peace.

(Cf. OED *Entreat* v. 9; last recorded instances with NP + PP date back to the sixteenth century.)

GO ABOUT 'be intent on, intend, endeavour' (OED *About* adv. and prep. 10. Last recorded use with an infinitive: 1690.)

(26) *Wint* 4.4.701 who (...) is no honest man, neither to his father nor to me, *to go about to make me* the King's brother-in-law.

(27) *Lear* 18.25 O dear father, /It is thy business that I go about; /(...) No blown ambition doth our arms incite,

REPENT

(28) *Lear* 12.9 How malicious is my fortune, that I must repent to be just!

(29) *Rom* 4.2.17 I have learned me to repent the sin /Of disobedient opposition /To you and your behests,
(by Dryden's time REPENT had come to subcategorize only a NP or an *of*-phrase; occurrences with an *-ing* clause are later (1749 and onwards). Cf. Visser III/2: section 1773.)

SEEM 'assume an air, pretend to be'

(30) *Lear* 6.30 /I hear my father coming. Pardon me. /In cunning I must draw my sword upon you. /*Seem to defend yourself.*

(31) *Measure* 1.4.31 'tis my familiar sin /With maids to *seem the lapwing*, and to jest /Tongue far from heart

This correspondence between clause and NP/PP is not, however, absolute, for appropriate parallel NPs and PPs are lacking with a number of predicates, namely COMMAND 'order, instruction', IMPUDENCE, ACCURSED 'miserable', FAIN 'constrained', MOODY 'angry', and WONT (last recorded use with a PP: *circa* 1520; cf. OED *Wont* ppl. a. 1), among the nouns and adjectives, and BE BEST, BE TO, and STAND UPON 'behove, be incumbent on', among the verbs. The overall picture is thus strikingly similar to that found by Anthony Warner for Wyclifite English (cf. above, p. 16), both in the small number of predicates not having parallel constructions with NP/PP, and in the fact that several of them (e.g. FAIN, WONT, BE BEST, BE TO, STAND UPON) display modal meanings of various kinds and are on their way to becoming auxiliaries or semi-auxiliaries (as is the case with BE TO; cf. chapter 3 below).

It can therefore be concluded that, as late as the Elizabethan period, infinitive complements were more 'noun-like' than at present, since in the vast majority of cases their distribution was still parallel to that of NP. A question that remains to be determined is whether the seventeenth century witnessed a significant decrease in the commutability between clausal and nominal complements, as is perhaps suggested by the fact that, about Dryden's time, a number of the predicates in our corpus had undergone important changes in subcategorization. Cf. in this connection our comments above on the historical development of ABLE, BEHOVE, BOAST, ENTREAT, GO ABOUT and REPENT.

3 MODAL VERBS IN THE CORPUS

Though the differences in the constituent structure of sentences such as (1) and (2) below have received a good deal of attention over the past decades,[9] we shall assume throughout that, unlike the main verb *want* in (1), which is the ultimate head of its clause and has the non-finite *to see Mary* as a dependent, *must* in example (2) belongs within a special class of modal auxiliaries that function themselves as dependents in VP structure, and thus fall outside the group of complement-taking predicates with which this study is concerned:

(1) He wants to see Mary.

(2) He must see Mary.

In PE, modal auxiliaries can be identified as such by a unique set of morphosyntactic properties well known from the literature and which, for our present purposes, can be summarized as follows:

a) Unlike main verbs, modals and primary auxiliaries (*be, have, do*) do not require *do*-support when used in negation, inversion, code (i.e. reduced anaphoric constructions such as interrogative or coordinate tags) and emphatic affirmation.

b) Modal auxiliaries have only finite forms, and cannot, therefore, co-occur with other modals within the same VP (cf. the ungrammaticality of **he will can go*).

c) They can only occur in catenative constructions, that is, followed by non-finite verb forms.

d) They cannot be followed by the *to*-infinitive.

e) They do not enter into person-number agreement with their subjects (cf. **he cans*).

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[9] See in particular Ross (1969); Huddleston (1974, 1976a: Chapter 14, 1976b); Pullum and Wilson (1977); Palmer (1979a, 1979b); Matthews (1981: Chapter 7).

f) They have abnormal time reference (cf. *you could leave this evening*, where the form *could* does not refer to past time).

(Cf. Huddleston 1980 and Palmer 1987: 14 ff for a fuller statement.)

Needless to say, not all of the above criteria can be straightforwardly applied to Elizabethan English. As is well known, the English modal auxiliaries have an enormously complex history: they seem to have started as main verbs (in OE; but cf. Denison 1990 and Warner 1990 for a slightly different view), and to have gradually developed auxiliary characteristics, until they eventually attained full auxiliary status, in late ME according to some accounts (cf. especially Warner 1982, 1983), and not until the sixteenth century or even later according to others (cf. Lightfoot 1974, 1979, 1988: 311 ff; Roberts 1985; Warner 1990). At any rate, there can be little doubt that by Shakespeare's time at least the central members of the class qualify as auxiliaries, even though they still retain a number of affinities with ordinary verbs, notably: 1) the inflections *-t* and *-(e)st* for agreement with the second person singular, as in *thou shalt, thou shouldst* and similar forms;[10] 2) the fact that some of them can still be used non-catenatively, that is, followed by finite clauses or NPs (for details, cf. Table 4 below); and 3) the possibility of behaving like lexical verbs in both questions and negatives (i.e. *I may not, can I go?*, etc.), since at that time the use of the auxiliary *do* had not yet been regulated, and full verbs entered regularly into constructions such as *I know not*, *say you?*, and so on. However, whereas full verbs also admit the alternative construction with *do*-periphrasis, this is never used with the central modals, which means that the mere possibility of co-occurrence with *do* can in fact be used as a rather safe criterion to test the status of any given verb in EMODE. Finally, criterion *d* above must be slightly modified to read "modals do not occur *in contact* with the *to*-infinitive", for in Elizabethan English this could still follow most modal auxiliaries if material intervened between modal and main verb, as in (3):

(3) *Per* 9.15 She tells me here she'll wed the stranger knight, /Or never more *to view* nor day nor light.

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[10] But endingless forms are occasionally met with; cf. *would thou* for *wouldst thou* in *Wiv* 2.2.30 (Folio reading; the 1602 quarto says *wouldst*). For other aspects of the grammar of the modals in EMODE see especially Visser (1963-1973); Plank (1984).

Table 4 displays the behaviour with respect to criteria *a* to *f* -as qualified above- of the modals recorded in the corpus, and of a few other predicates (e.g. *dare, need, be to, use to, had rather*, etc.) that can now also be regarded as members of the auxiliary class. Of these latter, *be to* and *use to* are still main verbs in Shakespeare, while *dare* and *need* appear to be highly grammaticized, and close to the central modals; yet, in view of the evidence adduced in notes (5) and (6) below, it has seemed safer to include them -if not without reservations- in the group of complement-taking predicates to be analyzed in the next sections.

Notes to Table 4:

1. Bracketed information derives from outside Shakespeare's canon.

2. Directional adjuncts are those in, e.g. *Rom* 3.2.141 "I'll to him" and *Wint* 5.2.106 "Shall we thither?" A few non-auxiliary verbs could pattern in the same way, for instance desideratives such as *desire* (cf. *Troilus* 4.7.70 "Desire them home"), *intend* or *purpose*. See further Visser (I: section 178); Plank (1984: 325 ff).

3. *Can* + NP and *will* + NP/Clause are frequent in Shakespeare; cf. Schmidt, OED, and Visser (I: 498 ff). *Ought* + NP occurs in *1H4* 3.3.134:

(4) he (...) said this other day you ought him a thousand pound.

It is arguable, however, that this could be treated as a lexeme distinct from modal *ought*; cf. OED *Ought* v. 2,3,4.

For *need* + Clause see section 7.2, p. 86. Citations (5)-(6) below illustrate the patterns *dare* + NP and *use* + NP; the former seems to be a 17th century innovation (cf. OED *Dare* v. 3; earliest instance adduced: 1631), for in ME the verb *dare*, which had several of the characteristics of a true auxiliary, could only take clausal complements.

(5) *Venus* 676 Uncouple at the timorous flying hare, /Or at the fox which lives by subtlety, /Or at the roe which no encounter dare.

(6) *Lear* 4.165 **Lear.** When where you wont to be so full of songs, sirrah?
Fool. I have *used it*, nuncle, ever since thou madest thy daughter thy mother;

Table 4. Characteristics c1600 of modals and related verbs in the corpus.

	Can co-occur with *do*	Nonfinite forms	Noncatenative use — 1) with directional adjuncts[2]	Noncatenative use — 2) with other complements	In contact with to-infinitive	-s form	-est form	Abnormal time reference
SHALL/SHOULD	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+
MUST	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
CAN/COULD	−	−	+	NP[3]	−	−	+	+
WILL/WOULD	−	(+)[1]	+	NP/CLAUSE	−	−	+	+
MAY/MIGHT	−	−	+		−	−	+	+
OUGHT	−	−	−	NP	+/−[4]	−	+	+
DARE[5]	+	+	−	NP	+/−	+/−	+	+
NEED[6]	−	+	−	NP/CLAUSE	+/−	+/−	+	?
BE TO	−	+[7]	−	−	+/−	+	+	−
USE (aspectual)	+	+	(+)	NP	+	+	+	−
HAD RATHER/HAD	−	−	−	CLAUSE	+/−	−		
AS LIEF								+

4. On *ought* followed by the bare infinitive see Visser (III: section 1718), and (7) below, which is the sole instance of its kind in Shakespeare. *Had rather* + *to*-infinitive occurs in *Othello* 1.3.190; *be (to)* + bare infinitive in *Wiv* 1.1.47 and 55 (in Sir Hugh Evans's speech; cf. section 4.3.4).

(7) *Caesar* 1.1.3 you ought not walk /Upon a labouring day

5. As today, *dare* shows affinities with both main verbs and auxiliaries; yet, in the light of Shakespearian usage, it does not seem possible to postulate -as is usually done for PE- the existence of two distinct lexemes DARE (modal) vs. DARE (lexical), the former restricted to non-assertive contexts (i.e. questions, negatives and the like). In Shakespeare, full-verb and auxiliary characteristics compete and are difficult to keep apart, as will be clear from the following evidence:

a) though nonfinite forms usually collocate with the *to*-infinitive, this is not invariably the case; cf. *Passionate Pilgrim* 14.16 for the *-ing* participle + bare infinitive.

b) the bare and *to*-infinitives can both collocate with *dare* whether in assertive (e.g. *Lear* 2.85, *Sonnets* 26.13) or non-assertive (e.g. *Wint* 1.2.376, 4.4.452) contexts.

c) *-s* forms are found irrespective of a following bare infinitive, as in *Wiv* 2.1.23 "... he dares in this manner assay me?"

The use of *dare* with periphrastic *do*, which is exemplified in *Mcb* 3.5.3 "How did you dare /To trade and traffic with Macbeth (...)?", is the first recorded instance of its kind; neither the OED nor Visser cite any examples earlier than 1663 (cf. Visser III: sections 1360, 1364).

6. The situation with *need* is only slightly different, except for the fact that bare infinitives are less frequent than with *dare* (cf. section 4.1 below), and are restricted to non-assertive contexts. Other evidence is as follows:

a) nonfinite forms collocate with both the bare and *to*-infinitives; see respectively *R2* 2.3.81 and *Wint* 4.4.415.

b) *-s* and *-eth* forms occur with the bare infinitive (e.g. *LLL* 4.3.199, *Lucrece* 31), while, on the other hand, at least one uninflected third person

singular + *to*-infinitive has been found, in *2H4* 1.3.78 (Quarto reading); other allegedly similar instances are better interpreted as containing plural forms (e.g. *Mids* 5.1.351) or subjunctive forms used in a dependent clause (e.g. *1H4* 3.3.14).

The *do*-periphrasis is possible (5 ex. in Shakespeare), but only when *need* is used as a noncatenative, e.g., in *1H4* 5.4.9 "I do not need your help."

7.The *-ing* participle of *be to* is used in, for instance, *Othello* 1.2.45; the infinitive in *2H6* 2.3.29.

4 MARKING IN INFINITIVE CLAUSES[11]

4.1 Overview

Infinitives in the corpus may be unintroduced (203 ex.), or preceded by *to* (530 ex.) or, marginally, *for to* (1 ex.). *To* comes always immediately before the infinitive, since no instances of the so-called 'split infinitive', as in PE *I wish you to distinctly understand that*, have been found; though this arrangement has been on record since ME times, it seems to have fallen into disuse "from about the beginning of the sixteenth century to about the last decades of the eighteenth century" (Visser II: p. 1036).

As regards *for to,* by the sixteenth century this was rather moribund as an infinitive marker, a fact which has sometimes led analysts to view Shakespearian uses of it as archaisms (cf. in this connection Visser II: section 949). Yet in its single occurrence in the corpus there is nothing to support an interpretation along those lines; *for to* looks, rather, like a convenient metrical device:

> (1) *Wint* 1.2.427   you may as well /Forbid the sea *for to obey* the moon /As or by oath remove or counsel shake /The fabric of his folly,[12]

In its turn, the selection of *zero* or *to* before a following infinitive can be related to a number of different variables, as will become apparent in the

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[11] I wish to thank Olga Fischer for kindly supplying me with a copy of her study on "Factors conditioning infinitive marking in late Middle English" (forthcoming), and for her useful comments on a number of points.

[12] Manabe (1989: 184) claims that in late Middle English the use of *for to* is stylistically and contextually determined, since it often occurs 'before or after (the) word(s) containing the same spelling (and sound) as the initial *f* of *for to*'. Olga Fischer (forthcoming: 27) points out in this connection that since, according to Manabe, *f* may occur in almost any position in the clause (i.e. in one, two or even five words away from *for to*), it is highly unlikely that his findings have any statistical relevance. Though I agree with her on this point, it has to be admitted that in the example quoted above the proximity of *forbid* to *for to* seems to lend some support to Manabe's claim.

course of the following pages. At its most obvious, the type of marking depends on the function of the infinitive clause itself; thus, clauses used as a subject complement invariably take *to*, and the same is true of those complementing adjectives, while the remaining classes of clause allow both types of marking, if in very different proportions. Details of the relative incidence of *to* and *zero* in each category of clause follow here:

1) Subject clauses

Bare infinitives, all in post-verbal position, are found 6 times, out of a total of 109 subject clauses (= 6/109); the predicates governing them are the following:

(BE) BETTER, *Wint* 2.3.156 "Better burn it now /Than curse it then" (cf. *ibid.* 4.2.12 p for the use of this same predicate with a *to*-infinitive);

PLEASE (5 ex.), in the courtesy formula *(will't) please you* + Inf. Cf. *Rom* 1.1.153 "So please you step aside", and, for instances with *to* (6 ex.), *Wiv* 1.1.246 p and *Wint* 2.2.14.

There can be little doubt that the fixed character of these two constructions accounts for their readiness to select lighter marking, a trend also seen in other contemporary authors (cf. Ando's data on Marlowe, 1976: 39-40, 499-500).

2) Object clauses

As in PE, it is only with object clauses that zero marking occurs in significant numbers (194 instances in all), though still more restrictedly than *to* (275 ex.). Listed below are the predicates taking *zero* infinitives; occurrences of *to* are also noted, if any:

(a) Surface patterns V (to)Inf / V - (to)Inf (42/228)

BE (TO) (2 zero out of 26 corpus instances; cf. section 4.3.4 below); BID (1); DARE (31/33); HEAR (2); LIST 'desire' (1/2), *Wint* 4.1.26 "What of her ensues /I list not prophesy" (sole occurrence with a *zero* infinitive in Shakespeare); NEED (3/6); WERE BEST (2), e.g. *Wiv* 3.3.149 p "You were best meddle with buck-washing!"

(b) Surface pattern V NP (to)Inf (152/241)

BID (36); DESIRE (1/10), *Lear* 19.35 "/I pray desire her call her wisdom to her/"; ENTREAT (1/5), *Rom* 5.3.259 "/She wakes, and I entreated her come forth/"; FEEL (1), *Lear* 21.53; GET (1/2), *Wiv* 2.2.74 "**Mistress Quickly.** And, I warrant you, they could never get her so much as sip on a cup with the proudest of them all"; HAVE (13/14), with *to*-infinitive in *Rom* 3.5.185 (see 4.3.2 below for discussion of this instance); HEAR (14/15), the *to*-infinitive in *Rom* 3.5.159 "/Hear me with patience but to speak a word/"; HELP (1/2), *Rom* 4.2.34 (with *zero*), *Lear* 14.60 (with *to*); KNOW (1/5), *Wiv* 2.2.101 p "I never knew a woman so dote upon a man" (see on this 4.3.3 below); LET (18); MAKE (50/52), with *to*-infinitive in *Wint* 4.4.199 p "he makes the maid to answer, 'Whoop, do me no harm (...)'" and 5.3.71 "/Make me to think so twenty years together/"; SEE (15).

3) Appositive clauses

There are three corpus instances with *zero,* out of a total of 68 appositive clauses:

(2) *Wint* 2.3.49 In this, /Unless he take the course that you have done- /*Commit me* for committing honour- trust it, /He shall not rule me.

(3) *ibid* 4.4.142 When you do dance, I wish you /A wave o'th' sea, that you might ever do /Nothing but *that, move still, still so, /And own no other function.*

(4) *Wiv* 2.2.114-16 **Mistress Quickly.** Never a wife in Windsor leads *a better life* than she does: *do what she will, say what she will, take all, pay all, go to bed when she list, rise when she list,* all is as she will.

These seem to be strictly comparable to the OE passage quoted as (5) below. Though it is generally assumed that this particular bare infinitive subtype did not survive the OE period,[13] the evidence from the plays seems to point in a different direction.

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[13] Most analyses of infinitive marking do not even mention the possibility of OE appositive clauses selecting *zero*; cf., for instance, Fischer (forthcoming: 3).

(5) Aelfric *Homilies* i.360.14 Other forhaefednysse cynn is deorwurthre and healicre...; styran his modes styrunge mid singalre gemetfaestnysse, and campian daeghwamlice with leahtras, and hyne sylfne threagian (quoted from Mitchell 1985/I: section 1544; cf. also section 971.)

4.2 Previous scholarship on infinitive marking

Prior to a detailed analysis of other factors controlling the choice of *zero* and *to* in the corpus, it seems necessary to briefly review the conclusions reached in previous studies of infinitive marking. Though the majority of these deal only with the Middle English period, it is reasonable to assume that the variables they identify may well be relevant for Shakespeare too. Basically, these can be summarized as follows:

1) Lexical preference

Infinitive marking is sometimes said to be lexically determined, in that certain predicates select *zero* more readily than others; for this view, cf. especially Warner's data on Wyclif (1982: 115 ff).

2) Metre

Cf., for instance, Kaartinen and Mustanoja (1958: 179), who assert that "the choice of the form of the infinitive [in Middle English poetry] is largely dictated by metrical considerations"; also Ando (1976: 518, 522, 533) and Franz (1939: section 651).

3) Separation of the dependent infinitive from its governing verb

It has often been claimed that this factor correlates with stronger infinitive marking; cf. Mustanoja (1960: 522) for data on general ME usage, and Quirk and Svartvik (1970) for data on Chaucer.

4) Grammatical conditioning

Warner (1982: 123 ff) finds that in late ME the marker *for to* is strongly favoured by the two restricted construction types specified below:

(a) BE + infinitive indicating obligation, where the subject of BE, if present, is the notional object of the infinitive as in:

(6) c1390 Gower, C.A. II (Morley) p. 125 Thus is this Vice for to drede.

(b) BE + adjective, where the subject of BE is also notionally the object of the infinitive, or stands in some complement/adjunct relation to it:

(7) Wyclif *Sermons* ii.46.17 For scheep ben goode for to ete

5) Fronting of an element within the infinitive clause

That fronting may have some bearing on infinitive marking has also been suggested by Anthony Warner (1982: 131-33), though chiefly in connection with the choice between *to* and *for to* in ME coordinated infinitives; in these, "the choice of *for to* over *zero* correlates not with separation from the matrix verb but with the presence of some material between conjunction and infinitive, and it seems reasonable to suggest that conjoined infinitives are a special case requiring clearer marking because of the additional perceptual difficulty involved when some element intervenes. Granted this, we may go on to suggest more speculatively that increased infinitive marking, at least in the opposition *for to : to,* may prove to be associated not so much with separation of matrix verb and infinitive, as with the fronting of some element within the infinitive clause."

6) Semantic factors

Using data from Chaucer and the *Paston Letters*, Fischer (forthcoming) claims that the choice between *zero* and *to* in object clauses is determined primarily by semantic factors. In her conclusions, which are relevant mainly for causatives and verbs of perception, she points out that "a matrix verb followed by a zero-infinitival complement expresses *one* event in which the subject of the matrix verb is directly involved (whether as a causer, a perceiver or what depends on the lexical nature of the verb). The subject has, therefore, direct awareness, or he directly influences or participates in what happens" (p. 21). On the contrary, in those cases in which a matrix verb is followed by a *to*-infinitival complement, the matrix

subject is not directly involved in the event expressed by the complement, so that "in the case of causatives, this means that there is another link in the causal chain between the causer and the causee; in the case of verbs like (...) *helpen, prayen, techen* etc., it means that the matrix subject has no direct means of effecting the results stated in the complement" (*ibid.*). To better clarify the difference, Fischer adduces pairs like the following:

(8) Chaucer *Mch* 1958 Anon he *preyde* hire *strepen* al naked;

(9) Chaucer *Mk* 2545-46 And to thise clerkes two he gan to *preye /To sleen* hym and to girden of his heed,

In (8), *preyde* is said to have "become almost a causative", since it is clear from the context "that *he* indeed managed to get her undressed", and that there exists a direct relation between matrix subject and infinitival complement. On the contrary, the *clerkes* in (9) "can still refuse Nero, the subject, an easy death and walk out on him; in other words, Nero is described as not able to make them do it" (pp. 21-22).

4.3 Infinitive marking in the corpus

By the Elizabethan period, it is clear that the distribution of *to* and *zero* has been largely standardized, and that the amount of variation tolerated is considerably less than in Middle English. Generally speaking, the possibilities of occurrence of bare infinitives have been drastically reduced, so that in the corpus they appear in association with just three different classes of verbs, namely:

a) modals and a few other predicates related to them and which, like them, exhibit various degrees of grammaticization, for instance DARE (31 *zero* out of 33 corpus instances), NEED (3/6), and BE BEST (2);

b) causatives like BID (37 *zero*), GET (1/2), HAVE (13/14), HELP (1/2), LET (18), and MAKE (50/52);

c) perception verbs like FEEL (1), HEAR (14/15), KNOW$_1$ (1/2; cf. further 4.3.3 below), and SEE (15).

How this overall distribution was reached, and exactly when, need not concern us here, since it is clear that its origins are to be found well before our period, and hence fall outside the scope of this study. In the following pages we shall therefore restrict ourselves to examining the factors that condition the choice of *to* and *zero* in the case of those predicates with which such a choice was still available in EMODE. In this connection, it must be said from the start that the evidence from the corpus does not confirm Olga Fischers's views, as outlined above, on the existence of one dominant factor, semantic in nature, regulating that choice. Rather, we must speak of a cluster of more or less unrelated tendencies, which can at times override each other.

4.3.1 Metre

Though on the whole I agree with Fischer (forthcoming: 1) that metrical factors have been invoked all too frequently in past studies of infinitive marking, it still seems reasonable to believe that they may have played a part in the examples adduced below, where DARE and LIST deviate from their usual type of marking in the course of a verse passage:

(10) *Wint* 4.1.26 What of her (= Perdita) ensues /I *list not prophesy*, but let Time's news /Be known when 'tis brought forth.
(Figures for LIST in Shakespeare's works are 1 *zero* / 4 *to*.)

(11) *Wiv* 4.4.59 ask him why, that hour of fairy revel, /In their so sacred paths he *dares to tread* /In shape profane.

(12) *Wint* 4.4.452 I cannot speak, nor think, /Nor *dare to know* that which I know
(Figures for DARE in the corpus: 31 *zero* / 2 *to*.)

Prosodic requirements may also have been partly relevant for the selection of bare infinitives in the following cases:

(13) *Lear* 19.35 when your mistress hears thus much from you, /I pray *desire her call* her wisdom to her./
(Figures for DESIRE in Shakespeare: 3 *zero* / 41 *to*; specifically in the corpus: 1 *zero* / 9 *to*.)

(14) *Rom* 5.3.259 /She wakes, and I *entreated her come forth* /And bear this work of heaven with patience./
(Figures for ENTREAT in Shakespeare: 13 *zero* / 23 *to*; in the corpus: 1 *zero* / 4 *to*.)

I use the qualification 'partly' advisedly, for it seems to me that the characteristics of the noun phrase intervening between matrix verb and infinitive (henceforth NP$_2$) have also been influential in the choice of *zero* here, as will now be considered in the next section.

4.3.2 Separation between infinitive and governing verb

Both Warner (1982: 129 ff) and Fischer (forthcoming: 19-20) are of the opinion that separation from matrix verb has been over-simply appealed to as a factor motivating the occurrence of stronger marking, and that, in general, the explanation for this can be found elsewhere, except perhaps in the case of coordinated infinitives and in a few other clear instances such as the following:

(15) *Paston Letters* 157, 20-23 ... that it plese yow to *don* Jon Paston or Thomas Playter or sume othyr that ye thynk that cane vndyr-stonde the mater *for to speke* to the seyd Hwe of Fen ther-of in hyr name, (quoted from Fischer, p. 8)

Comparable examples in my material are not numerous, and seem to be restricted to the following two:

(16) *Rom* 3.5.159 Good father, I beseech you on my knees, /*Hear* me with patience but *to speak* a word./
(Figures for HEAR in the corpus: 16 *zero* / 1 *to*.)

(17) *ibid.* 3.5.185 (...) /And then to *have* a wretched puling fool, /A whining maumet, in her fortune's tender, /*To answer* 'I'll not wed, I cannot love;/
(HAVE in the corpus: 13 *zero* / 1 *to*.)

At first sight, the paucity of the evidence thus appears to confirm that, if we leave out of account coordinated infinitives, separation is indeed of only minor importance for infinitive marking. Yet I would like to suggest that such is not really the case, and that in EMODE, and presumably also in earlier periods, the type of marking is often determined by the relative weight of the material intervening between matrix verb and infinitive. Obviously, this conditioning factor will be relevant chiefly for predicates occurring in the complementation pattern **V NP (to)Inf**, and this is in fact the only one I have examined in any detail. Specifically, my claim is that, in the case of those few verbs of causation, perception and the like with which a choice of marker remains possible in EMODE, a light NP$_2$ consisting of only a pronominal tends to correlate with *zero*, whereas *to* is more likely to be triggered by nonpronominal NPs, or by those containing a pronoun plus some additional material; witness the examples under *A)* and the data under *B)*.

A)

(18) *Wiv* 4.3.8 (prose) They shall have my horses, but I'll *make them pay*; I'll sauce them.

(19) *Wint* 4.4.199 (prose) and where some stretch-mouthed rascal would, as it were, mean mischief and break a foul gap into the matter, he *makes the maid to answer*, 'Whoop, do me no harm, good man';

(20) *Rom* 4.2.34 Nurse, will you go with me into my closet /To *help me sort* such needful ornaments /As you think fit to furnish me tomorrow?

(21) *Mids* 4.1.23 (prose) Nothing, good monsieur, but to *help Cavaliery Peaseblossom to scratch.*

(22) *Lear* 14.60 The sea, with such a storm as his bowed head /In hell-black night endured, would have buoyed up /And quenched the stellèd fires. Yet, poor old heart, /He *holpt the heavens to rage.* /

(23) Marlowe *Faustus* A-Text 1365 (prose) **Third Scholar.** He is not well with being over-solitary.
Second Scholar. If it be so, we'll *have physicians to cure* him, 'tis but a surfeit, never fear, man.
(Cf. p. 41 below for figures for HAVE in Marlowe.)

(24) Dryden *Satires* 7 some secret graces... have *made whole poems of mine to pass* with aprobation

(quoted from Söderlind 1958: II, 45. Cf. p. 41 below for more details on MAKE in Dryden.)

B) The evidence

This derives from the corpus and from some additional material, as follows:

(I) Data from Shakespeare.

I have checked the behaviour in Shakespeare's complete works of the verbs COMMAND, DESIRE, ENTREAT, GET and HELP. In addition, I examined all the occurrences of the base form *make* (but not those of *makes, made, making*, etc.). The results obtained are as follows:[14]

COMMAND

5 ex. with *zero*, all with pronominal NPs; 7 ex. with *to* (5 pronominal / 2 nonpronominal).

DESIRE

3 ex. with *zero*, all with pronominal NPs (cf. quotation (13) above); 41 ex. with *to.*

ENTREAT

13 ex. with *zero*, all with pronominal NPs (cf. citation (14) above); 23 ex. with *to,* of which 9 contain nonpronominal NPs.

GET

6 ex. with *to*, 3 with nonpronominal NPs; 2 ex. with *zero*, one with pronominal NP (*TNK* 3.5.75, verse), and one (*Wiv* 2.2.74 p "they could never *get her so much as sip* on a cup with the proudest of them all") where the

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[14] Here and in the rest of this section 'nonpronominal' is used as a cover term to indicate that NP$_2$ is headed by a noun, or that there is additional material of any kind intervening between matrix verb and infinitive, as in, for instance, Marlowe *2Tamburlaine* 4363 "And make him *after all these overthrows,* /To triumph over cursed Tamburlain."

presence of material between verb and infinitive might lead one to expect *to* rather than *zero*.

HELP

4 ex. with *zero*, all with pronominal NPs; 7 ex. with *to* (2 pronominal / 5 nonpronominal).[15]

MAKE

50 corpus examples with *zero* / 2 with *to*. One of these has been cited above as (19); the other is *Wint* 5.3.71 (verse), with an intervening pronominal: "O sweet Paulina, /Make me to think so twenty years together/".

Over 200 occurrences of the form *make* in the rest of Shakespeare's works, of which only 10 contain marked infinitives, as follows: pronominal NPs + *to*-infinitives occur in *Troilus* 4.5.137, *Hamlet* 3.4.170 and *Othello* 3.3.369; nonpronominal NPs + *to*-infinitives in *Per* 5.1.144, *Coriolanus* 5.3.197, *R3* 3.2.11, *Mids* 2.1.38, *LLL* 5.2.549, *MV* 1.1.68, and *TGV* 5.4.161. All ten examples are found in verse.

(II) Data from Marlowe.

For Marlowe, I looked at all the verbs used in the pattern **V NP (to)Inf**, as listed in Ando (1976: 517-34). The results of this survey are given below, with the verbs appearing in the same order as in Ando:

SEE

49 *zero*; 6 *to*, all with nonpronominal NP$_2$.

WISH

3 *zero*, all pronominal; 1 *to*, nonpronominal.

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[15] All four examples of HELP + bare infinitive occur in the sequence *to help NP Inf* (cf. *R3* 1.3.244, 4.4.80, *Titus* 2.4.10 and quotation (20) above). It has been shown by Göran Kjellmer (1985: 159-60) for Present-day English that, in that particular context, HELP is now reluctant to take a *to*-infinitive; though the same tendency might well be at work in Shakespeare, the *to*-infinitive is also found on one occasion, but, interestingly enough, it happens to be preceded by a nonpronominal NP$_2$. Witness *Mids* 4.1.23 (prose), quoted above as (21)..

WILL

7 *zero*, 4 pronominal / 3 nonpronominal; 8 *to*, 5 pronominal / 3 nonpronominal.

BID

26 *zero*; 1 *to,* nonpronominal (but on this instance see also 4.3.5 below, quotation (61)).

CHARGE

5 *zero*, all pronominal; 4 *to*, evenly divided.

COMMAND

1 *zero*, pronominal;[16] 5 *to*, all nonpronominal.

ENTREAT

2 *zero*, evenly divided; 9 *to*, 3 pronominal / 6 nonpronominal.

FORBID

2 *zero,* pronominal; 6 *to*, 1 pronominal / 5 nonpronominal.

PRAY

1 *zero*, pronominal; 3 *to*, 1 pronominal / 2 nonpronominal.

ENFORCE

2 *zero*, both pronominal; 3 *to*, all nonpronominal.

HELP

1 *zero*, pronominal; 3 *to*, 2 pronominal / 1 nonpronominal.

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[16] Ando adduces *Dido* 1283 as a second instance without *to*, but this in fact involves a finite clause rather than an infinitive construction. I have also left out of account 3 examples with *command NP Passive Infinitive*, since passive infinitives seem to constitute a special case from the point of view of the *to/zero* distribution; cf. in this connection Fischer (forthcoming: 16 ff).

CAUSE

4 *zero*, evenly divided; 10 *to*, 1 pronominal / 9 nonpronominal.

MAKE

24 *to*, 3 with pronominal NPs and 21 with nonpronominal ones; 155 *zero* (pronominal NPs clearly predominate; cf. Ando p. 532).

HAVE

18 *zero*; 4 *to*, 3 nonpronominal and 1 pronominal, but with fronting of the infinitive object (for the effect of fronting on the type of marker selected, cf. 4.3.5 below).

(III) Data from Dryden.

In this case, I checked the behaviour of all the relevant verbs listed in Söderlind (1958: II, 31-47). Though by Dryden's time most verbs had become restricted to just one type of marker, the rare exceptions generally confirm the distributional pattern observed in both Shakespeare and Marlowe.

CAUSE

1 *zero*, with pronominal NP_2; 17 *to*.

HAVE

50 *zero*; 10 *to* (though Söderlind gives only 5 quotations with *to*-infinitives, 4 out of these contain nonpronominal NPs).

MAKE

310 *zero*; 14 *to,* all with nonpronominal NPs except the example quoted below, where the selection of *to* is obviously intended to mark a clear boundary between the perfect infinitive itself and the perfect verb form that precedes it:

> *Dedication to Aureng-Zebe* 190 no necessity of mine could *have made* me *to have sought* so earnestly, and so long, to have cultivated your kindness

Though the preceding lists contain some apparent exceptions (cf., for instance, the example from *Wint* 5.3.71 cited under MAKE), and even a few verbs which, like GET (in Shakespeare) or WILL and ENTREAT (in Marlowe), do not seem to conform to the overall norm, the correlation between *to* and the presence of a nonpronominal NP$_2$ is reasonably clear. In this respect, object infinitives thus have an interesting parallel in *that* and *zero* clauses in object function, for Elsness (1984), working on a corpus of American English, found that the nature of the first element in a finite object clause is greatly influential in the selection of complementizer, pronominal subjects clearly favouring *zero*, nonpronominal ones *that,* as in the following examples:

(25a) I know she is a fool.

(25b) I know that Mary is a fool.

Warner (1982: 171 ff) obtained similar results for his Wyclifite corpus, though he differs from Elsness in his interpretation of the role of *that*-deletion. For him, *that* "helps to mark a clause boundary, and it tends to be deleted more as this function is less useful" (p. 175); deletion is thus frequent before pronouns, since several of them have distinctive nominative forms and so provide some clause boundary marking. Elsness, however, finds no definite difference in the incidence of *zero* with those pronouns which have distinct nominative forms (*I, he, she, we, they*), and with those which do not (*you, it*), and this leads him to postulate that object clauses "with personal pronoun subjects are felt to be more closely attached to the preceding matrix clause, because of the lighter subject" (p. 525); *zero* is therefore selected, in preference to *that*, as a means of marking that closer clause juncture. As I see it, an explanation along these lines might also do for the infinitive clauses considered in this section. That is, the frequent selection of *zero* after a pronominal NP may be intended to signal the close association between infinitive and matrix clause; as that association decreases, because a nominal or some other material intervenes, a stronger, more unambiguous, infinitive marker is felt to be called for, and *to* tends to be preferred.

4.3.3 Semantic factors

Generally speaking, the kind of semantic factor discussed in section 4.2 above does not seem to play a very significant role in the distribution of *to* and *zero* in the corpus. It is true that, for cases like those quoted below, an explanation like the one proposed by Olga Fischer (forthcoming) looks tempting at first sight:

(26) *Wint* 4.4.199 and where some stretch-mouthed rascal would, as it were, mean mischief and break a foul gap into the matter, he *makes* the maid *to answer*, 'Whoop, do me no harm, good man';

(27) *ibid.* 5.3.71 **Paulina.** My lord's almost so far transported that /He'll think anon it lives.
Leontes. O sweet Paulina, /*Make* me *to think* so twenty years together. /No settled senses of the world can match /The pleasure of that madness.

(28) *Rom* 4.2.34 Nurse, will you go with me into my closet /To *help* me *sort* such needful ornaments /As you think fit to furnish me tomorrow?

In both (26) and (27), the *to*-infinitive may indeed be accounted for by saying that "the matrix subject has no means of effecting the results stated in the complement" (i.e. the 'answering' and the 'thinking'). On the contrary, in (28) the matrix subject is clearly involved in the act of 'helping', hence the bare infinitive. All this sounds plausible, and I certainly do not wish to rule out the possibility of its being correct at times. But, as we have seen in the preceding section, other factors, such as the grammatical category of NP$_2$, seem to have been at work in EMODE, and these may just as well have been responsible for the choice of marker in some of the above examples. Moreover, at least in Shakespeare, the exceptions to the distributional pattern suggested by Fischer for *to* and *zero* are just as numerous as the corroborating evidence; witness the following examples, among many similar ones that could easily be adduced:

(29) *Wiv* 5.5.178 (prose) I'll *make* the best in Gloucestershire *know* on't; would I were hanged, la, else.
(the higher subject cannot control the action of 'knowing', hence *to* would have been expected.)

(30) *Titus* 5.3.15 Good uncle, take you in this barbarous Moor, /This ravenous tiger, this accursèd devil (...) Away, inhuman dog, unhallowed slave! / Sirs, *help* our uncle *to convey* him in./
[*Exeunt Goths with Aaron*]
(though the order of taking Aaron away is first issued to Uncle Marcus, he remains on-stage, and it is the Goths that actually convey Aaron in.)

It can of course be argued that, by the Early Modern period, the distinction between the bare and *to*-infinitives in terms of direct/indirect involvement in the action had become blurred, but one would expect it to be at work at least with the verb HELP, since this has retained to this day the possibility of selecting either type of infinitive. Yet the picture offered by HELP in Shakespeare is diffuse, to say the least, as will now be shown.

I have examined the sequence *help NP (to)Inf,* as well as its variant *help (to)Inf,* even though there is good reason to think that the behaviour of HELP need not be identical in both cases. Thus, as regards PE, both Lind (1983) and Kjellmer (1985) have detected a certain tendency for the latter of those two patterns to select *to* more often than the first, and the same is clearly true of Shakespeare:

I) Occurrences of HELP NP (to)Inf.... 11 (7 to / 4 zero)

(a) The matrix subject is a direct participant in the action; the participation may be real, as in examples (30) (quoted above on this page) and (31), or metaphorical/hypothetical, as in (32)-(35)[17].... 6 ex. with *to-*

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[17] Olga Fischer (p. 15) considers metaphors to be a special case always demanding a *to*-infinitive, since they "do not express an actuality"; so, presumably, my examples (32) to (35) would be interpreted by her as confirming her views. The trouble is that her notion of 'actuality' seems to me rather loose at times, since it apparently covers cases such as the following, which I take to be nonfactual:

(1) Chaucer *HF* 807-08 And whoso seyth of treuthe I varye, /*bid* hym *proven* the contrarye.

(quoted from Fischer, p. 7.)

(2) Chaucer *TC* IV 22-26 O ye Herynes, Nyghtes doughtren thre ... Megera, Alete, and ek Thesiphone/ ... This ilke ferthe book *helpeth fyne* (= 'finish')

(Fischer, p. 9.)

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infinitive / 4 with the bare infinitive (these latter all containing pronominal NPs):

(31) *Mids* 4.1.23 (prose) **Bottom** (wearing an ass-head). Scratch my head, Peaseblossom. (...) Where's Monsieur Mustardseed?
Mustardseed. Ready. (...) What's your will?
Bottom. Nothing, good monsieur, but to *help* Cavaliery Peaseblossom *to scratch.*

(32) *R2* 1.3.222 **King Richard.** Why, uncle, thou hast many years to live.
John of Gaunt. But not a minute, King, that thou canst give. / Shorten my days thou canst with sudden sorrow, /And pluck nights from me, but not lend a morrow. /Thou canst *help* time *to furrow* me with age, /But stop no wrinkle in his pilgrimage.

(33) *Lear* 14.60 The sea, with such a storm as his bowed head /In hell-black night endured, would have buoyed up /And quenched the stellèd fires. Yet, poor old heart, /He *holpt* the heavens *to rage.*/
(i.e. both Lear and the heavens *raged*, though the latter only in a metaphorical sense.)

(34) *1H6* 1.7.17 **Talbot.** Hear, hear, how dying Salisbury doth groan! (...)
Joan. Talbot, farewell. Thy hour is not yet come (...) / Go, go, cheer up thy hungry-starvèd men. /*Help* Salisbury *to make* his testament./

(35) *TGV* 2.4.155 **Proteus.** Have I no reason to prefer mine own (i.e. 'my own beloved')?
Valentine. And I will *help* thee *to prefer* (= 'promote, advance') her, too. /She shall be dignified with this high honour, /To bear my lady's train, lest the base earth /Should from her vesture chance to steal a kiss
See also quotation (20) above, as well as *R3* 1.3.244, 4.4.80, and *Titus* 2.4.10.

(b) the matrix subject is not a direct participant in the action.... 1 ex., with *to*-infinitive.

(36) *Ado* 5.3.17 Midnight, assist our moan, /*Help* us *to sigh* and groan, /Heavily, heavily./

II) Occurrences of HELP (to)Inf.... 41 to / 1 zero

The single instance with a bare infinitive is the following:

(37) *Troilus* 3.1.147 Sweet Helen, I must woo you /To *help unarm* our Hector. His stubborn buckles, /With these your white enchanting fingers touched, /Shall more obey than to the edge of steel

As pointed out in note (15) above, both Lind (1983) and Kjellmer (1985) have shown that Modern English HELP is particularly reluctant to take a *to*-infinitive when it occurs in the sequence *to help + Infinitive*, so it seems reasonable to believe that this may have been an important contributory factor in the choice of a bare infinitive in (37). On the other hand, whether the higher subject is directly involved in the action denoted by the infinitive or not seems to be of little significance for the selection of marker, as becomes clear from the numerous instances containing a *to*-infinitive and yet implying active participation on the part of the matrix subject:

(38) *Wiv* 3.3.135 (prose) **Mistress Page** (addressing Robin as she puts dirty clothes over Falstaff). *Help to cover* your master, boy.

(39) *ibid* 4.2.147 (prose) **Ford** (to Evans and Page). *Help to search* my house this one time (...) once more search with me.

Cf. also *Wiv* 2.2.168 p, *Rom* 1.5.1 p, 4.2.41, 5.3.247, *Lear* 13.93, *Wint* 3.3.132 p, etc.

Thus the specific semantic distinction outlined by Olga Fischer for late ME does not seem to have much relevance for Shakespeare's language. In fact, the influence of semantic factors on the selection of infinitive marker can be clearly seen at work only with the verb KNOW, but in the case of this what is distinguished through the presence or absence of *to* is not two different modes of participation in an event, but, rather, whether the dependent clause denotes an event or a proposition. Thus, when employed

with the meaning 'experience, see', KNOW approaches the verbs of physical perception and takes, like these, a bare infinitive, mostly with the semantic feature [+dynamic]:

(40) *Wiv* 2.2.101 **Mistress Quickly** (to Falstaff). Mistress Page hath her hearty commendations to you too (...) I never *knew* a woman so *dote* upon a man. Surely I think you have charms,

(41) *Mcb* 5.1.28 It is an accustomed action with her, to seem thus washing her hands. I have *known* her *continue* in this a quarter of an hour.

(42) *John* 3.1.220 But if [thou vouchsafe them] not, then *know* /The peril of our curses *light* on thee /So heavy as thou shalt not shake them off,
(*light* = 'alight, fall on')[18]

In all other cases, henceforth subsumed as $KNOW_2$, KNOW resembles predicates like BELIEVE or THINK in selecting a stative *to*-infinitive (e.g. *be, be contemned*). The infinitive clause does not denote an event, as is the case with $KNOW_1$, but a fact or proposition of some sort:

(43) *Lear* 2.62 You *know* the character *to be* your brother's?

(44) *ibid* 15.1 **Edgar** (disguised as a Bedlam beggar). Yet better thus and *known to be contemned* /Than still contemned and flattered
(i.e. 'it is better to be thus contemned and known to yourself to be contemned, than to be contemned and yet flattered'.)

Cf. also *Wint* 5.2.34 p, *TGV* 2.4.53, *1H4* 1.2.180 p, *Mcb* 1.4.30, etc.

This use of infinitive marking to reinforce the opposition between the two senses of the lexeme KNOW, which remains at work in PE (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 16.52), seems to have started in late ME (cf. Visser III/2: 2312-13). By the Elizabethan period it was already well established, as borne out by the

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[18] According to Visser and other treatments, $KNOW_1$ has mostly been confined to occurrence in the simple past or in perfective forms (i.e. *knew, have/had known*), as in PE *I have known John give better speeches*. Yet in this Shakespearian example $KNOW_1$ is in the imperative.

evidence from Shakespeare and other contemporary sources; cf., for instance, Ando's data on KNOW in Marlowe (1976: 518-19).

4.3.4 Sociolectal differentiation

Though this type of factor is among the most difficult to evaluate, due to our poor knowledge of levels of style and sociolectal variation in Elizabethan English, there are two instances in the corpus where the choice of a type of infinitive marking deviating from the norm seems intended to represent non-standard speech habits. In both cases, the predicate involved is catenative BE, and the lines are spoken by Parson Evans, a Welshman:

> (45) *Wiv* 1.1.47 **Evans** (alluding to Ann Page). And seven hundred pounds of moneys, and gold and silver, *is* her grandsire upon his death's bed -Got deliver to a joyful resurrections- *give*, when she is able to overtake seventeen years old.
> (i.e. 'is... to give (her)')

> (46) *ibid* 1.1.55 **Slender.** Did her grandsire leave her seven hundred pound?
> **Evans.** Ay, and her father *is make* her a petter (i.e. 'better') penny.

There can be little doubt that misuse of the verb BE was seen by the Elizabethans as characteristic of Welshmen, for the same feature recurs in Fluellen, the Welsh captain in *Henry V*. Both he and Parson Evans use forms of BE in various unorthodox ways, sometimes apparently for *has* (cf. *H5* 3.3.18 and *Wiv* 4.1.11 "Master Slender *is let* the boys leave to play"), an interpretation that would also fit (45) above (i.e. 'has.... given (her)'), though the following *when*-clause proves somewhat problematical. However, both in (46) and in the following instance it is catenative BE that seems clearly intended:[19]

> (47) *H5* 4.8.36 **Fluellen.** I hope your majesty *is pear* (i.e. 'is to bear') me testimony and witness, and will avouchment that this is the glove of Alençon

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[19] Other improper BE forms in Fluellen's speech occur at 3.6.67 (*is* for *will*), 3.6.94 (*was have* apparently for *was to have*), 4.7.21 (*is* for *was*), and 4.8.28 (*is* for *has*). For an overview of the idiolects of Fluellen and Evans, cf. Blake (1981: 84 ff).

4.3.5 Fronting of a constituent belonging to the infinitive clause

As is well known, PE sentences like (48)-(50) do not passivize; cf. Visser (III/1: section 2139), Quirk et al. (1985: 16.52), and Mittwoch (1990: 118).

> (48a) They made him understand.
> (48b) *He was made understand.

> (49a) I saw/heard Mary slam the door.
> (49b) *Mary was seen/heard slam the door.

> (50a) I have known John give better speeches.
> (50b) *John has been known give better speeches.

However, a *to*-infinitival passive is usually available:

> (48c) He was made to understand.
> (49c) Mary was seen/heard to slam the door.
> (50c) John has been known to give better speeches.

A similar, if less consistent, alternation of the marked and unmarked infinitives can be observed in EMODE, and even in earlier periods; cf. Fischer's data on late ME,[20] as well as the Shakespearian examples below:

> (51) *Wint* 5.1.63 Were I the ghost that walked I'd *bid* you *mark* /Her eye,

> (52) *Per* 3.6 (prose) I perceive he was a wise fellow and had good discretion that, being *bid to ask* what he would of the King, desired he might know none of his secrets.

> (53) *As* 1.2.57 I was *bid to come* for you.

> (54) *Mcb* 5.1.28 It is an accustomed action with her, to seem thus washing her hands. I have *known* her *continue* in this a quarter of an hour.
> (both here and in the following instance the verb is KNOW$_1$, as defined in section 4.3.3 above.)

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[20] Cf. her remark on the second passive with the verbs DO and MAKE (pp. 16-17).

(55) *ibid* 3.4.122 It will have blood, they say. Blood will have blood. /Stones have been *known to move*, and trees to speak,/

In addition, a *to*-infinitive is found with the same set of verbs in the following type of structure:

(56) Spenser *Faerie Queene* V.2.6 For never wight he *lets to passe* that way
(quoted from Visser III/2: 2295.)

(57) c1600 Ben Jonson *Maia's Song* New flowers, which you shall *see to grow*.
(quoted from Visser III/2: 2254.)

(58) *Wint* 4.3.85 **Clown.** What manner of fellow was he that robbed you?
Autolycus. A fellow, sir, that I have *known to go about* with troll-madams.

(59) *TGV* 3.1.5 /My gracious lord, that which I would discover /The law of friendship *bids* me *to conceal.*/
(Out of over 200 occurrences of BID + Inf in Shakespeare, only 7 contain marked infinitives, namely, examples (52), (53), (59) and (60) cited here; the two second passives in *Measure* 5.1.78 and *Titus* 1.1.335; and, lastly, *Othello* 4.3.13 "/He hath commanded me to go to bed, /And bid me to dismiss you", where the parallelistic structure of the lines has probably been responsible for the selection of *to*.)

(60) *R2* 2.2.115 /T'one is my sovereign, whom both my oath /And duty bids defend; t'other again /Is my kinsman (...) /Whom conscience and my kindred *bids to right.*/

(61) Marlowe, *Dido, Queen of Carthage* 2.1.114 /A woeful tale *bids* Dido *to unfold,*/
(i.e. 'Dido bids (Aeneas) unfold a woeful tale'. Out of 27 occurrences of BID in Marlowe, this is the sole instance with a *to*-infinitive; cf. Ando 1976: 521-22.)

In all of these examples, a constituent belonging to the complement clause has been fronted, either through relativization, topicalization or some other related process; in transformational terminology, one might characterize the above sentences, and also the second passives cited earlier in this section, as involving movement. The constituent which is moved is often the notional subject of the infinitive, as in (56)-(58), but it may also be its object, as in (59)-(61). Both classes of examples are numerous in the period, though similar structures with a bare infinitive are not lacking either; witness the first BID clause in quotation (60) and also the following sentences:

(62) *Sonnets* 26.6 /Duty so great which wit so poor as mine /May *make seem* bare in wanting words to show it,/

(63) *Lear* 22.28 the King is come to his daughter, /With others whom the rigour of our state /Forced to cry out (...) For this business, /It touches us as France invades our land; /Yet bold's the King, with others whom, I fear, /Most just and heavy causes *make oppose.*/
(i.e. 'just and weighty reasons cause others to confront (us).')

Since most of the examples known to me with either the bare or *to*-infinitive occur in verse, it is difficult to ascertain the exact influence of metrical factors on the choice of marker, though it is clear from cases like (60) above that they must not be underrated. With this in mind, I yet would like to suggest that in EMODE, and presumably also in earlier periods, the fronting of some element within the infinitive clause correlates with stronger marking, or tends at least to favour it. Evidence for this is to be found not solely in the limited set of structures mentioned so far, but also in some of the data adduced by Warner for late ME. As pointed out in our discussion of previous scholarship on infinitive marking in section 4.2, Warner found that increased marking, at least in the opposition *for to : to*, is associated in Wyclif with two types of construction, both involving some kind of fronting or movement:

(a) conjoined infinitives containing fronted material between conjunction and infinitive;

(b) structures with BE of obligation, or with BE plus adjective, in both of which "the subject is notionally the object of the infinitive, or stands in some complement/adjunct relation to it" (Warner, p. 124):

(64) ii.46.17 For scheep ben goode for to ete,

(65) c1390 Gower, C.A. II (Morley) p. 125 Thus is this vice for to
drede.

As Warner himself notes (p. 131), it seems reasonable to think that a closer
inspection of ME texts would reveal that this preference for the marker *for*
to was not restricted to the two rather special types just mentioned, but was
at work also with most other structures involving fronting, and in fact, a
survey of the ME infinitives collected in Visser (III/2: sections 2066-2081)
seems to point in that direction. This being so, we may conclude that
sequences involving fronting, of whatever kind, were probably felt to be
perceptually confusing, and so in need of an ambiguous marker for the
infinitive, *for to* rather than *to*, *to* rather than *zero*. With the regularization
of infinitive marking and the final loss of *for to* in EMODE, potential
contrast with the few verbs (BID, KNOW, LET, MAKE, etc.) with which a
choice of marker still remained possible became restricted to the opposition
to : zero.

4.4 Summary and conclusions

This chapter has been concerned with the factors controlling infinitive
marking in the corpus. As today, the choice between *to* and *zero* is most
obviously related to the grammatical function of the clause itself, that is,
whether this is a subject, an object, or other; however, a significant
difference with respect to PE usage is that the bare infinitive has been found
to occur in appositive clauses (cf. section 4.1), if only very restrictedly. In
addition, marking was also seen to be related to a number of other variables,
of which the most significant are metre (4.3.1), the relative weight of the
material intervening between governing verb and infinitive (4.3.2), and the
presence of fronted constituents within the clause (4.3.5). However, the
semantic factors mentioned in recent studies of infinitive marking (cf.
especially Fischer, forthcoming) seem to be scarcely relevant for EMODE,
except as regards the verb KNOW (4.3.3).

5 THE 'for NP to-Inf' and 'NP to-Inf' CONSTRUCTIONS

As is well known, from late Middle English onwards the (explicit)
subject of an infinitive clause was marked for the nominative case,
except of course when it occurred in post-verbal position or after a
preposition, in which cases objective case marking was required; cf.
(1)-(5) below:

(1) 1470-85 Malory *thow* to lye by our moder is to moche shame for
vs to suffre
(quoted from Visser II: section 905)

(2) *Timon* 4.3.267 *I* to bear this, /That never knew but better, is some
burden./

(3) *Coriolanus* 3.2.83 say to them /Thou art their soldier and, being
bred in broils, /Hast not the soft way which, thou dost confess, /Were
fit for thee to use as *they* to claim

(4) *Wint* 4.4.169 They call him Doricles, and boasts *himself* /To have
a worthy feeding.

(5) *Rom* 1.5.66 to say truth, Verona brags of *him* /To be a virtuous
and well-governed youth.

In addition to structures of this type, since at least the sixteenth century (and
probably a good deal earlier), a construction with initial *for* can also. be
found:

(6) *Coriolanus* 2.2.12 *for Coriolanus* neither to care whether they
love or hate him manifests the true knowledge he has in their
disposition

(7) 1611 *Bible*, Eccl. 7, 5, It is better to hear the rebuke of the wise,
than *for a man* to hear the song of fools.
(quoted from Visser II: section 972)

The introduction and subsequent spread of *for* to all kinds of infinitive clause, including those in object function (cf. PE *I prefer for him to drive the truck*), was a complex affair, and any brief discussion of it will surely involve gross oversimplification.[21] It is generally agreed, however, that the type must have had its starting point in sentences containing a *for*-phrase used in a benefactive sense, and belonging syntactically to the matrix clause; cf. (8):

> (8) Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, Rob. 187 it were bettre for yow [to lese so muchel good of youre owene]
> 'it would be better for you [to lose so much of your own goods]'
> (quoted from Fischer and van der Leek 1981: 322)

For reasons that need not concern us here, but which have been thoroughly discussed by Fischer (1988), the *for*-phrase came in the course of time to be intimately associated with the infinitive, and so to be re-analyzed as forming a constituent with it. As Fischer (pp. 29 and 40) notes, in the case of the type with introductory *it*, as in the Chaucerian example above, the first instances unambiguously showing that such a re-analysis has taken place date back to the eighteenth century, but other types can be found from the sixteenth century onwards:

> (9) 1711 Addison *Spectator* no. 45 It was then looked upon as a piece of Ill Breeding, *for a Woman to refuse* to see a Man, because she was not stirring.
> (quoted from Visser II: section 914)

> (10) *R2* 2.2.125 *For us to levy* power /Proportionable to the enemy /Is all unpossible.

> (11) *Troilus* 3.2.77 we vow to weep seas, live in fire, eat rocks, tame tigers, thinking it harder for our mistress to devise imposition enough than *for us to undergo* any difficulty imposed.

In (9), the matrix predicate BE... A PIECE OF ILL BREEDING cannot possibly subcategorize a phrase with benefactive function, so that *for a*

woman must belong with the following infinitive. In (10), re-analysis is shown by front placement; in (11), by the presence of *than*, which introduces a new clause and thus makes a benefactive analysis for the second *for NP* impossible. To all intents and purposes, it is clear that in the above examples *for* can no longer be interpreted as a mere preposition, but rather as a complementizer or clause introducer.

After this brief account of the history of the *for* construction, we can now turn to examine its use in the corpus, as well as that of the related type **NP to-Inf**. As still in PE, this latter occurs frequently in object complements to verbs, as in quotation (4) at the beginning of this chapter; aside from such cases, which will be considered in detail in 7.3 below, **NP to-Inf** occurs only after comparative *as* and *than* (3 ex., quoted below as (12), (13) and (14)), and once as the object of the prepositional verb BRAG OF (cf. (5) above). However, elsewhere in Shakespeare **NP to-Inf** can be found in other syntactic environments: cf. quotation (2) above and Visser (II: sections 905 and 912).

> (12) *Wint* 5.1.42 That King Leontes shall not have an heir /Till his lost child be found? Which that it shall /Is all as monstrous to our human reason /As *my Antigonus to break* his grave /And come again to me,

> (13) *ibid*. 1.1.60 **Hermione** (to Polixenes). My prisoner? or my guest? (...) One of them you shall be.
> **Polixenes.** Your guest then, madam. /To be your prisoner should import offending, /Which is for me less easy to commit /Than *you to punish*.

Like example (3) above, (13) illustrates a special subtype in which **for NP to-Inf** and **NP to-Inf** appear side by side in two consecutive clauses between which a comparison is established.[22] Such instances may perhaps indicate that both patterns were felt to be identical, and thus interchangeable, or, more probably, that re-analysis has not yet taken place and the *for* NP still behaves as a constituent within the matrix clause, as shown below:

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[21] On the history and development of both *NP to-Inf* and *for NP to-Inf* see Jespersen (*MEG* Part V: 306 ff); Visser (II: 956 ff); Warner (1982: 48 ff); Fischer and van der Leek (1981: 321 ff); Fischer (1988).

[22] This subtype survives marginally as late as Dryden; cf. Söderlind (1958: II, 117), quoting from *Dedication to Third Miscellany* 54 "it is better for me to own this failing in myself than the world to do it for me."

(13b) ... Which is for me less easy [to commit] /Than [you to punish].

The last instance of **NP to-Inf** in the corpus is represented by (14) below; like the former two, it functions as the second term of a comparative construction:

> (14) *Lear* 7.302 **Regan** (to Lear, and alluding to her sister Gonoril). I pray you, sir, take patience. I have hope /You less know how to value her desert /Than *she to slack* her duty.

Critics from Johnson onwards have taken the pronoun *she* to be the subject of a second, implicit, *know* (i.e. 'than she (knows how) to slack her duty'), and have therefore pointed out that Shakespeare, quite incongrously, makes Regan say the opposite of what she appears to intend: "if Lear is less knowing in the valuation of Goneril's desert than she is in slacking her duty, then she knows *better* how to *slack* or be deficient in her duty, than he knows how to appreciate her desert" (thus Malone in his 1790 edition; cf. also Furness 1880: 151 ff; Muir 1952: 86; G.B. Evans 1974: 1271). In our view, however, *she* is the subject of the verb with which it is connected at the surface -that is, the infinitive *slack-*, and the lines, though typically involved as so many of Regan's utterances, make good sense: 'I have hope that (what actually happens) is that you don't know in the least how to value her desert, and not that she has slacked her duty.'

In its turn, the infinitival construction with *for* occurs in the pattern *it is AdjP/NP for NP to-Inf* (3 ex.), and once in post-verbal position, as the object of STAY:

> (15) *Wint* 1.1.60 To be your prisoner should import offending, /Which is *for me* less easy *to commit* /Than you to punish.

> (16) *Rom* 1.2.2 'tis not hard, I think, /For men so old as we to keep the peace.

> (17) *ibid* 1.3.92 This precious book of love, this unbound lover, /To beautify him only lacks a cover. /The fish lives in the sea, and 'tis much pride /*For fair without* the fair within *to hide*. /That book in many's eyes doth share the glory /That in gold clasps locks in the golden story.

> (18) *ibid* 3.1.128 Mercutio's soul /Is but a little way above our heads, /Staying *for thine to keep* him company./

In (16) and (17) *for* can still be seen as an ordinary preposition with benefactive meaning, an interpretation which seems the only one possible in (15), where *for me* is followed by material that clearly belongs to the matrix clause and hence can hardly form a constituent with the infinitive. As for (18), in EMODE the verb STAY subcategorized both NP and *for* NP; cf. OED *Stay* v.[1], 14 and 19; *TGV* 2.2.13 "My father stays my coming"; and *Wiv* 4.6.47 "you'll procure the vicar /To stay for me at church." It follows, therefore, that two different interpretations are possible for that example; in one, *for* is a complementizer introducing an object clause (i.e. *staying [for thine to keep him company]*); in the other, STAY FOR, like BRAG OF in quotation (5) at the beginning of this chapter, is a prepositional verb with the following infinitival clause as its object (i.e. *staying for [thine to keep him company]*).

On the whole, it can thus be said that the evidence from the corpus is not fully conclusive as regards the status of *for* in the sequence **for NP to-Inf**, since a prepositional interpretation is possible in all four of its occurrences . Yet elsewhere in Shakespeare instances can be found where *for* shows a distribution clearly independent of that proper to the preposition, and so must be considered a complementizer or clause introducer; cf., for instance, quotations (6), (10), and (11) above, and Visser (II: section 906) for other examples. In this respect, Shakespeare's usage proves to be ahead of that of his contemporary Marlowe, in whose language *for* still functions only as a preposition "fully retaining its original dative sense" (Ando 1976: 500).

6 OTHER ASPECTS OF THE GRAMMAR OF INFINITIVE COMPLEMENTS

6.1 Extraposition

6.1.1 Extraposition and subject clauses

To account for the relationship between pairs of sentences like (1) and (2),

(1a) To come was very kind of you.
(1b) It was very kind of you to come.

(2a) That John will find gold is certain.
(2b) It is certain that John will find gold.

both traditional grammar and modern syntactic theory have widely assumed a rule of Extraposition whereby the dependent clause is shifted rightwards and the expletive pronoun *it* is inserted preverbally to fill the vacated slot. Thus Jespersen: "when for some reason or another it is not convenient to put a content-clause in the ordinary place of the subject, object, etc., the clause is placed at the end in extraposition and is represented in the body of the sentence itself by *it*" (*MEG* Part III: 2.1₃). This view, reformulated in various forms by transformational theory (cf. Ross 1967 and Rosenbaum 1967, for two early accounts), has also been endorsed in a number of studies on historical syntax, such as Warner (1982: 78 ff), Cusack (1982), or my own "Finite Complement Clauses in Shakespeare's English" (1990: 9)[23]. It must be admitted, however, that, whether or not such an analysis may prove justified for PE, it does not square well with the evidence from earlier

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[23] A very different analysis is that put forward by Lightfoot (1979: 147) for late ME. He assumes that subject-clauses are base-generated at the end of the matrix clause in rightmost position rather than in deep structure subject position, and then moved by intraposition. For PE, another well-known proposal is Jan Koster's 'satellite hypothesis' (1978: 57 ff); so-called subject clauses are held to be satellite (i.e. 'topicalized') clauses "binding the (phonologically zero) NP subject of the main sentence", as in the related PE structure *my father, he won't come today*.

periods, since, as is well known, sentences of the *b*-type considerably pre-date those of the *a*-type (cf. generally Mitchell 1985: I, 1537 /II, 1950, 1963; also Stockwell 1977: 309-10), and have remained far more common than these throughout the history of English.[24] It is even plausible that the pattern *Subject Clause VP* may have been reached only via the intermediate stage represented by (3) and (4) below, in which the complement clause receives front position through some form of topicalization or left-dislocation, and is recapitulated by *it, that* or another pronominal.[25] Like *b*-type sentences, such structures seem to be recorded already in OE, that is, earlier than the pre-verbal type without resumptive pronoun, and continue in use until well into the Early Modern period (cf. the two Shakespearian instances quoted as (5) and (6)).[26] Their gradual disappearance in the course of the seventeenth century was probably assisted by the growing competition of *a*-type structures, which had by then become firmly established.

(3) *O.E. Gospels*, Mk. 12, 33 lufigean his nehstan swa hine sylfne *thaet* is mare eallum onsaegdnyssum
'to love his neighbour as he loves himself, *that* is greater than any sacrifice' (quoted from Visser II: section 898)[27]

(4) c1200 *Proverbs of Alfred* (ed. South) 89 His sedes to sowe, his medes to mowen, His Plowes to driven... *This* is the cnihtes lage (quoted from Visser II: section 901)

(5) *Wint* 4.4.6 Sir, my gracious lord, /To chide at your extremes *it* not becomes me-

(6) *ibid* 3.2.184 That thou betrayed'st Polixenes, *'twas* nothing. /That did but show thee, of a fool, inconstant, /And damnable ingrateful.

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[24] For data on PE usage see in particular Mair (1990: 22 ff).

[25] The existence of this sub-pattern seems to lend strong support to Jan Koster's 'satellite hypothesis', as outlined in note 23 above.

[26] Apparently, they are still normal usage in contemporary spoken English; cf. Mair (1990: 56).

[27] See also Mitchell (1985: section 1950) for two instances with dependent questions conforming to this same pattern. For Middle and Early Modern English examples, cf. Visser (I: 57; II: 953-54, 956), Cusack (1982).

In the following pages, therefore, the term 'extraposition' will generally be avoided, at least in connection with subject clauses. These will be referred to as being either 'pre-verbal' or 'post-verbal', and this latter type, which in the corpus greatly outnumbers the former (= 81 ex. as against only 28 pre-verbal subject infinitives), will be assumed to be the unmarked one.

6.1.1.1 Factors controlling the position of subject clauses

As noted in the previous section, infinitives in subject position (i.e. pre-verbally) did not occur in OE, except marginally in texts influenced by Latin (cf. Mitchell 1985: I, 1537).[28] They gradually came into use in the course of ME, and were firmly established by EMODE, though even then they remained far less common than the post-verbal type, as is obvious from the corpus and from other contemporary evidence. Cf. in this connection Ando (1976: 493 ff), who records only 14 pre-verbal subject infinitives, out of a total of 108 in Marlowe's works.

Generally speaking, the choice between the pre- and post-verbal type of subject infinitive is intimately connected with the thematic organization of the sentence, as is also largely the case in PE.[29] Thus, pre-verbal clauses tend to contain given information, and to be linked to the preceding context by anaphoric references of various kinds:

(7) *Wint* 3.3.121 We *are lucky*, boy, and to be *so* still requires nothing but secrecy

(8) *Lear* 1.224 A still soliciting eye, and such a tongue /As I am glad I *have not*, though *not to have it* /Hath lost me in your liking
Cf. also *Rom* 3.2.122, *Wiv* 3.5.138, *Lear* 20.97, 21.4, 21.9, *Wint* 1.2.58, 4.2.18, etc.

In a frequent type, the clause is loosely bound to what precedes it by the relativization of the infinitive object. This construction, which is literary and

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[28] Visser's remark in Part II (section 901) about "the frequent occurrence" of pre-verbal infinitives in OE is clearly incorrect, as all the evidence available from this period well testifies.

[29] On PE usage, see in particular Huddleston (1971: 176 ff) and Mair (1990: 32 ff).

formal, has a continuative,[30] cohesive, function, and always appears in association with a whole battery of grammatical devices making for syntactic complexity; the resulting sentences, long and often difficult to decode, constitute a mark of the elaborate style of the late plays, in particular of *The Winter's Tale*:

> (9) *Lear* 1.212 Sure, her offence /Must be of such unnatural degree /That monsters it, or your fore-vouched affections /Fall'n into taint; *which to believe of her* /Must be a faith that reason without miracle /Could never plant in me.

> (10) *Wint* 1.2.330 Dost think I am so muddy, so unsettled, /To appoint myself in this vexation? /Sully the purity and whiteness of my sheets- /*Which to preserve* is sleep, which being spotted /Is goads, thorns, nettles, tails of wasps- /Give scandal to the blood o'th' prince, my son- /Who I do think is mine, and love as mine- /Without ripe moving to't?

> (11) *ibid* 3.2.66 For Polixenes, /With whom I am accused, I do confess /I loved him as in honour he required; / (...) with a love, even such, /So, and no other, as yourself commanded; /*Which not to have done* I think had been in me /Both disobedience and ingratitude /To you and toward your friend, whose love had spoke /Even since it could speak, from an infant, freely /That it was yours.

> For other similar instances, cf. citation (12) in section 7.1 below, and *Wint* 1.2.24, 1.2.285.

Though the selection of a pre- or post-verbal subject infinitive thus correlates, to a large extent, with the variable 'given' vs. 'new' information, this general principle can at times be overridden by the so-called principle of 'end-weight,[31] that is, the tendency for long, or 'heavy', units

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[30] Though the term 'continuative' itself is Jespersen's, the Shakespearian construction we are discussing has no exact parallels among those he lists in *MEG* (Part III: 5.4$_1$) under the heading 'Continuative Relatives' (i.e. structures literary in tone, and often replaceable by "a separate sentence", such as *Canynge stretches out the letter, which Twisden hands to Dancy*).

[31] For discussion of this in relation to PE, cf. Huddleston (1971: 176ff; 1984: 451 ff); Quirk et al. (1985: 18.9 ff).

to come late in the sentence, and for short predicates in absolute end position to be avoided. At its most obvious, the search for end-weight accounts for the obligatory post-position of the subject infinitive in those cases (= 7 in all) in which the predicative complement or another constituent of the matrix clause have been topicalized and given front position:

> (12) *Lear* 20.12 *How fearful /And dizzy* 'tis to cast one's eyes so low!

> (13) *Wiv* 3.5.131 *This* 'tis to be married! *This* 'tis to have linen and buck-baskets!

> (14) *Wint* 2.1.162 and *more* it would content me /To have her honour true than your suspicion,
> Cf. also *Wiv* 2.2.184, 5.1.25, *Lear* 4.283.

The same principle can be seen at work in other instances. Thus, in (15) below, the content of the subject infinitive is given, and the informationally new material is contained in the predicate, yet, since this is considerably shorter, the pattern with post-position has been preferred (not to mention, of course, the role that prosodic factors of various sorts may also have played).

> (15) *Rom* 2.2.34 **Romeo.** Good morrow, father.
> **Friar Laurence.** *Benedicite.*
> What early tongue so sweet saluteth me?
> Young son, it argues a distempered head
> *So soon to bid good morrow to thy bed.*

The postposing of the infinitive in the sentences with continuative *which* cited below can be explained in the same way. Otherwise this relative construction seems to favour the pattern illustrated by (9)-(11) above, i.e. with pre-verbal infinitive (6 ex. in all), as might have been expected given its cohesive function:

> (16) *Wint* 1.2.395 I beseech you, /If you know aught *which* does behove my knowledge /*Thereof to be informed*, imprison't not /In ignorant concealment.

(17) *ibid* 4.4.239 He hath paid you all he promised you. Maybe he has paid you more, *which* will shame you *to give him again*.

(18) *ibid* 5.2.57 I never heard of such another encounter, *which* lames report *to follow it*, and undoes description *to do it*.
(*do* = 'express, do justice to')

6.1.2 Extraposition in relation to other classes of clause

With verbs subcategorizing a predicative complement of the object (e.g. 'I thought his idea *wise*') or a predication adjunct ('he stood the argument *on its head*'), the normal position for an object clause has been, at all stages of English, to the right of the sentence; cf. Visser (I: 472 ff, II: 975 ff), Warner (1982: 79) and (19)-(20) below. However, whereas in PE the dummy pronoun *it* anticipating the clause has become mandatory, its absence was formerly allowed, even as late as the sixteenth century. Ando (1976: 514), for instance, reports that in Marlowe the structures with and without *it* are evenly divided. Cf. (19) for an example of the latter kind:

(19) Marlowe *Lucan's Pharsalia* 176 And deem'd renowne to spoile their natiue towne

By comparison with Marlowe's usage, the incidence in the corpus of expletive *it* is considerably higher, and thus closer to the Present-day English norm, since it is present in 7 out of 8 cases; cf. (20)-(21) for two instances with *it*, (22) for the one without it:

(20) *Wint* 4.2.48 p from whose simplicity I think it not uneasy to get the cause of my son's resort thither.

(21) *Lear* 7.142 My sister may receive it much more worse /To have her gentlemen abused, assaulted

(22) *Wint* 4.1.3 [I] /Now take upon me in the name of Time /To use my wings.
Cf. section 7.5 below for other examples of this construction.

A clause in restrictive apposition to a NP can also occur separated from this, as in (23)-(24):

(23) *Rom* 2.5.25 Ah, Juliet, if the measure of thy joy /Be heaped like mine, and that *thy skill* be more /To blazon it, then sweeten with thy breath /This neighbour air

(24) *Wint* 5.1.216 Though fortune, visible an enemy, /Should chase us with my father, *power no jot* /Hath she *to change our loves*.
Cf. also *Lear* 3.15, 7.165, *Rom* 2.0.11, *Wint* 1.2.29.

However, it seems clear that in this respect infinitives are less mobile than finite clauses and tend to immediately follow their head nouns, except in 6 cases (out of a total of 68 infinitives in apposition); by contrast, one third (9 out of 28) of the appositive finite clauses in the corpus were extraposed (cf. Fanego 1990: I, 18-19). Moreover, while extraposed infinitives are restricted to verse, and thus appear to be stylistically marked, extraposed finite complements occur with greater freedom, since 5 clauses out of the figure of 9 mentioned above are found in prose passages, such as the following:

(25) *Lear* 13.42 I here take *my oath* before this honourable assembly *she kicked the poor King her father*.
Cf. also *Lear* 12.2, *Wiv* 1.3.47, 3.3.168, *Wint* 4.4.327.

6.1.3 Summary

a) As in PE, subject infinitives in post-verbal position greatly outnumber those occurring pre-verbally. The choice between one and the other type is related to thematic factors, in that pre-verbal infinitives tend to contain given information, and to be anaphorically related to the preceding context. However, just like in PE, this general principle sometimes conflicts with the so-called principle of 'end-weight', whereby a clause whose content is given can nevertheless be postposed to prevent the sentence from concluding with a short predicate. The interaction between these two opposing tendencies is clearly seen at work in the case of the continuative relative construction discussed on pp. 61-62 and 63-64 above.

b) The pronoun *it* is regularly found anticipating post-verbal subject clauses. In object position, the use of *it* to anticipate an extraposed object clause (cf. p. 64) is also widespread, though occasional exceptions can still be found.

c) Extraposition from NP is much less frequent with infinitives than with finite clauses, a fact which suggests that appositional infinitives were felt to be more intimately connected with their head nouns or NPs.

6.2 Tough Movement

This section will briefly examine the grammar of corpus constructions of the type *John is easy to please* or *Mary is hard to convince,* in which the subject of the main clause is identified with the understood object of the infinitive, as becomes clear in the impersonal paraphrases *it is easy to please John, it is hard to convince Mary,* etc. (hence the label Obj-to-Subj Raising applied to such structures in early generative approaches).[32] As is well known, the pattern is an old one in English (cf. Mitchell 1985: I, 930; van der Wurff 1987, 1990), being chiefly associated today with a few adjectives that express a comment or evaluation on the complement proposition, such as *convenient, difficult, nice, pleasant,* etc., and with related nominal expressions such as *(be) a fun,* or *(be) a joy.* However, for some hitherto unexplained reason, Tough Movement occurs much less freely with verbal predicates expressing similar shades of meaning (e.g. *please, gall,* etc.), and seems in fact to be restricted to the verb *take* and its synonyms *cost, require* and *need*; witness the following examples adduced by Mair (1990: 60 ff):

(26) *This sudden change in your behaviour pleases me to see.

(27) *Such things galled him to hear.

(28) The questionnaire should not take/ need/ require more than ten minutes to complete.

From a historical point of view, the only substantial analyses of Tough Movement to date are those by van der Wurff (1987, 1990) on Old and Middle English. Though he deals chiefly with the adjectival type, he also calls attention to the following related pattern with *be to,* now obsolete but of very frequent occurrence in Old, Middle and Early Modern English:

(29) c1425 *Metr. Paraphr. Old Test.* III (Ohlander) 13836 Now... *is forto tell* how god to men musters his myʒt.
(quoted from Visser III/1: section 1374)

(30) c1440 Palladius *On Husbandry* 2, 22 The fenny feeld is not forto plowe.
(quoted from Visser III/1: section 1384)

(31) *Lear* 22.33 Combine together 'gainst the enemy; /For these domestic poor particulars /*Are not to question* here.

In both (30) and (31), as in *John is easy to please* and other sentences of the same description, it looks as if the object of the infinitive had been 'promoted' to the status of matrix subject. Semantically, *be to* is also similar to other predicates allowing Tough Movement, since it encodes aspects of the speaker's attitude to or evaluation of a proposition or event.

If we now turn to Tough Movement constructions in the corpus, the straightforward types with adjectival predicates and with *be to* are of course well represented. In all, there occur 4 instances with adjectives, and 6 with *be to*:

(32) *Rom* 2.1.105 The orchard walls are high and *hard to climb,*[33]

(33) *Wint* 1.1.59 To be your prisoner should import offending, /Which is for me *less easy to commit* /Than you to punish.
Cf. also quotations (44) and (45) below.

(34) *Lear* 2.41 p **Gloucester.** Give me the letter, sir.
Edmund. I shall offend either to detain or give it. The contents, as in part I understand them, *are to blame.*
Cf. for other instances with *be to,* *Rom* 2.1.171, 3.5.169; *Lear* 7.153; *Wint* 5.3.140.

Outside the corpus nominal predicates can also be found, as in (35):

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[32] For accounts of the construction in PE see Huddleston (1971: 161 ff), Chomsky (1977), Nanni (1980), Badecker (1987) and Mair (1990: 57 ff). Also worthy of mention are the treatments by Jespersen (*MEG* Part III: 11.6) and Bolinger (1961).

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[33] Somewhat arbitrarily, structures such as these have been considered as instances of adjective complementation, and so further dealt with in section 7.7 below; on the other hand, all the remaining cases of Tough Movement discussed in these pages have been included among the subject infinitives (section 7.1.4).

(35) *Antony* 5.2.298 He'll make demand of her, and spend that kiss /Which is *my heaven to have.*

Finally, in addition to such more or less commonplace structures, the plays provide a number of instances where the matrix predicate is a verb other than *be to*:

(36) *Lear* 22.72 **Edmund.** (...) As for his (i.e. Albany's) mercy /Which he intends to Lear and to Cordelia, /The battle done, and they within our power, /Shall never see his pardon, for my state /*Stands on me to defend, not to debate.*

Note: the 1623 Folio edition punctuates /*Shall never see his pardon: for my state, /Stands on me,* etc., as though *for* = 'as for', 'with respect to', the whole sequence thus meaning, roughly: 'as for my state, [it] behoves me to defend it, etc.'

Stand (up)on = 'behove, be incumbent on'. Cf. OED *Stand* v. 74.1, 78.q, and compare *Richard III* 4.2.60 "it stands me much upon /To stop all hopes whose growth may damage me."

(37) *Lear* 12.2 **Edmund** (to Cornwall). How, my lord, I may be censured, that nature thus gives way to loyalty, something *fears me to think of.*

i.e. 'it somewhat frightens me to think, my lord, of how I may be judged (= *censured*), [of how it may be judged] that my natural feelings as a son (= *nature*) thus give way to loyalty to you'. For *fear* = 'frighten', see OED *Fear* v. I.1.[34]

(38) *Wint* 4.4.239 He hath paid you all he promised you. Maybe he has paid you more, which will *shame you to give him again.*
For the impersonal use of the verb *shame*, cf. *Richard II* 4.1.221 "Would it not shame thee in so fair a troop /To read a lecture of them?"
Cf. quotations (47)-(49) below for other instances of the same type.

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[34] Further details on the complex syntax of this passage will be found in Fanego (1990: I, 17-18).

Since Tough Movement with verbal predicates is now only marginal, as was pointed out above, it would be tempting to dismiss the preceding examples as idiosyncratic Shakespearian usage. Yet the fact that parallel constructions can be found in other authors from the period suggests that in EMODE Tough Movement could in fact occur with verbs more extensively than at present, and was probably available with any type of predicate, whether adjectival, nominal, or verbal, provided it was of the appropriate semantic class; that is, provided it expressed some form of comment or evaluation. Witness the following examples:

(39) Spenser *Faerie Queene* II.2.11.9 By other accident that earst befell, /He is conuaide, but *how or where, here fits not tell.*

(40) Dryden *Life of Lucian* 77 I will not here take notice of the several kinds of dialogue, and the whole art of it, *which would ask an entire volume to perform*

(41) Dryden *Preface to Cleomenes* 220 no French poet would have allowed them any more than a bare relation of that scene, *which debases a tragedy to show upon the stage.*
Cf. Söderlind (1958: II, 64) for further examples in Dryden.

In some of these quotations, such as those containing the relative *which* in its continuative use[35] (i.e. (40), (41), and (38) above), Tough Movement is clearly intended to provide direct syntactic linkage with the preceding context, a common function of this construction since Old English times (cf. van der Wurff 1990; Mair 1990). In a few other cases, the structures resulting from Tough Movement closely resemble instances of topicalization, and may, indeed, have originated as such.[36] Thus, from examples like (36), (37) or (39), it would appear that, when for some reason or other it was desirable to bring into focus the infinitive object, this could then be moved frontward, so yielding sequences which are not always easy to distinguish from the type of structure with a topicalized adverbial represented by (42) and (43) below:

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[35] On this cf. section 6.1.1.1 above.

[36] Interestingly enough, Chomsky's 1977 analysis of Tough Movement is very similar to the one he proposes for Topicalization.

(42) *Twelfth* 3.3.40 In the south suburbs *at the Elephant* /Is best to lodge.

(43) *Per* 5.25 And that *in Tarsus* was not best /Longer for him to make his rest.

Though by EMODE subjectivalization was practically universal, examples such as these showed greater resistance to the insertion of anticipatory *it*, doubtlessly because the fronted adverbial somehow served to 'fill' the vacant slot in front of the main verb. That some of the sentences with Tough Movement mentioned above may have been apprehended as instances of the same pattern seems clear when one considers, for instance, the punctuation of the Spenser example given as (39), or quotation (36) as punctuated in the Folio:

(36b) *Lear* 22.73 for my state, /Stands on me to defend, not to debate.

Needless to say, the above comments do not apply to all the examples of Tough Movement cited in this section, for it is obvious that some were more highly grammaticized than others. A case in point are those with adjectival predicates and with *be to*, both of which represent a type going back to OE, and thus so firmly established by the Early Modern Period as to often admit a passive infinitive;[37] in such cases, the connection with the original extraposed infinitival subject clause becomes tenuous and the 'moved' object behaves in every respect as a genuine surface subject:

(44) *Lear* 10.10 I have received a letter this night -'tis dangerous to be spoken-

(45) *Wint* 4.4.720 p Your names? Your ages? Of what having, breeding, and anything that is fitting to be known, discover.

(46) *ibid* 5.3.140 Though hast found mine (= 'my wife'), /But how is to be questioned, for I saw her, /As I thought, dead,

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[37] This has been on record since ME; cf. Visser (II: section 940, III/1: section 1384). Also Mitchell (1985: I, 752, 929, 942).

By contrast, less common forms of Tough Movement, such as those with verbs other than *be to* cited above, can even admit a resumptive pronoun that marks the position from which the object has moved, and thus helps to clarify the (often rather opaque) sentence structure:[38]

(47) *Wint* 1.2.395 I beseech you, /If you know aught *which* does behove my knowledge /*Thereof* to be informed, imprison't not /In ignorant concealment.

(48) *ibid* 5.2.57 I never heard of such another encounter, *which* lames report to follow *it*, and undoes description to do *it*.
i.e. '... such another encounter, to follow which lames report, and to express (= *do*) which undoes description.'

The following passage is usually interpreted as one of Bottom's characteristic lapses,[39] and may have been so intended by Shakespeare, though, strictly speaking, it resembles closely the two just cited:

(49) *Mids* 1.2.66 Let me play the lion too. I will roar that *I* will do any man's heart good to hear *me*.

To summarize thus far, it seems from the evidence adduced in this section that, by comparison with Early Modern English usage, there are

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[38] With this may be compared the OE relativization strategy whereby a 'shadow' pronoun occurring within the relative clause itself marked the position of the relativized NP:
Eadig bith se wer the *his* tohopa bith to God
'blessed is the man that *his* hope is in God'
i.e. 'blessed is the man *whose* hope is in God'
Isolated instances of a similar strategy can be found in Shakespeare, obviously to clarify a long, complex relative construction:
Wint 5.1.135 **Leontes** (to Florizel). (...) and then I lost ... the society, /Amity too, of your brave father, *whom,* /Though bearing misery, I desire my life /Once more to look on *him*.
i.e. '... your brave father, whom, although my life is full of misery, I want to go on living in order to see once again'

[39] Cf., for instance, Jespersen's comments in *MEG* (III: 11.6_6): "Note the confusion in Sh Mids 1.2.72 'I will roare that I will doe any mans heart good to heare me': if Bottom had here omitted *me*, his sentence would have been of the type just exemplified (i.e. with Tough Movement); or he might instead of *I* have said *it*". Bolinger (1961: 373) voices a similar opinion.

today greater restrictions on the use of Tough Movement, at least with verbal predicates. Some of the examples cited above would now only become possible through the insertion of anticipatory *it* as grammatical subject, so assimilating the whole sequence to a straightforward one with postposed infinitive; thus, the modern version of (38) above would read

> (38b) Maybe he has paid you more, which *it* will shame you to give him again.

So far, I have come across no Shakespearian instances of this pattern, and this of course suggests that it was only in the course of the seventeenth century, or perhaps even later, that verbal predicates were, for some reason or other, barred from use in Tough Movement structures. Why this ever happened, and exactly when, is a question that surely deserves further investigation, in particular considering that Tough Movement with verbs was formerly by no means exceptional, as is clear from the corpus, where it occurs 12 times (6 with *be to*, and 6 with other verbal predicates), as against only 4 times with adjectives.

7 INFINITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE CORPUS

7.1 Subject clauses (109 ex.)

Percentage in corpus: 14.85% [40]

The above percentage is practically identical with that obtaining for finite clauses in the same function, which came to 14.72% (cf. Fanego 1990: I, 7). However, an important difference is that the distribution of subject infinitives among the individual plays is not even, for *The Winter's Tale* alone contains almost half the total number; on the most likely explanation for this, cf. 7.1.6 below.

Table 5. Distribution of subject infinitives.

	Rom		*Wiv*		*Lear*		*Wint*		TOTAL
	P	V	P	V	P	V	P	V	
preposed	2	1	2	-	1	8	3	11	28
postposed	1	12	9	-	3	18	10	28	81
TOTAL	3	13	11	-	4	26	13	39	109

As will have been clear from our discussion in chapter 5 of the **for NP to-Inf / NP to-Inf** constructions, infinitives with an overt subject constitute the exception. This means that, for the most part, the subject argument of infinitives in subject function must be recovered from some element in the matrix clause (cf. (1)-(2)), or in the previous linguistic context:

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[40] Henceforth, all percentages are exclusive of coordinated infinitives.

(1) *Wint* 1.2.363 To do't, or no, is certain *to me* a breakneck.

(2) *ibid* 3.1.25 it shall scarce boot *me* /To say 'Not guilty'

(3) *Wiv* 3.5.108 And then to be stopped in, like a strong distillation, with stinking clothes (...) Think of that *-a man of my kidney-* think of that (...) It was a miracle *to scape suffocation.*

A third, if less common (only 19 ex. noted), possibility is for the infinitive clause to have a more generic interpretation, its subject then being indefinite, as in (4) and (5) below. All three alternatives are also available today, so that there seems to be no difference in this area of grammar between PE and EMODE.

(4) *Lear* 7.247 If only to go warm were gorgeous, /Why, nature needs not what thou, gorgeous, wearest, /Which scarcely keeps thee warm

(5) *Wint* 1.2.137 they say we are /Almost as like as eggs. Women say so, /That will say anything. But were they false (...) yet were it true /To say this boy were like me.

7.1.1 Pre-verbal infinitives: type **to be more thankful to thee shall be my study** *(Wint 4.2.18; 26 ex.)*

On the history of pre-verbal infinitives and the factors controlling their selection in preference to those in post-verbal position, cf. 6.1.1.1 above.

The following are the classes of predicates governing infinitives in pre-verbal position:

I) BE NP/AdjP (13 ex.):

BE A BITING AFFLICTION, *Wiv* 5.5.166 p; BE A BREAK-NECK, *Wint* 1.2.363 (cf. quotation (1) above); BE BOTH DISOBEDIENCE AND INGRATITUDE, *Wint* 3.2.66 (cf. example (11) in 6.1.1.1); BE NO GOOD DIVINITY, *Lear* 20.97 "To say 'ay' and 'no' to everything I said, 'ay' and 'no' too was no good divinity"; BE A FAITH 'be a belief', *Lear* 1.212

(quoted in 6.1.1.1 as (9)); BE SIN, *Wint* 1.2.285; BE SLEEP, *Wint* 1.2.330 (cf. 6.1.1.1, example (10)); BE ONE'S STUDY, *Wint* 4.2.18 p; BE A WHIP, *Wint* 1.2.24 "My affairs /Do even drag me homeward; which to hinder /Were, in your love, a whip to me"; BE GORGEOUS, *Lear* 7.427 (cf. (4) above); BE NECESSARY, *Wint* 4.4.671 p; BE STRONG, *Wint* 1.2.34.

In the following passage, which illustrates the rhetorical figure *syllepsis* ('one verb serving a number of clauses'; cf. Sister Miriam Joseph 1947: 58), the infinitive is to be supplied from the form *rip* in the line before:

(6) *Lear* 20.253 /To know our enemies' minds we'd rip their hearts; /*Their papers is more lawful.*
i.e. '*to rip* their papers...'

II) BE + clausal predicative (5 ex.):

In constructions of this type, the second clause usually expresses a characterization of the first, and tends to be, in PE at least, another infinitive clause (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 15.11). This also applies to the following corpus instances:

(7) *Rom* 1.1.8 To move is *to stir*, and to be valiant is *to stand*, therefore if thou art moved, thou runn'st away.

The remaining examples, however, do not conform to this pattern, being asymmetrical in various ways; thus in (8) asymmetry results from the use of syllepsis (compare (6) above), while in (9) the anomalous reduction of the predicative clause seems intended to reflect Juliet's agitation of mind:

(8) *Lear* 21.4 **Cordelia.** O thou good Kent, /How shall I live and work to match thy goodness? (...)
Kent. To be acknowledged, madam, is *o'erpaid.*
i.e. 'is [to be] overpaid'

(9) *Rom* 3.2.122 **Juliet.** 'Tybalt is dead, and Romeo banishèd.'
That 'banishèd', that one word 'banishèd'
Hath slain ten thousand Tybalts (...)
Why followed not, when she said 'Tybalt's dead',

'Thy father', or 'thy mother', nay, or both (...)?
'Romeo is banishèd' -to speak that word
Is *father, mother, Tybalt, Romeo, Juliet,*
All slain, all dead.

i.e. 'is [to speak that] father, mother, etc. [are] all slain, all dead'.

The last instance of the type under discussion -which is quoted below as (10)- has been interpreted by J. P. Thorne (1971: 56-7) as one of the linguistic oddities that serve to mark Leontes' madness during the first three acts of *The Winter's Tale*: "sentences with a nominalisation on either side of the verb *to be* are, of course, well-formed, but it is unusual to find such a sentence where one nominalisation is an infinitive and the other a participle. That is to say, what one would expect to find is either, 'To mingle friendship far is to mingle bloods,' or, alternatively, 'mingling friendship far is mingling bloods.' But either emendation destroys the dramatic point of the line. As it stands the awkwardness of the syntax serves to underline the absurdity of the claim Leontes is making. The asymmetry of the phrases on either side of the copula draws attention to how forced is the identification that Leontes is making in this identity statement."

(10) *Wint* 1.2.111 **Leontes** (alluding to Hermione and Polixenes).
Too hot, too hot: to mingle friendship farre (*sic*) is mingling bloods. /I have *tremor cordis* on me.

Thorne's views on this passage are ingenious, but the influence of prosodic factors on the choice of the participle *mingling* must not be underrated, for a second infinitive would have destroyed the line's metre. Also, it should be borne in mind that, on the whole, earlier English seems to have been more receptive than PE to a number of asymmetrical constructions, and often freely combined infinitival and participial forms; cf. Jespersen (*MEG* Part V: 11.2$_6$), Visser (II: 952), and witness (11), where the *-ing* participle alternates with the infinitive in a passage which appears to be quite neutral stylistically:

(11) *Wint* 4.2.2 **Polixenes.** I pray thee, good Camillo, be no more importunate. 'Tis a sickness *denying thee anything*, a death *to grant this.*

III) The matrix verb is other than BE (8 ex.):

BECOME, *Lear* 24.32 "men /Are as the time is. To be tender-minded /Does not become a sword"; EXASPERATE, *Lear* 23.63; IMPORT, *Wint* 1.2.60 "To be your prisoner should import offending, /Which is for me less easy to commit /Than you to punish"; LOSE 'ruin', *Lear* 1.224 (cf. 6.1.1.1, example (8)); MAKE, *Wiv* 3.5.138 p "Though what I am I cannot avoid, yet to be what I would not shall not make me tame"; REQUIRE, *Wint* 3.3.121 p (cf. 6.1.1.1, example (7)); SHORTEN, *Lear* 21.9.

The following passage is characteristic of Leontes' involved manner of speech during his period of frenzied jealousy; note the fondness for subordinate and parenthetical clauses, the use of the continuative relative construction referred to in section 6.1.1.1 above, and the syntactic compression achieved by means of clause reduction (e.g. *like to itself* = 'as a brat should be cast out', *no father owning it*) and by the intransitive use of verbs generally transitive, like *concern* or *avail*:

(12) *Wint* 3.2.85 **Leontes** (to Hermione). As you were past all shame-
Those of your fact are so- so past all truth;
Which to deny concerns more than avails; for as
Thy brat hath been cast out, like to itself,
No father owning it -which is indeed
More criminal in thee than it- so thou
Shalt feel our justice,
(line 85 means, roughly, 'to deny this is of more importance to you than will be of any good to you'. On this intransitive use of CONCERN, which is only recorded in Shakespeare, cf. OED *Concern* v. 4.b)

7.1.2 Other subject infinitives in pre-verbal position: type **To chide at your extremes it not becomes me** *(*Wint *4.4.6; 2 ex.)*

As noted in section 6.1.1, sentences of this form are not rarely met with in Old, Middle and Early Modern English. They bear a strong resemblance to modern left-dislocated constructions, such as *John, he's very*

popular, in which the noun phrase *John* is disjoined from the grammar of the sentence, its role as subject being performed by the following pronoun. Though the specific factors controlling the use of such left-dislocated clauses in earlier stages of English are not well known, it is usually assumed that they served "either to help the speaker control the sentence-structure or to give emphasis" (Mitchell 1985: I, 606). In addition, as we suggested in 6.1, they may have been transitional to the modern pattern without resumptive pronoun *Subject Clause VP.* Since by EMODE this was already well established, there was little justification for the old construction with left dislocation to continue in existence, hence its low incidence in the corpus. Of the two instances that can still be found, (13) appears to be prompted merely by metrical factors, while in (14) the recapitulatory pronoun is closer to its original function: giving emphasis and helping to bring together the threads of a long, complex subject:

(13) *Wint* 4.4.6 Sir my gracious lord,
To chide at your extremes *it* not becomes me-

(14) *ibid* 1.2.120 **Leontes.** But to be paddling palms and pinching fingers,
As now they are, and making practised smiles
As in a looking-glass; and then to sigh, as 'twere
The mort o'th' deer -O, *that* is entertainment
My bosom likes not, nor my brows.

7.1.3 Post-verbal subject infinitives: type **It is my father's music /To speak your deeds** *(*Wint *4.4.519; 68 ex.)*

On the factors determining the selection of the post-verbal type over that in pre-verbal position, cf. 6.1.1.1 above.

The following are the predicates governing post-verbal subject infinitives:

I) BE + NP (24 ex.)

BE ONE'S CARE, *Wint* 4.4.593; (BE) NOT LITTLE OF ONE'S CARE, *Wint* 4.4.520 "It is my father's music /To speak your deeds, not little of his care /To have them recompensed"; BE A GREAT CHARGE, *Wiv*

1.4.97 p; BE DANGER, *Lear* 21.77; BE A DEATH, *Wint* 4.2.3 p; BE ONE'S FITNESS, *Lear* 16.62 "Were't my fitness /To let these hands obey my blood, /They are apt enough to dislocate and tear /Thy flesh and bones"; BE ONE'S FORTUNE, *Wiv* 4.5.44 p; BE A GRIEF, *Rom* 3.3.173; BE A PIECE OF HONESTY, *Wint* 4.4.681 p; BE GREAT IGNORANCE, *Lear* 19.10; BE ONE'S FIRST INTENT, *Lear* 1.40 "'tis our first intent /To shake all cares and business off our state/"; BE A MIRACLE, *Wiv* 3.5.108 p; BE ONE'S MUSIC, *Wint* 4.4.519; BE NO NEED, *Rom* 1.3.36; BE NOTHING, *Wint* 4.4.611 p; BE ONE'S OCCUPATION, *Lear* 7.88; BE MUCH PRIDE, *Rom* 1.3.92; BE SIN, *Rom* 3.5.236; BE A DELICATE STRATAGEM, *Lear* 20.173; BE THIS (2 ex.), *Wiv* 3.5.131 p (quoted as (13) in section 6.1.1.1); BE WEAKNESS, *Wint* 2.3.2; BE WHAT, *Wiv* 5.1.25 p "I knew not what 'twas to be beaten till lately"; BE NO WIT, *Rom* 1.4.50.

II) BE + AdjP (16 ex.)

(BE) BETTER (2 ex.), *Wint* 2.3.156, 4.2.12 p; BE MOST IGNOBLY DONE, *Lear* 14.34 "By the kind gods, 'tis most ignobly done, /To pluck me by the beard"; BE EASY, *Wiv* 2.2.184 p; BE AS EASY AS, *Wint* 5.3.94; BE SHREWDLY EBBED, *Wint* 5.1.103 "She had not been /Nor was not to be equalled -thus your verse /Flowed with her beauty once. 'Tis shrewdly ebbed /To say you have seen a better"; BE FEARFUL AND DIZZY, *Lear* 20.12 (cited as (12) in section 6.1.1.1); BE GOOD, *Lear* 7.455; BE NOT HARD, *Rom* 1.2.2; BE LAWFUL, *Wint* 2.2.13; BE LIKE, *Wint* 3.3.10 "go not /Too far i'th' land. 'Tis like to be loud weather/"; BE MOST PITEOUS, *Wint* 2.1.184; BE SAFER, *Wint* 1.2.433; BE SHARPER, *Lear* 4.283; BE TRUE, *Wint* 1.2.137; BE WORSE, *Lear* 7.203.

III) BE + PrepP (5 ex.)

BE IN ONE'S AUTHORITY, *Wint* 1.2.463 "It is in mine authority to command /The keys of all the posterns"; BE IN MAN, *Wint* 4.4.799 p "if it be in man, besides the King, to effect your suits, here is man shall do it"; BE NOT IN ONE 'be unable to', *Lear* 7.332 "Her eyes are fierce, but thine /Do comfort and not burn. 'Tis not in thee /To grudge my pleasures, to cut off my train, /To bandy hasty words"; BE IN ONE'S POWER, *Wint* 4.1.8; BE IN VAIN, *Rom* 2.1.42.

It will be seen that all five instances of this pattern contain *in*-phrases and that, moreover, with the exception of BE IN VAIN, they express modal meanings approaching those of the modal CAN. This semantic specialization of *in*-phrases governing subject infinitives can also be found in Marlowe (cf. Ando 1976: 496), and, to a large extent, in Dryden (cf. Söderlind 1958: II, 10); see also OED *In* prep. IV. 25, 26.

IV) The matrix verb is other than BE (23 ex.)

ANGER, *Rom* 2.1.24; ARGUE, *Rom* 2.2.34 "it argues a distempered head /So soon to bid good morrow to thy bed"; BEHOVE, *Wint* 4.4.253 p "there are cozeners abroad, therefore it behoves men to be wary"; BOOT 'avail', *Wint* 3.2.25 "it shall scarce boot me /To say 'Not guilty'"; CONTENT, *Wint* 2.1.162; DO (in DO SOMEBODY GOOD), *Rom* 2.3.203 p "it would do you good to hear it"; FIT, *Wint* 4.4.296; PLEASE (16), *Wiv* 1.1.246 p, *Lear* 2.80 p, *Wint* 2.2.58, etc. (half the occurrences of PLEASE are in the fossilized courtesy formula *please NP (to)-Inf*, as in *Wint* 2.2.58 "Please you come something nearer". These are the sole instances of post-verbal infinitives in the corpus to lack *it* as anticipatory subject.)

7.1.4 Other subject infinitives in post-verbal position: type **for my state /Stands on me to defend, not to debate** *(Lear 22.72; 13 ex.)*

For discussion of this pattern, cf. section 6.2 above. The matrix predicates involved are the following:

BE TO (7 ex.), *Rom* 2.1.171, 3.5.169, *Lear* 2.41 p, 7.153, 22.33, *Wint* 4.4.695 p, 5.3.140 (these last two examples both with passive infinitives); BEHOVE, *Wint* 1.2.395; FEAR 'frighten', *Lear* 12.2 p; LAME *Wint* 5.2.57 p; SHAME, *Wint* 4.4.239; STAND ON 'behove, be incumbent on', *Lear* 22.73; UNDO, *Wint* 5.2.57 p.

7.1.5 Predicative clauses (9 ex.)

Percentage in corpus: 1.27%

As the corresponding finite type (on which see Fanego 1990: I, 14), this is a most infrequent category of clause in the corpus, its grammar being in no way remarkable. It regularly appears in association with the copula BE, to which the following NPs and clauses serve as subjects:

I) NPs (6 ex.)

MY CARE, *Rom* 3.5.178; MY LAST GOOD DEED, *Wint* 1.2.99; THE GOOD HUMOUR, *Wiv* 1.3.25 p "The good humour is to steal at a minute's rest"; THE OBSEQUIES 'funeral rites', *Rom* 5.3.17 "/The obsequies that I for thee will keep /Nightly shall be to strew thy grave and weep/"; YOUR STUDY, *Lear* 1.268 "Let your study /Be to content your lord, who hath received you /At fortune's alms"; THE BEST WAY, *Wiv* 2.1.63 p.

II) Infinitive clauses (2 ex.)

Cf. quotation (7) in section 7.1.1 above.

III) Nominal relative clauses (1 ex.)

(15) *Wint* 4.4.663 What I do next shall be to tell the King /Of his escape

On this type of pseudo-cleft construction, which appears to be first recorded in the sixteenth century, cf. Visser (II: section 918).

7.1.6 The semantics of subject clauses and predicative clauses

With very few exceptions, corpus infinitives functioning as subject or predicative are arguments to commentative predicates, as defined in Noonan (1985: 116 ff); that is, those providing "a comment on the complement proposition that takes the form of an emotional reaction or evaluation (...) or a judgement". Examples answering this description include BE A BITING AFFLICTION, BE SIN, BE GORGEOUS, and so on, with up to 92 others, out of a total of 118 predicates taking subject and predicative infinitives. The trend for commentatives to predominate so markedly with these two categories of clause can also be discerned with finite clauses in the same function, as I have shown elsewhere (cf. Fanego 1990: II, 132), and is largely a consequence of the preference detected across languages to code subjective reactions, evaluations and comments in the form of nominal or adjectival

predicates (which usually operate, at the syntactic level, within copular sentences or clauses).

It will now be clear that the high incidence of subject infinitives (52 ex.) in *The Winter's Tale*, noted at the beginning of section 7.1 above, is basically a consequence of this general tendency for comments and judgements to surface as nouns or adjectives. The high emotional intensity for which this Shakespearian play is notorious is reflected at the linguistic level in the frequent use of evaluative expressions, and hence of subject infinitives. Practically all of the central characters produce them in their speeches at various points: Leontes (10 ex. in all, 9 of them during his period of frenzied jealousy; cf. 1.2.111, 120, 136, 330, 433, 2.1.184, 2.3.1, 2.3.156, and 3.2.85), Camillo (5 ex.), Hermione (4), Paulina (3) and several others. For specific instances, see quotations (10), (11) and (14) in section 6.1, (1), (2), (10), (11), (12), (13) and (14) in this section, and the lists of predicates on pp. 72-73, 75 and 76-79.

Next to commentatives, modal predicates (15 ex. in all) constitute the only semantic class of any importance with infinitive clauses functioning as subject or predicative.[41] Like commentatives themselves, modals are often subjective, since they encode aspects of a speaker's attitude to or evaluation of a proposition or event; witness such examples of modal predicates in the corpus as BE LIKE 'be likely' (*Wint* 3.3.10), BE NECESSARY (*Wint* 4.4.671), BE NO NEED (*Rom* 1.3.36), BE TO (7 ex.; cf. section 7.1.4), REQUIRE (*Wint* 3.3.121), and, lastly, the several sequences with BE + *in*-phrase discussed in 7.1.3.III above.

7.2 Surface pattern V (to)Inf

Percentage in corpus: 29.29%

Together with the surface sequence to be considered in the next section, this is undoubtedly one of the most difficult areas of English

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[41] The only matrix predicates which do not seem to be readily assignable to either the modal or commentative classes are BE A FAITH (*Lear* 1.212), BE ONE'S STUDY (*Wint* 4.2.18, *Lear* 1.268), IMPORT 'signify, show' (*Wint* 1.2.58), MAKE TAME (*Wiv* 3.5.138 p), BE ONE'S FIRST INTENT (*Lear* 1.40), and ARGUE (*Rom* 2.2.34).

grammar, and despite a great deal of intensive study over the last few decades, there remains much disagreement over quite basic aspects of the analysis. Generally speaking, it has become traditional to distinguish between a class of catenatives symbolized by *appear* or *seem*, and the larger class including items such as *intend, want,* or *expect*. Whereas it is intuitively clear that with the latter verbs there exists a direct semantic relation between the catenative and the noun phrase preceding it, such that in a sentence like

(1) John wants to go out.

John is both grammatical and notional subject, the situation with *seem* and related predicates is vastly different, as Poustma (1904: 120 ff) and Jespersen (*MEG* III: 11.9_1; V: 19.3_6) first noted. As this latter puts it, in such Modern English sentences as *he happened to fall* there is "a kind of conflict between the grammatical and the logical (or notional) analysis (...) there cannot be the slightest doubt as to the grammatical subject: it is *he*. This determines the person of the verb, as seen by a comparison with sentences like *I happen to fall* (...) But notionally *he* is not the whole subject. We cannot in the usual way ask: 'Who happened?' (...) This shows that the notional subject (...) is a neutral idea, namely really the nexus, in which *he* is the subject-part, and *to fall* the predicate-part. We may express this in an unidiomatic way by saying that the notional subject is *he-to-fall*" (*MEG* III: 11.9_1).

In a later volume (V: 19.3_6), Jespersen proposed the following as a formula for the whole construction

$$_{1/2}S \ V \ _{1/2}S \ \text{(where } S = \text{Subject),}$$

and listed *chance, happen, be certain, be likely, be sure, seem* and *prove* (the last two as doubtful cases) as the predicates taking such split subjects in Modern English. Subsequent treatments have added new items (e.g. *appear, fail* and a few others) to this group, and have put forward at the same time several different analyses, according to the specific grammatical framework adopted in each case. Notably, Jespersen's notion of a split subject was reformulated by transformational grammar as a rule which 'raised' the complement subject to matrix subject position (originally through the

application of a rule of Subject Raising, later subsumed under NP Movement):

(2) [NP^e]   seems   [*John* to be unhappy]

      L NP Movement ⌐

(2) is thus said to be fundamentally different from (3), which, despite surface similarities, embodies a transitive structure where the complement subject is covert (or 'empty'), and has the matrix subject as antecedent:

(3) John$_i$ expects [PRO$_i$ to intimidate Bill]

where PRO represents the empty pronominal subject of the infinitive.

The distinction between both types is now traditional, as are the arguments adduced to justify it.[42] Briefly, these can be summarized as follows:

a) Unlike predicates in the *expect*-class, raising predicates preserve truth-functional equivalence under passivization, so that (4a) below is cognitively synonymous with (4b), as opposed to (5a) and (5b):

(4a) John seems to intimidate Bill.
(4b) Bill seems to be intimidated by John.

(5a) John expects to intimidate Bill.
(5b) Bill expects to be intimidated by John.

b) With *expect*-, but not with *seem*-verbs, there are selection restrictions between the matrix verb and its subject:

(6a) *The weather expects to intimidate Bill.
(6b) The weather seems to intimidate Bill.

c) Only raising predicates can take such non-referential, dummy subjects as pleonastic *there*:

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[42] For a recent textbook account cf. Radford (1988: 435 ff); also McCloskey (1988: 44 ff).

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(7a) *There expects to be an accident.
(7b) There seems to have been an accident.

To *a, b* and *c*, which are often referred to jointly as 'the independence of subject criterion', a fourth criterion is sometimes added:

d) in sentences such as those below, the finite complements of *expect* and *seem* further support their analysis as respectively two- and one-place predicates:

(8a) John expects that he will intimidate Bill.
(8b) It seems that John has intimidated Bill.

This last criterion, however, is not generally considered to be crucial, for there are a number of verbs sometimes included in the raising class for which no finite analogues on the model of (8b) above can be found. A case in point is that of aspectuals (e.g. *begin, cease, start,* etc.), though with these a one-place analysis is far from general (cf. Perlmutter 1970; Huddleston 1971; Stockwell et al. 1973; Badecker 1987: 39-41; Brinton 1988: 62 ff).

All four arguments reappear, with only slight modifications, in most non-transformational treatments of the catenatives, such as, for instance, Palmer (1974: 185 ff; 1987: 184 ff), Huddleston (1984: 212 ff) and Quirk et al. (1985: 3.29, 3.49, 16.38 (note *a*)). Among these, the approach of the last mentioned grammar deserves quoting in full, for its many inconsistencies testify well to the problems of analysis which beset this area of English syntax. Thus, in Chapter 3 of *ACGEL appear, come, fail, get, happen, manage, seem, tend,* and *turn out to* followed by an infinitive are assigned to a separate class of verbs which -we are told- "have meanings related to aspect or modality, but are nearer to main verb constructions than are semi-auxiliaries (such as *have to* or *be able to*)"; most of them "do however, resemble auxiliary constructions in satisfying the 'independence of subject criterion'" (i.e. criteria *a, b,* and *c* as outlined above). Lastly, it is pointed out that "unlike main verb constructions such as *expect (to), want (to),* and *attempt (to)*", constructions with *seem* and related verbs "are in no way syntactically related to transitive verb constructions in which the verb is followed by a direct object or prepositional object". Yet, quite unexpectedly,

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two of the verbs -namely, *fail* and *manage*- for which such qualification is intended are listed in a later section (16.38) among the verbs taking monotransitive complementation in the form of an object infinitive clause, as though the authors had reversed their prior judgement on those two items.

On the whole, if it seems clear that any inquiry into the grammar of a dead language or earlier period must be conservative and surface-based, as a number of scholars have wisely proposed (cf. Warner 1982: 8; also Denison l985), the advisability of that kind of approach becomes particularly obvious as regards the classification of catenative verbs. For it is important to bear in mind that the validity for PE of the criteria discussed in the previous pages does not certify their validity for other stages of English, unless supporting evidence can be adduced. Thus, PE *need* has been analysed as a raising verb from time to time,[43] on the evidence not only of its behaviour under passivization (cf. (9)-(10)), but also because of the existence of analogous one-place constructions such as that in (11):

(9) We need to study this problem more carefully.

(10) This problem needs to be studied more carefully.

(11) It is necessary that this problem be studied more carefully.

However, whatever the merits of this analysis for PE, the occurrence in Shakespeare of an example like (12), in which *need* subcategorizes both a finite clause and a personal subject, seems to argue for a grouping with two-place *expect*, rather than with *seem* and related verbs:

(12) *Shrew* 4.3.8 Beggars that come unto my father's door /Upon entreaty have a present alms, /If not, elsewhere they meet with charity. /But *I*, who never knew how to entreat, /*Nor never needed that I should entreat*, /Am starved for meat,

Generally speaking, as far as the corpus is concerned, the most reliable criterion for establishing a separate class of raising verbs is the existence, either in Shakespeare or in other writings from the period, of

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[43] Cf., for instance, Huddleston (1971: 153-54, 190), Jenkins (1972), Noonan (1985: 128).

finite equivalents of the type *it seems that...* As it happens, these are found only for SEEM itself (10 ex.), and for a few other predicates, such as CHANCE (5 ex.) and BE BEST (2 ex.); cf. (13) for an instance with the last mentioned item:

(13) *Wiv* 3.3.149 You were best meddle with buck-washing!
For its use with a finite clause compare *Caesar* 3.2.69 "'Twere best he speak no harm of Brutus here!"

In the same group can also be included catenative BE (21 ex.), in its various meanings -not always clearly distinguishable- of obligation, potentiality, or futurity.[44] Though this fails to meet criterion *d* above (occurrence in analogous constructions with a finite clause), it does not selectionally constrain the choice of its surface subject (as shown by a comparison of the examples below) and is available in passives like (15), which can be traced back to an active sentence with the same meaning (= criterion *a* above):

(14) *Wint* 2.1.199 Come, follow us. /We are to speak in public;

(15) *ibid* 4.4.695 your flesh and blood has not offended the King, and so your flesh and blood is not to be punished by him.
(Cf. He is not to punish your flesh and blood.)

Table 6. Distribution of *seem*-verbs in the corpus

	Rom	*Wiv*	*Lear*	*Wint*	TOTAL
Prose	1	5	1	14	21
Verse	2	-	6	9	17
TOTAL	3	5	7	23	38

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[44] For catenative BE in constructions involving Tough Movement, cf. Sections 6.2 and 7.1.4 above.

7.2.1 Expect-*verbs in the corpus (177 ex.)*

Table 7. Distribution of *expect*-verbs in the corpus

	Rom	*Wiv*	*Lear*	*Wint*	TOTAL
Prose	6	21	9	10	46
Verse	31	5	44	51	131
TOTAL	37	26	53	61	177

As noted above, with *expect*-type verbs the matrix subject bears a direct semantic relation to its predicate, as shown by the lack of finite equivalents of the type **it expects that...* Other criteria mentioned in the preceding section turn out to be of little use when applied to the corpus, because of the scarcity of relevant examples. Thus, (16) is the sole instance of an *expect*-type verb followed by a passive infinitive:

(16) *Rom* 2.1.42 'tis in vain /To seek him here that *means not to be found.*

From the point of view of their semantics, *expect*-verbs in the plays can be ascribed to the following classes:

I) ACHIEVEMENT PREDICATES (46 ex.)

As defined by Karttunen (1971: 340), achievement (or implicative) verbs, such as *manage* or *fail to*, carry "a presupposition of some necessary and sufficient condition which alone determines whether the event described in the complement took place (...) From an affirmative assertion, it can legitimately be inferred that the implied proposition is asserted to be true; from a negative assertion, that it is asserted to be false." It thus follows that "anyone who asserts (a) thereby commits himself to the view that (b) is true.

It would be inconsistent to assert (a) unless one also believed the proposition expressed by (b)":[45]

(a) John managed to solve the problem.
(b) John solved the problem.

The above remarks apply to the following *expect*-type verbs in the corpus, all of which denote achievement, whether positive or negative:

ADVENTURE 'venture' (OED v. 5.obs.), *Wint* 4.4.459 "O cursed wretch, /That knew'st this was the Prince, and wouldst adventure /To mingle faith with him"; DARE (29 verse / 1 prose); DENY 'refuse to' (OED v. 8.obs; 2 verse / 1 prose), *Lear* 7.254, *Wint* 5.2.127 p, *Rom* 1.5.19 "/Aha, my mistresses, which of you all /Will now deny to dance?"; FORBEAR 'abstain, refrain from', *Lear* 7.273 "We are not ourselves /When nature, being oppressed, commands the mind /To suffer with the body. I'll forbear, /And am fallen out with my more headier will, /To take the indisposed and sickly fit /For the sound man";[46] FORGET 'lose the memory of', *Rom* 1.2.223; FORGET 'drop the practice of, lose the habit of' (OED v. 3.c.obs.), *Rom* 1.2.222 "/Be ruled by me; forget to think of her./"; OFFER 'dare, venture' (OED v. 5.b.obs.), *Lear* 13.87 "his life, /With thine and all that offer to defend him, /Stand in assurèd loss"; PREVAIL 'succeed in doing or attaining' (OED v. 3.b.obs. rare), *Wint* 4.4.665 "What I do next shall be to tell the King /Of this escape, and whither they are bound; /Wherein my hope is I shall so prevail /To force him after, in whose company /I shall re-view Sicilia"; REMEMBER, *Lear* 9.48 "Since I was man /Such sheets of fire, such bursts of horrid thunder, /Such groans of roaring wind and rain I ne'er /Remember to have heard" (in this sense, REMEMBER is now followed by an -*ing* clause; cf. Visser (III/1: 1323), Quirk et al. (1985: 1193)); VENTURE, *Lear* 11.139; VOUCHSAFE 'condescend', *Wint* 5.3.6 "you have vouchsafed /With your crowned brother and these young contracted

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[45] On achievement predicates see further Noonan (1985: 129) and Rudanko (1985: 61 ff).

[46] Most editors take *forbear* to mean 'be patient', and the infinitive not as its dependent, but rather as an adverbial of cause: 'I'll be patient, and chide my impetuous disposition *for taking* the indisposed... etc.' But FORBEAR 'abstain from' + Inf is well documented in Shakespeare and elsewhere; cf. Schmidt p. 439, OED *Forbear* v. 6, and Visser (III/1: section 1182).

/Heirs of your kingdoms my poor house to visit, /It is a surplus of your grace which never /My life may last to answer."

It is remarkable that out of the 11 implicative verbs on the above list, almost half are now obsolete (in the relevant senses), namely ADVENTURE, DENY, FORGET 'lose the habit of', OFFER and PREVAIL, while two others (FORBEAR and REMEMBER) collocate with -*ing* clauses rather than with infinitives. In some cases, this instability seems to be related to the contrast 'potentiality' vs. 'actuality' that will be discussed in 7.2.1.1 below.

II) DESIDERATIVE PREDICATES (39 ex.)

DESIRE (2 verse / 6 prose), e.g. *Wiv* 1.1.34; INTEND (3 verse / 1 prose), e.g. *Wint* 5.2.102 p; ITCH, *Wiv* 2.3.43 p "if I see a sword out my finger itches to make one"; LIST 'desire' (2 ex.), *Lear* 24.60, *Wint* 4.1.26 "What of her ensues /I list not prophesy"; LONG (1 verse / 1 prose), *Rom* 4.1.66, *Wint* 4.4.262 p; LUST (OED v. 4.arch.), *Lear* 20.156 "Why dost thou lash that whore? Strip thine own back. /Thy blood as hotly lusts to use her in that kind /For which thou whip'st her"; MEAN (9 verse / 6 prose), e.g. *Wint* 1.1.6 p; PLEASE 'have the will or desire to, wish' (OED v. 6; 2 ex.), *Wint* 4.4.521, 3.2.41 "a great king's daughter, (...) here standing /To prate and talk for life and honour, fore /Who please to come and hear."; THINK 'intend' (2 ex.), *Lear* 1.115, *Wint* 1.2.28 "/I had thought, sir, to have held my peace until /You had drawn oaths from him not to stay."; THIRST, *Wint* 4.4.513 "that unhappy king, my master, whom /I so much thirst to see"; WISH, *Wint* 2.1.125.

III) UTTERANCE PREDICATES (20 ex.)

As defined by Noonan (1985: 110), "utterance predicates are used in sentences describing a simple transfer of information initiated by an agentive subject. The complement represents the transferred information, and the CTP (= 'complement-taking predicate') describes the manner of transfer, the illocutionary force of the original statement, and can also give an evaluation of the speaker's (...) view of the veracity of the proposition encoded in the complement."

BOAST (2 ex. Now followed only by a *that*-clause; cf. OED *Boast* v. 5.a), *Lear* 13.54, 14.18 "(...) Who, with some other of the lord's dependants, /Are gone with him towards Dover, where they boast /To have well-armèd friends."; CONSENT (1 verse / 1 prose), *Rom* 2.2.64, *Wiv* 2.1.93 p; FORSWEAR 'abandon or renounce on oath' (OED v. 1.b; instances with an infinitive as complementation seem to be recorded only in Shakespeare), *Rom* 1.2.220 "/She hath forsworn to love, and in that vow /Do I live dead"; PROFESS, *Lear* 4.12 p; PROMISE (1 verse / 2 prose), *Rom* 2.4.2, *Wiv* 2.3.5 p, 3.1.113 p; SUE 'beg, petition' (OED v. 11.b.arch.), *Lear* 1.30 p "I must love you, and sue to know you better"; SWEAR (3 ex.), e.g. *Wint* 2.3.184; THREATEN (2 prose / 1 verse), *Wiv* 3.3.26 p, 4.2.79 p, *Lear* 6.66; UNDERTAKE, *Wint* 2.2.41; VOW (2 ex.), *Rom* 3.3.128, *Wint* 3.2.241.

The following example with COMMAND 'demand with authority' (OED v. 7.obs.) is noteworthy:

(17) *Wiv* 1.1.211 p **Evans.** But can you affection the 'oman? Let us command to know that of your mouth,

To judge from the evidence in the OED and in other Shakespearian works, COMMAND, when used in the above sense, subcategorized only a NP object (cf. *R2* 4.1.255 "command a mirror hither"), which suggests that (17) may have been intended as one of Evans's linguistic blunders. But, on the other hand, his resorting to an infinitive might be simply another manifestation of the extensive commutability between complement clauses and NPs that was possible in EMODE; cf. in this connection chapter 2.

IV) ASPECTUALS (16 ex.)

BEGIN (8 verse / 3 prose), e.g. *Wint* 5.2.117 p; CEASE (2 ex.), *Rom* 2.1.161, *Lear* 1.105; USE (2 verse / 1 prose), *Wiv* 4.2.49 p, *Rom* 3.5.189, 2.0.10 "such vows as lovers use to swear."

V) VERBS OF ENDEAVOURING (15 ex.)

Following Rudanko (1985: 58), we distinguish verbs like STRIVE, which express "a degree of endeavour in addition to volition and intention",

from purely intentional verbs such as INTEND, which have been included among desideratives. Verbs of endeavouring differ also from achievement predicates, since, unlike these, they are non-implicative, leaving it open whether the complement proposition is realized or not.

GO ABOUT 'endeavour' (OED *About* adv. and prep. 10. Last recorded use with an infinitive: 1690), *Wint* 4.4.218 p and 701 "who (...) is no honest man, neither to his father nor to me, to go about to make me the King's brother-in-law"; LABOUR (OED v. 6.obs. or arch.), *Lear* 8.15 "the fool, who labours to outjest /His heart-struck injuries"; SEEK (7 ex.), e.g. *Wiv* 3.4.6; STRIVE (5 ex.), e.g. *Wint* 4.4.532.

VI) COMMENTATIVE PREDICATES (11 ex.)

Cf. 7.1.6 above for a definition of this class.

ABHOR, *Rom* 3.5.100; CARE NOT 'not like', *Wint* 4.4.85 "I care not /To get slips of them"; CHOOSE 'like better', *Lear* 7.366 "Return to her, and fifty men dismissed? /No, rather I abjure all roofs, and choose /To be a comrade with the wolf and owl"; DESERVE (1 prose / 1 verse), *Wiv* 2.2.170 p, *Wint* 3.2.178; LOVE 'like', *Rom* 2.3.138 p, *Wiv* 3.3.72 p; MERIT, *Wint* 3.2.47 "I appeal /To your own conscience, sir, before Polixenes /Came to your court how I was in your grace, /How merited to be so"; REPENT (now only with an *-ing*-clause; its use with an infinitive seems to be specific to Shakespeare), *Lear* 12.10 p "**Edmund.** How malicious is my fortune, that I must repent to be just!"; SHAME 'be ashamed, blush' (OED v. 1.c. Now rare), *Wint* 2.1.93 "Camillo is /A federary with her, and one that knows /What she should shame to know herself/"; NOT SUFFER 'not bear' (OED v. 15.b.obs.), *Lear* 11.136 "My duty cannot suffer /To obey in all your daughter's hard commands./"

VII) OTHER (30 ex.)

APPOINT 'agree, arrange' (OED v. 1.obs.), *Wiv* 3.2.48 p "We have appointed to dine with Mistress Anne, and I would not break with her for more money than I'll speak of"; BE ABOUT TO (2 ex.), *Wint* 2.1.68, 4.4.443; DEVISE 'contrive, plan' (OED v. 5.c), *Wiv* 4.4.26 "/Devise but how you'll use him when he comes, /And let us two *devise* to bring him

hither/"; FEAR (4 ex., in verse), e.g. *Wint* 3.2.107; HAVE TO (cf. our comments below); LEARN, *Lear* 4.173 p; LOOK 'expect' (2 verse / 2 prose), e.g. *Lear* 1.286 p "The best and soundest of his time hath been but rash; then must we look to receive from his age (...) the imperfection of long-engrafted condition"; NEED (4 verse / 2 prose), e.g. *Wiv* 5.5.187 p; PREPARE (3 ex., in verse), e.g. *Rom* 1.5.120; SEEM 'pretend to be', *Lear* 6.30, 20.161 "Get thee glass eyes, /And like a scurvy politician, seem /To see the things thou dost not"; THINK 'expect' (4 ex.), e.g. *Lear* 4.200 "/Sir, I had thought by making this well known unto you /To have found a safe redress"; YIELD 'submit, consent to' (OED v. 17.b.obs.), *Lear* 17.42 "the poor distressèd Lear's i'th' town (...) and by no means /Will yield to see his daughter."

As will be clear from the preceding lists, a few *expect*-type verbs of high frequency in PE do not occur in the corpus. Two cases in point are *want*, for which the most common synonym in the corpus is *desire* (8 ex.), and *like*. While examples of this latter can be found elsewhere in Shakespeare (cf. (18) below), *want* does not seem to occur in its PE sense until the early years of the eighteenth century (cf. OED *Want* v. 5).

(18) *Measure* 1.1.68 I love the people, /But do not like to stage me to their eyes

Another common PE catenative that was also sparingly used in EMODE is *have to* 'must'. Though a few instances of it have been on record since late ME (cf. Jespersen *MEG* V: 203 ff; Visser III/1: 1474 ff; Plank 1984: 320-21), they seem to have remained relatively rare even in the sixteenth century, except in the special type represented by (19) below, in which *have*, still with the meaning 'possess', is brought together with a following infinitive as a result of the fronting of its NP object:

(19) *Lear* 1.274 Sister, it is *not a little I have to say* of what most nearly appertains to us both.

Structures such as this appear to have been transitional to the modal type expressing pure obligation. This stage seems indeed to have been reached in (20), which is, however, the sole instance of its kind in the corpus:

(20) *Wiv* 5.3.5 **Mistress Page.** Go before into the park. We two must go together.
Caius. I know *vat* (i.e. 'what') *I have to do.* Adieu.

7.2.1.1 'Potentiality' vs. 'actuality' in complements to expect-*type verbs.*

Unlike *that-* and *-ing*-clauses, which are more generally connected with factuality, or with "possibilities conceived as actualities" (cf. Bolinger 1968: 127), infinitive complements in Present-day English tend to be associated with actions or states which are future relative to, or, at least, simultaneous with, the time reference of their matrix predicates. Thus, in an example like (21) below, the thing promised must follow the act of promising itself, while (22a) and (22b) clearly bring out the different meaning possibilities of infinitives and *-ing*-clauses:

(21) I promise to go at nine.

(22a) Brian would loathe to live in the country.

(22b) Brian loathed living in the country.

As Quirk et al. (1985: 1192) point out in connection with this last pair, in (a) the infinitive *to live* "implies that Brian could exercise choice about where to live, whereas *living* presupposes that he actually did live in the country, and probably had no choice in the matter." A similar contrast between something projected versus something actually done can be seen in the following two examples adduced by Bolinger (1968: 123):

(23a) Can you remember to do that?

(23b) Can you remember doing that?

All in all, given this 'future orientation' of infinitives, it is not surprising that in PE they should mainly occur as complements to predicates expressing commands, requests, intentions, desires, and the like, but should be used sparingly with predicates that are assertive, commentative, or express an attitude regarding the truth of the complement proposition (such as *think* or *suppose*).[47] Exceptions can of course be found, such as those of assertive

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[47] On this specialization of infinitives, see also Riddle (1975), Bolinger (1978), Noonan (1985: 100 ff), Mair (1990: 102 ff).

profess (cf. PE *He professed to be an expert in the subject*) and a few others, but they do not detract from the overall validity for Modern English of the distributional pattern outlined above.

To a large extent, the same holds true for *expect*-verbs in the corpus, most of which require complements with determined time reference (= DTR), that is, typically referring to a world-state future relative to the time reference of the higher predicate, or, at least, simultaneous with it. This applies to desideratives and to the verbs of endeavouring, as also to implicative and aspectual predicates (with both of which the matrix will normally have the same time reference as the complement; cf. further Noonan 1985: 129). Among utterance predicates, most are of the *promise*-type, and hence also subcategorize infinitive clauses with DTR; witness COMMAND 'demand', CONSENT, SUE 'beg', SWEAR, THREATEN and UNDERTAKE.

Exceptions to this more or less general trend are, however, more frequent than in PE, for in EMODE infinitive clauses had a wider functional range than at present, partly as a consequence of the late development of *-ing* clauses, which has been dated around "the first half of the 15th century" and later (cf. Tajima 1985: 137 ff). Thus, infinitive complements were formerly common with verbs such as *profess*, *boast*, *confess* or *declare* (cf. Visser III/1: 1326 ff), which represent the type of utterance predicate taking complements with independent time reference (= ITR), and thus susceptible to being used of actual events existing independently of the time reference of their matrices:

(24) *Lear* 4.12 I do profess to be no less than I seem

(25) *ibid* 14.18 (...) who, with some other of the lord's dependants, /Are gone with him towards Dover, where they *boast /To have well-armèd friends.*

With such isolated exceptions as *profess* itself,[48] this type of verb of verbal communication is followed in PE by complement types according better with

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[48] *Claim* is another one; cf. Palmer (1987: 197) and Mair (1990: 103).

its semantic potential, namely, *that*-clauses, or, in the case of *confess*, a *to... -ing* clause. The same holds true for the implicative *remember*; when used with reference to the past, this is now mostly collocated with an *-ing* complement;[49] formerly, however, infinitive clauses were the rule (cf. Visser III/1: 1323, III/2: 1876), as in (26):

> (26) *Lear* 9.48 Since I was man /Such sheets of fire, such bursts of horrid thunder, /Such groans of roaring wind and rain I ne'er /*Remember to have heard.*

Other semantic classes with which infinitives were earlier more usual than at present include predicates of negative meaning (e.g. *abstain, refrain, forbear, forswear*, etc.) and commentatives (e.g. *hate, like, loathe,* etc.). Cf. Visser (III/1: sections 1180-1182) and the following corpus examples:

> (27) *Rom* 1.2.220 She hath *forsworn to love*, and in that vow /Do I live dead

> (28) *Lear* 12.10 **Edmund** (after revealing to Cornwall that his father, Gloucester, intended to help Lear)**.** How malicious is my fortune, that I must *repent to be just*! (...) O heavens, that his treason were not, or not I the detector!

> (29) *Wint* 2.1.93 Camillo is /A federary with her, and one that knows /What she should *shame to know herself!*

With verbs of the *refrain* type, the tendency for *-ing* clauses to oust or, at best, co-exist with the infinitive can be traced back to the late Middle and Early Modern English periods; cf. in this connection Visser's sections 1775 and 1783, and the dates of his first quotations with *-ing* forms for *forbear* (1443), *forswear* (1633), *refrain* (1561), and *shun* (1580). The reasons behind this change in subcategorization are not clear, but the specialization of *-ing* complements with such negative verbs (which applies also to ditransitives like *prevent, hinder*, etc.; cf. Visser III/1: sections 2075, 2092, 2108, also Rudanko 1985: 154) is striking, and may indeed have favoured the similar, though later, extension of *-ing* to commentatives. As Visser

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[49] This is the only construction mentioned by Palmer (1987: 198); but, according to Jorgensen (1990), a perfect infinitive is also possible in PE.

(III/2: 1864 ff) points out, a number of these "have -mostly rather recently- come to be used in collocation with a form in *-ing*", for instance, verbs such as *abhor, enjoy, hate, (dis)like, loathe, love, repent*, etc., all of which originally subcategorized only infinitives (cf. Visser III/1: 1315 ff). Plainly, all these verbs of liking and hating share with negative verbs their emotional overtones, and this common characteristic may perhaps account for their parallel development. In addition, it seems reasonable to assume that the increased use of *-ing* forms with commentatives (often at the expense of the infinitive, as in the case of, e.g., *enjoy* or *repent*) must also be related to that association between *-ing* complements and actuality that was mentioned earlier in this section, for commentatives do often refer to actual, rather than only hypothetical, events. Witness, for instance, quotations (28) and (29) above (with *repent* and *shame*), as well as the following corpus example with *abhor*:

> (30) *Rom* 3.5.100 Indeed, I never shall be satisfied /With Romeo till I behold him, dead, (...) O, how my name *abhors /To hear him named!*

7.3 Surface patterns V NP (to)Inf (241 ex.) / V - (to)Inf (12 ex.)

7.3.1 Surface pattern V NP (to)Inf (241 ex.).

Percentage in corpus: 32.83%

As noted at the beginning of the preceding section, contemporary linguistic theory has devoted considerable attention to the different semantic interpretation of pairs like (1) and (2):

> (1) Paul persuaded John to kiss Mary.

> (2) Paul intended John to kiss Mary.

Despite surface similarities, it is intuitively felt that, whereas in (1) there exists a direct semantic relation between the catenative and the intervening NP (i.e. *John*), no such relation exists in (2): what Paul intended was, indeed, not 'John', but rather 'that John should kiss Mary'. This semantic distinction is reflected at the syntactic level in a number of ways, roughly

analogous to those mentioned in 7.2 in connection with *seem* and *expect* verbs:

a) When the complement clause is passivized, (1) and (1b) differ in propositional meaning, whereas (2) and (2b) do not:

(1b) Paul persuaded Mary to be kissed by John.
(2b) Paul intended Mary to be kissed by John.

b) Only *persuade*-verbs impose selection restrictions on the intervening NP, and thus reject such non-referential, dummy elements as the weather *it* or existential *there*:

(3a) *Paul persuaded a house to be built by John.
(3b) Paul intended a house to be built by John.

(4a) *Paul persuaded there to be a commotion.
(4b) Paul intended there to be a commotion.

(5a) *Paul persuaded it to rain heavily.
(5b) Paul expected it to rain heavily.

c) *Persuade*- and *intend*-verbs exhibit different patterns of alternation with *that*-clauses:

(6a) Paul persuaded John to kiss Mary.
(6b) Paul persuaded John that he should kiss Mary.

(7a) Paul intended John to kiss Mary.
(7b) Paul intended that John should kiss Mary.

As was also the case with *expect*- and *seem*-verbs, this last criterion is considered of less general relevance than the other two, for there are verbs otherwise patterning like *persuade* and *intend* that can only collocate with an infinitive. Cf., for instance, *challenge*, *want*, and a few others.

As is well known, *persuade*-type verbs are analyzed in transformational syntax as Equi NP Deletion verbs, or -in Government and Binding Theory (cf. Chomsky 1981)- as Object-control verbs. Omitting unnecessary details, a *persuade*-verb is essentially said to govern a NP object in addition to a clause, as shown in (8):

(8) Paul persuaded John$_i$ (PRO$_i$ to kiss Mary).

where PRO represents the 'empty' pronoun subject of the infinitive, which is controlled by the matrix object *John*.[50] The difference then with *intend* verbs is that in the underlying structure of a sentence like (9)

(9) Paul intended (John to kiss Mary).

the NP *John* is not itself part of the higher clause, but rather the infinitive subject. Later, however, a transformation of Subject-to-Object Raising destroys the constituent (NP TO VP), moving the noun phrase out of the lower clause into the matrix:[51]

(10) Paul intended John (to kiss Mary).

Thus, in spite of the deep structure differences between *persuade*- and *intend*-sentences, at the surface the intervening NP (henceforth NP$_2$) is said to function in each case as a main clause object. The justification for such a rule of Subject-to-Object Raising derives, mainly, from facts of passivization and reflexivization, for in the 'raising' sentences below

(11a) Paul believed John to be a great scholar.
(11b) John was believed (by Paul) to be a great scholar.
(12) Paul believed himself to be a great scholar.

NP$_2$ seems to behave as a constituent within the matrix, as is borne out by: 1) its ability to become passive subject; 2) the fact that it can undergo reflexivization, this being supposedly restricted to members of the same clause (witness the ungrammaticality of *Paul persuaded John that Mary had deceived himself).

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[50] For a fuller account of Control in infinitive clauses cf. Chomsky (1981, 1986a); Radford (1988: 320 ff); Cook (1988: 159 ff).

[51] But note that this analysis is disallowed in current Government and Binding theory, since it involves movement of a NP out of the complement clause into an object (and hence thematic) position. Thus the structure will remain, at every level,

Paul intended (John to kiss Mary),

where the constituent *John to kiss Mary* is an 'Exceptional Clause'. Cf. Chomsky (1981: 93-100), (1986b); McCloskey (1988: 55-56); Radford (1988: 317 ff, 599); Lasnik and Uriagereka (1988: 12-17).

However, not all generativists feel satisfied with a raising analysis for *intend*-sentences (cf. note 51 above), and even among those who do the scope of the Subject-to-Object Raising rule remains controversial. While for some of them -in particular Paul Postal- (13) and (14) are identical in that respect,

(13) We believed him to be a spy.

(14) He wanted us to go.

for many others *want* and a few related verbs (e.g. *like, dislike, hate, love, prefer,* etc.) should be excluded from the domain of Subject-to-Object Raising, since the two crucial criteria of passivization and reflexivization do not apply in their case. Thus the following sentences turn out to be ungrammatical in English:[52]

(15) *We were wanted by him to go.

(16) *He wanted himself to go.

To further complicate the overall picture, a few common English verbs such as *allow, permit, order* or *make* seem to function in two ways, and have therefore been analyzed as both Object Control and Subject-to-Object Raising verbs, on the evidence of pairs like the following:

(17) I ordered (the chauffeur) (to fetch the car).

(18) I ordered (the car to be fetched by the chauffeur).

(19) Mary allowed (John) (to examine the wound).
(20) Mary allowed (the wound to be examined by John).

Whereas in the normal reading of (17) and (19), these look like ditransitive sentences, with *order* and *allow* as Object-control predicates (cf. the analysis of *persuade* in (8) above), in (18) and (20) the order and the permission concern neither the car, nor the wound, but rather, what is expressed by the entire infinitive clause; that is, 'that the car should be fetched' in (18), 'that the wound should be examined' in (20), and so on. On this interpretation, these and other similar instances are sometimes said to involve Raising (cf.

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[52] A good, clear, summary of this controversy will be found in Seppänen (1985).

Huddleston 1971: 157 ff; Mittwoch 1977; Andersson 1985: 32 ff; Rudanko 1985: 150). However, such bi-categorial classification of items like *allow* and *order* is not without detractors, for it is contended -with some reason- that in sentences like (17) and (19) the referent of NP$_2$ need not be the recipient of the order or the permission, which might indeed be issued to somebody else not overtly expressed, so that a bracketing of such sentences along the following lines would be just as possible:

(17b) I ordered (the chauffeur to fetch the car).
i.e. 'I gave orders (to some unspecified individual) for the chauffeur to fetch the car'

(19b) Mary allowed (John to examine the boy).
i.e. 'Mary gave permission (to some unspecified individual) for John to examine the boy'

As will be clear from the preceding discussion, the question of which constituent structure should be assigned to the various sequences surfacing as **V NP (to)Inf** has proven difficult to resolve for those working within a transformational framework, and the same can be said of most other approaches to this area of English grammar, such as those by Huddleston (1984: 215 ff), Quirk et al. (1985), or Palmer (1987: 172 ff), to mention only some of the best known. Among these, Quirk et al.'s treatment deserves special attention because of its attempt to make all verbs fit into one of the three complementation types (i.e. monotransitive, ditransitive, and complex-transitive) which *ACGEL* distinguishes elsewhere. Thus, in 16.64, the following analyses are provided for structures with *like, ask* and *expect*:

(21) We like (all parents to visit the school).
= monotransitive, with *all parents to visit the school* as sole object.

(22) We asked (the students) (to attend a lecture).
= ditransitive, with one indirect, and one direct, object.

(23) They expected (James) (to win the race).
= complex-transitive, with *James* as object, and *to win the race* as object complement.

(21) and (22) are seen as the end-points of a gradient. They are distinguished by the following criteria, several of which coincide with those outlined on pp. 98-100 above:

a) *to attend a lecture* behaves as a separate clausal object in that it can be replaced by a pronoun, a noun phrase or a finite clause, whereas *to visit the school* cannot:

(24) We asked the students something.

(25) *We like all parents something.

b) When *the students to attend a lecture* is turned into the passive, the meaning is always changed (or the passive results in an absurdity):

(26) *They asked a lecture to be attended by the students.

To be contrasted with (27):

(27) We like the school to be visited by all parents.

c) *to attend a lecture* can marginally become the focus of a pseudo-cleft sentence:

(28) ?What they asked the students was to attend a lecture.

As against the clearly ungrammatical

(29)*What we like the parents is to visit the school.

d) *the students*, but not *all parents*, can become subject of the corresponding passive sentence:

(30) The students were asked to attend a lecture.

(31) *All parents were liked to visit the school.

e) In a reduced construction, the infinitive marker *to* remains after *like*-verbs, whereas it can be omitted after *ask*-verbs; cf. *We like them to* vs. *We asked them.*

However, as critics have noted (cf., for instance, F. Aarts's review of *ACGEL*, 1988: 166-167), not every verb classified by Quirk et al. as

ditransitive meets the relevant criteria. Witness *remind, persuade, urge* or *incite*, which yield such unacceptable sentences as *we reminded/urged the students something* (by criterion *a*), *what we persuaded the students was to attend a lecture* (by *c*), *we incited the students that they should boo the actor off the stage* (by *a*), and so on. In fact, it is not clear why this last verb *incite* is considered ditransitive, while *induce*, which has much in common with it semantically and shares its syntactic behaviour except perhaps as regards *e*, is assigned to the complex-transitive class.

Yet the chief weakness in *ACGEL*'s sections on non-finite complementation lies in its treatment of complex-transitive structures. These are seen to differ from monotransitive ones solely in the ability of NP_2 to become subject of the corresponding passive construction:

(32) They wanted him to be a spy.

= monotransitive

(32b) *He was wanted to be a spy.

(33) They knew him to be a spy.

= complex-transitive

(33b) He was known to be a spy.

But irrespective of such difference, one intuitively feels that the above sentences have much in common from a semantic point of view, and it is not clear that much is gained by attributing to them so radically different structures. In fact, the authors themselves seem to waver in their ascription of individual verbs to one or the other class; thus *want* -classified as monotransitive in 16.41- is nevertheless treated as complex-transitive in other places, for instance in 6.25 (note *c*), where the sentence below is adduced as an instance of 'complex-transitive complementation':

(34) The hosts really want us to enjoy ourselves.

On the whole, the possibility of devising a system of classification for the catenatives against which no objections can be raised seems remote. As Huddleston (1984: 220) notes, "some measure of ad hoc description" of individual items will always be unavoidable, in particular as one moves back into earlier periods of the language, since the lack of native speakers and

appropriate data make it very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to test the adequacy of the various criteria enumerated in the preceding pages.[53] As a consequence, we have adopted here essentially the same procedure as in 7.2: a verb will be given a three-place analysis if, either in Shakespeare himself or in other roughly contemporary writings, it is found followed by **NP + NP/PP, NP + clause**, or **NP + direct speech** in the same sense as with **NP (to)Inf**. On the contrary, a two-place interpretation will be preferred if no ditransitive analogues can be adduced, provided the evidence afforded by other criteria does not conflict with such an analysis. Finally, a few catenatives do not seem to be readily assignable to one or the other class; these are dealt with in 7.3.4 below.

7.3.2 Subtype 1: **V NP (- (to)Inf)** *(100 ex.)*

Table 8. Distribution of subtype 1.

	Rom	Wiv	Lear	Wint	TOTAL
Prose	6	15	2	3	26
Verse	33	2	28	11	74
TOTAL	39	17	30	14	100

The verbs in this class govern a NP object in addition to a clause, the understood subject of which can always be recovered from the NP object itself. The construction has distributional parallels of various kinds, as shown below:

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[53] On the other hand, apparent evidence may turn out to be useless. Thus, in the instances below, absence of *to* before an ellipsis site cannot be taken as indicative of the ditransitive status of the matrix verb (cf. Quirk et al.'s criterion *e*), for such absence was formerly the rule in reduced constructions, of whatever class (cf. Visser II: section 1000; Warner 1990: 555).

a) *Lear* 4.147 **Kent** (to Lear). This is not altogether fool, my lord.
Fool. No, faith; lords and great men will not *let me.*

b) *Wint* 4.4.832 If I had a mind to be honest, I see fortune would not *suffer me.*

c) *TNK* 4.3.72 This you must do: confine her to a place where the light may rather seem to steal in than *be permitted.*

NP + *that*-clause

(35a) *Lear* 6.38 Here stood he in the dark (...) conjuring the moon /To stand's auspicious mistress

(35b) *Rom* 2.1.17 /I conjure thee by Rosaline's bright eyes/ (...) *That in thy likeness thou appear to us*

NP + NP

(36a) *Lear* 4.135 /That lord that counselled thee /To give away thy land, /Come, place him here by me

(36b) *2H4* 1.1.211 /Go in with me, and counsel every man /*The aptest way for safety and revenge.*/

NP + PrepP

(37a) *Lear* 20.209 You ever gentle gods, (...) /Let not my worser spirit tempt me again /To die before you please.

(37b) *Troilus* 5.2.19 /Sweet honey Greek, tempt me no more *to folly.*/

In both (35b) and (36b), the clause and the noun phrase can safely be described as objects. In (37b), however, the prepositional phrase looks rather like an obligatory adverbial, or, to use the terminology of Quirk et al. (1985: 16.48), a predication adjunct. As a consequence, the infinitive clauses complementing *tempt, force* and other verbs of inducing and compelling have sometimes been considered to differ in status from those found after, for instance, PE *counsel* or PE *ask*. Thus, while discussing sentences such as *we forced him to obey* in his chapter on the accusative with infinitive construction (*MEG* Part V: 279 ff), Otto Jespersen points out that they constitute "instances in which a person may be taken as the direct object of the verb and the infinitive as a tertiary connected by means of *to*, which has more or less its local (i.e. 'prepositional') meaning". He therefore proposes the formula **SVO pI** (= 'prepositional infinitive') for such sequences, which are thereby distinguished from his two other types of accusative with infinitive, namely

(38) **SVO (S₂I)**, as in *I hear him sing.*
S_2 = second subject. Together with the following infinitive, it constitutes the direct object of the main verb.

(39) **SVOi O(I)**, as in *I allow her to sing.*
The intervening NP is indirect object, and the infinitive direct object, of the main verb.

Jespersen's prepositional infinitive is basically akin to the preposition that early generative grammar postulated in the deep structure of complement constructions with *force* and related verbs (cf. Rosenbaum 1967: 19, 87 ff, 123; Huddleston 1971: 187; Ando 1976: 526). More recently, this notion of a prepositional *to*-infinitive has been revived by Evert Andersson (1985: 83 ff), who claims that the *to* with which *force* and similar verbs "are constructed in OwI (= Object with Infinitive) and SwI (= Subject with Infinitive) constructions has a certain prepositional force", and should therefore be considered as a "prepositional *to*-infinitive marker" (p. 93, note 1).

Apart from the fact that it is not clear what exactly is meant by that label, a serious objection to both Jespersen's and Andersson's approach lies in the fact that, in Middle and Early Modern English, infinitives after verbs of inducing and compelling could at times occur bare, that is, without any marker of 'prepositional force' whatever; cf. in this connection quotations (40)-(41) below and Visser (III/2: section 2074, entries for *enforce, force, inspire, persuade,* and *urge*). In principle, therefore, there seems to be no justification for considering the particle *to* after such verbs (or the infinitive itself, for that matter) as differing in function or meaning from that used in examples (35a) and (36a) above.

(40) *TNK* 4.2.16 Just such another wanton Ganymede /Set Jove afire once, and *enforced the god /Snatch up* the goodly boy

(41) *Coriolanus* 5.3.101 thy sight, which should /Make our eyes flow with joy, hearts dance with comforts, /*Constrains them weep and shake* with fear

7.3.2.1 *The semantics of subtype* **V NP (- (to)Inf)**

Semantically, all verbs of this subtype are manipulative predicates. That is to say, they may be said to take as arguments an agent, an affectee, and a third argument encoding the action that results from the agent's manipulation of the affectee; additionally, they may encode information about the manner of manipulation (i.e. whether this has involved an order, a request, a threat, or other; cf. further Noonan 1985: 125 ff). The list below indicates the parallel constructions in which each occurs in EMODE, especially when these differ from those available in PE; the grouping into semantic classes is only meant to be orientational, as there is much overlapping of the various classes.

I) Verbs of ordering and requesting (63 ex.)

BESEECH (1 prose/2 verse)
> E.g. *Wint* 5.2.147 p.

BID (6 prose/30 verse)
> E.g. *Wiv* 4.6.36, *Rom* 5.3.274, *Wint* 5.1.109.
> NP + *that*-clause; e.g. *H5* 2.3.19.

CHARGE

> *Lear* 10.4 "they took from me /The use of mine own house, charged me on pain /Of their displeasure neither to speak of him, /Entreat for him, nor any way sustain him."
> NP + *that*-clause; e.g. *Tempest* 1.2.457 "One word more. I charge thee /That thou attend me".

COMMAND (1 prose/3 verse)
> E.g. *Wint* 4.4.738 p.

CONJURE 'appeal solemnly to, beseech' (1 verse)
> Cf. quotations (35a) and (35b) above.

DESIRE 'ask, request' (6 prose/3 verse)

> E.g. *Wiv* 3.5.43 "She desires you once more to come to her, between eight and nine"; *Lear* 19.35 "when your mistress hears thus much from you, /I pray desire her call her wisdom to her".
> NP + *that*-clause; e.g. *Wiv* 3.1.8, *H5* 4.3.84.

ENTREAT (5 verse)

E.g. *Lear* 15.44 "bring some covering for this naked soul, /Who I'll entreat to lead me".

IMPORTUNE

Lear 11.148 "Importune him to go, my lord".
NP + *that*-clause; e.g. *Errors* 1.1.126 "and importuned me /That his attendant (...) Might bear him company in the quest of him".

WRITE

Lear 3.25 "I'll write straight to my sister /To hold my very course".

Passive matrices are found on two occasions:

BE DESIRED

Lear 4.241 "**Gonoril** (to Lear). Be thou desired, /By her that else will take the thing she begs, /A little to disquantity your train".
These lines illustrate Gonoril's devious courses, both in the selection of the passive and of the third person (*by her*). Compared with a more normal version of the same sentence (for instance, "I desire you to disquantity... etc."), these two devices effectively allow Gonoril to impart a seemingly impersonal tone to her unfair request, and to its accompanying threat (*that else will take the thing she begs*).

BE ENJOINED

Rom 4.2.19 "I am enjoined /By holy Lawrence to fall prostrate here /To beg your pardon".
NP + *that*-clause; e.g. *Wint* 2.3.173.

II) Verbs of inducing, forcing and compelling (18 ex.)

CONSTRAIN

Rom 2.3.50 "such a case as yours constrains a man to bow in the hams".
NP + PrepP; cf. *Cymb* 3.5.47 and OED *Constrain* v. 1.b.

DRIVE

Rom 1.1.117 "/A troubled mind drive me to walk abroad/".

ENFORCE (cf. OED *Enforce* v. 10.arch.)

Rom 5.3.47 "thou womb of death (...) /Thus I enforce thy rotten jaws to open/".
NP + PrepP; e.g. *2H4* 2.1.83 "Are you not ashamed, to enforce a poor widow to so rough a course to come by her own?"

ENKINDLE 'inflame so as to incite to a course of action or object of pursuit' (the sense is OED v. 2.b, but the construction with NP + infinitive clause does not seem to be recorded elsewhere).

Lear 14.84 "All dark and comfortless. Where's my son Edmund? /Edmund, enkindle all the sparks of nature /To quite (= 'requite') this horrid act".
NP + PrepP; cf. *Mcb* 1.3.119 "**Macbeth** (to Banquo). Do you not hope your children shall be kings /When those that gave the thane of Cawdor to me /Promised no less to them?
Banquo. That, trusted home, /Might yet enkindle you unto the crown/".

FORCE (2 verse)

Lear 22.25, *Wint* 1.2.53.

INCENSE 'instigate, incite' (OED v. 4.Obs.) (1 verse/1 prose)

Wiv 1.3.92, *Wint* 5.1.61 "She (...) would incense me /To murder her I married".
NP + PrepP; e.g. *Lear* 7.463 "what they may incense him to, being apt /To have his ear abused, wisdom bids fear".

MOVE (1 prose/2 verse)

Rom 1.1.10 p, 4.3.4, *Wint* 3.2.212.
NP + PreP, as today, and NP + *that*-clause (this latter construction not in OED); cf. *H8* 5.1.101 "I have, and most unwillingly, of late /Heard

many grievous (...) complaints of you, which, being considered, /Have moved us and our Council that you shall /This morning come before us".

PERSUADE

Lear 7.374 (verse).

PROMPT

Rom 2.1.122.

TEMPT

Lear 20.209 (cf. quotations (37 a and b) above).

WIN 'persuade, induce' (OED v. 9.c.arch.), 2 ex. in prose.

Wiv 2.2.227 "Use your art of wooing, win her to consent to you"; *Lear* 7.108 "**Kent** (to Cornwall). He that beguiled you in a plain accent was a plain knave, which for my part I will not be, though I should win your displeasure to entreat me to't" (here *your displeasure* is used ironically for 'your Grace' and similar expressions of deference).
NP + PrepP; cf. *R3* 3.1.165 "He for his father's sake so loves the Prince /That he will not be won to aught against him".

WORK 'induce, persuade' (OED v. 14.a)

Rom 3.5.145 "Doth she not count her blest, /Unworthy as she is, that we have wrought /So worthy a gentleman to be her bride?"
NP + PrepP; cf. *Caesar* 1.2.164 "That you do love me I am nothing jealous. /What you would work me to I have some aim (i.e. 'some conjecture')".

Passive matrices:

BE ADVISED

Lear 22.2 "Know of the Duke if his last purpose hold, /Or whether he is advised by aught /To change his course".

BE MOVED (2 prose)

Rom 3.1.12 and 1.1.6 "But thou art not quickly moved to strike".

III) Verbs of teaching, helping and instructing (14 ex.)

AID

Wint 3.2.19 p "thou, Hermione, (...) didst counsel and aid them for their better safety to fly away by night".

COUNSEL

Lear 4.135 (cf. quotations (36a and b) above).

HELP (2 verse)

Rom 4.2.34, *Lear* 14.60.

INSTRUCT

Wint 2.3.186 "Come on, poor babe, /Some powerful spirit instruct the kites and ravens /To be thy nurses".

LEARN 'teach' (2 verse)

Rom 4.2.17 and 1.4.94 "This is the hag, when maids lie on their backs, /That presses them and learns them first to bear/".

TEACH (4 prose/3 verse)

E.g. *Wiv* 2.2.200.

IV) Verbs of preventing and forbidding (2 ex.)

DENY 'forbid, refuse permission to' (OED v. 9.Obs.)

Lear 9.67 "this hard house (...) /Which even but now, demanding after you, /Denied me to come in".
NP + *that*-clause has not been found, but the frequent NP + NP seems to be strictly parallel in sense, or so close that the difference may be

ascribed to the distinction between clausal and phrasal complements; cf., for instance, *Twelfth* 1.4.16 "good youth, address thy gait unto her, /Be not denied access, stand at her doors,".

FORBID

Wint 1.2.427 "you may as well /Forbid the sea for to obey the moon/".
NP + *that*-clause; compare *Passionate Pilgrim* 9.8 "She, seely queen, (...) /Forbade the boy he should not pass those grounds".

V) Other verbs (3 ex.)

ADDRESS ONESELF TO 'prepare oneself to' (OED v. 3.Obs.)

Wint 4.4.53 "See, your guests approach. /Address yourself to entertain them sprightly".
NP + PrepP; *Hamlet* 1.2.216 "**Horatio** (alluding to the ghost). (...) answer made it none; yet once methought /It lifted up it head and did address /Itself to motion like as it would speak".

EXPOSE

Lear 11.31 "Take physic, pomp, /Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel/".

TRUST 'invest with a charge, confide or entrust something to the care of'.

Wiv 2.2.293 "He will trust his wife, he will not be jealous. I will rather trust a Fleming with my butter, Parson Hugh the Welshman with my cheese, an Irishman with my aqua-vitae bottle, or *a thief to walk my ambling gelding*, than my wife with herself".
The sense is OED *Trust* v. 6, which subcategorized NP + PrepP; no other instances with NP + Infinitive clause, as above, seem to be recorded.

7.3.3 *Subtype 2:* **V (NP (to)Inf)** *(119 ex.)*

Table 9 . Distribution of subtype 2.

	Rom	*Wiv*	*Lear*	*Wint*	TOTAL
Prose	4	16	11	11	42
Verse	20	1	27	29	77
TOTAL	24	17	38	40	119

Unlike those dealt with in the preceding section, the verbs in this class are two-place predicates that often occur in monotransitive structures, such as **V + NP / V + *that*-clause**, or, in a few cases, in the related complex-transitive pattern **V + NP Predicative Complement**. Witness the following examples:

(42a) *Wint* 4.4.540 we profess ourselves to be the slaves of chance, and flies of every wind that blows.
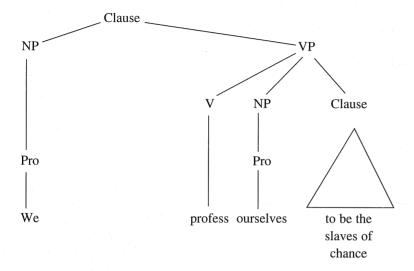
(42b) *H8* 3.2.191 I do profess /That for your highness' good I ever laboured /More than mine own

(43a) *Wint* 5.2.117 over-fond of the shepherd's daughter -so he then took her to be-

(43b) *Titus* 5.2.153 **Titus.** Know you these two?
Publius. The Empress' sons I take them -Chiron, Demetrius.

In view of such distributional parallels, it seems natural to assume that, at a pre-surface level of description, the NP intervening between verb and infinitive (NP_2) is part of the complement clause and, specifically, the subject of the infinitive. But while all this seems uncontroversial, it was already pointed out in section 7.3.1 (cf. in particular note 51) that there is as yet no general agreement on whether, at the surface level, NP_2 still remains a constituent within the lower clause or has, on the contrary, been 'raised' to

become the object of the matrix verb, as shown in the following phrase marker:

```
                    Clause
        NP _____/      _____ VP
        |                          /|\
        |                        /  |  \
        |                      /    |    \
        Pro                   V    NP    Clause
        |                     |     |     /\
        |                     |    Pro   /  \
        We                 profess ourselves  to be the
                                             slaves of
                                             chance
```

As regards fifteenth century English, this latter possibility has been rejected by Warner (1982: 39-48), who contends that "there are various grounds for supposing that deep one place (NP TO VP) may remain a constituent in surface structure in WSerE (= Wyclifite Sermon English)" (p. 57), though he admits that "from elsewhere in late ME (though not from WSerE itself) there is evidence that the subject NP in (NP TO VP) may become a surface member of the matrix clause" (*ibid.*). Essentially, Warner's arguments for the constituency of (NP TO VP) are as follows:[54]

1) Reflexivization and oblique case of a pronominal NP, which constitute two standard tests for raising in PE, are found to prove useless when applied to Wyclifite English, in the first case for the reasons expounded on p. 117 below. In the second, because it is one of Warner's main tenets, in his outline of the development of the Middle English

_____
[54] Warner's arguments closely coincide with those adduced by Bolkestein (1979) and Pillinger (1980) for the constituency of the accusative with infinitive in Latin. As is well known, both these scholars conclude that "Subject-to-Object Raising is not a rule of Latin grammar, and that putatively raised object NP's in fact function at surface structure level as subjects within their Accusative and Infinitive clauses" (Pillinger, p. 82).

complement system, that "before c1450 ME had an oblique case complementizer" (p. 49), and that this "gave way to general nominative case marking in independent position in the second half of the fifteenth century, while *for* as prepositional complementizer appears at the latest by the mid sixteenth century" (p. 53). Cf. (44) for Warner's illustration of the first of these complement types:

(44) ii.8.34 It is betere to se God clereli, than *us to blabere* here of hid thing.
(quoted from Warner, p. 48)

Plainly, once an oblique complementizer is postulated, it follows of necessity that any oblique pronominal NP after a transitive verb will be interpreted as "showing a complementizer and not object case marking" by the requirements of the matrix verb itself (p. 46). Moreover, the evidence from second passives such as (45) below is also dismissed by Warner, for "although the occurrence of Passive has often been taken as evidence for Raising of NP into object position (so, eg Postal 1974 esp p. 41), even within the theoretical framework underlying such analyses this does not follow: Passive may be ordered before Raising to subject position and produce the same structure (as pointed out by Kimball 1972)" (p. 42).

(45) i.179/180 *A man* is seid *to love his lyf*, that loveth it more than other thing;

For Warner, therefore, clear evidence for Raising to Object thus seems to be lacking in Wyclifite English.

2) Conversely, he finds that there are some satisfactory pointers as to the status of (NP TO VP) as a constituent in surface structure:

a) (NP TO VP) is sometimes "treated as an entity" by transformations such as Extraposition, Passive or Left Dislocation:

(46) i.240.9 And Caiphas that ʒaf ʒou conceil: seide it helpith *o man to die for the folk*
i.e. 'that a man should die, etc.'

(47) *the modir to se hir sone so blede,* /It kittith myn herte as with a knyf
(*Political etc. Poems,* ed. Furnivall, EETS, OS 15. Quoted from Warner p. 44)

b) (NP TO VP) is also found "in positions where Raising as traditionally formulated can hardly be in question: in subject position, in apposition, and after *than*" (p. 44); cf., for instance, (48):

(48) i.136.16 And so no thing is falser than *ypocritis to boste thus,*

c) lastly, a (*to*)NP subcategorizing the matrix verb can be inserted between this and (NP TO VP), though evidence for this is scanty outside the early version of the Wyclifite Bible, which -as Warner points out- is stylistically very awkward and "is not good evidence of natural English idiom" (p. 46). Cf. (49)-(50):

(49) ii.256.10 And thus God hath neded *us*: ech man to supporte his brother (Here *need* = 'constrain, compel', as in OED *Need* v.1)

(50) Esther 3.4 EV he hadde seid *to them*, hym to ben a Jew.

If we now turn to the Early Modern period, it is noteworthy that, despite the two-hundred-year lapse, the evidence in favour of the status of (NP TO VP) as a constituent at the surface remains basically the same as in Wyclifite English. Specifically,

a) as in Wyclif, (NP TO VP) seems to behave as a constituent in that it can be moved by processes such as topicalization or relativization; cf. respectively (51) and (52):

(51) *As* 5.4.163 *This to be true* /I do engage my life.
engage = 'pawn, pledge' (OED v. 2)
Cf. *1H4* 2.5.520 /And, sheriff, I will engage my word to thee /That I will by tomorrow dinner-time /Send him to answer thee

(52) *2H4* 1.3.39 ... as in an early spring /We see th' appearing buds, *which to prove fruit* /Hope gives not so much warrant as despair /That frosts will bite them.

i.e. 'in an early spring our hopes of good fruit are less likely to be realized than our fears of a frosty blight.' The italized infinitive clause is in apposition to the the the noun *warrant*.

b) (NP TO VP) is also found in positions where Subject-to-Object Raising cannot be in question, for instance in apposition to a noun, as in example (52) just quoted, and after the comparative conjunctions *as* and *than*. For specific examples, cf. chapter 5 above, in particular quotations (3), (12), (13) and (14).

c) In the following passage, the presence of an indirect object of interest (i.e. *you*) seems to point to a bracketing of *four tall fellows skip* as a unit; this example would thus be strictly parallel to the two ME instances cited before as (49) and (50).

(53) *Wiv* 2.1.215 **Shallow.** 'Tis the heart, Master Page; (showing his rapier-pass) 'tis here, 'tis here. I have seen the time with my long sword I would have made *you* four tall fellows skip like rats.

Another Shakespearian example of the same kind is (51) above, in which the verb *engage* subcategorizes both (NP TO VP) and the nominal object *my life*.

Thus the evidence from Shakespeare's plays makes it reasonably clear that (NP TO VP) may indeed remain a constituent in surface structure. Meanwhile, the three standard tests for Raising of NP$_2$ to object status (i.e. reflexivization, passivization, and objective case marking) prove useless, as was also the case in late ME:

a) As in Wyclif, the reflexivization of NP$_2$ does not certify that this has become an object within the higher clause, for neither in Shakespeare nor in Wyclif are *self*-forms employed systematically, but alternate with the personal pronouns without any regularity, whether in post-verbal position, as in (54), or in subject position, as in (55)-(56):

(54) *Othello* 1.3.336 I have professed *me* thy friend, and I confess *me* knit to thy deserving
(compare with this the *profess oneself* example cited above as (42a))

(55) *Wint* 3.2.101 My third comfort, /Starred most unluckily, is from my breast /(...) haled out to murder; *myself* on every post /Proclaimed a strumpet

(56) *Wiv* 4.6.11 Ann Page (...) hath answered my affection /So far forth as *herself* might be her chooser

b) As pointed out by Warner (cf. p. 115 above), the validity of passivization as a test for behaviour of NP$_2$ as a member of the matrix clause is a matter for dispute, since it seems possible to account for passives like that in (57) without necessarily resorting to a rule of Subject-to-Object Raising:

(57) John is believed to be here.

Thus, current Government and Binding theory, in which Raising is disallowed (cf. note 51 above), postulates for this type of sentence some form of noncore, or exceptional, passivization, whereby a NP that is not the direct object of a verb (*John* in the example under discussion) nonetheless moves into surface subject position.[55] A similar solution, set within a very different theoretical framework, has also been proposed in Dik (1979).[56]

A second problem with the passivization criterion is that its scope of application is limited, both in PE and in EMODE. As it happens, passive analogues have been found for some of the 'raising' verbs in the corpus, notably BRING, HEAR, KNOW, MAKE, PERMIT, PROCLAIM, RECKON, SEE and THINK, but not, however, for BELIEVE, BOAST, DESERVE, FEEL, HAVE, MAINTAIN and PROFESS. Though it is reasonable to think that passive examples with some of these may still turn up in EMODE, this hardly seems possible in the case of a predicate such as DESERVE, the semantics of which appear to rule out any possibility of passivization:

(58) *Wint* 3.2.214 I have deserved /All tongues to talk their bitt'rest.

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[55] For further discussion, cf. Lasnik and Uriagereka (1988: 15 ff).

[56] Cf. p. 138: "in order for Subject assignment to some semantic function to be possible it is neither a sufficient *nor a necessary condition* that Object assignment to that semantic function be possible."

c) Perhaps the strongest argument for Subject-to-Object Raising is oblique case marking where NP$_2$ is pronominal. Since in EMODE there can be no question of an oblique complementizer as the one postulated by Warner for ME, it might seem reasonable to view such marking as indicating that NP$_2$ has become the surface object of the matrix verb. This solution, however, has been rejected for PE by some generative approaches, notably Government and Binding theory, which assumes that verbs such as *believe* do not govern the NP subject of a following infinitival clause, but simply assign it case,[57] provided it is close enough, or 'adjacent'. Thus, the following examples turn out to be ungrammatical in English, since the presence of intervening constituents, which violates the so-called Adjacency Condition, makes case assignment impossible:[58]

(59) *I believe sincerely him to be here.

(60) *Mary believes, but Catherine doesn't believe, him to be fat.

Though this analysis is by no means uncontroversial, it has to be admitted that the evidence adduced below lends it some support, at least for Elizabethan English. In all of the following examples, (NP TO VP) is separated from the matrix verb by intervening material (including coordinating or subordinating conjunctions); interestingly enough, the expected oblique case marking on the NP has given way to a nominative form:

(61) *Lear* 7.302 **Regan** (to Lear, alluding to her sister Gonoril). I pray you, sir, take patience. I have hope /*You* less *know* how to value her desert /Than *she to slack* her duty.
i.e. 'I hope you undervalue her dutifulness, rather than that she has come short in it'. The syntax of this passage is involved, as noted in chapter 5 above (*qv*), yet it seems clear that *know* governs both the *how*-clause and the *she-to-slack* clause.

(62) Kyd *The Spanish Tragedy,* Fourth Addition 44 thou liest, I am not mad. /I *know* thee to be Pedro, and *he* Jaques.
(quoted from Visser III/2: section 2062.)

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[57] In the technical sense which this term has in current GB theory.

[58] On the Adjacency Condition, cf. in particular Stowell (1981), and, for textbook discussion, Lasnik and Uriagereka (1988: 11 ff).

(63) Sidney *Astrophel and Stella* (ed. Flügel) 51, 5 *Suffer* not her to laugh, and *we suffer* paine.

(64) *Hamlet* 1.4.35 thou, dead corpse, again in complete steel, /Revisitst thus the glimpses of the moon, /*Making* night hideous, and *we* fools of nature /So horridly *to shake* our disposition

(65) *As* 3.2.151 Heaven *would* that she these gifts should have /And *I to live and die* her slave
i.e. 'and that I should live etc.', or 'and me to live etc.' For WILL + NP *(to)*Inf, cf. *H5* 2.0.18 "O England! (...) What mightst thou do, that *honour would thee do*, /Were all thy children kind and natural?"

On the whole, then, the evidence from the Early Modern period suggests that (NP TO VP) remains a constituent at the surface, and that the oblique case marking on NP$_2$ is probably to be attributed to its closeness or adjacency to the matrix verb, and not to its status as an object within the matrix clause. In this respect, therefore, there exists a close parallelism between the language of the corpus and that of the Wyclifite Sermon cycle.

7.3.3.1 The semantics of subtype 2: **V (NP (to)Inf)**

The following classes of predicates may be distinguished:

I) Perception predicates (43 ex: 21 prose / 22 verse)

FEEL, *Lear* 21.54 "I feel this pin prick".
HEAR (8 prose / 7 verse), e.g. *Wint* 5.2.4 and 7, 5.2.115.
SEE (7 prose / 8 verse), e.g. *Lear* 6.35, 14.64.

Like other two-place catenatives, the preceding verbs have monotransitive analogues with *that*-clauses, as in (66)-(67):

(66) *Rom* 4.4.100 **Friar Laurence** (alluding to Juliet dead). For 'twas your heaven she should be advanced, /And weep you now, *seeing she is advanced* /Above the clouds as high as heaven itself?

(67) *Lear* 6.105 Edmund, I heard that you have shown your father /A childlike office.

However, as has often been noted (cf. Noonan 1985: 118; Fischer 1989: 186-87), there is a clear semantic distinction between the infinitival and clausal complements ocurring with these verbs. Whereas the former always involve direct perception, and thus have the same time reference as the matrix predicate (cf. in this connection the example with FEEL), clausal complements encode events that do not share the tense domain of the matrix verb, as in (67), or which -for one reason or other- are not directly observable, as in (66).

Also to be included in the perception class is KNOW$_1$, as defined in section 4.3.3 above; cf. (68)-(69):

(68) *Wiv* 2.2.101 **Mistress Quickly** (to Falstaff). Mistress Page hath her hearty commendations to you too (...) I never knew a woman so dote upon a man.

(69) *Wint* 4.3.85 **Clown.** What manner of fellow was he that robbed you?
Autolycus. A fellow, sir, that I have known to go about with troll-madams.

In this use, KNOW means something like 'experience, see', and resembles the verbs of physical perception in usually taking a bare infinitive,[59] and in the fact that this is often dynamic, such as *go about* in (69), rather than stative (e.g. *be, be contemned*), as is the case with KNOW$_2$ (cf. pp. 47 and 128 for specific instances of this).

Finally, the verb HAVE in some of its uses (referred to henceforth as HAVE$_1$) also seems to belong with perception predicates -witness the following examples:

(70) *Rom* 3.5.183 still my care hath been /To have her matched; and having now provided /A gentleman of noble parentage (...) *to have a wretched puling fool, /A whining maumet, in her fortune's tender, /To answer*, 'I'll not wed, I cannot love'

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[59] For the *to*-infinitive occurring in (69), cf. our comments in section 4.3.3.

(71) *Lear* 9.33 The man that makes his toe /What he his heart should make /Shall *have a corn cry woe*, /And turn his sleep to wake

(72) *Wiv* 2.1.177 **Ford.** I do not misdoubt my wife, but I would be loath to turn them (i.e. Falstaff and Mrs. Ford) together. A man may be too confident. I would *have nothing lie on my head.*
(The allusion is to the horns of cuckoldry: 'I would wish to feel nothing lie on my head'.)

It can safely be said that in all these passages the subject of HAVE does not qualify for the semantic role Causer, but rather for that of Experiencer, while HAVE itself can be glossed as 'see, experience, find'. According to Baron (1972: 185), this was its most frequent use in ME, and the same is true of the corpus, where there are 10 occurrences of HAVE$_1$, as against only 5 of causative HAVE (cf. on this pp. 123 and 141).[60]

II) Pure causative verbs (63 ex.: 15 prose / 48 verse)

Following Terasawa (1985), we shall apply this label to a number of predicates which focus only on the result of causation (like PE *cause*), rather than also on the process of acting on, or coercing, the causee (like PE *persuade* and *force*). Apart from the fact that they all lack ditransitive analogues in EMODE, their identity as two-place predicates is clear from the following:

a) They may take a non-agentive causer "naturally incapable of performing a causative action" (Terasawa, p. 134); this points to the status of NP TO VP as one argument. Cf. (73):

(73) *Lear* 15.8 World, world, o world! /But that *thy strange mutations* make us hate thee, /Life would not yield to age.

b) They may also take a non-agentive causee, as in (74), or an infinitive with the feature [-agentive], as in (75), which naturally excludes agentivity on the part of the causee:

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[60] For other instances of HAVE$_1$ see *Rom* 1.4.13, *Wiv* 2.1.177 p, 4.2.210 p, *Lear* 7.242 p, *Wint* 4.4.137, 138, 5.1.24. Cf. in addition Visser (III/1: 2265 ff), and MED *Haven* 4.d 'to experience (a feeling, pleasure, wonder, joy, etc.)'

(74) *Wint* 4.4.384 /I give my daughter to him, and will make /*Her portion* equal his.

(75) *ibid* 5.1.121 When I shall see this gentleman thy speeches /Will bring me *to consider* that which may /Unfurnish me of reason.

c) In addition, monotransitive analogues are available for some of them (though not for all; see below for details).

Corpus verbs exhibiting such properties include the following:

BRING$_1$ (1 prose / 1 verse)

Wiv 4.2.161 p, *Wint* 5.1.121 (cf. quotation (75)).

HAVE$_2$ (1 prose / 2 verse)

Rom 4.4.129 p, *ibid* 2.1.217-19 "**Juliet** (to Romeo). I shall forget, to have thee still stand here, / Rememb'ring how I love thy company. /**Romeo.** And I'll still stay, to have thee still forget".

LET$_1$ (3 prose / 9 verse)

Rom 2.1.25, *Wiv* 2.2.161 p, *Lear* 4.149 p, 7.238 p, 9.18, 19.10, 20.27, 20.226/227/228, *Wint* 4.4.117, 5.3.31.
E.g. *Lear* 19.10 "It was great ignorance, Gloucester's eyes being out, /To let him live."

MAKE$_1$ (10 prose / 35 verse)

E.g. *Rom* 1.2.87, *Wiv* 5.5.177, *Lear* 24.226, *Wint* 5.3.71, etc.
VP + *that*-clause; for specific examples, cf. OED *Make* v. 52 and Terasawa (1985: 137-140).

PERMIT

Lear 2.3. "Wherefore should I /Stand in the plague of custom and permit /The curiosity of nations to deprive me /For that I am some twelve or fourteen moonshines /Lag of a brother?".
VP + *that*-clause; cf. *R2* 2.3.118 "my father, /Will you permit that I shall stand condemned...?"

It has often been noted in connection with causative verbs (cf., among others, Comrie 1976, 1985: 331-32; Noonan 1985: 73 ff) that there seems to be a tendency across languages for causatives to merge with their complement predications, so that only one set of grammatical relations is shared between them, as in the following French and Spanish sentences:

(76) Roger *laissera   manger* les pommes   à Marie.

      S   V   INF   DO   IO

    'Roger will let Mary eat the apples.'

(77) Rogelio *hará   comer* las manzanas a María.

      S   V   INF   DO   IO

    'Roger will make Mary eat the apples.'

This form of clause reduction -usually referred to as 'clause union' or, alternatively, 'verb raising'- occurs only marginally in PE, mostly in such fixed collocations as *let go (one's hand), let fall (a hint)*, etc.[61] Yet despite this restricted role of clause union in PE, a recent paper by van Kemenade (1985) advances the view that in OE this process was central to the grammar of modals, causatives and perception verbs, as it still is in Modern German (cf. her pages 76 and 83). This might perhaps explain the presence in the corpus of a few instances of clause union less idiomatic in character than those available today; in this connection, consider in particular quotation (80) with the verb *make*. Since by the Early Modern Period clause union had clearly ceased to be a productive process in English, all the Shakespearian examples are restricted to verse, where they function as convenient metrical devices:

(78) *Lear* 9.18 I tax not you, you elements, with unkindness (...) /You owe me no subscription. Why then, *let fall* /Your horrible pleasure.

(79) *Wint* 5.3.31 So much the more our carver's excellence, /Which *lets go by* some sixteen years, and makes her /As she lived now.

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[61] See further Andersson (1985: 135).

(80) *ibid* 4.4.94 **Polixenes** (to Perdita). You see, sweet maid, we marry /A gentler scion to the wildest stock, /And *make conceive* a bark of baser kind /By bud of nobler race.

Another aspect worthy of mention in connection with causative constructions in earlier stages of English is that, according to Terasawa (1985), a verb such as MAKE + Infinitival Complement developed in the course of time from pure causative (*Cause*-type) into agentive causative (*Force*-type), this latter being characterized by the requirement of an agentive causer and an agentive causee, as in, e.g. *they made him walk behind Jesus*. Using data from seven different versions of the New Testament, he shows that the frequency of occurrence of the agentive causee (i.e. a complement of the type (AGENT) [+ agentive] Infinitive) increases with time, roughly from only 11 instances in his extract of the Early Version of the Wyclifite Bible, to 15 in the Authorized Version (1611), and so up to a peak of 27 in the New English Bible. In this process of 'agentivization', the restrictions on the complement types capable of co-occurring with MAKE become stricter, so that a complement with the features

$$\text{(PATIENT)} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{agentive} \\ +\text{stative} \end{bmatrix}$$

as in (81)-(82) below, is no longer recorded in the New English Bible, and is judged unacceptable in PE (cf. (83) and Baron 1974: 319 ff):

(81) Chaucer *Troilus and Criseyde* 5.1802 thousandes his hondes maken deye

(82) *Rom* 5.3.166 **Juliet** (alluding to Romeo dead). I will kiss thy lips. /Haply some poison yet doth hang on them, /To make me die with a restorative.

(83) PE *John made Mary die.

On the whole, the evidence from Shakespeare corroborates Terasawa's findings above: not only can MAKE be followed by complements that would now appear odd or ungrammatical (as in (82)

above), but, in addition, its use as a pure causative, with 45 instances in the corpus as against only 7 of the agentive type (cf. p. 141), is clearly predominant. In view of this, the question arises of whether such semantic development is unique to MAKE or can rather be observed with other causatives, as part of a larger pattern. In connection with this, Terasawa himself suggests (p. 141) that such may have also been the case with HAVE, while among those causatives occurring in the corpus BRING seems to have a similar history. Thus, to judge from both the OED (*Bring* v. 8.f, 9) and Visser (III/2: 2256), the pure causative use of this predicate antedated its use as an agentive causative in the sense 'induce, persuade, prevail upon', which is the only one surviving today, mostly in reflexive constructions like *he could not bring himself to do it* and the like (cf. Andersson 1985: 87-88). This line of development seems to be corroborated by the evidence from both Marlowe and Shakespeare, since only the pure causative use is recorded in the former (cf. Ando 1976: 531), while in Shakespeare's canon figures for BRING$_1$ (pure causative) and BRING$_2$ (agentive causative) are as follows:

a) BRING$_1$ = 9 ex., in *Wiv* 4.2.161 p, *Wint* 5.1.121, *Errors* 4.3.31, *Ado* 2.2.39, *Measure* 3.1.51, *Tragedy of King Lear* 1.2.158,[62] *Antony* 5.2.357, *TNK* 4.3.91, *H8* 3.1.153.

E.g. *Tragedy of King Lear* 1.2.158 "as I say, retire with me to my lodging, from whence I will fitly bring you to hear my lord speak"; *H8* 3.1.153 "If your grace /Could but be brought to know our ends are honest, /You'd feel more comfort."

b) BRING$_2$ = 4 ex., in *Lear* 7.371, *Troilus* 4.2.29/30, *TNK* 5.4.56.

E.g. *Lear* 7.371 "Return with her? /Why, the hot-blood in France that dowerless took /Our youngest born -I could as well be brought /To knee his throne and, squire-like, pension beg"; *Troilus* 4.2.29-30 "**Cressida.** You naughty, mocking uncle! /You bring me to do -and then you flout me too. /**Pandarus.** To do what? To do what? Let her say what.- /What have I brought you to do?"

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[62] This is the heavily revised version of *King Lear* printed in the 1623 Folio; cf. *Oxford Shakespeare* (1986: 1063).

III) Propositional attitude predicates (5 ex.)

BELIEVE

Wint 1.2.324 "I cannot /Believe this crack to be in my dread mistress/".

RECKON

Wint 3.2.191 "poor trespasses, /More monstrous standing by, whereof I reckon /The casting forth to crows thy baby daughter /To be or none or little".

TAKE

Wint 5.2.117 "(...) over-fond of the shepherd's daughter -so he then took her to be-".

THINK (1 prose / 1 verse)

Lear 21.66 "/For as I am a man, I think this lady /To be my child, Cordelia"; *Wint* 4.2.43 p "a man who hath a daughter of most rare note. The report of her is extended more than can be thought to begin from such a cottage".

IV) Utterance predicates (4 ex.)

BOAST

Wint 4.4.169 "They call him Doricles, and boasts himself /To have a worthy feeding".

MAINTAIN

Lear 2.71 p "I have often heard him maintain it to be fit that, sons at perfect age and fathers declining, his father should be as ward to the son, and the son manage the revenue".

PROCLAIM

Wint 5.2.38 p "many other evidences proclaim her with all certainty to be the King's daughter".

PROFESS

Wint 4.4.539 "we profess /Ourselves to be the slaves of chance, and flies /Of every wind that blows."

V) Predicates of knowledge (3 ex.)

KNOW (2 prose / 1 verse)

Lear 2.62 p "you know the character to be your brother's?"; *Wint* 5.2.34 p "the letters of Antigonus found with it, which they know to be his character".

The following involves passivization of both matrix and complement:

Lear 15.1 "**Edgar** (disguised as a Bedlam beggar). Yet better thus and known to be contemned /Than still contemned and flattered".
I.e. 'it is better to be thus contemned and known to yourself to be contemned, than to be contemned and yet flattered' (Johnson).

VI) Commentatives (1 ex.)

DESERVE

Wint 3.2.214 "I have deserved /All tongues to talk their bitt'rest".
No other instances of DESERVE + NP *to*Inf seem to be recorded.

7.3.3.2 (NP TO VP) after verba declarandi et cogitandi.

Whereas with causatives and verbs of perception infinitive clauses were common already in OE, with the verbs in classes III (propositional attitude), IV (utterance), V (of knowledge), and VI (commentative) above they came into general use only at a later date. Roughly, around the late fourteenth century in the case of classes III, IV and V, and in modern times in the case of most commentatives (e.g. *like, hate, prefer*) and desideratives (e.g. *want, expect*); for details, cf. Visser (III/2: sections 2076-2077).

In particular, the extension of (NP TO VP) (henceforth, 'accusative with infinitive' construction, or, for short, a.c.i.) to classes III to V above (the so-called *verba declarandi et cogitandi*) has received a great deal of attention from traditional grammarians and, more recently, from historical linguists such as Anthony Warner (1982) or Olga Fischer (1989, 1990). In general, as this latter points out in her detailed discussion of the views of early scholars, these usually found in the influence of Latin the major factor behind the spread of the a.c.i. to verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring, though a host of other possible causes was also adduced, of which the most significant is probably analogy. To quote the words of one well-known traditional grammarian, "From verbs of sense perception to those of mental perception the transition (i.e. from clausal to infinitival complements) is an easy one, since the same verbs often have both functions" (Krickau 1877: 109; quoted from Fischer, p. 166).

Among recent studies of the rise and spread of the a.c.i. construction with verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring, that by Anthony Warner (1982) is particularly noteworthy, though, as will become apparent in the course of the following pages, we do not concur with every one of his conclusions. Like most of his predecessors, he endorses the received view as to the influence of Latin, and then centres his discussion on a number of grammatical parameters which he believes to have favoured the acceptability of the a.c.i. after the verbs in the relevant classes. Using evidence from Wyclifite English and from other roughly contemporary writings, he reaches the conclusion that infinitive clauses in that position "were salient to English speakers with a degree of Latin-English bilingualism. They sought to adopt this feature, but found the straightforward use of such a clause unacceptable in normal English. It was, however, more acceptable if it could be interpreted as a 'minimal alteration' of some other structure" (p. 148); the target (i.e. the accusative with infinitive construction) was thus approached "obliquely by a series of changes taking place where 'least noticeable'" (p. 151). From Warner's corpus, it appears that the structures capable of being thus 'minimally altered' were essentially of three types:

a) **NP + Predicative Complement** (as in, for instance, Chaucer's *I knowe hir eek a fals dissimulour*), which may be expanded to **NP + To be PRED**. Such an expansion would account for the high proportion of *be* infinitives after the verbs in question.[63]

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[63] This is a traditional view. Cf. Zeitlin (1908); Deutschbein (1917: 168); Bock (1931: 243).

b) **TO VP** equivalent to *that*-clause after verbs of thinking (as in *thei wenden to do wel in this*), which may in its turn be expanded to **Reflexive NP TO VP**. In Warner's view, this hypothesis finds support in the fact that a number of a.c.i. constructions in late ME contain NPs reflexive to their subjects; cf. (84):

(84) Johne Wortes that ... affermith *hym* untrewely to be my cousin
(*Paston Letters*, Visser III/2: 2324)

c) In relatives, questions, and topicalized structures, NP$_2$ may be moved from subject position in a finite clause complementing one of the relevant verbs (as in, e.g., PE *the boy we thought was honest*). "But the verb will not always be morphologically distinctive as finite and may be reinterpreted as an infinitive. *To* may then be inserted as a 'minimal alteration'" (p. 149). This last explanation would thus account naturally for the high incidence in Wycliff of a.c.i. constructions with fronted subjects (as in *this pope or these prelatis we shulden not bileve to be of Cristis Chirche*).

However, one difficulty in connection with (c) is that, as Warner himself notes, most of the a.c.i. constructions in late ME involve *be*, and would have had *is* (which is morphologically distinctive) in a finite clause. Also troublesome is the fact that in quite a few cases the subjects are fronted by passivization (e.g. *thou ... art not bileued to be perfit*), rather than merely by relativization or topicalization, and it does not seem "straightforwardly easy to interpret the 'second passive' as a 'minimal alteration' of English" (p. 149). Conscious of this difficulty, Warner leaves the question open of whether the wider availability and greater frequency of a.c.i. constructions with BE and with moved NP points (both in ME and at later periods; cf. below p. 134 ff) might not point to these structures as linguistically more natural and "unmarked (...), despite the apparent complexity introduced by movement (of NP$_2$)" (p. 155). According to Warner, further support for this view could be found in the behaviour of post-mediaeval and modern French, where the a.c.i. after *verba declarandi et cogitandi* seems to be tolerated only when the infinitive subject has been removed by relative clause formation. It may be added, incidentally, that this restriction also holds for Spanish over the same periods; cf. (85) below and the collection of sixteenth-century instances in Keniston (1937: 544 ff):

(85) Ese es *el hombre* que yo creí *ser* tu hermano.
'that is the man whom I believed to be your brother'

All things considered, it seems reasonable not to reject altogether the possibility of such structures being linguistically natural, and thus favoured across languages . Yet it would be dangerous, in my opinion, to disregard the influence of Latin on at least some of the a.c.i. types with fronting. I have in mind, in particular, the second passive, since by the classical period of Latin this had become remarkably common with an important number of verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring (for specific instances, cf. Bennett 1910: 388 ff; Woodcock 1959: 22; also Bolkestein 1979). However, for reasons I do not find clear, Anthony Warner pronounces the possibility of such an influence "most unlikely" (p. 149), even though all the evidence from his corpus points precisely in that direction. He mentions, for instance, that in Wyclifite English the importance of fronting of NP$_2$ is particularly obvious in the case of SAY, with which he has noted no less than 8 examples in the passive (cf. p. 136); but this is not surprising if one recalls the behaviour of DICERE 'say', the Latin verb most frequently occurring in personal passives. On the whole, the causal link between the English second passive with *verba declarandi et cogitandi* and the same construction in Latin seems to me beyond question,[64] which is not to deny that its actual spread in English may have been assisted by other factors; indeed, one such factor will be duly considered later in this section.

In much the same way, it seems reasonable to think that Latin influence must also have been at least partly responsible for the frequent use of reflexive NPs noted under *(b)* above (cf. p. 130), for these were common in Latin with verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring, as in (86):

(86) dico *me* errare
* 'I say myself to be making a mistake'
i.e. 'I say that I myself am making a mistake'

Finally, in the latest analyses of a.c.i. constructions to date, Fischer (1989, 1990), the author puts forward the novel claim that the rise of

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[64] In connection with this, see the Marlowian passives on p. 136 below..

infinitive clauses after SAY, BELIEVE, and related predicates found its most important explanatory factor in the change from SOV to SVO order that took place in English in the course of ME. In general, I find Fischer's views unconvincing and much too speculative, and so will not consider them here in detail, except in so far as they have a bearing on Warner's account outlined above. Given the existence in OE of structures like (87)

(87) ond het *thone diacon* unscrydan
'and commanded (someone) to undress *the deacon*'

in which the intervening NP is not subject, but object, of the infinitive, she contends that in the early stages of the spread of infinitive complements with *verba declarandi et cogitandi* "in order to avoid any misunderstanding in the interpretation of the NP before the infinitive (...) only those constructions occur at first, where the NP can *only* or fairly easily be interpreted as a subject. Hence the frequency of occurrence of intransitive verbs (including the passive infinitives, which are by their very nature intransitive), not just the verb *to be* (...) The frequency of the a.c.i. with either NP-Movement or Wh-Movement, could be explained in the same way. Warner states that this avoids surface NP to VP; I would add, because surface NP to VP can be misconstrued. If the NP or Wh-element is moved to the front, a different situation arises, because the fronted element has always had an ambiguous status in that it could come from either the subject position or the object position of the clause it moved out. In other words the language user has been familiar with this type of construction all along" (p. 211).

After this detour, let us now examine in detail the characteristics exhibited by a.c.i. constructions in Early Modern English, and then proceed to compare our findings with those of Warner and Fischer. Since the data from the corpus proved clearly insufficient for any serious discussion, I made use of additional evidence, obtained as follows:

(a) By checking the behaviour of KNOW, TAKE and THINK in five other plays of Shakespeare (namely, *TGV, John, 1H4, Mcb* and *Temp*), as well as that of BELIEVE, BOAST, MAINTAIN, PROFESS and RECKON in his complete works. This yielded 20 instances in all, including those in the corpus; cf. for these latter pp. 127-28 above, and, for the rest, *TGV* 2.4.53

(KNOW), *1H4* 1.2.180 (KNOW), *Measure* 2.1.9 (BELIEVE), *Mcb* 1.4.30 (BE KNOWN), 5.1.37 (THINK), *Per* 19.80 (PROCLAIM), *Cymb* 3.1.52 (RECKON), *Temp* 2.2.108 (TAKE).

(b) By searching through Ando (1976) for relevant examples in Marlowe's canon (total lines = 18 887). In this way, 19 new examples were collected, with the verbs HEAR (1), KNOW (3), PROVE (1), SAY (4), SHOW (4), SUPPOSE (1), SUSPECT (1), and THINK (4). Out of these, 9 occurred in Marlowe's translation of Ovid's *Amores*, and one in that of Lucan's *De Bello Civili*.

From this data, several preliminary conclusions can be drawn. In the first place, considering that the frequency of the a.c.i. construction in Marlowe's language is about once every 1 000 lines, and in the corpus approximately the same (= 12 ex. in 11 944 lines), it can be said that, by the Elizabethan period, infinitive clauses with *verba declarandi et cogitandi* were in rather restricted use, though apparently less so than in ME. Olga Fischer (1990: 276 ff) reports, for instance, that only 9 certain examples occur in her corpus, despite the fact that this is 854 800 words long. In addition, the a.c.i. clearly retains the close ties with the context of Latin translation that characterized it in the medieval period; cf. in this connection Warner's statement (pp. 140-41) concerning his supplementary corpus from Chaucer, in which 21 out of a total of 30 instances of a.c.i. occurred in *Boece*. Outside translation proper, the a.c.i. exhibits the association with formal registers, to be expected in view of its latinate origin, that is still so prominent today (see, for instance, Quirk et al. 1985: 16.50). Thus, most of the Shakespearian examples are found in the late plays, being typically produced by characters notorious, in one way or other, for their complex, involved idiolects: Duncan (*Mcb* 1.4.30), Leontes (*Wint* 3.2.214), Edmund (*Lear* 2.71), the Three Gentlemen in *Wint* (5.2.34), etc.[65] A few exceptions to this general trend can however be observed, as follows:

(88) *1H4* 1.2.180 (prose) Well, for two of them, I *know them to be* as true-bred cowards as ever turned back; and for the third, if he fight longer than he sees reason, I'll forswear arms.

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[65] On aspects of the style of the last two, cf. Fanego (1990: I, 7). On Leontes, see pp. 76-77 above.

(The speaker is Poins, Prince Hal's boon companion.)

(89) Marlowe, *Faustus* 16.36 (prose) **Horse-courser.** I went to him yesterday to buy a horse of him, and he would by no means sell him under forty dollars. So, sir, because I *knew him to be* such a horse as would run over hedge and ditch and never tire, I gave him his money.

(90) *Temp* 2.2.106 (prose) **Stefano.** If thou beest Trinculo, come forth. I'll pull thee by the lesser legs. If any be Trinculo's legs, these are they. Thou art very Trinculo indeed! How cam'st thou to be the siege of this moon-calf? Can he vent Trinculos?
Trinculo. I *took him to be killed* with a thunderstroke. But art thou not drowned, Stefano? I hope now thou art not drowned.
(Trinculo is Alonso's jester; Stephano, his drunken butler.)

(91) *Mcb* 5.1.37 (prose) **Lady Macbeth.** Out, damned spot; out, I say (...) Hell is murky. Fie, my lord, fie, a soldier and afeard? What need we fear who knows it when none can call our power to account? Yet who would have *thought the old man to have had* so much blood in him?

The tone of all these passages is decidedly colloquial, and this possibly suggests that certain common verbs of Germanic origin, such as KNOW, TAKE or THINK in the above quotations, were available in the a.c.i. construction even outside the more formal and learned styles.

In addition to those just mentioned, other noteworthy features of the grammar of a.c.i. constructions in our collection of examples from EMODE are the following:

I) Type of infinitive

As in late ME, and as still in PE, the infinitive of BE, alone or in combination with a past participle, is clearly predominant, totalling 11 instances in Marlowe, and 16 in Shakespeare. Clearly, so high an incidence has much to do with the origin of the a.c.i. as an expansion of the sequence **NP + Predicative Complement**; however, since this is by definition stative, another consequence of such an origin is the preference for stative

infinitives, whether BE or other. This aspect, which is also mentioned by Warner, and by most PE grammars (cf. Andersson 1985: 183, 201 ff; Quirk et al. 1985: 1204; Mair 1990: 189 ff), accounts for the fact that HAVE (3 ex.) is the next most common infinitive in my collection of a.c.i.; cf. quotation (91) above and (92)-(93), as well as Table 10 on p. 139.

(92) Marlowe *Jew of Malta* 2.3.36 Now will I show myself to have more of the serpent than the dove

(93) *Wint* 4.4.169 They call him Doricles, and boasts himself /To have a worthy feeding

Lastly, a.c.i. constructions can also be examined in the light of Olga Fischer's claim concerning the frequency of passive and intransitive infinitives (cf. p. 132 above). This, however, is not clearly borne out by my material: only 5 passive infinitives are found (in *Lear* 15.1, *Temp* 2.2.106, *Massacre at Paris* 406, *1 Tamb* 2.1.35, and *Ovid* 2.6.52), while intransitive ones are even less common (3 ex., with BEGIN *Wint* 4.2.43, FLY *Ovid* 1.8.13, and GRANT *Hero and Leander* 1.335). On the other hand, transitive infinitives come to a total of 9 instances (cf. citations (91)-(93), and *Mcb* 1.4.30 (HAVE DONE), *Lucan* 325 (EXCEED), *1Tamb* 2.3.16 (DRINK), *Ovid* 2.17.15 (PRAY), 3.5.39 (TAKE) and 3.12.20 (HAVE FORSOOK)). Considering that, as Warner notes (cf. his pp. 152 ff), the basic features of a.c.i. constructions have remained remarkably stable through time, I would have expected a greater similarity between Fischer's data and my own.

II) NP$_2$ reflexive to the subject

Though Warner expresses a belief that this parameter "declined in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries" (p. 156) and did not survive the loss of the motivation that had brought about its appearance, it can still be seen at work in my collection of a.c.i. constructions. Witness the following examples:

(94) *Wint* 4.4.540 we profess ourselves to be the slaves of chance

(95) *Cymb* 3.1.52 Caesar's ambition (...) Did put the yoke upon's, which to shake off /Becomes a warlike people, whom we reckon ourselves to be.

(96) *Jew of Malta* 2.3.36 Now will I shew myself to have more of the serpent than the dove

(97) *ibid* 3.2.7 /So, now they have shew'd themselves to be tall fellows./

See also quotation (93) above with BOAST ONESELF.

III) Fronting

As in Warner's corpus and in PE generally (cf. Andersson 1985: 201 ff), this is indeed a most important parameter: it is present no less than 7 times in Shakespeare, and 9 in Marlowe, that is, in 41% of all instances. Details of the various types of fronting found are given below:

1) NP_2 becomes passive subject (10 ex.):

(98) Marlowe *Lucan* 325 He's known to exceed his master

Cf. also *Mcb* 1.4.30 ("... must be known /No less to have done so"); *Lear* 15.1 ("... known to be contemned"); *Wint* 4.2.43 ("... can be thought to begin"); *1Tamb* 2.3.15 ("... is said /To drink"); *Hero and Leander* 1.335 ("... would be thought to grant").

The following examples from Marlowe's *Ovid* are all translations of Latin second passives:

(99) 2.6.52 ... Whence unclean fowls are said to be forbidden.
(*dicitur* 'is said' in the original)

(100) 2.17.15 Love-snar'd Calypso is supposed to pray /A mortal nymph's refusing lord to stay.
('*traditur* et nymphe mortalis amore Calypso /capta recusantem *detinuisse* virum')

(101) 3.5.41 Rich Nile... /Is by Evadne thought to take such flame
('Nilus... *fertur... non potuisse*')

(102) 3.12.20 she... /Is said to have attempted flight forsooke
('*dicitur... destituisse*')

2) NP_2 is relativized or fronted by topicalization (4 ex.)

(103) *Measure* 2.1.9 Let but your honour know- /Whom I believe to be most strait in virtue- (...)

(104) *Wint* 5.2.34 the letters of Antigonus found with it, which they know to be his character

(105) *Ovid* 1.8.13 Her I suspect among night spirits to fly
(a fronted accusative also in the Latin original: '*hanc* ego nocturnas versam volitare per umbras /suspicor')

(106) *ibid* 3.1.26 This thou wilt say to be a worthy ground.

3) NP_3 is relativized or topicalized (2 ex.):

(107) *Cymb* 3.1.52 Caesar's ambition (...) Did put the yoke upon's, which to shake off /Becomes a warlike people, *whom* we reckon ourselves to be.

(108) *Wint* 5.2.117 over-fond of the shepherd's daughter -so he then took her to be-

The first obvious conclusion to be drawn from the preceding evidence relates to examples like the last two quoted, in both of which the moved NP is not the infinitive subject (i.e. NP_2), but rather the predicative complement (i.e. NP_3). A convenient formula for them might thus be **Pred... NP_2 ToVP**. A variant of this without an overt infinitive can also be found in EMODE, as in the following example:

(109) *Titus* 5.2.153 **Titus.** Know you these two?
Publius. The Empress' sons I take them -Chiron, Demetrius.

This suggests, I think, that in addition to straightforward **NP_2 Pred** -which, as noted by Warner and others, was expanded to **NP_2 To BE Pred**-, its variant **Pred... NP_2** may have also played a part in the extension of the a.c.i. after verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring, since the insertion of TO BE

in that particular sequence must have proved a convenient way of removing its potential ambiguity and awkwardness.

However, a more significant feature of the various examples with fronting recorded in my material is the clear correlation between the presence of moved NP points and that of infinitives other than BE or HAVE. Such correlation is very prominent in both Shakespeare and Marlowe -as a glance at the infinitives in quotations (98)-(106) will show-, but is by no means exclusive to them, even though, to my knowledge, it has never been noted before in previous historical studies. Thus, it can be discerned in later seventeenth-century authors (cf. Söderlind's data on Dryden, 1958: II, 34 ff), and even in Anthony Warner's Middle English examples.[66] Cf. in this connection his list of Wyclifite a.c.i. constructions on pp. 135-36, and also his p. 146, where, out of 22 Chaucerian clauses with verbs of knowing and thinking, he quotes the following as the only one not containing BE as infinitive:[67]

> (110) *Canterbury Tales* VII.2747 his doghter... Which that he knew in heigh sentence *habounde*,

Since in Latin the occurrence of infinitives other than the copula ESSE does not seem to have been subject to a parallel restriction, the explanation for this aspect of the grammar of English a.c.i. constructions must lie elsewhere. Perhaps in the intimate connection between the a.c.i. and the sequence **V NP Pred** -of which, as has repeatedly been noted, the a.c.i. was originally an expansion-. This being so, the language must have found it difficult to tolerate the use of infinitives other than BE, since the vast majority of these

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[66] The connection between the presence of moved NP points and that of infinitives other than BE holds also for PE, as has recently been noted by Mair (1990: 189 ff).

[67] In fact, Warner adduces a second example without BE, namely

Chaucer *Troilus* V.20 Men *wiste* nevere womman *han* the care, /Ne was so loth out of a town to fare.

but he has failed to realize that the matrix verb WITEN does not qualify here as a verb of knowing, but rather as a verb of physical perception, i.e. 'see, observe'. In this use, recorded since OE times, ME WITEN regularly took a bare infinitive, as above, and its behaviour was in most respects parallel to that of the predicate that I have earlier (section 4.3.3) identified as $KNOW_1$. See OED *Wite* v.[2] Obs.3 'To see, observe', and Fischer (1989: 199-202).

cannot naturally enter into a predicative relation. The fronting of NP_2, which, as we have seen, was common enough in Latin, the model language, would then have been resorted to as an expedient to avoid at the surface the undesirable sequence **V NP ToInf** (where **Inf** = not BE). Such a development is consonant with Anthony Warner's claim that English a.c.i. constructions after *verba declarandi et cogitandi* were approached 'obliquely' by a series of changes taking place where least noticeable. But even more importantly, it provides a plausible explanation for an aspect of the grammar of a.c.i. constructions as yet not satisfactorily accounted for, namely, its frequent occurrence with moved NP points.

Table 10. Characteristics of a.c.i. constructions in Marlowe and Shakespeare.

	Fronted NP_2	Fronted NP_3	No fronting No reflexive NP_2	No fronting Reflexive NP_2
Inf: BE or passive	5	2	17	3
Inf: HAVE	-	-	1	2
Inf: Other	9	-	-	-
TOTAL	14	2	18	5

7.3.4 Subtype 3: **V NP (to)Inf** *in unassignable structures (22 ex.)*

Table 11.

	Rom	*Wiv*	*Lear*	*Wint*	TOTAL
Prose	1	4	-	2	7
Verse	2	-	8	5	15
TOTAL	3	4	8	7	22

Here belong a small number of verbs without adequate ditransitive parallels in EMODE, and which thus fail to meet our criterion for inclusion in subtype 1 (= **V NP (- (to)Inf)**). Even so, a three-place interpretation is possible for many of them, since -unlike, for instance, the verbs of subtype 2 (section 7.3.3)- they occur in syntactic frames with strong implications of agentivity. For example, in collocation with two animate NPs (NP$_1$ and NP$_2$) and a non-stative infinitive:

(111) *Wiv* 4.2.85 p **Mistress Ford** (alluding to the dirty linen basket in which Falstaff had formerly been carried out of the house). I'll appoint my men to carry the basket again.

However, the absence of ditransitive analogues for this sense of APPOINT ('ordain authoritatively', OED *Appoint* v.8) makes a three-place analysis somewhat doubtful, while leaving open the possibility of a two-place reading (i.e. 'I'll give orders (to some unspecified individual) for my men to carry the basket'). On such double analyses, see p. 101 above.

As in PE (cf. in particular Andersson 1985: 124 ff), the items allowing bi-categorial interpretations are a few verbs of ordering, permitting and causing, as detailed below:

APPOINT (1 ex.); cf. (111) above.

VP + finite clause; cf. *Wiv* 4.2.28 "her mother, ever strong against that match /And firm for Doctor Caius, hath appointed /That he shall likewise shuffle her away".

BRING$_2$

Lear 7.371 "**Lear.** Return to her, and fifty men dismissed? /No, rather I abjure all roofs (...) Return with her? /Why, the hot-blood in France that dowerless took /Our youngest born -I could as well be brought /To knee his throne and, squire-like, pension beg /To keep base life afoot. Return with her? /Persuade me rather to be slave and sumpter /To this detested groom."

GET (1 prose / 1 verse)

Wiv 2.2.74 p "they could never get her so much as sip on a cup with the proudest of them all"; *Lear* 14.101.

HAVE$_3$ (2 verse)

Lear 13.11 "To have a thousand with red burning spits come hissing in upon them!" (but this example might well belong under HAVE$_1$ (cf. p. 121) rather than here); *Wint* 3.2.188 "**Paulina** (to Leontes). Thou wouldst have poisoned good Camillo's honour /To have him kill a king-".

LET$_2$ (6 verse)

Lear 16.63 "Were't my fitness /To let these hands obey my blood, /They are apt enough to dislocate and tear /Thy flesh and bones". Cf. also *Rom* 2.1.223, 4.4.59, *Lear* 13.51, *Wint* 2.3.51, 4.4.349.

MAKE$_2$ (3 prose / 4 verse)

E.g. *Wint* 1.2.105 "Three crabbèd months had soured themselves to death /Ere I could make thee open thy white hand /And clasp thyself my love"; *ibid* 1.2.85 "Th'offences we have made you do we'll answer"; *Lear* 1.158 "Since thou hast sought to make us break our vow, (...) and with strayed pride /To come between our sentence and our power, (...) take thy reward". Cf. also *Wiv* 3.2.82 p, 4.3.8 p, *Lear* 21.78, *Wint* 4.4.199 p.

SUFFER (2 prose / 1 verse)

Lear 16.43 "A father, and a gracious, agèd man (...) have you madded. /Could my good brother suffer you to do it?"; *Wint* 4.4.832 "If I had a mind to be honest, I see fortune would not suffer me" (on this example, see further note 53 above). Cf. also *Rom* 2.3.145 p.

7.3.5 Surface pattern **V - (to)Inf** *(13 ex.: 7 prose / 6 verse)*

In this marginal variant of subtypes 1 (**V NP (- (to)Inf)**) and 2 (**V (NP (to)Inf)**), the intervening noun phrase is left unexpressed as being generic, unimportant or easily recovered from the context. The construction is now restricted to verbs such as HELP or, marginally, HEAR, but was formerly used much more extensively; cf. in this connection Visser (III/1: 1342 ff), Warner (1982: 77-8), and Mitchell (1985: II, 887 ff).

AID

> *Wint* 5.2.71 p "all the instruments which aided to expose the child were even then lost when it was found".
> Cf. p. 111 above for AID NP toInf.

BESEECH

> *Wint* 2.3.148 "**A Lord** (to Leontes). Beseech your highness, give us better credit. /We have always truly served you, and *beseech* /So to esteem of us."

BID

> *Lear* 7.464 "**Regan** (to Gloucester). He is attended with a desperate train, /And what they may incense him to, being apt /To have his ear abused, wisdom bids fear./"

HEAR (1 verse / 1 prose)

> *Rom* 2.3.185, *Wiv* 1.2.82 "I heard say he was outrun on Cotswold."

HELP (5 prose / 3 verse)

> E.g. *Wiv* 2.2.168 p.

7.4 Surface pattern **V PrepP toInf** *(3 ex., in verse)*

The matrix predicate in subtypes **V NP (- toInf)** and **V (NP toInf)**, as characterized in 7.3.2-3 above, can be a prepositional verb, so giving rise to the variant pattern considered in this section. Examples in the corpus are restricted to the following:

a) Ditransitive structures:

REQUIRE OF

> *Lear* 24.42 "We do require then of you, so to use them /As we shall find their merits and our safety /May equally determine."
> Cf., with NP + PrepP, *Temp* 5.1.134 "I do... require /My dukedom of thee,"

b) Monotransitive structures:[68]

BRAG OF

> *Rom* 1.5.66 "Verona brags of him /To be a virtuous and well-governed youth."
> No other instances of BRAG OF + NP toInf seem to be recorded.

STAY FOR

> *Rom* 3.1.128 "Mercutio's soul /Is but a little way above our heads, /Staying for thine to keep him company."

7.5 Types **V it Predicative Complement ObjCl** *(7 ex.: 4 verse /3 prose) and* **V Predication Adjunct ObjCl** *(1 ex., in verse)*

For discussion of these two related patterns, see section 6.1.2 above. Instances in the corpus include the following:

a) **V it PredCompl ObCl**:

HOLD (2 ex.: 1 verse / 1 prose)

> *Rom* 1.5.58 "Now, by the stock and honour of my kin, /To strike him dead I hold it not a sin"; *Wint* 4.4.682 p "I hold it the more knavery to conceal it".

RECEIVE

> *Lear* 7.142 "My sister may receive it much more worse /To have her gentlemen abused, assaulted".

THINK

> *Wint* 4.2.48 p "from whose simplicity I think it not uneasy to get the cause of my son's resort thither"; *ibid* 4.4.838 p "If he think it fit to shore them again (...) let him call me rogue"; *Lear* 6.123, 24.44 (both also with THINK ... FIT).

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[68] On these, see also chapter 5.

b) **V PredAdjunct ObCl:**

TAKE

Wint 4.1.3 "[I] /Now take upon me in the name of time /To use my wings."

7.6 Infinitive clauses as complements to NPs (68 ex.)

Percentage in corpus: 9.26%

Table 12

| | TO | | | | Bare | | | |
| | Restrictive | | Nonrestrictive | | Restrictive | | Nonrestrictive | |
	P	V	P	V	P	V	P	V
Rom	-	18	-	1	-	-	-	-
Wiv	8	2	1	-	-	-	1	-
Lear	3	13	1	4	-	-	-	-
Wint	1	13	-	-	-	-	-	2
TOTAL	12	46	2	5	-	-	1	2

Broadly speaking, the comments made in Fanego (1990: I, 15 ff) with respect to the grammar of *that*- and *zero*-clauses in restrictive and nonrestrictive apposition apply also to appositional infinitives, though there are a few differences of detail. In the first place, infinitives in appositional function are considerably more frequent than finite clauses, since only 28 examples of this latter category occur in the plays.[69] In this respect, the

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[69] It is to be remembered, however, that the corpus used in my analysis of finite complements did not include the verse passages from *The Winter's Tale*. If these are excluded from the count, the figure for appositional infinitives comes down to only 54, as against 28 finite clauses.

corpus coincides with Warner's, in whose collection of Wyclifite sermons appositional infinitives came to a total of 105, as against 89 finite clauses. Apparently, the reverse situation obtains in PE, to judge at least from Huddleston (1971: 197 ff), who records 148 finite clauses and 53 infinitives; however, it seems reasonable to assume that the nature of Huddleston's corpus, which comprises only written scientific English, must be at least partly responsible for this striking difference.

A second respect in which our findings approach those of Warner's is in the low incidence of extraposition from NP. As already noted in section 6.1.2 above, infinitives in the corpus are clearly less mobile than finite clauses, and tend to follow immediately after their head nouns except in a few cases (= 6 in all), in which there is re-arrangement for prosodic reasons (cf. (1)-(3) below). By contrast, one third (= 9 ex.) of the appositive finite clauses in the plays were extraposed.

(1) *Rom* 2.5.25 Ah, Juliet, if the measure of thy joy /Be heaped like mine, and that *thy skill* be more /*To blazon it*, then sweeten with thy breath /This neighbour air

(2) *Wint* 1.2.29 I had thought, sir, to have held my peace until /You had drawn *oaths* from him *not to stay*.

(3) *ibid* 5.1.216 Though fortune, visible an enemy, /Should chase us with my father, *power no jot* /Hath she *to change our loves*.
See also *Rom* 2.0.11, *Lear* 3.15, 7.165.

7.6.1 To-*Infinitives.*

I) Restrictive (12 prose / 46 verse).

The head nouns of phrases introducing these are:

ART, *Lear* 1.216; CARE (in HAVE... CARE 'be intent or bent on'), *Rom* 3.5.23 "I have more care to stay than will to go"; CAUSE (2 verse), *Lear* 8.30, *Wint* 2.1.79; COMMAND, *Lear* 7.423 "What need you five-and-twenty, ten, or five, /To follow in a house where twice so many /Have a command to tend you?"; COMMISSION 'command, instruction' (OED

Commission sb. 1), *Lear* 24.248; COMMISSION 'warrant' (OED sb. 3), *Wint* 1.2.40 "When at Bohemia /You take my lord, I'll give him my commission /To let him there a month behind the gest /Prefixed for's parting"; CONSENT (2 verse), *Rom* 4.1.90, *Wiv* 4.6.44; CUNNING 'skill' (OED *Cunning* sb. 3.arch.), *Rom* 2.1.143 "trust me, gentleman, I'll prove more true /Than those that have more cunning to be strange"; DESIRE, *Wiv* 2.2.177 p; DISPOSITIONS (formerly used as a plural, cf. OED *Disposition* sb. 7) (1 prose / 1 verse), *Wiv* 3.1.21 p, *Rom* 1.3.67 "How stands your dispositions to be married?"; DREAD, *Lear* 1.139; FRIGHT, *Wiv* 3.5.101 p; GROUND, *Wint* 1.2.354 "I must be the poisoner /Of good Polixenes, and my ground to do't /Is the obedience to a master"; HEART 'courage', *Rom* 3.3.51; IMPUDENCE, *Wint* 3.2.55; JOY, *Wint* 5.1.81; LEAVE 'permission, allowance' (1 prose / 4 verse), *Rom* 2.4.66, 5.1.7, *Wiv* 1.4.117 p, etc.; MEAN(S) (2 prose / 6 verse; now only used in the plural, cf. OED *Mean* sb. 10.a), *Rom* 5.3.240 "with wild looks bid me devise some mean /To rid her from this second marriage", *Wiv* 2.2.177 p, etc.; NEED (2 prose), *Lear* 2.34, 4.185; OATHS, *Wint* 1.2.29 "I had thought, sir, to have held my peace until /You had drawn oaths from him not to stay"; OCCASION 'opportunity', *Wiv* 1.1.230 p; OFFICE 'duty, task', *Wint* 5.1.77 "if my lord will marry -if you will, sir; /No remedy but you will- give me the office /To choose your queen"; OPPORTUNITIES (2 prose), *Wiv* 2.2.191, *Lear* 20.255; PITY, *Lear* 21.51; POINT (in BE AT POINT TO 'be just about to, be ready to', OED *Point* sb. D.1.c), *Lear* 8.24 "From France there comes a power /Into this scattered kingdom, who already, /Wise in our negligence, have secret feet /In some of our best ports, and are at point /To show their open banner"; PURPOSE, *Wint* 4.4.152; REASON, *Rom* 2.0.13; SKILL 'ability, dexterity'; SKILL 'cause, reason' (OED *Skill* sb.[1] 3), *Wint* 4.4.152 "I think you have /As little skill to fear as I have purpose /To put you to't"; STRENGTH OF WILL, *Rom* 4.1.72 "If (...) Thou hast the strength of will to slay thyself"; TIME (2 verse), *Lear* 21.90, *Wiv* 4.6.35; VANTAGE (in TAKE VANTAGE 'take (the) opportunity to'; cf. OED *Vantage* sb. 5.b.Obs.), *Lear* 7.165 "All weary and overwatched, /Take vantage, heavy eyes, not to behold /This shameful lodging"; WAY, *Wint* 4.4.66; WILL, *Rom* 3.5.23; WORD 'message', *Wiv* 3.5.55 p "I marvel I hear not of Master Brooke; he sent me word to stay within".

In the following quotation, the infinitive clause appears to be governed not by the head noun PROCLAMATION which immediately precedes it, but rather by an ellipted verb such as *induce*: 'the proclamation (inducing me) to escape'. This ellipsis, like the broken syntax of the passage or the repeated use of exclamatory clauses, is clearly intended to reflect Edgar's agitation of mind in the course of this scene:

> (4) *Lear* 24.180 **Edgar.** List a brief tale, /And when 'tis told, O that my heart would burst! /The bloody *proclamation to escape* /That followed me so near -O, our lives' sweetness, /That with the pain of death would hourly die /Rather than die at once!- taught me to shift /Into a madman's rags,
> (Edgar's words hark back to Gloucester's proclamation in 6.60 ff: "I will proclaim it /That he which finds him shall deserve our thanks, /Bringing the murderous caitiff to the stake".)

II) Nonrestrictive (7 ex.)

As with finite complement clauses, two distinct nonrestrictive appositional types are found, namely *(a)* partial apposition, in which only one of the appositives can be omitted without affecting the acceptability of the sentence or its extralinguistic reference, as in the following PE example:

> (5) This last appeal, to come and visit him, was never sent;

and *(b)* full apposition, in which either appositive can be substituted for the whole, since each separately fulfils the subcategorization requirements of the matrix predicate. On this latter type, no longer available in modern standard English, cf. the discussion in Fanego (1990: I, 17 ff), and also the following instance with a *that*-clause:

> (6) *R3* 3.7.89 **Catesby.** He fears, my lord, you mean no good to him. **Buckingham.** Sorry I am my noble cousin should /Suspect *me, that I mean no good to him.*

(a) Partial apposition (5 ex.)

The head nouns or pronouns are the following:

BENEFIT, *Lear* 20.61 "Is wretchedness deprived that benefit /To end itself by death?"; EVASION 'excuse, subterfuge', *Lear* 2.121 p "An admirable evasion of whoremaster man, to lay his goatish disposition to the charge of stars!"; THAT, *Lear* 3.15 "If he dislike it, let him to our sister, /Whose mind and mine I know in that are one, /Not to be overruled"; THIS, *Rom* 5.3.213 "O thou untaught! What manners is in this, /To press before thy father to a grave?"; THREE SEVERAL DEATHS, *Wiv* 3.5.100 p "I suffered the pangs of three several deaths. First, an intolerable fright to be detected with a jealous rotten bell-weather. Next, *to be compassed like a good bilbo in the circumference of a peck, hilt to point, heel to head.* And then, *to be stopped in, like a strong distillation, with stinking clothes.*"

(b) Full apposition (2 ex.)

(7) *Lear* 20.184 **Lear.** No seconds? All myself? /Why, this would make a man *a man of salt*, /To use his eyes for garden water-pots, /Ay, and laying autumn's dust.
(*seconds* = 'supporters'; *of salt* = 'of salt tears')

(8) *ibid* 24.202 **Albany.** If there be more, more woeful, hold it in, /For I am almost ready to dissolve, /Hearing of this.
Edgar. This would have seemed a period /To such as love not sorrow; but *another, /To amplify too much*, would make much more, /And top extremity.[70]
(*period* = 'highest point, limit'; Edgar means that "one more such circumstance, amplifying what is already too much, would increase it and pass all limits" (G.B. Evans, *Riverside Shakespeare*, p. 1293).)

7.6.2 Bare Infinitives.

For the bare infinitives, all of them nonrestrictive, cf. section 4.1 above.

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[70] I reproduce the quarto punctuation, since the editors of the *Oxford Shakespeare* depart from it to read ... *but another /To amplify, too much would make...*, and then go on to explain: "Edgar is then saying: 'This would have seemed the conclusion; but to amplify another (sorrow, or tale of sorrow) would turn what-is-already-too-much into much more (than too-much), and top extremity'" (cf. Textual Companion, p. 526).

7.7 Infinitive clauses as adjective complementation (68 ex.)

Percentage in corpus: 9.26%

Table 13

	Prose	Verse	TOTAL
Rom	3	9	12
Wiv	16	1	17
Lear	4	15	19
Wint	4	16	20
TOTAL	27	43	68

Prior to a discussion of the structural types represented in the corpus, it must be pointed out that there is no sharp boundary between infinitives in complement function and other infinitival structures which are better included within adverbial constructions, such as (1) below, or in which an implicit standard of comparison is involved, the infinitive clause thus being a degree modifier to the adjective, as is the case in (2):

(1) Bob is slow to react.
Cf. He reacts slowly.

(2) John is young to be in a casino.
i.e. 'he is too young to be in a place like that.'

To help keep the present study within bounds, these two types have been excluded from consideration.[71] For discussion of their basic characteristics in

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[71] They are, at any rate, rather marginal in the corpus. The full list of examples includes the following:

(a) *slow*-type: LONG, *Rom* 4.1.66 "Be not so long to speak. I long to die /If what thou speak'st speak not of remedy" (cf. OED *Long* a. 6.c); SWIFT, *Rom* 5.1.36 "O mischief, thou art swift /To enter in the thoughts of desperate men!".

(b) *young*-type: BOLD, *Wiv* 4.5.50 p "May I be bold to say so, sir?"; RIPE, *Rom* 1.2.11 "She hath not seen the change of fourteen years. /Let two more summers wither in their pride /Ere we may think her ripe to be a bride."

A third class of infinitive having adverbial function is illustrated in the following sentences: *Rom* 4.2.35 "help me sort such needful ornaments /As you think fit *to furnish me* tomorrow" and *ibid* 5.3.199 "With instruments upon them fit *to open* /These dead men's tombs."

PE the reader is referred to Bolinger (1961), Huddleston (1971: 162; 1984: 309-10), and Quirk et al. (1985: 16.77); on their historical development, cf. Visser (II: section 960 ff).

7.7.1 Type **I am glad to see your highness** *(53 ex.)*

In this type, by far the most important one with adjectives, the unexpressed subject of the infinitive can be recovered from the subject of the superordinate clause, that is, *I* in the instance quoted above. The adjectives capable of entering into this construction are two-place predicates, parallel in every respect to so-called *expect*-verbs, as discussed in section 7.2.1. It follows, therefore, that *glad* and related adjectives are subject to the same restrictions as verbs in the *expect*-class; namely (a) they lack finite equivalents of the type **it is glad that...*; (b) they do not occur with such non-referential, dummy subjects as *it* or *there*; and (c) they are not voice transparent, so that a sentence like *your Highness is glad to be seen by me* is not propositionally equivalent to the active *I am glad to see your Highness*.

From the point of view of their semantics, the following subclasses of *glad*-adjectives can be distinguished:

I) Adjectives expressing an emotional reaction or evaluation, or a judgement (*commentatives*) (12 ex. in verse / 7 prose):

ACCURSED 'unhappy, miserable', *Wint* 3.3.51 "my heart bleeds, and most accursed am I /To be by oath enjoined to this"; AFRAID, *Rom* 5.3.10; ASHAMED (3 ex.), *Rom* 3.2.92, *Lear* 1.202, 7.351; CONTENT (1 prose / 3 verse), *Lear* 7.393, *Wint* 1.1.42 p, 5.3.92, 5.3.93; FEARFUL 'timorous, apprehensive' (OED *Fearful* a. 3), *Wint* 1.2.260 "If ever fearful /To do a thing where I the issue doubted, (...) 'twas a fear /Which oft infects the wisest"; GLAD (5 prose / 2 verse), e.g. *Lear* 7.290, *Wiv* 1.1.29 p, 1.1.73 p; MOODY 'angry' (OED *Moody* a. 3.Obs), *Rom* 3.1.13 p "thou art as hot a jack in thy mood as any in Italy, and as soon moved to be moody, and as soon moody to be moved"; WORTHY, *Wint* 2.3.109 "thou art worthy to be hanged."

II) Adjectives expressing volitional meaning, whether positive or negative (*desideratives*) (11 verse / 3 prose):

APT 'inclined, prone' (1 prose / 2 verse), *Rom* 3.1.30 p "An I were so apt to quarrel as thou art, any man should buy the fee-simple of my life for an hour and a quarter", *Lear* 7.463, 16.64; BENT, *Lear* 24.136 "This sword, this arm, and my best spirits are bent /To prove upon thy heart, whereto I speak, /Thou liest"; LOATH (1 prose / 2 verse), *Wiv* 2.1.175 p, *Lear* 1.260, *Wint* 4.4.572; PITCHED 'determined, resolved' (OED *Pitched* ppl. a.[1] 4.Obs.rare; only two instances recorded), *Lear* 6.65 "When I dissuaded him from his intent /And found him pitched to do it, with curst speech /I threatened to discover him"; READY (1 prose / 4 verse), *Wiv* 2.1.81 p, *Lear* 24.51, *Rom* 1.5.94, 4.4.60-61; SLOW 'not prompt or willing to' (OED *Slow* a. 3), *Rom* 4.1.3 "My father Capulet will have it so, /And I am nothing slow to slack his haste".

III) Adjectives expressing obligation, necessity, ability, and other modal meanings (*modal predicates*) (8 prose / 4 verse):

ABLE (6 prose / 2 verse), e.g. *Wint* 5.2.25 p; BOUND, *Lear* 14.6 p, 24.148 "thou art not bound to answer /An unknown opposite"; FAIN 'constrained, obliged' (OED *Fain* a. 2.b), *Wiv* 2.2.25 p, *Lear* 21.36 "wast thou fain, poor father, /To hovel thee with swine and rogues forlorn /In short and musty straw?"

IV) Aspectuals (4 prose / 3 verse):

READY 'about to' (2 prose / 1 verse), *Wiv* 2.2.278 p, *Wint* 5.2.49 p, *Lear* 24.200 "I am almost ready to dissolve, /Hearing of this"; USED 'accustomed' (OED *Use* v. 20.c.Obs.), *Wint* 4.4.18 "To me the difference forges dread; your greatness /Hath not been used to fear"; WONT (2 prose / 1 verse), *Wiv* 3.2.2 p, *Lear* 4.164 p, *Wint* 4.4.346.

V) Other predicates (1 ex.):

NEGATIVE, *Wint* 1.2.276 "**Leontes** (to Camillo). Ha' not you seen, Camillo (...) My wife is slippery? If thou wilt confess- /Or else be impudently negative /To have nor eyes, nor ears, nor thought- then say /My wife's a hobby-horse, deserves a name /As rank as any flax-wench that puts to /Before her troth-plight."

I.e. 'or else shamelessly deny that you have eyes, or ears, or thought...' The punctuation is that of *The Oxford Shakespeare*; the 1623 Folio reads

"If thou wilt confess, /Or else be impudently negative, /To have nor eyes, etc."

The expression *be negative* seems to have been used with the meaning 'deny, make denial' (cf. OED *Negative* a. I.1. Obs.rare (examples from *circa* 1400 and 1736)). Such may be its sense in the quotation above, but cf. Thorne (1971: 61), who follows the Folio punctuation and explains: "the intense excitement and confusion of Leontes' state of mind is vividly conveyed through the compression and confusion of Leontes' style of speech (...) The most likely explanation is that Leontes has omitted a repetition of the verb *confess* at the end of line 275 (i.e. immediately after *confess* itself)". I find it difficult, however, to concur with this interpretation of the passage.

7.7.2 *Type* **the arbitrement is like to be bloody** *(10 ex.)*

As in the preceding type, the subject of the higher clause is coreferential with the unexpressed subject of the lower clause. But, unlike GLAD and similar predicates, the adjectives in this class are found in the related pattern *it is like(ly) that...* They are thus one-place predicates, comparable in most respects to *seem*-verbs, as characterized in section 7.2 above.

LIKE 'likely' (2 prose / 7 verse)

E.g. *Lear* 21.93, *Wiv* 4.5.109 p, *Wint* 2.2.30. Cf. *John* 3.4.49 for its use with a finite clause.

SURE

Wiv 2.1.86 p "Boarding, call you it? I'll be sure to keep him above deck." Compare *1H6* 2.1.74 "'Tis sure they found some place /But weakly guarded".

7.7.3 *Type* **the orchard walls are high and hard to climb** *(4 ex.)*

For discussion of this type, see section 6.2 above. The adjectival predicates involved are the following:

DANGEROUS

Lear 10.10 p "I have received a letter this night -'tis dangerous to be spoken-"

EASY

Wint 1.1.59 "To be your prisoner should import offending, /Which is for me less easy to commit /Than you to punish."

FITTING

Wint 4.4.720 p "Your names? Your ages? Of what having, breeding, and anything that is fitting to be known, discover."

HARD

Rom 2.1.105 "The orchard walls are high and hard to climb".

7.7.4 *Type* **th'expressure... [is] more fertile-fresh than all the field to see** *(1 ex.)*

Wiv 5.5.67 And nightly, meadow-fairies, look you sing, /Like to the Garter's compass, in a ring. Th'expressure that it bears, green let it be, /More fertile-fresh than all the field to see;

expressure = 'impression, imprint'; "the fairy ring manifests itself in grass greener and fresher looking than is the other grass" (H.J. Oliver, *The Arden Shakespeare*, p. 141).

As in the related PE example *the castle is beautiful to look at,* the subject of the higher clause in the above quotation is co-referential with the unexpressed object of the infinitive. The type thus differs from that discussed in the previous section only in not allowing the pattern

(3) *It is more fertile-fresh than all the field to see the expressure.

(4) *It is beautiful to look at the castle.

Parallel instances have been on record since OE times (cf. especially van der Wurff 1987, Denison forthcoming), though apparently they have never been common, to judge, for instance, from their low frequency in Shakespeare, or the complete lack of examples in Marlowe (cf. Ando 1976).

8 SUMMARY OF MAJOR CONCLUSIONS

1. As shown in chapter 1, Table 3, infinitives in the corpus are clearly associated with the more formal styles, and hence are less frequent in the prose. It is not surprising, therefore, that *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* a play noted for its colloquial language and containing mostly prose, should yield the lowest percentage of infinitive complements. Apart from style, the date of composition is a second relevant factor in the frequency and distribution of infinitives, for their use increases significantly in the two later plays, *King Lear* and *The Winter's Tale*; doubtlessly, this can be read as a manifestation of the greater complexity that came to characterize Shakespeare's syntax in the course of time.

2. Certain aspects of the grammar of infinitive clauses, such as their general commutability with NP/PP, or the fact that they can be moved by topicalization and even relativization (cf. chapter 2), suggest that, in Elizabethan English, infinitive complements were more 'noun-like' than at present.

3. A number of different factors have been found to correlate with stronger infinitive marking, of which the most important appear to be (a) the grammatical funtion of the clause; (b) the weight of the material intervening between the governing verb and infinitive, pronominal NPs generally favouring the selection of *zero*; and (c) the presence of fronted constituents belonging to the complement clause.

4. The old complement type **(nominative) NP toInf** is still common in Shakespeare, alongside the newer type **for NP toInf** (cf. chapter 5). **NP toInf** can be found in all positions: (a) after comparative *as* and *than*; (b) in subject position (cf. quotation (2), p. 53); (c) in apposition to NP (cf. quotation (52), p. 116); (d) as second object in a ditransitive structure (cf. quotations (51) and (53), pp. 116-17); (e) as complement to a prepositional verb (cf. p. 55); (f) as the object of a two-place verb (cf. p. 117 ff). In all such cases, **NP toInf** behaves as a constituent in surface structure, as

discussed in detail in 7.3.3, so that there is no reason to postulate a rule raising the NP from the lower into the higher clause, as has often been done for PE in certain transformational approaches.

5. As in PE, subject infinitives in post-verbal position are far more numerous than those occurring pre-verbally, the choice between one and the other type being controlled by thematic factors, as well as by the principle of end-weight.

6. With verbs of knowing, thinking and declaring (cf. 7.3.3.2), the accusative-with-infinitive construction exhibits in EMODE most of the basic characteristics outlined by Warner for late ME. The frequent occurrence of the construction with moved NP points, noted by Warner and other scholars, is in part due to the influence of similar structures in Latin, and also to the special factor discussed on pp. 138-39.

7. Semantically, infinitives tend to be associated with actions or states that are future relative to the time reference of their matrix predicates. This accounts for the fact that the most typical classes of predicates are manipulatives and causatives (199 ex.), desideratives (55 ex.), implicatives (51 ex.), modals (48 ex.), and verbs of perception (45 ex.). On the other hand, the three classes most commonly occurring with finite clauses (utterance, propositional attitude and knowledge; cf. Fanego, 1990: II, 129) have significantly lower figures in the case of infinitives; cf. pp. 91 and 127 for some examples. Finally, commentatives are frequent both with finite clauses (63 ex.) and infinitives (130 ex.). As noted in section 7.1.6, a good many examples of this class are found in *The Winter's Tale*, probably as a reflection of the high emotional intensity pervading this play.

8. On the whole, a good many features of infinitive complements, as outlined in the previous pages, seem to have remained surprisingly stable since late ME. Witness in this connection our comments on: (a) the conjoining of infinitives with constituents of other grammatical categories (chapter 2); (b) the general commutability between infinitives and NPs (*ibid.*); (c) the possibility for a certain number of verbs to still select either *to* or *zero* before a subsequent infinitive (section 4.1); (d) the influence of fronting on infinitive marking (section 4.3.5); (e) the very wide distribution,

by comparison with PE, of the complement type **NP toInf** (sections 5 and 7.3.3); (f) the constituency of **NP toInf** in complements to two-place verbs like *see, make* or *believe* (section 7.3.3); (g) the overall characteristics of the a.c.i. construction (section 7.3.3.2); (h) the resistance of appositional clauses to be separated from their head nouns (sections 6.1.2 and 7.6); and (i) the sporadic occurrence in the corpus of full nonrestrictive apposition (section 7.6.1). All this points to a great continuity in syntactic usage from late ME to the Early Modern period, and suggests that we must speak of tendencies in a given direction, rather than of complete changes. New developments are, of course, also found, such as the **for NP toInf** construction, but even this co-varies with the older type **NP toInf** in all syntactic contexts, and has not yet displaced it from environments where it can no longer occur now, such as subject clauses or comparative clauses. It would be interesting, therefore, to investigate the extent to which the basic characteristics of infinitive complementation observed in the corpus have been modified and brought closer to the norms of Present-day English by, say, the late seventeenth century. This, however, is a task which falls outside the scope of the present study, and must therefore be left to future research.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Act, scene, and line references to the works of Shakespeare are to the modern-spelling text of *The Oxford Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986). Abbreviations for Shakespeare's plays and poems are as follows:

Ado	*Much Ado about Nothing*
All's	*All's Well That Ends Well*
Antony	*Antony and Cleopatra*
As	*As You Like It*
Caesar	*Julius Caesar*
Cymb	*Cymbeline*
Errors	*The Comedy of Errors*
1H4	*Henry IV, Part 1*
2H4	*Henry IV, Part 2*
H5	*Henry V*
1H6	*Henry VI, Part 1*
2H6	*Henry VI, Part 2*
H8	*Henry VIII*
John	*King John*
Lear	*The History of King Lear*
LLL	*Love's Labour's Lost*
Lucrece	*The Rape of Lucrece*
Mcb	*Macbeth*
Measure	*Measure for Measure*
Mids	*A Midsummer Night's Dream*
MV	*The Merchant of Venice*
Per	*Pericles, Prince of Tyre*
R2	*Richard II*
R3	*Richard III*
Rom	*Romeo and Juliet*
Shrew	*The Taming of the Shrew*
Temp	*The Tempest*
TGV	*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*
Timon	*Timon of Athens*
Titus	*Titus Andronicus*
TNK	*The Two Noble Kinsmen*
Troilus	*Troilus and Cressida*
Twelfth	*Twelfth Night*
Venus	*Venus and Adonis*
Wint	*The Winter's Tale*
Wiv	*The Merry Wives of Windsor*

The following abbreviations have also been used:

ACGEL	*A comprehensive grammar of the English language* (Quirk et al. 1985)
EMODE	Early Modern English (1500-1700)
ME	Middle English (1100-1500)
MEG	*A modern English grammar* (Jespersen 1909-49)
OE	Old English (-1100)
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*
p	prose
PE	Present-day English
PP	prepositional phrase
v	verse

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