The

Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer.
The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer.

BY

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1909, for the Issue of 1905
To
Professor William Watkins Frost,
MY FRIEND OF COLLEGE DAYS
WHO
CREATED MY INTEREST IN
ENGLISH STUDIES.
PREFACE.

The following work is a condensation of a Harvard University doctor's dissertation. It is an attempt to classify the syntactical categories of Chaucer's use of the infinitive. The chief aim is to describe his practice rather than to explain the origin of particular constructions. In some cases suggestions are made as to the history of certain usages, but I believe these statements will not be confused with the facts here recorded. They are often made with a view to suggest further investigation.

I am glad to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. William Coolidge Lane, Librarian of Harvard University, for special privileges in the use of the library; to Mr. Thomas J. Kiernan, Superintendent of Circulation, for assistance in the use of the library and for the loan of books; to Mr. George B. Woods for much assistance in the investigation of particular points; to Professor E. S. Sheldon for valuable suggestions; and especially to Professor G. L. Kittredge, who first led me to see the importance of this investigation, and has given me much encouragement and valuable advice, together with great assistance in the reading of the proofs, and to Professor F. N. Robinson, under whose immediate direction this work was begun, and whose large contributions of time and indispensable criticism, in the course of the investigation and in proof-reading, place me under the greatest obligations to him.

J. S. K.

Cambridge, Mass.,
July 3, 1908.
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No attempt is here made to include the names of all the treatises used in the preparation of the following work. As a rule, only those are named which are referred to in the course of the treatment of the subject. An exception is made in the case of some works on Old and Middle English syntax to which general reference is made occasionally.

The abbreviations of works referred to, when not self explanatory, are found in alphabetical order in the bibliographical lists. The abbreviations for references to Chaucer are found on page xx.

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CHAUCER TEXTS AND EDITIONS.

For the Canterbury Tales I have used the six-text print and the print of Harleian MS. 7334; for the Troilus, the two three-text prints, containing MSS. Corpus, St. Johns, Harleian 1239; and Campsall, Cambridge Gg. 4. 27, and Harleian 2280; for the Romaunt of the Rose, the print of the Glasgow MS.; Parallel Text of Hous of Fame and Legend of Good Women; also Parallel Text, and Odd Texts, of the Minor Poems; all printed in the Chaucer Society Publications.


My investigation is based, in the Tales, on the Ellesmere MS., variations being noted. Naturally I am not concerned with changes not affecting the infinitive construction in the passages in question; as a rule, therefore, I give the readings of the MSS. without normalization, except that p, vowel v, and consonant i and u are modernized. In the same way the examples from the Troilus are based on the Campsall MS., corrected mainly by Corpus. In the Rose I have followed the one MS., the citations from the French being taken from the above-mentioned edition of the Glasgow MS., with which it is printed by Dr. Kaluza. For the Hous of Fame and the Legend I follow the Fairfax MS. In the case of the Canterbury Tales, where six MSS. are referred to, I mean those of the six-text print. Where seven are mentioned, I include Harleian 7334.
Owing to absence from the Harvard Library during a part of the preparation of this work, I have been obliged to depend in part on Skeat’s six-volume edition of Chaucer, with his variant readings, for Boece, the Astrolabe, and the Minor Poems. I believe, however, that my classification is very slightly affected by material taken second-hand in this way.

The references by line numbers in the examples from Chaucer are to Skeat’s Student’s Chaucer. They agree with the six-volume edition except in the prose of the Boece and Astrolabe.

**References to Old French Texts (mainly from Sörgel).**

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Abbreviations.


The following abbreviations are used to refer to Chaucer’s works:

A—I. Canterbury Tales.
A.B.C. An A.B.C.
An. Anelida and Arcite.
Ast. A Treatise on the Astrolabe.
Bl. The Book of the Duchesse.
Bo. Chaucer’s Boece (p. = prosa, m. = metrum).
C.L. A Compleint to his Lady.
C.M. The Compleynt of Mars.
Compleynte A Balade of Compleynte.
Damours An Amorous Compleint (Compleint Damours).
H.F. The Hous of Fame.
L. The Legend of Good Women.
La. A-prologue to the Legend.
Lb. B—
P.F. The Parlement of Foules.
Abbreviations.

Pt. The Compleynte unto Pite.
R.B. " " B-section.
R.C. " " C-section.
Tr. Troilus and Criseyde.

Other references to Chaucer's works are self-explanatory. In passages not quoted, the line number indicates the beginning of the passage intended, not always that containing the infinitive.¹

¹ The form of the infinitive—simple, with to, or with for to—is indicated in cases where any interest seems to attach to the distinction. Where it is not specially noted otherwise, the method of indication is as follows: in lists containing simple, to-infinitives, and for to-infinitives, they follow in that order, the three kinds being separated by semi-colons, usually with the simple infinitives unmarked, and the others indicated by a prefixed to, and for. Where examples are quoted, this indicates the kind of remaining references not quoted in full, as far as the next semi-colon. Where any doubt could arise, explicit statements are made.
CHAPTER I.

THE SIMPLE INFINITIVE OF PURPOSE.

OLD ENGLISH.

The simple infinitive is used in O.E. to denote the purpose of transitive and intransitive verbs of motion. It is found depending on such verbs as beran, sendan, cuman, faran, feran, gan, gecyrren, and gewitan.

Matth. 5. 17. nelle ge wenan sæt ic come towurpan șa æ . . . ne com ic na towurpan ac gefyllan (veni solvere . . . non veni solvere sed adimplere) (Sh. p. 10).

C.P. 415, 14. hit is awritten sæt Dina wore ut gangende sceawian ßæs londes wif (egressa est Dina ut videret) (Wf. p. 193).


Be. 485, 27. sæt he sende Agustinum . . . bodian Godes word (misit A. . . . prædicature) (Wf. p. 193).

Beow. 2073. siððan . . . gæst yrre cuum . . . user neosian (K. p. 32).

ÆElfric, Gr. 134, 12. ic fare huntian (venatum pergo).1

O.E.T. 326, Vesp. Ps. 95. 13. cuum dæman eorðan (venit judicare terram) (Sh. p. 10).

Judith, 191. beðað linde forð . . . in sceafena gemong fyllan folctogan fagum sweordum (Müller, p. 15).

In a large number of cases in O.E. the infinitive may denote a purpose conceived of as following the main verb immediately or as a

1 It may be questioned whether ÆElfric (pp. 150 ff.) is giving idiomatic expressions in common use rather than translation English, when he renders video te doctum ire (which he says is futuro tempore) by ic geso pet șu gæst teocan. On the other hand, the modern use of go with the infinitive as a future tense suggests the possibility that gan had already come sporadically to be so used alongside of sæt șu wyll teocan, by which he renders (video) te doctum esse. But he also gives faran infian as a translation of amatun ire.

SYNTAX.
part of its action. As Shearin (p. 10, note) states it, "This use of the simple infinitive always implies more or less of auxiliary force in the main verb." The difference in this respect between the simple and the prepositional infinitive is illustrated by Luke 1. 76–79: ἦ τοι gæst beforan Drihtnes ansyne his wegæs gearwian; to sylleenne his folce hæle gewit on hyra synna forgysnesse, þurh innopas ures Godes mildheortnesse on þam he us geneosode, of eastdale up springende, onlihtan þam þe on ðystrum and on deæps seeade sittas; ure fet to gereccenne on sybbe wege.

Shearin (p. 31, note) and Wülffing (p. 193), apparently following A. Köhler (p. 455), quote this passage to show the interchangeable force of the simple and prepositional infinitive. All three have misconceived the passage by the omission of the second verb of motion: just as gearwian depends immediately on gæst, and to sylleenne denotes the final purpose of gæst gearwian, so onlihtan depends immediately on the verb of motion geneosode (omitted by Wf. and Sh.), and to gereccenne denotes the final purpose of geneosode onlihtan. The Greek, Vulgate, and Gothic show the same distinction: προσπορεύσῃ ... εὕρη μήδει ... ἐπεκείναι ἡμᾶς ἀναγολή ... ἐπιφάναι ... τοῦ κατευθύναι τοὺς πόδας ... This is likewise rendered in the Vulgate: praebis enim ante faciem domini parare vias ejus; ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi ejus, in remissionem peccatorum eorum, per viscera misericordiae dei nostri, in quibus visitavit nos, oriens ex alto, inluminare his qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent; ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis. The M.E. and N.E. versions have not preserved the distinction in form, since the simple infinitive has ceased to denote purpose except in stereotyped phrases. Though the O.E. translation may be "due to slavish imitation of the original" (Shearin), it is perfectly in accord with O.E. syntax. For the sense of the original, see Meyer's Kommentar, pp. 266 ff.¹

Chaucer.

In Chaucer this usage is confined to the verbs gon and comen. The idea of actual motion in these verbs with the infinitive remains in a varying degree, so that

¹ The usage of O.F. is in general the same—the simple infinitive after verbs of motion, following the late Latin (cf., e.g., Matth. 5. 17, above, p. 1), which is, in turn, a revival, or more probably a preservation by the vulgar dialect, of the Indo-European construction. For the O.F., cf. Sörgel's chapter on the simple infinitive, pp. 221 ff.
in many cases they approach a mere auxiliary force.  It is possible, however, in a large number of cases to regard the infinitive as expressing the immediate purpose of the governing verb, as the terminus of its action.

Gon.

A 3685.  I wol goon slepe.
A 4250.  I wol go crepen in by my felawe.
B 1413.  and go we dyne.
D 108, E 1923.
F 1217.  Go we thanne soupe.
F 1334, I 721, Bo. I. p. 3, 37.  to gon ravyssche (raptum ire),
   Bo. I. p. 4, 229.1
Tr. II. 615, II. 1163, II. 1171, III. 672, IV. 474, V. 402, V. 523 :
   So go we seen the paleys of Criseyde ;
   So lat us seen here paleys at the leste.
R.B. 2451.  he may go lere (si le demant).

Comen.

Tr. III. 559.  she moste, by here levc,
   *Come soupen* in his hous.
Tr. IV. 653.  Thow shalt . . . *Com speke.*2

In cases where the first verb is in the imperative, it is often impossible to be certain whether the second verb is infinitive or imperative.  Of the Chaucer cases where the verb gon or comen is in the imperative, only two show a pronounced final e in the second verb: thanke, Lb. 454, and knokke, A 3431, and O.E. has a vowel in the imperative of these words.  This situation may be accidental, for the infinitive may drop final e within the verse.  But it seems to point to a tendency in Chaucer to regard the second verb as imperative; or, what is more

1 That go is frequently colourless is shown by the Latin, with similar idiom.  Cf. also Pall. I. 806.  Let veer *go delve*, if hervest shal *go sove*, If veer *shal sove* it, hervest most *go delve*, where the repetition shows that *go sove = shave*.

2 The stereotyped nature of the simple infinitive of purpose with gon and comen is shown in Chaucer by the fact that the form of *go(n)* and *comen(n)* is invariable.  Only these forms are used.  As in Chaucer, so in N.E. we can say, "Go see," "I will go see," "I did go see," etc., but not, "He goes see," "He went see," etc.  In O.E., on the other hand, one could say, Dina ware ut gangende sceawian (cf. p. 1).  Cf. Tr. II. 1253.
likely, to regard the two verbs as essentially one. To be considered in this connection are (1) our present feeling for the construction, as in go get; (2) the modern paratactic construction, go and get; (3) the inflection of both verbs as imperative in Chaucer. In the following examples the first verb is in the imperative:

\[A \ 2760, \ 3600, \ 3709, \ C \ 201, \ D \ 2026, \ G \ 1294, \ H.F. \ III. \ 700, \ Lb. \ 454, \ Tr. \ II. \ 396, \ R.B. \ 2666, \ R.C. \ 5903, \ 7584, \ Bl. \ 749.\]

In A 3431 the separation of the first verb from the rest suggests the imperative:

"Go up," quod he unto his knave anoon,
"Clepe at his dore or knokke with a stoon,
Looke how it is and tel me boldly."

Cf. A 3676 (H MS.). Ful pryvely go knokke at his windowe.

In the three following examples the imperative plural is inflected:

\[B \ 3384. \ Gooth \ bryngeth \ forth \ the \ vessels. \]
\[G \ 1207. \ Gooth \ walketh \ forth, \ and \ brynge \ us \ a \ chalk \ stoon. \]
\[B \ 230 (H \ MS.). \ Goth \ geteth \ hire \ that \ hath \ my \ lyf \ in \ cure. \]

On the other hand, the numerous cases in which the first verb is not in the imperative clearly show the dependent infinitive. In point of fact, it is probable that here, too, the two words formed a stereotyped unit, so that we need not assume the feeling of a syntactical distinction in the second verb between the imperative cases and these latter.\(^1\)

Shearin (p. 12, note 2) cites O.E. examples of a paratactic construction in which the second verb denotes the purpose of the first, though it has the same grammatical form. The final force of the second verb varies so as to grade insensibly into that of an ordinary and-combination in which both verbs are syntactically equal. For

\(^1\) In D 1778, His felawe was go walked into town, and Bl. 387, I was go walked fro my tree, Skeat (Chaucer, Vol. VI. p. 284) explains walked as the verbal, ending in O.E. in -a-, here omitting the prefix a-. I suggest that the use of this expression may also have been assisted by the analogy of the expression go walk, felt as a single word. To our present feeling, at least, such expressions as go get are essentially equivalent to single words with two phases of meaning. Go get is synonymous with fetch, which often has the double sense. It would then be easy, perhaps with the assistance of the verbal in -ep, -ed, to feel go walked as past participle of go-walk (cf. walked is, A 2389), just as goth walketh, G 1207, could be regarded as the imperative of it.
example, put the sentence, “Go and see if he has come,” into the preterit, and it may be either “He went to see if he had come,” or “He went and saw that he had come,” according to circumstances. I shall cite only a few cases, in which the meaning seems to approach the “go see” construction.

A 3620. He gooth and geteth hym a knedyng trogh.
Cf. A 3547. Anon go gete us faste in to this In
A knedyng trogh.

R.A. 1311. Thanne hadde I will to gon and see
The gardyne.
(J'oi lors talent que le vergier
Alasse veoir.)

R.B. 2432. But gone and visyten without delay (voisent visiter).
Cf., four lines below, Wherfore I wol gon her to sene (or irai).

Go followed by the simple infinitive often has more or less of a derogatory connotation.2

Tr. V. 786. Now am I not a fool, that wot well how
Hire wo for love is of another wight,
And her-upon to gon assaye her nowe?

Tr. III. 312. And I am sworn to holden it secere,
And after I go telle two or three.

1 Cf. D 1820. I walke and fisshe cristen mennes soules
To yelden Jhesu Crist his propre rente.
Here walke and fisshe may be strictly coordinate. But cf. also:
R.C. 7492. To fysshen synful menne we go (Thynne's text).
R.C. 6842. I walke soules forto cure.
Cf. also Conf. Am. I. 2138:
and had him gon
To trompen at his brother gate.
And he . . .
Goth forth and doth the kyuges heste.

Probably E 977 also belongs here:
Preying the chambereres, for goddes sake,
To hasten hem and faste swepe and shake.

Cf. the modern “hurry up and come.”

2 Apparently this sense grew originally out of the context. There may have been something in the colloquial character of the construction that assisted this connotation. Observe that a large number of the cases in Chaucer are from conversation, directly or indirectly reported. The construction is colloquial today. F. H. Chase (Journal of Germanic Philology, October, 1906) calls attention to the frequency of the construction at present in addressing children.
Simultaneous Action.

B 3097. And thou shalt have my distaf and *go spynne*.
D 653. Man shal not suffre his wyf *go roule* aboute.
D 657. And suffreth his wyf *to go seken* halwes.
D 2241. Now ete youre mete and lat the cherl *go pleye*,
         Lat hym *go honge* hymself a devel weye!
F 1003. What deyntee sholde a man han in his lyf
         For *to go love* another mannes wyf?
H 169. Yet hath this brid . . .
         Levere in a forest, that is rude and coold,
         *Goon ete* wormes and swich wrecchednesse.

Fortune, 52. lat hem *go lye* on presse.

Paratactic construction, as in present English:

D 135. But I seye noght that every wight is holde
       *To goon and usen* hem.

As in O.E., so sometimes in Chaucer, the simple
infinitive with verbs of motion represents a simul-
taneous action, denoting the manner or specifying the
nature of the governing verb. Cf. Beow. 711. *pa com* of
more under misthleojum Grendel *gongan* (K. p. 31).

Chaucer.

D 653. Man shal nat suffre his wyf *go roule* aboute.

D 657 may also be considered here:

And suffreth his wyf *to go seken* halwes.

R.C. 6744. Yit may he *go* his bred *begging*;
         Fro dore to dore he may *go trace*.
         (Metre a pain querre
         Et d’hui en huis partout tracier.)

Tr. II. 1253. Nece, y-se who *cometh* here *ryde*.

In M.E. this use seems to be represented also by the
prepositional infinitive.

Cf. Conf. Am. III. 302:

And in my barm ther *lith to wepe*¹
         Thi child and myn which *sobbeth haste*.

¹ Possibly this is on the analogy of *lith to slepe*. *Lien* regularly takes the
infinitive in M.E. That it is infinitive rather than noun is shown, e. g., by
Such a construction may represent an older simple infinitive. The construction may, however, easily grow out of the purpose infinitive in cases where the fulfilment of the purpose is simultaneous with the governing verb. Cf.

Tr. V. 1114. Til it was noone thei stoden for to se
Who that ther come—
with the less distinct purpose force expressed by

Tr. III. 229. And on a pailet al that glade nyght
By Troylus he lay with mery chere
To tale.

It is difficult to be certain how far the purpose force was felt in many cases. In the following examples, in which the time of infinitive action and of main verb are the same, the force of purpose is more or less faded out:

Tr. V. 1119. And thus by-japed stoden for to stare
Aboute nought.

Tr. I. 309. She, this in blak, lykyng to Troylus,
Over alle thyng he stood for to byholde.
A 2850. yet seyde he muchel more
To this effect ful wisely to enhorte
The peple.

Cf. Tr. II. 815, III. 543, V. 1235,1 F 444.
B 4457. Faire in the soond to bathe hire myrily
Lith Pertelote.
A 927. to abyden youre presence

We han ben waitynge.

Tr. V. 33. With certeyn folk he hovede here tabyde.
A 2820. What helpeith it to tarien forth the day
To tellen how she weep.

Tr. III. 563. ne stond not thus to muse.
A 727. I pleynly speke in this mateere
To telle yow hir wordes.

Some other auxiliary uses of gon and comen may conveniently be mentioned here, though they show the positional infinitive.

1 For fu, 97i, PQJ. in a forest faste he welk to wepe, is probably ordinary purpose.

For forth welk I the my-selven to solace.
The phrase *go aboute* came to have the meaning of *begin, attempt*. *Go aboute* has its literal meaning of motion in the two following cases:

D 1711. ther *went* a lymytour *aboute*  
*To preche* and eek *to begge.*

R.B. 3947. I tr*owe* I *shal* hym kepe soo  
That he *shal* have no myght *to goo*  
*Aboute to make* companye.  
(N’aura poir d’issir hors.)

It means *attempt, begin*, in the following:

C 158. This false Iuge *goth* now *faste aboute*  
*To hasten* his delit.¹

*Gon* has the sense of *begin, proceed*:

A 1883. Theseus *goth* so bisily  
*To maken* up the lystes roially.

Tr. II. 1601. And seide to Deiphebus, *“Wole ye gone*  
*To speke* here of the nedes of Criseyde?*

Cf. verse 1604. Eleyne ...  
 Took first the tale and seyde, *“Go we blyve.”*

R.B. 5683. Thanne *goth* he fardeles *for to bere*  
With as good chere as he dide ere.  
(Puis revont porter les fardiaus.)

Bo. III. m. 9, 33 looks like translation English:  
*it goth to torne* ayen to hym-self (In semet reeditura meat.)²

¹ Cf. Einenkel, p. 198, for examples of *go aboute* followed by a noun object, where *aboute* has a final sense. If the use of the infinitive with this phrase belongs to this category, rather than being a direct figurative application of *go aboute* + infinitive in the literal sense, as in D 1711, quoted above, we have here an instance of the addition of another preposition in order to intensify the purpose idea, corresponding to the German *um zu* + infinitive and to O.E. *ymb* in phrases and clauses of purpose (cf. Shearin, p. 17). For *ben aboute* with the infinitive, see below, p. 147. For examples outside of Chaucer of *go about* with and without infinitive, cf. *N.E.D.*, s.v. *about*, A 10 and B 6.

² The present participle with *gon* is often equivalent to the simple tense of the verb corresponding to the participle.

E 598. *goth* he ful faste *ymaginyng.*  
Tr. V. 1574. And in his herte he *wente* here *excysyng.*  
Tr. V. 716. And in hir-self she *wente* ay *portrayng.*  
Tr. V. 772. *Goth* now withinne hym self ay *arguyng.*  
^s the

The last example is punctuated with comma after *now* by Skeat and *MS.* by (Globe Ed.), as if *goth* were literal, and *arguyng* a circumstantial particle.
CHAPTER II.

THE PREPOSITIONAL INFinitive OF PURPOSE.

The examples from Chaucer do not show any distinction in final force between the infinitive with to and that with for to. On the other hand, there are numerous examples that show no such distinction to exist:

A 1194. Was come to Atthenes his felawe to visite
And for to pleye.

Such variations are not all due to the needs of metre, for they are very common in prose:

B 2997. tooken with hem somme of hire trewe freendes to maken
feith for hem and for to been hire borwes.¹

In Chaucer the syntactical connections of the prepositional infinitive with other elements of the sentence are far more various than those of the simple infinitive. The prepositional infinitive of purpose connects itself with the governing verb by more or less distinct

Einenkel (p. 238) quotes the two following examples of comen with the infinitive in the sense of happen, come to pass:

Tr. V. 1472.
ther com this bor to se
A mayde.

H.F. II. 93. I wol the telle what I am
And whider thou shalt, and why I cam
To done this.

In the first example the meaning is not, "a maid happened to come," but, "a maid came in order to see this sight" (along with the other crowds who came for the same purpose). The preceding lines make this clear.

In the second example Einenkel's interpretation is possible, but not at all necessary. The idea of motion is prominent throughout the context. Cf. I. 508, II. 30, 102, 104. The passage may simply mean, "why I came down in order to do this."

Bo. IV. p. 7, 95 looks at first like a case of comen, meaning happen: Ne
certes, thou that art put in the encres or in the heighte of vertu, ne hast not
comen to fleten with delices, and for to welken in bodily lust. ... The Latin
suggests a literal sense of comen: neque enim vos in provectu positi virtutis
diffluere deliciis et emarcescere voluptate venistis.

¹ For fuller lists of such combinations, see Appendix, pp. 159 ff.
implications of the context. Here the examples are classified according to the relation of the subject of the governing verb to the action of the infinitive, an implied relation, not expressed by grammatical form or order. The term logical subject is here used, not to denote an actual subject, nor to indicate the degree of distinctness with which one is implied, but to denote what would be the subject, if the infinitive were changed into the verb of a finite clause. See further the concluding remarks in the present chapter, pp. 24 f.

I. The infinitive denotes the conscious final cause of the action or state of the governing verb.

1. The logical subject of the infinitive is the same as the subject of the governing verb. This is the largest category of the purpose infinitive after verbs, and may be regarded as, in a sense, the normal type of the purpose infinitive in Chaucer.

Old English.

The Beowulf shows no examples of this construction, according to Köhler (p. 46). I find no cases of it recorded by the syntactical works on pre-Alfredian poetry (see Bibliography). Shearin (p. 22) says this is the most general manifestation of the abbreviation of final clauses in O.E. prose. Examples from the prose are:

Chron. 238, 21. Æises geares eac com se Eorl Rotbert of Normandig to sprecene wið Æone cyng (Sh. p. 22).
Laws, 64, 16. Ææt he ne come no Æas bebodu to brecanne ne to forbeodanne ac . . . to eacanne (Sh. p. 22). Cf. Matth. 5. 17 (see p. 1), where the same Latin is rendered by the simple infinitive.
For further examples, cf. Shearin, pp. 22 ff.; Wülfsing, pp. 213 ff.
Old French.

The simple infinitive, and the infinitive with à, de, and por denote purpose in O.F. (cf. Sörgel, pp. 262, 298; Lachmund, p. 33). The last seems to correspond in its distinctly final force with the Chaucer construction in question. Cf. Sörgel (pp. 298 f.), "Er kann nach Verben jeder Art stehen; hauptsächlich findet er sich nach Verben der Bewegung und Ruhe in eigentlicher wie übertragener Bedeutung."

Theb. 6661. Por eus veer montent es tors (S. p. 298).
M. Aym. 2099. Jhesus de gloire qui se lessa pener
En sainte croiz por son pople sawer (S. p. 299).

Chaucer.

The infinitive denoting the purpose of the governing verb, with subjects coinciding, may follow intransitive verbs of motion and of rest, other intransitives and transitives used absolutely,¹ and transitives with objects.

(a) Intransitive verbs of motion or rest.

F 302. gooth this noble kyng
To seen this hors of bras.

A 16. to Caunturbury they wende
The hooly blisful martir for to seeke.

Ben (here, there, at, etc.). A 3659, D 1587, F 1127, I 919.
Crepen. Tr. III. 1069.
Flen. H.F. II. 102.
Gon. B 4337.
Lycn. L. 2438.
Risen. Tr. III. 1465.
Slinken. Tr. III. 1535.
Sitten. I 1051, Bl. 436.
Waiten. F 87.

Willen (with implied verb of motion). B 3786

¹ Classified with intransitives because, when no object follows, the relation of infinitive to main verb resembles that between intransitive and infinitive in point of closeness, more than that between transitive with object and its dependent infinitive. Cf. headnote to the latter category, p. 12 (c), below.
(b) Intransitives and transitives used absolutely.

A 4146. *They soupen* and they *speke hem to solace.*

Tr. III. 206. gan *grone Troylus*  
His brother and his suster *for to blynde.*

Conspiren. B 1755.¹  
Seken. F 1121.  
Deyen. I 642.  
Senden. L. 1473.  
Foynen. A 2550.  
Treten. Tr. IV. 58.  
Pleyen. Tr. V. 1112.  
Waken. R.C. 7653.

Certain circumlocutions are equivalent to verbs:

C 400. Of avarice and of swich cursednesse  
*Is al my prechyng, for to make hem free.*

H 53. Ther was *greet showyng* bothe to and fro  
*To lifte* hym up.

*and for to make it strong*  
Every *pyler . . .*  
*Was tonne greet.*

(c) When the infinitive depends on a transitive verb with an object, it is not so closely connected with its governing verb as in the two previous categories. Hence it is often difficult to tell whether the infinitive attaches itself more closely to the verb itself or to the main clause as a whole. Often, also, this connection passes from the verb to the object, so that the infinitive denotes the purpose of the noun. Cf. Infinitive with Nouns, below, pp. 25 ff.

A 941. *He for despit and for his tirannye*  
*To do the dede bodyes vileynye*  
...  
*Hath alle the bodyes on an heepe ydrawe.*

E 1073.  
*I have doon* this dede  
*For no malice ne for no crueltee,*  
*But for tassaye in thee thy wommanhede,*

¹ B 1755. Fro thennes forth the Jues han *conspired*  
This innocent out of this world *to chace.*

Here we have a construction that passes easily into the complementary infinitive, which may be regarded as a stereotyped form of the ordinary purpose infinitive. "They formed a conspiracy, in order to," etc., easily becomes, "They plotted, contrived to," etc.
And nat to sleen my children ... 
But for to kepe hem.

B 1669. And getest us the lyght thurgh thy preyere
To gyden us unto thy sone so dere.¹

B 4534. And in thy service dide al his powere
Moore for delit than world to multiplye.²

L. 1684. But for that cause telle I nat this story,
But for to preyse and drawen to memory
The verry wif.

E 698. What koude a sturdy housbonde moore devyse
To preeve hire wyfhood.³

G 1386. Thus maketh he his introduccioun
To brynge folk to hir destruccioun.

Bo. II. p. 2, 67. Cresus was caught of Cyrus and laid to the fyr to be drowned.⁴

Bo. III. p. 2, 51. they that desiren richesses to han power and delytes; or elles they desiren power for to han moneye, or for cause of renoun.

L. 584. was sent a senatour
For to conqueren regnes.⁴

H 152. This holde I for a verray nyctee:
To spille labour for to kepe wyves.⁵

I 774. therefore was sovereyntee ordeyned to kepe and mayntene and def fend hire underlynges, ... and nat to destroyen hem ne confounde.⁶

C 409. for plesance of folk and flaterye
To been avanced by ypocrisye.⁷


¹ Here it is also possible to regard lyght as the logical subject of the infinitive.
² Cf. Complementary Infinitive under the phrase power doon, p. 95.
³ What might be regarded as the logical subject of the infinitive. Note that if we regard housbonde as the logical subject, what denotes the means of the infinitive action. Cf. pp. 25 ff., below.
⁴ In the active construction corresponding to this, the object of the verb is logical subject of the infinitive. Examples like this may be regarded as belonging either to category 1 or 2.
⁵ Cf. H 150. the labour is in vayn
To kepe a shrewe,
i.e. the labor of keeping. So in H 152 we probably have a pregnant construction: "to lose labor which one performs in order to keep a wife."
⁶ Here the logical subject is implied in the abstract sovereyntee and in the pronoun hire.
⁷ I.e. "to please and flatter people in order to be advanced." The logical subject is implied in the abstracts plesance and flaterye.
2. The logical subject of the infinitive is the same as the object of the governing verb. This category, therefore, includes only transitive governing verbs.

Old English.

Crist, 1622. *þær hy leomu ræcaþ to bindenne ond to bærnnenne ond to swingenne, synna to wite* (Hertel, p. 25).

Daniel, 75. *Onsende þa sinra þegna worn þæs werudes west to feran* (Spaeth, p. 31).

Chron. 21, 31. *Mellitum he sende to bodianne . . . fulluht* (Sh. p. 23).

Or. 46, 21. and *Sone oðerne daþ ðær leton ðæt lond to healdonne* (Sh. p. 23).

Old French.

Theb. 9515. *Chascuns criot son escuier
Por ses armes apareillier* (Sörgel, p. 299).

Percival, 6440. *tos ces chevaus mene il a vendre* (Lachmund, p. 33)

Chaucer.

A 2621. *doth hem Theseus to reste
Hem to refresshe and drynken.*

A 1022. *he ful soone hem sente
To Atthenes to dwellen in prisoun.*

A 3631. *He sente his knave . . .
Upon his nede to London for to go.*

Bl. 53. *That clerkes hadde . . .
. . . put in ryme
To rede and for to be in minde.*

L. 965. *him . . . he ches
To goon with him.*

I 1036. *sette it on a candlestikke to yeve light.*

A 4381. *gadered hym a meynée of his sort
To hoppe and synge and maken swich disport.*

B 2997, 3920, G 392, Tr. IV. 1096, L. 1925, 1945, Bo. II. p. 6, 80, III. m. 12, 52, Ast. II. 40, 28, Bl. 133, A.B.C. 109, R.A. 1254.

1 Here both subject and object of gadered coincide with the logical subject of the infinitive.
3. The logical subject of the infinitive is the same as the dative object of the governing verb, or the same as an equivalent prepositional object.

Old English.

Beow. 1731. seleS him on ekle eorSan wynne to healdenne hleo-burh wera (K. p. 47).
Judith, 130. and hit pa swa heolfrig hyre on hand ageaf hige-poncolre ham to berenne (Müller, p. 15).
Or. 292, 28. ac se ealdorman hie betaehte lyprum monnum to healdonne (Wf. p. 217).
Ælfr., S.L. 328. pa Sincg pe him god lende on Sysum life to brucenne.
For further examples, cf. Shearin, p. 24; Wülfing, pp. 215 ff.

Old French.

M. Aym. 1282. La li donerent marcheant par amor
Pour ax conduire par lo val Tenebrox (S. p. 299).

Chaucer.

D 813. He yaf me al the bridel in myn hond
To han the governance of hous and lond.
Bl. 48. he hit me took
To rede and dryve the night away.
Tr. V. 1. Aprochen gan the fatal destyne
That Joves hath in disposicioun,
And to yow, angry Parcas, sustren three,
Commytted, to don execucioun.
A 991, B 716, C 779, D 897, G 176, I 814, 878, Tr. V. 1856,
Bo. IV. p. 6, 286.

4. The logical subject of the infinitive is implied in the noun or pronoun of other prepositional phrases of the main clause, in addition to those mentioned in 3.

Old English.

Cf. L. 20, 20. sæt hig hine gesaldon . . . to sæs deman anwalde to fordemane (Sh. p. 25).
Old French.

En. 547. Encor fui-set Dido oyer
As murs por miels fremer (S. p. 299).

Chaucer.

Bo. I. p. 4, 184. I putte it to gessen or preisen to the jugement of thee and of wyse folk.

Tr. III. 1585. And presely sente after Pandarur
To hym to come in al the haste he may.

L. 584. Out of Rome was sent a senatour
For to conqueren regnes and honour
Unto the toune of Rome, as was usance,
To have the worlde at hir obeysaunce.

5. The logical subject of the infinitive coincides with a possessive pronoun in some other part of the sentence.

Old English.

O.E.T. 360, Vesp. Ps. 118. 5. eala sien gereht wegese mine to haldenne rehtwisnisse (Sh. p. 25).1

Chaucer.

A 4156. The cradel at hir beddes feet is set
To robben and to yeve the child to sowke.

D 2100. for many a muscle and many an oystre

Hath been oure foode, our cloystre for to reyse.

B 1721, F 744.

6. The subject of the infinitive may be suggested by its own reflexive object.

I 1041. it [the paternoster] is short . . . for to witholden it the moore esily in herte, and helpen hym self the ofter with the orisoun.

B 2722. right axeth a man to defenden violence . . . when the defense is doon anon withouten intevalle . . . for to defenden hym and nat for to vengen hym.

1 As regards its purpose force, this example belongs better under Section II. of the present chapter (cf. p. 18, below); but it illustrates the relation of infinitive subject to the main clause here.

2 Sörgel cites no O.F. examples.
7. The subject of the infinitive may be implied in a subordinate clause.

Bl. 88. Anon she sente bothe eest and west
To seke him, but they founde nought.¹

8. In accordance with the origin of the infinitive as an abstract verbal noun, its logical subject is often left ambiguous or indeterminate when there is no particular element of the sentence to suggest it. Obviously, this category shades imperceptibly into the previous ones.²

B 2223. the womman that was taken in avowtrie was broght in his presence, to knownen what sholde be doon.

Here the subject is definite—the agents of the action of the verb was broght.

In the following eight examples the subject is more or less ambiguous:

G 1163. stopped was withouten faille
The hole with vex to kepe the lemaille in.
An. 155. sumwhat moste he feyne,
When he wex fals, to covere his traitorye.

¹ The subject of to seke is also the implied object of sente.
² Shearin (p. 25, 6) says, "Sometimes there is no clearly defined element in the main clause that can be pointed out as the logical subject of the phrase. . . . Here the infinitive loses in predicative force, and is joined to some element, viz. (a) noun, (b) adjective, (c) adverb, in the main clause with modifying or restrictive function, rather than being felt in purpose relation to the main verb."

So far as Chaucer is concerned, at least, this statement represents two separate categories. The latter part ("Here the infinitive," etc.) applies properly to the M.E. use of the infinitive with nouns and adjectives. But the purpose nature of the infinitive is not affected by the definiteness with which its subject is implied. Shearin quotes B.H. 438, 7 in illustration: Set he stowe hafde in som streame to standenne (quo haberet locum standi). To this the first part of his statement does not apply, for he, the subject of hafde, is clearly the logical subject of to standenne. The difference between this example and the preceding categories of Shearin lies not in the vagueness of the subject, but in the reference of the purpose, not to the predicate hafde, but to the object-noun stowe.

On the other hand, there are in Chaucer cases in which the infinitive definitely denotes the purpose of the predicate verb, while the subject of the infinitive action is left indeterminate. See the examples on p. 18, B 391, and following, and note 4, p. 18.
18

**Infinitive Denoting**

F 1370. *They comanded his doghers for tarest.*

And bryngen hem biforn hem in despit
Al naked to fulfille hir foul delit.

I 46. *I wol yow telle a myrie tale in prose*

_To knytte up al this feeste._

A 712, G 1268, I 226, L. 2613.

In some of the above examples, perhaps, and in the following ones, the subject of the infinitive may be regarded as indeterminate:

B 391. _And preyde hire for to ryde agayn the queene_

_The honour of his regne to sustene._

B 516. _mercy she besoghte_

_The lyf out of hire body for to twynne_

_Hire to delivere of wo that she was inne._

I 873. _It is good to shewen mo perils that longen to avowtrie, for to eschue that foule synne._

A 3947. _For Symkyn wolde no wyf, as he sayde,_

_But if she were wel ynorissed and a mayde,_

_To saven his estaat of yomanrye._

B 2811, C 545, E 681, Tr. II. 1447, III. 340, IV. 132, V. 1042, L. 1888, Bl. 53. 3 4

II. The infinitive often denotes, not so much a consciously conceived, final purpose of the action of the governing verb, as simply the direction, tendency, or destiny of it. On the whole, in such cases the infinitive is more closely related to the governing verb, so that this category passes, on the one hand, into that of

---

1 Cf. A 3118. Now telleth on . . .

_Sumwhat to quite with the knyghtes tale._

2 The infinitive here expresses the purpose of the idea implied in the two previous clauses. Its subject is indefinite.

3 Ex., Th., B, read *writen is*; T, A, Add., *wryte I*; if the latter is adopted, the subject of the infinitive is definite, and agrees with that of the governing verb.

4 For a clear case of *definite* purpose with *indefinite* subject, cf. Conf. Am. II. 286:

_and forto knowe how it so is,_

_A tale . . ._

_I thenke telle._
the complementary infinitive, and on the other, into those of the object infinitive and the infinitive of result.

Old English.

Andr. 1161. welan ne benohton beornas to brucanne on þa bitran ðid (Reussner, p. 27).
Ælfr., S.L. 16, 100. Gewylnung is þæm menn forgifen to gewil-

nienne ða Sing . . .
Ps. 34. 13. ic . . . gebigde min mod to fæstenne (Wf. p. 215).
C.P. 68, 13. we mid þæm læетодome godra weorca gefultumað urum ondgiete þæt hit bið ascirped to ongietonne ða birhtu þæs soðan leothes (Wf. p. 217).
Bo. 48, 13. eallne þone welan þe hi gegaderigaf hi læfash fræmdum to brucanne (Wf. p. 219).
Be. 472, 33. to eallum ðe þis ylce stær became ures cynnes to rædanne ofte to gehyranne (omnes ad quos haec eadem Historia pervenire poterit nostrae Nationis legentes sive audientes) (Wf. p. 214).¹

Old French.

Here, as in O.E., there are varying degrees of distinctness in the purpose function of the infinitive. In general, the infinitive with por has a more marked final force than that with ã and de (Sörgel, p. 298). But ã also approaches the same force (cf. note 3).

Rol. 937. Li XII Per tuit sunt juget a perdre (S. p. 251).
Esc. 9054. Pour qu'il prestast entierement
A escouter cuer et oreilles (S. p. 252).

¹ In the O.E. examples it will be observed that the infinitives are not fundamentally different from those that show full purpose force. In O.E. the range in syntactical function of the prepositional infinitive is much more limited than in M.E., so that some of the examples just cited may be regarded as belonging also to other categories, treated separately in Chaucer, but growing out of the purpose infinitive.
Chaucer.

1. The logical subject of the infinitive is the same as the subject of the governing verb.

B 286. *Wommen are born* to thraldom and penance
And to been under mannes governance.

B 3099. *I was shape* To wedden a milksope.

R.A. 1123. *Men myght seen to go* for nede
A myle.
(L’en s’en veist bien au besoing
Conduire d’une lieue loing.)

Bo. IV. m. 3, 27. *y-chaunged* hir mete for breed *for to eten akornes.*

Tr. I. 733. But yn his mynde of that no *melodye* May synkyn hym to glade.

Bo. I. m. 2, 21. *the sterre aryseth* out of the rede eest *to fallen* in the westrene wawes (casurum rutilo surgat ab ortu).


2. The logical subject of the infinitive is the same as the object of the governing verb.

A 1206. Duc Theseus *hym leet* out of prisoun
Frely to goon wher that hym liste.

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1 Note that *son enfant a garder* here denotes the final purpose, while *a maistroier* denotes the direction or particular application of eslut.
2 Contrast this with the more definite purpose force of Aym. 1226. A ceus le fist departir et doner, Qui remendront a la cite garder (ib.).
3 Cf. the more distinct purpose force of Tr. III. 1429:
   O blake nyght . . .
   That shapen art by god this world to hide.
4 Here the infinitive with *damned ben* may be regarded as the passive of a verb that belongs to the category of the Object Infinitive, below, pp. 100 ff. It shows the close relation of the purpose infinitive to certain object infinitives.
Direction, End, or Destiny.

A 1796. And yet hath love . . .
Ybrought hem hyder bothe for to dye.

E 1353. Or elles preye to God hym for to sends
A wyf to laste unto his lyves ende.

E 903, Tr. IV. 251, Bo. II. p. 2, 12, IV. m. 7, 65.

3. The logical subject of the infinitive coincides with a (prepositional) dative object of the governing verb.

Bl. 18. For nature wolde nat suffyse
To noon erthely creature
Not longe tyme to endure.

L. 1935. And of hys childe he moste present make
To Mynos, to save him or to spille
Or lete hys beste devoure him.

4. The logical subject of the infinitive coincides with other prepositional objects.

Bo. IV. p. 4, 208. thou ne hast no nede of no juge to yeven thee prys (opus est judice praemium deferente).

I 758.

5. The logical subject of the infinitive may coincide with a possessive pronoun.

A 1108. And if so be my destynee be shapen
By eterne word to dyen in prisoun.

L. 1916, Tr. II. 1754.

6. The logical subject of the infinitive does not coincide with any particular element of the main clause, but is left ambiguous or indeterminate.

H.F. III. 297. As burned gold hyt shoon to see.
Tr. III. 1387. As wolde God that wrecches that dispise
Servyse of love hadde eerys al so longe
As hadde Myda . . .
To techen hem that they ben in the vice.

1 This example shows how the dependence of the infinitive easily passes from the verb to the object: “a wife fitted to last” may be the idea here.
2 Cf. a similar use of the infinitive, with adjectives, below, pp. 51 ff.
7. For convenience of description I place together here several examples, without regard to the relation of verb and infinitive subject, which show a similar phase of the purpose idea.

A 3091. ther nedeth litel sermonyng
To make yow assente.2

A.B.C. 118. Than nedeth us no wepen3 us for to save,
But only ther we did not as us oughte
Do penitence and mercy axe and have.

Bo. II. p. 5, 133. it nedeth of ful manye helpinges to kepen the
diversitee of precious ostelments (pluribus . . . amminiculis opus
est ad tuendum . . . varietatem).4

B 2443. it hadde been necessarie mo conseillours and moore
deliberacion to parfoure youre emprise.

Ast. II. 23, 40. to prove this conclusioun . . . thou most have a
plomet.

Tr. II. 1071. To telle al how, it axeth muche space.5

Bo. III. p. 12, 64. And that to governe this world . . . ne shal he

1 Cf. the Latin: non minus ad contuendum patet.
2 Cf. So. 187, 35. ne porc he nan cöres laßewes ne larewas þas sunnan to
gesseone butan þere hale (Wf. p. 224).
3 Observe that the construction approaches that of the infinitive with nouns; but that will not account for the latter part of the passage.
4 In these examples the infinitives are not subject of nedeth; as the case from Bo. shows, nedeth is here a true impersonal, i.e. it means there is need. Moreover the infinitive is not complement of nedeth, as it would be in he needs to go, for that place is here taken by the nouns sermonyng, wepen, helpinges. The infinitives are cases of a weakened purpose construction, denoting that end with regard to which the statement of the main clause is true. Cf. Scott, Lady of the Lake (cited Mtz. Gr. II. 2, p. 5):
   Her kindness and her worth to spy
   You need but gaze on Ellen’s eye.
Here need does take a complementary infinitive (gaze), but to spy is the one that corresponds to the construction in question. Cf. Impersonals, s.v. Need, p. 125.
5 Here, of course, the infinitive may be regarded as subject of axeth. But if it axeth means there is required, then we have the looser final construction. Cf. E 1543. al this axeth leyser for tenquere.
Conditional Sense.

nevere han nede of non help fro without? (Et ad mundum ... regendum nullis extrinsecis amminiculis indigebit?)

A 2755. *Hym gayneth* neither, *for to gete* his lif, 
Vomyt upward ne dounward laxatif.

Tr. V. 1067. Al be I not the firste that dide amys,
What helpeth that, *to do* my blame away?

I 241. the goode werkes quyken agayn, and comen agayn, and *helpen* and *availlen* *to have* the lyf perdurable in hevene ...

albeit that they ne *availlen* noght *to han* the lyf perdurable, yet *availlen* they *to alregge* of the peyne of helle, or elles *to geten* temporal richesse, or elles that god wolde the rather enlumyne ... ; and eek they *availlen* *for to usen* a man to doon goode werkes. ... And thus ... Jesu Crist wolde that no good werk be lost; for *in somewhat* *it shal* *availlen*.

Cf. ib. 234. The othere goode werkes ... thei been outhrely dede *as to the lyf perdurable* in hevene.

Ib. 240. ther is no trust to no good werk that we han doon biforn; that is for to seyn, *as for to have* thereby the lyf perdurable in hevene.

Ib. 247. been outhrely dede *for to have* the lyf perdurable.

Tr. IV. 1300, H.F. III. 526, 658.

A similar use of the infinitive after adjectives may be seen in the following examples, which are placed here because of the general similarity of the construction. Cf. Infinitive with Adjectives, below, pp. 44–59.

1 Cf. Alfred, Boet. 96, 32, where this passage is rendered: God ne beborf nanes oþres fultomes buton his selfes his gesceafa *mid to scealdan*. Here *mid* seems to connect the infinitive more closely with *fullomes* as a kind of complement. The two ways of conceiving the idea are, of course, very nearly alike, and pass into one another: I need help-to-do a thing, or I need help, *in order to do it, if I am to do it*. The latter looser final construction, corresponding to the Chaucer cases, is shown in O.E., Boet. 59, 28. For *Sisum pingum beborf selc mon fultumes* to eacan him selfum, *pet he marge gehealdan his welan*. 1b. 31, 19. se be micel *innerfe* and misic *agan wile*, he beborf eac *miceles fultumes*.

2 In some of the preceding cases, as *hym gayneth, helpeth ... to letten it, helpen* and *availlen* *to have* the lyf perdurable, it is possible to regard the infinitives as direct complements, as, e. g., in A 3610, Go, dere spouse, and help to save our lyf. On the other hand, it seems better in many cases to regard the infinitive as in the looser final relation, as indicated by a pause between verb and infinitive; e. g. Tr. V. 1067 above seems to mean, “Of what advantage is that, so far as relieving me of blame is concerned?” *Helpen* and *availlen* are both frequently used absolutely. Cf. the examples from I 241 ff., and see A 2820, B 2235. The same observations apply to the noun *help* in Bo. III. pp. 12, 64 (above, p. 22).


In the arrangement of the material in the present chapter, I have not intended to imply that these separate categories were felt as distinct by Chaucer. The different divisions are little more than an attempt at graphic representation of several facts: (1) that the expression of purpose in the infinitive varies from a distinctly conceived conscious motive, to a mere direction, tendency, or destiny, or to result; (2) that the implication of a subject of the infinitive action varies from a close connection of the infinitive with the subject of the governing verb, to the absence of any definitely implied subject at all; (3) that the connection of the purpose function of the infinitive with the governing clause is variously close with the verb of the predicate, with the predicate as a whole, or with a noun or adjective of the predicate. When the infinitive is closely associated with a transitive verb whose object can at the same time be regarded as the subject of the infinitive, this object and the infinitive may together be taken as object of the main verb. This construction is treated in the chapter on the Object Infinitive, p. 100, below. When the infinitive is joined closely in a stereotyped phrase with the main verb, or an equivalent predicating expression, whose subject is the logical subject of the infinitive, we have the so-called Complementary Infinitive, treated below, p. 88. The relation of the infinitive to nouns
and adjectives, in the predicate and other parts of the sentence, forms the subject of the two following chapters.

CHAPTER III.

THE INFINITIVE WITH NOUNS.

Attention has been called (p. 12 (c)) to the fact that, especially with transitive verbs having objects, it is often a matter of slight difference of standpoint whether we connect the infinitive with the verb or with the object. As a matter of fact, there is no sharp distinction in many cases between the infinitive as a modifier of the verb and of its object,—the infinitive belonging rather to the predicate as a whole. But the noun with a modifying infinitive may become isolated from the predicate, as in the phrase *time to come*, so that the infinitive becomes an adjective modifier, and in this use can belong to a noun in any part of the sentence.

As an example of the varying relation of the infinitive to the verb or to its object, cf.

A 379. A cook they *hadde with hem* for the nones

_to boille_ the chiknes,

with

F 208. The hors that *hadde wynges for to flee*.

In the first, the infinitive denotes the purpose of the predicate *hadde*, with its modifiers; in the second, *hadde* does not affect the infinitive construction, *wynges for to flee* being the unit. Cf. also

H.F. III. 864. No porter _ther is noon to lette_

No maner tydynges in to pace.

R.A. 518. No _ther was noon to teche me_.

In these cases the attachment of the infinitive to the word noon depends on the amount of literal force given to ther. According to this we have, either "none-was-there to-teach-me," or "there-was none-to-teach-me." A number of examples showing this variable relation are given at the beginning of the lists of the Chaucer cases.

1. The noun on which the infinitive depends is the logical subject of the infinitive.

Old English.

In the works on O.E. syntax cited in the bibliography I find no case where the infinitive is attached directly to a noun which is at the same time its logical subject. I hesitate to believe that such cases do not occur in O.E.¹

Old French.

B. Chr. I. 616. Ceo esteit signe a demustrer
De batailles (S. p. 281).
Ib. II. 24060. Virge al fiz Deu en sei porter (ib.).

Chaucer.

(a) The infinitive may belong to the predicate as a whole rather than exclusively to the noun.

*C 19.* the Formere principal

_Hath maked me_ his vicaire general

_To forme_ and _meye_ erethely creaturis.

Tr. III. 131. agreen that I may ben he²

_In trowthe alwey to don yow my servyse._

I 170. ther shal the sterne and wrothe juge sitte above, and _under hym the horrible put of helle open to destroyen hym._ . . . And

¹ There is a construction in this use of a purpose phrase consisting of a preposition and an abstract noun. Cf. Luke 2. 32. _leoht to _Srda awrigenesse and _to _Sines folces wuldre (lumen ad revelationem . . . et gloriam) (Sh. p. 38).

² In this chapter, pronouns and substantivized adjectives are treated as nouns, so far as the infinitive construction is concerned.
in the left syde, mo develes than herte may bithynke, for to harye and drawe the synful soules.

A 579, B 3685, D 268, E 1382, Tr. II. 121, 1685, V. 923.

(b) The infinitive is attached more closely to the noun.

A 1992. and for to make it strong,
   Every pyler, the temple to sustene,
   Was tonee greet.

C 480. Whiche been the verry develes officeres
   To kyndle and blowe the fyr of lecherye.

R.A. 1357. That is a fruyt full well to lyke.2
L. 1114. Ther nas coursere wel ybridled noon
   Ne stede for the justyng wel to goon
   Ne large palfrey esy for the noones
   Ne juwell freted ful of riche stoones.3

With passive infinitive:

Tr. I. 174. Nas never yet thing seyn to ben preyed derre.
Bo. II. p. 5, 115. ther be no beautee to ben desyred (nihil inest appetendae pulchritudinis).

I 779, 893, F 650, Tr. III. 1291, IV. 1390, H.F. I. 491, P.F. 216,
Bo. I. m. 1, 5, III. p. 9, 172, III. p. 11, 137, IV. p. 1, 28,

2. The noun on which the infinitive depends is logical object of the infinitive.

Old English.

Andr. 23. was þær hlafes wist werum on þam wonge ne wæteres
dync to bruconne (Reussner, p. 27).4

1 Cf. Infinitive of Result, pp. 59 ff., below.
2 It is possible here that lyke has its modern meaning. In that case fruyt is logical object of the infinitive. Cf. Impersonals, p. 124, below, with the note.
3 Observe that here wel to goon (= "fitted to go well") is used parallel with the other descriptive adjective phrases of the passage. See the whole passage, and cf. well to lyke, R.A. 1357, above. I suggest that the phrase well to do belongs here also, well being an adverb modifying to do rather than an adjective on which to do depends, though the whole phrase is now used adjectively. Cf. well to liue, Wint. Tale, III. iii. 125.
4 Classified by Reussner under the heading, "bei Substantiven und Verben in verschiedenen Verhältnissen."
Noun is Object of Infinitive.

Ælfr., Numb. 11. 16.  Nu we sind hlæne næbbe we nan ping to etanne buton manna (Wohlfahrt, p. 35).
Ælfr., Gr. 135. 6. hefset ðu aceras to ertigenne (habes agros ad arandum). ¹

Old French.

Rou., III. 2422. Si ceo chose a mangier ne fust (S. p. 282).

Chaucer.

(a) The infinitive may belong to the predicate as a whole, rather than exclusively to the noun.

A 233. His typet was ay farsed full of knyves
And pynnes for to yeven yonge wyves.

L. 1129. Hath sent . . .
After his sone and after ryche thynges,
Booth ceptre, clothes, broches, and eke rynges,
Somme for to were, and somme for to presente.

(b) The infinitive is attached more closely to the noun.

A 3268. She was a prymerole, a piggesnye
For any lord to leggen in his bedde
Or yet for any good yeman to wedde.

A 3821. he found neither to selle
Ne breed ne ale.

B 1953. And notemuge to putte in ale
                  . . .
Or for to leye in cofre.

B 1891, Tr. V. 224, Bl. 916, Bo. II. p. 7, 4 (materiam gerendis rebus), IV. p. 2, 177, Ast. I. 1, 1, R.A. 1145, 1667.

Here belong also examples like

Tr. III. 547. Now is ther but litel more for to done.
Tr. V. 1092. yet was there more to done.

E 2122. Ther nys namoore to seye.

F 314. to seyne, F 1606. to seyn, H 266. to sayn, P.F. 655.
to sey, F 1584. to telle, etc.

¹ See pp. 109 ff., below.
3. The noun on which the infinitive depends denotes the means or instrument of the infinitive action.

Old English.

C.P. 126, 1. gif Sær Sonne sie gierd \textit{mid} to Særageanne, si Sær eac \textit{staf} \textit{mid} to wærsianne (districtio virgae quae feriat, sit et consolatio baculi quae sustentet)\(^1\) (Wf. p. 223).

Bo. 90, 16. \textit{þæt bip þonne cyninges andweorc and his tol \textit{mid} to ricsianne} (Wf. p. 223).

Be. 558, 27. and eac swylce \textit{bec on to leornianne} and lareowas orscattinga geafon and sealdon (libros quoque ad legendum) (Wf. p. 223).

Bo. 34, 16. \textit{hæfp swiþe manegu weste holu on to gadrianne} (Wf. p. 223).

Old French.


En. 1140. Cordes \textit{e liames por traire} (S. p. 282).\(^2\)

Chaucer.

\((a)\) The infinitive may belong to the predicate as a whole, rather than exclusively to the noun.

(1) The noun may denote ambiguously the subject or the means of the infinitive action.

A 1441. And \textit{gaf} him \textit{gold to mayntene} his degree.

R.A. 571. And \textit{forto kepe} hir hondis faire

Of gloves white she hadde a paire.

A 2546,\(^3\) G 577, I 330.

\(^1\) Observe that the relation of means is distinctly expressed by the preposition \textit{mid}, while the Latin has a construction in which the noun is \textit{subject} of the action (here a finite verb). Possibly this change, in the translation, indicates a hesitation in O.E. to conceive of the inanimate noun as subject of the action, and a consequent substitution of a personal subject: a rod [for a man] to strike with, instead of a rod to strike. Cf. p. 26, 1, under Old English, and note 1.

\(^2\) The cases in O.E. in which the noun denotes means are usually accompanied by a preposition. Sörgel's examples show no case of it in O.F. Chaucer has both constructions.

\(^3\) This and the first two examples on p. 30 may perhaps be regarded as equally ambiguous, as subject or as means of the infinitive action. It is largely a matter of standpoint. A sword may perhaps be thought of as stabbing, an axe as striking, a rod as scourging, of themselves, though the last seems less likely than the first. For the sense of the last, note that E reads to scoure with.
(2) The noun denotes the means of the infinitive action.

A 3568. And hast oure vitaille faire in hem yleyd
   And eek an ax to smyte the corde atwo.
I 670. broghte a yerde to scourge the child.
D 2099. Yif me thanne of thy gold to make oure cloystre.¹
Bl. 251.

(b) The infinitive is attached more closely to the noun.

(1) The noun may denote ambiguously the subject or the means of the infinitive action.

I 852. This is that oother hand of the devel with five fyngres to cacehe the peple to his vileynyne (cf. diabolus dicitur habere duas manus quibus frequenter hominis capit).

A 2148. Aboute his chaar ther weneten white alauntz,
   Twenty and mo as grete as any steer,
   To huten² at the leon or the deer.
C 736. Ye ! for an heyre clowt to wrappe me.³

A 195, B 2216, 4055, Tr. II. 9, IV. 337, H.F. III. 859, A.B.C. 100, 177, Ast. Pr. 98, P.F. 179, 182.

(2) The noun denotes the means of the infinitive action.

B 3665. Nettes of gold threed hadde he greet plentee
   To fisshe in Tybre.
F 208. The hors that hadde wynges for to flee.
R.A. 513. But way I couthe fynde noon
   Into that gardyne for to goon.
   (Leu par ou g'i peüsse entrer.)
H.F. I. 136. And hir combe to kembe hyr hede.

¹ Cf. R.A. 1145 (above, p. 28 (b)), where the sense is similar to "spending-money." In D 2099 the purpose is not general, but specific, and probably belongs as well to yif.
² For the sense, cf. L. 1121. Ne hound, for hert or wilde boor or dere, and cf. note 3, p. 27.
³ Professor Robinson calls my attention to the fact that here a large number of MSS. (among them Cam. Dd, and H) read to wrappe in me, thus showing the ambiguity.
4. The noun on which the infinitive depends denotes the place of the infinitive action.

Old English.
Be. 554, 20. and him stowe geceas mynster to timbrianne (Wf. p. 220).

Old French.
En. 6955. Onkes nul meillor leu ne vi
Por assaillir son enemi (S. p. 287).

Chaucer.
P.F. 314. unnethe was ther space
For me to stonde, so ful was al the place.
L. 1999. and hath roume and eke space
To welde an axe.  
Tr. II. 1370, L. 2013.

5. The noun on which the infinitive depends denotes the time of the infinitive action. It denotes (a) the time at which, or (b) the time during which.

Old English.
(a) Beow. 316. mæl is me to feran (K. p. 48).
Be. 605, 39. Æa him Æa þæt sæd brohte waes, ofer ealle tid to sawenne (Wf. p. 221).
(b) Beow. 2556. næs þær mara fyrst freode to friclan (K. p. 48).
Be. 634, 32. nis me nu, cwæþ he, tid min lif to onwendenne (Wf. p. 221).

Old French.
(a) Al. II. fol. 106. Or aprosme li tens d’accomplir lor talent (S. p. 286).
(b) Clig. 6154. S’a Jehanz buen leisir eü
De faire ce que il li sist (S. p. 286).

1 Here the cognate noun may be regarded as denoting a kind of means, equivalent to manner: “a love with which, according to which.”
2 For space in the sense of “time,” and other senses, cf. below, p. 32, note 3.
3 This example, hath so queynte weyes for to go, may belong also under 3.
Noun Denotes Cause.

Chaucer.

(a) A 3672. Now is tyme wake al nyght.\(^1\)
   A 720. But now is tyme to yow for to telle.
   F 1270. hath his tyme yfounde
   To maken his japes.
   B 3019, E 8, I 828 (horam comedendi), Tr. II. 1597, IV. 1124,
   L. 1637,\(^2\) Bl. 730, R.A. 1542.

(b) I 981. if he have lyf to parfournen it.
   Bo. IV. p. 6, 36. I have litel tyme to don it.
   I 178. respit a while to bivepe and bivaillen.\(^3\)
   A 1188, 3596, B 2219, D 551, F 977, Tr. II. 1369, III. 200,
   510, V. 942, H.F. II. 546, L. 1552, Bl. 172, P.F. 487,
   Bo. II. p. 3, 7.

6. The noun expresses a causal relation to the action of the infinitive.\(^4\)

 B 1837. Tel me what is thy cause for to synge.
 B 2793. matiere no cause to calle thee.
 I 348. matere and occasioun.
 Bo. V. p. 3, 205. resoun to hopen (sperandi . . . ratio).
 Bo. IV. p. 7, 7. (tum remunerandi exercendive bonos tum puniendi
 corrigendive improbos causa).\(^5\)

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1 All of the seven MSS. except E and H read to with the infinitive.
2 Termes ysette to come soone at nyght. In view of the further designation of time
in at nyght, termes ysette may be taken as a phrase equivalent to a verb promised,
Bl. 730. broke his termes-day To come to hir.
3 On account of the various figurative senses of words like respit, space,
leisure, etc., it is often hard to say how definite the idea of time is. For further
examples of words of this sort in the sense of permission, opportunity, etc., see
below, p. 37 (c). See also p. 31, 4.
4 Cf. O.E., Be. 510, 18. Ægisæ Seode þæt is Norpahnymbrum waes se æresta
intinga to onmonne Cristes geleafan, þæt . . . (occasio fuit percipiendi fidei,
quod . . .) (Wf. p. 221). By a change similar to that mentioned in (b), p. 36,
below, certain nouns name the relation of cause to the action of the infinitive,
though not necessarily containing the cause in themselves. This usage may be
compared with that of nouns denoting the subject of an infinitive action
(see 1, pp. 26 ff.), and cases representing a Latin objective genitive of the gerund
or gerundive. Cf. Bo. IV. p. 7, 87. thilke difficultee is the matere, to that oon
man of exercis of his glorious renoun, and to that other man to conferirne his sapiene
(gloriae propagandae illi vero conformandae sapientiae difficulatas ipsa materia
est).
5 In such a slavish translation, it is difficult to say whether Chaucer felt
cause as a noun. The syntax in the Latin is based on the noun construction,
which we still retain in form in the expression because of followed by a verbal
noun in -ing.
Bo. I. p. 4, 36. Thou seidest . . . that it was a necessarie cause wyse men to taken and desire the governaunce of comune things, for that the governements of citees . . . ne sholde nat bringe in pestilence . . . (hanc sapientibus capessendae rei. P. necessariam causam esse . . ., ne . . . ferrent).

Bo. IV. p. 4, 312. and for to haten shrewes it\(^1\) nis no resoun (malos vero odisse ratione caret).

B 3054, I 512.

7. The relations of means, time, place, and the like, are more explicitly denoted by a preposition closely attached to the infinitive and connecting it syntactically with the noun.\(^2\)

\(a\) By.

H.F. III. 50. koude I knowe
Any lettres for to rede
Hir names by.

\(b\) In, inne.

R.A. 622. for swetter place
To pleyn ynne he may not fynde.
(leu por soi joer.)\(^3\)

Tr. II. 404. a mirrour in to prye.

In specialized senses:

G 881. And a brat to walken inne.

Tr. III. 657. This were a weder for to slepen inne.

\(c\) Of.

Tr. III. 1688. This is no litel thync of for to seye.\(^4\)

P.F. 168. mater of to wryte.

Bo. II. p. 5, 212. he hath nat wherof to ben robbed.

\(d\) On, upon.

P.F. 695. other bokes took me to
To rede upon.

\(^1\) That is, there is no reason.

\(^2\) This is a common O.E. construction. Cf. the examples on p. 29, above.

\(^3\) Cf. Infinitive with Adjectives, below, p. 58, 4.

\(^4\) Cf. Infinitive with Adjectives, below, p. 58, 4. Note the difference between such adjective-noun combinations as these, and that, for example, in B 3935, p. 34 (\(f\)), where the adjective is not essential to the relation.

SYNTAX.
Idiomatic Use of With.

Tr. V. 1199. He nath \textit{wher-on} now lengere \textit{for to honge}.

H.F. III. 42. a feble \textit{fundament}.\(^1\)

To \textit{bilden} on a place hye.

Tr. II. 1274, R.C. 7416.

\(e\) To.

D 573. That hath but oon \textit{hole for to sterte to}.

B 656. She hath no wight \textit{to whom to make} hir mone.

\(f\) With.

B 3935. And Phebus eek a fair \textit{towaille} hym broughte

To \textit{dryen} hym \textit{with}.

A 302. \textit{yaf hym wher-with to scoleye}.

A 3118, B 1462, 2368, C 344, F 470, 640, G 1055, 1148, I 252,

Tr. IV. 425, R.A. 460, R.C. 6710.

In the case of the preposition \textit{with}, the infinitive may be more closely associated with the verb to denote purpose, the preposition having a more or less vague reference to some thing or circumstance by means of which the action of the infinitive takes place.

A 791. That ech of yow \textit{to shorte with} oure weye

In this viage \textit{shal telle tales} tweye.

Cf. G 597. \textit{telle a myrie tale} or tweye

\textit{With which} he glade may this compaignye.

B 2145. \textit{I telle som what moore}

Of proverbes than ye han herd bifoore

\textit{To enforce with} theeffect of my mateere.

B 1596, Tr. V. 1688, H.F. III. 917.\(^2\)

\(^1\) See note 4 on p. 33.

\(^2\) For similar cases in which the preposition has faded into adverbial use, meaning little more than \textit{in order to}, cf. Conf. Am. I. 2169:

Forth with here children on the morwe,
As thei that were full of sorwe,
\textit{Al naked} bot of smok and scherte,
\textit{To tendre with} the kynges herte;

and II. 281:

For this Envie hath such a kinde
That he \\textit{wolle sette himself behinde}
\textit{To hindre with} an othere wyht,
And gladly \textit{less} his oghne riht
\textit{To make} an other lesen his.

In these cases \textit{with} refers to a state or action, not a noun, and is about equivalent to \textit{thereby}. In the second example the second infinitive is equal to the first in syntax, both denoting the purpose of the verb.
8. In section 3, pp. 29 ff., were recorded various concrete nouns with the infinitive, the nouns denoting the means of the infinitive action. In the present section are recorded several kinds of abstract nouns with the infinitive, the relation of noun to infinitive varying from the idea of means to that simply of complement, as after verbs of analogous meaning; as from strength (by which) to do, to ability or desire to do; and varying from the idea of purpose to that of mere direction or fitness.

Old English.

Lk. 22. 24. þæt mannes Sunu on eorðan aneweald heæfð synna to forgýfanne (Wf. p. 220).
Or. 50, 15. forpon nis me þæs þearf to secegæne (Wf. p. 221).
Be. 545, 10. he heafde þa geornfulnyssé haligu gewritu to rædanne (sollertiam lectionis) (Wf. p. 221).

Old French.

Theb. 8422. Seiüté doinst de porter fei (S. p. 287).
Ainz. 1808. Ainz n’ot pooir de disre (S. p. 286).
Rol. 1411. Ki de murir nen orent esperance (S. p. 286).
Esc. 4780. Grant voleir a de li aidier (S. p. 285).

Chaucer.1

(a) Certain abstract nouns, more or less concrete in application, referring to particular actions or things, not

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1 Here, as with the infinitive after nouns in general, it is often difficult to say whether the infinitive is connected with the noun more closely than with the whole predicate as a phrase unit including the noun. The question depends on the extent to which the phrase containing the noun has become stereotyped. In the present classification no attempt is made to divide on this basis. Such a division must be more or less subjective, and of little value. The chief thing to remember is the fact that, on the one hand, certain nouns not connected with verbs take the infinitive; that, on the other, certain verb-noun phrases equivalent to single verbs also take it; and that one category passes into the other. For the sake of illustration, a number of verb-noun phrases are included in the chapter on Complementary Infinitive. An example that belongs in either category is I 570. yevest hym conseil to sleen a man, where the infinitive may be regarded as belonging to conseil or to a phrase meaning advise.

1 Another use of the infinitive with nouns connects itself with the infinitive
personal qualities or powers. Here it may be observed that the passage from cases like those in 3, p. 29, to the present examples is very easy. Cf.

F. 883. That ye [God] swiche meenes [rookes blake] make, it to destroyen,

Whiche meenes do no good, but ever anoyen.

Here the noun meenes wavers in sense between a concrete thing (rocks) and the name of the relation of the rocks to the destruction of sailors.

Garnyson. B. 2527. the . . . strongeste garnyson that a rich man may have, as wel to hepen his persone . . .

Glee, cf. Melodye.

Instrument. D 1483. we been goddes Instrumentz

And meenes to doon hise comandementz.

Les. L. 1545.

Melodye or glee. A.B.C. 100.

Mene. Tr. V. 1551.

Myrthe. A 767. And of a myrthe I am right now bythought

To doon yow ese.¹

Office. Bo. IV. p. 2, 127. which that nis no naturel office to geten thilke same soverain good (quod adipiscendi boni naturale officium non est).

Pley. C 628.

Remedio. B 3183, Tr. IV. 1623, V. 917.²

Sleighte. Tr. II. 1511, B 2386.¹

Wey. Tr. III. 247, IV. 1626, V. 356,² P.F. 72, An. 283.

Wyle. A 3403.¹

(բ) It has been shown above, p. 35 (α), that words like meene easily pass from the designation of things to that

¹ Here, as in (ב), 1, p. 30, the noun may also be regarded as coinciding with the logical subject of the infinitive.
² For the phrase stonden in weye, cf. p. 97, below.
of relations. Certain words like *wey*, *usage*, denoting the means of a dependent infinitive, come to denote the relation of *manner* (cf. note 3, below).¹

Gyse. R.A. 789. *To dauncen wel koude they the gise.*
A 2910.²
Manere. F 187.
Usage. Tr. II. 27. *Ek for to wynne love yn sondry ages.*
In sondry londes, sondry ben *usage*.³

Wyse. Tr. I. 697.

(c) Nouns denoting personal powers arising from within, as *might*, or from without, such as *leve*.⁴

Abilite. Ast. Pr. 2. *thyn abilithe to lerne sciencez.*
Auctoritee. I 931.
Body and myght. Tr. II. 633.
Craft. A 401.
English and wit. Bl. 898.
Heele and myght. D 1946.
Langage. A 2227.
Leve. C 848. *hadde leve hym to sorwe brynge.*
D 1489. *han we leve*

Only the body and not the soule *greve*.⁶

¹ The relation of *manner* does not always, however, reside in the noun, as does that of means, e.g. in the nouns under 3, p. 29. In one case the noun itself seems to contain the sense: R.B. 3283. So moche tresoun is in his male *Of falsenesse for to seyne a tale* (where the reading of the MS. seems to me to be better than Skeat's reading, *feyne*). But the other cases are different.
² Here *to do* may depend on *cam* as an infinitive of purpose.
³ This case shows the connection between means and manner: *usages, practices by which to win*, easily pass into *custom, manner of winning*. Cf. also pp. 42-48, below.
⁴ The nouns in (c) are separated from those in (d) on the ground that the former still retain some notion of *means*, while the latter are more analogous to verbs which take a complementary infinitive.
⁵ See introductory note on the tabulation of simple and prepositional infinitives.
⁶ The use of the simple infinitive in these two cases is probably to be explained by their analogy to verbs like *suffer*, which frequently takes the simple infinitive, and *leten*, which usually takes it.
Nouns denoting an action or state of the mind, usually accompanied with an emotion, such as desire, purpose, etc. The infinitive construction with these nouns is analogous to the complementary infinitive with verbs.

Affection. L. 793.


Courage. E 1254.

(d) Nouns denoting an action or state of the mind, usually accompanied with an emotion, such as desire, purpose, etc. The infinitive construction with these nouns is analogous to the complementary infinitive with verbs.

Affection. L. 793.


Courage. E 1254.

1 The nouns here may be more passive in sense, in which case they belong under (c).
Coveitise. I 818, 845.
Delit. I 571. delit to spille blood.
D 945. greet delit han we
For to been holden stable.

I 610, Tr. I. 762.¹
Desdeyn. G 41, I 152; I 144.
Desir. R.B. 1785. encreside my desire
Unto the bothom drawe nere.
(ma volentes ... croissoit
Tousjours d'aler a la rosete.)²

(to) B 2808, D 374, E 454, I 408, 474, 781, 846, Tr. III. 1651,
L. 1157 ; (for) Tr. III. 1531, IV. 573.

Despit. F 1395.
Devocioun. La. 251, Lb. 325.
Diligence. B 1234.
Dredyng. R.B. 5219 (sans soupeçon d'encusement).³
Entencioun. Bo. III. p. 11, 91 (manendi intentionem).
Entente. I 608 (cum intentione fallendi), I 800, 829, 1006, Bo. I.
p. 4, 169.

Ese. I 835. that restreyneth the delicaat ese to sitte longe at his
mete.⁴

Fantasye. Tr. III. 275, Form. Age, 51.
Feere. B 3369.⁵
Feith and hope. I 734.
Hardiment. Tr. IV. 533, R.B. 1827, 2487, 3392.
Hope. (to) A 88, E 1181, I 168, 223, 227, 832, Bo. II. p. 2, 91,
P.F. 697 ; (for) D 2146, F 488, 1170, G 678.
Likeryousnesse. I 741 (amorem pecuniae).
Likynge. An. 74. Through-out the world so gan hir name springe
That hir to seen had every wight lykinge.

Love. Bo. V. m. 3, 20.
Lust, Lest, List. B 2518, 3996, E 619,⁶ Tr. IV. 1089, An. 189,
Bl. 273, 908.

¹ The context seems to indicate that delit in these examples has a more active
sense than now.  Cf. Infinitive of Cause, p. 69, 1 (a), below.
² Cf. the verb desire with simple infinitive, under Complementary Infinitive,
p. 92, below.
³ For further examples, cf. verbs of fearing, below, p. 92, and note 3.
⁴ That ese has an active sense here is indicated by the parallels above: I 884.
Mesure also, that restreyneth by resoun the deslavey appetyt of stynge:
Sobrenesse also, that restreyneth the outrage of drynke.
⁵ See note 2, p. 40.
Nouns Analogous to Verbs

Noyse. P.F. 491. The noyse of foules for to ben delivered.¹
Plesaunce. B 186. hath caught so greet plesaunce
To han hir figure in his remembrance.²

Preyere. Ast. Pr. 5.

Purpos. I 129 (proposito confitendi), 305, 1005,³ H.F. I. 377;
I 305, Tr. IV. 734,³ A.B.C. 113.

Sekyng. Bo. IV. m. 1, 17.
Talent. B 2439, I 228, Bo. V. p. 5, 37.
Wyl. R.B. 1707. No will hadde I fro thens yit goo.

(Ge n'oi talent de reparier.)⁴

(to) B 2622, 2728, I 535, 543, 1069, Bo. IV. p. 4, 32, C.L. 111;
(for) E 2134,⁵ I 514, Bo. I. p. 5, 38.

Wilfulnesse. B 2551.

(e) Other nouns that take a complementary infinitive in the same way as verbs of analogous meaning.

Amonestynge. I 1013.
Assent. C 758. oon of his assent
To sleen us yonge folk.
Assure. An. 331. To profren eft a newe assure
For to be trewe.
Beginnyng. Bo. V. p. 4, 233 (visendi . . . exordium).
Choys. B 4436.
Commaundement. H.F. III. 931.
Confort. F 1167. Swich confort he yaf hym for to gon
To Orliens.
Consentement. I 967.

¹ A pregnant construction: "noisy demand to be delivered."
² Though from the context this case is ambiguous, it seems to mean took a fancy, a desire, to have. Cf. other expressions with cacchen: I 689. cacchen corage wel to doon; E 619. caughte yet another lest To temptehis wyf; cf. also E 2134. It may, however, be like the modern take pleasure in. Cf. Infinitive of Cause, p. 69 f., below, and Complementary Infinitive, pp. 88 ff., below.
³ Compare Complementary Infinitive, p. 95, below. All cases of ben in purpos might logically be included under Complementary Infinitive. Note, however, that Tr. IV. 734 has in purpos without the copulative verb ben.
⁴ Possibly on the analogy of the verb willen and the simple infinitive.
⁵ Cf. Complementary Infinitive, p. 97, below.
⁶ In P.F. 522 in the sense of plan. Cf. (a), p. 35, above. For B 2281 and 4443, see below, p. 91.
Dorryng.
Tr. V. 837. In dorryng don that longeth to a knyght.
Exemple.
A 568. take exemple
For to be wise in byyne.
B 2692. yeven ensample to every man to folwe and sewe hym.
Bo. IV. p. 4, 94 (exemplum . . . fugiendi).

In the above cases the sense is an example to be followed; in the following it is an example not to be followed:

Tr. I. 232. For-thi ensample taketh . . .
Ye wyse, proude, and worthi folkes alle
To scornen Love.²

Heeste. C 490.
Mocioun. Tr. IV. 1290.³
Necessitee. B 1425, Bo. V. p. 6, 178, 180 (existendi necessitate).
Rembraunce. A 1046.
Suretee. D 911. And suretee wol I han er that thou pace,
Thy body for to yelden in this place.⁵

Trust. I 240.

pis men mowe here ensample nime, to late here sones wyve,
And see hem up here loud al bi here lyve.

Also :
R.A. 1539. Ladyes, I preye ensample takith,
Ye that aeyyns youre love mistakith.

O.F. used both pour and de with the infinitive after ensample (see Godefroy, s.v. ensample, Vols. III. 567, IX. 553 f.).
La Tour Landry, p. 173. Ce est bon exemple de faire charite.

The two opposite meanings in the English examples are easily accounted for in the light of the Latin and O.F. constructions. An example of doing, or for doing, a thing, may be interpreted as in favour of the action or against it, according to the context, which is likely to be unmistakable. For the sense of Tr. I. 232, cf. war, below, p. 49.

In O.E., so far as I have seen, byyne is used only in the first sense, of an example to follow.
Be. 526, 20. and he ða se bisceop betwih ðære lære monnum to lifgean ne pa
segrestan byyne his grum forlet (Wf. p. 223).
C.P. 307, 9. Crist us sealde bisme urne willan to breanne (exemplum nobis
frangendae nostrae voluntatis praebeat) (Wf. p. 223).

InOrm (following Dr. Sypherd's citations in Mod. Phil., July, 1907), bisme
followed by the infinitive, or by a past-clause, is always used in the affirmative sense.
³ The infinitive here may denote purpose with the predicate instead of depending on mocioun.
⁴ Cp. has simple infinitive.
⁵ The logical subject of the infinitive coincides with thou.
9. The construction in sections 1–8, where the infinitive denotes, with varying degrees of distinctness, the purpose or application of the noun, or has a complementary relation to it, may be compared in general with the objective genitive of the Latin gerund and nouns with the gerundive, *ad* with the gerund and nouns with the gerundive, and the future active participle. These constructions are represented in O.E. by *to* + the gerundial infinitive, and in O.F. by *à* and *de* + the infinitive, *de* corresponding to the genitive of the gerund (cf. Sörgel, p. 281).

Here follow several nouns, mainly of French origin, corresponding in syntax to French nouns followed by *de* + infinitive in the sense of a Latin subjective genitive.1

Jupartie. Tr. V. 1530.  
*To dye.*

R.B. 2666. Go putte thi self in *jupartie*  
*To aske* grace and thee bimene.

Tr. V. 701.  
Peril. I 458. *be we in peril to faile.*  
L. 1277. *in peril for to sterre.*  
C.M. 108. *in peril to be sleyn.*

Utilite. Ast. II. 26, 26. The *utilite to knowe* the ascensions . . . is this.

Both subjective and objective constructions easily pass into that of apposition. *Peril to fall* may be

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1 I do not assert that historically the construction is that of a subjective genitive, but I use the term as a convenient description of the Chaucerian construction. Whether it is subjective or objective depends on the sense of the noun at various periods, and is often merely a question of standpoint. E.g. *aventure* in the sense of risk may take the objective construction, while in the sense of dangerous situation the construction may be regarded as subjective.


3 Cf. *Estoit en peril de queir* (God. X. 319).
regarded as either the danger of falling or danger from falling. Cf. also

Tr. II. 1204. the labour it to sowe and plyte,

where the infinitive may be regarded as expressing purpose or apposition; and cf.

Tr. II. 27. for to wynne love ... sondry ben usages (purpose, becoming manner), with

Tr. I. 150. Hire olde usage wolde thei not letten
   As for to honoure hire goddes
   (purpose, becoming apposition). Cf. vv. 159 ff. shewed ... hire observaunces ... feste for to holde.¹

Usaunce.

P.F. 674. As ... was alwey hir usaunce
   To singe a roundel.

L. 1476.

Wone. A 1040. As was hir woné to do,
   She was arisen.

L. 2131. of gentil wymen ys the woné
   To save a gentilman.²

In Tr. III. 690, There was no more to skippen ³ nor to traunce,
   But boden go to bedde,

the infinitive may be regarded as a pure noun with adjective modifier more (cf. Einenkel, p. 230); but it seems more likely to be of the nature of a partitive genitive, as in the French construction.


Cf. Conf. Am. II. 3222. Ther was ymounch to wepe and crie
   Among the modres.

¹ In this last case the infinitive denotes ordinary purpose.
² It will, of course, be observed that such constructions interchange with the subject infinitive. Cf. the similar interchange of complementary and dependent infinitive with adjectives, below, pp. 49 ff. Cf. O.E., Be. 543, 29. Æst eac swylce his ðæw was on oþrum cýninges tuné to donne swa swa hit eafe been mihte, with 565, 41. se aerest betwih biseopum reogollicne ðæw to lifianne ... sæde and lerde (vivendi morem) (Wf. p. 222). For the appositional phrase in point with infinitive, cf. Adjectives, p. 46, below.
³ So Cp. Cl. = speken.
CHAPTER IV.

THE INFINITIVE WITH ADJECTIVES.

The infinitive depending on an adjective denotes the purpose, direction, or application, of the quality of the adjective. This category is closely related to that of the infinitive with nouns, the adjective expressing the relation of the noun to the infinitive which in the former category was implied. Cf. "an axe to cut with," and "an axe fit to cut with." Accordingly, the classification is here arranged on the basis of the relation of the infinitive to the noun modified by the adjective. As in the case of nouns, it is impossible to draw a definite line between phrases in which adjective + infinitive is the unit, and those in which the adjective forms a part of a phrase in the predicate, which is in turn followed by a complementary infinitive; as, e.g., between "He-was + busy-to-serve-him," and "He-was-busy + to-serve-him." On the other hand, it would be illogical to include all the examples in a single category, as the extreme cases of each kind are clearly different.

1. The noun or pronoun, expressed or implied, to which the adjective belongs, is the same as the logical subject of the infinitive.

Old English.

The simple infinitive is rare:

Be. 486, 7. forpon he gearo ware on Sam ylcan gewinne mid him beon (Wf. p. 197).

Matth. 3. 11. Sæs nam ic wyrðe gsceoe beara (Wf. p. 197).¹

With to:

Beow. 1805. waeron æÐelingas eft to leodum fuse to farenne

¹ For further examples, cf. Mtz. Gr. II. p. 40; Koch II. p. 56.
(K. p. 49). This is a common O.E. construction. See Wf. pp. 197 ff.

Old French.

B. Chr. II. 37830. Si corios, si entendanz
A faire les suens sainz voleirs (S. p. 283).

M. Fr., Purg. 788. Apparetlliez e ententis
De novelle bataille emprendre (S. p. 283).

Rou, III. 8201. E si sunt fort por els defendre (S. p. 284).

Chaucer.

(a) Adjectives denoting in general passive states, qualities, or powers, of persons and things, corresponding in sense to the nouns mentioned in 8 (c), p. 37.

Able, Unable. A 167. to been an abbot able.

F 279, G 1131, C.M. 282, Bl. 786, Bo. III. p. 12, 166, etc.;
(for) A 584, C 134, D 1472, E 1912, Tr. II. 207, etc.

[Apt], Unapt. Tr. I. 978.

Arrayed. A 2867.1

Amerous. R.B. 2901.2

Brymme. R.B. 1836.

Certein. Bo. IV. p. 4, 62.

Comune. Bl. 812.

Cunnyng. C.L. 75; Pt. 97.

Curteis. R.B. 2781.

Delitable, cf. Amerous.

Digne. E 818, I 985.

Esy. A 223. an esy man to yeve penaunce.3

Feithful. Bo. II. p. 1, 85.

Fethered. R.A. 951.

Fieble. I 970.

Free. D 49. I am free to wedde.4

1 As brennen is both transitive and intransitive in Chaucer, this example may belong under 2, below, p. 49.
2 The context shows amerous to have a passive sense.
3 See below, p. 58, 4.
4 In A 2593, So evene were they chosen, for to gesse, the infinitive may depend loosely on evene. Cf. Conf. Am. V. 2412. And evene aliche as man mai gesse, Outward thei were. Or the infinitive may be detached, and regarded as a kind of conditional, “if one were to guess.”
4 For an active sense, cf. p. 48.
Fresh and grene. Tr. I. 816.

Gentil. Tr. V. 1075.

Gracious.

Tr. I. 883. Ne nevere saw a . . . more gracious
For to do wel.¹

Hevy. C.M. 103.

Kene grounde. R.B. 1885.

Lik, Likly.

(a) R.A. 679. But it was wondir lik to be
Song of mermaydens.
(Ains le peüst l'en âsmer
A chant de seraines de mer.)

L. 1066. And sawgh the man that he was lyke a knyghte.

L. 1173. And lyke to ben a verray gentil man.

(b) Tr. III. 1270. I lykly was to sterve.

H.F. II. 365, L. 1533, 2129, R.B. 5205.

Mighty, Unmighty. I 547, Bo. III. p. 5, 10, etc.

Most. Tr. I. 1000. That thow shalt be the beste post I leve
Of al his lay, and most hise foon to greve.²

Moveable. Bo. III. m. 12, 8. maked . . . the wodes moveable to
rennen.⁴

Neigh. Bl. 888.

Newe. A 428.

Paregal. Tr. V. 840.

(In) point. B 910, Tr. IV. 1153, R.B. 3356.

Possible. B 2213. damages that . . . been possible to fallen.⁵

Proporciouned. F 192. wel proporciouned for to ben strong.⁶

Saverous [MS. faverous], cf. Amerous.

¹ Cf. the noun phrase grace wel to do, above, p. 37.
² In these first three examples note the closeness to the literal meaning of lik.
Cf. La Tour Landry, p. 63. ². the women that were so horned were lyche to be
³ If most be taken as adjective = greatest, it is unnecessary to read to-greve as
Skeat does. The existence of this hybrid compound may well be doubted.
⁴ Cf. III. p. 10, 251. the moevinge to ryden, and Infinitive of Result, pp. 59 ff.,
below.
⁵ Cf. Impersonals, under possible, p. 132, below.
⁶ Note that this does not mean "so well proportioned as to be strong"; the
correlative to so is as in 193. Cf. v. 194 with 195.
Adjectives with Active Sense.

Shaply. A 371, Tr. IV. 1452.
Sharp. R.A. 945 (agues por bien percier).
Siker. R.A. 1100.
Span-newe. Tr. III. 1665.
Stark. E 1458.
Stedfast. Bo. IV. p. 6, 414.
Strong. I 1072.
Pr. 105; E 960
Swift. R.A. 949.
Usaunt. A 3940.
Used. G. 666, Bo. II. p. 4, 110.
Wont, Woned. A 1692, Tr. I. 510, Bo. III. m. 2, 43; (to) A 1195, 1557, 2932, 3651, etc.; (for) A 3667, Tr. II. 1520, etc.
Worthy. D 1045, F. 555; (to) A 1831, 2794, B 1982, 2926, etc.;
(for) A 2380, B 457, E 829, I 992.
Ynogh. B 2563, G 860.

(b) Adjectives similar in meaning to nouns denoting an activity of the mind, such as desire, eagerness, dislike, etc. Cf. the nouns in 8 (d), pp. 38 ff.

Afered. (simple inf.) Tr. I. 975; (to) III. 481.
Agast. L. 1534.3
Agroteyd. L. 2454.3
Ashamed. B 2262.3
Besy, Bisy.4 (to) Bl. 1265, An. 266, R.A. 1045 (bacient a li servir), R.A. 1052. besy and curyous (sunt curieus De desprisier), R.B. 3845; (for) Tr. II. 569, II.F. III. 382.
Blisful. D 220.3
Blithe. R.A. 811. As man that was to daunce blithe.
(Car de karoler . . .
Estoie envieux et sorpris.)5

1 Here E has the simple infinitive in a four-accent line.
2 The noun may here denote the means of the infinitive action.
3 Cf. note 2, and Infinitive of Cause, p. 70, below.
4 There is no way of distinguishing these examples from the complementary infinitive after a phrase. Cf. the O.F., for example, of R.A. 1045 with that of R.A. 1052.
5 Cf. R.A. 810, I wolde have karoled right fayn,—as showing the active sense, with the French. Cf. Infinitive of Cause, below, pp. 70–75.
Adjectives with Active Sense.

Boold. G 1415.
Bown. F 1503.1
Desirous. Bo. III. p. 1, 34 (audiendi cupidum), Form. Age, 59,
Tr. I. 1058, II. 1101, R.B. 3657; A 1674, R.B. 2510.
Desirynge. B 2767.
Disposition.

Tr. II. 682. Disposed wel and with aspectes payed
To helpen sely Troilus.

E 755, Tr. IV. 230,2 V. 984.
Entenityf. E 1288, Tr. II. 838, H.F. III, 30, 31, Bo. II. p. 1, 7,
R.A. 685 (a chanter . . . ententis), R.A. 1156 (a prendre enten-
tive), R.B. 2022.
Eschu. E 1812, I 971.
Fayn. E 2017, etc.3
Free. C 401.
    for to make hem free
    To yeven hir pens.
Glad.4 B 3826. They weren glad for pees unto him sende.4
Gredy. Tr. III. 1758, Bo. II. m. 8, 9 (fluctus avidum mare . . .
    coercat).
Hardy. A 405. Hardy he was and wys to undertake.5
    (ai pris cuer et hardiment De dire.)
Loth. Tr. V. 21.6
    . . . lady lustier in carolynge,
        Or for to speke of love and wommanhede,
            Ne knyght in armes to doon an hardy dede.6

A 4004.

Lykerous. F 1119.

1 With words like bown, ready, etc., sometimes the sense is active, like eager, or
   passive, like prepared. Where the meanings shade into one another, I have
   included all the examples in the present category. In one or two cases like free,
   where there can be no doubt, I have made the separation.
2 In this example, Disposed wood out of his wit to breyde, disposed inclines
to a passive sense resembling the adjectives in (a).
3 Cf. Infinitive of Cause, p. 70, below.
4 All seven MSS. have simple infinitive.
5 Skeat punctuates with comma after was, making the infinitive depend only
   on wys. The meaning seems to me to be "both bold and wise to make ventures."
6 Pollard (Globe Ed.) punctuates as if for to speke were a parenthetical,
   absolute infinitive. But what follows is not "love and womanhood," but
   "love and knighthood." For the thought, cf. Tr. II. 503. "Can he wel speke
   of love?" quod she, and Tr. III. 198. shall bere the belle To speke of love.
Necligent. B 2513, D 1816, I 362, 1065, R.B. 3900 (trop mole De
li garder).
Obedient. A 851.
Obeisant. I 997.
Open. I 170. put of helle open ¹ to destroyen hym.
Penyble. D 1846.
Prest. Tr. II. 785, III. 484, 917, IV. 162, P.F. 307.
Redy. (to) A 21, 425, 1853, B 2199, 2453, etc.; (for) A 1677,
C 683, G 154, Tr. IV. 1211, etc.
War. Truth, 11. be war to sporne ageyn an al.
R.B. 3237. And be wel ware to take nomore
Counsel that greveth ²
(garde bien que tu ne croies).
Wery. L. 2258.³
Ydel. B 2778.
Yeven. An. 111.

2. The noun or pronoun to which the adjective belongs is the logical object of the infinitive.

Einenkel says (Anglia, 13, p. 84, 14), “Ist das infinitivische subject eines adjectivs von einem objectsnomen begleitet, so tritt in den meisten fallen eine kreuzung ein mit dem unter dem infinitiv des zweckes verzeichneten belege: he is good to see (love, etc.), das heisst, das objectsnomen wird zum subject gemacht, während das frühere infinitivische subject eine function erhält, die einem gewöhnlichen zwecksinfinitiv zum verwechseln ähnelt.”

Einenkel does not here distinguish very clearly between the simple and prepositional infinitive, but his

¹ This example might possibly be better included in the foregoing section, but the meaning seems to suggest more than a mere passive state. It illustrates the difficulty of separating certain border-line cases between extremes as different as desyrous and neigh (cf. pp. 46, 48). Cf. prest and redy.
² The previous example (Truth, 11) shows that the negative is not essential to the construction with war. Cf. Lydgate, R.S. 804. be war and wys To love the wey . . . into West And go . . . toward the orient, where the sense is affirmative, exhibiting the same difference with war as with the noun example followed by the infinitive. See above, p. 41, note 2.
³ Cf. Infinitive of Cause, p. 71, below.
examples show that he has the latter in mind. My collections from O.E. are not sufficient to test thoroughly his assumption that the prepositional infinitive as subject in this construction is the original syntax (or, what is equivalent, the simple infinitive, later replaced by the prepositional). But certain considerations seem to point to the *zwecksinfinitiv* as the original construction:

(1) The original function of the prepositional infinitive in O.E. was to denote purpose, and (according to Köhler, p. 47, § 10) it was so used first with nouns and adjectives.

(2) The simple infinitive is found only once as subject (of *lystan*) in the Beowulf (K. p. 38), and neither this nor the prepositional infinitive is subject of nouns or adjectives, except in ambiguous cases of the kind under consideration. In these cases, so far as form is concerned, the infinitive may be regarded as the subject of the noun or adjective; or it may be complement of the latter, and the noun or clause which was regarded as object of the infinitive may now be looked upon as the subject of the sentence.¹

(3) In Wülfing’s collections from Alfred’s works there is no case of the simple infinitive as subject of an adjective predicate, and only one doubtful case as subject of a noun predicate (cf. p. 197, 2). There is only one certain case of the prepositional infinitive as subject of a noun predicate (p. 211, c), and none at all as subject of an adjective predicate, except in those cases where it interchanges with the dependent construction after nouns and adjectives.

(4) From Alfred’s works, under the infinitive with nouns and adjectives, Wülfing cites about a hundred cases of the kind where interchange is possible. Of these, roughly, fifteen have the infinitive as subject, ten are ambiguous, and sixty-five show the dependent infinitive.

¹ In Beow. 1922, nas him fæor ɸanon to gesecanne since bryttan, if *fæor* is an adverb, the construction may be impersonal, “it was not necessary for him to seek far for the giver of treasure,” according to the O.E. cases cited under the Infinitive as Predicate, p. 136, 7, below. If *fæor* is an adjective, the construction is mixed. Cf. Andreas, 424. mycel is nu gena lad ofer lagustream, land swide feor to gesecanne.

It is difficult to see why Köhler distinguishes between Beow. 2094, *to lang* is *to reccenne,* *hu ic* . . . , in which he says *to reccenne hu ic* . . . is subject, and 1725, *wundor* is *to secganne,* *hu mihtig god* . . . , in which he regards *to secganne* as dependent on *wundor,* and *hu mihtig god* . . . as subject of *wundor* (pp. 45, 48).
The following examples illustrate the construction in O.E.:

(a) Dependent: Bo. 26, 28. 8a pe nauber ne sint ne getrewe to habbenne, ne eac e=Se to forlætanne (Wf. p. 200).

(b) Ambiguous: Ps. 16. 14. swynenflæsc, þæt Jœdeum unalysfedlic is to etanne (Wf. p. 204).

Beow. 1003. no þæt y=Se by=ð to besleomne (K. p. 49).

(c) Subject: Be. 471, 16. hit is god godne to herianne and yfelne to leanne (Wf. p. 201).¹

Chaucer.

Here the examples are arranged as above in O.E. (a) The infinitive is dependent, as shown by the form of the verb, by a nominative form as subject, or by the meaning. (b) The infinitive is ambiguously dependent or subject, the sentence having a singular verb with a word or clause that may be either subject of the sentence or object of the infinitive. Here are placed many cases which no doubt have the dependent infinitive, certainly so to our present feeling, but which are in form ambiguous. (c) The infinitive is clearly subject.

(a) The infinitive is dependent.

Agreeable. Bo. II. p. 5, 98. yif the beautee be agreeable to loken upon (grata intuitu species).²

Best. Tr. V. 1847. He best to love is.

Tr. V. 301.

Blisful. A 3247. She was ful more blisful on to see.

Bright, cf. Clere.

Brotil. L. 1885. The trewest ys ful brotil for to triste.

I 473. fals and brotil.

Chargeaunt and anoyous. B 2433.

Clere and bright. R.A. 1084.

Convenient. I 421.

Dredful. Tr. V. 590.

Drye. R.A. 57. These wodes . . .

That drie in wynter ben to sene.

Ethe. Tr. V. 850.

Fair. A 1035, D 1245, Tr. I. 277, 454, II. 584, Bl. 1050, L. 2425, R.A. 41, 403, 644.³

¹ For the same interchange of dependent and subject infinitive in O.F., cf. Sörgel, p. 284.
² See note 5, p. 58.
³ I think it likely that H.F. III. 215 belongs here: so fair hit was to shew. Though sheuen oftener means appear than see in M.E., the latter meaning of sceawrian is common in O.E., and it is in just such stereotyped phrases as this that it would be likely to be preserved.
Dependent Infinitive.


Tr. V. 383. To *trowen* on, it bothe *fals* and *foule* is.¹

Frendly. Tr. III. 358.²

Fressh. A 1048,³ 2176, Tr. IV. 1155.


Goodlich. F 623.

Gracious and fair. E 613.

Grevous. I 692.

Grisly. A 1363.

Hard. Bo. IV. p. 4, 64. This conclusioun is *hard* and *wonderful to graunte* (mira et concessu difficilis inlatio).


Hool. F 1111.

Lik. A 1301. he *lyk* was to *biholde*

The box tree.

L. 1206, 2649, Tr. II. 631, La. 156, F 271 (cf. p. 56).

Lusty. R.B. 4334.

Meke. A 3202.

Necessarie. Bo. IV. p. 1, 71.

Noyous. H.F. II. 66.

Pitous. Tr. III. 918. This accident so *petous* was *to here*,

And *ek so lyk* a *soth*.

A 1919, Tr. V. 555.

Possible. Damours, 16.

Profitable. Bo. V. p. 1, 19, I. p. 3, 83 (un-).

Redy. Tr. III. 530.

Riche. A 1911.

Round. R.A. 549.


Smal. R.A. 1017.

Spedeful. B 727.

Swych. Tr. IV. 862.

¹ I class this example as unambiguous on the basis of the caesural pause marked in Cl.

² *Frendly* is probably an adverb here. The adverb with infinitive is very rare, but there is nothing to prevent such a construction logically: "in a friendly manner to look at."

³ Yclothed was she *fressh* *for to devyse*. Skeat and Pollard (Globe Ed.) punctuate after *fressh*, making *for to devyse* an absolute infinitive. It seems to me this is more like *fresh to see*, *beautiful to describe*, and similar phrases.
Wors. I 998. the wunde wolde be the wor to heele.¹

Because of similarity in the construction, several nouns showing the same possibility of interchangeable syntax are here recorded under adjectives.

The infinitive is dependent on an adjective-noun phrase.²

Horrible tale. B 84.

(b) The infinitive either is dependent on the adjective (or noun) or is the subject of it. A large number of these cases are almost certainly examples of the dependent construction, but they are recorded here because the form itself is undecisive. On the other hand, in an example like

G 358. It were ful hard . . . for to seyn
How manye wondres Jesus . . . wroghte,
though the clause, How . . . , is doubtless object of the infinitive, it might originally have been subject. Cf. Beow. 2094, cited above, p. 50, note 1.³ Such cases, with a clause as apparent object of the infinitive, are therefore recorded as ambiguous.

Adjectives.
Bet. B 1091.  but it is bet to deeme
He wente hymself.

² Cf. p. 58, 4.
³ Cf. also Beow. 1725 (see p. 50, note 1), wundor is to seoganne, hu . . . , and Be. 528, 10, ðæt is wundor to cwepanne . . . (quod mirum dictu est) (Wf. p. 223), where the Latin original suggests the dependent construction. Cf. also ἔρως of Homer (e.g. Odys. XVII. 306). See B 2230, p. 54, below, where the clause precedes.
Best. A 3544. woostou what is best to doone?
B 2976, Tr. I. 96, 828, II. 696, 1485, IV. 679, V. 18, Bl. 29.
Encombrous. H.F. II. 354.¹
Eythe. R.B. 3955.
Foul. Lb. 402.
Good.² B 2327, Bl. 43.
Grevous. I 529, Tr. IV. 1492, L. 1839.
Hevy. R.A. 959.
Horrible. I 428.
Impossible. Tr. III. 1310.
Light. B 2230, G 838, Tr. IV. 1569, P.F. 553.
Bl. 526. th'amendes is light to make.³
Long, Longe.⁴ P.F. 1.

¹ Cf. note 3. ² Cf. Impersonals, p. 130, below.
³ The plural noun with singular verb in this case does not remove the ambiguity.
On the other hand, I venture to suggest that the frequent ambiguities of just this kind were an important factor in encouraging the use of plural subjects with singular verbs, especially the verb be.
⁴ The examples with long(e) are puzzling. Aside from the fact of the usual ambiguity, the use of the adverb longe, with the possibility of apocopation (cf. Kittredge, §135, II. (8)), the two forms of the adjective with and without -e, and the possible confusion in syntax between the adjective and adverb, all make the cases hard to classify.

(a) That the dependent construction existed, is shown, for example, by Old English: Be. 532, 11. ða ðe nu to long to secyenne syndon (Wf. p. 204); Chaucer,
P.F. 1. the craft so long to lerne.
To our present feeling, this is certainly the construction of many of the Chaucer cases where the form does not decide; e.g. B 4339:
But thilke tale is al to longe to telle.
Such cases are, however, classed below (c) as ambiguous. But cf. L. 1921:
that tale were to longe as now for me.

(b) The infinitive is clearly subject of longe as an adjective predicate in A 994:
But it were al to longe for to devyse
The grete clamour.

Even this example, however, can be accounted for as possibly a direct descendant of the dependent construction, when we remember the more general use of it in older English to throw the subject after the verb, so that the grete clamour might conceivably once have been subject. Cf. Tr. I. 860:
Were it for my suster al thy sorwe;
P.F. 155. hit stondeth writen in thy face
Thyn errour,
and many other similar examples, often punctuated by editors (Skeat, e.g., in the passages quoted) so as to disguise the construction. Cf. The Fire of Frendraught, A, st. 2:
Then out it came her false Frendraught;
O, st. 4. Then out it spake the gude Lord John
(Kittredge and Sargent, pp. 478, 479).

Cases are frequent in Chaucer.
Dependent or Subject.

Necessarie. I 321.
Resonable. R.C. 6019.

Mixed constructions:
R.A. 555. Ther nys a fairer nekke, iwys,
   To fele how smothe and softe it is.
   (Polis iert et soef au tast.)
L. 953.

Nouns.
Abusioun. I 445.
Charge. L. 2383.

L. 616. The weddyng and the feste to devyse
   To me . . .
   Yt were to lange.
H.F. III. 264. But hit were alle to lange to rede
   The names.

Cf. Maundeville (Mtz. Spr. II. 2, p. 221, 17): of here variance were to lange to
telle.

(c) The following cases are ambiguous in form:
Old English.

   Bo. 334, 1. Æeh hit me lang to lærenne sie (Wf. p. 204).
   Chaucer.

A 875. if it nere to long to heere.
E 52. The which a longe thyng were to devyse.
Tr. III. 495, L. 572, 1185, 1565, 1679, H.F. I. 249–51, 381, 446, Bo. IV.
p. 4, 45 (quod expectare longum . . . putet), R.C. 7210.

(d) In the following cases there may be a confusion with the adverb (cf.
Kittredge, §§ 49, 82).

   Tr. II. 1595. lest ye to lange dwelle.
   Bl. 217. Hit were to lange for to dwelle.
   P.F. 661. A yeer is not so lange to endure.
   Tr. V. 353. Ten dayes nys so lange not tabyle.
   E 1696. I trowe it were to lange yow to tarie
   If I yow tolde of every scrit and bond.

Tr. I. 144, Tr. V. 1484, H.F. I. 252. Cf. H.F. III. 363:
   To make yow to lange to dwelle,

where the adverb is certain.
   In the following case longe is adverb, but the construction is different, the
   infinitive being predicate:
   A 784. Oure conseil was nat lange for to seche
   = did not have to be looked for long. Cf. Predicate Infinitive, pp. 133 ff., below.

1 The same ambiguity between subject infinitive and dependent is found with
   a few adverbs. It must be said, however, that if the infinitive is subject and
   the adverb predicate, the latter is essentially equivalent to an adjective, in sense,
   if not in form.
   A 4196. it had been to late for to crie.
   Tr. II. 1291. it were ek to soone
   To graunten hym so gret a liberte.
   Tr. V. 743. To late is now to spake of this matere.

Fantasye. Tr. IV. 1469.
Foly. R.B. 4455.
Game. H.F. III. 384.
Hevene. F 558. an hevene for to see.
   Cf. F 271. lyk an hevene for to heere.
Jape. R.A. 11.
Joye. B 1956. That joye it was to heere.
   Tr. II. 817, III. 217, 1228, Bl. 325, Lb. 140.
Pitee. A 2878. he weep that pitee was to heere.
   A 2345, F 1428, H.F. I. 180, Bl. 107, C.M. 135.
Routhe. A 913, B 1052, F 1349, L. 1034, 1311.
Shame. Tr. III. 249, R.C. 7287.
Solas. R.A. 1378.
Wonder. B 408, 1882, 2924, G 560, L. 1147, P.F. 329.¹

Adjective-noun phrases.
Noble game. Tr. II. 647.
Lusty sighte. A 2116.
Litel sorwe. Tr. III. 1093.
Bihovely thyng. I 387.
Unworthy thing. Bo. V. p. 6, 313.
Wonder thing. R.A. 1114.

(c) The infinitive is clearly subject. Compare
Tr. I. 277, That art so fair and goodly to devyse, with D 439, it is
fair to have a wyf in pees.

It is conceivable that the latter could grow out of the
construction, a wyf is fair to have, and this interchange
is, in general, possible when the meaning of the adjective
is suitable and the infinitive is transitive. It is obvious
that this sort of subject infinitive, when once established,
would in no way be distinguished from the general
category of infinitive as subject of nouns, adjectives,
and impersonal and other verbs in cases where no

¹ For a mixed construction, cf. Wyclif, p. 99. pei ben a spectacle to angelis and
men to wonder on here cursed pride.
Other Relations with Adjectives.

such interchange with the dependent infinitive is to be thought of. The main body of examples is therefore treated with the subject infinitive, pp. 112 ff., below. The following selected examples will serve to illustrate the relation of the present section (c) to the dependent infinitive:

Adjectives.
Bl. 844. hit were beter serve hir.
B 2845. it is nat good to bigynne werre.
E 1164. It were ful hard to fynde . . .
   . . . Griseldis three or two.

Nouns.
Tr. II. 637. It was an hevene upon hym for to se.
     B 4067. A joye was it to here hem synge.

3. As with the infinitive after nouns, so after adjectives, the noun to which the adjective belongs sustains to the infinitive various relations besides that of subject or object, expressing means, time, place, or depending (logically) on an expressed preposition. As they are not numerous, the various kinds are placed here together.

Old English.

Cf. Be. 571, 8. Sa gemette he sume gerisenne stowe on Hibernia
     mynster on to timbrianne.¹

Old French.

B. Chr. II. 13230. Que de joie e de fin’ amor
     Seront a vostre plaisir faire (S. p. 282).

Chaucer.

Tr. IV. 1513. And, vulgarly to spoken of substaunce,
     Of tresour may we bothe with us lede
     Ynowth to lyve in honour and pleasaunce.

¹ This example illustrates the relation of place expressed by a preposition, but belongs more exactly to the following category, p. 58, 4, below.
Tr. IV. 1266. For there is *art ynow for to redresse*¹
That yet is mys and *sle* this hevynesse.

D 1. Experience . . .
   . . . were right *ynogh* to me
To speke of wo that is in mariaghe.

E 1970. tyme fortunaat
Was, for *to putte* a bille of Venus werkes.

I 708.² 1051.³
I 1066. hym semeth thanne *tymely*⁴ ynough *to come* to shrifte.
   A 1082. That art so *pale* and *deedly on to see,*⁵
R.A. 653. So *good inne for to dwelle* or *be.*

4. An adjective preceding its noun takes the infinitive after the phrase, the infinitive depending on both together. See the O.E. example on p. 57, and cf. the following:

Old English.

Be. 487, 37. hi *hæfdon* *gearo mod* ᵇa wiðerweardan ge eac *swylce*
dep *sylfne to Srovienne* (Wf. p. 197).
Scop, 143. Se *hæfde . . . leochtoste hond* *lofes* to *wyrceanne* (Mtz. Gr. II. p. 44).

Old French.

B. Chr. II. 12741. De *cler engin* fu *a voir*
   E de *bon sen a retenir* (S. p. 282).⁶

Chaucer.

The noun may bear the same relations to the infinitive as the separate noun or adjective followed by the infinitive.

A 369. Wel semed ech of hem a *fair burgeys*
      To *sitten* in a *yelde* halle.

¹ *Art* may possibly be logical subject of *for to redresse.*
² Cf. Accusative with Infinitive, pp. 147 ff.
³ Cf. 4, below.
⁴ Skeat (Glossary) makes *tymely* an adjective. It is possibly an adverb.
⁵ I have included several examples like this in 2, pp. 49 ff. Strictly they belong here, but they were placed there as illustrating the dependent infinitive. Besides, *to look at,* and the like, are essentially transitive verbs.
The Infinitive of Result.

Immediately related to the infinitive denoting various degrees of purpose after verbs, nouns, and adjectives, is the infinitive denoting result after verbs, nouns, and adjectives. The two categories are not fundamentally different, but the syntax depends on the context and on the standpoint of the speaker or writer. As the preposition to in other prepositional phrases denotes all grades from inception to consequence, so it does with the infinitive; and for to is used analogously. The degree to which the idea of result is present, depends on the feeling as to the certainty of the fulfilment of the purpose expressed by the infinitive, and this often depends on the implication of the context. The following classification therefore includes some illustrative examples that might properly be classed under purpose.1

1 For a similar wavering, in Greek, between the notions of purpose and result, cf. Burton’s Syntax of the Moods in New Testament Greek, pp. 92–95. Here he discusses clauses of so-called conceived result after ἵστα, where the expected result, expressed by the final particle ἵστα, may be conceived of sometimes as hypothetical and sometimes as real. He cites as examples John 9. 2 and 1 Thess. 5. 4. It may be noted that, though both these passages have ἵστα with the subjunctive, the King James version renders the first as actual result: “that he was born blind,” and the second by the purpose form of expression: “that that day should overtake you as a thief.”

Compare also our common mode of expressing result with a purpose formula: “What did you do, in order to take such a cold?”
Old English.

Since result is closely related to purpose, the O.E. usage involves no marked difference from the infinitive of purpose. One or two examples are here given which seem more distinctly to suggest result.

Be Domes Dæge, 186. næñig sprec mag beon spellum areccan ænigum on eorðan earmlice witu (cited as result by Höser, p. 38).
C.P. 262, 18. hie seulon uparisan and veaxcan a ma and ma to lufianne ða godcundan weore (ad amoris gratiam . . . excrescant) (Wf. p. 215).
Be. 569, 22. ðæt he eorþbigengan aewce hine to ondraedanne (ut terrigenas ad timendum se suscitet) (Wf. p. 217).
Ælfr., S.L. XVII. 78. ne galdras ne sece, to gremigenne his scyppend.

The expression of result was not confined in O.E. to the infinitive. It was often—perhaps more often than by the infinitive—expressed by to with abstract nouns of action, a usage that still survives. Cf. "He will do that to his sorrow." Here, as with the infinitive, only the context and circumstances distinguish from purpose. For numerous examples of purpose phrases, many of which can express result, see Shearin, pp. 33–41.

Old French.

Tr. 13594. Mes ne vos ai pas coneït
   A doner vos si tost m’amor (S. p. 296).
Tr. 14111. N’est pas bleciez a mehaignier
   N’a l’estor guerpir ne lessier (S. p. 296).

Of these Sörgel says, "Nicht mehr die blosse Bewegung nach etwas hin, sondern zugleich den Abschluss derselben bezeichnet die Prä-
position."

Chaucer.

1. Compare Infinitive of Purpose, p. 10, head-note, at the end. First are recorded here several examples of
purpose approaching the sense of result. Afterwards follow the more distinct cases of result. The examples of the first kind shade into those of the second.

E 659. if I hadde prescience
Your wyl to knowe.

E 1627. Which mayde . . . he wolde han to his wyf
To lede in ese . . . his lyf.

G 376. They gonnen fro the tormentours to reve

The false feith, to trowe in God allone.

A 1424. he was long and big of bones
To doon that any wight can hym devyse.

A 518. But in his techyng discreet and benygne
To drawen folk to hevene by fairnesse.¹

C 205. his deere doghter yeven
Unto the juge, in lecherie to lyven.

R. B. 2000. Which to no vilayn was never couthe
Forto aproche it ne forto touche.

Fortune, 9. Yit is me left the light of my resoun
To knowen frend.

P. F. 698. That I shal mete som thing for to fare
The bet.

Tr. II. 1021. speke of the somewhat . . .
... to do thyne eeres glowe.

Tr. I. 187. no devocioun
Hadde he to noon, to Reven hym his reste.

R. B. 3496. On me ne wolde have pite
His cruel will forto refreyne.

Bo. I. p. 5, 80. thilke passiouns . . . mowen wexen esy and softe to
reseiven the strengthe of a more mighty . . . medicine.

Tr. IV. 985. yf there myghte ben a variaunce
To writhen out fro Goddes purveyinge.²

Bo. II. m. 5, 21. they ne hadde seyn yit none newe strondes to
leden marchandyse into dyverse contrees.

¹ In such cases after adjectives it is especially hard to distinguish between purpose and result. Cf.
Lb. 377. Him oghte nat be tiraunt ne crewel
As is a fermour, to doon the harme he can.

² Cf. Apposition, p. 143, below.
R. B. 3420. Of me have mercy and pitee  
To stynte your ire.

Tr. V. 972. And that ye koude wel youre lady serve  
I trowe ek wel, here thank for to deserve.

Tr. III. 440.  
L. 2047. ther shal no man me knowe,  
To han my lyf and for to han presence  
Of yow.

Tr. V. 1578. but he may not contrefete  
To ben unknown of folk that weren wyse.

Tr. V. 1289. How myght I thanne do . . .  
To knowe of this.

Tr. III. 612. that koude best devyse  
To liken her.

Tr. I. 692. som wyght tryste  
Thi wo to telle.

G 464. that I reneye innocence  
To make me a wikked wight.

R. B. 5119.  
maist lyve the tyme to se.\(^1\)  
(Se tu pues encore tant vivre.)

R. C. 7582.  
Have I therfore herberd yowe  
To seye me shame, and eke reprove ?\(^2\)

Tr. II. 1443.  
comen was of kymde  
To al honour and bounte to consente.

Tr. IV. 1662.  
stonde of plesaunce in degre  
To quyte hym wel.

2. The infinitive after verbs of causing and the like, with an object besides the infinitive, easily passes into result. Cf. p. 18, above, head-note II.

G 744. Thanne he exciteit oother folk therto,  
To lesen hir good as he hymself hath do.  

C 137. He wiste he myghte hire nevere wynne,  
As for to maken hire with hir body synne.

I 244. enlumyne and lightne the herte of the synful man to repentaunce.

\(^1\) Cf. Purpose Infinitive, II. 1, pp. 20 ff.
\(^2\) This is an excellent example of the assumed actual result cast in the form of a purpose.
3. In the following examples with *eylen*, the sense of result has become specialized so as to be regarded as a kind of symptom to explain the cause of the state expressed by the governing verb *eylen*.

B 1171. What *eyleth* the man so sinfully to swere?
B 1975, 4080, D 357, 443, H 16, Tr. II. 211, IV. 331, Bl. 449, La. 311; B 1289, D 281.

A similar sense is expressed by the following:

R.B. 3832. To me thou *haddist no rewarde*
   *To truste* . . .
   Hym thus.¹

C.L. 37. Now *hath not Love me bestowed weel*,
   *To love* ther I never shal have part?

Tr. IV. 187. what *gost may yow enspire*,
   This womman thus *to shilde*?²

4. When some modifying word is used to emphasize that quality of a noun or adjective, or that action of the verb, which is suited to a certain end expressed by the infinitive, that end or purpose may easily pass into the sense of result. Words of this kind are *so, such, enough*, and the like. Compare

R.B. 2917. *Parte of her blisse to hym they sende*,
   Of al this harme *to make* an ende.

¹ MS. *this*.
² The last two examples combine the syntax of 2 with the sense of 3. For similar sense, cf. also p. 64, Tr. V. 1685, and R.B. 3727, and Infinitive of Cause, (c), p. 74, below.
Here it is expressed as purpose.

Cf. vv. 2919 ff. The eye is a good messangere,
Which can to the herte in such manere
Tidyngis sende . . .
To voide hym of his peynes clene.

Here it is conceived result.

Cf. v. 2923 f. Whereof the herte rejoiseth soo
That a gret partye of his woo
Is voided . . .

Here it is actual result.

Adjectives with so.

Boold. A 4271. Who dorste be so boold to disparage.
Tr. V. 1685. So cruwel wende I not youre herte ywys
To sle me thus.
C 339, L. 879, C.M. 35.

Daungerous.
R.B. 3726. Sir, what is the cause
Ye ben of port so daungerous
Unto this lover and deynous
To graunte hym nothyng but a kisse?
Hardy. B 3093, E 1180, Tr. II. 1073; A 1711, C.L. 90.
Mad. Tr. IV. 393.
Open. B 2813.
Ny. A 1526.

Trewe. L. 800.¹
Worldly. A 292.²

With ynogh.
Discreet. E 75. Discreet ynogh ³ his contree for to gye.

¹ The infinitive here may simply specify the application of trewe without denoting result, so that the sense is so trewe-to-trusten rather than so-trewe [as] to-trusten.
² For a similar sense of result to that seen in the above cases, compare the following with adjective unmodified:
Lydg. R.S. 1797. And by his syde he had a swerde
Sharpe to shave a mannys berde.
³ Here the sense of purpose is still prominent.
Adjective and noun.
So greet travayle.
Tr. II. 1437. to have so gret travayle
To han som of youre bretheren here.¹
So hy a grace. Venus, 66.
Such a grace. R.B. 3207.
Which magik. H.F. III. 179.

Verbs.
H.F. II. 465. fsee so hye
To passen everiche element.
Tr. III. 1760, R.B. 5019.

A similar construction with so, that, etc., does not
denote so much a result as merely a comparison. The
infinitive action is equated with a noun or verb. This
sense is often combined, however, with the idea of result.

Tr. III. 139. me so mucho honoure
Me to comaunden ought yn ony owre.
D 962. She nolde do that vileynge or synne
To make hir housbonde han so foul a name.²
G 530, Tr. I. 586, III. 867, V. 314; C 612.

The latter construction occurs once with so-as.
Tr. III. 633. To don myn herte as now so gret an ese
As for to dwelle here.

The following example without so seems to show
result:
Tr. III. 1642. Ne I nyl not rakle as for to greven here.³

¹ This example well illustrates the similarity of this kind of result with mere
comparison, as shown in Tr. III. 139, above. Cf. also Tr. II. 1432:
don this honour to me
To prayen here . . .
In Tr. II. 1437 the sense may be the labor which brings about the result, or the labor
of bringing it about. In the second case it can only be the latter, the honor of
praying, etc.
² Here the two ideas of comparison and result are probably both present.
³ I find no other case of the infinitive of result in Chaucer with as in the
apodosis. The first case from the Troilus is clearly not result. The earliest
case of as + infinitive of result in N.E.D. is 1662 (I. p. 479 b, 20). So - as + a
SYNTAX.
The use of certain intensifying adverbs, chiefly too, indicates that the conceived result will not follow. Though to our present feeling the infinitive depends on too, this adverb is not necessary, and the construction is probably only a specialization of the purpose construction with adjectives. As the infinitive denotes the end to which the quality of some adjectives is fitted, so with others it denotes that end to which they are not fitted. Compare ready to go with weary to go. Intensify each adjective with too, and we have still the same difference of sense, only more emphatic: too ready to go makes the infinitive action more likely to follow, while too weary to go implies that what was before unlikely or unfavourable, is now certain not to happen. Accordingly the Chaucer examples fall into two classes: those in which the adjective is unfavourable to the conceived result, and therefore the latter does not follow; and those cases in which the adjective is favourable to the result and the sense is conceived or actual result.

(1) First, certain adjectives without the intensive take the infinitive with an implication of negative result.

R.B. 4737. A strength the weyked to stonde upright, i.e. "too weak to stand."

clause of result is recorded from 1460. Cf. Caxton, Jason, 23 (1475). The raynes of his horse faylled ... in suche wise as he tumbled, the hede under (N.E.D. ib., 19 b). Compare the way in which such a clause of comparison (where clause is compared with clause, action with action) with the indicative passes into the modern result clause, while a similar clause of comparison with the subjunctive remains hypothetical and becomes a conditional clause—as if, etc. A stereotyped case—as if were—has, however, been retained as a formula for comparison. I suggest that the use of as with the infinitive to denote result may be due in part to its earlier use in the apodosis of finite and infinitive clauses of comparison. The close connection of the two I have noted; cf. also Pall. III. 1204:

And so Crist Jesu do me fro myschaunce
As heer in this matier noo wordis spille,

in which the ideas of comparison and result are both present.

For a clause of purpose cast in the form of a comparison, cf. Tr. III. 979:

and fond his contenaunce
As for to lote upon an old romaunce.
R.A. 490. The gardeyn was not daungerous
To herberwe briddes.
H.F. I. 251. Hyt were a longe processe to telle.1
Cf. First English Petition to Parliament: owre lyge Lordes
comaudement . . . is a gret thyng to ben used so familerlich
withouten nede.2

(2) Other adverbs besides too may be used.
Bl. 900. my spirits be so dulle
So greet a thing for to deryse.
P.F. 1. The lyf so short, the craft so long to lerne.3

(3) With too.4
D 1480. thy wit is al to bare
To understonde.
Tr. II. 725. To says is he to do so gret a vice.
G 1299, An. 338, R.A. 1177, Tr. III. 867; E 1736, Tr. II. 132.5

On the other hand, when the adjective is naturally
favourable to the conceived purpose or result, the addition
of too does not change the syntax.
Tr. III. 88. Or was to bold, to synge a fol a masse.

1 This is cited on the assumption that to telle is dependent, not subject. I feel
no doubt that most of the cases with to long belong in the present category. See
the list, p. 54, note 4, above, with the discussion of the ambiguity of forms.
For negative result without an intensive, cf. Macbeth, I. iv. 17:
That swiftest wing of recompense is slow
To overtake thee.

3 The last case is, perhaps, purpose rather than negative result; but the
nearness to result is evident. Cf. also Ast. Pr. 51. curious endyting and hard
sentence is ful heavie stones for whiche a child to lerne.
4 Cf. note 1.
5 Eisenkel (p. 244) says, "Der Infinitiv des Zweckes findet sich auch nach den
von to (N.E. too) begleiteten Adjectiven: . . . Nur ein Beleg; für einen zweiten,
mit reinem Infinitiv, siche oben, p. 239, A. 7. Vielleicht auch nach den von as
und so begleiteten, doch fanden sich hier keine Beispiele." Neither of the cases
cited belongs here. See below, p. 74. There are, on the contrary, at least eight
eamples of too + adjectives denoting negative result, not counting the ambiguous
cases mentioned on p. 54, note 4. If by " as und so" Eisenkel means as corre-
lated with so, his count agrees with mine so far as denoting result is concerned;
though there remains the one case of comparison with so - as cited on p. 65.
And there are in addition at least twenty cases of so . . . infinitive denoting
result, and three denoting a comparison; and two cases of too + adjective +
infinite denoting purpose or affirmative result.
CHAPTER VI.

THE INFINITIVE OF CAUSE.

Certain adjectives, nouns, and verbs, denoting states or actions of the mind, such as glad, delight, rejoice, are capable, in Chaucer, of either active senses, denoting eagerness, desire, or passive, as happiness, pleasure. Some words like delit in Chaucer seem to have had the active sense of desire which are at present only passive, denoting simply pleasure. In connection with the infinitive such words are capable of three classes of meaning, according to whether the infinitive points to the future, is contemporaneous with the state or action of its governing word, or represents an action or state previous to that of the word it depends on. E.g. glad to go may conceivably refer to a journey not yet taken, to one in progress, or to one completed. In the first case the infinitive is fundamentally that of purpose. In the second, it may simply specify the application of the governing word. In the last, the...
infinitive action is the cause of the action or state of the governing word. Naturally it is impossible to say which of these three categories many of the cases below should be classed with.

This close relation to the infinitive of purpose makes it difficult to produce O.E. examples differing clearly from those denoting purpose. In O.F., however, there are some original distinctions in the use of à, de, and por in such constructions.¹

Old English.

_Gefeon_ takes the simple infinitive, but it may as well be complementary as causal in conception.

Be. 648, 28. _Sysses mynstres, on _Sæm ic gefeo _Sære apli- can arfaestnesse_ (Wf. p. 195).

I find in Wulfing no cases of the prepositional infinitive that can be distinctly treated as causal.

Old French.

On the other hand, causal relations in O.F. are frequent, growing out of the original functions of à and de to denote source and means.²

_Rou, III. 9954. _E de mal faire estoit cremuz_ (S. p. 297).
_Raoul, 7023. _Molt par se furent a chasploter greves_ (S. p. 297).³

Chaucer.

1. The infinitive after nouns, adjectives, and verbs denoting pleasure or displeasure.

(a) Cases in which the governing word has an active sense, and the infinitive action points to the future in the manner of a complementary infinitive. These

¹ It will, of course, be noted that by the term _causal infinitive_ reference is not intended to such a construction as “What went ye out for to see?” where the infinitive denotes _final cause_, i.e. purpose. _Causal_ is here used in the sense of a previous or contemporaneous cause. It is of course true that one of these easily passes into the other, and this fact lies at the bottom of the close relation between the present category and that of ordinary purpose, pointing to the future.

² Cf. Lachmund, p. 33, 3; Diez, III. p. 241, 4; Sörgel, pp. 296 ff.

³ For interchange between subject infinitive and causal infinitive in O.F., see below, p. 75.
infinitives do not denote cause, but are inserted here in illustration of the following sections.  

2. he was agast
3. To love, and for to speke shamefast.
5. I am agroteyd here biforne
6. To write of hem.
7. Ashamed. B 2262 (anticipatory). he shall nat been ashamed to lerne hem.
8. Tr. II. 1047.
15. Mys-foryeven. Tr. IV. 1425.
17. I may not write,
18. So grete routhe I have hit for to endite.
20. But, shortly of this story for to passe,
21. For I am verry of him for to telle,
22. Fyne yere his wyfe and he togedir dwelle.

(b) Ambiguous cases, in which it is difficult to determine whether the infinitive has a complementary or a causal relation to the governing word, the latter being either active or passive in sense.

1 The nouns and adjectives of (a) are therefore recorded in the categories of nouns and adjectives with the infinitive, and the verbs, under complementary infinitive. See above, pp. 33 ff., 47 ff., and below, pp. 88 ff.
2 Cf. I 293.: consentynge of affeccioun, when a man is mooved to do synne and deliteth hym . . ., and yet his resoun refreyneth nat his foul delit or talent. . . . L. 1380. save foule delyte, which that thou callest love. F 1372. to ful-fille hir foul delit. Also Pearl, 1129. Delit ye Lombe for to deuise. Cf. 1153-55.
3 Here the infinitive may depend on hope only; but joye seems to be likewise anticipatory.
4 The active sense does not here depend on whether loth is used impersonally.
5 Note that this is at the beginning of the tale of Tereus. I take the meaning to be, "I dislike to tell about him because of his horrible sins"—merely a conventional remark. Cf. R. C. 6898. That ben not verry to seye wele
6 But to do wel, no will have they,

also, Conf. Am. VII. 3673 [The story of Gideon]:
7 And him which verry is to swinke,
8 Upon his wombe and lith to drinke,
9 Forsak.

The last example shows clearly that in M. E. verry + infinitive did not need to denote fatigue from a thing, but as well could mean disinclination toward it.
Blythe. Tr. V. 1383. was ther nevere herte yet so blythe

To han his lyf, as I shal ben as swythe

As I yow se.

Deyntee. B 139. every wight hath deyntee to chaffure

With hem. 2

Glad, gladen. D 391, E 375, 1004, Tr. I. 300, III. 647, IV. 809, Lb. 51, L. 961, 1223, Bo. II., p. 2, 58 (mutare gaudemus), V. m. 5, 10 (Haeo pressisse solo vestigia gressibusque gaudent), R. B. 3872, 3898.
Glorifye. Tr. II. 1593.
Joye. An. 80, Tr. V. 118, R. B. 2629.
Pitee. B 1067, R. B. 4271, Bl. 97.

Pleasaunce (cacchen, haven, taken). E 792, 993, Damours, 48.
Rejoysen. Bo. I. m. 5, 51 (gaudent subdere), I. p. 5, 23 (depulsione laetatur).
Sory. Tr. V. 1082.
Wery. I 1042. and it [paternoster] is short . . . for a man sholde be the lasse wery to seyen it, and . . . may nat excusen him to lerne it. 5
E 1291, Tr. V. 273.

1 This should perhaps be classed under (a).
2 Perhaps this belongs in (a). Cf. Barbour, Bruce, XII. 150. Than all ran into gret dantes The cril of Murreff for till se (N. E. D. s. v. dainty, 2.), and Pecock, Repr. I. xiii. 66. The reeding in the Bible . . . drawth the reders . . . fro love and deinte of the world (N. E. D. ibid.).
3 The word pitee apparently was capable of taking a complementary infinitive as well as a causal one. Cf. Sörgel, p. 286. Cf. the modern take pity on.
4 E 792. I hadde ynoth pleasance

To han yow to my wyf . . .

I am inclined to interpret this, "I wished to have you, etc." Compare, Et la prend sa plaisance A gouverner, with Cestoit une plaisance De voyir (God. VI. 191). Cf. also E 964. and setten plesaunce, Bal. Ch. Made, 4, Compleynte, 14.
5 This seems to mean not hesitate to say it, rather than become weary from saying it. Still it is ambiguous. Cf. Wyclif, p. 202, schorte wordis & moche witt, for men schulden not be hevy ne excusen hem fro kunynge & seynges per-
of; and Ayenb. p. 99, sort vor þet non ne ssole him werye hit vor to lyerny. An vor þan þet non ne ssole him lyeney hit vor to zige gledliche an ofte. In the latter example, the adverbs gledliche an ofte preclude the causal infinitive.
6 In a sentence like Crist, 1556, Ne bisorgaß he synne to fremman, it is hard to say whether we have a complementary, or a true causal infinitive. Such an example in O.F. would be explicable as causal, with ò or de + infinitive, on the ground of the original meaning of the preposition itself, but hardly so in O.E.
(c) The infinitive of cause; cases in which the action or state of the governing word is passive and may be conceived as growing out of the infinitive as cause, source, means, and the related ideas.

Delit. R. B. 1851.

Evele apayed.
Tr. IV. 642. she wol ben evele apayed
To ravysshen here.

Fayn. Tr. V. 192. And seyde, "O dere doughter myn, welcome!"
She seyde, ek, she was fayn with hym to mete.

L. 1137. blysful is and fayne
To seen his yonge sone [who had just arrived].

Glad. R. B. 4662. Glad to have sich a lord
(dont tu as si bon mestre).

Joye. Tr. V. 588.
Plesed. R. B. 3008.
Rejoysen. Bo. II. p. 5, 116. ben sory yif thou lese hem, or . . .
rejoysen thee to holden hem (vel amissis doleas, vel laeteris retentis).
Wepen. Tr. IV. 1620, L. 2279.
Wroth. R. C. 6466 (Quant [il] perdent lor . . . bestes).

2. With other predicates besides those denoting mental states (like and dislike, etc.) the infinitive denotes cause, source, means, and the related ideas.

(a) Tr. IV. 727. a man is esed for to fele
For ache of hed to clawen hym on his hele.\(^1\)

H.F. III. 143. famous, olde and yonge,

To lerne love-daunces.

It may be that in many such cases in O.E. the present object of the infinitive (synne) was originally object of the main verb (bisorga\(\mathcal{S}\)), so that the infinitive could have its natural purpose force, as further explication. But in both O.F. and O.E., constructions like this with verbs of dislike, sorrowing, etc., would easily arise by analogy of words like desire + infinitive.

\(^1\) I prefer this interpretation, viz. "is eased by feeling some one claw him on the heel," to that of Einenkel (p. 243), "is esed in feeling by (means of) clawing hym (self) on his heele."

It is true that the infinitive with to is not common with felen in M.E. But cases of the prepositional infinitive occur with verbs of the class of see, hear, feel, etc. Feel occurs twice in Pecock's Repressor with to + the infinitive: 37, 10; 448, 15 (Zickner, p. 67).
CHAP. VI] \hspace{1em} **Infinitive Denoting Means.**

H.F. III. 159. That in her tyme famous were
\hspace{1em} To lerne.

Tr. III. 198. \hspace{1em} *shal bere the belle*
\hspace{1em} To speke of love.

Bl. 99. \hspace{1em} *I ferde the worse . . .*
\hspace{1em} \hspace{1em} \hspace{1em} . . . to thenken on her sorwe.

R.A. 888. But of his robe to devise
\hspace{1em} I drede *encombred forto be.*
\hspace{1em} (Mes de sa robe devisier
\hspace{1em} Criens durement qu’encombré soie.)

Tr. II. 1108. And she to laughe it thought here herte brest.\(^1\)

Tr. III. 1661. Was nevere *ful to speke* of this matere
\hspace{1em} And *for to preyse.*\(^2\)

Tr. II. 368. *wondren to se hym.*

E 337. *astoned To seen.*

I 598. *tremblen to heeren.*

I 967, R.C. 6656.\(^3\)

\((b)\) The relation of infinitive to predicate approaches that of means.

A 184. \hspace{1em} make hymselfen wood
\hspace{1em} Upon a book in cloystre alwey to poure.

A 610. His lord wel koude he plese*n subtilly*
\hspace{1em} *To yeve and lene* hym of his owene good.

A 3047, G 1476, Tr. I. 47, III. 773, An. 273, R.B. 2149, 4392,
\hspace{1em} 4600, Venus, 26–31.\(^4\)

---

\(^1\) That is, “she thought her heart was bursting for laughter.” This interpretation, which agrees with M.E. grammar, and is supported by Cl. and Cp. among other MSS., is corroborated by a passage in v. 1163 exactly parallel in idea and in situation:

And made here so to laughe at his folye,
\hspace{1em} That she for *laughter* wende for to dye.

For further discussion, see below, p. 80, and p. 130, note 1.

\(^2\) Cf. Orm. 10221. wurrpen *full to winnen.*

\(^3\) R.C. 6656. He [God] wolde not therfore that *he lyve,*
\hspace{1em} *To serven hym, in mendience.*
\hspace{1em} (Por ce ne vuet il pas qu’il vive,
\hspace{1em} Por li servir, in mendience.)

I take this to mean, “He would not that he live in beggary on account of serving him.” Michel reads *de li servir.*

(c) The infinitive sometimes forms the basis of a judgment expressed in the governing word or predicate.\footnote{1} 

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
B 3712. & I am to nyce \\
To sette & a man that is fulfild of vice \\
In heigh degree, & emperour hym calle.
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l}
H 69. \\
\text{thou art to nyce} \\
Thus openly \text{repreve}\footnote{2} hym.
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\text{Tr. IV. 598. she myght holden the for nyce} \\
\text{To late here go thus.}

\text{R.B. 4529. She was to blame me to leve.}

\text{Tr. II. 713, 1648, V. 739, 1338, 1709, H.F. I. 269, Lb. 369,} \\
\text{B 2543, R.B. 3123 (vilains estes du demander),}^4 \text{ 3144, 3509,} \\
\text{3593, 3730, 3741, 4016, 4067, 4544.}^5

(d) The infinitive sometimes denotes means and at the same time is in a kind of apposition to the governing element.

\begin{quote}
I 146. Ne a fouler thral may no man . . . maken of his body than for to yeven his body to synne, i.e. than giving, or than by giving. \\
H.F. III. 288.
\end{quote}

\footnote{1} Cf. Sörgel, p. 297, Tr. 19649. Pechie fetes del meintenir, with other examples. The construction is frequent in O.F.

\footnote{2} So E, Hg., C; rest = to repreve.

\footnote{3} Einenkel (pp. 239, 244) misunderstands these passages. The first he calls 
\text{"Infinitive des Zweckes" (p. 244)}, and refers to the second, of which he says 
(p. 239) that \text{nyce ben} belongs to \text{"Redensarten, deren begrifflicher Gehalt dem} 
\text{eines transitiven Verbs gleichkommt."} He apparently understands them as 
cases of what I have called negative result after adjectives with \text{too} (see above, 
p. 67, note 5). They clearly belong to the category of the infinitive denoting 
\text{cause, ground}: \text{"I am too foolish, very foolish, in that I set a man," etc. ;} 
\text{"Thou art very foolish to reprove him," etc.} Cf. E 2433:
\begin{quote}
\text{and I shoalle rekenen every vice,} \\
\text{. . . I were to nyce.}
\end{quote}

\footnote{4} For the original force of the preposition \text{de} here, cf. Tobler, I. pp. 5 ff.

\footnote{5} Skeat (Glossary s.v. \text{wyte}) makes to \text{wyte} in R.A. 1541 a noun phrase, but an 
infinite in D 806 and Tr. III. 63. The passages are—
\footnotesize{(1) R.A. 1541. For if her deth be you wiste.} 
\footnotesize{(2) D 806. That I have doon, it is thyselfe to wyte.} 
\footnotesize{(3) Tr. III. 63. here is she that is youre deth to wyte.} 

Cf. also (4) R.B. 3558. \text{The god of love it was to wyte.}

It is possible to treat all these cases as infinitives (the forms of noun and verb are alike). The O.E. construction with \text{wan was acc. rei dat. pers.} So here we 
may interpret (1) \text{"if her death is to be blamed to you,"} (2) \text{"what I have done is} 
to be blamed to thyself," (3) \text{"she to whom your death is to be blamed,"} (4) \text{"to} 
the god of love it was to be blamed." Cf. A 3140. \text{Wyte it the ale of Southwerk,} 
I yow preye; B 3336. \text{Thy false wheel my wo al may I wyte; B 3860, Tr. II.} 
\text{1000.} Compare also the modern colloquial, \text{"He blamed it on me, to me."}
(e) The infinitive may denote cause or means and at the same time be regarded as the subject of the sentence.

A 773. For trewely confort ne myrthe is noon
To ride by the weye doumb as the stoon.
I 1059, Tr. I. 708, L. 2531.1

(f) Several cases occur in which the cause of the action in the predicate seems to reside in an elliptical idea such as desire, fear, etc.

1 This last example would ordinarily be classed as subject infinitive; but it is by no means certain that it might not have been felt by Chaucer to mean, "There ought to be little glory to you from having betrayed a maid, in betraying a maid." This suggests one possible source of the causal infinitive in English. On this colourless use of it, see above, p. 54, note 4(b). Cf. I 296. for thereof is no doute, that it is deedly synne in consentynge. For certes, ther is no deedly synne, etc. It must have been hard to distinguish between the use of it in cases like it is synne in consentynge (= ther is synne) and in it is synne to consente. Cf. Lydg. R.S. 445:

thou art to blame
And unto thee yt is gret shame
Thyself so longe to encombe.

Here to encombe may be causal infinitive with both clauses, there being no mixture of constructions. In that case, shame is the real subject of the second sentence. Cf. Juliana (Paul, I. 1085, § 141): Ther wes sorhe to seon hire leoflich faren so reowliche wið. In the very frequent expressions it was pity to see, and the like, the noun might have been felt as subject, and the infinitive would then have a causal sense. That the causal sense may have been present in many cases where we regard the infinitive as subject, is suggested by the passage from Lydgate just quoted. Cf. also the following: Lydg. R.S. 3519:

Geyn is ther noon tescwe blame,

and Guy of Warwick, Auch. MS. 172, 10:

Gret sinne it is to þe
To stroye so þi barouns fre.

Cf. the same passage in Caius MS. 9476:

Ye do yourself gret dishonoure
To leve so well that losyngeoure.

Cf. also the ballad of Bewick and Graham (Child, 211), st. 20:

"Nay, for to kill my bully dear,
I think it will be a deadly sin;
And for to kill my father dear,
The blessing of heaven I neer shall win."

In O.F. we find a corresponding interchange of subject and causal infinitive, the latter being original there. Cf. Tobler, I. pp. 5 ff., and Gröber, I. pp. 811-12:

"De vor dem logischen Subject war im Altfranzösischen gewöhnlich, z.B. Bone chose est de pais, De vostre mort fust grans damages, was nach Tobler zunächst:
von eurem Tode her würde grosser Schaden gewesen sein. Dieser Gebrauch des de ist auch der modernen Sprache verblieben. . . ."

Cf. L. 593:

And of his deeth it was ful gret damage.
CHAPTER VII.

THE CONCESSIVE INFINITIVE.

The infinitive denotes a reward for doing, or a penalty for not doing, an action, in spite of which the action does not take place. Einenkel (p. 242) has pointed out that this construction is an outgrowth of the purpose infinitive, which "stellt hier, den ursprünglichen Verhältnissen entsprechend, den Lon dar, um dessentwillen die Tätigkeit des Verbum Finitum sich vollzieht." 3

1 For the meaning, cf. vv. 1721–23. The infinitive may also be regarded as a kind of purpose. In fact, all the examples under (f) are illustrations of that looser relation of the infinitive to the sentence, where the exact syntax is hard to define, and the thought wavers among several categories.

2 The infinitive here may denote purpose after the action suggested by the noun love.

3 Einenkel points cut that the concessive sense has developed from the final under the influence of the negative. To this observation should be added, (1) that the infinitive denotes a purpose that is extreme or unusual in view of the main action. It is just this feature that carries the infinitive beyond the point of purpose to the concessive idea. "I would not do this to please a friend," expresses ordinary purpose, unless the pleasing of a friend would be a strong motive for the act in question. The idea then becomes concessive: "even to please a friend."

(2) That the main action is in some way hypothetical, not actual, so far as

B 1746. that to hire to preye,
He kan nit stynte of syngying by the weye.1

L. 2388. he wol not, for his shame,
Doon as Tereus, to lese hys name.

E 1980. That from hire herte she ne dryve kan
The remembrance, for to doon hym ese.

Tr. III. 1776. And this encres of hardinesse and myght
Cam hym of love, his ladyes thank to wynne.2

The governing idea is expressed:

L. 1585. kan fals Jason have no pes
For to desiren thurgh his appetite
To doon with gentil wymmen hys delyte;
This is his luste and his felicite.
The following examples are arranged to show a possible development from the purpose infinitive.

1. The infinitive (here denoting purpose without a concessive idea) denotes the purpose for which some reward is given.

   F 1220. What somme sholde this maistres gerdoun be
   To removen alle the rokkes of Britayne.

   A 1900. yaf hym mete and wages
   The theatre for to maken and devyse.

   D 1325, I 894, Bl. 245 (cf. p. 84, below), R.C. 6676.

2. On the other hand, the infinitive may denote the reward as motive for the main action, which is in the affirmative.

   H.F. III. 767. And for to gette of Fames hire,
   The temple sette I alle ayyre.

3. The main action is negative and the infinitive denotes an extreme reward, in spite of which the main action fails to take place, the final force becoming concessive.

   Tr. IV. 1237. I nolde a forlong wey on-lyve han be
   After youre death, to han be crowned quene.

   D 961. She swoor him nay, for al this world to wynne
   She nolde do that vileynye or synne.¹

   Tr. I. 503, P.F. 391.

shown by the examples from Chaucer. It is something which would or will not take place, rather than something which did not or does not take place.

For the development of the corresponding O.F. construction, cf. Tobler, I. pp. 20 ff.

¹ Einenkel (p. 136, end) classifies this example, not with the concessive infinitive, but with the expression for al the world, as in H.F. III. 434:
   suche a maner murmuryng,
   For al the world, hyt semed me.

In for al this world to wynne he says "der Infinitiv to wynne ist wie in den vielen afranz. Fällen zum Verständniss nicht nötig und nur ganz tautologisch hinzugefügt." But in a case like Amis and Amil. 994, To win al this world is won, used in the same concessive sense, Einenkel would hardly say to win is "ganz tautologisch hinzugefügt." Moreover, this last case shows that the expression belongs to the concessive infinitive developed from that of purpose, and that for belongs to the infinitive.
4. The infinitive denotes a *penalty* in spite of which the main action does not take place.

B 1327. Ne shal I nevere, for to goon to helle, Biwerye a word.

There are a number of cases in M.E. of the word-order *for + object + to + infinitive*, equivalent to *for to + infinitive + object.*

F 1357. For which tescape woot I no socour,

"to escape which, I know no help," or possibly originally, "no help for which, to escape it." This phrase for *all this world to wynne* likewise seems to me to belong here.

The construction is found in Alfred:

Be. 622, 10. in ælpecodingesse lifde for þam ecan eple in heofonum to begitanne (peregrinam ducere vitam pro adipiscenda in caelis patria) (Wf. p. 217).

Shearin (p. 18) says there are only two cases of *for to + infinitive* which he has found in O.E. He cites Cod. Dip. IV. 306, 3 (Harold, 1066 A.D.), and ich bidde eon all ðæt ge bien him on fulsume at ðæs cristendome Godes gericthen *for to settten and to driven*.

Chron., Thorpe's ed. I. 377, 30 (1127 A.D.). Oc se kyng hit dide for to havene sibbe of se eorl of Angegaw and for helpe to havene tocgænes his neve Willem.

The last example is significant, for it shows that *for to havene sibbe* is the syntactical equivalent of *for helpe to havene*, and that therefore the example cited above from Wulfling really belongs under the infinitive with *for to*. In the following examples also the two modes of expression appear as equivalent:

Orm. 11993. Patt bırrþ þe legenn vpponn Godd,

Acc nolhit forr himm to fandenn,

Acc forr to sekenn are att himm.

V. and V. 45, 11. Hie stieð up . . . for to sceawin ðe michele merðe of hevene riche, *for to sceawin ðe windes . . ., and for us to warnin þat. . . .*

Ibid. 57, 30. hé neðerðið hem for eadmodnesse te havben and for to helpen godes þe(a)vren.

Ibid. 73, 19. naht for hem selven ane, ac for ðovere ec awei to afleien.

For other M.E. examples of *for + object + to + infinitive*, see V. and V. 11, 13; 85, 24, etc.; Orm. 243, 244, 11410, 11758, and often; Conf. Am. II. 2440, V. 1392; O. and N. 1287.

The above facts suggest caution as to deriving the use of *for to* with the infinitive either from O.N. (Shearin, p. 17 f.) or from O.F. (Einenkel, Paul, p. 1075 8, Shearin, p. 17 f.), especially in view of the example from Alfred.

A number of ways are evident in which the construction could have grown up normally in O.E. If it grew up separately in O.N. and O.F., certainly it could do so in O.E. (1) The causal use of *for*, e.g., would suggest its use with *to + inf.*, regarded as a substantive unit, in cases like Reyn. (cf. Reul, p. 119). I be meryd and angry *for to lose suche maner jewellis*; Malory (Baldwin, p. 77), to blame *for to displease kynge Arthur*; Chaucer:

La. 331. For hate, or for jefelus ymagynynge,  
And for to han with you sum dalycouse.

I 967. *for to bere compaignyse* shal go to the deovl of helle.

(2) The widespread use of *for* in purpose phrases in O.E. (cf. Shearin) and M.E. probably assisted. See below, p. 143, 2, and cf. C 403.

O.F. shows the same word order with *por* and other prepositions + *à + infinitive*. Cf. Diez, p. 244, 3; Soltmann, p. 364, note 2. Sörge (p. 218) likewise explains the O.F. use as arising from a construction in which the first preposition was originally connected with the object, not directly with the infinitive.
CHAP. VIII [ Parenthetical Infinitive. 79

E 363. Inyl yow disobeye
For to be deed.
Tr. III. 1502. To dyen in the peyne, I kowde nowght.
E 858. But certes, lord, for noon adversitee,
To dyen in this cas, it shal nat bee.
Tr. I. 674, C.L. 20.

5. The infinitive denotes both reward and penalty.
Damours, 84. To live or dye, I wol it never repente.

CHAPTER VIII.
The Absolute Infinitive.

A. The parenthetical infinitive.

The purpose infinitive becomes stereotyped, sometimes by an ellipsis that can be more or less definitely supplied. The first examples show the final nature of the construction.

R.B. 2013. But ther ageyns thee to conforte,
And with thi servise to desporte,
Thou mayst full glad and joyfull be
So good a maister to have as me.¹

Tr. I. 887. al this bet to eche,
A kynges herte semeth by hires a wrecche.²

The purpose nature is often entirely lost, and the infinitive means little more than “first,” “briefly,” “finally,” “in fact,” etc.

La. 109. As for to speke of gomme, or erbe or tre,
Comparisoun may non i-makede be.

¹ Here Skeat (Glossary, s.v. desporte) says: “after desporte understand thee, i.e. thyself.” It is possible, however, to take the passage as meaning, “I tell you this to strengthen and encourage you against,” etc., parallel with warne I thee, 2009. For the phrase comfort and desport in this sense (not reflexive), cf. N. E. D. s.v. desport, 1; also H. F. II. 63.

² As showing the purpose nature of such parenthetical phrases, compare such expressions as “for instance,” “for example,” exempli gratia, pour finir, ne multa dicamus (= Pall. III. 64. And, short to sey). For examples in O.F., cf. Sörgel, p. 296, and for a (rare) case in O.E., cf. Sohrauer, p. 27, § 10.
Ast. II. 4, 7. The assendent sothly, to take it at the largeste, is thilke degree that assendeth.

A 284. But, sooth to seyn, I noot how men hym calle.

E 71, G 1082, I 457, etc.

b. The exclamatory infinitive.

Some examples suggest a relation to the causal infinitive (cf. p. 68, above).

H 278. O rakel hand! to doon so foule amys.¹
L. 838. Allas, to bidde a woman goon by nyghte
        In place there a peril fallen myghte!

The subject infinitive or the infinitive in apposition with the subject often becomes isolated so as to approach an exclamatory force.

A 2115. To fighte for a lady—benedicitee!
        It were a lusty sighte.

Tr. IV. 436. This lechecraft, or heled thus to be,
        Were wel sittynge, if that I were a fende,
        To traysen here that trewe is unto me!²

Likewise, in apposition with the object.

L. 2080. A kynges sone . . .
        To ben my servant . . .
        God shelde hit!

The following construction is possibly elliptical:

Tr. III. 806. Horaste! allas! and false1 Troylus?

c. The historical infinitive.

There are a few passages in Chaucer which some editors have regarded as cases of the historical infinitive.

(a) Tr. II. 1108. And she to laughe it thought here herte brest.

Einenkel (p. 240) assumes an ellipsis of some word like began. Skeat (Vol. VI. p. 403) quotes C. Stoffel’s note, in which the latter explains the infinitive as historical, suggesting that gan or its equivalent be supplied. Stoffel’s parallels are not all convincing.

As to the form, Cp. and Cl. both read to laughe, the infinitive

¹ Compare cases like Tr. V. 739. I had don amys To stele awey, and the examples on p. 74 (c).
² To traysen may also depend on fende.
form. I have explained the sense as that of an infinitive of cause
parallel in sense with v. 1169, That she for laughter wende for to dye.
Here for laughter expresses the same idea as a causal infinitive (see p.
73, note 1, above.)

Cf. R.A. 1505. Narcisus hadde suffred paynes

For rennyng alday in the playnes,

where the French has a causal infinitive: soffert grant travail De corre.

As to the word-order and anacoluthon in she, to laughe, it thoughte,
“she, for laughe, it seemed,” etc., in the first place, such a change in
construction is natural enough at any time. But it is especially in
keeping with M.E. syntax. As Van der Gaaf has amply shown, the
confusion between thynken and thenken was well advanced in Chaucer’s
time, so that the change from the construction she thoughte to it
thoughte (hir thoughte of some MSS.) is only apparent. It thoughte
could easily be felt as equal to “thought,” and the use of the
nominative she would not seem like a change in construction.

Cf. A 3733. And Absolon hym fil no bet ne wers,
where C reads: And Absolon fel.

A 3272. Nicholas

Fil with this yonge wyf to rage and pleye.¹

La. 356. For he that king or lord is naturel,

Him oughte nat be tiraunt ne cruel.

(b) Tr. II. 788. So cesseth love, and forth to love an newe (cf.
Einenkel, p. 240, who supplies gan or they gon). Here forth is
essentially a verb of motion.


To shewe hir skyn.

(c) L. 635. Up gooth the trumpe and for to shoute and shete,
And paynen hem to sette on with the sonne.

¹ While it is true that Absolon is ambiguous in case, so far as form goes, there
can be little doubt that it was felt as a nominative, as also Nicholas in A 3272.
The change of datives to nominatives with impersonals in cases where the form
is different, as in him likes > he likes, shows (what Van der Gaaf has too little
emphasized) that the nominative must have been felt long before the form
changed. Cf. Tr. III. 1401:

And evere more whan that hem fille to speke,

With kyssyng alle that tale sholde breke,
And fallen [i.e. they fall] in a newe joye anoon,
And dede al here myght.

For the present indicative brest after thoughte, see below, p. 130, note 1.

SYNTAX.
Einenkel (p. 241) suggests an ellipsis of *they beginne*. In this example apparently we have a case of the not infrequent substantivized infinitive, exactly equivalent to a verbal noun. It interchanges with the verbal in stereotyped descriptions of battles like this. Cf. Song of Rol. 52:

When he had said, they herd hym blif:
*blowinge* off bugles and bemes aloft,
*trymlinge* of tabers and *tymbring* soft,
*bridlinge* of stedes and baneres up to *fold*.

For a similar description with verbals throughout, cf. Alisaunder vv. 2162 ff (Mtz. *Spr.* I. 1, p. 246):

Now rist grete tabour betyng,
Blaweyng of pypes, and ek trumpyng,
... ... ...

So grete Bray, so grete crieyng.

I take the Chaucer passage to mean: "Up goes the sound of the trumpet, and the shouting and shooting," etc.\(^1\) As for *peynen hem*, there is no reason for regarding it as other than the indicative plural with omitted subject, according to frequent Chaucerian and M.E. usage.\(^2\) Note that MS. Camb. Gg. reads *peynede*.

(d) L. 652. Antony is shent, and put hym to the flyght
And al hys folke to-goo, that best goo myght.

Referring to Stoffel's note, Skeat (Vol. VI. p. 403) suggests that this passage be explained as historical infinitive, though his text reads *to-go*. Of the MSS., Camb. Gg. 4, 27, Tanner 346, Trin. Camb.

\(^1\) For the infinitive equivalent to a verbal noun, and *vice versa*, cf. R.C. 6667:

\[
\text{bidde hem begging,}
\]
\[
\text{No sellen gospel ne prechyng,}
\]

in which the French is the same in the three cases—a *que*-clause.

R.A. 112. For fairer *playyng* non saugh I
Than *playen* me by that ryvere.

I 84. Penitence is the *pleynynge* of man for gilt that he hath doon, and na moore to do any thing for which ...

Cf. Wyclif, p. 15. *pis cost is geten bi biggen* of pore men.

\(^2\) For infinitives equivalent to verbals after prepositions, cf. Ancren Riwle, 344, 1. of prude ... of *sitten* to longe et þurle ... of *scheden* crumen ... of *keor-funge* of *hurtunge* (Redepenning, § 107).

E.g. V. and V., p. 39, 33. *ne wraðde mid þe ne wuneð* ones daiges længe, ac alchne gylt *forgifst* oðe mid luve *sa(h)lest*. For an example in Chaucer, cf. Tr. III. 1401, quoted in note 1, p. 81. For a striking case of anacoluthon, cf. A 1641-43.

It is not necessary, at least, to regard this as infinitive. It may be past participle (Skeat, Glossary, s.v. to-go), or it may be indicative plural present. Cf. O.E. Ic toga (=dehisce) (Bosw.-Toller). For the form of the present plural, cf. N. E. D., s.v. go, A, 2, d. Perhaps the simplest explanation is (as Professor Kittredge suggests) to regard to go as infinitive depending on put.

From this it appears that there is no certain case of historical infinitive in Chaucer. Each case is capable of other explanation which is consistent with the sense and with M.E. grammar.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CONDITIONAL INFINITIVE.

The infinitive frequently has a conditional force. It is not necessary, however, to regard this as an independent construction. It is often possible to substitute a conditional clause for certain infinitives which belong at bottom to other constructions, such as purpose, means, and the like. The following examples from Chaucer are arranged to show various relations with other syntactical categories.

1. The purpose infinitive often approaches a conditional force.

E 665. Right gladly wolde I dyen, yow to plese.
Tr. IV. 430. to don his wo to falle,
He roughte not what unthriftie that he seyde.
Cf. v. 428. Thise wordes seyde he for the nones alle,
To helpe his frend, lest he for sorwe deyde.
Ast. II. 9, 6. The same manere maist thou worche to knowe the quantite.¹

Bl. 245. *To make* me slepe and have som reste,
I wil yive him the alder-beste
Yift.

Cf. v. 249. *If* he wol make me slepe.

R.B. 5032.

2. The absolute infinitives, originally expressing purpose, in the formulas, *soth to telle*, etc., after losing their purpose force, easily take on a conditional force. Compare the examples on pp. 79 f. and

E 760. shortly *if this storie I tellen shal.*
B 1007. *if I shal nat lye.*

Tr. I. 982, Ast. II. 38, etc.

3. The infinitive as subject sometimes has a conditional force, especially when it is expressed in apposition with an anticipatory or resumptive *it*, *that*, etc.

E 1696. I trowe it were to longe yow to tarie,
If I yow tolde of every scrit and bond,

*Or for to herknen* of hir riche array.²

Tr. III. 644. For hom *to gon*, it may nought wel betyde.³

¹ The infinitive of purpose, since it represents an unfulfilled act or state, easily lends itself to hypothetical conceptions.

Cf. Pall. I. 1065. *To bey* thy been, biholde hem riche and fulle.

(Pres si emendae sunt, proveaneus ut . . . )

Pall. III. 233.

Hit up tencrece & wynes fortabunde,
Yf thou wold have on bowis hem facounde,
But fewer for to have & gretter wynes,
Into the trees top lede up thy wynes.

Pall. I. 226. Yet most hit have an other thing to thryve.

Conf. Am. III. 639. a man to beie him pes
Behoveth soffe as Socrates
Eusample lefte.

² Likewise, a conditional clause is made to take the place of a subject. Cf. Maund. XVI. 4. Were it not wise *if I fled* from the place . . . ?

In Tr. II. 635 the repetition of the infinitive as subject leaves the first infinitive conditional:

And eke to sen hym yn his gere hym dresse,
So fressh, so yong, so weldy semed he,
*It was an hevene upon hym for to se.*

³ Cf. verse 637. *To wende* now, it were to me a shame.
In apposition with other elements:

F 1578. For sikerly my dette shal be quyte
Towards you, howevere that I fare,
To goon abegged in my kirtle bare.\(^1\)

So also the infinitive object:

Tr. V. 493. \textit{to take} of hym oure leve,
He wolde wondren on \textit{it} trewely.

4. When the infinitive expresses a contemporaneous action with the governing verb, the idea often becomes conditional. This use is similar to that of certain French infinitives with \textit{\`a}, having a temporal sense, and then various implications, such as \textit{source}, \textit{specification}, and the like.\(^2\)

\begin{itemize}
  \item H 63. He hath also to do moore than ynough
    \textit{To keepen} hym and his capul out of slough.
  \item Cf. 66. Thanne shal we alle have ynough to doone
    \textit{In lityng up} his hevy, dronken cors.
  \item R.B. 2729. How any man may lyve or laste
    \textit{Aye unrelesed woo to make.}
    (En tel poine n’en tel ardure, etc.)
  \item R.B. 2732. such peynes to \textit{fiele} (en tel enfier).
  \item Tr. V. 1124.
\end{itemize}

5. The complementary infinitive easily passes into a conditional sense when it is somewhat separated from the governing word.

\(^1\) When, as here, some extreme hypothetical situation is conceived of, the idea becomes concessive. Cf. pp. 76 ff.

\(^2\) Cf. Meyer-Lübke, p. 564. He gives the example, \textit{A vous entendre, on croit que}, etc. See also Lachmund, p. 33, 3, "Im Afr. findet sich dieser [causalen oder conditionalen] Infinitiv mit \textit{a} sehr häufig und kann durch alle möglichen, nicht blos causale oder condionale, Nebensätze widergegeben werden." Also Soltmann, p. 421, B, who cites as an example of the same construction Tristram 23781. Ci aurait \textit{assez à faire} Qui voldreit contier et retraire, \textit{A dire} com faitirement S’entrerequerient. Cf. Sörgel, p. 296, \textit{etc} 5 and 6, and Diez, III. p. 241, 4.

It is not necessary to assume that the English construction is derived from the French. The connection of a conditional sense with various other infinitive constructions is sufficiently close to permit of its development from native constructions.
That, to ben in his good governaunce,
So wys he was, she was no more afered.

Here afered may be taken absolutely, "afraid, if she could be in his care," or with the infinitive, "afraid to be in his care."

A similar conditional relation is possible after the verb rekken, recchen: I recche nought to dye, "I don't care if I die."

6. The infinitive denoting means comes in some cases to have a conditional sense.

A 3047. a man hath moost honour
To dyen in his excellence.

Tr. IV. 642. she wol ben evele apayed
To ravisshen here.¹

7. A conditional sense, becoming concessive on account of its superlative nature, is seen in the phrase in all the world to seek.

A 2587. In al the world to seken up and down,
There nere swiche campaignyes tweye.

A 3252.²

8. A construction which sometimes shows a conditional force, though not confined to that, nor even to the infinitive, may, for convenience, be mentioned here. The infinitive may be joined to another element of the sentence by a co-ordinate conjunction in such a way as to give a unit co-ordinate in form; but the infinitive in some way modifies the other member of the phrase so as to denote a condition, result, purpose, etc. The distinction between such a unit and a really co-ordinated phrase is sometimes slight, resembling in this respect the paratactic construction go and see.

¹ Cf. Pall. II. 330. almaundes me may make
With lettres growe, her shellis to disclose
And write upon the cornel
(nasci amydala scripta si aperta testa . . . tollas & in co scribas).

² Cf. La. 176.
CHAP. IX]  

with Conditional Force.  

I 90.  

*I* 90.  

_Wepynge and nat for to stynt* to synne, may nat avayle,¹  

that is, "weeping, *if one does not cease* sinning."

I 84.  

Penitence is the _pleymynge_ of man for *gilt* that he hath *doon* and na moore *to do* any thyng for which²  

B 2820.  

_bettre it is to been a good man and have litel good_ ...  

than³  

Bl. 18.  

*For nature wolde nat suffyse*  

_To noon erthely creature_  

_Not longe tyme to endure*  

_Withoute slepe and be in sorwe._

Here _be in sorve_ is parallel in sense with _withoute slepe_, not with _to endure._

_H.F. III. 624._  

_And wene ye for to doo goode_  

_And for to have of that no fame?_  

i.e. "that you can do good _without having_ fame?"

_Tr. I. 391._  

_Criseyde for to love and naught repente,_  

*i.e. "without repenting."

_La. 311._  

_what eylyth the to wryte_  

_The draf of storyis and foryte the corn?_  

i.e. "_while forgetting, if you forget, _" etc.

_Lb. 200._  

_I me sped_  

_To goon to reste and erly for to ryse,_  

_e. "in order that I might rise early," for to ryse depending in sense on _to goon _rather than on _sped._

For similar subordinate ideas expressed coördinately, cf. F 200,  

_Tr. II. 999, III. 371._

¹ Cf. l. 93.  

² Cf. l. 85.  

³ Cf. l. 2818.  

*repentant folk that stynte for to synne.*  

*Penitence is the weymentyng of man that sorweth for his synne.*  

*to have a litel good with the love of God, than to have muchel good ... and lese the love of ... God.*
The common characteristic of the examples in this chapter is, that the infinitive denotes a further action of the subject of the governing verb. In case the verb has an object (not the infinitive), this is either not subject of the infinitive, as, "I promised him to be there," or it is a reflexive object not to be regarded as directly subject of the infinitive, but as attaching itself more closely to the verb, as, "He busied himself to do it."

The distinction between transitive and intransitive in the governing verbs is here disregarded as having no essential effect on the construction. In "he ceased to go" it makes no difference in the sense whether cease is transitive or not. In most cases of cease it is impossible to tell, and so with many other verbs. Moreover, such a division would separate verbs equivalent in meaning, as casten and casten hym(self) followed by the infinitive. On this point, perhaps all that need be said is, that the category represents chiefly two sources: the O.E. simple infinitive after verbs clearly transitive, as onginnan, pencan; and the prepositional infinitive in which to has its original force denoting literal or figurative motion towards, after verbs of motion such as hasten, entenden, and many others, in which the sense can be conceived of as figurative motion or tendency towards a goal. Many such verbs with the infinitive may be regarded from either standpoint, as having the infinitives for their direct objects, or for prepositional objects denoting end, aim, etc. Verbs like purposen, seken, may be regarded in either light.

As suggested at the end of Chapter II., some verbs there might also appropriately be included here, and vice versa. The degree in which a purpose infinitive after a verb with the same logical subject may properly be considered as complementary, depends on the degree to which the verb and infinitive are united by custom into a phrase unit of which the infinitive is felt to be essential to the full meaning.
of the verb. In this respect compare such verbs as *comen, hasten, rennen, waiten, intenden*, in the lists below and in Chapter II. The same applies to some object infinitives in Chapter XI., many of which may be regarded as purpose infinitives in the looser relation. The chief difference between the Object infinitive and the Complementary infinitive is, in the present classification, the fact that, in the former, verb object = infinitive subject, and in the latter, verb subject = infinitive subject.¹

Old English.

Beow. 100. *oǣ ðæt an ongan fyrene fremman* (K. p. 36).
Beow. 354. ða ondsware . . . þe me se goda *agifan penceð* (K. p. 40).
Beow. 1820. we *fundiaþ Higelac secan* (K. p. 41).
Beow. 2643. þeah þe hilaforð us þis ellenweorc ana *apohte to gefremmanne* (K. p. 46).
Beow. 2452. *oœres ne gymeð to gebidanne burgum on innan yrfe-weardes* (K. p. 46).
C.P. 76, 21. and on *sæt swæð Særa haligra singallice winnað to spyrianne* (Wf. p. 217).
Be. 502, 19. utan biddan God, þæt he *geeadmodige us to getacnian* (Wf. p. 217).
For numerous further examples, cf. Köhler, pp. 29 ff., 35 ff., 46 ff., Wülfing, pp. 177 ff., 204 ff.

Old French.

Mer. 5380. Deus me doint ce que je *demand*  
_Veoir* (S. p. 227).
Rol. 2904. Suz cel ne *quid avere* ami un sul (S. p. 230).
Tr. 1425. Tant *entendrai a vos servir* (S. p. 241).
Tr. 9488. qui ne s'enpeint  
_De venjance prendre des lor* (S. p. 241).
B. Chr. II. 21072. Laide ovre *a faire ne renei* (S. p. 246).

¹ The arrangement is alphabetical. In the case of phrases the head word is chosen with a view to the signification of the phrase. In such phrases as set his might, set his talent, do his might, it is the noun that determines the meaning, and this is therefore placed in the alphabetical order.
Tr. 10406. Que si com il ont comencié
   De bien fere lo parsivront (S. p. 262).

Chaucer.

The statistics regarding the use of the simple and prepositional infinitive are intended to be complete, though some cases have probably been overlooked. All the cases of simple infinitive are recorded; the number of cases of the prepositional infinitive, when more than one, is indicated in parentheses after one reference for each. The simple infinitives are at the left, those with to in the centre, for to at the right.

Abandounen himself.  I 713
Abiden. R.C. 6294
Acorden. Bo. IV. p. 4. 151 (2)
Acorded ben. C 835
(Of) acord fallen. F 741
(Of) acustumaunce haven. B 3701
Advertence yeven. H.F. II. 201
All that he kan, don. H 156 (2)
Alliance maken. B 3523
Applyen thy tunge. R.B. 2223
Asken, axen. B 2873 (5)
Assayen. F 1567 (5)
Assay don. L. 1594
Assenten. E 150 (6)  Tr. I. 391 (2)
Assuren. E 1983 (3)
Assuren him. L. 908
Asterten. C 414
Atteynen. Bo. II. p. 4, 166
Auntren him. R.B. 2495
Avysen him. R.B. 1807
Avysement taken. L. 1417

Bidden. R.A. 791, Tr. II. 406
Biginnen. A 3018, etc. Tr. II. 1374, etc. A 2173, etc.
Bihoten, bihighten. Tr. V. 354 (6)
Binden him. C.M. 48 (cf. 47) (2)
Bisechen. Bal. Compleynte, 19 (cf. 15)
Bisy ben. E 1560 (6)  E 2422 (2)
Bisien him. G 758 (5)  G 1442
(In) bisynesse ben. C 56


CHAP. X] **Complementary Infinitive.**

Bisynesse don. A 1005 (9) G 22 (2) R.B. 5595
Bisynesse setten. 
Bithynken him. R.B. 5612 
Brennen. R.B. 5700 
Bresten. F 1480 (3) L. 1033 

Casten. B 406 (5) Tr. IV. 34 (2)
Casten him. B 3048 (3) B 4265 (3)
Cessen: G 124 (8) Tr. II. 692 (3)
Chesen. G 38 (9) D 915 (3)
Claymen. D 1120 Gentil. 2
Clepen. I 289
Compassen. B 591 H.F. III. 80
Compassen and casten. R.A. 194
Conformen ² him. B 2967
Conseil taken. B 4443
Conseil asken. B 2281
Consenten. I 294
Contenaunce maken. I 858
Corage cauchen. I 689

¹ In H.F. III. 80 the passage stands:

> No coudo casten no compase (‡ place)
> Swich an other for to make.

Professor Robinson has suggested to me the possibility that no should be emended to ne. I find no MS. authority for the change, and the evidence is not decisive for or against it. The following facts bear on it:


(2) If we read no and compase as a noun, this is the only certain Chaucerian passage in which compas has a final e. The other cases in possibly Chaucerian work are, Proverb of Chaucer, 6 (‡ embrace, inf.) and R.B. 3208 (‡ grace, see below). *Compas* occurs in rime in H.F. II. 290 (‡ tees), H.F. I. 462 (‡ Eneas); A 1859, R.A. 526, La. 199 (all ‡ pas); R.B. 1842, 4133 (‡ tees).

Regarding R.B. 3208 (‡ grace), though grace usually takes e in rime, yet cf. B 2021: *Thopas*, and R.B. 5128 *grace: laces (less elsewhere without e)*. Note that both cases of grace (without e) are in the (Northern! B-section of the Rose. The only remaining Chaucer case of compase as noun is then Prov. Ch. 5.

(3) There is a possibility that we may read the infinitive compas as the MS. stands. N.E.D. cites a few cases of no = ne (after other negatives). E.g.:

Lay. 10753. *Ne recche ich noht . . . his seolver no his goldes, no his clades no his hors (s.v. ne).* Here the B-text has ne. Cf. also O. and N. (Jes. Coll. MS.) 266. Par-to no segge ich nyk no nay (Cott. MS. = ne); 579 (Cott. MS. Cf. 580, ne. Jes. MS. = ne). This usage is also found in Robert of Brunne.

² The other MSS. read conferme.
Verbs of Fearing.

92

Corage don. H 164
Coveiten. D 1189 Bo. II. p. 6, 15 (8)
Craft don. R.B. 1781
Cryen out. P.F. 465
Cure don. D 1074 (4) P.F. 369
Cure taken. Pt. 82
(In) custome haven. R.B. 2217

Deliten him. L. 1939
Delit setten. B 2378 (2)
Demen. A 3226
Dusenden. B 2264, Tr. V. 859
Deserven. A 1726 (7) Lb. 502
Desiren. B 4469, D 1038, A 2305 (38) A 1255 (9)

Tr. V. 1458
Desir setten. Tr. III. 486
Despisen. Bo. III. m. 12, 45
Diligence don B 1729 (15) H 141
Dreden. Tr. IV. 561 G 15
Dreden him. D 1214
Drede haven. R.B. 2910
(In) drede ben. F 1386 B 2524
Douten. I 953 I 696
Dressen him. B 265 (4) R.B. 1773
Embracen. H 160
Enclynen. B 2683 (2)

1 With reflexive object = subject of infinitive.
2 Einenkel (p. 235) cites determynen as taking a complementary infinitive, from a misconception of Tr. III. 379, That rather deye I wolde, and determynen, where determynen depends on wolde and means come to an end.
3 Verbs and expressions denoting fear, when followed by the infinitive, are capable of two meanings in Chaucer: the one, fear lest a thing may occur; the other, fear or dreed to do a thing, with no implication as to whether it will occur.

(1) Tr. IV. 858. What wold my dere herte seyn to me,
Which that I drede nevere mo to see.
i.e. "fear I shall never see."
B 2518, 2519, D 1214, I 953, Tr. IV. 55, 561, R.A. 1664, 1670, R.B. 2910, 2974, 3093, 3653, 3910, Bo. IV. p. 6, 346, A.B.C. 76; E 508 (may contain both senses), G 15, H 352, Bl. 24, R.A. 889, R.B. 5703.

(2) P.F. 157. dreed thee not to come.
i.e. "don't be afraid to come."
B 2628, 2629, 2855, F 1386, G 320, 477, I 691, Tr. II. 874, III. 322, V. 894 (MS. Cp.), R.B. 2978; B 2524, I 696.
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<td>Entente don.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>A 1749, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ This meaning is not cited by Skeat. The relation between the meaning *endure* and *forbear* (endure not to do anything) finds a curious parallel in Keats, 
Eve of St. Agnes, st. XV. v. 7, where *brook* seems to be used in the sense of 
*forbear* instead of the opposite sense of *endure* (from the earlier sense of *enjoy*).

² As is well known, *gan* with the simple infinitive is Chaucer's usual periphrastic preterit. This use is not, however, confined to the simple infinitive, as 
the following examples show.

Tr. II. 509. *Gan* he and I wel half a day *to dwelle*. 
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<td>Herte setten.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heten, hoten.</td>
<td>Tr. II. 1623 (4)</td>
<td>Bl. 1226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.A. 966</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hopen. Tr. I. 47, 980,¹</td>
<td>I 285 (5)</td>
<td>D 920 (4)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hyen him.</td>
<td>G 1084</td>
<td>G 1151</td>
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<td>Imaginen.</td>
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<td>Joye setten.</td>
<td>R.B. 2855</td>
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<td>Keplen. G 1368, Tr. I. 676,</td>
<td>A 2960</td>
<td>L. 1032</td>
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<td>763, H.F. III. 605, R.C.</td>
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<td>A 2238</td>
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<td>6083, 6093, 6440</td>
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<td>Labouren.</td>
<td>R.C. 7622</td>
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<tr>
<td>Labour don.</td>
<td>B 1653 (5)</td>
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<td>Lest cacchen.</td>
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<td>Letten.</td>
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<td>B 4279 (3)</td>
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<td>Leven.</td>
<td>A 492 (4)</td>
<td>Tr. IV. 1335 (2)</td>
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<td>Leven bicynde.</td>
<td>R.B. 2546</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loven.</td>
<td>A 2310 (5)</td>
<td>A 634 (4)</td>
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</table>

G 203 (cf. 200), Tr. I. 190 (cf. 189), 1044 (cf. 1046), II. 1707, V. 1482, P.F. 531.

Tr. III. 1352. This Troilus ful ofte hir eighen two

_Gan for to kisse._

V. 30, 1560.

B. 3629. Thus day by day this child _bigan to crye._

The following examples are ambiguous in that some inceptive force may be present, but they show both simple and prepositional infinitives.

Tr. II. 906, 1668, 1671, IV. 236, H.F. I. 231, 235.

¹ If we follow Cp., Cl., and Cm. in omitting _to_ we must assume the hiatus _hopē in._ MS. Harl. 2280 reads _to._
Maken him bold. Ast. II. 3, 72
Menen. Tr. IV. 37, V. 1150, Tr. III. 1006 (4) Venus, 50
1435
Meten. R.B. 4571
Might don. A 960 (10) Tr. III. 1405
Might setten. R.B. 1831 R.B. 2234
Minde haven (memento). Bo. II. m. 4, 13
Missen. P.F. 75
Myte setten. Tr. III. 832
Mynten. Bo. I. m. 2, 3
Nayten. Bo. I. m. 1, 25

Obligen him. Tr. IV. 1414 (2)
Observen. I 429

(In) pacience taken. C.M. 40
Peynen him, H.F. I. 246 C 330 (15)
Peyne don. F 730 (5) B 4494 (3)
Peyne werken. Tr. I. 62 Tr. IV. 942
Plesaunce cacchen. E 993
Plesaunce setten. Bal. Ch. Made, 4 Compleynete, 14
Power don. Bl. 553 (2)
Pressen. R.B. 2899 (2)

(In) pres putten.
Presumen.
Preyen. C 18
Proferen. H.F. III. 725 Tr. III. 1461 (2)
Proferen him. E 152 (2) B 2395 (2)
Proferen seryse. Lb. 405 (2)
Purposen. A 1415
(Purpos ben.
Purposen him. B 2245 (6) Tr. I. 78 (3)
Purpos taken. Tr. IV. 1420 (2)
B 3024 (2)

Redy maken. Bo. I. m. 6, 6 (5)
Refusen. Tr. I. 255
Remembr. A 1500
Removen. R.B. 2464
Rennen. Tr. I. 1066
Complementary Infinitive.

Repenten. L. 2088 (4)
Repenten him. Bl. 1116 (2)
Requeren. Bo. III. p. 9, 4
Reward taken. B 2561

Sayen (essayen). R.B. 5162
Seken, sechen. H.F. II. 247 (12) I 816
Semen.¹
Setten him. D 209
Shapen. B 950 (4) F 897 (3)
Shapen him. B 966 (14) D 1538 (12)
Shewen. B 2388
Slaken. C 82
Sort renneth. Tr. II. 1754
Sparen.² E 2309 (5) I 996 (2)
Spedin him. Tr. V. 501 (3) B 1828 (2)
Stevene setten. A 4383
Stiketh a nayl. A 3877
Strechen. Tr. II. 341 (2)
Stryven. Bo. II. m. 8, 21
Studien. B 2677 (3)
Stynten, stenten. E 972 (10) Tr. II. 469 (7)
Submitted ben. B 35
Suffren. I 400 (2)
Supponen. B 1785 (4)
Sweren. Tr. V. 127 (10) D 1528
Swiken. Tr. V. 272

Taken. Tr. IV. 272
Talient setten. R.B. 1716
Terien. Tr. V. 862 (3)
Tempesten him. Truth, 8
Thenken, thynken. A 984, Tr. II. 1413 (24) A 3354 (3)
Tr. V. 1154, R.B. 5395
(In) thought haven. R.B. 3888
Thought setten. R.B. 3152 (4)
Travailen. Bo. II. p. 1, 28 (3) Bo. V. m. 3, 27(2)

¹ For *semen* with complementary infinitive, cf. p. 128, below.
² In A 1396 the syntax is ambiguous. To see may depend on *spare*, or on *fare* in 1395.
Travailen aboute.          Bo. II. p. 7, 76
Travailen him.           Bo. III. p. 2, 31 (2)   Bo. III. p. 9, 98
Travaile don.¹       E 1210       D 1404
Trouthe leyen.           C 702 (6)
Trouthe plighten.        L. 1358 (2)
Trowen.                  Tr. IV. 391
Trusten

Undertaken.          L. 1452 (6)
(In) usage haven.     B 1696
Usen. L. 1830          Tr. III. 1023 (5)   D 777 (4)
Usurpen.               Ast. Pr. 67

Vouden-sauf. A.B.C. 57  B 1083 (12)   A 812 (5)

Waiten.                I 407 (9)
(In) awayt sitten.     D 1657
(In) welde haven.      R.A. 395

Wenen. A 4259, 4305, B 3720, A 3693 (22) A 3813 (9)

Weyven.                B 2256
(In) wey stonden.      Tr. III. 248
Willen. Venus, 11      Tr. III. 412 (3)   H.F. I. 447
Wille cacchen.         R.B. 4851   R.B. 2234
Wille settten.         A 2114 (9)   F 120 (2)
Wilnen.                A 224, Tr. III. 1508
Witen.                 Gentil. 3
Wit dressen.           H.F. II. 112

¹ The passage is: To gete thee freendes ay do thy travaille. Einenkel (p. 236) makes do a simple infinitive depending on geten, as if the passage meant, “Get friends for yourself to do your work for you.” The context is sufficient comment on the meaning, without the numerous examples of don his might, power, etc., with dependent infinitive.

SYNTAX.
Auxiliary Verbs.

Witholden himself. R.B. 1825
Wooden. Bo. IV. m. 3, 51
Yernen. Bl. 1092
Yeven. Bo. IV. p. 6, 2

Auxiliary Verbs.

The infinitive in connection with auxiliaries may conveniently be regarded as the most complete representation of the stereotyped complementary infinitive. The process has gone so far, from the object or the purpose infinitive, that the infinitive has not merely become a necessity to the sense of the governing verb, but has superseded it and become the main idea.

Old English.

The simple infinitive is regular after cunnan, durran, magan, motan, sculan, Surfan, willan. Cf. Wülfling, p. 177, Köhler, p. 9.


Chaucer.

Corresponding to O.E., the use in Chaucer is the simple infinitive after cunnen, durren, mowen, moten, schullen, willen. Only a few illustrations will be given to show some special uses.

Owen. This verb is frequently used in an auxiliary sense. Since it developed from O.E. agan, to possess, its original construction is an object noun followed by the prepositional infinitive: to have a thing to do.\(^1\) It is frequent in Chaucer with simple and with prepositional infinitive.\(^2\)

Present. B 2691, R.B. 4413.
Preterit. A 3051, G 6, A 505.
Pseudo-impersonal. Tr. IV. 1143, I 84, Lb. 429.

\(^1\) Cf. Haven with infinitive below, pp. 109 ff.
\(^2\) Though I have not made an exact count to find the proportion of simple and prepositional infinitives with owen, a partial count shows about 135 cases of simple infinitive, 40 with to, and 5 with for to. The large number of simple infinitives is no doubt due to analogy of other auxiliary verbs, and in the case of the pseudo-impersonal him oughte, to that of impersonal verbs.
With the auxiliaries that usually take the simple infinitive, the prepositional is rarely found. The following cases in Chaucer come under consideration.

Cunnen.

Tr. IV. 530. To ravyshe here, ne kanstow not? for shame!\(^1\)

Tr. III. 83. And sire, his lesson that he wende konne,

To preyen her.

This means simply, “that he thought he knew, to pray her,” konne not being an auxiliary here.

Willen.

Bl. 1234. And never to false yow, but I mete, I nyl.

Here the infinitive is no doubt influenced by v. 1231, I swor hir this.

Tr. II. 1223.

ne make her selven bonde

In love; but as his suster, hym to plesse
She wolde fayne, to don his herte an ese.

Here wolde is an independent verb.\(^2\)

Shullen.

Tr. V. 1079. And certes yow to haten shal I nevere,

And frendes love that shal ye han of me.\(^3\)

R. B. 2125.

if thi trouthe to me thou kepe,

I shal unto thyhelpyng eke,

To cure thy woundes and make hem clene.

---

\(^1\) Cp. reads go ravyshe. I suggest another possible interpretation. Cf. reads (as punctuated in the MS., which only occasionally marks the cesura):

Why nylt thy self helpen don redresse.
And with thy manhod letten al this grame.
To ravyshe here. ne kanstow not for shame.

It is at least grammatically possible to read it, “Why will you not yourself help to do redress, and with your manhood end all this grief by ravishing her?” Can you not?”

Cf. Tr. IV. 642. she wol ben evele apayed

To ravyschen here.

\(^2\) For willen as an independent verb with the infinitive, see above, p. 97.

\(^3\) For other cases of the prepositional infinitive, outside of Chaucer, after auxiliaries, “wenn er mit starkem nachdruck denn hülzwort vorangeht,” cf. Kaluza, Eng. Stud. XIV. p. 179. For cases where the infinitive follows the auxiliary at some distance, cf. Renl, p. 118; Baldwin, p. 75. Some of Baldwin’s examples can be explained otherwise.

In the present example, Cp. and H read ne instead of to. If to is right, Kaluza’s rule would apply; to haten and frendes love are in emphatic contrast, and both precede their verbs.
CHAPTER XI.

THE OBJECT INFINITIVE.

In this chapter are included infinitives which are objects of transitive verbs in such a way that the subject of the infinitive, expressed or implied, is object of the governing verb. In O.E. the simple infinitive seems to have been the original construction, but the prepositional came in early. Aside from the general tendency to substitute the prepositional for the simple infinitive, the prepositional is used in M.E. after many words like 
commeven, compellen, constreynen, driven, enclynen,
and the like, after which the original force of the pre-
position to is still evident and appropriate, and after which to with noun objects is also used, as in

Bo. V. p. 3, 166. constreineth hem to a bitydinge.

Cf. First Eng. Petition to Parliament (Emerson, Mid. Eng. Read., p. 235, 5). We have be comaunded ... to unnedeful ... doynges, and also to wythdrawe us.

Here to cure probably does not depend immediately on shal, but denotes purpose. Cf. the French:

Se tu te tiens en leaute,
Ge te donrai tel deaute,
Qui tes plaies te garira.

Kepe may be understood after shal, or shal may have its earlier sense of obligation; cf. donrai ... leaute.

Tr. IV. 1555. But that ye speke, away thus for to go
And leten alle youre frendes, God forbede
For ony womman that ye sholden so.

Here for to go may be in apposition with that, object of speke, while do is to be understood after sholden.
This is true of verbs of causing, such as *maken*, *techen*, etc., but not of verbs of perception like *sen*, *heren*, etc., which still have the simple infinitive in Chaucer as in O.E.¹

Old English.

1. With object expressed, which is logical subject of the infinitive.


Beow. 118. *fand þa þær inne Æþelinga gedriht swefan æfter symble* (K. p. 60).

Köhler's citations from the Beowulf show no cases of prepositional infinitive after verbs where the logical subject of the infinitive is the object of the governing verb.

Bo. 394, 14. and *tæc me ƿinne willan to wyrcenne* (Wf. p. 206).


Ps. 39, 7. *ne bud þu me na ælmesan to syllan* (Wf. p. 208).

2. Without object expressed.


¹ The same relation between the prepositional infinitive and the prepositions *to* and *for* with nouns can be seen also in connection with verbs which take the complementary infinitive (see p. 88, above). It is perhaps noteworthy that there, in connection with auxiliary verbs where such an analogy between *to* + inf. and *to* + nouns as R.A. 597, I entende *to nothing* But . . . *for to kembe and tresse me*, did not work, and also here in the case of verbs of perception, the simple infinitive never gave place to the prepositional to any extent. This suggests that the great spread of the prepositional infinitive was not wholly due, perhaps only slightly, to a general substitution of the latter for the simple infinitive, but was rather due to an extension of the original construction of the prepositional infinitive as more closely related to the construction of prepositions + abstract nouns. This possibility is to be considered also in connection with the spread of the prepositional infinitive as subject, which, as we have seen under Adjectives, was probably greatly enhanced by a transference of the dependent infinitive to the subject relation, as in *it is good to do*. See pp. 49 ff.
Old French.

1. With object expressed as logical subject of the infinitive.
   Rou, II. 1210. La Dame les fist a ses ostels sujurner (S. p. 228).
   Rol. 1281. E Anseis laisset le cheval curre (S. p. 229).
   Rou, III. 9692. Al rei Ros le fist a sauvir
       Qu’il voleit (S. p. 228).

2. Without expressed object.
   Rol. 3248. De plus feluns n’orrez parler jamais (S. p. 229).
   For other examples, cf. Sörgel, pp. 226 ff.

Chaucer.

Here the arrangement of material is similar to that of the Complementary
Infinitive. As the simple infinitive is far more frequent with some verbs, not all
cases are recorded; but the fact is always indicated if they are not. The simple
infinitives are at the left of the page, those with to in the middle, and for to at
the right.

1. Verbs of causal content.

Ablen. Bo. III. m. 9, 37
Agasten. Bo. IV. p. 6, 323
Amonesten. I 583
Anoyen. I 687
Axen. B 2722

Bisetten. Bl. 1096 (2)
Bidden. A 787 (44) H.F. I. 186 (12) B 1849 (13)
Bireven. Tr. I. 685 (2)
Binden. Bo. II. p. 2, 53 (1
       active, 4 passive) 2

Bisechen, biseken.
   B 993, 1431, 2242, Tr. II. 1420 (16) B 2164 (2)
   Tr. V. 1453, 1734, G 639

Causen. B 4119 (8) A 1095
Chargen. L. 1189 B 209 (5) G 287
Clepen. Bo. IV. p. 6, 10

1 With passive: Lb. 366. him was boden maken.
   D 1080. this knyght was bodde appeere.
2 A 1149. Thou art ybounden as a knyht To helpen me.
These cases may perhaps be regarded formally as passives of the reflexive binden
him (see Complementary Infinitive, pp. 88 ff.).
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Comanden.</th>
<th>B. 3351 (9)</th>
<th>E 533</th>
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<td>Don. A 2396 (80)</td>
<td>B 4620 (21)¹</td>
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<td>Driven.</td>
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<td>Enforcen.</td>
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<td>Ensaumple yeven.</td>
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<td>Exciten.</td>
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<td>Gyen.</td>
<td>A 2786</td>
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</table>

¹ In the constructions like R.A. 1583, Bo. IV. p. 6, 6, _don you to understonde_, Miitzner (Gr. II. 2, p. 12) explains the pronominal object as a dative, corresponding to Modern German. At any rate, the accusative appears early, and the case of the object was undistinguished from the accusative by Chaucer's time. _N.E.D._ cites O.E. Chron. an. 1127. _Se ilce Heanri dide ponging to understande_ jet. ... This is the earliest citation of this idiom in _N.E.D._, though Miitzner cites Orosius. The case in Orosius has _gedyde_ but _N.E.D._ does not enter it under _xio_ the earliest citation for the latter being 971.

Other cases of the idiom in Chaucer are: Tr. II. 1635 (Cp. MS.) _do you wyte_; Bl. 1260. _do hir knowe and understonde_.

Wulffing cites three cases from Alfred, the one from Orosius mentioned, 126, 31, and Be. 594, 4, C.P. 356, 5 (Wf. p. 209).
Participle for Infinitive.

Helpen. C 954, Tr. IV. 26, A 1484 (14) A 4246 (3)
285, H.F. III. 349

Heten.

Holden (passive).

Kepen.

D 1644 3

Leven (allow). L. 2280, Tr. V. 959 B 1873 (2)

G 534, Tr. V. 195, L. 968

Maken. 5 A 947 (70) B 3294 (92) D 848 (29) 4

1 L. 2083, And lene me never suche a case befallen, is ambiguous, either infinitive or subjunctive.

2 The fact that no case of simple infinitive with letten occurs in Chaucer, and only two prepositional infinitives occur with leten, seems to confirm the reading of Tr. IV. 290, let hem not discerne, as against leteth hem discerne, adopted by the Globe editor.

3 This may be subjunctive.

4 On Bo. III. m. 11, 27, to support the reading shall seen (Sk. shal sene), Professor Liddell (Globe Ed., p. 399) cites Leg. A-text 156, Made her lyk a daysie for to sene, in proof that sene has the sense of seme. Whatever may be true as to Gen. and Exod. 1923 (cf. Mtz. Spr. I. 1, p. 76), the present passage is not parallel. It means rather, "Made her like a daisy to look at." Cf. Adjectives, p. 49, 2, above.

5 After maken, don, haven, the past participle is found in the place of a passive infinitive:

B 171. han doon fraught hir shippes.
E 1098. Hath doon yow kept.
B 857. Why wil thyn harde fader han thee spilt.
H.F. I. 155. Made the hors broght into Troye, A 1913.

Cf. Beow. 991. Da was heten hrepe Heart innanweard folnum gefraetwod.

After verbs of perception also (cf. p. 107), the past participle often takes the place of a passive infinitive:

A 3429. I saugh to day a cors yborn to chirche
That now on Monday last I saugh hym wirche.

Possibly this is to be regarded as an elliptical passive infinitive. Cf. Be. 601, 10, and nennige ... ne butan ce ic genette ... abysegod boen (occupatum reperi) (Wf. p. 190). So R.A. 258, se any grete lynage Be brought, and Bo. I. p. 4, 75. I say the fortunes ... of the peple ... ben harmed. Whether the infinitive ben was ever essential to the construction I cannot say, but there is a difference between a case like A 3429 (above) and a true past participle, as in A 144, if that she saugh a mous

Kaught in a trappe, if it were deed or bledde,
i.e. "that had been caught."
The Object Infinitive.

Moeven. Bo. V. m. 457 (3)
Monesten. B.B. 3579

Necessen. Bo. III. m. 9, 8

Preyen. Tr. II. 1458, 1701, III. 718, V. 315, Pt. 11, R.B. 3307 A 1483 (46) B 2168 (6)

Proferen. F 755
Putten. I 1045

Reden. R.B. 4230 A 3068 (6) R.B. 2289
Requeren. Tr. II. 358 (3)
Restreynen. Tr. IV. 872

Setten on fire. An. 52
Shilden. E 839
Somonen, sompnen. B 2652 (3) B 2662
Sorten. Tr. V. 1827
Stiren. B 2971 (2)
Streynen. B 4433 (3) R.C. 7631
Suffren.¹ B 2595 (14) B 815 (24) B 796 (6)

Zeitlin (pp. 73 ff.) fails to note this difference; at least he quotes both kinds of examples without distinction; e.g., Tr. V. 1599:

I have eek seyn with teres al depeyned

Your lettre.

Here the participle depeyned is not essential to the construction, the idea being —“I have seen your letter, (which is) stained with tears,” not,—“I have seen your letter stained.”

In H.F. III. 301, And on hir fete wexen saugh I
Partriches wynges redely,

the infinitive seems likely; though this form is possible for the participle, it is not Chaucer’s usual form (as in H.F. III. 992, e.g.). The sense of visible growth is here appropriate; cf. vv. 278-286. For redely = quickly, cf. C 667.

The participle occurs in a mixed construction in F 1547. as ye han herd me sayd (: apayd). Probably this is on the analogy of herd sayd. Cf. also Tr. III. 303, made many a lady . . . Seyd., and Tr. I. 1009. Cf. p. 108, below, note 2.

¹ On E 2044, he wol no wight suffixen bære the keyes,

Save he hymself,

Einenkel (p. 255) says, “eine interessante Constructionsmischung: nowight erweist sich durch seine Stellung deutlich als Accusativ, das ihm parallel gebrauchte he (himselé) beweist aber, dass das gemeinsame bære (zu welchem zum Ueberfluss eine Handschrift noch to ergänzt) nicht als Infinitiv, sondern als Optativ zu fassen ist.”

Here C, Op., Pt., and L read to. On a point like this, even inconclusive MS. evidence for a reading may yet indicate how the construction was felt. Moreover
The Object Infinitive.

The logical subject of the infinitive is contained in a prepositional phrase dependent on the main verb.

Biseken. B 2940. we biseke to youre wommanly pitee to taken swich avysement.

Commanden. E 190. to his officeres ... to purveye.

Cryn. A 4006. Upon the wardeyn ... To yeve hem.

Fraynen. B 1790. To every Jew ... To telle.

Graunten. R.B. 3756. to me the Rose kisse.

(M'otroia un baisier en dons.)

Preyen. Tr. IV. 949. to the petouse Goddes ...

To don.

B 3735, E 764, I 179, L. 2063; E 1353.

Senden. B 2918. for thise ... to come.

Yeven. A 915. to whom ... to lyven.

Bo. III. m. 9, 43.

he does not prove that here is subjunctive or that the construction is mixed, for the nominative after save is common in Chaucer, even when we should use an objective case. Cf. e.g. E 507:

Ne I ne desire no thyng for to have,
Ne drede for to leese, save only yee (: be inf.).

Here E reads "thee vel yee."

1 The past participle sometimes stands for a perfect infinitive after verbs like leten.

E 1991. wolde han lat hym storven ...

Wel rather than han graunted hym hire grace.
2. Verbs of perception.

Felen. F 566 (17).

Fynden. D 1150, G 218, L. 1499, R.C. 6857, Bl. 451,

Tr. II. 1462.¹

Heren. A 953 (57).

Herknen. F 78.

Sen. B 4568 (81).²

Witen. Tr. V. 20.

3. The governing verb has no other object but the infinitive. If one were expressed it would be logical subject of the infinitive.³

¹ On Tr. II. 1462, He com, and fond here fro the mete aryse,
   And sette hym down and spak right in this wyse,

Einenkel (p. 237) says: "ein anderes Beispiel ist wieder in anderer Weise
fraglich: [cites this passage] es kann hier arise das Part. Prät. sein, dessen ich
schwebend ist und daher sehr wol mit ursprünglich langem reimen kann. Vergl.
Ten Brink, Chaucers Sprache u. Verskunst, § 35 a."

Ten Brink's example from Lb. 370:

To translaten that olde clerkes written,
   As thoght that he of malice wolde enditen,

hardly substantiates the rime of ï with ï. Here written is in all probability not
pretet plural, but present. The formula "Vergil says," "Horace writes," etc.,
usually occurs in the present in Chaucer. Cf. in the Legend:

Lb. 19.

these olde wyse, . . .

That tellen of these olde approved stories.

La. 274.

storys gret.

That bothe Romaynys and ek Grekis trete.

La. 280. What saith Valerye, Titus, Claudyan?

La. 284, 305, 309, Lb. 526, 575.

Ten Brink's only remaining example, B 3578, Armorik: brike, is hardly
convincing enough to establish this rime for Chaucer, which he confesses is rare.

Moreover, the sense of our passage is greatly improved by reading the
infinitive: "He found her just getting up from the table." The use of the
simple infinitive after finden is common enough. Though it occurs more
frequently when the infinitive is a verb of rest, verbs of motion and others are
also found.

Cf. D 1150.

men may wel often fynde
   A lorde sone do shame and vileynye.

R.C. 6857. Where fyndest thou a swynker of labour

Have me unto his confessour?


² In Lb. 202, metre seems to require to, though MSS. Fx. and Bodl. 638
omit it.

³ In N.E. the passive infinitive has been substituted for the active in this
construction. Whether it was felt as a passive in Chaucer is not decided by
constructions like

Tr. V. 1469,

She made up frete here corn and vynes alle.
In the foregoing cases the subject is indefinite. In the following cases the subject would be definite if expressed, and may easily be supplied.

Tr. IV. 196. And to delyveren Antenor they preyde.  
R.B. 2319. Whanne to syngge they goodly preyed.
R.B. 3311. love wole consente,
That me assailith with bowe bente,
To drawe\(^1\) myne herte out of his honde.
(consente Que je refraigne et que je dente.)

B 516. mercy she bisoghte
The lyf out of hir body for to twynne.\(^2\)

In R.B. 5569 the infinitive is equivalent to an abstract noun as direct object:

What wolde he thanne ha yove [M.S. yow] to ha bought
To knowen openly her thought.
(acheter lores Qu’il en seiist ce . . .)

Cf. Chaucer’s rendering of the same passage in Bo. II. p. 8, 49:
with how mochel woldest thou han bought the fulle knowinge of this.

HAVEN, YEVEN, ETC.

The verbs have and give take the prepositional infinitive in more or less specialized senses. Fundamentally the constructions belong to the prepositional infinitive of purpose. The verb have with the infinitive comes to have the sense of futurity, obligation, ability, etc. The original construction of purpose has, however, remained alongside of the specialized senses, as in N.E. “he has a coat to wear.”


Sometimes the infinitive, often with omission of the object of the main verb, comes to be attached more closely to have, though it is doubtful whether the infinitive can ever properly be called the direct object.

\(^1\) The subject of to drawe refers to the same person as myne.

\(^2\) If twynne is intransitive, lyf is subject of the infinitive. For the expression mercy bisichen with an object, cf. Conf. Am. I. 3167:
And ever among merci she eride
That he ne scholde his conseil hide.
The parallel construction with *agan* has become wholly stereotyped so that in N.E. the infinitive no longer denotes purpose.

**Haven.**

1. With object which is logical object of the infinitive:

- **Field.** A 886 (to)
- **Hous.** Tr. I. 1065
- **Soule.**
- **Wheel** (adverbially). H.F. III. 360
- **Wight.** I 720
- **Moore.** Bo. III. p. 12, 55
- **Ynough.** H 66, Tr. V. 44, 1124
- **Moore than ynough.** H 63
- **That.** Tr. I. 1026, R.B. 4045 (ce que vous devés), R.B. 5080 (ado)
- **What.** L. 2694
- **Ought.** R.C. 6981 (riens à faire)
- **Nought.** E 99, Tr. III. 675, Damours, 34
- **Nothing.** R.A. 400 (El ne se pooit mes aidier)
- R.B. 3886 (dout il navoit que faire)
- **Nat (> adverb).** Lb. 465, B 4441

2. Object replaced by an adverb:

- **Thider.** C 749
- **So wyde.** A 2454

3. With neither object nor adverb after *haven*:

- **Haven to don with.** A. 3777, Tr. II. 213, V. 846
- **C.M.** 234, R.B. 4650 (afaire avoies).

4. With an object of the infinitive which could originally have been object of *haven*:

- **Tr. II.** 1694. To yow have I to speke of o mater.

5. Haven of kynde, of propretie by kynde. Bo. II. p. 5, 175, B 4141.

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1 In the case of *haven* the logical subjects of verb and infinitive are identical. But from the similarity of the idiom to that with *yeven*, the examples are included here rather than under the complementary infinitive. Likewise *haven leef* is included in the present chapter in order to get together the idiomatic uses of *haven* with the infinitive. See p. 111.

2 Apparently in the sense of *be able.*

3 Cf. reads not . . . to doon; Cp. = nought for to. *For to* seems to be required for the metre.
Yeuen, senden, etc. + drynken, etc.

1. With (direct) object besides the infinitive:

L. 2667.

Yife hym *drynke* when he goth to reste.

2. Without direct object:¹

(a) Simple infinitive.

A 1470. For he hade yeve his gayler *drynke* so.
A 3492. Fecche me *drynke* (: *swynke* ind. plu.).
B 3232. And *sende hym drynke*, or elles moste he deye.
C 886. *yaf* his felawe *drynke* also.

Tr. II. 651. who *yaf me drynke* (: *synke* inf.).
G 1193. Now yeve us *drynke*, quod the chanoun thenne.

(b) With to.

A 4157. to *yeve the child to sonke*.

HAVEN LEEF, ETC.

The infinitive is used as direct object of a transitive verb and is accompanied by a predicate adjective or noun.²

1. Adjective in predicate:

Haven levere.

F 692. he *hath levere talken* with a page.
H 169, Tr. II. 471, Bo. I. p. 5, 31, III. p. 9, 100, Bukton, 13,
R.B. 3417, R.C. 6793; (to) F 1360, 1531; (for) Bo. I. p. 5,
12, IV. p. 5, 8.

Sholde have levere.

Tr. IV. 566 (to).

¹ For the use of *give to drink*, etc., in O.E. prose, cf. Shearin, pp. 13 f., where he gives examples of *sellan drincan, dan, supan, *siegan; *beran drincan, don (him) drincan, hladan drincan. See ib., p. 26, for the prepositional infinitives *sellan to drincanne, to etanne*, etc., which, though less common than the simple infinitive in O.E., are still rather frequent. The prepositional infinitive is found with *sellan and habban* in Beowulf, 1731, 1851 (K. p. 47), and the simple infinitive once with *sellan* (K. p. 43).

² For the Chaucer examples with *drynke*, it is to be remembered that O.E. had a weak noun *drinca*. It is impossible to say in most cases whether we have noun or infinitive in Chaucer, and was probably impossible then as well. And there are also the cases where *drynke* is certainly noun, as B 498: *mete and drynke* have.

² See note 1, p. 110.
Hadde (pret. subjunctive).
   D 168. *hadde* I levere wedde no wyf.
   F 1596, G 1376, H 78, Tr. II. 1509, Bo. II. p. 5, 126; (to)
   E 2163, L. 1536, R.B. 4081; (for) F 1476.1

Haven as, so leef.2
   (to) D 1574, R.A. 758; (for) D 1574.

Rather (elliptical).
   An. 300. *rather* deth, then do so . . .

Mixed constructions.
   Hadde hire levere, him levere, etc.
   E 445. *had hire levere* have born.
   B 1027, R.B. 5392.

2. Noun in predicate:
   Demen it felonye. (to) Bo. V. p. 3, 27.
   Holden it a gentrie. (to) I 601.
   Holden it a deyntee. (to) Tr. II. 164.
   Holden it folye. (to) Lb. 326, La. 252.

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CHAPTER XII.

THE INFINITIVE AS SUBJECT OF VERBS, NOUNS, AND ADJECTIVES, NOT USUALLY REGARDED AS IMPERSONAL.

Old English.

Constructions in O.E. that show the infinitive as subject of expressions other than the stereotyped ones called impersonal, are rare. I find no cases cited in the syntactical works on O.E. poetry before Alfred.

1 F 1600 is ambiguous: *she levere had lost* that day hir lyf.
   This may be (1) she levere [adverb] had lost [plup. subjunctive], or (2) she had
   levere [adjective] [have] lost. Levere is found as adverb as early as 1297
   (*N.E.D.*).

2 For *me is leef*, etc., cf. Impersonals, pp. 131 ff.
Wülfsing cites one doubtful case of the simple infinitive (p. 197) and three cases with to.

C.P. 236, 10. swæ dere$ eac hwilum sumum monnum set so$ to
gehieronne (p. 211).
Bo. 90, 23 and 214, 15 (with noun, p. 211). ¹

Old French.

Subject of noun.
Rou, II. 937. Se vanter e menter, l’un e l’altre ert folie (S.
p. 291).
Tr. 1095. Lede chose est de manacier (S. p. 292).
Subject of adjective.
Theb. 1174. Car mal lor est tant sejorner (S. p. 294).
Subject of verb.
The completely substantivized (often inflected) infinitive is com-
monly used as subject of verbs. For numerous examples cf. Sörgel,
pp. 217 ff.

Chaucer.

Subject of adjectives and nouns.
On pp. 49 ff., above, were recorded cases of the infinitive after
certain adjectives and nouns where the infinitive was sometimes de-
pendent and sometimes subject of the adjective or noun, and some-
times the syntax was ambiguous. Only a few illustrative examples
were given of the unambiguous infinitive subject. In the present
chapter are included a fuller list of cases where the infinitive is clearly
subject of adjectives and nouns in such constructions as may be
thought of as possibly interchanging with the dependent construction.
After these cases follow those in which it is less likely that such
an interchange is to be thought of.²

1. Adjective predicate.
Bet, Better.
Bl. 844. hit were better serve hir.

¹ For the infinitive subject of adjectives in O.E. see pp. 49 ff., above.
² Naturally, the two kinds of cases cannot be made mutually exclusive. When
once such a subject construction is established as B 2454, for to persevere longe in
synne is werk of the dekel; then such a case as R.C. 6019, thilke oth to holde is
resonable, could arise either by analogy of the first, or it could arise from the
construction thilke oth [subject] is resonable-to-holde. The cases therefore which
are given in the first part of the section are illustrative, cited because of their
general similarity to the examples on pp. 49 ff., above.

SYNTAX.
Bet is to dyen than have indigence.\(^1\)

Convenable. I 371, Tr. II. 1137.

Fair. D 439, R.B. 3766.

Fals and foul. Tr. IV. 993.

Good, Goodly.

And of swich thyng were goodly for to telle.

Grisly. C. 473. it is grisly for to heere hem swere.

Hard. E 562, E 1164. It were ful hard to fynde

... Grisildis thre or two.

Leveful. A 3912. For leveful is, with force of showve, Bo. II.

m. 8, 11.

Mannysh. B 2454.

Necessarie. Ast. II. 5, 6.

Pertinent. B 2204.

Possible. D 1367 (cf. p. 132).

(In) power. Bo. V. p. 6, 271.

Profitable. B 2218.

Wikke. I 566.

Adjective phrases.


Foul thing. C 524.

Glorious thing. E 1268.

Hard thing. D 271, Bo. IV. p. 4, 70.

Pitous thing. E 1086, Bl. 84.

Thing possible to do, Damours, 16, it were thing possible to do,

\textit{T'acompte youre beutee}.

Greet emprise. I 691.

2. Nouns.

Best. Tr. I. 597, II. 382.

Cursednesse. Bo. III. p. 10, 103.

Costume. D 682.

Deyntee. L. 920, E 1112.

Disese. B 3961.

Folye. B 2255, Tr. IV. 1511, V.

263, R.B. 2601, 5742.

Game. A 2286.

Hevene. Tr. II. 637, III. 1742.


Labour and cost. C 537.

Manere. Tr. V. 809.\(^8\)

Melodie. H 114.


Meschief. D 248.

Paradys. R.A. 1325.

Penaunce. Venus, 79.

Peyne. B 3976, Tr. IV. 478.

Peril. D 89.

\(^1\) Note that have (transitive) could lend itself to the dependent construction: "indigence is better to have," while to dyen is not possible in such a construction.

\(^2\) These examples are syntactically the same as those recorded under Impersons, p. 130; they are cited here in view of their relation to the dependent construction.

\(^3\) Here the infinitive may be dependent or appositive.
The infinitive is used as the subject of adjectives, nouns, verbs, and equivalent phrases, where there is not likely to be any crossing to the construction of the dependent infinitive after adjectives and nouns.

1. Adjectives, and phrases like in veyn which are equivalent to predicate adjectives.

   E 2373. Was no thyng bet . . .
   Than strugle with a man.

   G 843. Al is in veyn . . .
   To lerne a lewed man this subtiltee.

I 239, Tr. IV. 436, P.F. 570, Bl. 16, R.B. 2151; I 1027, Bo. V. p. 1, 28 (adverbial predicate: in stede of reste).

2. Noun predicate.

   E 2115. "Passe over" is an esse.²
   Tr. III. 1634. As gret a craft is kepe wel as wyna.
   R.B. 3529, 4841, Tr. III. 367;

   A 1680. it is al his joye and appetit
   To been hymself the grete hertea bane.

D 51. to be wedded is no synne.


¹ Here the caesural pause in the MS. indicates the syntax, which would be ambiguous without it.
² Instead of infinitive this may be simply the imperative quoted as a stereotyped phrase. Cf. B 1633. But now passe over.
The Infinitive


Certain nouns in the predicate, as *wille, entente, etc.*, give a sense to the subject construction similar to that of the infinitive with nouns, the infinitive in apposition, and the infinitive as predicate.

A 1104. if it be thy *wil*
Yow ... *to transfigure.*

B 3471, E 326, Tr. IV. 635, Lb. 471, L. 1617.

Certain cases anticipate or resume the infinitive by a pronoun, *this, that, it, etc.* According to strict grammar the infinitive is in apposition with the pronoun. But the construction is equivalent to that of the subject. Most of these cases are included under apposition, except in the case of *it* where it precedes the infinitive. The sense is, of course, the same when *it*, as frequently, follows its infinitive, but the latter shows a convenient connecting link between a real apposition and one in which the appositive word (*it*) has become colourless. The cases with *it*, therefore, are included under the subject infinitive, except when *it* follows its infinitive. The following examples are here given to show the connection between the categories of subject infinitive and apposition.

D 1630. *that is nat myn entente*
    ... *for to repente me.*

C 849. *this was ... his fulle entente*
    *To sleen hem bothe.*

R.B. 3547. *To stonde forth in such duresse,*
    *This crueltie and wikkidnesse.*

Tr. V. 788. *to gon assaye here now*
    ... *it nyl not ben my prow.*

For others, cf. Apposition, pp. 143 ff.

3. Verb predicate.

G 857. *To tellen al wolde passen any Bible.*

Tr. II. 1371, V. 285, H.F. II. 508, III. 84, Lb. 134; (for) F 606, 653, Bo. III. p. 4, 77, An. 8, Bo. IV. p. 2, 264.

The infinitive sometimes becomes subject when the object infinitive construction is changed from active to passive. For cases when the
noun or pronoun object (subject of infinitive) in the object infinitive construction becomes subject of the passive construction, cf. Object Infinitive, p. 102, notes 1, 2; p. 104.

A 1225. Now is me shape eternally to dwelle.
A 2972, B 2178, Tr. IV. 211, Bo. II. m. 7, 26.

4. Infinitive predicate.
I 307. to love God is for to love that he loveth.
I 62. it was for to doone
   To enden in som vertuous sentence.
R.C. 7359. Whether it to done were
   To maken hem.

5. With a verb predicate the infinitive is also in apposition with a pronominal subject, which in the case of it becomes colourless.

Tr. III. 1735. it undon on any manere syde
   That nyl not ben.
Tr. III. 113. his manly sorwe to byholde
   It myght han mad an herte of stoon to rewe.
F 34. But for to telle yow al hir beautee
   It lyth nat in my tonge.

6. Sometimes a construction appears in which the infinitive is complement of the main verb, but in such a way as to suggest the subject relation. One case is unambiguous:

R.B. 2349. For the wordis litel greve
   A man to kepe whanne it is breve.
Possibly this is due to the French original, though the construction now seems natural enough to English:

Car la parole mains est grieve
   A retenir quand ele est brieve.

Three cases are ambiguous; the infinitive may be subject:

Tr. III. 1576. which chargeth nought to seye.
Tr. III. 1689. This passeth every wyt for to devyse.
E 1543. al this axeth leyser for tenquere.

Here the infinitive may be subject and al this its object, or it may depend on leyser.
CHAPTER XIII.

THE INFINITIVE WITH IMPERSONALS.

The infinitive is used as the so-called subject of impersonal verbs and phrases. The change in M.E. from impersonal constructions like me list to I list, suggests that probably long before the constructions changed their form they had come to be felt as personal, i.e. that the person in such a sentence as me list was felt as acting and not as being acted upon. It is therefore likely that the infinitive with such expressions was felt to be complementary in Chaucer’s time and possibly much earlier.

For a full discussion of the change from impersonal to personal constructions, see Van der Gaaf (v. bibliography). I have used Van der Gaaf’s notation for the sake of convenient reference to his work. A indicates an impersonal construction in which the logical subject of the infinitive is a dative or accusative depending on the main verb, or on the noun or adjective of the governing impersonal phrase; e.g. him likes to go, it likes a man to go. B denotes that that logical subject is ambiguous in form, and that nothing determines whether it is subject or object of the governing verb or phrase; as, a man likes to go. C denotes that this logical subject is object of a preposition; as, it likes to a man to go. D denotes that the logical subject is unambiguously the subject of the governing verb or phrase, as shown by the form of the word or of the verb of the predicate; as, he likes to go, men like to go. To this notation I have added another symbol, X,

1 That is, the construction is that of the complementary infinitive.
to indicate an impersonal construction in which the logical subject of the infinitive and object of the impersonal is not expressed; as, *it behooves to go*.

The question will frequently arise as to whether some examples may not just as well be included with the infinitive as subject of personal expressions. This raises the whole question of the nature of the so-called impersonal verb and equivalent phrases. That there is no fundamental difference between “personal” and “impersonal” is pointed out by Van der Gaaf (§ 2).

The distinction is largely an arbitrary one; *him is good to go* sounds “impersonal” enough, but *it is a good plan for him to go* does not seem like an impersonal, though it is in all essentials the same as the first. The important fact to be remembered is, that the infinitive as subject of personal verbs and of other phrases is at bottom the same as the infinitive as subject of “impersonals”; the difference is mainly one of the stereotyping of certain combinations from their frequency of occurrence.

As a rule, I have included only constructions that appear in the A type in Chaucer. Some are included which show no A type in Chaucer with the infinitive, but appear in that form without it; others that show the A type in M.E., though not in Chaucer.

Except in the case of the verbs *lysten* and *neden*, my lists are intended to be exhaustive for Chaucer.

Old English.


*Be.* 492, 38. eall ßas ßing ßære niwan ßeode Ongelcynnes on Godes geleafan *gedafenate cup habban* (oportet haberi) (Wf. p. 196).
Be. 595, 13. Sa licode Sam arfaestan foreseonde ure haelo hire Sa halgan saule eac swylene mid longre hire lichoman untrumnesse ademo and asodene beon (placuit . . . examinari) (Wf. p. 196 “einmal.”)

Or. 102, 25. and ic gehwam wille þært þæcan þe hiene his lyst ma to witanne (Wf. p. 211).

Old French.

B. Chr. II. 14704. Mettre covendra peine e luite (S. p. 222).
Rol. 310. En Sarraguec sai ben qu’aler m’estoet (S. p. 222).
For further examples in O.F., cf. Sörgel, pp. 221 ff.

Chaucer.

1. Verbs.

Acorden.

A. Bo. IV. p. 3, 53. thilke folk . . . it acordeth and is convenable to ben goddes.¹

C. (to) A 243.

Agrysen.

B. H.F. I. 210. That every hert myght agrysse
To see hyt peynted on the walle.²

Anoyen.

A. G 1036. no thyng anoyeth me
To lene a man a noble.

Apertenen.

A. Bo. I. p. 4, 193. what aperteneth me to speke.

C. (to) B 2171, 2459.

¹ A glance at the number of prepositional infinitives with these verbs is sufficient comment on Einenkel’s statement (p. 231) that “In Verbindung mit unpersönlichen Verben ist der reine Infinitiv die fast ausnahmslose Regel.” The verbs he cites are: avaylen, byhoven, deyuen, fallen, happen, longen, lysten, needen, semen, sitten, thynken. The statement is repeated in Anglia, 13, p. 84, where he adds the verbs liken, schamen, accorden, avawcen, as also the verb wondren. He admits that the case he cites, Tr. II. 363, Men wolde wondren sen hym come or gone (Cl. = to se), looks suspiciously like a personal construction, but says the simple infinitive could “nur aus der unpersönlichen construction stammen.” See above, p. 73 (a), and cf. Tr. V. 493.

² Though there are no clear cases of agrysen as impersonal in Chaucer, the fact that they occur outside of Chaucer (cf. Metz. Wb.) has led me to record this example as an ambiguous case. It should be remembered that the impersonal form in these constructions would remain long after they came to be felt as personal, and therefore most of the B constructions were probably in reality personal.
Availen.

X. I 300. repenten hym ... may nat availle; B 2235. availleth to speken, Form. Age, 25; An. 216, I 90.

A. Beaute, 15. me ne availleth not to pleyne. B 2828. it availleth a man to have a good name, Beaute, 20, 25.

B. A 3039. And here agayns no creature on lyve ... availleth for to stryve.¹

Avauceen.

X. A 246. it may not avance

For to deelen with no swich poraille.

A. R.B. 3527. what may it you avance

To done to hym so gret grevaunce?

Bihoven.

X. (to) B 2360, I 811, Tr. IV. 1004, Bo. V. p. 4, 75

A. A 4027, Tr. IV. 1305, Bo. I. p. 4, 5, R.A. 1479; (to) B 2406, F 1359, Bo. II. p. 1, 102, 122, II. p. 3, 6, III. p. 9, 187, R.B. 1792, 2711, 4991.²

B. R.C. 6605. For men bihoveth in somme gise

Ben somtyme in goddis servise.

A.D. I 630. I, servant of god, bihoveth nat to chide.³

Bityden.

X. Tr. III. 644. For hom to gon it may not wel betyde.

A. Bo. III. p. 11, 8. it shal bityde me to knowe ... god.

Deliten.

A. P.F. 27. To rede forth it gan me so delyte;
Bo. IV. m. 4, 1, II. p. 3, 48 (venire delectat).

Deynen, disdeynen.

A. C.M. 39. That when hir deyned caste on him hir yê; (to) B 3324, 4371, An. 181, Lb. 395; (for) B 3460.

B. Tr. III. 1280. on whiche the faireste and the beste ... deyneth here herte reste.

¹ This use of availle is to be distinguished from the cases where it takes a purpose or an object infinitive. See above, p. 108 (I 241).
² In Tr. I. 857, For who-so lyst have helpyng of his leche,

To hym bihoveth first unwre his wounde,

it is possible to take to hym with byhoveth as a C construction, but it is equally possible to make hym refer to leche and depend on unwre. In Bo. I. p. 4, 5, the same idea is expressed in an A construction.

³ So E, Hg., L, H. C and Seld. read I bihove. Van der Gaaf records no cases of D except one in Landsay (p. 4, § 4).
The Infinitive

An. 231, Tr. I. 435.  ne deynede sparen blood royal
The fyr of love . . . Ne hym forbar.¹

D. Tr. III. 1435. thow thus flest, and deynest us nought reste. Tr. III. 139; (to) Tr. III. 1811, R.B. 4832; (for) R.B. 5686.

Dullen.
A. G 1093. it dulleth me to ryme.²

Dreden.
A. D 1214. dred ye noght to been a cokewold.³

Fallen,⁴ bifallen, = happen.
A. A 2555. And if so falle the chieftayn be take ⁵
On outher syde, or elles slean his make;
Tr. III. 1401. hem fille to speke, Adam, (bifalle).
B. A 3272. Nicholas

Fil with this yonge wyf to rage and pleye.

Fallen = befit.
A. Tr. I. 142. falleth nought to purpos me to telle.
C. Bl. 374. as to hunting fil to doon, R.B. 4025.⁶

¹ In cases like this where the ambiguous subject-object is made to serve also for the subject of a personal verb, it is probably safe to assume a D construction. Still, similar anacolutha are so common in Chaucer that the above fact alone is hardly sufficient evidence without considering also the general movement toward the D type. Cf. e.g.:

B 4568. And syen the fox toward the grove gon,
        And bar upon his bak the cok away.
R.C. 6915. And forto han the first chaisers
        In synagogis to hem full deere is,
        And willing that folk hem loute and grete.

Van der Gaaf (p. 141) thinks such combinations were instrumental in the change from A to D. It is doubtful how far they are evidence of it.

² Cf. Tr. IV. 1489. That ye shul dulleth of the rudeness.
³ This may be reflexive instead of (pseudo-) impersonal. So with Van der Gaaf's citation from B 9918. Cirrus soore hym dradde (§ 171).
⁴ I suggest that fallen should be added to Van der Gaaf's lists. Cf. (without infinitive):

Tr. V. 642. if that I sayle
The gytung of thi bemes,
i.e. "if they fail me," a true D construction as distinguished, e.g., from Pt. 112,
    thou ne failest never wight at nede.

⁵ E reads if so be; the rest read falle (fall). All six read infinitive slean, while
    H reads slee; be take may be subjunctive.

⁶ Strictly, these are not true C types, for the prepositional dative does not coincide with the subject of the infinitive. But the second example (to thy name) shows how one construction shades into the other, being nearly equivalent to it befits you.

The A type with fallen is seen (without infinitive) in the common phrase, e.g. Lb. 277: ever falle hire faire. The D type occurs La. 180, Lb. 186: falle sche fayre. Since faire is an adverb, falle is a true impersonal—without subject. Cf.
Greven.

\textbf{X.} Tr. V. 783. But \textit{for to assaye}, \ldots \text{it nought ne greveth.}


\textbf{D.} Cf. Tr. I. 343. \textit{ye wolden at me greve.}

Happen.

\textbf{X.} C.M. 142. hit \textit{happed for to be.}

\textbf{A.} P.F. 10. \textit{happeth me} \ldots \text{in bokes rede}, Lb. 78; (to) C 885, D 989, 1401, G 649, L. 634; (for) P.F. 18.

\textbf{B.} F 1499. This \textit{squier}, \ldots \ldots \ldots ,

Of aventure \textit{happed} hire to \textit{meete.}

Helpen.

\textbf{X.} A 2820. What \textit{helpeth it} \textit{to tarien} forth the day, B 3992, Tr. IV. 929, V. 1183.

\textbf{Tr. V.} 1552. \textit{helpeth not to stryve.}\footnote{1}

Longen = desire, cause to desire.

\textbf{A.} E 2332. \textit{so soore longeth me}

\textit{To eten of the smale peres grene}, Tr. II. 312.

\textbf{B.} (to) Tr. V. 596, E 451.

\textbf{D.} (to) A 12; (for) A 13.

Thenken, Thynken long.

\textbf{B.} Tr. V. 1155. \textit{thenk}\footnote{2} not longe \textit{t'abyde}, R.B. 2715.

Lyken.

\textbf{A.} Tr. V. 631. \textit{hym liked} \textit{yn hise songes shewe.}


\textit{to you it longith ay}

\textit{To harpe and gitterne, daunce and play.}

\textit{The similar phrase \textit{well be to him}, and H 40 : \textit{foule moote thee fall} (E=thou, \textit{rest thee}).}

\textit{Giten} (without infinitive) shows an occasional \textbf{A} construction : B 647. \textit{wher-as hym gat no grace} (2 MSS. = \textit{he}), An. 206. \textit{hir gat no geyn.}

\textit{1} Cl. reads: \textit{Ayeyns} which fate helpeth not to stryve. As \textit{helpen} shows no other \textbf{A} constructions in Chaucer, perhaps this is the right reading, as against \textit{hym helpeth.}

\textit{2} If we do not assume the loss of final \textit{e} of the subjunctive within the verse, this may be a \textbf{D} construction. For the confusion of \textit{thynken} and \textit{thenken} in this phrase, cf. Van der Gaaf, § 124. I do not feel sure that he has proved that this case may not be an original \textit{thencaun} in the sense of \textit{consider it long}. It has here no sense of desire. That sense is appropriate, however, in R.B. 2715. \textit{Thenke longe to see} the swete thyng. Cf. L. 2671.

\textit{3} Possibly subjunctive.
III. m. 2, 1, III. m. 8, 9, IV. m. 1, 43, L. 1672, 2603, R.A. 801, R.B. 1854; (for) A 777, B 3173, P.F. 165, Ast. II. 3, 47, R.A. 1636.

B. (for) B 2254.
C. (to) B 2956,1 B 2934; (for) G 1468,2 Tr. I. 288.

D. (without infinitive).

Tr. II. 674. she gan enclyne
To lyke hym first.

L. 1075. And for he was a straunger, somwhat shee Lyked him the bette, as, god doo boote,
To somme folke often newe thinges is swoote.3

Lysten.

A. A 2377. as thee lyyst devyse, A 1695, 2074, 3866, B 521, 1382, etc.;4 (to) A 7201, F 331, Tr. II. 913, L. 996, R.A. 344, etc.; (for) B. 4466, E 111, F 147, R.A. 345, etc.

B. Tr. II. 159. alle virtue list habounde.
B 1206, E 1295, G 834, Tr. I. 857,5 L. 1407, etc.; (to) B 3185, G 271, 1344, Tr. I. 398, III. 354, 1766, Compleynte, 5,6 A.B.C. 172, R.B. 2074, 3185, 5028, etc.; (for) B 3509, Tr. I. 671, III. 1810, etc.

1 Cf. note 6, p. 122, above.
2 Syntax ambiguous: But where it liketh to his deite, may be parenthetical, and the infinitive depend on discovered bee.
3 The last two cases put beyond doubt the fact that lyken is used personally in Chaucer. Van der Gaaf says (§73), "I have not met with a single instance of the new construction in his works, and the above passage is the only one that may be interpreted as showing that Chaucer was acquainted with the D construction, rather than Skeat, who explains it (Glossary, s.v. lyke), "it pleases us with respect to you." I should go further and say that us was felt as we here, or what is perhaps more accurate, that no difference was felt between us lyketh and we lyke; cf. Tr. II. 25, Us thenketh hem. Tr. III. 1363 seems to show the same sense: But esy sykes, swyche as ben to lyke, i.e. "are to be liked." It is possible, of course, to regard sykes as coinciding with the logical subject of to lyke, though this is much the rarer construction with this type of predicate infinitive. Cf. pp. 136 ff., below.
4 R.A. 1357. a fruyt full well to lyke,
Namely, to folk whanne they ben sike,
is ambiguous, though to folk suggests the meaning please.
Skeat records no case of lyken = to like, in his glossary.
5 In H.F. III. 487, Hem that me lyst y-prysed be, if the infinitive was felt as subject, it would have to include the accusative-subject that. It is far more likely in such a case that the sentence was felt, "Those whom I wish to be praised." Cf. Tr. II. 189.
6 For the cases with who, who-so, see Van der Gaaf, §§ 35, 36.
7 Cf. note 1, p. 122.
CHAP. XIII]

Constructions with Nedeth.

125

C. (to) Tr. III. 1817; (for) Tr. II. 700.
D. Lb. 575. After this olde auctours lysten trete.\(^1\)
B 2234, F 689,\(^2\) R.B. 3532, R.C. 6950;\(^3\) (to) Tr. I. 707, H.F.
II. 3,\(^4\) R.B. 1967.

Neden.

X. A 3166. Of the remenant nedeth nat enquire.
A 3000, B 2546,\(^5\) 4172, D 1296,\(^5\) F 298, 599, 1594, Tr. II.
916, III. 1676,\(^5\) P.F. 609,\(^5\) etc.; (to) A 642, 1746, 3599,
B 3765, D 2097, E 1615, F 453, Tr. III. 1576, 1684,\(^5\) La. 254,
L. 1098, Pt. 106, R.A. 1019, etc.; (for) C 230, E 457, Tr. II.
176, 1454, V. 1848, etc.

A. D 205. Me neded nat do longe diligence.
D 1955, Tr. II. 1390, III. 1463, A.B.C. 118, R.A. 1454; (to)
D 316, 1275, 1516, 1956, 2000, Tr. II. 11,\(^6\) IV. 1344,
Beaute, 18; (for) Tr. II. 462, V. 726, C.L. 10.

B. (to) I 705, Bl. 256; (for) D 274, R.A. 560.

C. Tr. III. 1681. Nought nedeth it to yow . . .
To aske at me.

An. 98. As nedeth not to men such craft to lere.\(^7\)

\(^1\) Ex. reads for to, which seems impossible metrically.
\(^2\) E = listeneth.
\(^3\) Possibly a substantive clause.
\(^4\) Ex. = listeneth.
\(^5\) Examples like Tr. III. 1676, and P.F. 609, This shorte lesson nedeth not
reorde, are not B constructions, since the noun is not subject or object of nedeth
and logical subject of the infinitive; i.e. they are the X type, with the noun in
question wanting. On the other hand, lesson here is object of the infinitive. Cf.
also the following (and the first one quoted above):
A 462. thereof nedeth not to speke,
with
D 2097. Nedeth namoore to spoken of it;
Also Tr. III. 1676. which nedeth nought devyse.
A 3000. Ther nedeth noon auctoritie allege.
B 4172. Ther nedeth make of this noon argument.

In these cases, when the object of the infinitive precedes nedeth, it might come
to be felt as subject of a personal nedeth. This would require the change of the
active infinitive to the passive in order to make consistent sense. I suspect
that this is exemplified in D 1721 (see p. 126, under D). Here it may refer to it [money]
in v. 1720, instead of being the colourless expletive it. In Van der Gaaf's example
from Conf. Am. 3786, This talle nedeth nought be glosed, which he classes as a B
construction (§ 32, p. 26), we should have, if my theory is right, not a confusion
between subject and dative object of nedeth but between the object of the (formerly
active) infinitive and a new subject of nedeth. The type of sentence like P.F. 609
is so frequent that it is at least possible that the development took place in this
way. Further statistics on the use of the passive infinitive are, however, needed
on this point.

\(^6\) So Cp.

\(^7\) As lere is both transitive and intransitive in Chaucer, this example is
curiously ambiguous, giving essentially the same sense whether to men goes
with lere = teach, or with nedeth, making lere = learn.
Constructions with Semen.

D. D 1721. Nat ther as it [money] is wasted . . .

No ther it nedeth nat for to be yeve.

Cf. I 700. men that neden no penitence.¹

Nede is, it is nede.

X. Tr. III. 1788. no nede was hym byseche, Bl. 190; (to) Tr. I. 128, II. 1553, III. 466, 857, 1638, H.F. III. 252, L. 1706, Bl. 1128,² 1276,³ Bo. I. p. 4, 292.

A. B 1299. you were nede to resten, Tr. V. 336, 586.⁴

Rekken, recchen.⁵

A. A.B.C. 171. him ne roughte no-thing to be slayn, Bo. III. m. 8, 22; (for) L. 605.

D. A 1398. I recche nat to sterve, A 2246, E 1090, 1994, Tr. IV. 798; (for) C.M. 126.

(Dis)plesen.

A. R.B. 3101. Ser, not you displese

To knowen of myn gret unnese.

Semen = appear, with infinitive subject.

X. Bo. III. p. 6, 20. yif it seme a fair thing, a man to han encreased and spred his name.⁶

E 1743. Hire to biholde it semen fairye.

A. F 56. Hem semed han geten hem protecciouns

Agayn the swerd of wynter, Bo. II. m. 2, 14;

Bo. II. p. 7, 102. you men semeth⁷ to geten yow a perdrableteee,

whan ye thenken that . . . your fame shal lasten.

Ast. Pr. 54. me semeth betre to wryten, Ast. II. 4, 5, II. 25, 32.

A few examples occur in which the form is that of the above A type, but the sense is that of the personal semen with the

¹ Cf. Van der Gaaf, § 150.
² Thynne and MSS. Fx. and Tanner read to with infinitive. Bodley reads reverse.
³ Cf. note 5, p. 125, and Pall I. 232. The grenys namys is no ned to telle.
⁴ Nede haven and necessite haven naturally are used only personally:

 (to) I 1060, Tr. II. 1532, Bl. 1091, 1253, Bo. V. p. 4, 95. Cf. Infinitive with Nouns, p. 41.
⁵ Note the two meanings of the negative with rekken, recchen: In Bo. III. m. 8, 22, reccheth nat to knowe, it means "not wish to know," while in A 1398 (above) it means, "I do not care if I die."
⁶ As to whether this is an X type, that is, an accusative with the infinitive, or rather an A type, see below, pp. 147 ff.
⁷ According to MS. C, the basis of Skeat's text. Skeat reads (from MS. A), ye men semen. The Latin has vos . . . videmini, cum . . . cogitatis.
Future Sense of Seem.

complementary infinitive, a distinction Skeat and Van der Gaaf have failed to note.

R.A. 213. So yvel hewed was hir colour,

_Hir semed to have lyved_ in langour.

(Qu’el sembloit estre enlangoree.)

R.A. 305. _Hir semede to have the jaunyce._

(Et sembloit aver la jaunice.)

R.A. 313. _hir semede forto be._

(Com il sembloit que ele eüst.)

L. 1074. a lordo _him semed for to be._

_Semen = befit, suit._

B. Bo. IV. p. 7, 80. the stronge man ne _semeth nat to abaisseen_ or disdaigne as ofte tyme as he hereth the noise of the bataile (virum fortem non decet indignari).

C. Bo. IV. p. 7, 83. ne also it ne _semeth nat to the wyse man to beren_ it gresvoyiously, as ofte as he is laid into the stryf of fortune (vir sapiens moleste ferre non debet).

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1 I am inclined to place here B 3361: And lyk a beest _hym semed for to bee._ While _for to be_ is _lyk a beest_, _semed (to) hym_, is a possible construction, it seems less likely than _he semed for to be._

2 All MSS. except Camb. Gg., Pepys, and Add. read _him_. The latter read _he._

3 In R.A. 989, That bowe _semede wel to skete_.

These arowis fyve

(II devoit bien tiex fleiches traire),

it seems likely that we have, at bottom, a B construction of this class; compare the sense of the French, "a bow such as might be expected to shoot well."

_Cf. vv. 986 f._ To hem was wel sittynge and able

The foule croked bowe hiodous.

Van der Gaaf (§ 29) calls attention to the probability that the meaning "appears" is an outgrowth of the earlier meaning "be suitable, fitting." Here that sense would apply: "it seemed a fitting thing to such a bow to shoot these arrows well." The same border-line sense can be seen in Van der Gaaf’s example from Gen. and Exod. 2169, It semet wel fat ge spies ben, "it is suitable to you, from your appearance, etc., that you should be spies." These cases also look like examples of the origin of the peculiar meaning of _seem_ in modern English = "to seem about to." _Cf. Macbeth_, I. ii. 46. So should he look that _seems to speak_ things strange. That this is the outgrowth of the meaning "suit," "fits," appears to be shown also by Malory, Le Morte Darthur, p. 77, li. 29 ff.: _me semeth in my herte to sped right wel_, "it seems to me that I shall." _Cf. I. 34 f. (in reply to li. 29 ff.)_ it _semeth not yow to sped_, there as others have failed, "it is not seemly that you should succeed, not likely," etc.

4 In Bo. I. p. 5, 56, I do not feel sure of the construction. Chaucer has, And of the felonies and frauds of thyn accusours, _it semeth thee_ have y-touched it forsothe rightfully and shortly, al mighten tho same things betere and more plentively ben couth in the mouth of the people that knoweth al this.

The Latin is, _De sceleribus fraudibusque delatorum rote tu quidem strictim attingendum putasti_, quod ea melius uberiusque recognoscens omnis vulgi ore celebrentur.

From this it is clear that Chaucer has not rendered the sense of the Latin, and
Semen, personal = appear.

Several examples of *semen* with the ordinary personal sense, followed by a complementary infinitive, are recorded here because of the frequent confusions with the impersonal constructions and the apparent similarity of form. Note that here in the types X, A, C, etc. (so called for convenience, though the verb is not impersonal), when *it* is used, it is the personal subject of the verb *semen*, and that the dative *hym, to him, etc.*, is not logical subject of the infinitive, as it is in the impersonal construction.¹

(X.) R.A. 173. She *semed* be ful despitous.

F 1146. Somtyme hath *semed* come a grym leoun,

And somtyme *floures sprynge*.

Tr. I. 747. som tyme it is craft to *sene* flee.


(A.) Bo. IV. p. 4, 165. which mowinge *thee semeth* to ben unworthy.

Tr. II. 802.

Bo. IV. p. 5, 27. what *semeth thee* to ben the resoun . . . ?

(C.) Bo. IV. p. 6, 183. thinges *semen* to *ben* confus and trouble to *us men*.

Shamen.

A. B 101. *To asken* help *thee shameth*.

Sitten.

X. E 1277. *it sit wel to be so*, E 460, Tr. I. 246.

we cannot be certain therefore whether he meant *it semeth thee* to be the equivalent of *putasti*. If so, that leaves nothing to express the force of *attinendum*. But if *semeth* has here the sense of "it seems fitting," it would express the gerundial force. It may be that both ideas are combined in *semeth*. But the mistranslation of *recte* and *strictim* (which go with different verbs in Latin) and of *quod*, suggests that Chaucer's thought was confused here. Without reference to the Latin, Chaucer's language can be interpreted in several ways: (1) "It appears that you have," etc., *taking thee have* as acc. *c. inf.* and subject of *semeth*; (2) "It seems to you that you have, you think you have," etc., *taking thee* as dative object of *semeth*; (3) "It is fitting to you to have," *etc.*

¹ That this personal use of *semen* is not a D construction of the impersonal, is pointed out by Van der Gaaf (s.v. *semen*). In the true D construction *he semeth* means "he thinks." It is to be observed that the construction corresponding to modern *he seems* is logically a true D construction of examples like R.A. 213, *Hir semed to have lyved*, if we explain this as an A type of the sense "be fitting." Thus *hir semed to have lyved* might mean, "it was fitting to her (from her appearance)," and *she seemed* might then originally have meant, "she was a suitable one, etc." That the latter construction is historically descended from the former, however, needs further proof.
CHAP. XIII] Stonden Impersonal. 129

A. R.A. 750. It sat hir wonder wel to synge, B 1353, E 2315, Tr. I. 12, 983, 985, II. 117.1

Suffiseth.

X. Bo. II. p. 1, 93. it ne suffys eth . . . to loken, B 2442, Bo. IV. p. 6, 393; (for) B 1290.

A. A 3559. Suffiseth thee . . .

To han as greet a grace as Noe hadde. Venus, 54, Rosam. 15.2 3

Thursten.

A. Bl. 256. Him thar not nede to turne ofte, A 4320, D 329, 336, 1365, H 352, Tr. II. 1661, A.B.C. 76, Bo. III. p. 11, 103, R.B. 3761.

D. B 2258. thar ye nat accomplice.4

Bo. II. p. 3, 100. what weenestow thar recche.5 6

Thynken.

A. Tr. III. 1697. hem thoughte felen dethes wunde, Tr. I. 294; A 3344. To loke on hire hym thoughte a myrie lyf, A 37, Tr. III. 1067, IV. 484, V. 120.

1 Under sitten Einenkel (p. 231) says, "fand sich nur zweimal." He adds one case in Anglia 13, p. 86.

2 For suffiseth with purpose infinitive see p. 20, G 715. There the examples are not D constructions, but suffisen has its usual meaning to be sufficient for something. In a true D type it would mean to be satisfied with something.

3 The verb stonden (not recorded by Van der Gaaf) shows an A construction changing to a D construction in Gower.

A. Conf. Am. II. 2124. hem stant no doute

To voide with a subtil hond.

III. 1524. him stant of me no fere.

D. III. 2536. The remenant of folk aboute

Unethe stonden eny doute

To werre ech other and to slee.

4 Strictly this is a mixture of A and D, since thar is not second person plural. But it is doubtful if the form would be changed in this obsolescent word even if the nominative ye were used, especially as thar you was not felt to be different, probably, from the nominative. Cf. I 630. I . . . bihoweth nat to chide (E MS.). ye may be the unemphatic form of you, as in Tr. I. 5.

5 Skeat inserts thee and reads what, wencestow, thar [thee] recche. MS. A reads weneest thou. It seems likely that the construction is mixed.

6 In R.A. 1089, 1324, where Skeat reads thurte, the MS. has durre. Mätzner (Wb.) quotes several M.E. examples of durren = dürfen, brauchen. If durre is the right reading we have a case of the pseudo-impersonal, like him dorden.

In Tr. III. 572, Cl. reads you dorste have nevere the more fere. Cp. reads you thruste, H thou thruste.

SYNTAX.
Impersonal Adjective

L. 1975. A kynges sone to be in swiche prisoun
And be devouthe, thoughte hem grete pitee.¹

Werien.

A. G 1304. It weerieth me to telle of his falsnesse.²

2. Adjective phrases used impersonally, the infinitive being subject of the adjective as predicate.

Good ben.³

X. E 2109. For as good is blynd deceyved be,
As to be deceyved when a man may se;⁴
(to) C. L. 123, I 354, Tr. III. 764.
A. R.C. 6316. Hym is right good be warre of me,⁵ P.F. 511.⁶

Bet ben.⁷

X. D 778, Tr. III. 1223,⁸ P.F. 514; (to) D 52, Tr. V. 1271, Bukton, 18; (for) Tr. V. 41.
A. (to) B 1934.
C. P.F. 571; (to) F 1422; (for) L. 2700.

¹ Cf. Tr. II. 1108. And she to laughe it thought here herte brest. Einenkel (p. 252) (reading breste) names this as an ambiguous case of infinitive or optative. Cl. and Cp. both read brest, and the rime gest shows the absence of final e. The indicative can be read as it stands: “it seemed that her heart was (lit. is) bursting.” That the present indicative is possible after the past thought(e) is proved by an unambiguous case from Conf. Am. VIII. 780. That as a vois celestial
Hem thoughte it soumeth in here Ere,
As thogh that he an Angel were.

² For to laughe, see above, p. 73.
³ For a D construction of weary, cf. Child’s Ballads, No. 227, Lizae Baillie, version d, st. 11:
She was nae ten miles frae the town,
When she began to weary.

⁴ Einenkel (Angl. 13, p. 83) says that the infinitive subject of god ben is not found in Chaucer. His statement is repeated by Redepenning (§ 89a). Of best ben with infinitive he says (Strf. p. 230), “nur einmal,” quoting Tr. IV. 84.
⁵ Here another group of MSS. reads fair for good.
⁶ For three additional examples, cf. Chap. XII. 1 (p. 113).
⁷ Possibly a substantive clause.
Better ben.¹

X. B 2277 ; (to) B 2761, 2828, 3032.
A. B 2409 ; (to) B 2336, R.B. 1791.
C. (to) R.B. 3266, B 3031.²

Best ben.

X. (to) A 3055, L. 614, 2439.
A. (to) P.F. 152, E 1414, Tr. IV. 84.³

Fayr ben.

X. A 376. *fcir to been ycleped Madame.*⁴

Lef ben.

A. Ch. to Purse, 5 ; (for) B 1349.
D. (to) A 3510, C 760 ; (for) R.B. 2335.

Levere ben.

A. A 293, C 615, F 1522, 1529, H 23, Tr. I. 1034, III. 591, C.L.
  127, R.B. 3326, 6168, Bo. III. p. 9, 15 ; (to) Tr. III. 574,
  Bukton, 23 ; (for) A 3751.⁵

Levest ben.

A. Tr. II. 189 ; (for) H.F. I. 87.

Likly ben.

X. A 1172. And eek it is nat *likly* al thy lyf
  *To stonden* in hir grace, B 3044, C 64.

Loth ben.

A. B' 91 ; (to) A 486, E 364, F 1599, R.A. 223 ; (for) H 145, R.B.
  3666.

¹ For five additional examples, cf. Chap. XII. 1 (p. 113).
² In R.A. 1646, *Me had bette bene ellis where, bene* may be a past participle.
For a discussion of the construction, cf. Van der Gaaf, § 55.
E 2373, *Nas no thyng bet to make yow to see
  Than strugle with a man,*
has a similar form to the X type. But here *bet* means not, *more suitable*, abso-
lutely, but *more effective* for the particular end.
For an apparent D construction, cf. L. 1363. *I shal be never the better. Van
der Gaaf* (§ 55) shows this to be an O.E. construction. Cf. also I 998 (p. 53 and
note 1).
³ *Convenable* should perhaps be classed among impersonals. Cf. Tr. II. 1137
and *acorden*, p. 120.
⁴ See p. 130, note 3.
⁵ Cf. Tr. V. 923. *I wol ben he to serven yow myselfe,
  Ye, levere than be* [Cl. = je] lord of Greces twelve.
The two earliest cases of *wollen + levere (-est)* noted by Van der Gaaf (of the
four before 1600) are *lievest wolde*, Conf. Am. (1393), and Myr. of our Ladye
(c. 1430). (Van der Gaaf, § 51.)
Impersonal Phrases.

B. Tr. V. 20. Men wyste never womman han the care,
Ne was so loth out of a town to fare.

C. Tr. III. 1339.
D. Tr. III. 154. that . . . ben so loth to suffren.

Lothest ben.

A. (to) Damours, 71.
B. F 1313.
D. (to) Tr. II. 237.

Possible, impossible ben.

X. E 955. Received be to-morwe as roially,
   As it possible is in myn hous to be, E 1609.
A. (to) F 1549,1 P.F. 471.
D. B 2213. damages that . . . been possible to fallen.2

Wo ben.

A. Tr. V. 69. wo was hym to gon.3

Worthy ben.

X. R.C. 7573. it were worthy
   To putte the out of this bayly.
A. Lb. 317. it were better worthy, trewely,
   A worm to neghen neer my flour than thou.4

1 Cf. Accusative with Infinitive, pp. 147 ff.
2 I do not enter into the question whether this D type is a cause, or a result, of the use of possible in the sense of able, and vice versa. For a B type cf. Conf. Am. V. 221:
   And what thing is possible
   To ben a god is impossible.
3 For a mixed construction showing wo to be felt as an adjective, cf. L. 1985:
   me is as wo
   For him as ever I was for any man.
4 So far as form is concerned, this example could be taken as a personal use of worthy, worm being subject (inverted by it): "a worm is better worthy." Than thou seems to corroborate this, though the nominative with infinitive is also possible. For the inversion of the sentence, cf. R.C. 6005:
   it suffiseth me
   Her goode herte and her beaute.
But the sense of worthy = "be fitting" is proved by H.F. III. 577:
   ye shal han better loos
   Than worthy is,
and by R.C. 7573, quoted above.
THE INFinitive as Predicate.

Old English.

The prepositional infinitive of purpose denoting necessity, obligation, futurity, etc., is frequent in O.E. Cf. Wülfing, pp. 211 ff.

Be. 482, 36. Sealedon and ræddon hwæt him to donne ware (Wf. p. 211).

Be. 489, 41. forpon ne syndon to luzianne ə sa wisan fore stowum, ac for godum wisum stowe syndon to luzianne (Wf. p. 212).

Old French (cf. Sörgel, pp. 258 ff.).

Raoul, 5793. Car je ne sai qu’il m’est à encontre (S. p. 258).

Theb. 5743. Si com l’aventure ert à estre (S. p. 258).

Chaucer.

(A) The infinitive retains something of its original purpose force.

1. Its purpose force is similar to that found after certain nouns (cf. Chapter III). In the case of nouns the infinitive denoted the purpose or function of the noun by direct dependence on it. Here it is the same relation, but is asserted, by means of a copulative verb. The cases in which the noun is logical subject of the infinitive, or denotes means, are relatively much fewer than those in which the noun is logical object of the infinitive.

B 4226. A donge carte, as it were to dongsge lond.

D 397. my walkynge out . . .

Was for tespynge wenches.

D 122, I 610,1 Bo. IV. p. 4, 162.

1 E omits əs.
2. The idea of purpose easily passes into that of future time.

Bo. V. p. 3, 34. thing nis nat to comen.¹

I 224, 1063, Tr. IV. 997, 1013, 1047, 1066, 1067, Ast. II. 11, 11,

3. As predicate after noun subjects like entente, conseil, etc., the
infinite is used in a manner similar to that where it depends directly
on the nouns. It is often a difficult matter to say whether the infinite is subject or predicate in cases of this kind. Both to and for to
are used without distinction of meaning

Assent. L. 1547 (MS. Camb. Gg.).

Cause. I 940 ; (for) B 2591, 4479.

Conseil. Tr. V. 430.

Cure. Bo. II. p. 4, 50.

Desiryn. R.A. 725.

Disport. Tr. IV. 309.

Entencioun. Tr. I. 683.

Entente. B 40, D 1389, G 998, I 1018, Tr. I. 738, II. 1219, La. 85,

Damours, 82, R.C. 6837 ; (for) A 1000, Tr. II. 1293.

Kynde. An. 201.

Lust. (for) B 188.

Nature. (for) C.M. 94.

Plesaunce. Damours, 10.

Purpos. Tr. I. 1, Pt. 5 ; (for) A 3981.

Thought. R.A. 582, R.B. 2135.

Vois. Tr. IV. 195.

Wille. (for) R.B. 2989.

Wone. (for) H.F. I. 76.

4. Phrases meaning blameworthy, to blame, and praiseworthy.

To blame. B 2452, etc. ; (for) Tr. II. 287.

To wyte. D 806, Tr. I. 825, II. 1279, III. 63 ; (for) Tr. II. 385.²

To preysen. C 42, R.A. 70, B 2706, R.A. 887, R.B. 2385, 4475,

5554 ; (for) I 462.

To reproven. B 2222 ; (for) R.C. 7548.³

5. The frequent formula, This is to seyn, etc., meaning this is to be
explained, etc.

¹ Chaucer in the Boece translates futurum est, quid est eventurum, futurus, all by to comen. The form to cominge is sometimes found; e.g. Bo. II. p. 7, 104.
² Cl. reads to.
³ MS. to.
6. Corresponding to the original sense of the gerundial infinitive, the ideas of *obligation*, *fitness*, *necessity*, *possibility*, etc., are expressed.

To biholden. Bl. 405.
To consideren. Bo. III. p. 3, 58.
To demen. Bo. IV. p. 2, 148.
To ben desired. Bo. II. p. 1, 101, II. p. 6, 136.
To desiren. Bo. IV. p. 2, 178.
To despysen. Bo. I. p. 3, 76.
To done. D 2194, etc.; (for) Tr. V. 903, I 63.
To dounen. Bo. III. p. 12, 28, V. p. 1, 22.
To drenen. G 437, Tr. I. 84; (for) Bo. II. p. 1, 100.
For to fetten. Tr. III. 609.
To holden stille. R.B. 2204.
To leren. Tr. V. 161.
To leven. Tr. III. 308.
To liken. Tr. III. 1363.²
To loken (= to be seen). Tr. II. 629.³

For to loven. R.A. 1091.
To ben noumbred. Bo. IV. p. 2, 259.
For to proven. H.F. III. 257.
To requeren. Bo. III. p. 10, 245.
To selle. C 564; (for) D 414.
To seken. G 874.
For to sen. E 1020, 1465.⁴
To seyn. Bo. III. p. 1, 29, Tr. IV. 1171.⁵
To spaken of. An. 294.
To tellen. G 656; (for) F 447.
To tronen. R.B. 4531.
For to witen (= to know). Bo. III. p. 10, 173.
To ben wondred upon. Bo. III. p. 8, 36.
To yernen. Tr. IV. 198.

¹ In I 288, Nazareuus is as muche for *to seye* as florishyng, *muche* may be predicate with *for to seye* depending on it, or the infinitive may be predicate and *muche* object of it.
² For *loken* transitive, cf. Bo. III. p. 12, 89, 91; II. p. 5, 9; C 578. In Tr. II. 629 *to loken* may be taken as a conditional infinitive, = "if one were to look at Mars."
³ E 1020. That in so poure array was *for to see.
⁴ E 1465. Myn herte and alle my lymes been as grene
As laurer thurgh the yeer is *for to seye.
⁵ These two cases are ambiguous. They may mean, "was to be seen in poor array," "as laurel is to be seen"; or "array so poor to see," "as green to look at as laurel."
⁶ Not the formula on p. 134, 5.
7. As in the construction of the infinitive after nouns and adjectives the dependent infinitive interchanges with the subject infinitive (pp. 49 ff.), so with the predicate infinitive denoting purpose, obligation, etc., a construction appears in M.E. in which the subject of the sentence comes to be used as the object of the infinitive. A thing is to do appears, often with the assistance of the expletive it, in the form it is to do a thing, meaning it is necessary to do a thing, in the same way that the Greek ἐξάρχεσθαι is used to denote necessity. The examples of this construction are not numerous in Chaucer. He appears to have retained the other form in most cases.

(a) Examples of the unambiguous form of the construction it is to do (= to be done).

B 4253. dremes been to drede.

Bo. II. p. 1, 99. the manaces of Fortune ne ben nat for to dreden.

(b) Ambiguous cases, in which the noun may be subject of the sentence with infinitive predicate, or object of the infinitive.

B 4299. Many a dreem ful soore is for to drede.

Tr. V. 1666. Hys lady nas no lengere on to tryste.

Tr. II. 470. the lesse is for to chese.

(c) The noun is replaced by a phrase not suitable for a subject, or another object of the infinitive is expressed, so that the subject of the sentence cannot be thought of as logical object of the infinitive.

Tr. II. 1289. But theron was to heven and to done.

Tr. II. 434. Might he yet lyve, of me is nought to recche.

Tr. IV. 1447. But of my deth though litel be to recche

R.B. 3482. It was [nat]² for to come ther till.

(Mes ce me torne a grant contraire.)

Bl. 690. hit is to deye sone.

Bo. V. p. 1, 29. it is nat to doute of the thinges folwinge.

H.F. III. 14. that is for to menen this.³

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¹ If nought is not adverbial here, this may be read, "nothing is to be cared about me." So with the next example. Ambiguities of this kind, of course, helped to bring about the change in construction. Cf. An. 294. joye that is to speke of oght.

² Liddell's reading (Globe Ed.). Skeat reads hard; MS. omits.

³ This construction is frequent in Palladius:

I. 655. And monthes vi hit is to fede hem so (pascendi sunt).

I. 271. The stongs on thy pond is for to drede for they beth...

II. 58. hit is to wede hem blyve, I. 1072, 1074.

Gower has the construction:

Conf. Am. Pr. 175. It is to wondre of thilke worre.

Pr. 500. It is to drede of that fortune.

V. 3531. Of hem is nought to taken hicde, Pr. 338.
(b) The infinitive is without purpose force, having become wholly substantivized, and is used as an ordinary noun in the predicate.

H 332. The firste vertu...
Is to restreyne and kep wel thy tonge.
I 84, 466, 496, 810, Tr. III. 294, etc.; ¹ (for) I 307, 810, 959, L. 1299, etc.

With acc. c. inf.:
B 2529. that is, a lord to be biloved of his citeizens.
I 469, 666, Tr. III. 1626.²

CHAPTER XV.

NOMINATIVE WITH INFINITIVE.

A few cases in Chaucer show the nominative with the infinitive. Several examples that seem to be similar are here put together.²

Aelfric has the construction:
Pref. to Pent. I. 21, 14. Nys us na to seeqenne þone sceamlican mordþ þe þær gedon was. Also S.L. XVII. 181. us is to seeqenne þa bote.

He also has the other construction:
S.L. XII. 131. Se trywleasa ne bið nanum hlaforde to hæbben. The construction is also found in Alfred:
Be. 495, 19. fram ingange þære halgan stowe is to ahabbanne (Wf. p. 212).

For a similar development of this construction in other Indo-European languages, see Delbrück, III. pp. 28, 29.

¹ For cases like this and Tr. II. 784, Oure wreche is this... to drynke, where the infinitive is in apposition with the predicate, see below, pp. 143 ff.
² The above was in type before I saw Dr. Jacob Zeitlin's The Accusative with Infinitive and some Kindred Constructions in English (New York, 1908), in which he devotes pp. 141 ff. to a discussion of the nominative with the infinitive. Space forbids adequate discussion of his conclusions, but it seems to me he gives too little weight to several considerations. First, the isolated Old English example cited (after Wülfing and Shearin) on p. 146, is of very doubtful relevancy: hie heora here on tu todældon; ōþer set ham beon heora lond to healdanne, ōþer set faran to winnanne. Ōþer is probably not nominative, but accusative, being neuter like its antecedent tu. The infinitives beon and faran need denote only ordinary purpose after todældon, having logical subjects coinciding with tu (on the principle illustrated in Chap. II. 3, 4, p. 15), but also repeated by the appositives ōþer-Ōþer on account of the distributive sense.

Again, in most of the M.E. examples cited, it cannot be decided whether the
E 103. I dar the bettre aske of yow a space
Of audience to shewen oure requeste,
And ye, my lord, to doon right as yow leste.

E 351. I seye this, be ye redy with good herte
To al my lust, and that I frely may,
As me best thynketh, do yow laughe or smerte,
And nevere ye to grucche it . . . ?

Tr. III. 131–147.
And thanne agree that I may ben he,
In trowthe alwey to don yow my servyse,
And I to han right as yow lyst comfort,

infinitive subject is nominative, or uninflected dative or accusative: and in English Wills, where the construction is frequent, when the inflected pronoun is used, the dative-accusative occurs very frequently along with the nominative. This suggests that one source of the nominative with infinitive is to be found in the isolation from its governing verb of an accusative with infinitive which has changed by loss of inflection into a nominative, as in the change from the impersonal to the personal construction.

In the third place, Dr. Zeitlin gives too little importance to another very probable source of the construction, viz., the infinitive depending directly on a noun (in any case) as an adjective modifier, as in Tr. III. 131 (quoted above); together with the related construction of the predicate infinitive. Though it is doubtful true that the construction with omitted copulative verb became so stereotyped that no need of a copula was felt, still both forms are interchangeable (cf. the example quoted from Dugdale, p. 139, below). The copula is especially likely to be omitted when it would be reduced to the absolute form being. It is significant that the syntactical categories Dr. Zeitlin names for the nominative with infinitive,—purpose, futurity, obligation, etc.,—exactly correspond with those I had recorded for the predicate infinitive. His example from Massinger (p. 156) aptly illustrates the omission of the copula:

Consider he's the prince, and you his subjects,
And not to question or contend with her
Whom he is pleased to honour.

Here the copula is clearly omitted in and you [are] his subjects, and if supplied with the infinitive gives perfectly natural sense.

The last set of examples (on pp. 154 ff.), of the infinitive of direct command in the second person, is perhaps least convincing. Grein is doubtless right in regarding the two Old English examples as subjunctives. The M.E. cases of supposed simple infinitives may also be explained as subjunctives. In O.E. Misc. 135, 592 ff., it is possible to explain pu froueren, pu coueren, and pu rigtin as examples of nunciation (cf. the rime-word migten). The prepositional infinitives may depend on other elements of the sentence in each case: in O.E. Misc. 45, 269 f., on nym goene; in Piers Plowman, B-text, v. 614 ff. to sufere and seggs may depend on as pow a childre were; in Handlyng Synne (Emerson, Mid. Eng. Reader, p. 94, 19 ff.) to selle denotes purpose after take; line 14 shows this: My body I take be here to selle. Though it may be true that the infinitive in its normal use may often be equivalent in general sense to what might be expressed by an imperative, that is a very different thing from saying that the infinitive as an imperative was a productive category in M.E.
And I to ben yowre verray humble trewe,
Secret, and yn myn paynes pacient,
And evere mo desire fresshly newe,
To serven, and ben y-lyke diligent,
And with good herte, al holly yowre talent
Receyven wel, how sore that me smerte;
Lo this, mene I, myn owene swete herte.¹

Tr. I. 466. arguments to this conclusioum,
That she on hym wolde han compassioun
And he to be here man.

Two constructions, often combined and assisting each other, are to
be considered here: the predicate infinitive denoting purpose or
obligation, and the infinitive with verbs expressing some kind of
agreement or imposed obligation. It will be noted that the idiom
occurs when there is some kind of agreement in question. Attention
was called above (p. 133, 1) to the fact that the infinitive of purpose
depending directly on a noun is only one form of a construction appear-
ing in another form with a copulative verb. Compare the example above,
Tr. III. 131, I may ben he . . . to don, where it means simply the man
to do, etc. The step is very slight to he is the man to do, and then to
the elliptical construction he (is) to do, I (am) to do. We feel the
predicate construction still in the modern idiom as found in contracts,
agreements, etc., especially in plans and specifications; as, “the
building to stand ten yards from the street, and to be built of red
brick,” etc. That this is really the predicate construction in N.E., is
shown, for example, by the following: “they should have one Bed-
chamber in the church, whereunto they were to repair in Winter
time . . . ; in which lodging to be two Beds, wherein they were to
sleep. . . .”²

The fact that this infinitive is found in connection with agreements
or contracts, etc., is illustrated by English Wills, where this construc-
tion occurs in abundance; e.g. 48, 17. I ȝeve and bequeth to Marjorie
my wyfe, sche to dispose for her children; so 22, 12; 2, 13; 88, 10;
88, 32; 105, 17, etc.

In connection with the predicate construction denoting obligation,
there is also to be considered the possible ellipsis of some verb like

¹ In verse 136, Cl., Cp. and H. 2280 omit I, but Johns, H. 1239, and Cm.
have it.
² Dugdale, Antiquities of Warwickshire, pp. 692-93 (quoted from Mod.
Philology, Apr. 1906, p. 8).
agree, decree, will, etc. In the wills mentioned the infinitive is so found, sometimes with accusative, sometimes with nominative subject, where it may be in loose dependence on the verb will, bequeath, etc.; as 88, 10. y will the best prest . . . sey for me the saide trentall . . . and the prest to have x li. Likewise in the passage from Tr. III. 131 ff., the infinitives may be thought of as depending in a loose way on agreen (v. 131). On the other hand, those in vv. 141–146 may depend on mene in v. 147. In E 351 ff., likewise, the verb swere in 357 is probably of influence on the construction, and in Tr. I. 466 the word conclusion.

In D 1219 ff., Chese now . . . one of thysse thynge twyey:
   To han me foul and old til that I deye,
   And be to yow a trewe humble wyf,
   And nevere yow displesse,
the infinitives may simply depend on chese, the change of logical subject for the last two being easily implied from the clause, til that I deye. For similar change of subject, cf. D 911 f.

In G 313 ff., Men sholde hym brennen in a fyr so reed
   If he were founde, or that men myghte hym spye,
   And we also, to bere hym compaignye,
Skeat in his note explains we as anticipatory of we in v. 318. At any rate, it seems clear that we does not go with to bere, the latter simply depending on y-brend . . . shul we be.¹

A 1132 ff. illustrates the construction in question, with a noun + infinitive in loose construction with the governing verb sweren:

   Ysworn ful depe . . .
   That nevere, for to dyen in the peyne,
   Til that deeth departe shal us tweyne,
   Neither of us in love to hyndre oother.²

¹ It is possible that to bere is here an infinitive of cause: “for having borne him company.” I am indebted to a lecture note of Professor Neilson for this suggestion. It is perhaps corroborated by I 967. many a wrecche for to bere compaignye shal go to the devel of helle.

² For a similar anacoluthon—an infinitive following a conjunction that—cf. C 517:

   Allas, the shorte thorte, the tendre mouth,
   Maketh that Est and West and North and South,
   In erthe, in eir, in water, man to swynke
   To gete a gloutoun deyntee mete and drynke.

Cf. H. F. III. 85. And maketh alle my wyt to swynke. The that + infinitive clause in A 1132 at least suggests the same construction in C 517 and throws doubt on the existence of the word to-swinken in Chaucer.
THE INFINITIVE IN QUESTIONS.

The infinitive is used in what appears like a kind of condensed indirect question.

Old English.

In O.E. the construction of certain interrogatives and indefinites with the prepositional infinitive probably had some influence in the development of constructions like "he knew not what to do."

(1) Compare the following so-called abbreviated interrogative clauses:

Sax. Chron. 891, p. 160. forpon þe hi woldon for Godes lufan on elpiodignesse beon, hi ne rohton hwær (Sohr. p. 29).

Thorpe, Hom. I. 184, 20. his discipuli woldon eac þæt folc fedan, ac hi næfdon mid hwam (Sohr. p. 30).

Such interrogative expressions would easily come to be felt as independent substantives; cf. M.E. and N.E. wherewith, the wherewith. The infinitive could then easily be attached as to any noun in the various relations shown on pp. 25 ff.

(2) Certain indefinite pronouns in O.E. are also to be considered, to which the infinitive was attached.

Or. 142, 24. þonne seo leo bringþ his hungregum hwelpum hwæt to etanne (Wf. p. 216).

Bo. 18, 23. wast þu aht opres bi þe selfum to secganne butan þæt þu nu sedest ? (Wf. p. 210).

So. 188, 24. nat ic þe nanwiht to bebeodanne þes þe þe mare þearf sie (Wf. p. 210).

The transition from the indefinite in he bringþ hwæt to etanne, he hæfþ hwæt to etanne, to the interrogative he wat, he nat, hwæt to etanne, would be very easy. In fact, there is no way of proving, in Modern English, that in "he knew what to do," what is not indefinite rather than interrogative at bottom, as in the idiom "I'll tell you what."
Old French.

The construction is common in O.F. For a discussion of its origin and use, cf. Sörgel, pp. 304 ff.

Tr. 1743. Ne te sai plus que enseignier (S. p. 306).
Alex. 36. Certes, dist il, ne sai cui entercier (S. p. 306).

Chaucer.

What to don(e).

B 2191, Tr. I. 356, III. 1253, R.B. 3047; (for) Tr. I. 886.

What to seye.

B 384, Tr. IV. 356, L. 2262, R.B. 1757, 3853.

To whom me pleyne.

C.L. 50, A 237; to pleyne, C.M. 214.

Deservedest wherfore to dyen, C 216.

How to done, etc.

Tr. IV. 934. So shappeth how distourbe this goynge; (to) Tr. I. 301, II. 836, IV. 158, R.C. 6928; (for) Tr. IV. 1256, V. 782.

In what manere wyse to shende, Tr. IV. 78.
Where to fynde, to pleyne, R.B. 4617, R.C. 6405.¹

In addition to the two constructions in O.E. mentioned above as possible origins of this construction in Chaucer, another seems to have assisted; viz., the actual abbreviation of the predicate construction what is to done, etc. The following examples seem to show this:

Tr. II. 696. And what to done best were, and what eschue.

Bl. 688. For al my wil, my lust hoolly
Is turned; but yet, what to done?
By our lord, hit is to deye sone.

Cf. Pall. III. 1193. Go reste—or make is beste, or what to done.

¹ In Tr. I. 886, he thoughte

What for to spoken and what to holden inne,
And what to arten hire to love he soughte,
the third what denotes either the subject or the means of to arten, a relation which, to a modern ear at least, suggests that what = somewhat rather than the interrogative.

Cf. Tr. II. 1021. we shal speke of the som what, . . .

. . . . . . . to do thyne eeres glowe.
CHAPTER XVII.

THE INFINITIVE IN APPosition.

As in the case of the infinitive with nouns and adjectives, and in that of the infinitive as predicate, the same relations may be expressed by the infinitive in apposition with some element of the sentence.

1. The infinitive is found in apposition with many nouns similar to those after which it is found as predicate and as a dependent modifier (pp. 35 ff., 134, 3).

Entente.¹ D 1452. Office. Bo. III. p. 4, 94.

2. The infinitive partakes of a purpose force, by being placed in apposition with the noun in a purpose phrase.

E 1296. Ne take no wyf . . . for housbondrye,
As for to spare in houshold thy dispence.

Cause why, for cause, Tr. III. 75; (for) H.F. III. 795.
To conclusioun. Ast. I. 19, 11.
For , Tr. I. 480.
For the fyn. Tr. III. 513 (Cp.).
For the recompensacioun. Bo. IV. p. 4, 300.
For thy ende. L. 2397.

3. Approaching more nearly the force of an ordinary noun, the infinitive may be placed in apposition with various elements of the sentence. In such cases it may partake of the construction of the element it stands for. Except in form, therefore, the appositive infinitive of this kind does not really belong to a separate category, but represents various constructions of the infinitive.

(a) Apposition with the subject.

Tr. I. 687. *bothe two ben vices,*

*Mystrusten* alle, or elles alle leve.

¹ With words like entente, lust, etc., the noun is not strictly identical with the infinitive action. But that this distinction was lost sight of, is shown by the predicate construction, as in Tr. II. 1293.
The Infinitive in Apposition.

Bl. 587; (to) C 690, Tr. I. 608, III. 637, IV. 959, Bo. I. p. 3, 73, III. m. 9, 53, R.B. 2188, F 1337, I 1051, Tr. I. 697, II. 322, Bo. II. m. 8, 13 (with infinitive subject also), Bo. IV. p. 3, 59, V. p. 3, 213, L. 1181;¹ (for) B 1480, 1618, 2672, 2673, I 459, Tr. II. 1174, L. 2587.

(b) With a predicate verb.
   Tr. II. 1024. thow nylt it digneliche endite,
   As make it with thise argumentes tough.
   Tr. V. 248, 251; (to) C 16, Adam, 5.²

(c) With an adjective or pronominal predicate.
   (for) I 498, 799, 908, 984.

(d) With a phrasal predicate.
   (to) I 103; (for) I 567, 796.

(e) With the object of a preposition.
   (to) E 2439, G 744, Tr. IV. 1009; (for) Tr. III. 300.
   Here may be placed E 586:
   Upon peyne his heed of for to swappe.
   (to) H.F. III. 480, R.C. 6617.

(f) With the object.
   Bo. II. m. 2, 17;³ (to) B 1689, G 542, H 152, I 596, 1019, Tr. IV. 68, 69,⁴ C.L. 12, Lb. 82, Bo. IV. p. 2, 80; (for) B 516, I 105, Tr. IV. 1555, H.F. III. 14.

When the pronoun it is object of the verb with an infinitive in apposition, the it is often colourless, so that the infinitive essentially depends on the verb itself.

An. 162. Alas! what herte mighte endure hit
   ... hir sorow for to telle.
R.C. 6600. useth it ... 
Go haunten (so MS.; Th. = to)
   (to) E 1560, Tr. II. 1551, IV. 1275, V. 1294, An. 259.

¹ In cases like this, In him lith alle, to doe me lyve or deyen, though the phrase is doubtless stereotyped, apparently alle is subject, with the infinitive in apposition. Cf. Lb. 449. Al' lyeth in yow—dooth . . ., and A 1795. hir deth lith in my mjght also.
² When the infinitive is in apposition with the predicate it may denote different syntactical relations. In Adam, 5 it may denote means, in C 16 it is epexegetical.
³ Gapyn and desiren may here be indicative with omitted subject.
⁴ Cf. Infinitive of comparison, p. 65, above.
4. The infinitive is joined in a kind of loose apposition to the rest of the sentence, having an epexegetical function.

H 73. he spake wole of smale thynges,  
As for to pynchen at thy rekenynges.

R.A. 179. And litel coude of norture,  
To worshippe any creature.  
(Et fame qui petit seust  
D'honorer ceus qu'ele deust.)

I 421. clothynge . . . ne suffisaunt to beete hire necessitee, to kepe  
hem fro the distemperance of the firmament.

Bl. 406. As thogh the erthe envye wolde  
To be gayer than the heven,  
To have mo floures swiche seven.

A 264. Somwhat he lipsed for his wantownesse,  
To make his Englissh sweete.

C 421. Thus spitte I out my venym under hewe  
Of hoolynesse, to semen hooly and trewe.

L. 2692. Myn handes ben nat shapen for a knyfe,  
As for to reve no man fro his lyfe.

R.B. 1996. I wolde that thou obaye  
Fully for thy avantage,  
Anoon to do me heere homage.

H.F. III. 1024. Yaf hem eke duracioun,  
Somme to wexe and wane sone.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE INFINITIVE AFTER BUT AND ABOUTE.

The infinitive is used after but in several ways.

1. As a kind of apposition, it is used after but where it may be regarded as in construction with some other element of the sentence.

(a) In construction with an auxiliary verb.

C.L. 41. I can but love hir best.

Tr. IV. 311. What shal ye don, but for my discomfort  
Stonden for nought, and wepen out.¹

¹ So Cp. H. Cl. = stondeth. See 2, 3, pp. 146 ff.

SYNTAX.
But and Aboute.

Tr. I. 512. What wole every lover seyn . . . but . . .
  Laughen yn skoru and seyn, Tr. II. 782.

(b) Denoting purpose.
  Lb. 180.  
  tabide  
  For nothing ellis . . .
  But for to loke.

Tr. IV. 1290.  
  these wordes, . . .
  Nys but to sheve yow my moioun.

(c) Complement of verb or phrase.
  R.B. 4937. And of nought elles taketh hede
  But oonly folkes forto lede.
  B 2321. deme, ne thynke, but oonly to fulfille the ende of his
coveitise, R.C. 7523.

(d) Complement of noun.
  C 403. myn entente is nat but for to wynne.

(e) Subject.
  B 337. What sholde us tyden . . .
  But thraldom . . .
  And . . . in helle to be drawe.

(f) Predicate.
  Bo. V. p. 3, 97. for to wenen that, . . . what oother thing is it
  but for to wene that . . .

(g) Object.
  C.L. 42. Love hath taught no more of his art
  But serve alwey and stinte for no wo.

2. It is difficult in many cases—except on artificial grammatical
grounds—to say whether but is felt as prepositional or as adverbial.
Compare the following examples in order:

  B 2648. noon oother remedie but for to have youre recours unto the
  sovereyn juge.  So. Tr. V. 328, 1210.
  Ast. II. 31, 11. Thanne is ther no more but waite.
  R.C. 6284. is ther nought but yelde.
  R.B. 4583. is ther not but serve hym.
  La. 487. ne don nat but asayen.
  Tr. V. 1615. ne don but holden me in honde.

The confusion of prepositional and adverbial (conjunctive) force
is shown also by the use of the finite verb.

  B 2121. Thou doost noght elles but despendest tyme.
A 2664.  
*what dooth* this queene of love,

But wepeth so.

H.F. III. 546.  *What did* this Eolus, *but he*

Toke out hys blake trumpe.

Occasionally the form is ambiguous:

E 2205.  *Ye han noon oother contenance, I levee,*

*But speke* to us of untrust and repreeve.

Tr. IV. 279.  *that may of no thinge serve,*

*But evere dye* and nevere fully sterve.

The preposition *aboute* may be regarded as governing an infinitive in the same way that it governs a noun, and it may denote purpose, complement, or a future idea.

D 166. I was *aboute to wedde* a wyf.

I 643, Tr. II. 1471, H.F. II. 89 (ther-about), H.F. III. 240; (for) Tr. II. 1468.

For *go aboute* + infinitive, cf. p. 8, above.

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APPENDIX I.

ACCUSATIVE WITH INFINITIVE.

Many examples in Chaucer resemble the Accusative with Infinitive construction. Whether the accusative in question (if it was accusative) was more distinctly felt as connected with the infinitive than with the governing word or phrase, it is probably impossible now to say. But any complete discussion of the matter (which I do not attempt)¹ would need to include a

¹ For a full discussion of the subject, see Dr. Zeitlin's monograph (<a>bibliography</a>). The examples of the accusative with infinitive after transitive verbs are treated under the Object Infinitive, Chap. XI.
consideration of the B type of the impersonal construction alongside of the A and C types. In the process of change from the impersonal construction to the personal, the dative or accusative became nominative. If the dative was an inflected pronoun, the change of case was accompanied by change of form. But in the case of nouns, after their loss of inflection, ambiguity of form led to the B type; as, B 2254. al that hir housbonde liked for to seye. The use of it, however, was very common with such impersonal constructions, and here the introduction of it removes the ambiguity by making certain that the infinitive, not the noun, is subject of liked. It liked hir housbonde to seye remains A type, and housbonde can be considered object (direct or indirect) of liked. But in the case of impersonal adjective and noun expressions, when it is employed, as in B 1222, As it is possible any freend to be, while freend was still felt as a dative, it could go with possible, but when it ceased to be distinguished in form from an accusative, since an accusative could not go with possible as could a dative, it must either be supplied with a preposition, to, for, etc., or must become detached from possible.

Whether in point of fact other influences, as that of the Latin construction, entered into the Accusative with Infinitive construction in M.E., I have not material to prove; but the present explanation is sufficient to account for the following cases. 1

1 It is to be noted that in modern English there is at least one construction which developed in the way suggested, both the earlier and later forms existing side by side. Compare “What is better for a man than to travel?” with “What is more usual than for men to travel?” If I understand Dr. Zeitlin, he explains the use of the so-called inorganic for, as in the second illustration, as an original nominative with the infinitive after certain neuter verbs in connection with adjective and noun predicates. This construction is explained as having taken on the form of a construction with organic for + a dative containing the logical subject of the infinitive after neuter and impersonal verbs, without having been
For the sake of comparison, I record some cases in which the C type is shown.

affected by the syntax of the imitated construction (p. 138). Such a process appears to me very doubtful. It assumes unnecessarily and without proof the sudden origin of the full-fledged nominative with infinitive. But, though this was "a distinct acquisition for the language" (p. 119), it was in a form which "was not long tolerated" (p. 137).

I can only suggest here, that both the constructions, No wonder is a leved man to ruste, and hit is no maystrie for a lord To dampne a man, seem to me adequately accounted for as outgrowths of the construction of an adjective or noun followed by a dative containing the logical subject of the infinitive, as in god is us her to beonne. Dr. Zeitlin's statement (p. 116) maintaining "the undoubted priority of the dative construction" (rather than the accusative, in us) appears to remove the main difficulty from Stoffel's argument referred to: there is no need to assume any accusative. Just as the logical subject of the infinitive was implied in the dative, so it was later implied in the prepositional phrase substituted for the dative. That the later uninflected dative belongs essentially to the same kind of construction as that containing a prepositional phrase, seems clear from the fact that they are interchangeable. Zeitlin's example from Chaucer (B 2675) shows this: It is a greet worshipse a man to kepen hym fro noyse and styf. Here MS. E (Skeat records no variants) reads to a man (= homini, and a homme: note that in both cases the datives go with the nouns honor and honneur, and a new subject is expressed for the clause represented in Chaucer by to kepen). This sentence is paralleled by it is a woodnesse a man to styve. Here it is madness, not simply in general, but for the man, in the same way as when to is expressed.

Dr. Zeitlin's examples on p. 133 show the same thing. He admits this interchange for one form of the construction,—that in which the dative or prepositional phrase depends directly on the noun or adjective. I maintain that there is a gradual transition from constructions in which for is thus organic, to those in which either an uninflected dative or a prepositional phrase do not so depend. An example from Chaucer (L. 525) is instructive:

a ful gret negligence
Was hit to thee, to write unstedfastnesse
Of women.

Here Lb. 537 reads:

a ful gret negligence
Was hit to thee, that ilke tyne thou made
"Hyd, Absolon, thy tresses."

Here it is clear that to thee does not in the usual sense depend on negligence: it was a negligence to Alcestes in one text, and to women in general in the other. But there is combined with this general sense a meaning which connects the logical subject of to write with the noun negligence: it was a negligence on your part. That to thee is not wholly inorganic and imitated from the organic construction with infinitive, is also shown by the fact that there is no infinitive in the B-text.

There is a similar state of things in present-day English. It is a good thing for Americans to travel, may contain either or both of the ideas that it is good for the Americans or for some one else. Whenever there is a large area of ambiguity between two different constructions similar in form, that is the natural element for one of the constructions to have developed from the other, no matter how distinct the extreme cases may be. In other words, the so-called inorganic for appears to me once to have been, and often still to be, in varying degree, organic for; and it seems unnecessary to explain it as added to the construction of the nominative with infinitive, in order to bring the latter into formal similarity with that of organic for, with which it admittedly never had any connection.
1. With verb.
Tr. II. 1368. It is oon of the thynges furthereth most
   *A man to have a leyser.*

Here *man* might originally have been object of *furthereth*.

B 2828. *bette r it is* and moore it availleth a *man to have* a good
   name than *for to have* grete richesses.

Bo. IV. p. 3, 53. thilke *folk . . . it acordeth* and is *convenable to*
   *ben golde s.*

Tr. I. 12. *wel sit it, the sothe for to scyne,*
   *A woful wight to han a drery fere.*

Tr. I. 142. *falleth* nought to purpo s *me to telle.*
R.C. 6950. Or that *hym list*, or that *hym deyned*
   *A man thurgh hym avan ced be.*

Here *be* can be subjunctive.

2. With adjective.

(a) *C* type.
   
   D 37. *it were leveful unto me*
   *To be refresshed.*

Tr. IV. 904, 905, Tr. V. 1070, L. 603, H.F. I 252. over *longe for*
   *you to dwelle*, Bo. I. p. 3, 18, I. p. 4, 181, II. p. 2, 41, IV. p. 4,
   10, IV. p. 4, 295, IV. p. 6, 390, Ast. Pr. 27, R.B. 4675.

(b) *A* type or acc. *c. inf.*
   
   A 1523. It is *ful fair a man to bere* hym evene.
   A 2288. But it is *good a man been* at his large.
   B 1030. as *lyke unto Custance*
   *As possible is a creature to be, I 708.*

Tr. III. 148.
   *an hard requeste*
   *And resonable a lady for to werne.*

Lb. 317. *Yt were better worthy trevely*
   A *worme to neghen ner.*

R.B. 3787. Now is it *right me to procede.*

(c) *Acc. c. inf.*
   
   A 4318. Lo ! *swich it is a millere to be fals.*
   B 2294. it is *nat good to been a man alloone.*
   B 2775. no thyng . . . is so muchel *agayns nature as a man to*
   *encressen . . .*
B 2973. ther nys no thyng so good . . . as a thyng to been unbounde.¹

3. With noun.

(a) C type.
B 2675. It is a greet worshipe to a man to kepen hym.
B 2712. it was greet peril to myne enimys to do me a vileynye.
B 2794. C 739, Tr. I. 368, V. 408.
Lb. 400. yt is no maistrye for a lorde
To dompne a man.
La. 525, Bo. V. p. 4, 131.

(b) A type acc. c. inf.²
B 2671. it is a woodnesse a man to stryve.
I 456, 470, 935.
I 849. if it be a foul thyng a man to waste his catel.
Tr. II. 164. I holde it gret deynyte
A Kynges sone yn armes wel to do.
Tr. III. 630. Now were a tyme a lady to go henne.
L. 1975. A kynges sone to be in swiche prisoun
And be devoured, thoughte hem grete pitee.
Bo. III. p. 6, 20. yif it seme a fair thing a man to han encresed
and spred his name.

(c) Acc. c. inf.
A 502. No wonder is a lewed man to ruste.

4. In apposition or in the predicate.
B 2530. that is, a lord to be biloved of his citezeins.
I 469, I 666, Tr. I. 891, Tr. III. 1626, Lb. 382.³

¹ F 279 is ambiguous: That is nat able a dul man to devyse. Here able may be equivalent to the modern possible, and the example be an A type acc. c. inf.; or able may have its usual sense, and man be the subject of the sentence with the infinitive dependent on able.

² In most of the cases under 3 (b) it is likely that the personal noun is really the subject of the infinitive. The probability of a dative relation to the predicate noun seems less than that to a predicate adjective, as in 2 (b); but still it is possible. In the example under 3 (c), not the form, but the sense, precludes the dative relation: the wonder is not to be referred to lewed man, but to the observer.

³ Other cases of constructions like the acc. c. inf. are recorded to illustrate various other categories. References to the present category are made in connection with most of these.
APPENDIX II.

ORATIO OBLIQUA.

1. The following examples show the infinitive in a construction that corresponds to oratio obliqua, after verbs denoting expression of thought.

(a) With accusative subject of infinitive (or object of governing verb).

A 925. Thanked be Fortune . . .
    That noon estat assureth to be wel.

Bo. III. p. 12, 77. he which that we han acorded to be good (quem bonum esse consensimus).

Bo. I. m. 1, 34. whereto avuunte de ye me to ben weleful (Quid me felicem totiens jactastis).

Bo. III. p. 12, 115. him that we han graunted to ben almighty (cum quem . . . potentissimum esse concessimus).

(b) With passive verb.

H.F. I. 355. That I ne shal be seyd, alias,
    Y-shamed be through Eneas.

Bo. II. p. 7, 170. (cujus ea [gloria] esse dicitur.)

Bo. V. p. 6, 49. (id aeternum esse jure perhibetur.)

Bo. I. p. 4, 192. (libertatem arguor sperasse romanam.)

2. A construction resembling oratio obliqua is found with verbs of thinking, judging, and the like. In Chapter X, pp. 88 ff., under Complementary Infinitive, were recorded verbs like thenken, supposen, wenen, etc., with the infinitive having the same logical subject. In those cases the infinitive may represent action (1) subsequent to, (2) coincident with, or (3) previous to, that of the governing verb; e.g. (1) B 2378. he deemeth to have victorie; (2) E 2408. a man wene out to seen a thyng, And it is al another than it semeth; (3) L. 1048. Which that he wende han loren in the see. When we have a
similar construction with subject of verb and infinitive different, the syntax approaches that of oratio obliqua.

(1) The infinitive action is coincident in time with the governing verb.\(^1\)

Bo. V. p. 2, 18. thing that any wight \textit{demeth to ben desired}.

D 1959. \textit{Holde ye thanne me}, or elles oure \textit{covent}, To praye for yow \textit{been} insufficient\(^1\).

D 946. \textit{For to been holden} stable and eke secree,
And in o purpos stedefastly \textit{to dwelle},
And nat \textit{biwreye} thyng that men us telle.

Bo. IV. p. 4, 14. (licere creditur.)

B 3938. Which that he \textit{knew} in heigh science \textit{habounde}.

Bo. V. p. 6, 206. Thilke thing thanne that any wight hath \textit{y-knove to be}, it ne may ben non other weyes thanne he \textit{knoweth it to be}.\(^2\)


(2) The infinitive action is subsequent to that of the governing verb.

Bo. V. p. 6, 176. god \textit{knoweth} anything \textit{to be} (extaturum quid esse cognoscit).

Bo. V. p. 6, 182. (quod eventurum deus videt.)

Tr. IV. 961. for-sight of dyvyn purveyaunce

\textit{Hath seyn} alwey me \textit{to forgon} Criseyde.

Tr. IV. 977, Bo. V. p. 3, 13, V. p. 4, 91 (futura esse praenoscit), V. p. 3, 160, V. p. 5, 94.

\section*{APPENDIX III.}

\textit{DON AUXILIARY.}

I \textbf{find} the following cases of \textit{don} as auxiliary with the infinitive in Chaucer, outside of the B-section of the Romaunt of the Rose:

\(^1\) I find no cases in Chaucer where verb and infinitive subjects are different, and the time of the infinitive is previous to the governing verb, though they are not inconceivable.

\(^2\) The point of the passage lies in the infinitive's being contemporaneous with the verb.
B 3622. Fader, why do ye wepe?
B 3624. Is ther no morsel breed that ye do kepe?
D 863. Do, dame, telle forth your tale.

This is not quite certain, as both verbs may be imperative. Cf. MS. C, doth . . . tellyth.

Bl. 753. "Yis, sir." "Swere thy trouthe ther-to."
"Gladly." "Do than holde her-to."
"I shal right blythly, so god me save,
Hoolly, with al the witte I have,
Here yow, as wel as I can."

Here also we may have the imperative in both cases. There is still another possibility. Mätzner (Wb. s.v. holde) cites holde as a noun in the sense of ergebenheit, treue, from Alisaunder, 2911. Alle heo duden him feute, And swore heom holde and lewte. The combination of sweren and don with the words trouthe, feute, holde, and lewte is suggestive that in Chaucer we have the same idiom as in Alisaunder. Moreover, I think this makes better sense than Skeat's interpretation (Glossary, s.v. holde, vb.), "keep to it then." In my interpretation the "knight" does not say, "Swear troth to it . . . Now, keep what you have sworn!" He says rather, "Swear troth to it."—"Gladly."
—"Add still another oath to this one!" Observe, too, that this is exactly what the listener does. This meaning of holde is not separately recognised in N.E.D., but cf. s.v. hold, noun, quotation from 1526, "hold or surety."

H.F. II. 528, tempest doth the shippes swalowe, seems at first to be a clear case. There is still here the possibility that we have a weakened causative: "tempest causes to swallow the shippes." So with B 3624 above.

Tr. IV. 880, But how this cas doth Troylus molesté (: unreste), at first sight looks like an auxiliary don. Skeat cites molestie as verb here. Bo. III. p. 9, 105 has molestie (noun) in Caxton, whom Skeat here follows. But MSS. Camb. I. i. 3. 21 and Addit. 10340 both have molesté. This is good evidence for a noun molesté as by-form of molestie. Cf. K. Alisaunder, 5811. And of the wederes stronge, and tempestes, That hem duden grete molestes (N.E.D.).

The auxiliary don is frequent in the B-section of the Rose.
R.B. 1912. sich sorwe dide I fele.
R.B. 2797. ony lover doth compleyne (plaint et sospire).

1 Professor Liddell reminds me of the O.F. faire molesté (v. Godefroy).
R.B. 3107. five woundes dide he make.
(II m’a on cuer cinq plaies faites.)
R.B. 4530. which now doth me soore grieve.
R.B. 4599. So sore he doth me grieve.1
(qui si fort me grieve.)
R.B. 1803, 2287, 2446, 2697, 4361, 4372, 4917, 4932, 5152, 5156,
5315, 5329.2,3

Dietze (Das umschreibende Do in der Neuenglischen Prosa) does not attempt to explain the origin of the auxiliary use of do, but is inclined to agree with Mätzner in suggesting its origin in “stellvertretendes” don,—by the pleonastic repetition, in the infinitive, of an action already repeated by the use of don, as in “He went, and so did I (go).” He also takes the ground that it could not have arisen from the causative use of don.

The question of origin is an open one and a large one. Among other things that need investigation concerning it, the period of the spread of the auxiliary don must be determined for the different dialects. The use of it in the (supposedly Northern) B-section of the Rose and almost nowhere in Chaucer’s certain works is suggestive here. It is not likely that the cause of the spread of this construction is to be sought in any single source. It may be that the “stellvertretendes” don has something to do with it. I have not seen it noticed that in the single case found in Alfred’s works, Boet. VI. 17, Swa do$ nu $a peostro pinre gedrefednesse vi$tandun minum leothum larum, we really have a case of the kind. Three comparisons taken from nature just precede. Then follows swa do$e, etc. But this is a rare and isolated case to base a conclusion on. If this kind of construction were really the source of the auxiliary use, we should expect to find in M.E. many cases of the “stellvertretendes” don actually followed by an infinitive. But, though the “stellvertretendes” don is very frequent without the infinitive, with the infinitive it is very rare. Wandschneider (pp. 12 f.) notes three cases from Langland, which, like

1 R.B. 4599, in the light of the French original (qui si fort me grieve) seems to show that also in 4530 we are to take grieve as transitive. In itself, however, there is nothing to prevent us from interpreting 4530 as, “I causes me sorely to grieve.”
2 Lounsbury, Chaucer Studies, Vol. II., pp. 72 ff. (1892), called attention to the frequency of this construction in the Rose. Kalmza, Chaucer und der Rosenroman, pp. 40 ff. (1893), showed that the construction is confined to the B-section.
3 Tr. II. 1231 (cited below, p. 161) can be otherwise explained than as an auxiliary use of don.
the case from Alfred, are in comparisons. The nearness of the two dialects will not be forgotten. But proof is lacking that this construction actually passed into the auxiliary use.

On the other hand, a great number of cases are found in Chaucer and other M.E. authors of the causative *don* in cases where some act is referred to that may appropriately be performed either by deputy or in person. In “He did build a house,” when *did* is causative it means “he caused (one) to build a house.” But since in statements of the kind, the thing done was often more important than the precise manner of doing it, the same formula applied in either case; just as now, “Jones is building a house,” has to be supplied with further context or knowledge of circumstances before we know whether Jones is a land-owner or a carpenter. That the causative *formula* is often used where the act is in person and not by deputy, is shown in M.E. by the simple verb’s occurring in the same context alongside the causative form. And what is further evidence, the causative *leten* is also used in the same weakened sense. Compare the following cases:

**Pall. III. 128.** *do sette* hem wide.

Cf. v. 132. *So shal thow . . . sette.*

**Pall. II. 408.** an unce of foyles *take* (imper.),

A pound of oyle . . . ,

In half a sester aged wyn *do shake.*

**Pall. II. 18.** To wite *yf al be wel, thy self aloon*

Transversal thorgh the forghes everichoon

*Let russhe a rodde*

(= . . . cognoscis, si transversam per sulcos perticam *mittas*).

The M.E. Palladius is full of cases with both *don* and *leten* in the causative formula where the context makes clear that the act is not by deputy, but by the subject of *don* and *leten*. This appears significant if the Palladius is in the East Midland dialect, for the later date than Chaucer shows exactly what we should expect Chaucer’s construction to develop into.

But examination of Chaucer’s use of causative *don* and *leten* likewise reveals a number of examples in which, though the causative formula is used, it is unlikely that the causative force is present. In other cases the causative sense may be present, but is paralleled by the simple verb, showing that the distinction was often lost.

*Leten.*

G 1254. *Lat take* another ounce.
Here it is clear that \textit{lat take} = \textit{take}: the priest is addressed, and
does it with his own hands.

\textit{H 175. Lat take} a cat, and fostre hym.
\textit{Cf. v. 163. Taak} any bryd.
\textit{D 2255. Lat brynge} a cartwheel.
\textit{Cf. v. 2258. And bryng} me thanne twelf freres.
\textit{A 2975. Theseus anon}
\textit{Leet senden} after gentil Palamon.
\textit{Cf. v. 2980. Tho sente} Theseus for Emelye.

\textit{Don.}

\textit{E 863. Ye dide me streepe} out of my poure weede,
And richely me cladden.
\textit{A 1903. He . . . hath . . .}
\textit{Doon make} an auter and an oratorie.
\textit{Cf. v. 1907. he maked hath} right swich another.
\textit{B 1823. he dide hem drawe,}
And after that \textit{he heng} hem by the lawe.
\textit{R.C. 7059. he couthe thurgh} his sleght
\textit{Do maken} up a tour of hight.
\textit{Cf. v. 7067. And thanne that he wolde updresse} Engyns.

In those cases like \textit{C 123, Lat do hym calle}, or \textit{D 2042}, And thus
he \textit{dide doon sleen} hem, while the construction may originally have
involved the idea of a second deputation of the act, it is not to be
supposed that, in every case of this very frequent idiom in Chaucer
and M.E. generally, the distinction is carefully kept. This weakening
would likewise assist the auxiliary use of \textit{don}.

Another fact makes a direct line of connection between the causative
use of \textit{don} and its auxiliary use. Many verbs are used both trans-
sitively and intransitively. When an infinitive of one of these is
used with the causative \textit{don}, as in

\textit{R.C. 7187, That doth the synfull folk} \textit{converte},
there is a chance that \textit{don} should come to lose its causative force: if \textit{converte} is intransitive, \textit{doth} is causative; if \textit{converte} is transitive,
\textit{doth converte} = \textit{converteth}. So
\textit{C.L. 14. doth me spille}.

A third construction could not have failed to influence the spread
of the auxiliary use of \textit{don},—the frequent use of \textit{nouns} after \textit{don} in
the sense of \textit{cause, put}. Many such nouns were identical with verbs;
others differed only in the final e. The latter would join in influencing the construction as soon as e was dropped in common speech. A few examples will illustrate:

Tr. V. 958. doth it care.
Tr. V. 350. doth hem cure.
B 3794. For many a mannès guttes dide he peyne.
R.B. 4391. doth thee payne (fait anui et laidure).¹

Probably no single influence brought about the modern construction. But the obscuring of the causative force of don, as in the examples shown above, rendered a great many cases ambiguous, as also did the use of verbs used both transitively and intransitively, and the use after don of many nouns similar in form to verbs; and ambiguous constructions are the natural element for constructions that are in transition.

The fact that leten did not become a sign for a periphrastic form as don did, does not prove that the weakening causative use was not a factor in the change. It might have done so; it simply did not in just the same way as don, though it did in other ways, as in “let us go” and “let see.”

APPENDIX IV.

THE 'SPLIT' INFINITIVE.

The cases are rare in Chaucer.

C.L. 127. Wel lever is me lyken yow and deye.
Than for to any thing or thinke or seye.

Several cases occur in passive infinitives in which the participle is placed between the infinitive sign and the infinitive, but these are perhaps not strictly “split” infinitives; e.g. R.B. 1714, 5120, R.C. 6146. Cf. Lb. 476.

¹ Smerte with don is infinitive in Chaucer. The noun is smert in Troilus (Kittredge, § 67), and it may be in the three cases cited by Skeat in the Tales, A 3813, B 3796, G 712.
Cf. C.L. 21, the more she doth me smerte, with R.B. 1907, made me smerte.
E 353. do yow laughe or smerte.
Tr. IV. 1448. ye me cause so to smerte.
Cf. Bl. 754 and Tr. IV. 880, discussed on p. 154.
APPENDIX V.

COORDINATION OF INFINITIVES.

WHEN two or more infinitives are used in dependence on a single governing word, Chaucer shows a variety of usage as to the addition, retention, or dropping of the preposition. My count is not exhaustive, but is from such a large number of cases that it will show Chaucer's practice well enough.¹ In the following tables the dash (—) indicates the simple infinitive. The numbers indicate the number of cases counted in each instance. The conjunctions and, or, etc., are the ones that connect the infinitives in the examples examined.

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To and —. 146
To or —. 34
For to and —. 62
For to or —. 7
To and to. 61
To or to. 13
To and for to. 26
To or for to. 4
For to and for to. 11
For to or for to. 4
For to and to. 10
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¹ For comparison, I include examples from the B-section of the Rose.
Miscellaneous combinations with *and*.

A 139. *to and to and to*.

A 2530. *for to and — and eek to*.

G 19. *to and for to and — and to*.

R.B. 5595. *for to and not to; for to and —*.

R.B. 4851. *to; and to and —*.

R.B. 4816. *for to and —; and to*.

R.B. 3845. *to and [to, not in MS.]; and for to*.

R.B. 2321. *to and —; — and —*.

R.A. 182. *to and —; and to*.

Tr. III. 1661. *to; and for to; and to and —*.

Tr. I. 47. *to and — and — and for to*.

(Here, though the sense is continuous, the last infinitive is in the following stanza.)

L. 778. *to and to and for to*.

Bl. 1227. *to and — and — and for to*.

Bo. IV. m. 4, 1. *to; and to and —*.

I 810. *for to and for to; and to and —; and for to; and eek to*.

E 977. *to; and — and —*.

B 344. *to and —; and —*.

A 2308. *for to; and not to and —*.

E 974. *to; and for to and —*.

With *or, ne, etc.*

C 16. *to or — or — or —*.

B 1527. *to; nat for to or —; but for to and —; and for to*.

I 818. *to or to; or elles to*.

I 407. *to; or elles to or — or — or —*.

R.A. 344. *to ne —; ne for to ne to*.

L. 1935. *to or to; or —*.

R.B. 1757. *to or —; ne —*.

With *but*.

B 2727. *for to but for to*.

E 1073. *for to; and nat to but for to*.

I 758. *to; but nat for to ne —*.

I 1018. *nat to but only to*.

Bo. III. p. 11, 138. *for to ... noght only ... but for to*.

Bo. IV. p. 2, 196. *nat only to but ... for to*.

Bo. IV. p. 4, 317. *to ... but rather ...; nat to but for to*.

Bo. V. p. 3, 137. *nat only to ... but for to*. 
With than.

F 1522. — than —. 6
F 692. — than to. 4
B 2409. — than for to. 3
B 114. to than —. 9
B 3032. to than to. 5
B 2365. to than for to. 8
F 1384. for to than —. 3
Tr. V. 41. for to than to. 1
F 1440. for to than for to. 2
I 228. to and to; than for to and to.

With as.

Tr. I. 963. — as —. 1
E 2109. — as to. 1
B 999. to as to. 4
D 1574. to as for to. 3

The infinitive is used after than and as when there is some other element preceding. The infinitive can usually be explained as a part of the previous construction as subject, object, complement, appositive, etc.

R.B. 1854. For no thing liken me myght more
Than dwellen . . .
And thens never to passe.

Tr. V. 1271. bet were it I . . .
Myselven slo\b, alwey than thus compleyne.

Tr. IV. 566. I sholde have
Here honour levere than my lyf to save.

Tr. IV. 565. And me were levere ded than here defame.

Tr. II. 1231. I nevere dide a thing with more peyne
Than write this.

An. 300. Nay! rather deth then do so foul a dede
And axe mercy.

Bl. 50. me thoghte it better play
Then playen.

1 That is, in cases where other than the simple infinitive is possible.
2 Two cases in prose, one in R.C.
3 All cases in prose.
4 We may have the imperative in this case. But the infinitive suits our present feeling, as can be seen by introducing to: It fareth on som servise as [to] plante a tre . . . And on the morwe [to] pulle it up.
I 146. ne a fouler thral may no man ... maken of his body, than for to yeven his body to synne.

F 1364. Hath ther nat many a noble wyf ... ... yslayn hir self, alas!
Rather than with hir body doon trespass?

Cf.v. 1376. Rather than they wolde leese, and 1403. chees rather to dye.

R.B. 4780. No bettir counsel maist thou take
Than thynke to fleen.

F 1331. I speke it for the honour of yow
Moore than to save myn hertes lyf.

R.A. 1325. ther nys so good paradys
As to have a love at his devys.

Tr. III. 641. as good chep may I dwelle here

... as grucche and thanne abyde.