

one instance is found in the B-text, as far as I know.

The infinitive of verbs of motion is occasionally left unexpressed after auxiliary verbs or other verbs, the direction of motion being indicated by an adverbial adjunct. In Langland this practice takes place after the auxiliary verbs *myȝte*, *wolde*, *sculde*, (*sholde*) and *shal*, and after the verb *thynke* (= intend).

As is apparent from the facts so far discussed, Langland's use of the verbals is very extensive and complicated, but we can recognize characteristics of his English here and there in *PPl*.

It will be, however, in vain to try to clarify fully what kind of expression is characteristic of his English or to decide with assurance whether his syntax was far in advance of, or agreed with, what was the usual practice about the latter half of the 14th century. In order to do that, we must make a careful investigation into nearly all the works of the ME period. In general, however, it may fairly be said that his language is rather conservative, or more of Germanic character.

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belonging here deserves attention, in which the infinitive forms only a part of the whole object ('substantive + infinitive'), and the substantive (the logical subject of the infinitive) does not take *for* before it which in ModE would be necessary.

The use of the infinitive as an adverbial adjunct is most common in Langland. Here in this function the *to*-infinitive alone is used except after *go*, *come*, *loth*, and *worthy*, and in one exceptional case. The infinitive here denotes various adverbial relations, such as *purpose*, *cause*, *consequence*, *condition*, *concession*, *manner*, etc. In Langland, the infinitive of purpose is most frequently found, especially after such verbs of motion as *go*, *come*. In conjunction with *go* the bare infinitive is more common than the *to*-infinitive while with *come* the *to*-infinitive alone is used, in Langland.

The infinitive denoting other adverbial relations is very rarely found in Langland. On the other hand the infinitive, expressing purpose, cause, etc. is fairly common after various adjectives. The noteworthy thing here is that though in ModE the idea of consequence is frequently expressed by *so as to*, the *as* is always lacking in Langland. The instances where an adjective is followed by an infinitive, active in form but passive in sense, are fairly common in Langland but the periphrastic passive infinitive with *be* is never usual, only two instances being found after *worthy* and *in-obedient*. The bare infinitive is very rare in *PPl*, only two instances being found after *worthy* and *loth*. This *worthy* deserves special attention in that it is followed by a bare passive infinitive.

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The absolute use of the infinitive is occasionally found in set phrases. The so-called 'nominative with infinitive' construction is also met with four times in the B-text. The examples here collected serve to illustrate the early occurrence of the construction when we take its origin and development into consideration.

The infinitive is very commonly found as an attributive adjunct to a substantive. Here infinitive invariably takes *to* as far as *PPl* is concerned. A verbal phrase consisting of 'a verb + a preposition' or 'a verb + its object and a preposition' in its entirety can take a preceding substantive as its implicit object, in which case the preposition naturally comes last.

It is, however, not uncommon to find the preposition *with* in close conjunction with the verb in Langland. We can say that in Langland *with* is more usually placed near its verb as in (VI. 297) *this present to plesse with hunger*.

As to the split infinitive, it is practically unknown in Langland. Only

usual in Langland, is obsolete in PE.

Next when the subject of the infinitive used as an objective predicative is indefinite, it is often unexpressed. This type of construction is often found after *let*, *do* and *gar*, where the active infinitive is most conveniently rendered by the passive and in ModE is supplanted by the passive infinitive. The construction 'hear + say or tell,' of common occurrence in ME are also met with several times in *PPl*, in which case the finite verb (*hear*) and the bare infinitive (*say* or *tell*) seem to form a compound. We also come across the construction 'help + infinitive' where the subject of the infinitive is unexpressed though neither indefinite nor equivalent to that of the finite verb. In this construction the bare infinitive is prevailing. In some other cases as well we often find the non-expression of the subject of the infinitive as an objective predicative in Langland. This kind of construction occurs after *suffer*, *bid* and so on, but is by no means usual in ModE. This practice seems to be one of the characteristics of Langland's English.

The predicative infinitive after a passive infinitive is very rarely found in *PPl*, in which case the use of the *to*-infinitive is normal but the bare infinitive also occurs though only twice.

As to the predicative infinitive after a prepositional phrase, this type of construction is not so common in Langland. It may be noted that though the *to*-infinitive is normal, the bare infinitive is also found only once.

The use of the infinitive as object is very common in Langland. Both the bare infinitive and the *to*-infinitive are used for this purpose but the latter is usual in *PPl*, except after *gin* (*gau*), *dar* and a few other verbs, such as *thynke*, *don*, *lernen*, etc. After auxiliary verbs the bare infinitive is the rule through all periods of English but the *to*-infinitive also occurs when two parallel infinitives are found. The verbs that take the *to*-infinitive as their object are very numerous while the ones capable of taking the bare infinitive are limited. Here it is to be noted that *thynke* in the sense of 'expect, intend' is more often construed with the bare infinitive than with the *to*-infinitive and that the periphrastic *don* occurs though very infrequently, whereas the ME construction '*don* + finite verb' is also met with. Only one instance of *do* in a negative sentence is about a century earlier than the earliest one (c 1489) recorded in *OED*. Another important fact is that the construction 'have + *to* + infinitive' appears in *PPl*, being by far older than *OED*'s earliest instance (1579).

Occasionally the infinitive as object is introduced by the formal object *it*, especially in connection with an objective predicative. One of the instances

As we have seen in the preceding pages, the infinitive ranges over a wide area and its functions are very numerous. Here some chief uses of it are summarized as follows:

The *to*-infinitive as subject is found commonly, but more frequently with the formal subject *it*, in *PPl*. On the other hand, the bare infinitive never occurs as direct object but is found only once as the logical subject with the formal subject *it*. In impersonal constructions both the bare infinitive and the one with *to* or *for to* are not infrequently found as the logical subject, but the *to*-infinitive prevails here, too.

The predicative infinitive was considered in this paper under the two headings of "the subjective predicative" and "the objective predicative".

First in the function of the subjective predicative as a substantive-equivalent, the *to*-infinitive is often met with as in (XVIII. 174) *My wille is to wende*, but not a single instance of the bare infinitive is found in *PPl*. Further, there are no cases in which the *to*-infinitive may be both subject and predicative. Second the construction *be to* with an infinitive which is an adjective-equivalent, implying obligation or futurity, was not so common in *PPl*. The infinitive here in this function was always active in form, although it might be either active or passive in meaning. Here we may note that examples of the infinitive which is active in form but passive in meaning are fairly often found, in most of which now the passive infinitive would be used. As to the predicative infinitive with an active meaning, only six instances of it occur except for 17 of the phrase *be to mene*, which seems to be a kind of set phrase in Langland. In most instances, however, the implication of futurity is faint or practically non-existent.

The infinitive as an objective predicative customarily known as the accusative with infinitive construction occurs fairly frequently in *PPl*. It is particularly frequent after verbs of causation, of which the chief representatives are *let*, *bid*, *do*, *make*, *teach* and *pray*; is far less common after verbs of sense perception, of which the chief representative is *see*; and is nearly unknown after verbs of mental perception and declaration though here other predicatives than an infinitive are not infrequently found. In this type of construction the bare infinitive was originally the rule. In *PPl* the frequency of both infinitives is nearly the same, but the bare infinitive is restricted almost exclusively after *do*, *make*, *let*, *bede*, *see*, *hear*, etc. The noticeable thing here is that *make* is construed two times as frequently with the *to*-infinitive as with the bare infinitive and that the use of *do* as a causative verb, very

an abverbial adjunct. With regard to this type of construction, Trnka says as follows: "In Old and Middle English the instances of the ellipsis of the infinitive are frequent, but later on it is avoided in the literary language."<sup>74)</sup> In Shakespeare, however, this is not uncommon.<sup>75)</sup> In *PPl* (B-text) there are twelve instances of this type, of which ten occur after the auxiliary verbs *myȝte*, *wolde*, *shulde* (sholde), and *shal*, and two after the verb *thynke* (= intend).

Instances with auxiliary verbs:

(V. 6) I ne *myȝte* ferther a-foot for defaute of slepynge;  
(XI. 205) hennes *shal* we alle; (XV. 13) One... tolde me whyder I *shulde*;  
(XVII. 140) to what place it *sholde*; (XIII. 223) to what contree he *wolde*.  
Other examples: V. 307, 642; XV. 456; XVI. 257; XVIII. 172.

Instances with the verb *thynke*:

(XVI. 174-5) I asked hym first fram whennes he come, And of whennes he were and whider that he *thouȝte*; (XVIII. 222) Bothe in henene, and in erthe and now til helle he *thynketh*.

Here we may say that in all the above cases the verb of motion *go* is not expressed. Mustanoja <sup>76)</sup> says that expressions of this kind are characteristic of lively, impulsive narration.

### (III) Summary

In comparison with the participle and the gerund, the frequency of the infinitive is quite high. In the B-text there are about 1,599 instances, of which 351 are the bare infinitive and 1,248 the infinitive with *to* or *for to*. Thus, the restriction of the use of the bare infinitive is remarkable when we take account of the relative frequency of the *to*-infinitive and the bare infinitive in OE.

The prepositional infinitive is used with *to* or with *for to*, the latter of which appears as a mere sign of the infinitive in *PPl*. The proportion between *to* and *for to* is roughly 12 : 1.

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74) *On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden*, p. 86.

75) Abbot, *A Shakespearian Grammar*, § 405.

76) Mustanoja, *op. cit.*, p. 544.

(XII. 169) in drede *to drenche*; etc.

## 2.6. Split Infinitive

The particle *to* is sometimes separated from the infinitive by an adverb. This construction, known as the 'Split Infinitive', is not infrequently found in ModE, even in a number of good writers, though often censured by grammarians. Some grammarians <sup>71)</sup> hold that the split infinitive makes its first appearance in the 14th century. That is, its earliest example that they cite is 'He louied the lasse auther *to longe lye* or *to longe sitte*' (*Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight*, ll. 87-8). W. van der Gaaf, <sup>72)</sup> however, who fully treated of the split infinitive in ME, quotes his earliest instance from *Passion of our Lord* written about the beginning of the 13th century. According to him, <sup>73)</sup> in ME the construction only occurs sporadically; in most texts there are no instances of it. The only early writer that is really fond of the split infinitive is Pecock. In Langland the construction is practically unknown; the only instance of it that I have found in the B-text is:

(XI. 255-6) For it maketh a man to haue mynde in gode and a grete wille  
To wepne and *to wel bydde* wher-of wexeth mercy.

In ME there are also cases in which the object of the infinitive is placed after *to* as in "Pecock, *Repr.* 102 worthi it is *for to him azenstonde*" (q. van der Gaaf). The earliest instance that van der Gaaf gives of this type of split infinitive is *Lazamon Brut* 11018, heo cleopede him to alle his wise *for to him reade*. In Langland not a single instance of this is found, though it is very common to place the object before (*for*) *to* as in:

(VII. 188) comen alle bifore Cryst accountis *to gerde*;  
(XV. 540) Many miracles he wrougte man *for to turne*;  
(XIX. 357) thanne cam Kynde Wytte Conscience *to teche*; etc.

## 2.7. Ellipsis of the Infinitive

The infinitive of verbs of motion is often left out unexpressed after auxiliary verbs, or other verbs, the direction of the motion being indicated by

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71) Curme, *Syntax*, 49.2.c.; Mustanoja, *Middle English Syntax* Part I, p. 515; Jespersen, *M.E.G.* V, 20.4.1.

72) "The Split Infinitive in Middle English," *English Studies* XV, p. 17.

73) *Ibid.*, p. 15.

(II. 31) And hath zouè mè mercy *to marye with my-self*; (VI. 297) this present *to plese with hunger*; (XV. 332) that water *to woke with Themese*.

In the first quotation, for example, *to marye my-self with* would be normal, but it is common to find *with* in this close conjunction with the verb in Langland. In his *Notes to Piers Plowman*, p. 432, Skeat mentions that this odd position of *with* is the usual fourteenth-century idiom. In the B-text there are as many as 11 instances of the latter against 9 of the former. Further examples are found in II. 16; V. 293; VI. 264; X. 72, 271; XII. 292; XVI. 147; XIX. 222. Hence it can be said that in Langland *with* is more usually placed near its verb. Similar examples of the preposition *in* are found very sporadically in the B-text, too:

(XIV. 245) Pouerte hath but pokes *to putten in his godis*;  
(XIX. 315) an hous... *to herberwe in thi cornes*.

Sometimes a preposition which seems to be logically necessary is not expressed, in which case the unexpressed preposition is, for the most part, *with*. Six examples are met with in the B-text:

(VI. 282) I haue no peny... poletes *for to bigge*; (XV. 122) a portous... shulde be his plow placebo *to segge*; (XVII. 277) a tapere *to reuerence the trinitee* (cf. C. XX. 257 a taper *to reuerence with the trinite*).  
Other examples: VII. 185-6; XVII. 149, 322.

These examples may be interpreted as adverbial adjuncts, too.

(3) Cases in which the infinitive is in apposition with a preceding substantive, or the infinitive is a prepositional phrase with the original meaning of the preposition *to* (= *towards*, *in the direction of*) after substantives.

The infinitive belonging here to this group is found fairly frequently, namely, about 75 times after 28 substantives according to my classification, of which the chief representatives are *power*, *leue* (=permission), *lykyng*, *will*, *witte*, *cause*, *tyme* and *hope*. Here several quotations will be enough to show this use:

(III. 167) pore men mowe haue no powere *to pleyne* hem; (II. 231) he hath leue *to lepe out* as oft as hym liketh; (XI. 412) hadde he no lykyng *for to lere* the more; (XII. 195) ben in wille *to amenden* hem; (XVII. 338) thei han cause *to contrarie* by kynde of her sykenesse; (Prol. 27) In hope *for to haue* heueneriche blisse; (II. 185) I haue no tome *to telle* the taille;

The infinitive belonging here denotes simple futurity (e.g. in days *to come*), or 'what might, would or should, or what can or may...' <sup>69)</sup> In the following case, however, a mere fact is indicated:

(XI. 99) Ac be neuere more *the fyrst the defaute to blame*.

(2) Cases in which the infinitive governs a preceding substantive as its object. Here the infinitive is said to have a passive meaning, but there is no necessity for considering it passive. It will be better to look upon the infinitive as active and as governing a preceding substantive as its logical or 'Implicit' object. Jespersen terms this type of infinitive as "retroactive infinitive." <sup>70)</sup> The infinitive under discussion is comparatively frequent, though least often of the three groups. Examples:

(V. 53) 3e... han lawes *to kepe*; (VI. 4) I haue an half-acre *to eryl*;  
(XIII. 291) he hath nouȝt *to done*; (XIV. 210) the riche hath moche *to rekne*; etc.

A glance at the above examples will lead us to notice that the word-order 'have + object + infinitive' is firmly established in Langland. As a matter of fact, most examples of this group have this order.

Moreover, a verbal phrase consisting of 'a verb + a preposition' or 'a verb + its object and a preposition' in its entirety can take an object and govern a preceding substantive as its implicit object. Examples are of frequent occurrence, there being 35 instances in the B-text. A preposition naturally comes last:

(VI. 126) we haue no lymes *to laboure with*; (VI. 309) Laboreres... haue no lande *to lyue on*; (XIX. 201-3) I wil dele... *To alkynnes creatures... Tresore to lyue by to her lyues ende, And wepne to fyȝte with that wil neuereaille*; (Prol. 15-6) ȝaf ȝow fyue wittis *Fortof worschip hym therewith*; (XVII. 2-3) That toke me a maundement... *To reule alle rewmes with*; (XVII. 245) thow haue towe *to take it with*; etc.

With the last three instances just quoted should be compared the following:

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69) Jespersen, *Essentials of English Grammar*, 32.2.2.

70) *M. E. G.* V, 15.2.1.



Two examples (XXII. 232-3; XXII. 268) from the C-text correspond to the last two just quoted from the B-text, respectively.

## 2.5. Infinitive with Substantives <sup>67)</sup>

The infinitive is so commonly found to serve as an attributive adjunct to a substantive through all periods of English that it requires no particular comment. We must admit, however, that at times it is difficult to decide whether the infinitive modifies a substantive and is adjectival, or modifies a verb and is adverbial.

In the B-text examined here, there are about 246 instances of this use, all of which are the *to*-infinitive. The bare infinitive here is by no means normal in English, but in reality it is also found very sporadically (e. g. Ch. CT D Fri. 1489-90 And somtyme, at oure prayere, han we *leve* Only the body and nat the soule *greve*; Ch. Pard. 848 he had *leve* him to sorwe *brynge*.). Concerning the attributive passive infinitive, van der Gaaf <sup>68)</sup> declares that it "does not seem to occur in Old English; it came into use in the Middle English period" and that the earliest instances of the construction occur in *Ormulum*. In *PPl* which was written about 180 years later than the text just referred to, however, only one instance is found as far as my observation goes:

(XI. 168-9) For no *cause* to cacche siluer ther-by ne *to be called* a mayster,  
But al for loue of owre lorde and the bet to loue the peple.

The relationships between the infinitive as an adjunct and its head word are varied but here examples of the attributive infinitive may be roughly divided into three groups:

(1) Cases in which a preceding substantive is the logical subject of the infinitive. Of the three groups, this is most common in Langland, 115 instances being found. Only a few instances are needful to illustrate this use of the infinitive:

(VII. 165) Ioseph was Iustice Egipte *to loken*; (XV. 471) as the foules *to fynde* fode after whistlyng; (Prol. 65) sith charite hath be chapman and chief *to shryue* lordes; etc.

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67) In some instances the infinitive modifies, not a substantive, but a pronoun.

68) Gaaf, "The Predicative Passive Infinitive," *English Studies* X, p. 109.

native with infinitive construction is found in Cursor Mundi 7121: "he het men to gyue hem mede If thei coude hit rightly rede And thei to gyue the same ageyn."

In Langland I have found four clear instances of this in the B-text and three in the C-text. They are used to express futurity or purpose. In the same way the infinitive preceded by the common case as its logical subject, i.e., the substantive with infinitive construction is infrequently met with, too. The following example is used as equivalent to a future indicative.

(VIII. 101-2) Thanne shal the kynge come and casten hen in yrens, And but if Dobest bede for hem *thei to be there for euere*.

Cf. (III. 303-10) Alle... Shal be demed to the deth but if he do it smythe Into sikul or to sithe to schare or to kulter;... *Eche man to pleye* with a plow pykoys or spade, *Synne* or *sprede* donge or *spille* hym-self with sleuthe. *Prestes and persones* with placebo *to hunte*, And *dyngen* vpon dauid eche a day til eue. (XVIII. 371-3) Fendes and fendekynes bifor me shulle stande, And be at my biddynge where so euer me lyketh And *to be merciabile* to man thanne my kynde it asketh.

In the last quotation the subject *I* is clearly omitted. Another similar example is found in XIX. 392-3. Here we will pay attention to the following quotation from Chaucer, in which the infinitive has a distinctly optative force.

(Ch TC I. 467-8) That she on him wolde han compassiun,  
And *he to be hir man* whyl he may dare.

The following examples seem to express purpose and depend more or less closely on the main verb:

(II. 92-102) Glotonue he gaf hem eke and grete othes togyderes.  
And alday to frynke at dyuerse tauernes,  
And there to iangle and to iape...  
And *thei to haue and to holde* and here eyres after,  
A dwellynge with the deuel and *dampned be* for euere.

(C. VII. 47-8) And what ich gaf for godes loue to goe-sybbes ich tolde,  
*Thei to wene* that ich were wel holy and wel almesful.

(XIX. 224-8) Some zaf wytte with wordes to shewe,  
Witte to wynne her lyflode with...  
*They lelly to lyue* by laboure of tonge,  
And bi witte *to wissen* other as Grace hem wolde teche.

(XIX. 262-3) And Grace gaue Pieres of his goodnesse, four stottiis,  
Al that his oxen eryed *they to harwe* after.

(XV. 385) that lewed men be the lother god *agulten*.

According to Mustanoja,<sup>63)</sup> the bare infinitive after an adjective is a rare feature in OE and occasionally found in ME, too, mostly in conjunction with *worth(y)* and *wont*. In Langland, however, *wont* is always construed with the *to*-infinitive, as in

(VI. 169) I was nonȝt *wont to worche*; (XX. 368) as he was *wont to done*.

#### (H) Absolute Infinitive

This term is applied to a parenthetical use of the infinitive as in (II. 235) *trewli to telle* she trembled for drede. In this case, the subject of the infinitive is not generally identical with the subject of the sentence. This type of construction exists as early as OE<sup>64)</sup> and Chaucer is said to be fond of it. In ModE it occurs frequently in set phrases, such as *to say truth*, *to conclude*, *to wit*, *to return*, *to be short*, and the like. Here in this function the *to*-infinitive is the rule through all periods of English. In *PPl* five instances are found:

(XVI. 4) It is a ful tyre... *trewly to telle*; (XIX. 65) *to carpe* more of Cryst... *Faithly forto speke* his fryste name was Iesus.

Other examples: (II. 235) *trewli to telle*; (IX. 154) *soth for to telle*

The term 'absolute infinitive' may also be applied to a construction with a nominative subject. Here in this section, therefore, we may deal with the 'nominative with infinitive' construction as it may be called. The construction was used to express futurity, purpose, command, etc. Kellner<sup>65)</sup> affirms that the construction in question turns up first in the second half of the fourteenth century, but does not refer to its earliest instance. Zeitlin<sup>66)</sup> has fully treated of the construction under the heading 'The Conjunctive-Imperative Use of the Infinitive,' in which the infinitive with a substantive in the nominative case is dealt with, being not distinguished from the nominative forms of the pronoun. According to him, the earliest example of the nomi-

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63) *Op. cit.*, p. 538.

64) Callaway, *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 169.

65) *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, p. 249.

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

Other examples: VI. 188; XVIII. 75; XIX. 19-20.

The instances where an adjective is followed by an infinitive, active in form but passive in sense, are fairly common in Langland. Seventeen examples of this type are found in the B-text.

(XV. 63) as honey is yuel *to defye*; (XV. 444) Cloth... is nouȝt comly *to were*; (XIV. 247) whether be liȝter *to breke*?; (XX. 206) what crafte is best *to lerne*?

Other examples: V. 121; VI. 50, 206; VIII. 79; X. 207, 337; XII. 244; XIII. 259; XVII. 24, 50.

Undoubtedly each of these infinitives may be translated as if passive. But we see no necessity for considering it passive. For it seems better to look upon the infinitive as active and as governing a preceding item as its object, as Jespersen says.<sup>60)</sup> With the adjective *worthy* the periphrastic passive infinitive with *be* has been used since OE. According to van der Gaaf<sup>61)</sup>, this construction is common throughout the ME period, but the bare passive infinitive is decidedly exceptional in this case. In *PPl* I have found only one example of *worthy* followed by a bare passive infinitive:

(V. 236) Thow haddest be better *worthy be hanged* therfore.

In Langland, however, there is no instance of *worthy* followed by an infinitive, active in form, but passive in sense, as far as I know.

Except in conjunction with *worthy*, the first instances of the post-adjectival passive infinitive appear towards the end of the fourteenth century and examples are fairly frequent in fifteenth century English.<sup>62)</sup> As a matter of fact, only one example of this is met with in the B-text:

(XIII. 281-2) he... in-obedient *to be vndernome* of any lyf lyuyng.

As for the bare infinitive accompanying an adjective, we have only two instances from the B-text, one of which has already been given above. Another example is:

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60) *M.E.G.* V, 15. 21.

61) "The Post-adjectival Passive Infinitive," *English Studies* X, pp.130-1.

62) W. van der Gaaf, *op. cit.*, p.133.

ture. So the place of the infinitive is often taken by the present participle, or another finite verb (e.g., Prol. 9 *I lay and lened*) or the *to*-infinitive, all these occurring from OE to ModE. Mustanoja<sup>59</sup> declares that instances of the *to*-infinitive are not uncommon in ME, but I have no example of this type in *PPl*. In the following cases, the infinitive seems to have a final sense.

(XIV. 286) Selde sit pouerte the sothe *to delare*;

(XIX. 301-2) whan he in courte sitteth *To demen* as a domes-man.

In Langland, the present participle is more common than the bare infinitive after verbs of motion and rest. As to this type mention has been made in Chapter I. 2. 3.

(G) Infinitive with Adjectives

The infinitive is fairly commonly used to express purpose, cause, consequence, etc., after adjectives. Some past participles like *wont*, *abasshed*, *agast*, *apayed*, had already become distinctly adjectival in late ME, and are accordingly dealt with here in this section. *About* is also included here though generally regarded as an adverb. In *PPl* there are in all 80 instances of this kind, of which 78 are the *to*-infinitive and 2 the bare infinitive. Thus, the adjectives which occur in this way in Langland are usually construed with the *to*-infinitive, of which the chief representatives are *loth*, *worthy*, *hardy*, *yuel*, *redy*, *bolde*, *fayne*, etc. Several examples will suffice to illustrate this practice:

(XX. 358) He... loth is *to chaunge* hem; (III. 228) Made is well worthi the maistrye *to haue*!; (XIII. 122) I am vnhardy... to any wyȝt *to preue* it; (III. 118) she is fayne of thi felawship *for to be* thi make; (XX. 47) For-thi be nouȝte abasshed *to bydde* and *to be nedy*; (XVIII. 302-3) the body... aboute was euere *To saue* men fram synne; (X. 5) Wel artow wyse... any wysdomes *to telle*; (IV. 192) I am aredy... *to reste* with ȝow euere; etc.

In ModE the idea of consequence is frequently expressed by *so as to*, as in 'Be so kind as to shut the door.' In Langland, however, the *as* is always lacking here. Five examples occur in all:

(Prol. 188) And be we neuer so bolde the belle hym *to shewe*;

(XVIII. 77) That non harlot were so hardy *to leyne* hande uppon hym.

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59) *Op. cit.*, p. 537.

(D) Infinitive of Condition

This infinitive is very rarely found in Langland. Only one possible example of this is:

(XVI. 10-11) 'I wolde trauaille,' quod I, 'this tree to 'se twenty hundreth myle, And *forto haue my tylle of that frute* forsake al other saulee.

(E) Infinitive of Concession

Mustanoja says that a concessive infinitive with *to* is occasionally found in ME texts and quotes some examples from Gower and Chaucer.<sup>56)</sup> In Langland only one example is found, as far as the B-text is concerned.

(Prol. 177-9) There ne was ratoun in alle the route fo ralle the rewme of Fraunce, That dorst haue ybounden the belle aboute the cattis nekke, Ne hangen it aboute the cattes hals *al Engelonde to wynne*.

(F) Infinitive of Manner

A few OE verbs of motion, mainly *cuman*, and of rest can be accompanied by the bare infinitive of another verb of motion or rest. In this case, the infinitive, expressing simultaneous action, serves to indicate the manner in which the activity takes place. According to Mustanoja,<sup>57)</sup> in ME, too, down to the later part of the period, the bare infinitive of a verb of motion is not uncommon with *come*, and several instances of the bare infinitive of a verb of rest are also recorded in conjunction with *lie*. Towards the end of the ME period the infinitive disappears in cases of this kind, its place being taken by the present participle which appears in this function even as early as OE. In Langland only two examples are found with verbs of motion;

(XI. 109) And plukked in pauci priueliche and lete the remenaunt go *rowme*; (XVIII. 11) Barfote on an asse bakke botelees cam *prykke*.

With verbs of rest, however, no example of the infinitive of manner is found in the B-text. According to van der Gaaf,<sup>58)</sup> a bare infinitive of manner after verbs of rest had probably disappeared before the end of the 14th cen-

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56) *Middle English Syntax* Part I, p. 536.

57) *Op. cit.*, p. 536.

58) "The Connection between Verbs of Rest (*lie, sit, and stand*) and another Verb, viewed historically," *English Studies* XVI, p. 88.

unknown in OE and that Orm appears to be one of the first to make use of it. In Langland I have found five instances of this:

(Prol. 56) Clotheden hem in copis *to ben knowen* fram othere;

(XV III. 14) a kynzte... cometh *to be dubbed*.

Other examples: IV. 27-8; XVI. 152; XIX. 2-3.

As already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, *at* is used with an infinitive of purpose in ME. In the B-text no example of this occurs, but in the C-text we meet with the following example:

(C. VI. 164) Lytel hedde lordes *a-do* to zeue londe for here aires To religious.

Here *a-do* is doubtless short for *at do*. This is, therefore, the only example of 'at + infinitive of purpose' in Langland.

#### (B) Infinitive of Cause

This infinitive is chiefly used after expressions of mental states, moods, etc., but is never frequent in Langland.

(II. 115-6) now sorwe mot thow haue, Such weddynges *to worche* to wratthe with Treuthe; (XIX. 21) For alle derke deueles aren adradde *to heren* it.

Other examples: XV. 167, 316-7; XVIII. 248.

#### (C) Infinitive of Consequence

The infinitive of consequence is closely related to the infinitive of purpose. Kruisinga says that "the difference is only that purpose is an intended result."<sup>54</sup> As a matter of fact, it is often very difficult to distinguish the infinitive of consequence from that of purpose. The examples quoted below may be considered as denoting consequence.

(I. 112-4) he... fel fro that felawship in a fendes liknes, In-to a depe derke helle *to dwelle* there for eure; (XIII. 299) And large to lene losse ther-by *to cacche*.

Other examples: V. 616-7; XI. 187; XIII. 290-1; XVI. 101-2.

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54) "The Predicative Passive Infinitive," *English Studies* X, p. 109.

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

of what seem to me clearer examples of each adverbial relation.

(A) Infinitive of Purpose

The infinitive denoting purpose is by far the most common, being found 200 times and upwards in the B-text. In OE the primary use of the *to*-infinitive was that of purpose. In PE, too, this is one of the commonest uses of the *to*-infinitive. The same is the case with Langland's use of the *to*-infinitive. In the majority of cases the infinitive is preceded by *to* or *for to*, but the bare infinitive is also often found after *go* and *come*. This kind of infinitive is very frequent after verbs of motion, especially *come* and *go*.

(XVIII. 297-8) I went *To warne* Pilates wyf what dones man was Iesus;  
(XX. 229) Freres... comen hym *to helpe*; (X. 302) in cloistre cometh no man *to chide* ne *to figte*; (Prol. 2-4) I ...Went wyde in this world wondres *to here*; etc.

After *go* the bare infinitive is more frequent than the *to*-infinitive; there are 16 instances of the former against 5 of the latter in the B-text. With *come*, however, the *to*-infinitive is always found.

The combination of *go* or *come* with the bare infinitive is found as early as OE and survives far beyond the end of the ME period.

(V. 649) I will go *fecche* my box with my breuettes; (VIII. 58) I shal go *lerne* bettere; (XI. 53) Go *confesse* the to sum frere.  
Other examples: Prol. 226; V. 24; VI. 30, 32, 157, 219, 303; VII. 94; IX. 131, 178; XI. 16; XVI. 89; XX. 303.

As to this type, of combination, Jespersen says that "as this seems to be found chiefly after the infinitive and the imperative, it is felt to be short for *go (come) and*." <sup>53)</sup>

The infinitive of purpose is frequent after other verbs as well. Examples are very plentiful:

(III. 196) I lefte with my lorde his lyf *for to saue*; (VI. 113) And some, *to plese* Perkyn, piked<sup>3</sup>vp the wedes; (XX. 11) thre thynges he taketh his lyf *forto saue*.  
Other examples: Prol. 100; I. 161; III. 246; IV. 149-50; V. 303; VIII. 2; etc.

As to the passive infinitive of purpose, van der Gaaf remarks that it is

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53) *M.E.G.* V, 16.4.2



(II. 78-82) And Fauel with his fikel speche *feffeth* bi this chartre,  
*To be prynces in pryde and pouerte to dispise,*  
*To bakbite, and to bosten and bere fals witnesse,*  
*To scorne and to scolde andsclaundere to make,*  
 Vnboxome and bolde *to breke* the ten hestes;

In the above example, it seems as if the infinitive were the object of the main verb, but, on closer examination, this interpretation does not hold for the construction in question, because the verb *feffe* 'to endow' does not take the infinitive as direct object. Here both the direct and the indirect object of the finite verb seem to be understood, with the former of which the infinitives would be placed in apposition. In this connection, the following modern translation will serve for our understanding of this passage: "And, by this charter, Sir Flattery-of-the-double-tongue invests them with the following assets; to live as princess, to be proud and despise poverty, ..." <sup>52)</sup>

#### 2.4. Adverbial Infinitive

The use of the infinitive as an adverbial adjunct is by far the commonest use of this verbal form, about 457 examples being found in the B-text examined here. Here in this function the infinitive denotes various adverbial relations: (A) Purpose; (B) Cause; (C) Consequence; (D) Condition; (E) Concession; (F) Manner. In addition to these groups we have two more: (G) Infinitive with Adjectives, and (H) Absolute Infinitive. In a number of instances, however, it is very difficult to decide to which group an infinitive belongs. These doubtful cases cannot easily be grouped here for collective treatment. This is the reason why I do not classify the adverbial relations which the infinitive with adjectives denotes here in this section. Accordingly, I will not specify the exact number of instances in each group mentioned above, except in a few particular cases.

Here in this function the *to*-infinitive is the rule except in one particular case (XVII. 81, *Spes spakelich hym spedde spede if he! myzte*) and after *go*, *come*, *loth* and *worthy*. And one of the most frequent relations is that of purpose. This would be natural when we take it into account that the use of the infinitive of purpose was the basic one in OE. Below I will cite some

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52) J.F. Goodridge (tr.): *Langland Piers the Plowman* (Penguin Classics), p. 78.

In this instance the formal object *it* points to the whole object, not the *to*-infinitive alone. In other words, the infinitive forms only a part of the whole object 'substantive+infinitive', in which the substantive is the logical subject of the infinitive. I have found no other examples except the above quotation in Langland.

Next, I will quote those borderline cases in which it is often difficult to settle whether an infinitive is looked upon as object or adverbial adjunct. Some verbs which cannot take an ordinary object, but require a prepositional group, are combined with the *to*-infinitive.

(VI. 309-10) Laboreres... *Deyned nouȝt to dyne* a-day nyȝt-olde wortes;  
(VI. 57-8) I *assente*... *For to worche* bi thi wordes (XIII. 116) he...  
*trauailleth to teche* other; (XIV. 233) he *streyneth* hym *to streche*; (XV. 586-7) thei *studyeden to stroyen* hym.

All the verbs quoted above are regularly construed with the *to*-infinitive but they are, according to *OED*, regarded as intransitive verb. In these cases, therefore, the infinitive is not generally looked upon as the object of the main verb, but it may also be possible to regard the infinitive as object object-equivalent in view of the fact that it performs nearly the same function as the infinitive as the object of a transitive verb.

Lastly, mention will be made of those cases in which the infinitive is placed in apposition with a substantive (or pronoun) in the object position, but cannot be regarded as object.

(III. 64-5) Ac god to alle good folke suche grauynges defendeth,  
*To writen* in wyndowes of here wel dedes,  
(III. 69-71) For-thi I lere ȝow, lordes leueth suche werkes,  
*To writen* in wyndowes of ȝowre wel dedes,  
Or *to greden* after goddis men whan ȝe delen doles;

In the examples just quoted, judging from the context, the infinitive is clearly in apposition with the object of the finite verb. In other words, the infinitive explains repeatedly the contents denoted by the object. Accordingly it will be better to regard the infinitive concerned as substantival rather than as adjectival. Further examples will be found in V. 211-2 and XVII. 33-5.

In the B-text the following curious example is also found which is difficult to analyze grammatically.

*fonde* (=try, endeavour) (VI. 222; XIII. 144; XIV. 202; XVI. 40; XVII. 80; XX. 165 (2 exs.)), *drede* (III. 192; X. 288 (2 exs.)); XI. 259; XIII. 406), *haten* (IV. 115 (2 exs.)); XIII. 420; XV. 104), *hope* (VI. 292; XV. 472; XVI. 236), *loue* (X. 90; XI. 218; XIII. 452), *casten* (=intend) (XIX. 137; 275 (2 exs.)), *forȝete* (XX. 367-8 (3 exs.)), *suren* (V. 547-8 (3 exs.)), *kepe* (=care, desire) (III. 278, X I. 414), *wene* (=expect) (V. 476, VI. 248), *engyne* (=contrive) (XVIII. 250-1 (2 exs.)), *graunt* (II. 119, 154), *chose* (Prol. 33-4 (2 exs.)), *manasceth* (=threatens) (XVI. 49, XVI. 127), *wil* (XII. 221), *soffre* (XV. 547), *count* (=care) (III. 141) *swere* (I. 103), *avowe* (V. 388), *ȝernen* (=desire) (XIII. 184), *profre* (XIII. 381), *cleyme* (XIX. 440), *contreue* (XVI. 137), *ordeigned* (VIII. 98-9), *leue* (VII. 50)

All the verbs indicated above take the *to*-infinitive alone as object in the B-text.

The infinitive is by no means common as one of two objects as in ModE I offered him *to pay* the money. This type of construction is, though not strictly, distinguished from the so-called accusative with infinitive in which the object of the finite verb performs the function of denoting the subject of the infinitive. But in the construction under discussion the subject of the infinitive is the same as that of the finite verb. Accordingly, constructions like (VIII. 52) 'he ȝaf the to ȝeresyue *to ȝeme* wel thi-selve.' were considered in 2.2.(b), in which the word standing between the verb and the infinitive is the subject of the latter. The verbs capable of having an infinitive as one of two objects are *bihote* (=promise) and *graunt*. Examples follow:

(III. 29-31) Hendeliche, heo thanne *bihight* hem the same, To loue ȝow lelli and lordes *to make*, And in the consistorie atte courte *do* calle ȝowre names; (XVII. 83-5) I... *grunted* hym *to ben* his grome.

In PE the infinitive as object is often introduced by *it* as a formal object, especially in connection with an objective predicative. In Langland, examples of this type of expression are very rare, only eight instances being found.]

(X. 204) And nouȝt *to greuen* hem that greueth vs god hymself forbadde *it*; (XII. 132-4) Lyueres helden *it* an heighe science her wittes *to knowe*; (XIX. 457-8) I halde *it* ryȝte and resoun of any reue *to take* *Al that* ... Other examples: XI. 121; XII. 227-8 (2 exs.); XVIII. 349-50.

Here special attention may be called to the following quotation:

(X. 336) Poule preueth *it* possible *rich men to have* *heuene*,

al that euere Marke made Mattew, John, and Lucas;  
(V.141-2) folk *han wel leuere Schewen* her schriftes to hem than *shryue*  
hem to her persones.

In this connection, after *have (had) as lief* the *to*-infinitive prevails in ME, but there is no examples of this expression in Langland.

*like* (2): accompanied by both kinds of the infinitive. They occur only once respectively:

Without *to*: (XVII. 143-4) And bitokneth trewly *telle* who so *liketh*, The  
holygost of herene;

With *to*: (X. 95) There the lorde ne the lady *liketh* nouzte *to sytte*.

*preue* (=try, endeavour) (2): with this verb both the bare infinitive and the *to*-infinitive are found only once respectively.

Without *to*: (XV. 598-9) Prelates of Crystene prouynces shulde *preue*, if  
thei myzte, *Lere* hem litlum and lythem...

With *to*: (XIV.108-9) the pore dar plede and *preue* by pure resoun, *To*  
*haue* allowaunce of his lorde by the lawe he it cleymeth.

*desyren* (1): only one instance is found with the bare infinitive in the B-text.

(IX. 104) To alle trew tidy men that *trauaille desyren*.

The earliest example of the *to*-infinitive with the verb given in *OED* is from a 1300 Cursor Mundi, but no example of the bare infinitive are cited in it.

*wite* (2): with *wite* the *to*-infinitive occurs, accompanied by an interrogative.

(V. 298) if thow *wite* neuere to which ne whom *to restitue*; (XX. 3)  
I ne *wiste* where *to ete* ne at what place.

In the case of know, however, the *to*-infinitive is, though only once, found without any interrogative which in PE would be used.

(XI. 316-7) I was fette forth by ensaumples to knowe, ... my creature  
*to louye*.

Other verbs taking an infinitive object are:

*spare* (III. 51-2; X. 100; XI. 97-8 (2 exs.); XVI. 64-5; XIX. 298, 299),

*have* (3): in the meaning 'to be obliged' this verb takes the *to*-infinitive as object like in *I have to go*. The earliest examples in *OED* are from 1579, but in reality it was in use much earlier (e.g. Ch.CT C749 *I moot go thider as I have to go*.—q. Jespersen). W. van der Gaaf has one from *Gursor Mundi* (dated c 1300–25). ModE has two constructions containing a form of *have* and the *to*-infinitive, which generally differ in meaning and are accordingly, not interchangeable, namely "I have something to say" and "I have to say something". The first construction is the older one; the second one with which we are concerned here developed from it.<sup>50)</sup> I will quote some transitional examples from the older to the new construction.

(Prol. 100–101) I praceyued of the power *that* Peter had to *kepe*;  
(XVII. 274) For *that* <sup>51)</sup> the holygoste hath *to kepe* the harlotes destroyeth.

Here in these quotations, judging from the context, I am inclined to take the relative pronoun 'that' as the object of *have* rather than as that of the infinitive, though probably *have* in combination with the infinitive denotes possession and some kind of duty or obligation. It is not difficult to suppose that constructions of the type just mentioned must have contributed to the establishment of the construction 'have+to+infinitive' where the *to*-infinitive is the object of *have*. The following three instances from the B-text may be looked upon constructions of the latter type;

(II. 22) lordes that lawes *han to kepe*; (IV. 26–8) One Waryn Wisdom and Witty his fere Folwed hem faste for thei *haued to done* In the cheker; (VII. 85) who-so *hath to buggen* hym bred.

In any case there is no doubt that the construction under discussion is of far earlier occurrence than the earliest example given in *OED*.

*haue leuere* (4): with this idiomatic phrase the bare infinitive alone occurs in Langland.

(V.413–4) I *haue leuere here* an harlotrie...and *belye* my neighbore, Than

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50) The origin and development of the construction is fully treated in W. van der Gaaf; "Beon and habban connected with an inflected Infinitive" *English Studies* XIII, pp.180–88.

51) *that* in the sense of *what*, *that which* is quite usual in Langland (e.g. Prol. 38; III.84; V.43; XV.133; etc.)

but *dryuele* ther-on; (XIX.306) 'Thise foure sedes Pieres sewe and sitthe he *did* hem *harwe*.<sup>47)</sup>

In interrogative sentences the periphrastic form with *do*, *did* is now the normal form, but not a single instance of this cannot be found in Langland. The earliest example given in *OED* is from Chaucer, dated c 1386 (VII.B 2432 *Fader*, why do ye wepe?). In Langland, question is regularly expressed by placing a principal verb before its subject as in "(XVI.24) whi stonde thise piles here?"

Further in negative sentences the periphrastic form with *do*, *did* is now the normal form with *not*, but in Langland the simple negative forms were usual, like in "(Prol.193) he coueites nouȝt owre caroyne."

Only one instance is found in the B-text.

(XII.168-9) his felaw...that neuere dede swymme.

This is more than a century older than the earliest example given in *OED*, which is from Caxton, dated c 1489.

It is to be noted in passing that the ME construction *do*+finite verb occurs where the verb is separated from the auxiliary by several other words. I have found three instances of it in the B-text.

(XIV.92) There contricioun *doth* but *dryueth* it doun in-to a venial synne; (XVII.220) Namore *doth* sire ne sone ne seynt spirit togideres, Graunteth no grace ne forȝifnesse of synes.

Another example is found in XVII.208-9. According to Trnka, "the origin of this peculiar construction is undoubtedly due to emphasis demanding the predication verb to be placed additionally."<sup>48)</sup> Owing to stylistic demands the construction begins to be avoided as early as the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>49)</sup>

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47) To these examples may be added (VII.176-8): I leue lelly...That pardoun and penaunce and preyeres *don saue* Soules. Koziol (*Stabre-imdichtungen*, p.128) regards this *don* as periphrastic whereas Skeat explains *don saue* as 'cause to be saved' in his *Notes to Piers the Plowman*.

48) *Op.cit.*, p.54.

49) *Ibid.*

Other examples: V.242-3 (3 exs.); XI.338-9; XX.207; VI.274.

*wilne* (9): this verb is found only with the *to*-infinitive. A few examples will be enough here:

(V.561) *ȝif ȝe wilneth to wite* where that he dwelleth; (XVIII. 4)

I... *wylned eft to slepe*; (V.187) bad me *wilne to wepe*.

Other examples: V.568; X.117; X.122; X.124, 131, 355;

*ought* (6): in the case of this verb the ME usage is very unsettled. In *PPl* the *to*-infinitive prevails. Of the bare infinitive only one instance has come to hand. In this connection Mustanoja <sup>44)</sup> says that in *PPl* and the Wyclifite Bible the bare infinitive is rare while Chaucer and Occleve, and above all Pecoock favour the bare infinitive. After a long competition with the bare infinitive, however, the use of the *to*-infinitive is now established after *ought*.

Without *to*: (II.28) I *auȝte ben* herre than she I cam of a better.

With *to*: (I.75) thow *ouȝtest me to knowe*; (XX.274) That alle thinges under heuene *ouȝte to ben* in comune.

Other examples: XI.152-3 (3 exs.).

*don* (4): a distinction should be made between the causative and periphrastic uses, the latter of which we are exclusively concerned with here. The periphrastic *don* is invariably accompanied by the bare infinitive. According to *OED*, the periphrastic *do* is found already in OE, frequent in ME, very frequent from 1500 to 1700, dying out in normal prose in the 18th century, while Trnka says that "A few sporadic instances of this construction are quoted from OE prose, but as late as 1450 the construction was comparatively rare, and it is only later that it begins to occur frequently." <sup>45)</sup> He goes on to say that "As to Chaucer's and Gower's works, the periphrastic *do* is used very rarely." <sup>46)</sup> As regards *PPl*, the periphrastic *do* cannot be said to be common, only four instances being found as far as the B-text is concerned.

(V.245) Such dedes I *did wryte ȝif* be his day breke; (X.11) Thei *don*

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44) *Op. cit.*, p.533.

45) *On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden*, p.44.

46) *Ibid.*, p.52.

that the Iewes bróute that Iesus *thouȝte to saue*.

Other examples: XIX.332, 334 ( 3 exs.)

*coueiten* (12); both kinds of infinitive occur with this verb, but the *to*-infinitive prevails. That is, in the B-text there are 10 instances of the *to*-infinitive against 2 of the bare infinitive.

Without *to*: (III.163) And alle the comune in kare that *coueyten lyue* in trewthe; (IX.171) For-thi I conseilte alle Crystene *coueite nouȝt be wedded*.

With *to*: (X.299) That out of couent and cloystre *coueyten to libbe*; (XV.39) How thow *coueitest to calle* me now thow knowest alle my names.

Other examples: Prol.29-30 ( 2 exs.) VIII.108; XI. 76-7 ( 3 exs.); XI.120; XVII.215;

*comse* (=commence) (11): found only with the *to*-infinitive in *PPl*. Eleven instances are found in the B-text. A few quotations will be given below.

(III.103) Curteisliche the kyng theanne *comsed to telle*; (VI.316) Aȝeines Catones conseilte *comseth he to Iangle*; (XX.211) by conseilte of kynde I *comsed to rowne*.

Other examples: V.12,77; VIII.20; XI.395; XII.278; XVI.75; XVIII.57; XX.241.

*bygyn* (10): with this verb the *to*-infinitive is usual in Langland, but the bare infinitive also occurs only once.

Without *to*: (XVII.179) For Iesus Iusted wel Ioye *bygynneth dawe*.

With *to*: (V.304) Now *bigynneth* glotoun for *to go* to schrifte; (XIX.322) and there-with Grace *bigan to make* a good foundement.

Other examples: II.73, XIII.347; XVIII.48, 359-60 ( 2 exs.) XIX.208; XIX.314

*lernen* (10): this verb is usually accompanied by the *to*-infinitive, but the bare infinitive is also found, though not a single instance of the latter is recorded in *OED*. Langland has two cases of *lernen* with the bare infinitive and eight with the *to*-infinitive.

Without *to*: (V.238) I *lerned neuere rede* on boke; (XII.164) That other is lewed of that laboure *lerned neuere swymme*.

With *to*: (V.203) First I *lerned to lye* a leef other tweyne; (XX.249) ȝe . . . *lerneth for to louye*.



In the following two quotations both infinitives are found in the same sentence.

(V.386) And thanne *gan* Glatoun *grete* and gret doel *to make*;

(XI.111) And in a were *gan* I *waxe* and with my-self *to dispute*.

Here the second, more distant infinitive takes *to*, probably because it follows the finite verb at some distance.

As we have seen above, the original meaning of this verb is weakened to a considerable degree, but in most cases of the examples above, its ingressive force is still more or less clearly discernible.

*dar*(29): in PE this verb (now *dare*) is not only treated as a common verb with the *to*-infinitive after it, but often also when not standing in the form of a present participle or in a compound tense, is used, like a modal auxiliaries, with a bare infinitive after it, especially in negative and interrogative sentences.<sup>43)</sup> Originally, however, the verb was followed by the bare infinitive. The first instance of the construction with the *to*-infinitive is dated c1555 in *OED*. As a matter of fact in Langland *dar* is found only with the bare infinitive, whether in negative sentences or in affirmative ones. No instance occurs in interrogative sentences. Accordingly the above-mentioned Present-day English use of *dare* with the infinitive is not entirely applicable to Langland's use of *dar* with the infinitive. Examples abound:

(VI.270) *zif* thow diete the thus I *dar legge* myn eres; (XVI.214) if I *durste seye*; (XV.406) for dredeth of the deth I *dar nouȝt telle* treuth.

Other examples: Prol.152, 178; II.34, 234; III.201; IV.52 (2 exs.); V.102, 363; VIII.118; X.133, 152; XI.86; XIII.109, 131; XIV.55-6 (3 exs.); XV.376; XIV.108 (2 exs.); XV.511; XVI.212; XVII.109; XVIII.157, 403.

*thynke* (intend, expect) (13): both forms of the infinitive occur with this verb. The earliest example in *OED* is from Beowulf In the B-text, *thynke* is accompanied by the bare infinitive in seven cases and by the *to*-infinitive in six.

without *to*: (III.95) And tolden hem this teme that I telle *thynke*;  
(XVIII.173) And in her gay garnementz whom she *grete thouȝte*?

Other examples: I.21-2 (2 exs.); X.209; XIX.190-1 (2 exs.).

With *to*: (VI.300) *to payson* Hunger thei *thouȝte*. (XII.91) The womman

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43) Cf. Curme, *Syntax* 49.4.c (1) a.

by intervening words. Of other auxiliary verbs (*do*, *dare*, etc.) mention will be made in the following section.

Full Verbs — The verbs that take a infinitive object, are numerous in Langland, of which the chief representatives are *gin*, *dar*, *thynke* (=intend), *coueiten*, *comse* (=commence), *bygyn*, *lernen* and *wilne* (=wish). The full list follows: —

*gin* (43): only a brief mention must be made of this verb. According to Mustanoja and Mossé,<sup>42)</sup> in OE the verb occurs in the form *onginnnan* (=to begin), which is regularly construed with the bare infinitive. Already in OE, however, the verb is becoming an auxiliary to express the ingressive aspect of the governing verb. To express this aspect ME normally used the verb *gin(ne)*, especially its preterite form *gan* (*gon*, *can*, *con*) followed by the bare infinitive or preceded by *to*; *gin(ne)*, first attested about 1200, was simply the equivalent, by the loss of the first syllable, of *agin(ne)* (<OE *ouginnan*).

But very early the sense of *gan* faded, so that it came to be used as a semantically empty function word. In other words, it did serve as a time indicator. *Gan* is nearly the same as the periphrastic *do*. But when the present tense *ginneth* occurs, it usually has a clearly ingressive meaning. In the B-text there are 39 of the preterite against 4 of the present. The preterite appears in the forms *gan*, *gonne* and *gunne*, of which *gan* is most often used, 37 instances having been found. In Langland this verb is accompanied by the bare infinitive in the majority of cases, but the *to*-infinitive is not very infrequent either (i. e. without *to* 32 instances; with *to* 11).

Without *to* (32): (X.109) *thise lordes gynneth dispute*; (V.488) *Now god . . . of this goodnesse gonne the worlde make*; (XIII.346) *some tyme he gan taste*; (I.171) *he was miztful and meke and mercy gan graunte*; (XIV.323) . . . *quod he and sori gan wexe*.

Other examples: XVI.32; I.112, 120 (2 exs.) 143; IV.174; V.11, 353, 370, 386; VIII.114; X.142; XI.41, 111, 194, 311; XIII.2, 267, 391; XIV.34; XVII.61; XVIII.92, 243; XX.109, 199, 299, 384.

With *to* (11): (XVII.222) *Til the holi goste gynne to glowe and to blase*. (V.347) *His guttis gunne to gothely as two gredy sowes*; (Prol.11) *Thanne gan I to meten a merueilouse sweuene*; (XIX.93) *Was neyther kynge ne conquerour til he gan to wexe*.

Other examples; IV.94; V.23, 386, 565; VI.154; XI.111; XIX.93.

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42) Mustanoja, *Middle English Syntax*, pp. 610-12; Mossé; *Handbook of Middle English*, p.103.

discussed here in this section. Examples occur in large numbers throughout the B-text. A few quotations will here suffice:

*conne* (=can): (I.143) who *can teche* the better; (I.194) thei *konne* nouzt *don* it from hem; (V.540) *Coudestow* auzte *wissen* vs the weye.

Here we may regard *conne* as an auxiliary verb, but this does not apply to the following:

(V.239) I *can* no French in feith; (XV.25) I *can* and knowe called am I Mens; (XIII.130) I *can* nouzte her on . . . ac I knowe wel Pieres.

In these examples, *can* is the verb of full meaning 'know'. Thus in Langland *can* occurs both as a verb of full meaning with its object and as an auxiliary verb construed always with a bare infinitive. Very often, therefore, it is quite difficult to decide whether a *can* is a verb or an auxiliary as in "(VI.151) but they preche *conne* and haue powere of the bisschop: (XIII.178) pilgrimes *kunne* wel lye", or it may be safely said that there is no use in distinguishing one or the other.

*mowe* (=may): (Prol.62) Many of this maistres freris *mowe clothen* hem at lykyng; (V.21) Of this matere I *myzte* *mamely* ful longe.

*mot* (=must): (II.115) now sorwe *mot* thow *haue*; (V.151) I, Wrath, rest neuere that I ne *moste folwe*.

*shal*: (III.290) Thise *shul be* maistres on molde truthe to saue;  
(VII.125) we *shulde* nouzt *be* to bisy aboute the worldes blisse.

*wil*: (III.8) I *will forgyue* hir this gilte so me god help! (VI.6) I *wolde weude* with 3ow and the way *teche*.

Thus, the auxiliary verbs nearly always take the bare infinitive, but the *to*-infinitive is also used very rarely, only three instances being found in the B-text.

(X.364-5) For euery Cristene creature *shulde be kynde* til other, And sithen bethen *to helpe* in hope of amendement; (XIV.137-9) thanne *may* men *se* the sothe, . . . And nouzt *to fonge* bfore for drede of disallowynge; (XV.101-5) *wolde* 3e lettred *leue* the leccherye of clothyng, . . . and nouzt *to underfonge* Tythes of vntrewe thinge . . .

Here in these examples the first of two parallel infinitives has no *to*, but the second has *to*. This may take place, due to the demands of the metre and rythm or to the fact that the second infinitive is seperated from the first

Cryst . . . *comaundeth* bothe, Bothe *to lered* and *to lewed*  
*to louye* owre enemys; (XX.89-90) The lorde . . . *'cryde* After  
Conforte, a knyghte *to come* and *bere* his banere; (XIII.85)  
Pacience . . . *wynked on me to be stille*.

After *pray*, *biseche*, *bidde*, *comaunde* and *lerne* exemplified above, a datival construction where the subject of the infinitive is preceded by the preposition *to* is more commonly represented by the non-prepositional construction (i. e. the accusative with infinitive construction) in Langland.

### 2.3. Infinitive as Object

The infinitive is often used as the object of a verb, in the same way as a substantive can be used, but the former differs essentially from substantive-objects in that it can not become the subject of a passive sentence. This use is one of the commonest uses of the infinitive, being by far the more common than the use of the infinitive as subject or subjective (as a substantive-equivalent). That is, in the B-text read here, there are, in all, 235 instances of this usage, excluding those used after the auxiliary verbs *can*, *may*, *must*, *shall* and *will*. Both the *to*-infinitive and the bare infinitive are used for this purpose, there being 150 instances of the former to 85 of the latter. Thus the *to*-infinitive is used nearly twice as many as the bare infinitive. It should be borne in mind, however, that in poetry the choice between the two forms of the infinitive often depends on the demands of the metre or rhythm.

Historically in OE the infinitive as object was normally the bare one, like mod. German.<sup>40)</sup> In Langland, however, the *to*-infinitive is nearly regularly used after the verbs taking an infinitive object and some other verbs. Here in this function the infinitive competes with the gerund to which reference has already been made in Chap. II.1.3, but the former is used six times as frequently as the latter (i.e. the infinitive 235: the gerund 48). First we will briefly refer to the use of the infinitive after auxiliary verbs, which is left out of my statistics above.

Auxiliary Verbs— The auxiliary verbs *can*, *may*, *must*, *shall*, and *will* which occur in *PPl* as *conne*, *mowe*, *mot*, *shal* and *wil* are regularly construed with the bare infinitive through all periods of English. Jespersen recognizes the bare infinitive as object after these verbs.<sup>41)</sup> So cases of this kind are

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40) *OED*, s.v. *To* B. 14.

41) *M.E.G.* III.1.3.1.

(Prol.205-6) But *suffre* as hym-self wolde *to do* as hym liketh,  
Coupled and vncoupled *to cacche* what they mowe.  
Other examples: V.68-9, 488-90.

*bede* (=bid) (2): found only with the bare infinitive.

(XVII.313) Efte the lizte *bad vnlouke* and Lucifer

answered; (XVIII.259) How a spirit speketh to helle and  
*bit vnspere* the zatis.

*let* (1): (II.197) But rizte as the lawe wil loke *late falle* on hem alle.

*leue* (1): (II.100) For he *leueth be lost* this is here last ende.

*teach* (1): (VII.75) And in the stories he *techeth to bistowe* thyn almes.

In these examples the logical subject of the infinitive is easily inferred from the context, but this type of expression cannot be said to be usual in ModE.

Thus, the logical subject of the infinitive used as an objective predicative is often understood in *PPl*. We might say that this is one of the characteristics of Langland's English.

Predicative infinitive following a prepositional phrase.— In a sentence like (XIII.85) *Pacience . . . wynted on me to be still*, we have a construction that is parallel to the accusative with infinitive. In other words, the construction may be said to be the object of a preposition or rather of a phrase consisting of a verb and a preposition. In *PPl* there are 17 instances of this usage. The infinitive generally has *to*, but the bare infinitive occurs only once, too. Examples follow:

Without *to* (1): (XX.200) And *cried to* Kynde out of care me *brynge*.

With *to* (16): (I.140-2) It is a Kynde knowyng . . . that *kenneth in* thine herte *For to louye* thi lorde . . . No dedly synne *to do*; (I.197) *lernyng to lewed* men the latter *for to dele*; (IV.98-9) Pitously Pees thanne *prayed to* the kynge *To haue* mercy on that man; (V.72-3) *on* owre lady he *cryed, To make* mercy for his mis-dedes; (V.216) She *spak to* spynnesteres *to synnen* it oute; (V.610-11) Biddeth Amende-3ow *meke him til* his maistre ones, *To wayue vp* the wiket; (VI.161-2) Piers the Plowman *pleyned hym to* the kny3te, *To kepe* hym . . . fram cursed shrewes; (XI.55-6) for the *biseke To* her priour prouyncial a pardon *to haue* (also in XX.105-6); (XIII.83-4) I shal *Iangle to* this Iurdan . . . *To telle* me what penaunce is; (XIII.112) And *preynte vpon* Pacience *to preie me to be still*; (XVII.242-3) 3et *bidde for vs To* the fader of heuene *for3yuenesse to haue*; (XIX.109-10)

(Prol.164) And other while thei aren elles—where as I *here telle* ;  
 (VII.1) Treuthe *herde telle* her-of ; (XVI.19) I *herde nempne* his name ;  
 (XVI.249-50) I *herde seyne* late of a barne ; (XVII.197) Neither here ne  
 elles—where as I *herde telle* .

Here in these quotations the meaning of the infinitive is said to be passive, but rather it may be better to suppose that the finite verb (*hear*) and the infinitive (*say, tell* or *nempne*) form practically a compound. In this connection, formerly *hear* was also construed with the past participle as in Ch. A 4129 I have herd seyde (q. Jespersen). In *PPl*, however, no such examples have been found. Unlike the cases discussed above, there are also those cases in which the subject of the infinitive is understood though neither indefinite nor equivalent to that of the finite verb. As regards this type of construction, 'help + infinitive' claims attention. Here the object of *help* (i. e. the subject of the infinitive) is often understood. OED says that in this case the infinitive has normally *to*, which however from the 16th century is often omitted. This remark, however, does not seem quite correct, as is pointed out by Jespersen.<sup>39)</sup> Very few instances of the construction appear in the B-text examined here and most of them (four out of five) are found with the bare infinitive.

With *to*: (IX.168-9) but if the deuel *help To folwen* after the flicche thei  
 it neuere.

Without *to*: (IX.112) The wyf was made the weye for to *help worche* ;  
 (XIII.10) But quikke he biquethe hem auzte or shulde *helpe*  
*quyte* her dettes.  
 Other examples : VI.117-8, 144.

As the examples above show, the object of *help* is easily inferred from the context. This may be one of the reasons why this kind of construction often takes place, but the true reason may be found in the fact that in these cases the ordinary speech—instinct is apt to take the infinitive in question as the object of *help*. By the way, this sort of construction occurs even in ModE, especially often in American English.

Further we find in some other cases the non-expression of the subject of the infinitive used as an objective predicative. This practice is not infrequent in Langland and occurs after verbs like *suffer, bid* and so on.

*suffre* (4) : accompanied by the *to*-infinitive alone.

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39) *M. E. G.* V, 16.4.6.

(XVIII.211-2) God...*suffred to be solde*;

(X.359) And this bilongeth to louye that leueth *to be saved*.

In all the examples just quoted it is to be noted that only the passive infinitive is used. On the other hand, when the subject of the infinitive is indefinite (e.g. 'people', 'one', etc., namely, the 'generic person'), it is often left unexpressed. This was common in ME. In Langland this type of expression is not infrequently met with after the causative verbs 'let' 'do' and 'gar'. In these cases the infinitive is usually transitive with its own object.

*do* (9): (III.31) And in the consistorie atte courte *do calle* ȝowre names;

(VI.87) I wil... *do wryte* my biqueste.

Other examples: II. 195; III.60-2 (5 exs.); VII.177-8.

But we must distinguish this use of *do* from the redundant use of *do* like *gan* in ME.

*let* (8): (II.158) And *laten sompne* alle segges in schires aboute;

(III.112) *lat hange* me sone!

(XVII.9) *Late se* thi lettres

(XX.142) *leet dagge* his clothes.

Other examples: II.170, 174; IV.20; VIII.30.

*gar* (1): (X.175) Grammer for gerles I *gerte* first *wryte*.

As is apparent from the instances quoted above, the active infinitive preceded by *do*, *let* and *gar* is commonly best interpreted by the passive. (e.g. III.112 *lat hange* me=cause me to be hanged.) As a matter of fact, in these cases ModE would generally have the passive infinitive which is found as early as ME as in *Mandv* 102 Abraham *leet* him *ben circumcyded* (q. Jespersen). In the same way *make* is also used in ME, the earliest example of which the earliest example given in OED is dated c1302, but no examples of this usage have not been found in Langland. Further, a special case of common occurrence in ME is 'hear + say, tell and the like' in which the object of the infinitive is unexpressed, being indefinite. OED has examples of this type from as early as c1000 on. They are still in dialectal or colloquial, and occasionally literary use.<sup>38)</sup> In the B-text examined here, there are five instances of this.

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38) Cf. OED s. v. Hear 3. c.

(XV.10) that folke *helden* me *a fole*; (V.68) Shal neuere heize herte  
me hente but *holde* me *lowe*.

*count*: (XII.140) As to the clergye of oryst *counted* it but *a trufle*.

*let* (=consider): (XV.168) Al that men seith, he *let* it *soth* and in solace  
taketh.

*leuen* (=believe): (XIII.388-9) I dred nouȝt that so sore, As when I lened  
and *leued* it *lost*.

#### (D) Verbs of Declaration

As already stated, the accusative with infinitive after verbs of declaration is found in OE only in slavish translations from Latin originals. According to Mustanoja<sup>35)</sup> and Trnka,<sup>36)</sup> this construction is widely used from the 14th century, largely due to the influence of Latin. In Langland, however, not a single instance of the construction is found after verbs of declaration. We have only two examples of the accusative with other predicative:

*knowlech* (=acknowledge): (XII.193) he . . . *kneweleched* hym *gulty*.

*preyse* (=praise): (XV.152) Ac charite that Poule *preyseth* *best* and *most*  
*plesaunte* to owre saueoure.

Next, reference will be made to some derivative or particular uses of the accusative with infinitive, the examples of which are not numbered in the statistics above.

Non-expression of the subject of the infinitive — So far mention has been made of those cases in which the subject of the infinitive is expressly indicated as it is different from that of the finite verb.

Now we will deal with those cases in which the subject of the infinitive used as an objective predicative is not expressed, viz. "Incomplete infinitival nexus-objects"<sup>37)</sup> as Jespersen calls it.

When the subject of the infinitive used as an objective predicative is the same as that of the finite verb, it is sometimes not expressed. Only four instances occur in the B-text.

(XIII.407) That into wanhope he worthe and wende nauȝt *to be saued*;  
(XV.151) And wolen lene there thei *leue* lelly *to be payed*;

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35) Mustanoja, *op. cit.*, p.527.

36) Trnka, *op. cit.*, p.84.

37) *M.E.G.* V, § 18.5.4.



are met with in *PPl*.

(XI.28-9) Thow shalt *fynde* Fortune the *faille* at thi most nede, And  
Concupiscencia-carnis clene the *forsake*.

*lythen* (1): this is the only verb of this group which is accompanied by the *to*-infinitive.

(XIII.424) And han likyng to *lythen* hem *to do* 3ow to lawghe.

### (C) Verbs of Mental Perception

It has already been remarked that the use of the accusative with infinitive construction became wider after verbs of mental perception. As to this problem Mustanoja<sup>33)</sup> and Trnka<sup>34)</sup> hold the same opinion as that of Zeitlin referred to above. The same is not, however, the case with Langland's use of the construction. Only two instances are found in the B-text. One of the reasons why after verbs of mental perception the construction concerned is very rare may be that some predicative other than an infinitive—an adjective, adverb, participle or substantive is often employed with the accusative. This group is composed of the following: —

*troue* (1): found with the bare infinitive. The only instance that has come to hand is:

(I.143) This I *troue* *be* treuthe;

*judge* (1): this verb is found only once with the *to*-infinitive in which the infinitive is passive.

(II.136) And thouȝ Iustices *iugge* hir *to be ioigned* with Fals,

Below will be given some instances with other predicative than the infinitive.

*wite*: (II.77) Falsenesse is faine of hire for he *wote* hire *riche*.

*know*: (XII.80-1) the Iewes *knewe* hemseluen *Gultier* as afore god.

*iugen*: (IX.84) Iuwes that we *iugge* Iudas *felawes*.

*hold*: (X.386) And al holicherche *holdeth* hem both *ydampned*;

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33) *Op.cit.*, p.527.

34) *Op.cit.*, p.84.

With *to*: (III.87-90) Mede the mayde the maire hath *bisowne*, Of alle  
suche sellers syluer *to take*, . . . the regrateres *to maytene*.  
Other examples: V.486-7 (2 exs.)

*clepe* (=invite) (1): the only instance is found with the bare infinitive.

(XI.114) For Cryste *cleped* vs alle *come* if we wolde,

Other verbs of this group are *will* (XX. 262-3), *wilne* (XIII. 204), *wowed* (IV.74-5), *seche* (IV.63-4) and *conjure* (XV.15). They are all accompanied by the *to*-infinitive.

(5) Very rarely with Other Verbs where the causative element is in some degree prominent. Verbs belonging to this group may overlap those given in (1), but at least two verbs, namely, *ordain* and *affaite* may be considered here.

(Prol.119) And for profit of alle the poeple plowmen *ordeygned*, *To tilie* and *trauaile* as trewe lyf asketh.

#### (B) Verbs of Sense Perception

Though far less frequently than with Verbs of Causation, the accusative with infinitive construction is not infrequently found with verbs of sense perception, of which the chief representative is *see*. Thirty instances fall under this group. Here it is to be noted that all the verbs but 'lythen' are always accompanied by the bare infinitive. The full list follows:

*see* (22): found only with the bare infinitive. A few examples will be sufficient here;

(VII.148) I *se* it ofte *faille*; (XI.320) Resoun I *seigh* sothly *suen* alle bestes; (XX.108) And Kynde cessed tho to *se* the peple *amende*.  
Other examples: Prol.160-1; IV.152; V.542-3, 615; VII.140; IX.81; X.362; XIII.121; XV.219-20 (4 exs.); XVI.39, 272-3; XVII.106; XVIII.161-3, 244, 248, 393.

*hear* (5): accompanied by the bare infinitive alone. Examples follow:

(Prol.189) For I *herde* my sire *seyn* is seuene zere upassed;  
(XX.229) Freres *herden* hym *crye*.  
Other examples: X.101-4 (2 exs.); XV.521.

*nd* (2): this verb is found only with the bare infinitive. Only two instances

Other verbs belonging to this group are *charge* (V.34) and *call* (III.3-4 (2 exs.); XIX.9), both of them being accompanied by the *to*-infinitive.

(4) less frequently with Verbs of Requesting, of which the chief representative is *pray*. Forty-one instances belong to this group. The full list follows:—

*pray* (22): this verb is usually found with the *to*-infinitive, but the bare infinitive also occurs five times:

Without *to*: (XX.337) I *preye* the *hele* nouȝte thi name.

Other examples: I.80-1 (2 exs.); V.51 (2 exs.).

With *to*: (XVII.172) And *preyed* Pees *to telle* her; (XIII.112) *to preie* me *to be stille*; (VI.199) what Pieres *preyed* hem *to do*.

Other examples: II.70; V.26-7 (2 exs.), 181; VI.202-3 (2 exs.); X.121, 200-1 (2 exs.); XI.431; XIII.236 (2 exs.); XVI.73-4 (2 exs.)

*bidde* (<A.S. *biddan*=pray, beg) (8):

In ME *biddan* and *beodan* were leveled under the form *bidden*,<sup>32)</sup> which was used in the two senses of 'command' and 'pray'. Here we are concerned with the latter meaning. Only eight examples of this occur in the B-text, of which 6 are found with the bare infinitive and 2 with the *to*-infinitive.

Without *to*: (VIII.119-20) But as I *bad* Thouȝt tho *be mene* bitwene, And *put forth* somme purpose to prouen his wittes.

Other examples: V.231, 610; XX.165, 373.

With *to*: (XVI.65-6) and *bad* hym the fayre *To discreue* the fruit.

(XX.373-4) and *bad* clergye help hym and also Contricioun *for to kepe* the ȝate.

In the last quotation above the bare infinitive and the *for to*-infinitive are found in the same sentence.

*beseech* (7): this verb is accompanied by the bare infinitive in three cases and by the *to*-infinitive in four.

Without *to*: (XIX.149-50) The Iewes . . . *bisouȝte* the knyȝtes *Telle* the comune that.

Other two instances are found in V.509-12

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32) Zeitlin, *op. cit.*, p.58.

manding, of which group the chief representative is *bede* (= bid). Sixty-eight belong here. This group is composed of the following:—

*bede* (45) (<A.S. *beodan*=bid): both kinds of infinitive occur with this verb, but the bare one is by far the more common. In the B-text there are only 5 instances of the *to*-infinitive as against 40 of the bare one.

Without *to*: (VII.61) he *bad* me *make* 3ow this. (XIII.70) Holywrit *bit* men *be* war.

Other examples: II. 159; VI. 219; VII. 76; X. 7; XI. 15; XII.150, etc.

With *to*: (XVII.128-9) he *bad* me *to louye* O god with al my good.

Other examples: II. 144-6 (2 exs.); XI. 313-4; XVII. 130.

Here we can find the *to*-infinitive and the bare one in the same sentence.

(XI.312-4) Kynde . . . *bad* me *nymen* *bede*, . . . wytte *for to take*.

Here the use of *for to* may be due to the fact that the two infinitives are separated by several words.

*command* (10): this verb is found only with the *to*-infinitive in *PPl*.

(IV.83-5) the kyng . . . *comaunded* a constable *to casten* hym in yrens.

Other examples: II.198-9, 206-7 (2 exs.); XI.175; XIII.46-7; XIX.358-9, 361-3 (3 exs.).

Zeitlin<sup>31)</sup> says that *command* was often followed by a dative with infinitive, but in *PPl* only one instance is met with.

(XIX.109-10) And Cryst conseillesh thus and *commannedeth* bothe, Bothe *to lered and to lewed to louye* owre enemys.

*hoten* (9): with this verb both forms of the infinitive occur. In *PPl* *hoten* is accompanied by the bare infinitive in three cases and by the *to*-infinitive in six.

Without *to*: (XX.346) Hende-speche *het* Pees *opene* the 3ates,

Other two examples are X.61 and XVI.232.

With *to*: (XX.271) Enuye . . . *heet* freres *to go* to scole (cf. C. XXIII.273 *het* freres *go* to scole).

Other examples: I.17-9 (2 exs.); XX.271-3 (3 exs.)

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31) *op. cit.*, p.59.

*wissēn* (=instruct) (8); found mostly with the *to*-infinitive. Only two instances are the bare infinitive.

Without *to*: (XX.240-1) He *wissed* hem *wynne* hit *azeyne* . . . and *fecchen* it fro fals men.

With *to*: (XI.374) Holy writ . . . *wisseth* men *to suffre*: Other examples: X.341; XII.271; XIX.60-2 (3 exs.)

Of these examples one is found with the passive infinitive:

(XII.271) that *wissen* vs *to be saued*,

*rede* (=advise) (8): Out of eight instances, seven are found with the *to*-infinitive, while only one is the bare infinitive.

Without *to*: (X.266) I *rede* eche a blynde bosarde *do* bote to hymselfe.

With *to*: (V.46) he *radde* religioun here reule *to holde*.  
Other examples: IV.29-30, 110-1 (2 exs.), 113; V.485; XIII.422-3.

*leren* (7): accompanied mostly by the *to*-infinitive. The bare infinitive also occurs though only once.

Without *to*: (XIX.244) he *lered* . . . eche a crefte *loue* other.

With *to*: (XIX.231) And sommehe *lered to laboure* a lele lyf and a trewe.  
Other examples: XIII.142-3, 186; XIX.242-3 (2 exs.); XIX.244.

*Warne* (1): found with the bare infinitive. The only instance which appears in the B-text is:

(Prol.207) vche a wise *wizte* I *warne wite* wel his owne.

*tellen* (2): with this verb the *to*-infinitive occurs, accompanied by the interrogative pronoun *what*.

(XV.357-9) Tilieres that tiled the erthe *tolden* her waistres . . . what *to lene* and what *to lyue by*.

Other verbs belonging to this group are: *kenne* (=teach) (I.81; II.4; X.146, 338; XII.229, 230-1 (2 exs.); XIV.16), *shewe* (Prol.167-8 (3 exs.)), *lerne* (=teach) (XIX.274). All these verbs are found only with the *to*-infinitive in Langland.

(3) Only slightly less frequently than with the preceding, with Verbs of Com-

In this connection the earliest instance given in OED is c1205.

*leue* (=grant) (1): accompanied by the bare infinitive. The only instance that has come to hand is,

(Prol.125-6) Crist...*leue* the *lede* thi londe.

*gyue* (11): accompanied by the *to*-infinitive. Eleven instances occur. Mustanoja mentions that the peculiar OE use of the bare infinitive after *give* survives in a few ME cases.<sup>30)</sup> No such examples are found in *PPl*, though.

(II.92-3) Glotonye he *gaf* hem eke and grete othes togydere And al day *to drynke* at dyuerse tauernes; (V.446) I ran aboute in ȝouthen and ȝaf me nouȝte *to lerne*.

Other verbs belonging to this group are as follows: *moue*(XII.4; XIII.191), *chafen*(XII.127), *shapeth*(VII.67), *meynteneth*(=abets)(III.150(2 exs.), IV.55), *egge*(XVIII.286), *strengtheneth*(VIII.47), *serueth*(XII.105), *grant*(V.614, XVIII.182-3)

All the verbs indicated above are found with the *to*-infinitive alone in *PPl*.

(2) Next most frequently with Verbs of Advising, teaching, persuading and the like, of which the chief representatives are *teach* and *counsel*. Eighty-three instances belong to this group. The full list follows: —

*teach* (29): this verb is always accompanied by the *to*-infinitive.

(VIII.136) Treuthe shal *teche* ȝow his teme *to dryue*;

(XI.352) who *tauchte* hem on trees *to tymbre* so heighe.

Other examples: I.109-10 (2 exs.); V.28-9 (2 exs.); VI.211 (2 exs.); X.174, 203; XIV.182-3 (2 exs.); XV.414-5, 563; XIX.165 (2 exs.), 232-4 (4 exs.), 234-7 (7 exs.), 239(2 exs.).

*counsel*(15): both forms of the infinitive occur, but the *to*-infinitive is by far the more common. The bare infinitive is found only two times.

Without *to*: (IX.171) I *conseille* alle Cryste *coueite* nouȝt be wedd;

(XI.219) I *conseil* alle Crystene *cleue* nouȝte ther-on to sore.

With *to*: (VII.195) I *conseille* all Cristene *to crye* godmercy.

Other examples: Prol.187; I.66; III.205; V.49; VII.149; X.217; XII.123-4 (2 exs.); XV.337; XIX.195, 209, 389.

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30) *Middle English Syntax*, Part I, p.531.

infinitive, not being governed by the *to* of *to begile*.

*help*<sup>29</sup> (11) : with this verb the infinitive always takes *to* in the B-text though in PE, especially American English, the bare infinitive is frequent, but in the C-text I have found one instance with the bare infinitive. This is by far older than the earliest quotation (dated a1539) given in *O.E.D.*

Without *to*: (C. VII.299) *to helpe the restitue*.

With *to*: (V.281) *to helpe the to restitue*; (VII.6) *alle that halpe hym to erie to settle or to sowe*.

Other examples: VI.21, 67( 2 exs.), 106( 2 exs.), 108; XIX.372.

In the B-text as well, we find instances with the bare infinitive (e.g. VI.144 *helpe make mortar*). But they are different from those indicated above in that the logical subject of the infinitive (i.e. the object of *help*) is understood. Constructions of this type will be treated of later.

*gar* (10) : both types of the infinitive occur with this causative verb. In the B-text examined here, *gar* is accompanied by the bare infinitive in four cases and by the *to*-infinitive in six.

Without *to*: (VI.303) and *gerte Hunger go slepe*. (XX.56) And *gert gyle growe* there.

Other examples: V.130; XX.130.

With *to*: (V.62) And *gert Wille to wepe*; (XV.436) Gregory *gerte clerkes to go* here and *preche*.

Other examples: I.121 ( 2 exs.); XX.130.

The only instance in which both infinitives are found in the same sentence is:

(XX.130) And *gart Godo-Feithe flee* and *Fals to abide*.

*let* (=prevent) (2) : this verb is found twice with the *to*-infinitive alone. As a verb of preventing *let* is the only instance used in the accusative with infinitive construction, which is now obsolete.

(XI.265) Which *letteth the to loke*; (XI.132-3) may no synne *lette Mercy alle to amende*.

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29) In *M.E.G.* V, 18.4.5. Jespersen says "After *help* it is natural to take the infinitive with *to* as an infinitive of purpose," but Kruisinga considers this verb as a causative verb. In accordance with Kruisinga, I dealt with *help* as such here in this section.

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

*make* (35): both forms of the infinitive occur with this causative verb. In PE the bare infinitive is the rule but the reverse is the case in Langland. Out of 35 instances 21 are the *to*-infinitive while 14 are the bare infinitive. In other words, the *to*-infinitive is more usual in Langland.

Without *to*: (II.212) *marchantz...made hym abide*; (XX.304) *Shrifte...made men do*.

Other examples: VI.260; VIII.64; XIX.126, 198 (2 exs.); XX.54 (2 exs.), 137-8, 281-2 (2 exs.); III.122; V.96.

With *to*: (Prol.133) *the comunes made hym to regne*; (XIV.254) *Mischief...maketh hym to thynke*; (XIX.121) *He made lawe to lepe*.

Other examples: III.325; VI.112, 214; VII.143, 167; VIII.32 (2 exs.), 67, 118; X.172; XI.8, 225; XII.41; XIII.450; XV.485; XIX.126, 278, 378.

Here again we can find the *to*-infinitive and the bare infinitive in the same sentence:

(XIX.126) *defe thorw his doynge to here and dombe speke he made*,

*suffer* (12): with this verb the *to*-infinitive occurs eight times and the bare one four times.

Without *to*: (VI.183) *Suffre hem lyue*; (XVI.159) *Suffreth my postles in pays and in pees gange*.

Other examples: X.126; XVIII.218.

With *to*: (I.144) *Loke thow suffre hym to sey*; (XVI.74) *And suffre me to assaye...*

Other examples: III.92; VI.82; VIII.92; X.118, 125; XVIII.218.

In the case of *suffer*, too, there are two examples (X.125-6; XVIII.218) where both infinitives are found in the same sentence, but the explanation given in the section of *don* would not hold for one of them in which the *to*-infinitive precedes the bare infinitive.

(X.125-6) *Suffre Sathan his sede to bigile*,  
Or Judas to the Iuwes Iesu *betraye*.

Here in this instance we should suppose that *betraye* is a case of the bare



is dated 1530. But I have two older examples which are found in *PPI* dated 1377:

(III.196) She *leteth passe* prisoneres  
(V.416) all this *late* I *passe*,

Though only once, we find the usual order as well.

(Prol.155) vs lotheth the lyf or he *lete* vs *passe*.

Here we will pay attention to the following interesting quotation, though it is not regarded as the accusative with infinitive under discussion.

(XI.203-5) For-thi loue we as leue bretheren shal and vche man *laughe*  
vp other,  
And of that eche man may forbere *amende* there it nedeth,  
And euery man *helpe* other for hennes shal we alle;

In this example the italicized bare infinitives are construed with *let* implied in *loue we* (=let us love), so that they seem to be objective predicatives.

*don* (=make, cause) (34): After causative *do*, 34 instances are found, of which 25 are the bare infinitive and 9 the *to*-infinitive. Thus the bare infinitive is more common.

Without *to*: (VI.276) Thei *do* men *deye* thow here drynkes;  
(XX.314) *do* hym *come* to Vnyte.  
Other examples: I.103; III.135, 158, 199, 305, 315;  
V.95, 173, 396, 547; IX.65; XI.309; XIII.169-70, 228;  
XIV.250 (2 exs.); XV.398, 585(2 exs.); XVI.106, 114;  
XVIII.95; XX.153.

With *to*: (VIII.12) *doth* me *to wytene*; (XIII.424) *to do* zow *to lawghe*.  
Other examples: VI.56; VIII.77; X.41; XIV.83; XVII.315-6;  
XX.154 (2 exs.)

Though only once, the bare infinitive and the *to*-infinitive are found in the same sentence.

(XX.152-4) Heel and I...and heighnesse of herte  
Shal do the nouzte *drede* noyther Deth ne Elde,  
And *to forzete* sorwe and *gyue* nouzte of synne.

Here in this quotation the use of *to* may be due to the fact that the infinitives are separated by several words.

will be found with the following groups of verbs: —

(1) Oftenest with Verbs of Causing and Allowing and of Preventing, of which the chief representatives are *don*, *make*, and *let*. 174 instances belong to this group. The full list follows: —

*let* (=allow, permit, cause) (48): in Langland this verb is always accompanied by the bare infinitive, though in ME the *to*-infinitive is also found as in "(BK London E 98[1418-19?]) the forsaid mair, aldermen and comuns ... *laten* al men *to wete*" (q. Mustanoja). After *let* the construction in question is very common in OE and ME. In fact, in Langland the construction is most often found with *let*, so that only a few examples will be enough to show this.

(I. 164-5) the fader ... *lete* his sone *deye*; (XI.37) *lat* god *done* his wille;  
(XI.359) he *lat* his plastres *bite*.

Other examples: I.50; II.201, 202; III.73-4; IV.40, 86; VII.87; XVI.259; XVIII.418; etc.

Here in this construction the passive infinitive occurs only once in *PPl*.

(X.254) *lat* no body *be* bi thi berying *bygyled*,

Generally the logical subject of the infinitive is placed before the infinitive as in the above quotation, but in some cases we find the inverse order. Thus *let* enters into a fixed combination with the following infinitive and forms nearly one semantic whole with it followed by an object. Expressions of this type that I have met with in *PPl* are *let be*, *let go* and *let pass*:

*let be*: (IV.180) I wil...*lete be* al 3owre Ianglyng.

OED has examples from c. 1175 on, but we have the following instances used in the same sense as *let be*.

(Prol.187) to *let* the catte *worthe*; (II.47) *let* hem *worth*;  
(VI.228) *lete* thow god *y-worthe*.

*let go*: the earliest example quoted by OED is a 1300 from *Cursor Mundi*. In the B-text only one instance occurs:

(V.334) *let go* the cuppe.

*let pass* (=pass by, neglect): The earliest instance in OED for *let pass*

centuries seems to be largely due to the influence of Latin. This is especially the case after verbs of saying. Wyclif and Pecoock appear to be particularly fond of the accusative with infinitive.

Here the noticeable thing is that since OE a substantive, participle or adjective are commonly used as an objective predicative instead of the infinitive, usually with a little different meaning. Hence we may easily imagine that the construction with these predicative forms must have been a very important factor in the historical development of the accusative with infinitive.

Now it is time to inquire into Langland's use of the infinitive as an objective predicative, namely, the accusative with infinitive construction.

In *PPl* (B-text) examined here there are as many as 403 instances which form about 25 per cent of the whole instances of the infinitive. Hence it may be safely said that this construction is fairly frequently used in Langland. It is very frequent after certain verbs (A) of (Expressed or Implied) Causation; is less common after (B) verbs of Sense Perception; and is almost unknown after (C) verbs of Mental Perception, (D) of Declaration, though we often hesitate to determine to which group the verb in a given instance may belong. The passive infinitive in this construction is very rare, there being only three instances.

Originally the bare infinitive was the rule in the construction of the accusative with infinitive, but in course of time there came in the *to*-infinitive. According to Kellner, in the sixteenth century the latter becomes the rule.<sup>27)</sup> In *PPl*, however, out of 403 instances so used 191 are the bare infinitive while 212 are the *to*-infinitive. Judging from the figures given above, the relative frequency of both infinitives is much the same, but it does not follow from this that the one is used as freely as the other. The bare infinitive is found almost exclusively after some particular verbs like *do* (=cause), *make*, *let*, *bede* (=bid), *see*, *hear*, etc. but otherwise the *to*-infinitive is by far the more common. Accordingly we may say that as to Langland's use of the construction the *to*-infinitive is the rule.

#### (A) Verbs of Expressed or Implied Causation

The accusative with infinitive construction occurs oftenest, namely 371 times with verbs of causation, expressed or implied, as is the case with OE and ME examples of this type.<sup>28)</sup> The instances considered belonging here

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27) *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, § 404

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

*To* with an infinitive in *-ing* is, according to van der Gaaf, used to render the Latin future participle, particularly in Wyclif and Trevisa. No future examples of this kind occur in Langland as far as I know.

Lastly, as Jespersen <sup>23)</sup> points out, the OE construction with a dative as in AElfric (*Homilies*, I. 314. hwæt is us *to donne?* and I. 254. Us is *to smeaganne* ðæt word) (q. W. v. der Gaaf) is certainly one of the sources of the construction under discussion. This kind of construction is found even in ME but in the course of ME the dative becomes the nominative along with the transition from the impersonal to the personal construction,<sup>24)</sup> so that the construction is equivalent in form to the *be to + infinitive* mentioned above. W. van der Gaaf <sup>25)</sup> adduces one ME instance of the new construction from Wyclif: c.1380 Wycliffe, Sel. Wks., I. 120, he wist what *he* was to do. But I have found no examples regarded as such in Langland.

## 2. 2 (2) Objective Predicative

The infinitive is also used as a kind of objective predicative in a construction customarily referred to as 'the accusative with infinitive', equivalent to an object clause. Before discussing this use of the infinitive in *PPl* we will take a brief survey of its historical development. According to Mustanoja,<sup>26)</sup> the history of this construction will be summarized as follows: Even in earliest OE, as in other early Indo-European languages, the infinitive occurs as an objective predicative. The construction seems to occur first after certain causative verbs, but its use after verbs of perception is remarkably ancient, too. In conjunction with verbs of saying it is found in OE only in slavish translation from Latin originals.

In early ME there is a remarkable increase in the use of the construction after verbs of causation, and since the beginning of the fourteenth century the accusative with infinitive has been practically the only construction used with these verbs. It is also quite common after verbs of perception. It is used in an increasing measure after verbs denoting mental activity of various kinds. From the fourteenth century onwards the accusative with infinitive is widely used also in conjunction with verbs of saying and believing. The great increase in the use of the construction between the 14th and 16th

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23) M.E.G., V, 15.5.

24) Mustanoja, *op. cit.*, p.526.

25) "The Predicative Passive Infinitive", pp. 112-3.

26) *Middle English Syntax*, Part I, pp. 526-7.

getting less usual, as *have to* often takes the place of *be to*.

Mustanoja says that in OE the predicative infinitive is comparatively seldom found with an active meaning and that this use continues to be rare in early ME, but becomes more frequent later in the period. But in view of the fact that the earliest instance of the construction in question probably dates from the end of the tenth century, Trnka <sup>21)</sup> is undoubtedly wrong in stating that the first to use 'be to + infinitive' in the active meaning was Wyclif. In *PPl* I have found as many as 23 instances of this usage, of which 17 are 'be to mene'. To all intents and purposes, therefore, seven verbs belong here. In most instances here collected the implication of futurity is faint or non-existent:

(XII.97) For bothe *ben* as miroures *to amenden* owre defautes;

(XII.206-7) he...*is* euremore in daungere, And as lawe lyketh *to lyue* or *to deye*; (I.11) what is this *to mene*; (XIX.89) mirre is mercy *to mene*.

The *be to mene* is very frequent and seems to be a kind of set phrase in *PPl*. Further instances of this are found in I. 60; III.96; IX.49; X. 409, 455; XI. 266, XIV. 274, 319; XV. 55, 443, 451; XVI. 3; XVIII. 207, 215; XIX. 58.

W. van der Gaaf <sup>22)</sup> says to the effect that in ME *ben to comen(e)* is the only combination found in its original sense and that examples of other combinations than *ben to comen* have only been found in Wyclif and Purvey. In *PPl*, however, I have met with two such examples of other combinations than *ben to come*. Of the latter only one instance is found. These three examples will be given below in which the implication of futurity is more or less prominent.

(VII. 13-7) Bisshopes...*Aren* peres with the apostles...And at the day of dome atte heighe deyse *to sytte*; (X. 473-4) Crystes tresore, the which *is* mannes soule *to saue* as god seith in the gospel. (XV.592) And hopen that he *be to come* that shal hem releue;

In connection with the last quotation above, the corresponding line in the C-text reads as follows: And hopen that he *to comynge* that shal hem releue.

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21) *On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden*, p.79.

22) "Beon and habban connected with an inflected infinitive", *English Studies*, XIII, p.177.

must be due to Latin influence as rendering Latin *sum* + gerundive or similar Latin constructions.

In *PPl* (B-text) I have found fifteen examples which are active in form but passive in meaning. This usage continues in ME and even today.

(VII.60) ȝif that I lye Mathew is *to blame* (*be to blame* thus is found further in V.30, VIII.55, XI.424 and XIV.1); (V.592) Sey-soth-so-it-be-*to-done*; (VI.307-8) ale... that in borghe is *to selle*; (XII.72) ȝit is clergye *to comende*; (XI.355) Many selcouthes...ben nouȝt *to sey* nouthe; (XI.369) my tyme is *to abyde*; (XI.379) if thou be *to preyse* (*be to preyse* also in XVI.219); (XIV.266) Moche is such a mayde *to louie* of hym; (XVI.230) Ful trewe tokenes bitwene vs is *to telle* whan me lyketh; (XVII.327) Thise thre that I telle of ben thus *to vnderstonde*.

Of these examples quoted above, *be to blame* has survived in ModE, but the other combinations are quite obsolete in which case now the passive would be used. In the 14th century also appears the periphrastic passive infinitive used predicatively. As to this problem, van der Gaaf remarks that "predicative passive infinitive did not make its appearance until after the thirteenth century."<sup>18)</sup> and quotes his first instance from Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*: 1303 (MS.1360) *pey beth to be blamed eft parfore*. After his careful examination of ME examples he concludes that "by the end of the fifteenth century the predicative passive infinitive had acquired the status of a regular, recognized construction."<sup>19)</sup> In *PPl*, however, there is no instance of this combination.

(ii) Non-retroactive infinitive (e.g. he be to come.)

According to van der Gaaf,<sup>20)</sup> this type of construction, denoting futurity, mostly with a slight admixture of predestination began to be used in late OE as an imitation of Latin *esse* + future participle. In late ME and early ModE the idea of predestination, arrangement, agreement, sometimes becomes predominant in the signification of the construction. In PE this is the usual meaning. In late ME and early ModE we also find instances of the construction under discussion in the sense of obligation or necessity. As a result *be to* is often synonymous with *ought to*, *have to*, *must*. But in PE this meaning is

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18) "The Predicative Passive Infinitive", *English Studies*, X, p.110.

19) *Ibid.*, X, p.110.

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

says that it does not seem to occur in OE and is rare in ME. Sure enough, not a single example of this use can be found in *PPl*. Instances are, however, plentiful in Present-day American English. For reference some examples will be given below :

All they did was *shout* ché at one another.—Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, p.83; What I would like to do is *use* thy orders for that purpose.—*Ibid.*, p.148; All Pilar did was *be* an intelligent woman.—*Ibid.*, p.163; All I could do was *cry*.—*Ibid.*, p.335.

After a passive verb the *to*-infinitive is normally used as in (XVIII.81-2) Maugre his many tethe he was made that tyme *To take* the spere in his honde and *Iusten* with Iesus., but the bare infinitive is, though only twice, recorded in *PPl*, too.

(II.218) He was nawhere welcome for his manye tales,

Ouer-al yhowted and yhote *trusse*;

(XIII.33) This maister was made *sitte* as for the moste worthy,

Cases of this kind will be further discussed in the section 2.3.

(b) Subjective predicative as an adjective-equivalent :

The construction *Be to* with an infinitive which we are going to deal with here is different from the predicative mentioned above in that here the infinitive is an adjective-equivalent. In treating of the construction under discussion we had better divide it from a historical point of view into two groups:

(i) retroactive infinitive (e.g. V.30 his wyf was *to blame*) and (ii) non-retroactive infinitive (e.g. XV.592 he be *to come*).

The two constructions just quoted are identical in form, but different in meaning. That is, in the former the infinitive is passive in sense while in the latter it is active, or we may say that in the former the infinitive refers to the subject of the main sentence as its latent object though in the latter the logical subject of the infinitive is the same as the subject of the main sentence.

(i) Retroactive infinitive (e.g. his wyf was *to blame*.)

This type of construction, generally implying necessity or obligation, is frequent in OE, but from the circumstance that OE examples are very scarce in poetry and original prose, while they are found in great numbers in translations from Latin, Callaway<sup>17)</sup> thinks that the construction cannot be organic, but

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

*PPl*: *liste* (V.400; XVII.139-40); *bilongeth* (X.246,359); *fallen* (XI.95; XIV.185; XVI.176); *nedeth* (XI.282; XVII.30); *lakketh* (XIX.465).

Examples of the *for to*-infinitive:

(Prol.172) *ȝif him list for to laike*; (XI.386) *it falleth nouȝte for to lakke*  
(XX.18) *if hym lyst for to lape*.

## 2.2 Predicative Infinitive

Here in this section the predicative infinitive is divided into the subjective predicative and the adjective predicative according to the connection with its head word or subject, the former of which may further fall into two groups:

(a) as a substantive-equivalent and (b) as an adjective-equivalent.

### 2.2 (1) Subjective Predicative

(a) Subjective predicative as a substantive-equivalent:

The predicative infinitive we are now going to deal with is equivalent in function to a predicative substantive. First I will give some examples below:

(IV.119) *Til clerken coueitise be to clothe the pore and to fede*.  
(IX.203) *And Dowel is to drede God and Dobet to suffre*.

As the examples just quoted show, the *to*-infinitive is often used as a subjective predicative. According to Trnka<sup>16)</sup>, this use appears first in early ME, no instances being found as yet in OE. In the B-text, 25 examples are met with.

Further examples:

(XI.264) *That parfyte pouert was no possessioun to haue*,  
(XVIII.174) *My wille is to wende, ...and welcome hem alle*,  
(XIX.352-3) *My conseil is to wende Hastiliche in-to Vnyte*.

Other examples: I. 99-101 (3 exs.); IX. 199; X. 230, 232, 249, 256, 303 (2 exs.); XV. 177, 240-1 (2 exs.), 476-7 (3 exs.); XIX. 59-60.

In ModE, not infrequently we find sentences with infinitive both as subject and predicative as in '*to see her is to love her*'. In Langland, however, such an instance never turns up.

As to the use of the bare infinitive as subjective predicative Mustanoja

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16) *On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden*, p.77.



(XIII.148) *Ac for to fare* thus with thi frende foly *it* was.  
Other examples: IX. 200; XI. 359; XVIII. 95.

The bare infinitive is not found at all as direct subject in Langland, but we come across the following example which would be now impossible.

(XVIII.299-301) *Ac it* is but selden yseye there sothenesse bereth witnesse,  
*Any creature...Be raunsoned* for his repentaunce there alle resoun hym dampneth.

In this quotation the bare infinitive forms only a part of the whole subject 'Any creature...Be raunsoned' in which today *for* would be necessary before the substantive.

Next in the function of the logical subject the infinitive is not infrequently found after impersonal constructions. In the B-text examined here, there are, in all, 31 instances of this use, of which 11 are the bare infinitive, 17 the *to*-infinitive and 3 the *for to*-infinitive. Thus, it is to be noted that the bare infinitive is fairly often used as the logical subject of an impersonal expression, though not so frequently as the *to*-infinitive.

Examples with the bare infinitive:

(Prol.173) ther-while hym *plaie* liketh; (III.138) *fle* where hym lyketh.

*Like* is the only verb of this kind that takes a bare infinitive as its subject in *PPl*. The bare infinitive occurs also after the phrases *better ben* and *leuer ben*:

(XV.71) *Bettere byleue* were mony doctoures such techyng, And *tellen* men of the ten comaundementz and *touchen* the seuene synnes; (XVIII.307) For vs were letter nouzte *be* than *biden* his syzte; (V.154) Hir were leuere *swowe* or *swelte* than *soeffre* any payne; (XIII.200-1) Me were leuer, by owre lorde and I lyue shulde, *Haue* pacience perfitlich than half thy pakke of bokes.

Examples of the *to*-infinitive as the logical subject of an impersonal expression:

(V.434) Reuthe is *to here* the rekenynge; (XI.393) That ne some tymes hym bitit *to folwen* his kynde; (XI.418) tyl hym lest *to ryse*; (XV.501) now is routhe *to rede* how...; (XVII.162) nedeth no man *to trowe* non other; (XX.61-2) folis were wel leuer *to deye* than *to lyue* Longer.

Other impersonal verbs that take the *to*-infinitive as its subject in

the bare infinitive and the one with *to* or *for to* very often depends on the requirements of the metre.

The infinitive is used as a subject, a predicative, an object and as an adjunct to verbs, nouns, and adjectives, etc. First, the use of the infinitive as subject will be discussed.

## 2.1 Infinitive as Subject

The use of the *to*-infinitive is quite common in ModE, but in the OE poetry, according to Jespersen,<sup>14)</sup> there is no example of this use. Even in ME it was still rather unusual.<sup>15)</sup> According to OED, this type of expression begins about the 14th century. In *PPl*, however, examples of this use are fairly often met with. That is, there are, in all, fifty-seven instances of the *to*-infinitive, of which 17 occur as direct subject, not introduced by the formal subject 'it'. Here in this function the gerund is more prevailing than the *to*-infinitive, as far as the B-text is concerned.

(V.204) *Wikkedlich to weye* was my fyrst lessoun; (IX. 201-2)  
*To ziuen* and *to zeuen* both zonge and olde, *To helen* and *to helpen* is  
Dobest of alle.

Other examples: VII. 179-80; IX. 98-100; XI. 177-8 (2 exs.),  
402 (2 exs.); XIV. 163; XV. 528-9 (2 exs.); XIX. 28, 29, 30.

On the other hand, there are those cases in which the *to*-infinitive is the logical subject with the formal subject 'it' in the subject position. Historically, this type of expression is older than the one mentioned above. OED has examples from the ninth century on. In *PPl* as many as 34 instances are found. A few quotations may here suffice:

(XI.207) For noot no man how neighe *it* is *to be* ynome fro bothe.  
(XII.209) *It* were noyther resoun ne riȝt *to rewarde* hem bothe eliche.  
(XIX.95) And *it* bicometh a conquerour *to konne* many sleighes,

Unlike the above examples, there are also those cases in which the infinitive as subject is followed by the formal subject 'it' and the main verb. Six instances have come to hand.

(XI.421) *To blame* or *for to bete* hym thanne *it* were but pure synne.

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14) *Modern English Grammar* V, 11.1.2.

15) Mossé, *Handbook of Middle English*, pp. 101-2.

Here the *a-do* is doubtless short for *at do*, as is pointed out by Skeat in his *Notes to "Piers the Plowman"*, p.96. Hence, for *a-do*, we find *to done* in the corresponding B-text.

Other prepositions like *of*, *without*, etc. are also occasionally found with the infinitive in early ME and even later in the period. But no such examples appear in the B-text as far as I know.

After these preliminary remarks about the infinitive, we will inquire into Langland's use of the infinitive in the subsequent sections.

## (II) The Use of the Infinitive

In *PPl* the frequency of the infinitive is quite high, as compared with the other verbals, namely, the participle and the gerund, and Langland's use of the infinitive is so extensive and complicated or rather flexible that it is clearly neither possible nor desirable in little space to attempt any sort of exact classification of it.

Accordingly no hard and fast classification of the infinitive is intended here in this section.

Before entering upon this discussion, it may be useful to notice the remarks of Mustanoja on the ME usage as to the choice between the bare infinitive and the *to*-infinitive. He says:

the general principle is that when the relation between the finite verb and the infinitive is felt to be intimate, as in the case of auxiliaries like *can*, *may*, *must*, *shall*, and *will*, the plain infinitive is used. When this relation is less intimate and particularly when the two verbs are separated by a word or a group of words, the infinitive is preceded by *to*.<sup>13)</sup>

Some examples will be given below to illustrate his statement:

(XI.111) And in a were gan I *waxe* and with myself *to dispute*,

(X.364-5) For euery Cristene creature shulde *be* kynde til other, And  
sithen hethen *to helpe* in a hope of amendement.

(XIV.137-9) thanne may men *se* the sothe, ... And nouȝt *to fonge* bifore  
for drede of disallowynge.

It should be borne in mind, however, that in poetry the choice between

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13) *Middle English Syntax*, Part I, p.522.

- (V.304) Now bigynneth glotoun *for to go* to schrifte;  
 (XI.412) hadde he no lykyng *forto lere* the more;  
 (XX.18) if hym lyst *for to lape*.

Occasionally we can find *to* and *for to* without any real distinction in the same sentence:

- (IV.110-1) Somme men redde Resoun *to haue* reuthe on that schrewe,  
 And *for to conseille* the kyng and Conscience after.

Moreover we come across the 'accusative with infinitive' construction where the *for to*-infinitive is used in parallel with the bare infinitive.

- (XX.373-4) Conscience...bad Clergye *help* hym,  
 And also Contricioun *for to kepe* the zate.

'For'—In ME *for* alone is occasionally met with before the bare infinitive of purpose (e.g. that he were mid heom ilome *For teche* heom of his wisdom—Owl & N 1766)<sup>9)</sup> or the one without any marked implication of finality (e.g. naild on the rod he was, Als *for be* he self it chas—Cursor 20914, Cotton MS).<sup>10)</sup>

'Till'—*Till* and *for till*, which occur in northern texts are first recorded round about 1300.<sup>11)</sup> There are no examples of these in *PPl*, but not infrequently *til* is used in the same way as *to*, though never with the infinitive. A few examples will be quoted below:

- (V.61) Biddeth Amende zow meke him *til* his maistre ones;  
 (XVIII.222) and now *til* helle he thynketh.

'At'—*At*, recorded from the 13th century to the 15th, occurs particularly with the infinitive of purpose.<sup>12)</sup> No examples of this appear in the B-text, but we meet with the following instance in the C-text:

- (VI.164) Lytel hadde lordes *a-do to zeue londe for here aires*  
 To religious that han no reuthe thauh hit reyne on here auters.

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9) Quoted by Mustanoja, *op. cit.*, p.540.

10) *Ibid.*, p.515.

11) Mustanoja, *op. cit.*, p.515.

12) *Ibid.*

In *PPl*(*B*-text) examined here, there are, in all, some 1,599 instances of the infinitive, except those of the bare infinitive after the auxiliaries, of which 351 <sup>7)</sup> or 22 per cent are the bare infinitive and 1,248 or 78 per cent the *to*-infinitive(including the infinitive with *for to*). That is, the proportion between the instances of the *to*-infinitive and the bare infinitive is roughly 4:1. Thus it may be noteworthy that, as far as the relative frequency of both infinitives is concerned, Langland's use of the infinitive is much the same as that of Present-day English in which the restriction of the use of the bare infinitive is remarkable. We may safely point out from this that as early as Langland's time the *to*-infinitive to a considerable extent has succeeded in supplanting the bare infinitive in nearly all the uses of the infinitive except for some respects as will be clarified later.

Here I will briefly refer to the prepositional infinitives save for the *to*-infinitive, which can be considered to be peculiarities of Middle English.

'For to'—According to Mustanoja, "*for to*, used to express purpose since the beginning of the ME period (the earliest known instance occurs in a document dated 1066: *Godes gerichtten for to setten*..., Cod. Dipl. IV 306, 3 (Harold)), becomes weakened into a mere sign of the infinitive, equivalent to *to*, in the course of the 13th century, when it becomes quite common. In the 14th century it begins to lose ground;..." <sup>8)</sup> This decreasing tendency continues in the 15th century and the combination gradually in course of time disappeared from the literary language. It lingers on, however, in dialectal and vulgar speech.

In *PPl* the occurrence of *for to* is far less common than that of *to* with the infinitive. I have found 94 examples of *for to* as against 1,154 of *to*, of which 31 occur under the form *forto*. Accordingly, the proportion between *for to* and *to* is roughly 1:12.

On the other hand, by way of reciprocity, just as *to* is used for purpose, *for to* is commonly used where no purpose is involved. A few examples will be given:

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7) In this figure the number of instances used with the future auxiliaries and the modal auxiliaries has been omitted in accordance with Fries and Callaway's treatment of the infinitive in PE and OE, for there has been no shift here in the infinitive form used through all periods of English.

8) *Middle English Syntax*, Part I, p.514.

Callaway, Jr., out of 9,495 instances of the infinitive in OE only 2,402 or 25.3 per cent are the *to*-infinitive, while 7,094 or 74.7 per cent are the bare infinitive without *to*.<sup>2)</sup> From OE to PE there has been a spread of the word *to* into nearly all the uses of the infinitive so that there has been a complete reversal in the relative frequency of the *to*-infinitive and the bare infinitive in PE. According to Fries,<sup>3)</sup> 18 per cent of the whole instances of the infinitive he has examined are the bare infinitive and 82 per cent the *to*-infinitive. This substitution of the *to*-infinitive for the bare infinitive already began in OE. That is, in late OE and early ME the use of the *to*-infinitive increases rapidly in comparison with that of the bare infinitive through the gradual loss of the inflections of the infinitive and the former gradually supplants the latter in many constructions, notably in the use of the infinitive as subject, object and predicative where in OE the bare infinitive was exclusively used. Thus, the *to* accompanying the infinitive loses its prepositional force and becomes in most cases a mere sign of the infinitive. Mustanoja<sup>4)</sup> says that this development begins early and is completed in the course of the 13th century. But the original function of *to*, to indicate direction ('towards') is retained even today in some combinations, like the infinitive of purpose.

So far a rough sketch has been made of the historical development of the infinitive, but here in this paper we are exclusively concerned with the infinitive in Middle English. In this connection, Trnka remarks as follows: "In opposition to Old English the use of the preposition *to* before the infinitive in Middle English is much more extensive, owing perhaps to the influence of Old Norse, ... Until the close of the 15th century there is, however, a great vacillation in the use of the preposition, which becomes slowly settled in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries."<sup>5)</sup> Brunner also says that "Towards the end of the OE period the simple infinitive (without *to*) appears less and less, and in ME it is found very rarely except after verbs of sense-perception, preterite-presents, and verbs specifying a type of action, such as *do*, *ginne(n)*, *let*, etc."<sup>6)</sup> Hence it follows that in ME the use of the *to*-infinitive is by far the more common than that of the bare infinitive.

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2) Cf. Fries, *American English Grammar*, p.130.

3) *Ibid.*, p.131.

4) *Middle English Syntax*, Part I, p.514.

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

6) *An Outline of Middle English Grammar*, p.89.

# Verbals in *Piers the Plowman*(Ⅲ): Infinitive

Matsuji Tajima

In my previous papers<sup>1)</sup> I have already dealt with the participle and the gerund in *Piers the Plowman*. Here in this paper I will inquire into Langland's use of the infinitive, making occasional reference to those peculiarities of the ME infinitive which can never be found in Langland. Needless to say, this is not the place to relate in detail how the infinitive developed, but for our present purpose it will be useful to make a survey of its historical development.

## ( I ) Bare Infinitive and To-infinitive

Originally the infinitive was a fully inflected verbal substantive, but in OE there were two infinitive forms, uninflected and inflected. The uninflected infinitive ended in *-an* (e.g. *bindan*, *writan*) (occasionally without *a*, as *fon*), i. e. the nominative-accusative case of a verbal substantive. The inflected infinitive was a dative ending in *-enne*, which under the influence of *-an* became *-anne*. This is the form used after the preposition *to* (e.g. *to bindenne*, *to bindanne*). Through the loss of inflections of the infinitive these endings gradually dwindled down and finally disappeared in the course of the ME period, so that the infinitive became identical in form with the present indicative (apart from the third person singular), the present subjunctive and imperative. In the ModE period all these forms have become one, which we term the *base* of the verb. In Langland, the common ending is *-e*, e.g. *telle*, *graunte*, but *(e)n* is also found, e. g. *writen*, *greden*.

In ModE the *to*-infinitive is much commoner than the bare infinitive, but the reverse is the case in OE. That is, in OE the infinitive with *to* had a much narrower range of use than the bare infinitive. According to Morgan

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1) For these, see Cairn No.8, pp.76-90 ("Verbals in Langland ( I ) : Participle") and *Literature and Thought* No. 31, pp. 29-53 ("Verbals in *Piers the Plowman* ( II ) : Gerund")