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The origin and development of For-infinitives.

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This thesis is dedicated to Shaza & Karam

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is primarily concerned with the developments that have taken place in infinitival constructions in the late Old English, Middle English, and Modern English periods. It is an investigation into the status of Old English *to*-infinitive, the origin, nature, and distribution of *for* in Middle English *(for)to*-infinitival constructions, and the origin and reanalysis of *for* as a complementiser in the Modern English [for DP to VP] construction.

In chapter one, we introduce some of the basic notions of the *Minimalist Program* outlined in Chomsky (1993, 1995)).

The aim of chapter two is to account for the structural status of *to* in the Old English *to*-infinitive. It is argued in this chapter that firstly (functional) C, Agr, and T are not eligible positions for *to*, and secondly that *to* occupies the lexical category P(reposition). The prepositional status of the Old English *to*-infinitive is supported by the fact that it occurs in coordination with ordinary PPs.

Chapter three argues that the Old English to-infinitive should be treated as a single (morphological and) syntactic unit which cannot be broken up by intervening elements. We propose that *to* is generated with a D-feature and that the infinitival verb is a combination of two features: an Inf-feature and a D-feature. We argue that as long as V+Inf-to-D movement is attested, the syntactic unity cannot be broken up by elements like objects, adverbs, etc. Once the Old English case system disintegrated, the internal structure of the *to*-infinitive underwent a radical change such that the demise of *-ne* (which resulted from the weakening of *to* as a dative case-assigner) resulted in the demise of D, and this led to the disintegration of the syntactic unity of the *to*-infinitive, and the consequent appearance of *for* before *to*. In other words, when *to* ceased to be a preposition, *for* moved in and 'took over' (and perhaps became an infinitival marker as well, giving *forto*).

In chapter four, we proceed to account for the structural status of *for* in Middle English

to-infinitive. Three analyses that attempt to account for the status of *for* are examined and rebutted in favour of our analysis of *for* as part of the infinitival morphology.

Chapter five provides morphological and syntactic evidence in favour of analysing *for* and *to* as a compound infinitival marker. It is argued that the position of the compound infinitival marker *(for)to* is T(ense). This analysis correctly predicts *(for)to* to be present in raising and control infinitives. A number of factors which show that *(for)to* occupies T will be noted and discussed.

The purpose of chapter six is to provide evidence for the correlation between verb movement and object shift in Middle English *(for)to*-infinitives. It will be argued that the infinitival verb moves overtly from VP to Inf, the functional head which hosts the infinitival feature. Some empirical evidence relating to conjoined structures and VP-adverbs is discussed. The attestation of V-to-Inf movement in Middle English *(for)to*-infinitives is strongly supported by the presence of object shift. Our conclusion is that the non-attestation of object shift in Modern English *to*-infinitives can be attributed to the absence of overt V-to-Inf movement.

Having established the morphological and syntactic status of the infinitival marker *(for)to* (chapter five) and the infinitival verb (chapter six), we proceed to investigate the origin of *for* in the Modern English [for DP to VP] construction. On the basis of morphological and structural evidence, we propose that the [for DP to VP] construction is the outcome of two diachronic reanalyses (DRs), which took place at two different stages in the history of English. The first DR, which took place in the 12th century, was triggered by the loss of dative case which paved the way for the introduction of prepositions like *for* to realise the benefactive function. In Old English the benefactive function was typically associated with morphological dative case. Once dative case had been lost, the benefactive function had to be realised by prepositions like *for*. Throughout the Middle English period *for* was a case-realiser and not a lexical preposition. Its main function was to realise an inherent case feature which belonged to the matrix lexical head. The second DR, which occurred in the 16th century, was triggered by the fact that the string [for DP to VP] had become structurally ambiguous for acquirers, allowing an interpretation where [for DP] is part of the matrix predicate, or alternatively an interpretation where

[for DP] is the subject of the infinitival clause. In the latter interpretation *for*'s function is to realise a Case which does not belong to any lexical head. It realises the Case property of the C-position. It will be argued that the preposition *for* was reanalysed as a complementiser as a result of the loss of infinitival clauses as complements of prepositions, and the consequent development of the C-position as a potential accusative Case licenser. The change can be regarded as a change in the status of *for* from a lexical case-realiser to a functional Case-realiser.

THE ORIGIN & DEVELOPMENT OF *FOR* -INFINITIVES

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CHAPTER ONE

OBJECTIVE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. Objective

The questions that this thesis is concerned with are best illustrated by the following examples from Old English (hereafter OE),[1],[2] Middle English (hereafter MidE), and Modern English (hereafter ModE):

(1) þæt weorc is swiðe pleolic [$_{dative}$ me oþþe ænigum menn] *to underbeginnenne*

that work is very hazardous for-me or for-any man to undertake

(Ælfric's *Preface to Genesis* 7; Crawford (1922:76))

'that work is very hazardous for me or any man to undertake'

(2) he sal þe send Angels *for to þe defend*

(13...*Cursor Mundi* 12965; Visser (1963-73: §978))

'he shall send you angels to defend you'

(3) That work is very hazardous *for me to undertake*

1

Old English is also known as Anglo-Saxon, the West Germanic dialect (or group of dialects) which entered Britain during the fifth century. We call it Old English to distinguish it from its descendants, the Middle English of medieval times, and the modern English whose beginnings date from the sixteenth century.

2

The references to Old and Middle English texts will be as given in the source-texts followed by the name(s) of the editor(s), year of publication, and page number.

CHANGE AND DECAY IN ALL AROUND I SEE

O THOU, WHO CHANGEST NOT, ABIDE WITH ME

hymn!

A close look at the *to*-infinitives in these examples shows that they exhibit striking differences. We approach the OE *to*-infinitive exemplified in (1) above by raising the following question:

(4) what is the morphological and syntactic status of *to*, the infinitival verb, and the *to*-infinitive construction?

In a similar vein, we raise the following questions in connection with the MidE and ModE *to*-infinitives given in (2) and (3), respectively:

(5) what is the origin of *for* which precedes the infinitive in (2)?

(6) what is the morphological and syntactic status of *for*, *to*, and the infinitival verb in (2)?

(7) what is the origin of *for* in (3)? Is it the same *for* which appears in (2) or a different one?

(8) what is the morphological and syntactic status of *for* in (3)?

The primary objective of this thesis is to explain the changes in these constructions which occurred in the history of English, and, consequently, contribute to the study of historical English syntax.

The properties of the *to*-infinitive in Modern English contrast sharply with those of Middle English. The crucial contrast lies in the fact that ModE *for-to*-infinitives allow a lexical DP to occupy the subject position, while MidE infinitives do not allow this. In

ModE the lexical subject of an infinitive can be licensed in one of two ways: (I) with the complementiser *for*, and (ii) in the *believe*-type (construction) or (the) so-called *Exceptional Case-Marking (ECM)* construction. MidE has what looks like a prepositional complementiser *for*, appearing in positions where complementisers appear. But the syntactic behaviour of MidE *for* contrasts sharply with that of ModE *for*. Only MidE *for* can occur with typical *control* verbs, i.e subject control and object control; with *raising* predicates, and with *believe*-type verbs (see examples (16), (17), (18), and (19) in chapter four). More important is the fact that MidE *for* is never followed by a lexical subject DP. This implies that the subject position of MidE infinitives was always occupied by PRO. The behaviour of MidE *for* is explained if we analyse it as occupying a position different from the one occupied by ModE *for*, i.e. if we posit that MidE *for* is not a complementiser.

The differences between OE and MidE *to*-infinitives are explained on the basis of the nature and structural position of the infinitival marker in the two languages. As we will see, MidE seems to pattern with ModE in having the infinitival marker base-generated in the same structural position, i.e. the T-position (for details, see chapter five).

The analysis of MidE *for-to*-infinitives posited here provides an explanation for the rise of the ModE [for DP to VP] construction. Specifically, it is argued that generating MidE *for* in a position different from the one occupied by ModE *for* excludes the possibility of positing a connection between the demise of *for-to*-infinitives and the rise of [for DP to VP] constructions (but cf. Lightfoot (1979, 1981a)). Based on

morphological and syntactic evidence we shall propose that the *for* preceding MidE *for-to*-infinitives is actually part of the infinitival morphology base-generated in T. We will account for the emergence of the [for DP to VP] construction by assuming that it was triggered by: (i) the reanalysis of a matrix benefactive PP, and (ii) the fact that the [for DP] in the string [for DP to VP] had become structurally ambiguous for acquirers, allowing two interpretations; one as the complement of the matrix predicate, and the other as the subject of the infinitive. Crucially, the reanalysis in (i) was made possible by the loss of dative case and the consequent introduction of prepositions like *for* to realise the benefactive function. The reanalysis in (ii) was triggered by the development of the C-position as a potential Case-licensing position.

1.2. The Structure of the Thesis

The discussion falls into seven chapters. In the second part of this chapter, we present the theoretical assumptions that we adopt, which are outlined in Chomsky (1993, 1995) and related works. We concentrate on feature checking and the movements required to generate structures with object shift. In chapter two we examine the categorial and structural status of OE *to* and the *to*-infinitive (cf. question (4)). In chapter three we investigate the rise of *for* before the MidE *to*-infinitive (cf. question (5)). We discuss two traditional proposals that attempt to explain the emergence of *for*. We then give our own proposal as to what led to the rise of *for*. In chapter four, three analyses will be offered for MidE *for* with the objective of investigating its categorial and structural status. The first analysis maintains that *for* is an ordinary preposition heading a PP and subcategorising for a CP complement. The second analysis holds that MidE *for* is an

element occupying the CP-specifier position. The third analysis proposes that *for* occupies the same position occupied by ModE complementisers. We will show that the analysis of MidE *for* as a prepositional complementiser introducing infinitival clauses is problematic given the wide range of constructions in which *for* occurs. In chapter five, our analysis is then presented with a range of arguments bearing on the idea that *for* is part of the infinitival marker base-generated in T (cf. question (6)). In chapter six the central problem investigated is why the infinitival verb must move to Inf and what effects this movement has on the object (cf. question (6)). Finally, in chapter seven we will examine the origin of the ModE [for DP to VP] construction (cf. questions (7) and (8)). The diachronic development of this construction is hypothesised to be reflected in its synchronic structural ambiguity. That is, the [for DP to VP] construction allows an interpretation where [for DP] is linked with the matrix predicate, or alternatively an interpretation where [for DP] is the subject of the embedded infinitival clause. We argue that the reanalysis of the preposition *for* as a complementiser was triggered by the loss of infinitival clauses as complements of prepositions, and the consequent development of the C-position as a potential Case-licensing position.

Throughout this thesis OE and MidE examples will be given with a word-by-word ModE translation below, along with a paraphrase in quotes where necessary. The order of presentation of the data is OE, MidE and ModE, respectively. This order is maintained throughout the thesis, unless otherwise indicated.

1.3. The Theoretical Framework: The Minimalist Program

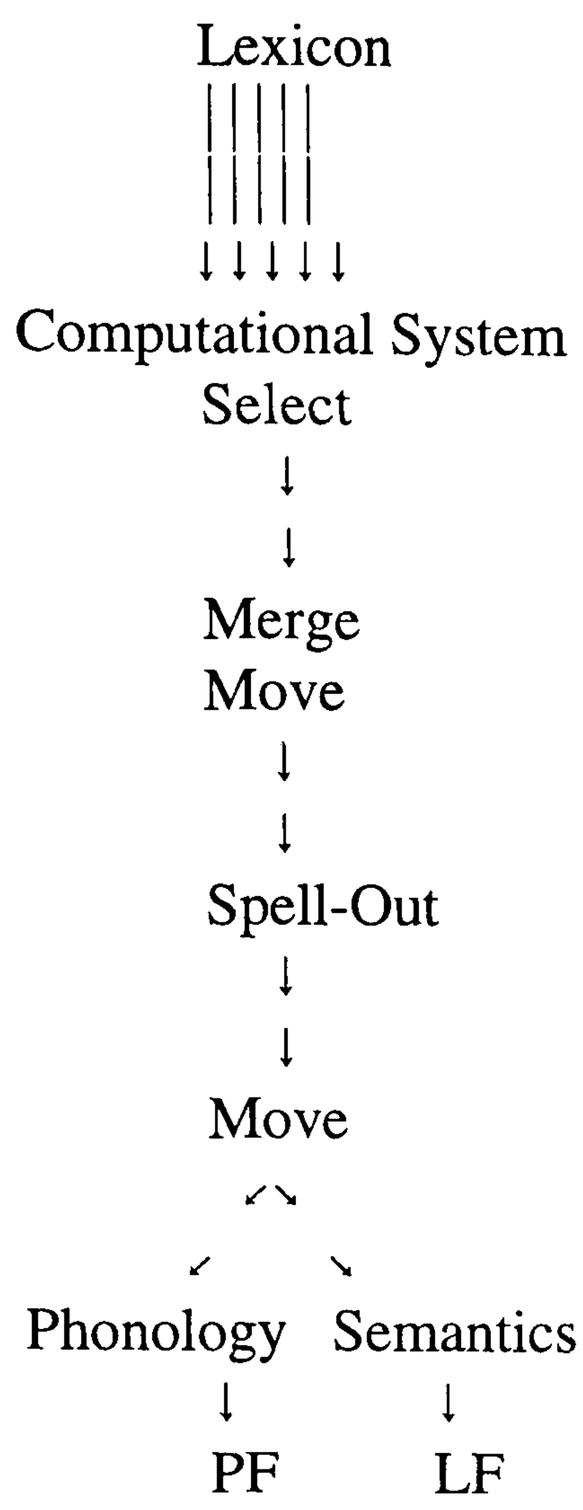
1.3.1. An Outline of the Minimalist Model

The theoretical assumptions adopted in this thesis are outlined in Chomsky (1993, 1995) and related works. Chomsky (1993, 1995) assumes that the minimalist model subsumes only two levels of representation at which well-formedness principles apply: articulatory-perceptual (A-P) and conceptual-intentional (C-I).[3] The level A-P is taken to be the phonetic form (PF); the C-I level is understood as the logical form (LF). While the PF (or A-P) level is the phonetic representation of a linguistic expression, the LF or C-I level is the semantic representation of it. These two levels are linked directly to the lexicon by the computational system of the grammar (see 9 below). Chomsky proposes that well-formedness principles applying to interface representations reduce to a single condition, the principle of Full Interpretation (FI). This principle requires that (i) a PF-representation contain no symbol which is not interpretable for the A-P level, and (ii) an LF-representation contain no symbol which is not interpretable for the C-I level. A schematic representation of the Model is given in (9):

---

3 In contrast to the Government & Binding Theory (GB), the Minimalist Program recognises no intermediate grammar-internal levels (e.g. D-Structure, S-Structure) at which well-formedness conditions can apply to linguistic representations. The Minimalist Program is also not a modular theory of syntax like GB is/was. That is, we don't have interacting systems of principles, each comprising a *module* of Universal Grammar (UG).

(9)



According to this model, the lexicon provides, as it were, the lexical ingredients from which syntactic structures are constructed. A derivation is constructed by a computational component that maps an array of lexical choices to the pair (π, λ). (A PF representation and an LF representation, respectively). The array is a numeration N (a set of pairs of lexical items and indices, understood to be the number of times that a lexical item is selected). A derivation consists of operations on phrase markers that are built up derivationally by the operations Select, Merge, and Move. Select applies to a set of lexical items, selecting one of its members and introducing it into the set of syntactic objects which a derivation consists of at each of its stages. Merge combines two syntactic objects (S_i, S_j) and creates a single syntactic object out of them, namely a labelled set (S (S_i, S_j)), where the label S is either S_i or S_j. Select must apply till the set of lexical items that forms the basis of the computation is exhausted. Similarly, Merge must apply till a

single syntactic object is formed.[4]

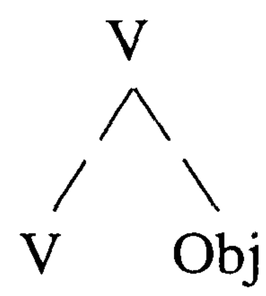
---

[4] For example, the derivation of a sentence like (i) proceeds roughly as in (ii), only the relevant parts are given (and a great deal of details glossed over):

(i) he loves Mary

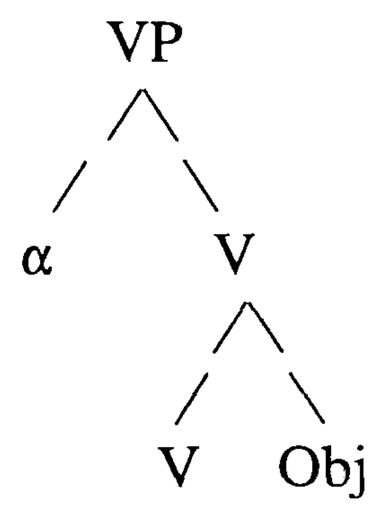
(ii) a. Lexicon $[_{\alpha}$ [+pronominal], [+D]]
b. Form Numeration: N: {...T...$[_{\alpha}$ [+pronominal], [+D]], 1],...V...Obj...}
c. Select V; Assign V features $F_1 ... F_x$
d. Select Obj, Assign Features to Obj
e. Merge V+Obj, the outcome is (iii):

(iii)



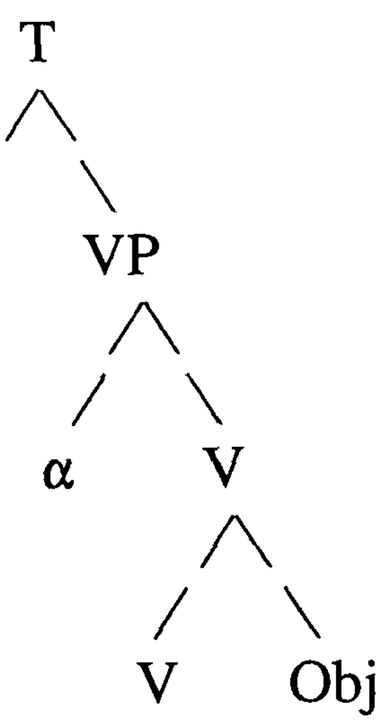
f. Select α; Assign Features to α
g. Merge α with V, as in (iv):

(iv)



h. Select T; Assign features to T: Strong D-feature on T: +D/Weak D-feature on T: No D-feature, assume that T has a strong D-feature
i. Merge it, the result is (v):

(v)



Assume then that the numeration is exhausted, applying SPELL-OUT at this stage makes the construction crash at LF because of the strong D-feature. What we have to do

The operation Move applies to A and K in a syntactic object or phrase marker already formed, merging a copy of A with K; the two copies of A then form the chain (A, t_A). This syntactic operation applies either before or after SPELL-OUT, the point at which the derivation of the PF-representation branches off from the derivation of the LF-representation. Phonological rules are applied after the SPELL-OUT point; while syntactic operations may continue to apply following SPELL-OUT in the derivation of LF-representations. A crucial property of Move is that it applies to features. According to Move, a feature F raises to a target K only if F enters into a checking relation with a feature of K, i.e. the sublabel of K. As Chomsky (1995) points out the problem of moving entire phrases, rather than features is solved if we take into account the fact that features in isolation cannot be pronounced. Thus it is the PF interpretation that forces entire phrases to pied-pipe in overt syntax. In covert syntax, where PF features have been stripped away, we can assume that movement takes the pure form of Move F(eature).

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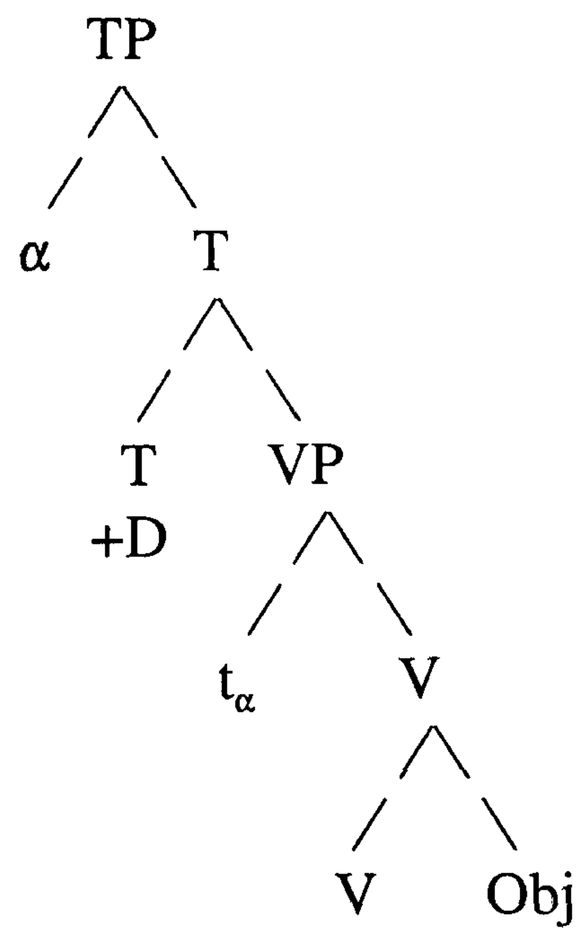
instead of SPELLING-OUT at this stage of the derivation is to violate Procrastinate and Move α, as in
(vi) below:

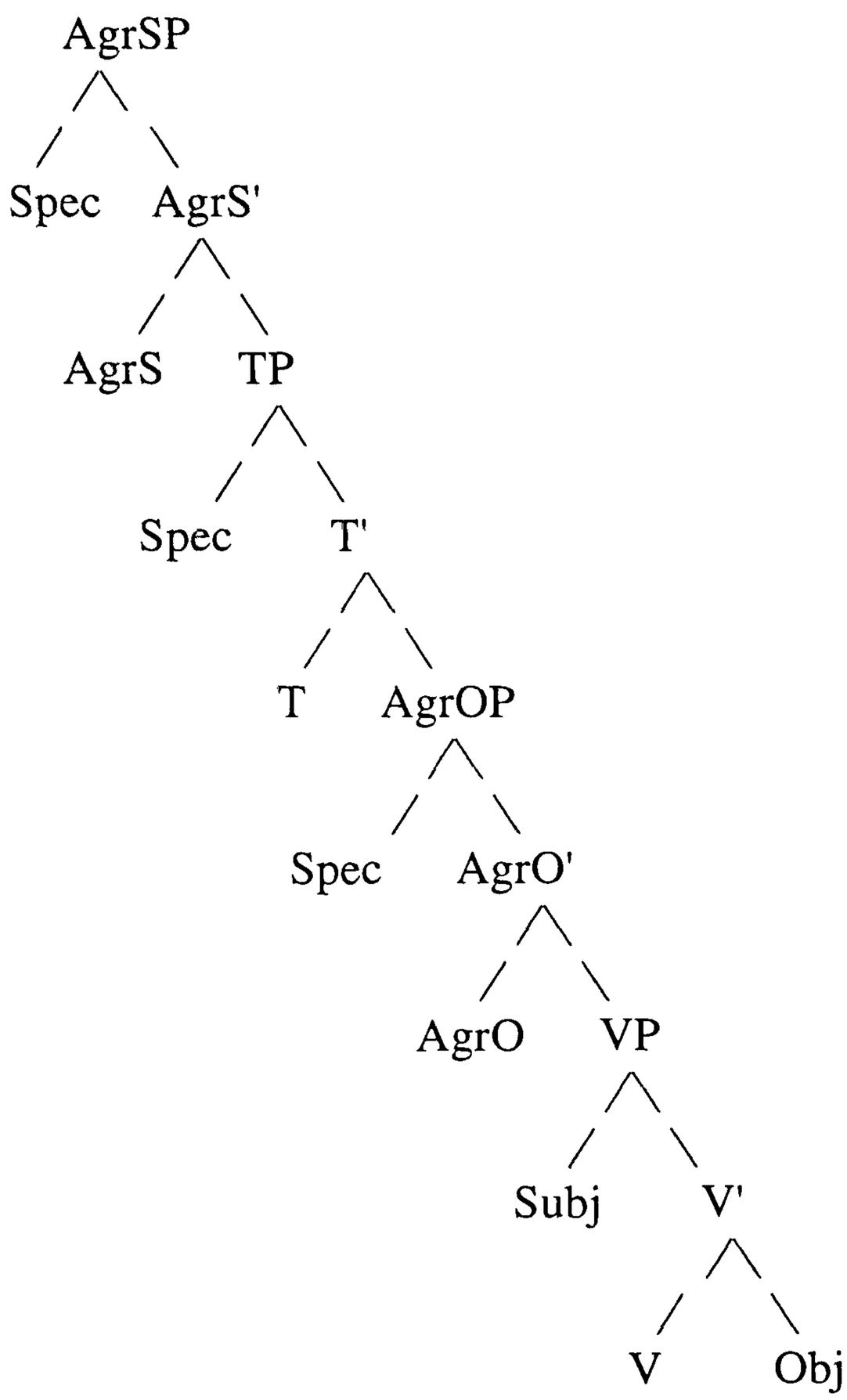
(vi)



Now, if we SPELL-OUT, the construction converges because the strong D-feature is checked against α, i.e. the pronoun 'he' in (i) above.

Within the Minimalist program, lexical items are drawn from the lexicon with all their morphological features, including Case and agreement features. They are projected in a structure as (10), in which the subject and the object are VP internal:[5]

(10)



In this structure subjects and objects must raise to the agreement phrases to check their Case and agreement features with the appropriate functional head in a Spec-Head relationship. The functional heads, AgrS, T, and AgrO, each have two features, one verbal and one nominal. The verbal features (V) check the inflectional features of the verb, and the nominal features (N) (or D as in Chmosky (1995)) check the Case and

---

5 We follow Kitagawa (1986), Fukui & Speas (1986), Koopman & Sportiche (1991), and many others in assuming that 'external' subject DPs originate inside VP.

agreement features of the DPs. The N and the V features can be either weak or strong. However, rich overt morphology does not necessarily mean strength, but it may (Roberts (1994), lecture notes). Weak features need to be checked at the Logical Form (LF). Strong features are visible in the Phonetic Form (PF) component, and must be checked prior to SPELL-OUT. Feature checking takes place by movement, which may be overt or covert, depending on the strength or weakness of the morphological features. The strength or weakness of a feature is a parameterised property, i.e. it varies from language to language. This parameterisation is nicely regulated by the principle of Procrastinate (cf. Chomsky (1993, 1995)).

(11) **Procrastinate**

Covert movement is less costly than overt movement

Procrastinate allows overt movement when an item with strong features is chosen from the lexicon, but forces covert or LF movement when an item with weak features is chosen.

The role of functional heads is exclusively formal. Agr has no substantive component at LF. Chomsky (1993: 30, 1995: 197) claims that Agr plays a mediating role and that it disappears as soon as it has checked all the features in its inventory. Thus, Agr deletes as soon as it has checked the features of V. If any morphological feature remains at LF, the derivation crashes at that level.

It is obvious from the structure in (10) that the subject and the object raise to

their respective agreement phrases by crossing paths, instead of nesting. In order to prevent the subject or the object from raising to the Spec of the inappropriate agreement projections, overt and covert movements must always be constrained by principles of economy. The first economy principle is that of *Relativised Minimality*, as entertained by Rizzi (1990). The fundamental idea of Rizzi's *Relativised Minimality*, which becomes *Shortest Movement* for Chomsky (1993, 1995), is that movement operations must not skip over any *possible closer landing site*. Where in a configuration such as (12) X c-commands Z and Z c-commands Y, the notion of closeness is defined along the lines of (13):[6]

(12) [...X...Z...Y...]

(13) Z is a closer possible landing site for Y iff

(i) Z $\in$ {A, A-bar or X^0 position}, and Z and X have the same values for A vs A', X^0 vs XP, and

(ii) Z is unfilled at some point in the derivation

As a consequence of the operation Move, a Spec position is generated only if it is filled or targeted for movement. For example, in (10) the subject raises to the Spec of AgrSP without violating *Relativised Minimality*, since the Spec of AgrOP is not filled. The subject, however, could also raise to the Spec of AgrOP, due to the fact that it is the next

---

6 In this thesis, we adopt this version of *Relativised Minimality* because it provides a solution to the problem raised by the coexistence of object shift (OS) to A-positions with VP-internal subjects (see chapter six). The solution crucially depends on the notion of *equidistance* (cf. Chomsky (1993, 1995)). For an explanation of equidistance, see below.

available A-position. However, this movement of the subject is illicit because it blocks Case checking of the object, since it remains in [Spec,VP], and is unable to raise to the Spec of AgrOP. Thus, the construction crashes, i.e. it does not converge (see Chomsky (1993, 1995). The object must raise to the Spec of AgrOP for Case checking, crossing the subject or its trace, in violation of *Relativised Minimality*. However, this violation can be circumvented if the verb head-adjoins to AgrO before the object raises to the Spec of AgrOP. The movement of V to AgrO creates the chain (V, t_v) whose minimal domain is {spec, AgrOP, Spec,VP and Obj} in the tree structure in (10). Verb movement forms an extended minimal domain for the chain. Within the extended minimal domain, the object may move to the Spec of AgrOP skipping over the subject or its trace in the Spec of VP. After the verb has moved to AgrO, the Specs of AgrOP and VP stand in the same minimal relationship to this chain. If two targets of movement are in the same minimal domain, they are equidistant. To spell out the notion *minimal domain*,[7] consider the tree

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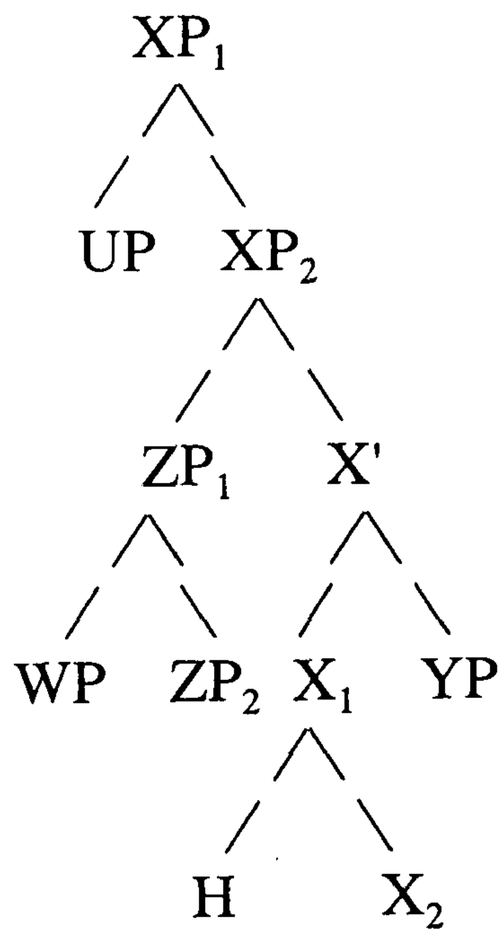
7 In this respect, it is important to define the notions of *domain* and *minimal domain* of a head. Let us first define the notion of *domain* of a head:

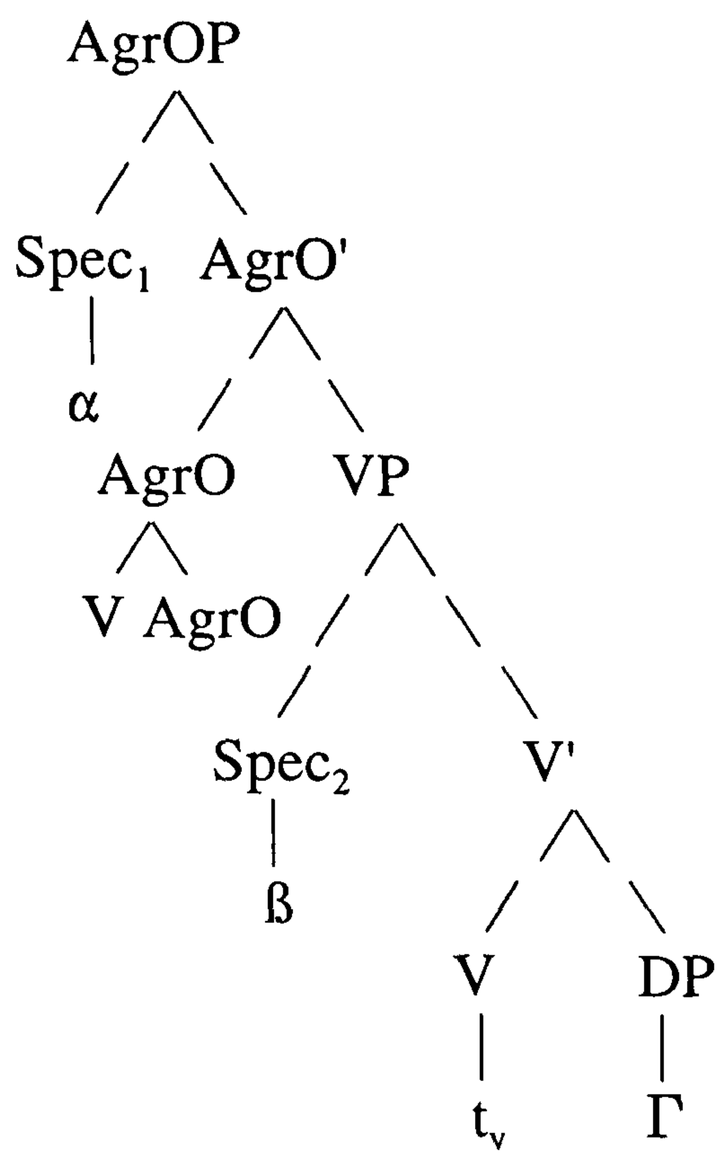
(i) The domain of α, α an X^0, is the set of nodes contained in MAX(α) that are distinct from and do not contain α. Let us look at the following structure:

(ii)



in (14):

(14)



Here, the minimal domain of V is $Spec_2$ and the complement DP and whatever they dominate. Head movement of V to the closer landing site AgrO creates a chain with an extended domain. V-to-AgrO movement forms a chain, the minimal domain of which includes the immediate constituents of both VP and AgrOP. Thus, $Spec_1$ (α) and $Spec_2$ (ß) are in the minimal domain of the chain, and so can be said to be equidistant from the complement of V (i.e. Γ). This correlation is defined by Chomsky (1993: 17, 1995: 184) as follows:

The definition in (i) means that DOM(X) in (ii) is the following set of nodes: UP and everything it dominates, ZP and everything it dominates, WP and everything it dominates, YP and everything it dominates and H and everything it dominates.

We can now define the notion of *minimal domain* along the lines of (iii):

(iii) the minimal domain of a head *X* is the smallest set of nodes such that its members dominate all nodes that the categories in the domain of *X* dominate.

(15) If α and ß are in the same minimal domain, they are equidistant from Γ

According to (15), A-movement from the complement of V to [Spec,AgrOP] satisfies *Relativised Minimality* even if the subject or its trace is in [Spec,VP].

The second economy principle, the *Strict Cycle Condition* (SCC), imposes an order on syntactic derivations and requires that every structure-building transformation enlarge the phrase. Movement into a Spec of a phrase adds structure to the phrase. Adjunction to a phrase does not. Thus, if a counter-cyclic movement moves an object into the middle of a phrase, the phrase is not made larger and the SSC is violated. If a head is moved, forming a chain, the intermediate positions do not enlarge the structure. The landing site of the head, however, enlarges the structure. Thus, the head of the chain is relevant to the SSC. Adjunction of a category to another category does not enlarge the number of categories, since additional segments do not count as more structure (see Branigan (1992: 18-9)).

In summary, raising of the object to the Spec of AgrOP is possible in a structure like (10) only if V has head-adjoined to AgrO. This is known as Holmberg's generalisation which states that the object move just when the verb moves (see 1.3.3. for details). The movement of the verb to AgrO renders the Specs of AgrOP and VP equidistant from the object position. Thus the object DP may skip the Spec of VP without violating *Relativised Minimality* and the *Strict Cycle Condition*.

1.3.2. Feature Checking Mechanism

In Chomsky (1993, 1995) it is proposed that all structural Case-checking takes place within a Spec-Head relationship as a local relation between the head of a functional Agr projection and the DP that raises to its specifier position. Functional features that are associated with the verb have two possible sources: they may be chosen arbitrarily as the verb enters the numeration or they might be the result of operations that form complex word association with other elements.

Features are classified as being [+interpretable] or [-interpretable]. The [-interpretable] features include [+/-affixal]; Case, and φ-features of verbs and adjectives. Case and φ-features checking is understood as an asymmetric relation: the verb assigns Case to the object and the φ-features are determined by those of the DP in the specifier of Agr.[8] Only [-interpretable] features need to enter into a checking relation. In the case of a DP moving to some Agr+V position, Case is the trigger for the movement. Being [-interpretable], Case is a feature that has to be checked either overtly or covertly.

Features enter into a checking relation if the moved element has unchecked features and can check some unchecked feature (not necessarily the same feature) on the

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8 In Chomsky (1995) Agr is devoid of features because the features in the target that enter into checking relations are [-interpretable] by definition. In fact, in Chomsky (1995), Agr is eliminated as superfluous, since when weak it has no interface properties. Instead Chomsky proposes that, covertly, only features move, not XPs, since this the minimal hypothesis. Only elements that need to be checked move overtly. An XP may overtly move for convergence. With respect to the feature checking mechanism, the approach we will take is closer to Chomsky's (1993) proposal.

target.[9] In addition, features must match. An example of this would be that of a nominative DP which has raised to Spec of T. Thus the DP enters into a checking relation with T. The DP raises to the Spec of T attracted by the need of T to check its D-feature (which according to Chomsky is what explains the Extended Projection Principle (EPP)).

The mechanism by which structural Case-checking interacts with verb movement will be discussed in some detail in chapter six. It will be shown that accusative Case is checked by Inf, the infinitival functional head which contains both D-features and V-features. When Inf contains a strong V-feature then the verb will be forced to move to Inf to check this feature prior to SPELL-OUT. Similarly, a strong D-feature for Inf will force object shift prior to SPELL-OUT. We argue that MidE has both overt verb movement to Inf and the possibility of object shift prior to SPELL-OUT.

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9 The reason why the feature on the target is not necessarily the one on the moved element comes from the need to account for multiply-embedded raising structures such as (i):

(i) Paulo seems t_2 to be likely t_1 to win the race
|_____|_____|

Since the embedded t_1 and t_2 are not Case positions *Paulo* raises to the matrix subject position to check its Case feature. Note that this movement satisfies the EPP feature of the target. Now consider the example in (ii):

(ii) *Paulo seems t_2 likely that t_1 will win the race
|_____|_____|

The ungrammaticality of (ii) is accounted for by the fact that since *Paulo* has checked its Case feature in t_1, it cannot move to the matrix clause to satisfy its EPP feature.

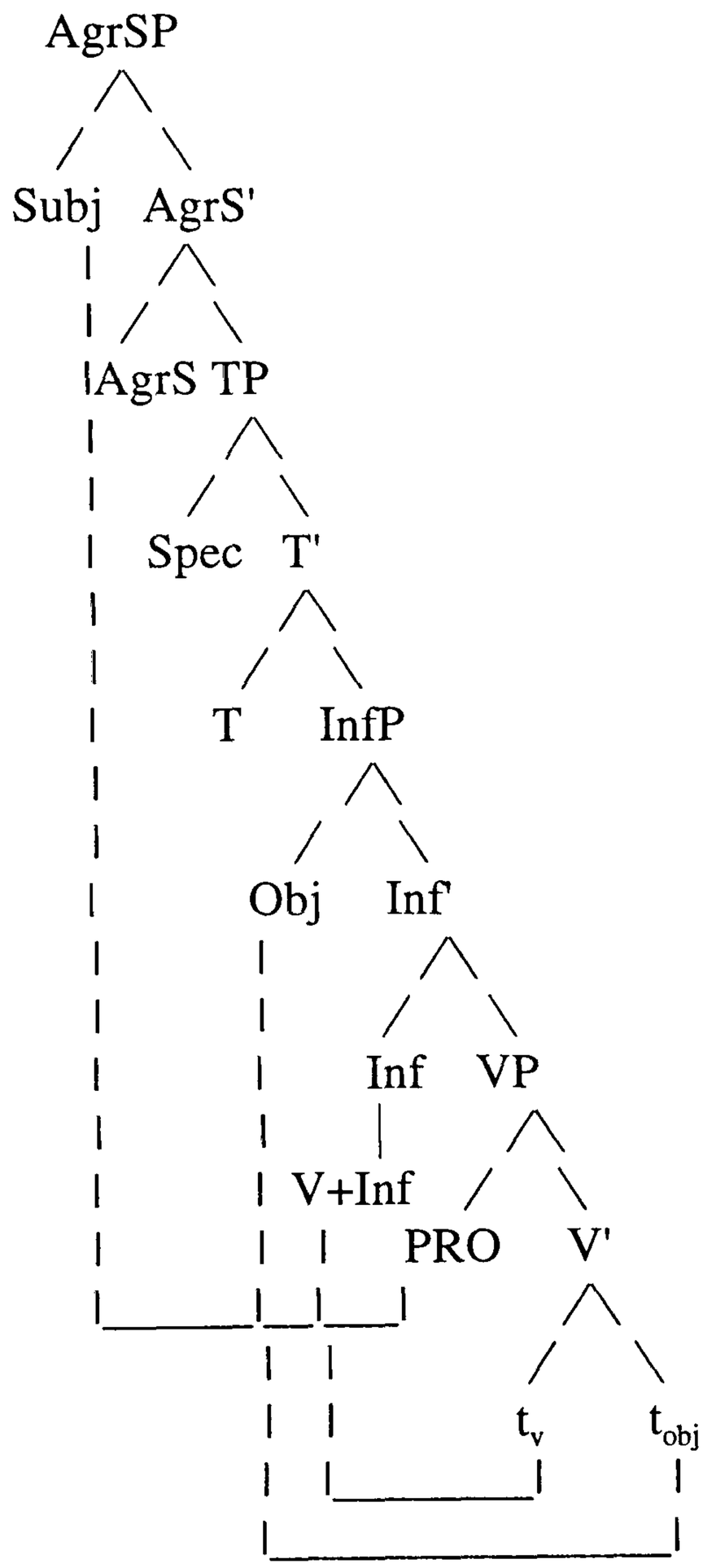
1.3.3. The Structure of Object Shift Constructions

The fundamental issues raised by the phenomenon of Object Shift (OS) are the questions why and when (pro)nominal objects must overtly move to a Case-checking specifier position to the left of their base-generated position. These questions have been widely discussed in the literature of the Principles & Parameters (PP) framework. Holmberg (1986,1991) has argued that weak object pronominals move to a VP-adjoined position, above the sentential negation in Mainland Scandinavian (MSc). Given its VP-adjoined landing site, OS seems to be an instance of A-bar movement. Unlike Holmberg who analyses Swedish weak pronominals as XPs, Josefsson (1992) analyses them as heads of the N-type. Thus, OS is an instance of head movement. Branigan (1992), Chomsky (1993, 1995), Johnson (1991), Roberts (1995) and Vikner (1994) have argued that weak object pronominals are DPs and that OS is an instance of A (or L-related) movement. Chomsky (1993, 1995) argues that shifted objects are those which move in the overt syntax to the specifier position of the functional head whose maximal projection dominates VP, and that all other structurally Case-marked objects must move in the covert syntax to the same position. In chapter six we show that OS is an overt L-related movement. The movement of the object to the Spec of InfP is triggered by Case and agreement checking.

In a language with overt object shift, the movement of the verb, the object, and the subject must follow a specific order to generate a convergent construction, due to the *Shortest Movement* or *Relativised Minimality* and the *Strict Cycle Condition.* The movements to generate OS are depicted in (16). We will argue below (see chapters five

and six) that Inf is an independent functional category which heads its own maximal projection, InfP, and is situated between T and VP, as illustrated in (16). Inf is exactly the configuration where the features of the object DP (and therefore its head) can be checked against the infinitival feature of the verb. It bears the features of AgrO and functions as the mediator of checking of Case-features, i.e. it's comparable to the light 'v' of Chomsky (1995). Spec of InfP is the position occupied by shifted objects.

(16)



The object must move overtly to the Spec of InfP after the verb has moved to Inf and before the subject moves to a higher position. Then the subject must move to the Spec

of AgrSP. Thus, the chain (V+Inf, t) must be formed for the object in VP to skip over the internal subject. The formation of the second chain (i.e. the movement of the [Verb+Inf] complex to the closest potential head position) is required for the subject to be able to move.

1.4. Language Learnability & Diachronic Change

1.4.1. Introduction

Recent advances in the Principles & Parameters theory of Universal Grammar (UG) have opened up exciting new perspectives on the problem of language Learnability and led to important developments in the fields of native language acquisition and language change. Many of the most important studies on language change are based on the seminal works of Lightfoot (1979, 1991), van Kemenade (1987), and Roberts (1992). The advances in the Principles & Parameters theory have to do with the characterisation of UG as a set of *principles*, each with its set of *parameters of variation* according to which a principle can be realised in different values in different languages. Note crucially that the association of parameters with principles is stated in Chomsky (1986a). In more recent work parameters are no longer associated with principles but with a set of lexical items and more specifically with functional categories (cf. Borer (1984), Fukui (1986, 1988), Chomsky (1989, 1993, 1995) and Ouhalla (1991)). This is important for us since different properties of functional categories (possibly in terms of features) trigger different movements. Within a Principles & Parameters conception of UG, we can now understand language acquisition to be a process whereby the child [through his/her trigger experience] *fixes* the parameters of UG at the appropriate values for the particular

language s/he is to acquire (cf. Chomsky (1981), (1986a), (1991), (1993, 1995), and related works)). For instance, in English the head of the phrase is located in the initial position. A child acquiring English will have somehow to set the relevant values for the 'head' parameter on the basis of his/her trigger experience.

1.4.2. Language Change

Turning now to a consideration of language change, we can view it as changes over time of the values at which particular parameters are set. In the history of English syntax, it is obvious that over the course of time from Old English to Modern English, there has been a resetting of values for the C-parameter. We can see from the analysis of the examples in (1), (2) and (3) respectively, that while OE and MidE did not (have or) allow a nonfinite lexical complementiser with Case features to occupy the C-position, ModE does. Since this characteristic of ModE is a likely candidate to be a point of parametric variation, it appears that the difference between OE and MidE, on the one hand, and ModE, on the other, can be captured by the changed value assigned to the C-parameter. Of course, it still remains to determine why the change occurred, or at least what led to it. We address this important issue in chapter seven.

1.4.3. The Interaction between Language Acquisition and Language Change

Language acquisition and language change are intimately related in that it is 'the mechanisms of parameter change that tell us something about parameter setting, i.e. language acquisition' (Battye & Roberts (1994, introduction)). Either through what

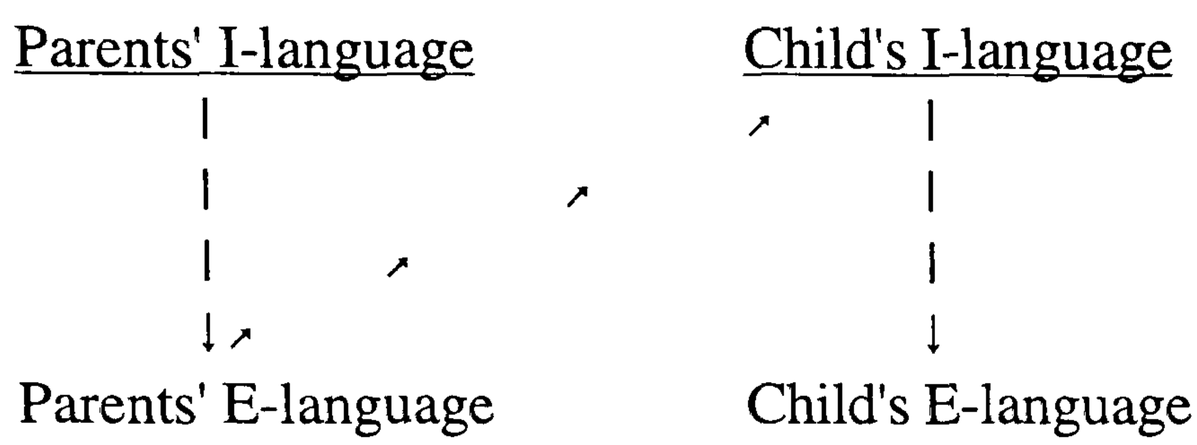
Battye & Roberts (ibid) call 'misacquisition' of the parental system or because the grammar of the previous generation has been rendered opaque and unavailable to the children by their parents' use of it, the children end up setting a parameter of UG at a value that is appropriate to and in consonance with their linguistic experience but at loggerheads with the value assigned in the previous generation.

The interaction between parameter-changing and parameter setting can be looked at in terms of Chomsky's (1986a: 19-24) distinction between I(nternal)-language and E(xternal)-language. An E-language, which must be 'understood independently of the mind/brain' of native speakers of a language, is a collection of actions or linguistic forms associated with some group of speakers. An I-language is 'some element of the mind of the person who knows the language, acquired by the learner and used by the speaker/hearer' (Chomsky (ibid: 22)). The question that arises is how to account for the acquisition of the I-language, given what children have access to as a source of information about the language they are acquiring. Of particular importance are the negative aspects of one's I-language. Chomsky proposes that a large part of the I-language which is acquired is biologically determined. Children have some kind of linguistic knowledge which facilitates language acquisition. In these terms, many major differences among languages reflect different settings of a finite number of (biologically determined) parameters (such as whether syntactic heads precede or follow their complements).

Each parameter can be set by observing some E-language utterances that instantiate the particular setting of the parameter. Every time a parameter is set, children

exclude some class of sentences and/or interpretations without being informed that they are ruled out. Children do not have access to their parents' I-language but they have access to the E-language, and they may therefore construct an I-language which is different from their parents'. This idea is illustrated in the following diagram adapted from Andersen (1973).

(20)



The connection between the parents' E-language and the child's I-language is mediated by Universal Grammar. Crucial to (20) is the fact that the parents' I-language cannot be directly accessed by the child's I-language, and hence the output, i.e. the child's E-language will be different from the parents'. The fact that the parents' E-language is not the same thing as the parents' I-language triggers language change. The crucial question which arises as to how language change comes about.

Following Roberts (1992) we distinguish three aspects of language change: Steps, Diachronic Reanalysis (DR) and Parametric Change. According to Roberts (1992) the notion of Step can be thought of as the diachronic relations between E-languages. The appearance of a new construction as an alternative to an already existing one is the first step towards diachronic change. The reanalysis of one of two coexisting

constructions is an example of Diachronic Reanalysis.[10] Two crucial questions arise in connection with this: (i) how does the new construction come about? And (ii) how does the new construction replace the old one? In chapter seven we attempt to answer these two interesting questions when we investigate the development of the [for DP to VP] construction. We concur with Roberts (ibid: 159) that DRs "create the conditions for parametric variation by removing the structural evidence [and *the morphological evidence*--emphasis added] for a given parametric setting". For example, we argue in chapter two that the OE *to*-infinitive exhibited PP properties, but underwent a DR and became a TP in MidE. The change from the PP status to the TP status- a gradual change-took place in two steps: (i) the gradual fading away of the dative case morphologically realised on the infinitive as *-ne*, and (ii) the emergence of the so-called *split infinitive* (see chapter three). The change in (i), which is *morphological*, might have removed some evidence that infinitives were nominal PPs. It may be that only (ii) is the syntactic change. DRs are taken to be relations between the E-language of one generation and the I-language of a subsequent generation. On this view, the acquirer, on observing his/her parents' E-language utterances in which the infinitival verb does not exhibit any morphological realisation of the dative case reanalyses it as a TP. In other words, the acquirer sets a parameter of UG at a value that is appropriate to and in consonance with his/her trigger experience. Parametric changes indicate a change in the

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10 This notion of Diachronic Reanalysis is close to Lightfoot's (1979) radical reanalysis, or to Andersen's (1973) notion of 'abductive' change. Abduction means to infer from a result 'Socrates is dead' and a law 'all men are mortal' that something may have been the case, i.e. that 'Socrates may have been a man'. Although abduction is unreliable since it is relatively easy to invoke the wrong law so that the truth of the conclusion need not follow from the truth of the premises, it can introduce and create novel ideas (for more details, see Andersen (1973)).

value of a parameter. Parametric changes are diachronic relations among I-languages. Parametric changes may eliminate structures which were already obsolescent, but they also cause perfectly viable structures to undergo DR. Steps, according to Roberts, can and frequently do make certain constructions rarer, but they do not eliminate them totally, in the sense that the grammatical system still permits them. DRs can radically reduce the frequency of certain constructions, but cannot eliminate the constructions in question totally. This is an example of optional rather than radical reanalysis (cf. Fischer & van der Leek (1981)). DRs typically result in the innovation of new constructions alongside older ones. For example, we will argue in chapter seven that the diachronic reanalysis of the [for DP to VP] construction, where [for DP] was a complement of the matrix predicate, resulted in a new interpretation of [for DP], i.e. as a subject of the infinitive. The new interpretation fed the parametric change between MidE and ModE. It is this possibility of feedback that perpetuates syntactic change.

CHAPTER TWO

THE STATUS OF OLD ENGLISH *TO*-INFINITIVE*

2.1. Introduction

The standard view of clause structure in the Principles & Parameters (PP) framework assumed in Chomsky (1991, 1993, 1995) involves the idea that lexical projections are dominated by functional structure. The basic clause structure is assumed to be that illustrated in (1):

(1) $[_{CP}\cdots[_{AgrSP}\cdots[_{TP}\cdots[_{AgrOP}\cdots[_{VP}\cdots]]]]]$

Now, if we assume that Old English *to* occupies a functional category position, then from the above structural analysis at least three possibilities for positioning *to* arise: C(omp), Agr(eement), and T(ense). However, this chapter will argue that firstly (functional) C, Agr, and T are not eligible positions for *to*, (and, consequently, that the structure in (1) has to be abandoned for OE *to*-infinitives) and secondly that *to* occupies the lexical category P(reposition). Under the present analysis the relevant parts of the structure of an OE infinitival clause is as follows:

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* Earlier versions of this chapter were presented in 1995 at the Departmental Research Seminar, University of Wales, Bangor, and the spring meeting of the Linguistics Association of Great Britain, (LAGB) University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (10-12 April). This chapter constitutes sections 1 & 2 in Jarad (1996b), which appeared in *Bangor Research Papers in Linguistics*. Vol: **8**.

(2) $[_{PP}\ldots[_{DP}\ldots[_{InfP}\ldots[_{VP}\ldots]]]]$

Before we justify our analysis in (2), we will provide a brief discussion of the occurrence of the *to*-infinitive in OE. Once we have done that, we can review our rejections of the structure in (1) by illustrating why *to* cannot be base-generated in C, Agr or T. The chapter is organised as follows. In section 2.2, we present a brief illustration of the occurrence of the *to*-infinitive in OE. Then, in section 2.3, we look at the status of *to* in OE infinitival clauses. In section 2.4, we discuss the position of pre-verbal objects with OE *to*-infinitives. Finally, in section 2.5, we summarise the chapter.

2.2. The *To*-Infinitive in Old English

There are two types of infinitives in Old English used in infinitival complements: (i) the so-called *plain* or *bare* infinitive, also called *uninflected* infinitive, which consists of a verb stem and the suffix *-(a)n* as in *sendan* 'send', *findan* 'find'; and (ii) the *to*-infinitive, also called *inflected* infinitive, involving the prepositional infinitival marker *to*, an infinitival suffix *-en/an*, and the dative ending *-ne* affixed to the infinitival verb stem, as in *to singenne* 'to sing', *to wyrcanne* 'to perform', etc (see Callaway (1913: 2), Bock (1931), Visser (1963-73: §896), Mitchell (1985: §921), and Traugott (1992), among others). The following exposition is partly based upon our independent investigation, and is also intended as a summary of the views of various scholars.

Traditional grammarians have observed that in OE the inflected infinitive was limited in its occurrence and was basically employed to express purpose. Callaway

(1913: 20-21, 60-71) observes that the inflected infinitive occurs with verbs that take a genitive, dative (e.g. *alyfan* 'allow', *bebeodan* 'command', *beodan* 'command', *forbeodan* 'forbid', etc) or prepositional object, and that the uninflected infinitive occurs with verbs that subcategorise for an accusative object. This suggests, at the very least, that infinitives depend on case in OE (see section 2.4).[1] In the meantime, compare the following examples, where the same verbs subcategorise for a dative DP, as in (3), and both a dative DP and an inflected infinitive, as in (4):

(3) a. he *him* [dat.] alefde & forgefe, þæt he most heo gelæran

he him allowed and granted that he permitted them instruct

(Bede *Eccles. History* IV.16, 20; Miller (1898: 308))

'he gave him leave & permission to instruct them'

b. syþðan eft se Hælend geseah þone mann binnan þam temple, and *him* [dat.]

afterwards Christ saw the man within the temple and him

bebead þas word

commanded these words

(Ælfric *Homilies* II, 54; Pope (1968: 232))

'afterwards Christ saw the man within the temple & commanded him these words'

c. se Hælend *us*[dat] *bebead* on þisum halgan godspelle...

Christ us commanded in this holy Gospel...

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1 From here on, we will use 'case' to refer to morphological case, and 'Case' to refer to abstract Case.

(Ælfric *Homilies* XIII, 37; Pope (ibid: 498))

'Christ commanded us in this holy Gospel...'

d. we sculen *him*[dat] *forbeodan* þæt hie huru....

we shall them forbid that they indeed...

(Ælf. C.P. 210, 24; Visser (1963-73: §869))

'we shall forbid them that they indeed...'

(4) a. *alyfe me* [dat.] *to farenne & to geseonne* ðat seloste land begeondan Iordane

allow me to go & to see that best land beyond Jordan

& ða gecorenistan dune & Libanum

& the goodliest mountain & Lebanon

(Ælfric *Deuteronomy*. III, 95; Crawford (1922: 337))

'allow me to go & to see the best land beyond Jordan & the goodliest mountain

& the Libanon'

b. þone fulan mete þe moyses *forbead godes folce* [dat.] *to þicgenne* for þære

the foul meat which Moses forbade God's people to taste because of its

gastlican getacnunge

spiritual signification

(Ælfric *Lives of Saints* XXV, 36; Skeat (1881: 68))

'the foul meat which Moses forbade God's people to taste because of its spiritual

signification'

c. healdaþ ealle ðas word ðe ic eow to dæg bebeode, & *beo<d>að* ða *eowrum* [dat.]

keep all those words that I you today command & command then your

bearnum to healdenne & to donne= children to keep & to esteem

(Ælfric *Deuteronomy* XXXII, 46; Crawford (ibid: 374))

'keep those words that I command to you today & then command [them to] your children to keep & to esteem'

d. þa dyde he up his hand and *sealde him* leaf *to siþigenne* forð

then lifted he up his hand and gave them leave to journey forward

(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* XXXI, 384; Skeat (ibid: 244))

'then he lifted up his hand and gave them leave to journey forward'

The dative form (i.e. the inflected infinitive ending in *enne/anne*) was mostly distinguished from the accusative case form of the bare infinitive, which ended in *-an*.

(5) a. hie... heton him *sendan* mara fultume

they ordered to-them send great forces

(*OE Chron.* 8; Davis (1953: 73))

'they ordered greater forces to be sent to them'

b. ġif sum dysiġ mann þas bōc rætt oþþe *rædan* ġehierþ

if some foolish man this book reads or read hears

(Ælfric's *Preface to Genesis* 43; Davis (ibid: 79))

'if some foolish man reads this book or hears it read'

In the Middle English period the inflectional endings gradually died out, with the result that the inflected infinitive and the uninflected infinitive became identical, as indicated in (6):

(6) OE up to 1100	1100-1300	1300-1500	1500 onwards
to writ*enne/anne*	to writen(*e*)	to write(*n*)	to write
writ*an*	writ*en*	write(*n*)	write

Callaway (1913: 335), Visser (1963-73: §897), Mitchell (1985), and others note that several verbs in OE, such as *onginnan* 'to begin', *ondrædan* 'to dread', *bebeodan* 'to bid', *bewerian* 'to forbid' *ġeliefan* 'to believe', *þencan* 'to think' etc, are found construed either with the uninflected infinitive, or with the inflected infinitive. From these beginnings, the use of the infinitive with *to* in place of the bare infinitive, combined with the phonetic decay and loss of the inflections, increased rapidly during the late OE and early MidE periods, with the result that in Modern English the infinitive with *to* is the ordinary form, the bare infinitive surviving only in particular constructions where it is connected with the preceding verb, as in the complements to perception verbs (e.g. *see*) and causatives (e.g. *make*) (see Callaway (1913: 335), Visser (1963-73: §897), Fischer (1992), and Denison (1993: chapter 8 and references cited therein)).[2]

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2 In his work on infinitives in OE, Callaway (1913: 107) counts 1512 instances of bare infinitives and 15 instances of *to*-infinitives as complements of perception and causative verbs. It should be noted here that the replacement of bare infinitives by *to*-infinitives did not extend to perception and causative verbs in their active forms.

Our concern here is not to account for the encroachment of the inflected infinitive upon the domain of the uninflected infinitive,[3] but to provide a brief description of the inflected infinitive in OE purpose clauses. This, we hope, will provide us with an insight into the nature of *to* in OE purpose clauses. As a point of departure, we wish to stress the fact that *to* was only used before the dative form of the infinitive ending in *-anne/enne*. It introduced a purpose clause. This meaning of *to* is clearly perceivable in the prepositional phrases in (7) and in the infinitival clauses in (8):

(7) a. hie ġe-sohton Brettene *Brettum to fultume*

they came Britain to-Britons to help

(*OE Chron.* Davis (ibid: 73))

'they came to Britain as a help to (to help) the Britons'

b. and hine þær of.snaþ *Gode to lace...*

and him there slaughtered to-God to sacrifice

(*Abraham & Isaac* 31; Davis (ibid: 67))

'and slaughtered him there as a sacrifice to God'

c. and wæs swelce a seolcen þræd ymbe his sweoran read, *mannum to sweotolunge*

---

3 According to Visser (1963-73: §901) the uninflected infinitive was the rule in subject position, but later replaced by the *to*-infinitive (but cf. Mitchell (1985)). The early MidE data investigated by Jack (1991: 317-18) are somewhat surprising in that they show a slight increase in the use of the uninflected infinitive as subject, as compared to OE and late MidE. Bock (1931) maintains that the uniflected infinitive was less frequent in OE and MidE than the *to*-infinitive in this function (cf. also Kenyon (1909) and Mustanoja (1960)).

and was such a silk thread around his neck red to-men to sign

hu he of-slægen wæs

how he slaughtered was

(*King Edmund* 148; Davis (ibid: 85))

'and such a silk thread was around his red neck as a sign to men how he was slaughtered'

d. seðe nele clypian crist *him* *to fultume*

who will not call Christ to-him to help

(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* XIII,46; Skeat (ibid: 286))

'who will not call Christ to help him'

(8) a. gadriað ærest þone coccel, and bindaþ sceaf-mælum *to forbærnenne*

gather first the tare, and bind in bundles to burn

(*Math*,XIII,23; Davis (ibid: 62))

'first gather the tare and bind in bundles to burn'

b. hie heora here on tu todældon-oþer æt ham beon heora lond *to healdanne*,

they their army into two divided one at home be their land to keep,

oðer ut faran *to winnanne*

the other out go to fight

(Alfred *Orosius* 52; Onions (1950: 24))

'they divided their army into two divisions: one to defend the country; the other to conquer other countries'

c. an wulf wearþ asend, þurh Godes wissunge, *to bewerienne* þæt heafod wiþ þa

a wolf was sent, through God's direction to guard the head against the

oþru deor= other animals

(Ælfric *King Edmund* 121; Davis (ibid: 84))

'a wolf had been sent by God's direction to guard the head against other animals'

d. Ærest he cwom to Hii þæm ealonde, þonon he wæs sended Ongolþeode Godes

first he came to Iona the island, thence he was sent to-English God's

word *to bodienne & to læranne*

word to proclaim & to teach

(Bede *Eccles. History* IV. 24; Miller (ibid: 272))

'first he came to the isle of Iona from which he had been sent out to preach & teach God's word to the English people'

Note that *fultume*, *lace*, *sweotolunge* etc, are not verbs/infinitives. They are DPs contained in PPs and look more like the equivalent of ModE as + DP phrases. We think the point of the data from purpose clauses is to show that *to* could be a preposition introducing an infinitive, somewhat like *in order to* in ModE.

In this section we have simply given a brief illustration of the occurrence of the *to*-infinitives in purpose clauses. A crucial aspect of OE *to*-infinitives is that *to*, which is only used before the dative form of the infinitive ending in *-anne/enne*, introduces purpose clauses. On the basis of this evidence, we come to the conclusion that OE *to* is a preposition. We have seen that the purposive meaning of OE *to* is perceivable in both

prepositional phrases and infinitival clauses. Let us next look at the claim that OE *to* is the head of an infinitival Complementiser Phrase (CP).

2.3. The Status of *TO*

2.3.1. *TO* as the Head of Complementiser Phrase (CP)

Here we shall examine the claim that the infinitival marker *to* in OE is the head of an infinitival CP. In that respect we draw on Kayne's (1981) paper on French and Italian prepositional complementisers. Kayne (1981) proposes that French *de* and Italian *di* occupy the C-position. In a similar vein, Wilder (1988) treats German *zu* as originating in C. Their arguments are primarily based on (9) and (10):

(9) a. Je crois [de [PRO être intelligent]] (French)
I believe to be intelligent

b. credo [di [PRO essere intelligente]] (Italian)
I-believe to be intelligent

c. Ich glaube intelligent [zu [PRO sein]] (German)
I believe intelligent to be

d. *I believe [for [PRO to be intelligent]] (ModE)

As shown in (9a-c), PRO is allowed as a complement subject under *believe*-type verbs

in French, Italian, and German. Under minimalist assumptions, the well-formedness of (9a-c) can be accounted for by the fact that *de*, *di*, and *zu* do not have any Case features to check with the embedded infinitival subject (in [Spec,CP]). In Modern English, on the other hand, *believe*-type verbs have a feature to check, and require an overt DP as lower subject (which raises to the higher [Spec,AgrOP]).[4]

Raising constructions also play a central role in determining the position of the infinitival marker. The obligatory absence of *de* and *di* in (10) below follows straightforwardly from the fact that raising infinitivals are not CPs.[5]

(10) a. *Jean$_i$ semble [$_{CP}$ de [e$_i$ être parti]]

'Jean seems to have left'

4

For example, when the embedded subject raises to [Spec, AgrOP] to check the strong D-feature of AgrOP then the only possible PF outcome is

(i) John believes [him to be honest]

However, if the strong D-feature remains unchecked, the derivation crashes, as in:

(ii) *John believes [PRO to be honest]

In GB terms, examples like (ii) were/are considered as evidence that the PRO subject of the infinitival clause has raised high enough to be governed by the matrix verb.

5

The German infinitival marker *zu*, which is arguably base-generated in Comp, obligatorily appears in raising infinitivals, as in:

dass Hans das Buch gelesen *(zu) haben schien
'that Hans seemed to have read the book'

Why this is so need not concern us here. See Beukema & den Dikken (1989) for discussion.

b. *Gianni$_i$ sembra [$_{CP}$ di [e$_i$ essere partito]]

'Gianni seems to have left'

The ill-formedness of (10a-b) is accounted for by the well-known restriction on NP movement over an adjacent complementiser (cf. Rizzi (1990)).

Is it the case then that the C-analysis can account for OE *to*-infinitives? Does OE *to* behave like French *de*? We suggest not. Firstly, the C-analysis is at loggerheads with the PRO theorem, since OE *to*, lexically a preposition, must have case features which are not suitable for PRO if *to* occupies the C-position (cf. Kageyama (1992)). The fact that OE *to* has dative case features makes it different from French *de* and argues against Roberts' (1992) claim that *to* was a complementiser in OE and was then diachronically reanalysed as the head of the infinitival TP after the loss of T^{-1}.[6] Secondly, the fact that OE *to* assigns dative case to the infinitive makes it different from French *de*. Thirdly, and more importantly, it should be noted that in OE *to*-infinitives the complement of the infinitival verb precedes *to*, as in the following examples:[7]

(11) a. ongyt þu þis þæt ic næbbe nænigne intingan **þe** *to ġeseonne* ne **þe** *to ġegretanne*

learn you this that I not-have no reason you to see nor you to greet

---

6 T^{-1}, like Agr^{-1} and C^{-1}, is a category with a subcategorisation frame requiring the incorporation of a verbal stem (see Roberts (1992: 242)). As such, it is very close to Chomsky's (1993, 1995) notion of a head with strong V-features.

7 For a discussion of the position of pre-verbal objects with Old English *to*-infinitives, see section 2.4.

(*St. Basilla* 20, 5; Herzfeld (1899: 86))

'Learn thou this that I have no reason to see you or to greet you'

b. drihten God, beo þu gemedemad **me** *to ġeheranne*

Lord God be you deem me to hear

(*St. Cyriac & St. Julitta* 16; Herzfeld (ibid: 120))

'O Lord God, deem it worthy to hear me'

c. he forbead swa ðeah **þæt blod** *to þicġenne*

he forbade so though that blood to eat

(Ælfric *On the Old & New Testament 289*; Crawford (ibid: 27))

'he forbade them nevertheless to eat the blood'

d. hi eodon þa butu **his bodunge** *to ġehyrenne*

they went then both his preaching to hear

(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* XXXVI,327; Skeat (ibid: 418)

'then they both went to hear his preaching'

e. we synd gearwe **ealle þa þincg** *to gehyrenne* þe se hælend þe bebead

we are ready all the things to hear which the Lord you commanded

(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* X,144; Skeat (ibid: 228))

'we are ready to hear all those things which Jesus commanded to you'

In each of the above infinitivals a complement precedes *to*. This shows that *to* occupies a position lower than C unless we assume the complement is in [Spec,CP]. But this would be a kind of infinitival verb second (V2), which is unknown elsewhere. In addition, the assumption that *to* is in C is contradicted by the fact that OE lacks infinitival interrogatives like *tell me where to go*, and infinitival subject relatives like *John is the man to fix the sink*, which arguably contain a projection of C. The absence of these constructions in OE, therefore, undermines an analysis of *to* as the head of CP.[8]

2.3.2. *TO* as the Head of Agreement Phrase (AgrP)

On the basis of the evidence provided in the previous section, let us consider next the hypothesis that OE *to* is the head of the infinitival AgrP. In this section we will examine Kageyama's (1992) proposal that the OE infinitival marker *to* is the head of the infinitival AgrP, and that *to* embodies the external argument of an infinitival verb. He argues that analysing OE infinitival clauses as AgrPs in this way provides an explanation for the absence of morphologically passive *to*-infinitives, the unavailability of subject-relation infinitival relatives, and the alleged lack of both a lexical and a PRO subject in *to*-infinitives. Consider the following OE infinitival clauses:

(12) a. ðas ðing sint *to donne*

---

8 However, there is no particular reason to think that the availability of these constructions is linked to the presence of a filled C especially since C isn't (and can't be) filled in these constructions in ModE. Roberts (personal communication) pointed out that *to* could be inherently [-WH]. He added that the fact that this is unattested in any current language makes it not very plausible.

those things are to do

(Læce. 62,21; Callaway (1913: 99))

'those things are to be done'

b. heo is *to clænsienne* fram leahtrum

she is to cleanse from sins

(Ælfric *Homilies*. 552,13; Kageyama (1992: 114))

'she is to be cleansed from sins'

c. and þas feower ana syndon *to underfonne*

and these four only are to receive

(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* XVI, 222; Skeat (ibid: 336))

'and these four only are to be received'

d. forðon hi sendon *to healdanne* mid heortan onbryrdnesse

therefore they are to keep with heart remorse

(*Litanies* 3; Herzfeld (ibid: 74))

'therefore they have to be kept with compunction of the heart'

e. δas $\underbrace{\text{δing}_i \text{ sint } [_{AgrP}\ t'_i}$ $\underbrace{[_{Agr'}\ \text{to donne } t_i]]}$

Each of these infinitival forms has a passive interpretation, yet the verb form is active. The analysis of these constructions has generated a lot of discussions in the literature on OE, most of which centres on whether or not they really are passives. For example,

Quirk & Wrenn (1957: §131) say that "a passive infinitive was usually expressed with the active form". Callaway (1913: 6) proposes that they are passives, while Mitchell (1985: §942) points out that they are active, but that they are used in a passive sense. More recently, Kageyama (1992) assumes that they are passives because the infinitival marker *to* behaves like the passive morpheme. He argues that the infinitival marker *to* not only absorbs the external theta role assigned by the infinitival verb but also absorbs the accusative Case that the internal argument requires, in a Baker, Johnson & Roberts (1989) framework. In (12a) the DP *δas δing*, which is the internal argument of the infinitival verb, surfaces as the nominative subject, suggesting a parallel with syntactic passives. According to Kageyama, the fact that *to* absorbs accusative Case is responsible for the movement of *δas δing* to the specifier of the matrix AgrP, as schematically represented in (12e).

Rather than going into the detailed argumentation that Kageyama provides, we would like to focus on the problems raised by his basic claim concerning AgrP in OE *to*-infinitives. We see a significant problem with his claim in that it classifies Agr as a theta position, and hence an A(rgument)-position. By assuming that the infinitival marker *to* is an argument and by inserting it under Agr, Kageyama's analysis clearly ignores the distinction between heads and arguments because arguments are always maximal projections not heads.[9] Furthermore, if *to* occurs with a verb like *beonne* or with

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9 This objection could also be raised to Baker, Johnson & Roberts (1989) who treat the passive morpheme *-en* as an argument base-generated in I(NFL).This argument is assumed to absorb both the external θ-role and the accusative Case of the passive predicate. A further objection arises in relation to Baker *et al*'s assumption that in control sentences like (i) below the controller is the passive morpheme *-en*.

an *unaccusative* verb, then the thematic structure of the latter will not provide the necessary external argument for (the argument structure of) *to*. Note that the occurrence of *to* below with *beonne* (13) and unaccusative verbs (14) strongly argues against Kageyama's claim.[10] Consider the following examples:

(13) a. god ys us [dat] her *to beonne*

good is us here to be

(*OE Gosp*. Mt 17,4; Visser (ibid: §903))

'it is good for us to be here'

b. nyste gyt þat me [dat] gebyrath *to beonne* on þam ðingum þe mines fæder synt?

not know yet that me befits to be in the conditions which my father is

(*OE Gosp*. Luke 2: 49; Visser (ibid: §903))

'Don't the two of you know that it befits me to be in my father's position'

c. and eac þa halgan canonas gehadodum forbeodað, ge bisceopum ge preostum,

and also the holy canons clerics forbid both bishops and priests

---

(i) the house was sold [PRO to make money]

The possibility that PRO could be controlled by the passive morpheme, which realises the external θ-role of the verb, is problematic on the assumption that control is standardly a relation between DPs in A(rgument)-positions. For more arguments against this analysis, see Jarad (1992).

10 Beukema & van der Wurff (1993) and Fischer (1996) discuss a number of syntactic and semantic problems with Kageyama's interpretation of *to* in OE *to*-infinitives, but for lack of space we will not attempt to review their works here.

to beonne embe þeofas

to be after thieves

(Ælfric *St. Edmund* 289; Mitchell & Robinson (1992: 202))

'and also the holy canons forbid (the ordained) clerics, both bishops and priests, to be concerned with thieves'

(14) a. ða wæteru... begunnon *to wanigenne* æfter oðer healfhund daga

the waters... began to wane after other fifty-hundred days

(Ælfric *Genesis*. VIII,3; Crawford (ibid: 103))

'the waters began to ebb away after another hundred and fifty days'

b. ic onginne *to blaciġenne*

I begin to grow pale

(Ælfr. *Gr*. 212,7; Callaway (ibid: 53))

'I begin to grow pale'

In these examples *to* would be an argument without a θ-role, yielding a violation of the θ-criterion (cf. Chomsky (1981)).[11]

The idea that *to* is the head of the infinitival AgrP is implausible since *to* is compatible with all persons, as illustrated in (15):

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11 See Baker *et al* (ibid) for a discussion of the general impossibility of passives of unaccusatives-the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law of Relational Grammar (cf. Perlmutter (1978) and Perlmutter & Postal (1984)).

(15) **ic** wæs asend God **to** þegnienne

I was sent God to serve

'I was sent to serve God'

þu wære asend God **to** þegnienne

you were sent God to serve

he/hit/heo wæs asend God **to** þegnienne

he/it/she was sent God to serve

we/ge/hie wæron asend God **to** þegnienne

we/you/they were sent God to serve

One might assume that since *to* is compatible with all persons, it patterns with phonologically null rather than overtly realised agreement morphemes.

A further potential objection to Kageyama's claim is the question as to whether the external argument *to* needs Case, and if it does, how it receives it. Kageyama has nothing to say about this. Instead, he advances an *ad hoc* proposal that the external argument *to* case marks the infinitival verb. Kageyama has to explain how an element like *to* can, at the same time, receive an external θ-role from the infinitival verb and case mark that same verb. This fact dramatically weakens Kageyama's claim that *to* heads AgrP.[12] Therefore, let us consider the possibility of *to* as the head of TP.

12

But, although Kageyama's proposal about the θ-role and Case properties of *to* is no good for the reasons that we have given above, *to* could nevertheless be in Agr. One might claim that *to* is in Agr, but has no θ-role properties, and simply marks the infinitive as Dative. So *to* could assign two Cases: null and DAT. We can dismiss this claim by saying that *to* can't be in Agr because no known functional category assigns two Cases: null and DAT.

2.3.3. *TO* as the Head of Tense Phrase (TP)

Pollock (1989), Chomsky (1991, 1993, 1995), Roberts (1992), and many others argue that ModE *to* may be the head of TP. Extending the ideas of these authors, we can argue along the following lines:

(16) T is postulated as the eligible position for *to* iff the *to*-infinitive exhibits aspectual distinctions

ModE *to*-infinitive has one present tense expressed by the form of VP as in (17a), and two aspectual distinctions exemplified in (17b-c).[13] The corresponding examples are given in (17'):

(17) a. to + V (present tense)

b. to + have + en (perfective aspect)

c. to + be + ing (imperfective aspect)

(17') a. John tries to win the race

b. only John is known to have won the race

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13 The term *tense* refers to variations in the morphological form of the verb which indicate roughly the time at which the action denoted by the verb took place. The standard view is that English has no future tense but future time is expressed by the present tense form of the verb, and by auxiliaries like 'will', etc. For example:

a. my flight leaves in half an hour
b. they are getting married in June
c. they will get married in June

c. John always wants to be eating

Since aspectual auxiliaries can be taken to be licensed by Tense, their presence suggests that ModE infinitives have Tense. Thus, the presence of these aspectual distinctions in ModE explains why T qualifies as the eligible position for the infinitival marker *to*. Further evidence that ModE *to* is in T is provided by the fact that *to* is in complementary distribution with modal auxiliaries and periphrastic *do*, which are commonly analysed as fillers of the T-position, i.e. *to* marks T [-finite], while *Modal* or *do* mark T [+finite].

Now, if we look at OE, however, we find that (16) does not hold. There are three factors which argue against treating OE *to* as the head of TP. The first factor concerns the fact that the OE *to*-infinitives do not have aspect, therefore, following (16), *to* can't be in T.[14] In comparing the OE *to*-infinitive with its ModE and MidE counterparts, a crucial morphosyntactic difference becomes apparent. While the ModE and MidE *to*-infinitives exhibit aspectual distinctions such as *to* + *have* + *V* +*en* for perfective aspect, the OE infinitive does not. Actually, the perfect tenses exist in OE, but are not employed as consistently as they are in other periods of English. There are two kinds of perfect tense: one formed with *Have* and the past participle of the verb, and the other formed with *beon/wesan* 'to be' or *weorþan* 'to become' and the past participle of the verb. The perfect tenses of transitive verbs were formed by the use of the verb *Habban* and the past participle (see Visser (1963-73: §§2001-3), Mitchell (1985: §§724, 725-8), Traugott (1970: 93-4) & (1992: 192), and Denison (1993: chapter 12)). Originally,

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14 For a similar conclusion, see Kageyama (1992).

sentences like *he had written a letter* meant something like *he possessed a written letter.* The construction underwent a syntactic reanalysis accompanied by a change in the semantics of the verb *Habban* and the voice of the participle (cf. Denison (1993: 340), and Traugott (1970: 94)).

The perfect tenses of intransitive verbs were formed with *beon/wesan* or *weorþan* (see Visser (1963-73: §§1897-1904), Mitchell (1985: §§734-42), and Denison (1993: chapter 12)). It is important to point out is that finite forms of the perfect *Have* were attested in OE, but inflected infinitival forms came later. It is also important to point out that perfect *Have* with a bare infinitive was possible in OE, always in collocation with a modal (see Traugott (1970), Denison (1993: chap. 12) and Mitchell (1985: §922)). We have found no examples of the perfect *Have* with inflected infinitive (cf. Miyabe (1954, 1956)).[15]

A second argument against *to* in T derives from the fact that if *to* headed an infinitival TP, it would make an infinitive (in control structure) temporally different from a gerund, as it does in ModE:

(18) a. John forgot [PRO to lock the car]

b. John forgot [PRO locking the car]

Stowell (1982: 562) has observed that infinitival clauses contain a tense

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15 Miyabe (1955) points out that it was not until the second half of the 14th century that the perfect infinitive came to be more or less commonly used.

morpheme which has the effect of specifying that the time-frame of the infinitival clause is *unrealised* with respect to the tense of the matrix verb. It is this tense morpheme which makes an infinitival clause temporally different from a gerund, as illustrated in (18) above. In (18a) the tense of the infinitival complement is understood as being unrealised with respect to the tense of the matrix verb *forgot*, whereas in (18b) the understood tense of the gerund is contigent on the semantics of the matrix verb *forgot*. This is tantamount to saying that the action of locking the car in (18a) has not taken place because John forgot to do so. In (18b), on the other hand, the action of locking the car has actually taken place and John has forgotten that he has done it. We concur with Kageyama (1992:101) that such a difference does not characterise OE *to*-infinitives as differentiated from bare infinitive, because both types of infinitives may be employed almost interchangeably in verb complementation with control structures. Consider the examples in (19) where the verbs *bebeodan* 'command/order' and *hatan* 'command/order' occur in control structures either with the inflected infinitive, as in (19a-b), or the uninflected infinitive, as in (19c-d):

(19) a. hi nellað herian þone hælend mid sange swa swa se bisceop *bebead* þam
they won't praise Christ with chanting as the bishop commanded the
gebroðrum *to donne*=brothers to do
(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* XXI,243; Skeat (ibid: 456))
'they will not praise Christ with chanting even as the bishop bade the brethren do'

b. Ða fiondas *geheht* *to lufianne*
the enemies commanded to love

(Mt. P. 14,18; Toller (1921: 338))

c. ða *bebead* se biscop ðeosne to him *lædan*, & in his cafortune heht him

then commanded the bishop this-one to him lead & in his enclosure ordered him

medmicle hus gewyrcan= small hut erected

(Bede *Eccles. History* V,II,20; Miller (ibid: 388))

'then the bishop directed this man to be brought to him, and ordered a small hut to be erected for him within the enclosure'

d. tætectte se biscop hine *heht* steafa naman *cweoðan*

further the bishop him ordered letters' names say

(Bede *Eccles.History* V.2,30; Miller (ibid: 388))

'the bishop further ordered him to say the names of the letters'

What these examples show is that the presence of *to* makes no temporal difference. Each of these examples has the *unrealised tense* reading, which is typical of control structures (according to Stowell (ibid)). This suggests that T is present in all cases, but *to* is not in T at all.

Let us now turn to a third argument against the analysis of *to* as the head of TP. This argument concerns the nominal status of the OE *to*-infinitives. Since *-ne* is the only morphological realisation of the inherent case assigned by *to*, it seems reasonable to take *-ne* as an indicator of the nominal status of the infinitival verb (cf. Lightfoot (1979)). This leads us to make the following crucial assumption: the dative ending *-ne* is a

morphological head which projects a phrase of its own. This dative phrase bears the features of a DP. We adopt Stowell's (1981) proposal that clauses and DPs are [+N, -V]. In Stowell's analysis, C(omp) bears a tense operator and this tense operator requires a full proposition. The infinitival and *that*-clauses will then be distinguished in that the former have no specification for the [+PAST] feature. Gerundial clauses are like infinitival clauses in that both do not have a [+PAST] feature. They will be like DPs in not having a specification for [+TENSE]. If this is correct, then the lack of any tense or aspectual distinctions in nominals presents a strong case against analysing OE *to* as Tense because there is no temporal specification. Further and more importantly, since functional categories aren't usually thought to assign inherent Case, it seems implausible to analyse OE *to* as Tense. So only P remains a possible candidate.

2.3.4. *TO* as the Head of Prepositional Phrase (PP)

In sections 2.3.1., 2.3.2., and 2.3.3. we established that OE *to* is neither C(omp) nor Agr, nor T(ense). The remaining possibility is that *to* is a preposition (cf Fischer (1996)). This line of reasoning, which we will pursue below, argues that *to* heads its own prepositional phrase (PP) and takes a dative phrase (DP) as its complement. Primary evidence for this lies in the characteristic dative inflection on the head of the DP. The preposition *to* has its own inherent case feature morphologically realised on D as the dative inflection. The difference between OE and MidE *to*-infinitives is explained as a difference in the nature and syntactic status of the infinitival marker *to* in these two periods. Our analysis has advantages over those of Lightfoot (1979), Roberts (1992), and Kageyama (1992) in that it covers a wider range of OE facts. On the other hand, our analysis is not without

problems but we will argue below that criticism of the PP-analysis can be more easily overcome than the problems created by the other analyses.[16],[17]

The differences between OE and MidE/ModE are explained by our assumption that the OE inflected infinitives are dominated by a PP. This assumption is supported by the fact that the OE inflected infinitives occur in coordination with ordinary PPs, as in (20):

(20) a. ut eode *to his gebede* **oðde** *to leornianne* mid his geferum

out went to his prayer or to study with his comrades

(Bede *Eccles. History* III.5,7; Miller (ibid: 162))

'[he] went out to his prayers or to study with his comrades'

16

Susan Pintzuk (personal communication) raised the question as to whether or not the obligatory post-verbal position of OE *to*-infinitive presents a problem for our proposed analysis. The problem lies in the fact that if OE *to*-infinitives are PPs, then their distribution is different from typical PPs, which may appear in either pre-verbal or post-verbal position. In answering this question, we would like to suggest that the weight of the complement, measured in terms of internal structure, has an effect on its position. The OE *to*-infinitive has more internal structure than typical PPs (and DPs which also appear in either pre-verbal or post-verbal position (cf. Pintzuk (1996)). The heavier the complement, i.e. the more internal strucrure it has, the more likely it is to appear post-verbally.

17

Bob Borsley (personal communication) pointed out that a PP-analysis of Old English *to*-infinitive might have problems in accommodating examples where the object precedes *to* given the fact that extraction from PP is impossible in Old English (for instance, see the examples in (11) above, and section 2.4. below). In dealing with this problem, we can say that there is no general ban on extraction from PP but on preposition stranding because P is not a proper governor for ECP (cf. Van Kemenade (1987)). Many problems remain, we leave them unaddressed.

b. wa ðan ðe strang bið *to swiðlicum drencum* **and** *to gemencgenne*

woe to-that-one that strong is to excessive drinkings and to mingle

ða micclan druncennysse= much intoxication

(Ælfric *Homilies* II, 322,15; Visser (ibid: §897))

c. efne þes sunderhalga...hæfde opene eagan *to forhæfednysse, to ælmesdædum*

even this Pharisee had opened eyes to abstinence to almsdeeds

to ðancigenne God...=to thank God

(Ælfric *Cath. Hom.*ii,430.33; Mitchell (1985: §965))

d. us gelustfullað gyt furður *to sprecenne* be ðan halgan were Iohanne, him to

to-us pleased still further to say about saint were John, him to

wurðmynte **and** us *to beterunge*

honour and us to improvement

(Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* i.360, 29; Mitchell (ibid: §965))

These examples argue in favour of a PP analysis of the *to*-infinitive. We have found no examples of a PP coordinated with a *(for) to*-infinitive in MidE.[18] The absence of this possibility shows that the *to*-infinitive has lost its prepositional property. It is worth recalling Callaway's (1913: 20-21, 60-71) remarks that the inflected infinitive tends to appear with verbs that take a prepositional object or an object in the dative or genitive, and that the uninflected infinitive tends to appear with verbs that subcategorise for an

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18 In fact, Denison (1993: 189) cites one MidE example of a PP coordinated with a *to*-infinitive.

accusative object. This tendency underlines the close relation between infinitives and case in OE.[19] Similarly, the regular occurrence of the *to*-infinitive compared with the rare occurrence of the bare infinitive with adjectives (dative case-assigners) and nouns (genitive case-assigners) further signifies the relation between *to*-infinitives and case (see Callaway (1913: 181), Mitchell (1985: §§925-929), and Visser (1963-73: §§926, 938)).[20] On the basis of this evidence, we would like to claim that both bare and *to*-infinitives are nominal.

Traditional grammarians have observed that there is a close relation between infinitives and nouns. There are languages, for instance, Dutch, Standard Arabic, Brazilian Portuguese, etc, where infinitives can combine with articles, adjectival modifiers, etc. The following examples from Dutch (taken from Fischer & van der Leek (1981: 344)), Standard Arabic, and Brazilian Portuguese (thanks to Heloisa Salles (p.c.) for (21e & f)):

(21) a. het huilen staat me nader dan het lachen (Dutch)

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19 Los (1997) has shown that Callaway's claims are problematic, and that the *to*-infinitive competes with subjunctive *that*-clause complements rather than bare infinitive complements, a conclusion independently arrived at by Fischer (1994). Fischer (1994) and Los (1997) found that verbs which occur with a *to*-infinitive also occur with a subjunctive *that*-clause, and that there are quite a number of instances in which they found the *that*-clause being replaced by a *to*-infinitive. We realise that Fischer's (1994) and Los' (1997) interesting findings create problems for our proposed analysis, but would like to leave the discussion of these problems for further research.

20 Callaway (1913: 149) counts 241 instances of inflected infinitive and 6 instances of uninflected infinitive as complements of adjectives. He also counts 242 instances of inflected infinitive and 4 instances of uninflected infinitive as complements of nouns (ibid: 173). This suggests that *to* may be a realiser rather than an assigner of inherent case.

the cry-INF stands me closer than the laugh-INF

'I'm nearer to crying than to laughing'

b. een keer hard schreeuwen doet een mens goed (Dutch)

one time hard shout-INF does a man good

'to shout out loud now and then does a man good'

c. D- Darb- u li-l-walad-i (Standard Arabic)

the beating-Nom of-the-boy-Gen

'the beating of the boy'

d. D- Darb- u ?al aniif- u li-l- walad-i (Standard Arabic)

the beating-Nom the violent-Nom of-the-boy-Gen

'the violent beating of the boy'

e. o bater no garoto (Brazilian Portuguese)

the beating in-the boy

f. o violento bater no garoto (Brazilian Portuguese)

the violent beating in-the boy

'the violent beating of the boy'

Building on the traditional observation, we argue that OE *to*-infinitival clauses behave like nominals with respect to feature checking. More specifically, the fact that the head

of the dative DP shows morphological realisation of dative case, suggests that the head has a case feature, call it the DAT-feature, which is subject to feature checking. We argue that the head of the infinitival DP covertly adjoins to the head of PP to check its DAT-feature.This is consistent with our claim that *to* is a preposition heading its own PP and taking a DP as its complement. We argue that the infinitival verb has an infinitival feature, call it the Inf-feature. We also argue that the infinitival verb, i.e. V+Inf has a nominal feature, call it the D-feature, which is subject to feature checking. The question that arises here is how the infinitival verb checks its D-feature. Assuming that the infinitival DP is dominated by a PP, there is one possible way for the head of the DP to check its feature: the infinitival head moves to a position where it can check its D-feature. Since feature-checking takes place in a highly local domain, the infinitival head must move overtly to Inf to check its Inf-feature and then the complex $[_{Inf}$ V+Inf] moves to D to check its D-feature and the feature contained in D. We assume that the D-feature attracts the verb or more precisely V+Inf to move to D. So in an example like (22a), whose simplified structure is given in (23),[21] the infinitival verb moves out of its base position in VP to Inf to check its infinitival feature forming the complex [V+Inf], which moves on to D where Inf's D-feature is checked.[22]

21

To simplify the structure, covert adjunction of the complex head $[_D$ V+Inf] to *to* is not represented here.

22

In a pre-minimalist approach, the infinitival verb is said to be transformationally derived as follows: the verbal stem first moves to Inf to give the complex head [V + en] which, in turn, adjoins to D to give the full infinitival verb form. It is interesting to note that the movement of the infinitival verb to D goes along with Baker's (1985) *Mirror Principle*, which states that the linear order of affixes be a direct consequence of syntactic head movement, assuming head-movement is always left-adjunction.

(22) a. we synd gearwe nu *to gewinnenne* þæt land

we are ready now to conquer that land

(Ælfric *Numbers* XIV,40; Crawford (ibid: 320))

'we are ready now to conquer that land'

b. ond symle mid his mode wæs flegende þa heofonlecan *to lufienne & to biddenne*

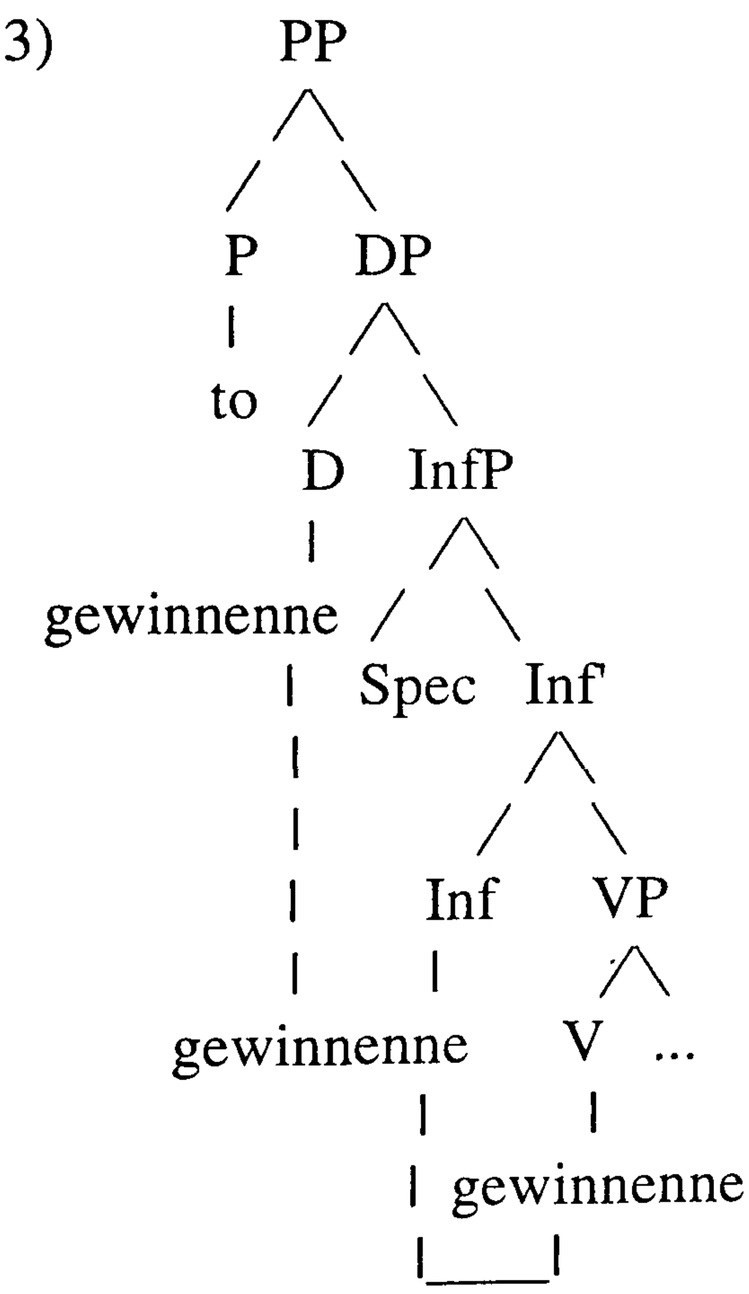
and ever with his mind was hastened the heaven to love, & to desire

& *to secenne*= & to seek

(Bede *Eccles. History* II,6,7, 32; Miller (ibid: 116))

'and ever in his mind he was in haste to love, to desire and seek the things of heaven'

(23)



In fact, there is quite a lot of evidence which suggests that the infinitival verb moves to D. The evidence comes from coordinated structures. In a set of coordinated infinitives,

the second infinitive very commonly matches the initial one in its marker (i.e. *to* is repeated in both conjuncts) and very rarely exhibits reduced marking (i.e. *to* is not repeated in the second conjunct). The tendency towards reduced marking increases considerably in MidE (see Kenyon (1909: 159-60), Quirk & Svartvik (1970: 402-3) and Fischer (1996)). Consider the following examples where the infinitive in the second conjunct is identical to that of the first. In other words, the second *to*-infinitive is coordinated to the first, and both are governed by the matrix predicate, as the bracketing illustrates:

(24) a. gescead is ðære sawle forgifen [[*to gewyssienne*] **and** [*to styrenne*]] hire agen

reason is the soul given to direct and to govern its own

lif and ealle hire dæda

life and all its deeds

(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* I,108; Skeat (ibid: 16))

'reason is given to the soul to direct and govern its own life and all its deeds'

b. hwæðer is [[*to lufigenne*] **oðde** hwan lac [*to offrigenne*]]

which is to love or whom sacrifice to offer

(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* XIV,38; Skeat (ibid: 310))

'which is to be loved, or to whom is sacrifice to be offered'

c. he hæfde þa gleawnesse Godes bebodu [[*to healdanne*] **and** [*to læranne*]]

he had the wisdom God's ordinances to keep and to teach

(Bede *Eccles. History* III.17,10; Miller (ibid: 206))

'he had the wisdom to keep and to teach God's ordinances'

d. heo onfeng mynster [[*to timbrenne*] **and** [*to endebyrdienne*]]

she undertake monastery to build and to put in order

(Bede *Eccles. History* IV,5; Miller (ibid: 334))

'she undertook to construct & arrange a monastery'

e. þæt him leofre wære wið hiene [[*to feohtanne*] **þonne** gafol [*to gieldanne*]]

that to-them pleasant were against him to fight than ransom to pay

(Alfred *Orosius* 13; Onions (ibid: 23))

'they would rather fight against him than pay ransom'

The examples in (24) conform with the requirement that only phrasal constituents can be coordinated. Crucial in (24) is the fact that the appearance of the dative ending on the infinitival verb in both conjuncts is triggered off by the presence of *to* immediately before the infinitival verb. Exceptions to this statement are found in the following examples, where the infinitival verb in the second conjunct exhibits the dative ending without the presence of *to*. According to Visser (ibid: 1020), this can be ascribed to the fact that the force of *to* in the first conjunct is sometimes carried over to the infinitival verb in the second conjunct.[23] This means that the relevant parts of the structures of (25a) and (25b)

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23 It is worth mentioning that the use of a second infinitive without *to* but with the dative infinitival ending (-(*e*)*nne*) expressed is extremely rare in OE. Fischer (1996: 113) has found one example of a coordinated infinitive without *to* but with -(*e*)*nne* in the OE section of the Helsinki Corpus.

are like those in (26) and (27), respectively:[24]

24

Visser (1963-73: §§967, 968), Callaway (1913: 78), and Mitchell (1985: §§929, 935) give examples in which the infinitival verb in the second conjunct, following a *to*-infinitive, shows the accusative ending *-an* instead of the dative ending *-anne/enne*. The examples in (i) clearly show this fact. Callaway (1913: 158,181) suggests that the occurrence of the bare infinitive in the second conjunct is probably due to the *remoteness* of the infinitive from the matrix predicate which it modifies. This seems rather unlikely because in many examples the infinitive is not remote, e.g. the examples in (i) below. Fischer (1996) suggests that a bare infinitive in the second conjunct expresses something different than a *to*-infinitive. She indicates that "the bare infinitive signals 'directness', i.e. it indicates the actuality of an event and the simultaneity of tense domains of matrix verb and infinitive.The *to*-infinitive, on the other hand, signals 'indirectness', i.e. a separation between the activity of the matrix verb and that of the infinitive, either in terms of time, or in terms of reality"(Fischer (1996: 117)).

(i) a. nis nan earfoðnyss ðæm ælmihtigan gode on feawum mannum oðde on
not-is none is difficulty the Almighty God in few men or in
micclum weorde [*to* [*helpenne* on gefeohte [**and** *healdan*]]] ða ðe he wile
great army to help in fighting and support those whom he desires
(Ælfric *Lives of Saints* XXV,310; Skeat (ibid: 86))
'it is no difficulty to the Almighty God, with few men or with a vast army to help in battle, and support them whom He will'

b. Drihten alyfe me ærest [*to* [*farenne* [**and** *bebyrigean*]]] minne fæder
Lord allow me first to go and bury my father
(*OE Gosp. Mt.* 8,21; Visser (ibid: §967))
'Lord, allow me first to go and bury my father'

c. hi wurðe wæron for criste *to þrowigenne* **&** *becuman* to his halgum
they worthy were for Christ to suffer and come to his saints
(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* V,353; Skeat (ibid: 138))
'they might be worthy to suffer for Christ and to come to his saints'

d. selre us is *to sweltenne* **and** soðlice *anbidian* þæs ecan æristes æt ðæm
better to-us is to die and soothly abide the eternal resurrection at the
ælmihtigan gode
Almighty God
(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* XXV,145; Skeat (ibid: 76))
'it is better for us to die and soothly to abide the eternal resurrection at the hands of Almighty God'

What is important in (i) is that the verb in the second conjunct moves only to Inf to check its infinitival feature because it is coordinated to and governed by the first infinitive, and not by the preposition *to*, as represented by the brackets in (ia,b). The absence of

(25) a. & ða efestton ðæm biscope [*to* [*cyðenne* [**and** *secgenne*]]] ða ðing ðe hie

& then hastened the bishop to tell and say the thing which they

ðær gemetton]= there found

(Bede *Eccles. History* IV,6; Miller (ibid: 376))

'& then [they] hastened to announce and report to the bishop what they had found there'

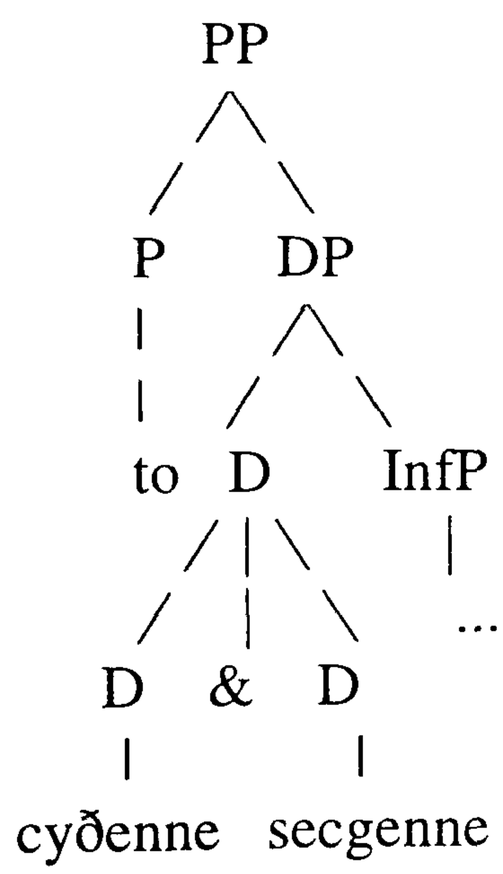
b. hi maran lefnysse onfengon ofer eall [*to* [*læranne* [**and** cyrican *timbrianne*]]]

they more license received over all to teach and churches build

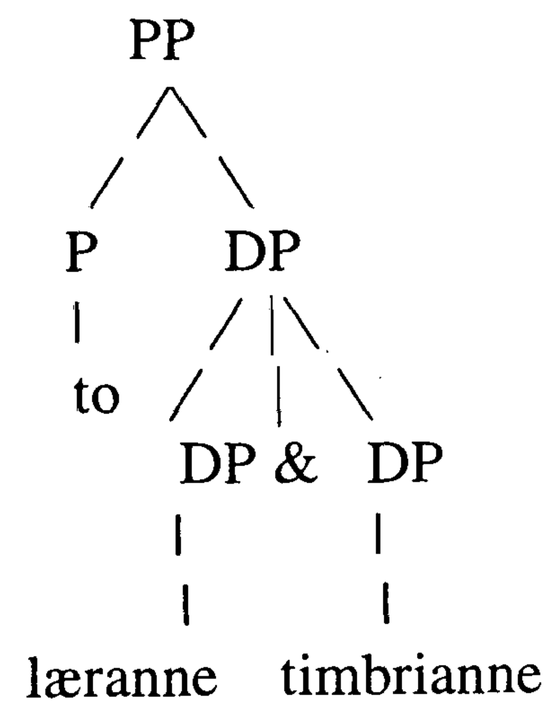
(Ælfred, Bede 488,5; Visser (ibid: §932))

'they received further licence over all [others] to teach and build churches'

(26)



(27)



(26) is probably D-coordination, as the two infinitives have the same object *ðas ðing ðe hie ðær gemetton.*

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subsequent V+Inf-to-D movement in the second conjunct forces the verb to remain in the form of a bare infinitive.

Crucially, the V+Inf-to-D movement results in the fact that *to* and the infinitival verb forms an inseparable (morphological and) syntactic unit on a par with a PP where P cannot be separated from the complement DP. As long as V+Inf-to-D movement is attested, the (morphological and) syntactic unity of the OE *to*-infinitive cannot be broken up by intervening elements like adverbs, objects, etc. The loss of V+Inf movement to D has several consequences on the internal structure of the OE *to*-infinitive. We will come back to this crucial point in more detail in chapter three, section 3.2.2.

Now we return to the question as to whether or not *to* is a preposition. The fact that it was impossible for prepositions to precede the *to*-infinitive in OE provides yet another argument in favour of our claim that *to* was a preposition. This goes along with Stowell's (1981: 146) *Case Resistance Principle* (CRP), which states that categories with Case-assigning features can't appear in Case-marked positions. The CRP predicts that Case cannot be assigned to a category bearing the categorial feature [-V, -N], since this too is a Case-assigning category. In OE we see that this prediction is borne out. In fact, there is a good piece of evidence which suggests that PP must not be assigned Case. Specifically, PP may never appear in a Case-marked position such as the object position of a preposition which obligatorily assigns Case. It is important to bring into focus the remarks made by Callaway (1913: 78) and Visser (1963-73: 1031). Callaway points out that he has found no clear example of an infinitive used as the complement of a preposition.[25] Visser says that in OE the *to*-infinitive does not seem to occur after prepositions. As we will see in chapter three, the rise of prepositions before the

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25 In fact, Callaway (1913: 78) has found a few examples mostly occurring after *butan*, which he explains as conjunctive adverb, not a preposition.

(for)to-infinitive from 1200 onwards can be ascribed to (i) the loss of the dative case feature of *to*, (ii) the demise of the dative ending *-ne*, and (iii) the fact that prepositions started to subcategorise for sentential complements.

The idea that the OE *to*-infinitive is headed by a P explains why the *to*-infinitive as subject was rare in OE.[26] This fact is accounted for by the general ban on PPs in subject position. The fact that the subject *to*-infinitive becomes more frequent in the MidE period shows that *to* lost its prepositional property and started to function merely as an infinitival marker, as in (27):

(27) a. for þan *euel to donne* nis non strencþe, ac is unmihte

because evil to do is-not strength, but is impotence

(c1200 *V & V.* 129/4; Holthausen (1921: 129))

'because to do evil is no strength, but is impotence'

b. *his sedes to sowen, his medes to mowen, his plowes to drive*...this is the cnihtes

his seeds to sow, his meadows to mow, his plows to drive...this is the knight's

lage= duty

(c1200 *Proverb Ælfred* 89; Visser (ibid: §901))

'to sow his seeds, to mow his meadows, to drive his plows, this is the knight's

---

26 Callaway (1913: 7, 10) and Mitchell (1985: §1537) give one example of a *to*-infinitive in clause-initial position typical of nominal subjects. Subject *to*-infinitives of copula constructions appear to be a direct translation from Latin. When the *to*-infinitive occurs with an impersonal verb, it should be interpreted as a complement rather than a subject of the impersonal verb (cf. Fischer (1992) and Traugott (1992), among others).

duty'

Callaway (1913: 7), Kenyon (1909: 112ff), Mitchell (1985: §§1537-9), Mustanoja (1960: 522), and Visser (1963-73: §898) found no clear case of a *to*-infinitive used as the subject of a verb in OE; the examples in (27) therefore show an innovation in the function of the *to*-infinitive in early MidE. This in turn means that the *to*-infinitive itself lost its nominal status.[27] Lightfoot (1979) assumes that the *to*-infinitives were nominals in OE, but underwent categorial change and became VPs in MidE.[28] We differ from

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27

The infinitive is nominal in that it assumes syntactic functions associated prototypically with nouns, for example, object (cf. Callaway (1913: 3)). However, the infinitive does not combine with articles, demonstratives, possessive modifiers, and adjectival modifiers. These properties would have been the strongest pieces of evidence supporting the DP status of the infinitive. Cf. another Germanic language like Dutch, where the infinitive does combine with articles, demonstratives, and adjectival modifiers, as in the following examples taken from Fischer and van der Leek (1981: 344, note 34).

i. een keer hard schreeuwen doet een mens goed
one time hard shout [INF] does a man good
'to shout out loud now and then does a man good'

ii. het huilen staat me nader dan het lachen
the cry [INF] stands me closer then the laugh[INF]
'I'm nearer to crying than to laughing'

iii. haar vérspringen stelt niet veel voor
her far jump [INF] amounts not much
'her long jump does not amount to much'

28

According to Lightfoot (1979: 194), the change from the nominal status of the infinitive to the verbal status is marked by six simultaneous surface changes.

a. rise of [for NP to V...]
b. obsolescence of [for to V...]
c. obsolescence of [P to V...]$_{PP}$
d. obsolescence of infinitives in passives
e. obsolescence of infinitives in clefts
f. obsolescence of inflection endings (-*enne*) on infinitives

Lightfoot in that we take the infinitival verb as the only element which bears nominal features, as opposed to his claim, that the *to*-infinitive is nominal. We see the change from the PP status to the TP status as gradual and not simultaneous with other surface changes as is assumed by Lightfoot (1979: 194).

Concerning the morphological and categorial make-up of the infinitive, we would like to propose that it is a combination of two features: nominal and verbal. It is nominal in that it realises the D-feature of *to*. On the other hand, it is verbal in that it has some accusative case features to check with a DP complement in the relevant configuration. This dual function of the infinitive leads us to categorise it as being [+D, +V].[29] We suspect that the form of the infinitive changed its categorial feature from [+D, +V] to [-D, +V]. As the process of morphological attrition went on, the infinitival verb lost some of its nominal nature and assumed more and more the character of a verb.[30]

Lightfoot remarks that four of these changes (i.e. c,d,e,f) all happened simultaneously. We do not want to go into the detailed argumentation that Lightfoot provides, but would like to refer the interested reader to Fischer & van der Leek (1981) for a discussion. The two remaining changes are (a) and (b). Lightfoot associates the rise of the [for DP to V] construction with the existence and demise of [for to V] infinitives. We believe that the existence and demise of the [for to V] construction has no effect whatsoever on the rise of the [for DP to VP] construction. For more on this point, see Fischer (1988) and Jarad (1996a).

29

It might be sufficient to say that it is a V, but incorporation to D turns it into a nominal. (This would be the opposite of N-incorporation to V (cf. Baker (1988)). Maybe verb movement to D is driven by the affixal nature of D. Therefore, the demise of the dative ending means (absence of D-head, and this, in turn, means) absence of incorporation. So there is only the verbal part remaining.

30

The change was the occasion of the perfect and progressive forms of the *to*-infinitive coming to be employed in MidE. The change from DP status to a purely VP status of the infinitival verb parallels that of the gerund, which developed from nominal to verbal except that it remained unspecified for tense (cf. Lightfoot (1979)).

2.4. The Position of Pre-verbal DP Complements

At this point we would like to consider the position of DP complements in OE *to*-infinitives. In particular, we will focus on the relation between underlying order and surface order of DP complement+*to*-infinitive in OE. Following the assumptions of the Minimalist Program, which takes the only underlying order made available by UG to be that of head-complement, we argue that in OE *to*-infinitive the order is uniformly *to*-infinitive-object DP. However, surface DP-*to*-infinitive order is also found. The two orders are illustrated by the following examples:

(28) a. þu cyst þæt ðu gecure **þa tintregu** *to ðrowigenne*

you say that you chose the tortures to suffer

(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* VIII, 72; Skeat (ibid: 200))

'you say that you have chosen to suffer the tortures'

b. þær wæron binnan þære byrig seofan gebroðra cristena...þam alyfde se

there were within the city seven brothers Christian...whom allowed the

casere **heora cristendom** *to healdenne*

emperor their Christianity to keep

(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* IV, 227; Skeat (ibid: 102))

'there were within the city seven Christian brothers whom the emperor permitted to keep their Christianity'

(29) a. swa ic eom forgifen fram þam ælmihtigan gode ...**eow** *to geþingienne*

so I am alloted by the Almighty God.....you to intercede

(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* X, 138; Skeat (ibid: 218))

'so I am alloted by Almighty God to interced for you'

b. and ealle Drihtnes apostolas beoþ sende **þe** *to bebyrgenne*

and all Lord's apostles be sent you to bury

(*Blickling Homilies* XIII; Morris (1879: 137))

'and all the Lord's apostles shall be sent to bury you'

(30) a. ðis heo cwæð mid wope and gewilnode *to ðrowigenne* for cistes naman **þa**

this she said with weeping and desired to suffer for Christ's name the

cwealmbæran wita

deadly tortures

(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* VIII, 22; Skeat (ibid: 196))

'this she said with weeping, and desired to suffer the deadly tortures for Christ's name'

b. ongan þa *to secgenne* **þone soþan geleafan**

began then to teach the true faith

(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* X, 154; Skeat (ibid: 228))

'then he began to teach the true faith'

These examples show that (pro)nominal objects in OE *to*-infinitives may either precede or follow the infinitive. Given the assumptions of the theoretical model adopted in this

thesis, we can attribute the surface variation between [DP+*to*-inf] and [*to*-inf+DP] to variable strength of the D-features in *to*, or more precisely in the complex head [$_p$ to+V]. If they are strong, they must be eliminated before SPELL-OUT, resulting in overt movement of the object DP to the Spec position of PP, as in (28) and (29). The movement of the object DP to [Spec,PP] is represented in (31):

(31) [$_{PP}$ Spec [$_{P'}$ to [$_{DP}$ spec [$_{D'}$ D [$_{Inf}$ Spec [$_{Inf'}$ Inf [$_{VP}$ Spec[$_{V'}$ V Obj]]]]]]]]
|_____|

If the D-features of the complex head are weak, movement is delayed till LF, so that the object appears in VP at SPELL-OUT, as in (30).

It should be noted that the distribution of DP complements in OE *to*-infinitives contrasts with the distribution of DP complements in typical PPs. The contrast lies in the fact that in OE PPs the DP complement of the preposition cannot appear before the preposition unless it is pronominal. The following examples illustrate:

(32) a. þæt hi us þingion *to* **þam ælmihtigan god** swa swa we *on* **worulde**
that they for-us intercede with the Almighty God as we on earth
heora wundra cyðað
their miracles say
(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* preface, 72; Skeat (ibid: 6))
'that they may intercede for us with Almighty God even as we on earth make known their miracles'

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to.[31] Given that, we can conclude that it is not the complement of the preposition *to* that is fronted in (28), but it is the complement of the complement that is fronted.

2.5. Conclusion

In summary, we have established that the OE infinitival marker *to* is a preposition which heads its own PP and subcategorises for a dative marked DP. The evidence that the OE *to*-infinitive is prepositional is provided by the fact that it occurs in coordination with PPs. Further evidence in favour of the prepositional status of the infinitive is the fact that it does not appear in subject position. The appearance of the *to*-infinitive in subject position in early MidE shows that *to* lost its prepositional property and, consequently, was reanalysed as an infinitival marker. This in itself suggests that the infinitive lost (some of) its nominal property. We argued that the dative DP needs to check its case feature. We have suggested that V, which has both an Inf-feature and a D-feature, must have its features checked with Inf and D, respectively. We have also suggested that the head of the dative DP must have its DAT-feature checked with the preposition *to*. Feature-checking takes place at LF via the adjunction of the complex head $[_D$ V+Inf] to *to*. We have proposed that when the DP complement of the infinitival verb appears immediately before *to*, it occupies the specifier position of the infinitival PP. We have seen that this contrasts with Old English typical PPs where the DP complement of the preposition cannot appear before the preposition unless it is pronominal. We have

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31 The fact that the DP complement of the preposition *to* is the infinitive on our analysis rules out the possibility of fronting the infinitive, i.e. an order like infinitive-*to* is not possible.

accounted for this contrast by suggesting that since the infinitival DP is the complement of the preposition *to*, it cannot appear immediately before *to*. Therefore, it is not the infinitival DP that is fronted but the complement of the infinitival DP that is fronted.

CHAPTER THREE

The RECATEGORISATION OF THE OLD ENGLISH *TO*-INFINITIVE*

3.1. Introduction

One rather striking difference between Old English and Middle English concerns the use of the word *for* in infinitival constructions, indicated in (1) and (2), respectively:

(1) a. heo freo lefnesse sealdon deofolgyld *to bigongenne* þam folcum

they free permission gave idols to worship the people

(Bede *Eccles. History* II.5,6; Miller (ibid: 112))

'they gave free permission to the people to worship idols'

b. hwæs wilnast þu fram me *to hæbbenne* oþþe *to witenne*

what desire you from me to have or to know

(Ælfric *Lives of Saints* XXIII,223; Skeat (ibid: 14))

'What do you wish to have from me or to know?'

c. he dyde monig heofonlic wundor, þa sendon ealle swiðe lange *to areccanne*

he did many heavenly wonders which are all very long to relate

(*St. Simeon* 11; Herzfeld (ibid: 130))

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* An earlier version of this chapter was presented in 1995 at the Autumn Meeting of the Linguistics Association of Great Britain, University of Essex (18-20 September). The material in this chapter constitutes section 3 of Jarad (1996b).

'he performed many divine miracles, which are all too long to relate'

d. ða cwað Moyses: ðis is se hlaf ðe Drihten eow seald *to etenne*

then said Moses: this is the loaf the Lord you gave to eat

(Ælfric *Exodus* XVI,15; Crawford (ibid: 253))

'then Moses said: this is the bread that the Lord gave you to eat'

(2) a. ne cam ic noht te giuen gew for-bisne of mire agene wille to donne, ac i cam

neg came I not to give you example of my own will to do, but I came

for to donne mines fader wille

to do my father's will

(1200 *Vices & virtues* 10, Holthausen (ibid: 15))

'I came not to give you an example of doing my own will, but I came in order to do my Father's will'

b. to onelich men & wymmen & to alle oþer þat desiren *for to seruen* god

to only men & women & to all other who desire to serve god

(c1230 *Ancrene Riwle* M.6,11; Zettersten (1976: 2))

'to men & women & to others who wish to serve God'

c. he hopeth *for to lyve* longe and *for to purchacen* muche riches for his delit

he hopes to live long and to purchase much riches for his delight

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T* X.1065; Benson (1987: 327))

'he hopes to live long and to acquire much wealth for his own delight'

d. we ben bounde *forto serve* hym bi oure resoun & wil

we are bound to serve Him with our reason & will

(c1443 Pecock *Reule of Crysten Religioun* 9b; Greet (1927: 24))

'we are bound to serve Him with our reason & will'

While such infinitival constructions are never introduced by *for* in OE (1),[1] they very frequently are in MidE (2). Indeed, in the course of the MidE period we see that infinitival constructions are increasingly introduced by *for*. The central question investigated in this chapter is the recategorisation of the OE *to*-infinitives as InfPs and the diachronic source of *for* in MidE *to*-infinitival constructions. Firstly, we discuss the traditional proposal which holds that the fading away of the dative ending facilitated the rise of *for*. Secondly, it will be argued that the disintegration of the OE case system has its repercussions on the internal structure of the *to*-infinitival complements. That is, the internal structure of the *to*-infinitive underwent a radical change such that verb movement to D was lost because D was lost. As we will see, this resulted in the disintegration of the syntactic unity of the *to*-infinitive.

3.2. Explanations for the Rise of *for* in Middle English *To*-Infinitive

The nature and the origin of *for* has been the subject of much speculation in traditional studies. In the majority of these studies, most attention seems to have been paid to the semantics of *for to* versus *to*, and relatively little to the syntax of *for to* versus *to*. Let us

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1 With the exception of a few examples from late OE (cf. Shearin (1903) and Visser (1963-73: §949)).

now look at the proposals that attempt to explain the rise of *for* before the MidE *to*-infinitives, starting with the traditional view which claims that the demise of the dative ending made it possible for *for* to rise.

3.2.1. The Demise of the Dative Ending -*NE*

The first explanation which has been put forward for the rise of *for* attributes its appearance to the demise of the dative ending *-ne*. Recall that OE inflected infinitival constructions are introduced by *to*, a word which governs the dative case. Consequently, the infinitive also has the dative ending *-ne*. Infinitival constructions, therefore, are marked by three elements: *to* + infinitival ending *-en/an* + the dative ending *-ne*. When after 1100 the dative ending started to die out, the infinitive becomes marked by *to* and the infinitival suffix *-en*. The disappearance of the dative ending *-ne* is ascribed in part to phonological erosion and in part to standard processes of morphological levelling which tend to apply to paradigms of inflectional morphology. According to some linguists (Lightfoot (1979: 190)) this would have effected the appearance of a new infinitival marker: *for*. In order to test this assumption, let us consider the following examples from late Old English:

(3) a. se kyng hit dide [[*for to hauene* sibbe of se eorl of Angeow] & [*for help to*

the king it did to have peace from that earl of Anjou & for help to

hauene togænes his nue Willelm]]

have against his nephew William

(1127 *Chron*, I,373,30; Visser (ibid: §949))

'the king did it in order to have peace from the Earl of Anjou and to have aid against his nephew William'

b. al ðe almisse þe mon deð sunderlipe *for to quemene* ure drihten

all the alms which man does specially to please our Lord

(*OE Homilies* I; Morris (1877: 137))

'all the alms which a man does specially to please our Lord'

There is probably a connection between the disappearance of the dative ending *-ne* and the appearance of *for*, since a few infinitival constructions functioning as adverbial clauses of purpose have both *for* and the dative ending *-ne*.

3.2.2. The Disintegration of the Syntactic Unity of the Old English *To*-Infinitive

As we mentioned in chapter two, section 2.3.4, since D has a strong feature, the infinitival verb must move there to check its D-feature and the feature contained in D. The difference between OE and MidE reduces to a difference in movement: in OE, but not in MidE, the infinitival verb can move to D. The parameter responsible for this difference between OE and MidE is the strength of the D parameter: D is strong in OE, but not in MidE. One consequence of this is that V+Inf-to-D movement is not possible in MidE since there is no trigger for that movement.

We argue that the disintegration of the OE case system has its repercussions on

the internal structure of the *to*-infinitival complements.[2] That is, the internal structure of the *to*-infinitive underwent a radical change such that the demise of *-ne* resulted in the demise of D, and this led to the disintegration of the syntactic unity of the *to*-infinitive. As we saw in 2.3.4, this point is important because, unlike MidE and ModE, the *to*-infinitive in OE is a single (morphological and) syntactic unit.

An important piece of evidence for the disintegration of the internal structure of the *to*-infinitive in OE (i.e. the loss of Inf-to-D movement) comes from the fact that the *to*-infinitive in MidE can be separated by an adverb, object, etc (see Visser (1963-73: §§ 977-982), van der Gaaf (1933), and Jarad (1995)). This is not surprising since syntactic elements can't intervene between P-DP but can between T and Inf (see the MidE structure in (6) below). Now compare the OE examples in (4) with the MidE ones in (5):

(4) a. gif ge rohton **hit** *to gehyrenne*

if you cared it to hear

(Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* XXI,122; Skeat (ibid: 440))

b. *gif ge rohton *to* **hit** *gehyrenne*

c. *gif ge rohton *to*[**VP e**]

d. *gif ge rohton hit *to* **not** *gehyrenne*

e. *gif ge rohton hit *to* **Adv** *gehyrenne*

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2 See van Kemenade (1987) for a description of the changes in the morphological case system which took place in early MidE (i.e. during the 11th and 12th centuries). (Cf. also Lightfoot (1991) and Roberts (1992), among others).

(5) a. he sal þe send Angels *for to* **þe** *defend*

he shall you send angels to you defend

(c13...*Curs. Mundi* 12965; Visser (ibid: §978))

'he shall send you angels (in order) to defend you'

b. but wyle ye alle foure do a þyng þat Y prey yow *to* **[VP e]**

but will you all four do a thing that I beg you to

(c1303 R. of Brunne *Handlyng Synne* 8024; Sullens (1983: 202))

'but will all four of you do a thing that I pray to (do)?'

c. it is good *forto* **not** *ete* fleisch & *forto* **not** *drynk* wyn

it is good to not eat flesh and to not drink wine

(c1380 Wyclif *Rom.* 14,21; Visser (ibid: §979))

'it is good not to eat flesh and not to drink wine'

d. ffor þe proof of þis natural eende is ynoug to my present purpos, which is *forto*

for the proof of this natural end is enough to my present purpose which is to

þerby *fynde out* and proue þat god is

thereby find out and prove who God is

(c1443 Pecock *Reule of Crysten Religioun* 21b; Greet (ibid: 55))

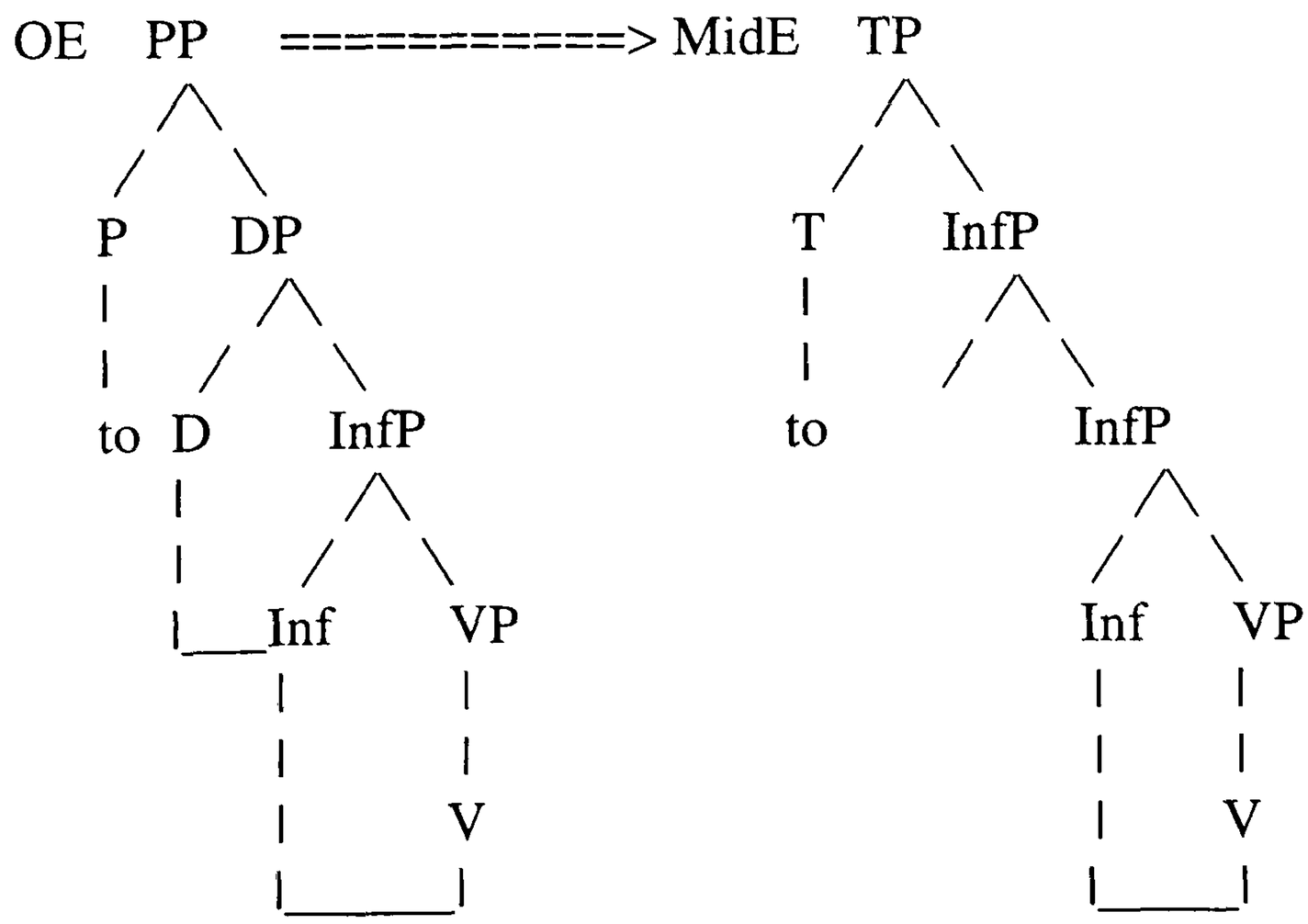
'because the proof of this natural end is enough to my present purpose which is

thereby to find out and prove who God is'

The examples in (4b-e) are unattested in OE. We can probably assume that they are

ungrammatical.The examples in (5) clearly show that the syntactic unity of the *to*-infinitive is broken up by elements like adverbs and objects. The syntactic unity of the *to*-infinitive is also broken up by the stranding of *to*, i.e. *to* is left on its own after the VP within the infinitival clause has been deleted, as illustrated in (5b). In fact, since there is no D any more, the relationship between *to* and the rest becomes looser, so that other elements can intervene. We assume that the break-up which took place in the internal structure of the *to*-infinitive paved the way for the rise of *for*. The crucial question which poses itself is: how did this break-up come about? We assume that the demise of the dative case and the consequent loss of verb movement made *to* and Inf end up further away from each other than they had been in OE. Given the significant occurrence of *for* before the *to*-infinitives in early MidE (i.e. 1150-1200), we take this period to be the date of the loss of dative case, and the consequent loss of V+Inf-to-D movement. This loss was the main factor in the disintegration of the syntactic unity of the internal structure of OE *to*-infinitives, and the consequent appearance of *for* before the infinitival marker *to* and adverbs before the infinitival verb. We also take this period to be the date of the Diachronic Reanalysis of the *to*-infinitive, as indicated in (6):

(6)



The MidE structure implies simplification of structure and elimination of one movement, i.e. Inf-to-D movement. Roberts (1992) and Clark & Roberts (1993) argue that these are the hallmarks of syntactic change. The MidE structure also shows that the positions between T and Inf are now available to adverbs, negation, and possibly scrambled objects. Further and more importantly, the absence of D in the MidE structure implies that the *to*-infinitive lost its PP status. The change from the PP status to the TP status took place in two steps: (i) the gradual fading away of the dative ending which began in late OE up to 1100, and (ii) the emergence of *split infinitive* in the 13th century and the increased frequency of adverbs used as VP-modifiers. The change in (i), which is a morphological change, removed some crucial evidence that infinitives were nominals in PPs. It may be that only (ii) represents the syntactic change. The change in (i) fed the parametric change between OE and MidE by removing the morphological evidence for nominal infinitives. In this respect, children acquiring MidE *to*-infinitives would have had to set the relevant parameter of their I(nternal)-language differently from the setting underlying their trigger experience, i.e. their parents' E(xternal)-language (cf. Chomsky (1986a)). We assume that acquirers of MidE *to*-infinitives chose to adopt that setting because acquirers always go for the simplest structural representation they can get away with. A syntactic structure with more steps is supposed to be a harder structure to process than a structure with fewer steps (cf. Roberts (1992) and Clark & Roberts (1993)). The question then arises as to what they did exactly. Presumably, there was no evidence that infinitives involved [$_{DP}$ D InfP], so they simplified this to [InfP] and reanalysed *to* as an infinitival marker.

To summarise this section: we argued that the loss of D led to the breakup of the internal structure of the *to*-infinitive. Another aspect of the change is the recategorisation of *to* from P to T. We will deal with this point below.

3.2.3. The Recategorisation of the Old English *To*-Infinitive

The DR of the OE *to*-infinitive given in (6) above captures the traditional assumption that *to* was reduced from a preposition expressing motion, purpose, direction, etc. to a semantically empty form functioning as a mere sign of the infinitive. Recall that in OE *to* was only used before a dative form of the infinitive ending in *enne/anne*. It denoted a relation of purpose, as in (7):

(7) a. ȝif drihten...sylð me hlaf *to etenne* & reaf *to werigenne*

if Christ....gives me bread to eat & clothes to wear

(Ælfric *Genesis* XXVIII,20; Crawford (ibid: 157))

'if Christ gives bread to eat and clothes to wear'

b. ȝif þu wilt me befæstan cnapan *to lærenne*

if you wish me entrust servants to teach

(Ælfric *Lives of Saints* XXXVI,76; Skeat (ibid: 44))

'if you wish to entrust me to teach servants'

When the purposive force of *to* was weakened, some other device was needed to express

the notion of purpose.[3] This may have given rise to the use of *for* before the *to*-infinitive. The *Oxford English Dictionary*'s (OED) earliest example of this is dated 1175. Shearin (1903), (cited in Kenyon (1909)) points out that there are only two cases of *for to* and infinitive which he has found in OE.[4]

(8) a. and ich bidde eou alle ðæt ge bien hym on fultume at þys cristendome Godes

and I ask you all that you be to-him in help at this Christiandom God's

yerichtten *for* [[*to setten*] and [*to driuen*]]

dues to deposit and to pursue

(*Cod. Dipl.* IV,306,3; Visser (ibid: §949))

b. se kyng hit dide [[*for to hauene* sibbe of se eorl of Angeow] & [*for help to hauene*

the king it did to have peace from that earl of Anjou & for help to have

togænes his nue Willelm]] against his nephew William

(1127 *Chron*, I,373,30; Visser (ibid: §949))

'the king did it in order to have peace from the Earl of Anjou and to have aid

against his nephew William'

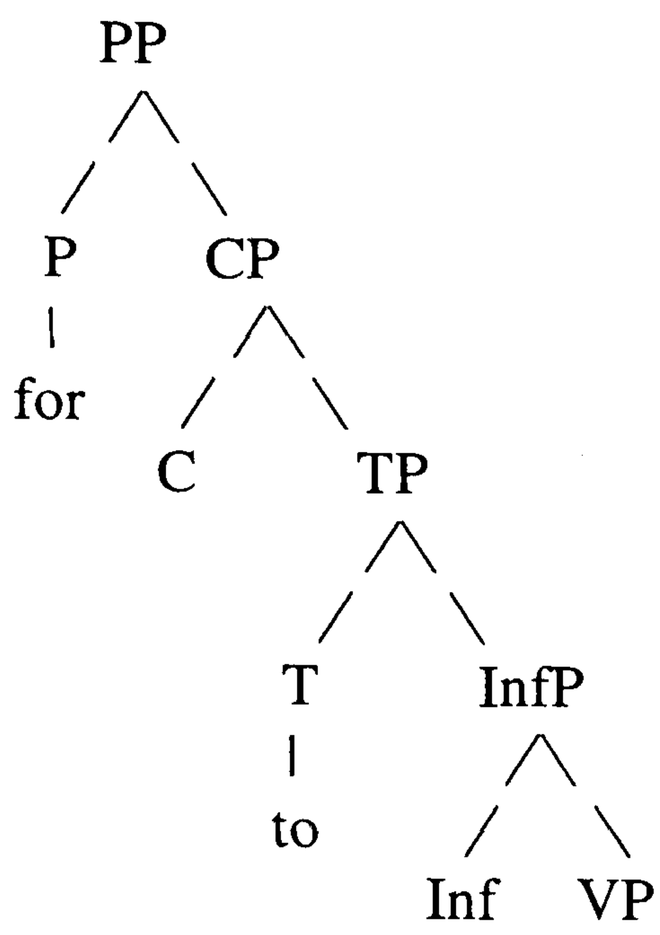
---

3 Susan Pintzuk (personal communication) raised the following question: what evidence is there that the purposive force of *to* was weakened? We believe that the evidence comes from the spread of the *to*-infinitive to infinitival constructions (e.g. as subject, as complement to predicates which only select bare infinitive, etc) which it was barred from.

4 But see Visser (1963-73: §949) for more examples.

We assume that purpose clauses are always introduced by prepositions, and so we take it that *for* in (8) must be a preposition. It is a purposive preposition in (8a), since it is followed by conjoined *to*-infinitives. The *for-to* clauses in (8) have the following structure:

(9)



It should be noted that the complement of *for* in (9) is a CP rather than a TP because (i) clausal complements have to be CPs, and (ii) TPs cannot be complements of lexical items; they are always complements of functional heads.

In considering the emergence of *for* in infinitival constructions, Visser (1963-73: §949) writes: "The use of *for to* instead of *to* before the infinitive of purpose may have arisen from either the fact that the directive force of *to* was too much toned down, or to a trend to reinforce the directive force of the preposition *to*. The early introduction of *for to* makes the second conjecture more probable. *for to* is widely used alongside of *to* during the whole mediaeval period". The development seems to have taken place as follows: *for* was first used in purpose-type infinitival complements only, then from the end of the 12th century there was no longer any difference of meaning between *to* and

for to, and *for to* and *to* were used interchangeably. That is, the two forms were, at that point, in free variation.[5] An interesting clue comes from the fact that in the 12th century, *for* without *to* is found before infinitives as the sign of purpose, as the following examples illustrate:

(10) a. Corineus was to wode ivare *for hunti* deor wilde

Corineus was to woods gone to hunt animals wild

(c1250 *Laȝamon's Brut* 1422; Visser (ibid: §976))

'Corineus had gone to the woods in order to hunt wild animals'

b. ðe king mornede swiðe *for habbe* hire to wifue

the king worried greatly to have her to wife

(c1250 *Laȝamon's Brut* B14369; Visser (ibid: §976))

'the king worried greatly to have her as a wife'

These examples provide ample evidence that *for* could function as a purpose marker (on a par with OE *to*).[6]

5

The use of *for to*-infinitives was still vigorously alive in early ModE, but has been constantly losing ground since. In present English it survives only in dialects. The discussion of *for to*-dialects in Modern English however falls beyond the scope of the present study and will not, therefore, be attempted. For discussions of these dialects see Chomsky & Lasnik (1977) for Ozark English, Carroll (1983) for Ottawa Valley English & Ozark English, and Henry (1992) for Belfast English.

6

This is not implausible if we assume that when *for* is used in purpose clauses, it is a preposition, but when it is used in raising and control structures, it is in T. Examples (17), (18), and (19) of chapter four argue in favour of the latter assumption, i.e. that non-purposive *for* is part of the infinitival marking which is situated in T. The compatibility

We pointed out in 2.3.4. that the rise of prepositions before the *to*-infinitive from 1200 onwards can be keyed to (i) the loss of the dative case feature of *to*, (ii) the demise of the dative ending *-ne*, and (iii) the fact that prepositions started to subcategorise for nonfinite sentential complements. (i) and (ii) are presumably connected and were the trigger for the DR in (6). Perhaps (iii) does as well, if we say that *to* vacated the P-slot, and made room for other prepositions. After the DR the complement was no longer a DP but InfP, i.e. a kind of clause. This follows from the *Case Resistance Principle*. In OE *for+to*-infinitive is ruled out because both *for* and *to* assign case. Once *to* stops being a case-assigner, *for* and other prepositions can take it as their complement.Consider the following examples:

(11) a. rædiy *till to wissenn* himm and lærenn

ready till to instruct him and advise

(1200 *Orm*. 16998; Visser (ibid: §976))

b. þah se feor & se forð ha mahen beon istopen *in* sotliche *to luuien* þet nanes weis

but so far they may be advanced in foolishly to love that no way

ne schulen ha stewen hare heorten

no shall they subdue their hearts

(1230 *Seintet Margarete* 25; Millett & Browne (1990: 68))

---

of *for* with subject control, object control, and raising structures implies that *for* underwent a process of diachronic reanalysis similar to that which happened to *to* in late OE. In other words, *for* was a purpose marker separate from *to* in early MidE, later becoming fully coalesced with *to* in T. The coalescence may have taken place at different times in different dialects and different contexts.

'but they may be so advanced in foolish love that they cannot by any means subdue their hearts'

c. bliss of herte þat comþ *of* god *to louie*

bliss of heart that comes of God to love

(1340 Ayenbite 93; Visser (ibid: §976))

'bliss of heart that comes from the love of God'

d. this false juge gooth now faste *about to hasten* his delit al that he may

this false judge goes now fast about to hasten his delit all that he may

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant. T.* VI, 158; Benson (ibid: 192))

'this treacherous judge went about without delay to gratify his lust'

The absence of the dative ending on the infinitival verb in the above examples clearly shows that *to* is no longer interpreted as a dative case assigner. We suspect that the absence of such evidence suggests that *to* lost its prepositional property and consequently was reanalysed as a mere infinitival marker. The decline of *to*'s ability to assign dative case might have helped other prepositions to subcategorise for *to*-infinitival clauses.

The important conclusion that must be drawn from the analysis of OE *to*-infinitive presented in chapter two, together with the analysis of *for-to*-infinitive presented in this chapter is along the lines of (12):

(12) Old English: *to* is a purpose P (followed by a Dat DP); *for* is a locative/

temporal/purpose P (followed by DP), so *for to* is ruled out.

Early MidE: *to* is T (followed by InfP); *for* is a purpose P (followed by CP), so *for to* is fine

3.3. Conclusion

In conclusion, we summarise the main points with which this chapter has been concerned. The main goal of this chapter was to account for the recategorisation of the OE *to*-infinitive and the rise of *for* before the MidE *to*-infinitives. We have argued that the loss of D has two consequences. The first consequence is that V+Inf-to-D movement was lost resulting in the break-up of the (morphological and) syntactic unity of the *to*-infinitive. The second consequence, a consequence of the first consequence, concerns the appearance of the so-called split infinitive, i.e. the development of a preverbal adverb, negation and object position. This crucial evidence marks the drift of the infinitive towards VP behaviour. Given that D was lost in early MidE (i.e. 1150-1200) and the split infinitive appeared in the 13th century, we have concluded that the change from a PP to a TP status was gradual and not simultaneous with other changes, as discussed in Lightfoot (1979). We saw that the purposive meaning of *to* was weakened in late OE, and, consequently, *for* was introduced to emphasise the idea of purpose.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STATUS OF *FOR* IN MIDDLE ENGLISH (*TO*)-INFINITIVES*

4.1. Introduction:

The previous chapter investigated the recategorisation of the OE *to*-infinitive and the diachronic source of *for* before the MidE *to*-infinitives. We proposed that the rise of *for* resulted from the breakup of the internal structure of the *to*-infinitive. We argued that the loss of V+Inf-to-D movement, which in OE was driven by the strong dative case feature of D, brought into effect the breakup of the internal structure of the *to*-infinitive. The crucial pieces of evidence for the breakup of the morphological unity of the *to*-infinitive are provided by (i) the appearance of the so-called *split infinitive*, i.e. the development of a preverbal adverb position, and (ii) the stranding of *to* by VP-deletion. We also proposed that when OE *to* ceased to be a purpose marker, *for* took over.

This chapter will attempt to account for the structural status of *for* in MidE *to*-infinitives. The chapter is organised as follows. In section 4.2.1. we examine *for* as a preposition heading a PP and taking a CP complement. In section 4.2.2. we look at the possibility of analysing *for* as an element in [Spec,CP] on a par with Kayne's (1991) analysis of French *de*. In section 4.2.3. we address the question of whether or not MidE *for* is a complementiser. A range of arguments will then be offered to show that the

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* An earlier version of this chapter was presented in 1993 at the Autumn Meeting of the Linguistics Association of Great Britain, University of Wales, Bangor. The material in this chapter is an expanded version of material in Jarad (1993).

analysis of MidE *for* as a complementiser is unconvincing and therefore should be rejected (section 4.2.4). Section 4.3. presents the conclusion of this chapter.

4.2. The Status of *for*

The status of *for* preceding MidE *to*-infinitives has given rise to a lot of discussion in the literature on MidE infinitives and a number of proposals have been formulated to account for its distribution (see in particular Visser (1963-73), Lightfoot (1979, 1981a, 1991), Fischer (1988), Jack (1991), Roberts (1992), among others). Three analyses that attempt to account for the status of *for* are examined and rebutted in favour of our analysis of *for* as part of the infinitival morphology (see chapter five).

4.2.1. Middle English *for* as a Preposition

The first analysis which might be advanced for MidE *for* is one in which *for* is an ordinary preposition heading a PP and taking a CP complement. This is consistent with our conclusion arrived at in chapter three that *for* is a preposition. Consider the following examples:

(1) a. se kyng hit dide *for to hauene sibbe* of se earl Angeow *for help to hauene*

the king it did to have peace of that earl Anjou for help to have

(a1127 *OE Chron.*; Visser (ibid: §949))

b. he it wat þat wote alle þing *for ðe to wissin*, *for ðe to warnin*, and *for ðe*

he it knows who knows all things for you to teach for you to warn, and for you

to helpen and *for ðe to bergin*

to help and for you to save

(1200 *Vices & Virtues* 10; Holthausen (ibid: 151))

'he knows it who knows all things- in order to instruct you, to warn you, and help you and to save you'

c. hie neðerið hem *for eadmodnesse te habben* and *for to helpen* godes þe(a)ruen

they humble them for humility to have and for to help God's needy ones

(1200 *Vices & Virtues* 30; Holthausen (ibid: 57))

'they humble themselves in order to have humility & help God's needy ones'

d. hie stieð up to heuen mid here gastliche þohtes *for to sceawin* ðe michele

they ascend to heaven with their spiritual thoughts to view the great

merhðe of heuene riche, *for to sceawin* ðe windes & ðe euele stormes ðe

joy of heaven kingdom to view the winds and the evil storms that

cumeð of deueles blastes, and *for us te warnin* þat ure ropes ne to-breken

come from devil's blasts and for us to warn that our ropes break

(c1200 *Vices & Virtues* 11; Holthausen (ibid: 45))

'they ascend to Heaven in their spiritual thoughts in order to view the great joy of the kingdom of Heaven, in order to to view the winds and the evil storms which come from the devil's blasts, and in order to warn us lest our ropes break'

On the basis of these examples in which *for* is separated from *to* by the object of the

infinitival verb, we come to the conclusion that *for* and *to* are two distinct syntactic elements (cf. Jack (1991) and chapter three).[1] For a discussion of the structural position of the object in relation to the verb, see chapter six. Under the present analysis, (1a) would have the structure given in (2):

(2) se kyng hit dide $[_{PP}$ for $[_{CP}$ $[_{AgrSP}$ PRO to hauene...]]]

Since AgrSP is a sister of an empty CP and is not a sister of the preposition *for*, PRO will correctly be ungoverned, or in minimalist terms PRO will be able to check for null Case and not be required (by *for*'s features) to check *for*'s Case. The crucial question which arises is whether or not MidE prepositions select CP-complements. Unlike OE prepositions which select only DP complements, MidE prepositions select a number of different complement types. The preposition *after*, for example, may take a DP complement, nonfinite clausal complement, or finite clausal complement. The examples in (3), (4) and (5) illustrate this point:

(3) a. ah ne bihoueð hit nawt...for te breoke þis hus *efter þis tresor*, þet God boht
but neg necessary it not to break this house after this treasure that God bought
mid his deað ant lette lif o rode

---

1 In the course of time, however, we assume with Jack (1991: 316) that *for to* came to function as a single element. Jack keys this to the frequent occurrence of *for to* in *Ancrene Wisse* and the *Katherrine Group*, and the fact that it is written as the single word *forte/uorto* (see chapter five). If our assumption that *for* was a preposition in early MidE introducing purpose clauses is correct, then we have another instance of the diachronic reanalysis given in (6), chapter three, i.e. *for* was a P in early MidE, later becoming fully coalesced with *to* in T.

with his death and let life on cross

(*Sawles Warde* 28; Millett & Browne (ibid: 86))

'but it is not right to break into this house after this treasure which God bought with his death & gave up his life on the cross'

b. he that berith not his cross & cometh *aftir me*, may not be my disciple

he who carries not his cross & comes after me may not be my disciple

(c1384 *WBible*(1) *Luke* 14.27; Kurath *el at* (1954))

'he who does not carry his cross and follows me may not be my disciple'

(4) a. for sum....more lokyng *after for to seme* holy in sigt of men, þen for to be so in

for some more consideration to appear holy in sight of men, than to be so in

þe sigt of God & his aungelles

the sight of God & his angels

(c1360 *The Cloud of Unknowing* 72b,6; Hodgson (ibid: 101))

'for some....more consideration to appear holy in the eyes of men than to be so in the eyes of God and his angels'

b. and *after for to trie* & fyn

and after to try and die

(c1390 Gower *C.A.* 4.2456; Pickle & Dawson (1987: 9)

(5) a. for *after that we falle* and rise the world riste and falleth with al

(c1390 Gower *C.A.* P.544; Pickle & Dawson (ibid: 8))

b. and *after that thei have deserved*

(c1390 Gower *C.A.* P.708; Pickle & Dawson (ibid: 9))

The examples in (4) and (5) show that the category of clausal complements to MidE prepositions is indisputably CP at least for (5) which has an overt *that*. On the basis of the examples in (4) and (5), there is every reason to assume that *to*-infinitival clauses behave in exactly the same way as tensed clauses with respect to categorial selection.

The examples in (4) and (5) contrast sharply with distributional facts in ModE. As the following examples illustrate, in ModE, prepositions do not select CP-complements where C is overt, i.e. filled with a complementiser.[2]

(6) a. *John arrived *before that Mary had left*

b. *John felt ill *after that he ate* fish & chips

c. *John hurt himself *while that he was playing*

d. *I have nothing to say *until that I see* my lawyer

2

In ModE CPs with null C's [±WH] are permitted in clausal PP constructions, as in:

a. I saw Mary in New York $[_{PP}$ before $[_{CP}$ $[_{AgrSP}$ she claimed $[_{CP}$ that $[_{AgrSP}$ she would arrive]]]]
b. I encountered Alice $[_{PP}$ after $[_{CP}$ $[_{AgrSP}$ she swore $[_{CP}$ that $[_{AgrSP}$ she had left]]]]
c. I can't leave $[_{PP}$ until $[_{CP}$ $[_{AgrSP}$ John said $[_{CP}$ that $[_{AgrSP}$ I could leave]]]]
d. I haven't been there $[_{PP}$ since $[_{CP}$ $[_{AgrSP}$ I told you $[_{CP}$ $[_{AgrSP}$ I was there]]]]]
e. I was thinking $[_{PP}$ about $[_{CP}$ who $[_{AgrSP}$ should be invited]]]
f. Lucie asked as $[_{PP}$ to $[_{CP}$ which times $[_{AgrSP}$ were most appropriate]]]

For present purposes we ignore these possibilities. The interested reader is referred to Larson (1990) for a discussion.

The ill-formedness of instances like (6) can be accounted for by the (PF) Filter in (7), which is language-specific to ModE (cf. Larson (1990)):

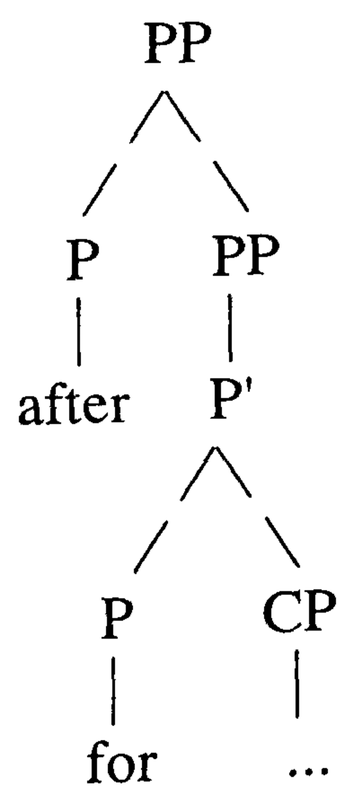
(7) ***[P CP], where the head of CP has phonological content**

Interestingly, the Filter in (7) would also rule out examples containing two occurrences of *for* after the phrasal verb *hope for*, which embeds an infinitival complement (cf. Chomsky (1981) and chapter seven for more details).

(8) *Mary *hopes for for* John to win the race

It is worth pointing out that the MidE data considered above does not conform to the Filter in (7). Evidently, this filter wasn't operational at that stage. Why the filter in (7) was not operational in MidE is a question which we won't go into here. What remains as yet to be determined is the structural status of *for* in (4). Accepting the conclusion arrived at in chapter three (i.e. that *for* is a preposition), examples like (4b) would have to be of the form in (4b'):

(4b')



However, examples like those in (9) are problematic for analysing *for* as a preposition heading a PP and taking a CP complement.

(9) a. *what for to don*; and al this bet to eche

what to do; and all this better to increase

(c1387 Chaucer *Troil.* I.887; Benson (ibid: 485))

b. and wiste noght *how for to ryse*

and knew not how to rise

(c1390 Gower *C. A.* 5.7135; Pickles & Dawson (ibid: 922))

c. Love is an occupacion

Which for to kepe his lustes save

(c1390 Gower *C. A.* 4.1453; Burrow (1977: 249))

'love is an occupation that keeps its desires on the true path'

d. many a man for to taken heed *how for to gouerne* hem in the vsage of armes

many a man to take heed how to control them in the use of arms

(c1422 Hoccleve *The Dialogue with a Friend* 606; Seymour (ibid: 90))

e. I wiste neuere *where for to reste*

I knew never where to rest

(c1450 *York Plays* 511, 338; Visser (ibid: §925))

Since *for* in (9a-d) follows the *wh*-word which is in [Spec,CP], *for* must be inside the CP rather than outside it. Hence, although this analysis provides a way of ensuring that PRO is ungoverned in (1), it cannot account for the position of *for* in (9). We conclude, then, that the [P CP] analysis of *for* is inadequate because it does not achieve observational adequacy, i.e. it does not cover all cases of *for-to*-infinitives. This sharpens our conclusion (see 3.2.3. and footnote 5 therein) that *for* was a purpose marker separate from *to* in early MidE, later becoming fully coalesced with *to* in T. This is evident from the fact that *for* is compatible with raising and control structures (see 4.2.3. & 4.2.4).The coalescence may have happened at different times in different dialects and different contexts. In the next subsection we address the question of whether Kayne's (1991) analysis of French *de* can be extended to MidE *for*.

4.2.2. Middle English *for* in [Spec,CP]

Based on Kayne's (1991) analysis of French *de*, we could argue that *for* is an element occupying [Spec,CP] rather than Comp; hence it co-occurs with PRO, as in (9):[3]

(10) a. Jean essaie [$_{CP}$ de [$_{C'}$ C [$_{AgrSP}$ PRO comprendre]]]

'John tries to understand'

b. sche wissheth [$_{CP}$ for [$_{C'}$ C [$_{AgrSP}$ PRO to ben unbore]]]

(c1390 Gower *C. A.* I.3169; Pickles & Dawson (ibid: 720))

---

3 All French examples are taken from Kayne (1991).

'she wishes to be unborn'

c. as it is wel seide, a man kyndely desireþ [$_{CP}$ for [$_{C'}$ C [$_{AgrSP}$ PRO to knunne]]]

as it is well said a man by nature desires to know

(c1360 *The Book of Privy Counselling* 110a,24; Hodgson (ibid: 171))

'as it is said a man desires to know by nature'

d. & Ich com þus, quoð Fearlace, [$_{CP}$ for [$_{C'}$ C [$_{AgrSP}$ PRO te warnin ow fore]]] &

& I come thus, says Fear for to warn you beforehand &

tellen ow þeos tidinges= tell you this news

(*Sawles Warde* 14; Millett & Browne (ibid: 94))

'and so I have come, says Fear, to warn you before hand and tell you this news'

The compatibility of *de* and *for* in (10) with control means that they do not have any Case features to check with the subject of the lower clause. But if *for* and *de* occupy the [Spec,CP] position, they shouldn't co-occur with a wh-word. This is borne out for French, as in (11a), but not for MidE, as in (11b-c):

(11) a. *Je lui ai dit où d'aller

'I told him where to go'

b. he thoughte *what for to speken* & what to holden inne

he thought what to speak and what to hold in

(c1387 Chaucer *Troil.* I, 387; Benson (ibid: 478))

'he thought what to speak and what to keep'

c. deeth vndir foote shal him þriste adoun, that is euery wightes conclusioun,

death under foot shall him throw down, which is every man's conclusion,

Whiche for to weyue is no mannes might

which to avoid is no man's power

(1421 Hoccleve's *Complaint* 15; Seymour (ibid: 75))

'that is the strong end which no man's power can avoid'

On the face of it, this suggests that while *de* might be in [Spec,CP] *for* can not be. The ungrammaticality of (11a) is ascribed to the fact that *de* in [Spec,CP] blocks *wh*-movement.

Another argument against analysing *for* as an element in [Spec,CP] comes from infinitival relatives in (12a,b) and wh-movement in (12c,d):

(12) a. it is ðe prise *for to haue* with ðe kyngdome of heuene

it is the prize to have with the kingdom of heaven

(c1470 *A Deuoute Treatyse called the Tree*, 37,2; Visser (ibid: §413))

'it is the prize to have with the kingdom of heaven'

b. this no litel thyng of *for to seye*

(c1387 Chaucer *Troil.*III 1688; Benson (ibid: 536))

'this is not a small thing to talk about'

c. what thou desirest *for to here*

what you desire to hear

(Chaucer *HF* III. 1911; Benson (ibid: 370))

'what do you wish to hear'

d. Lo, sone, here might thou taken hede How idelnesse is *for to drede*

(c1390 Gower *C. A.* 4.1448; Burrow (ibid: 249))

'Lord, Son, you might take note of how idelness is to be feared'

The standard analysis of relative clauses like that in (12a) involves the postulation of a null *wh*-operator which undergoes wh-movement in the same way as overt wh-phrases do, in the manner schematised below:

(13) a. ðe prise [$_{CP}$ for [$_{C'}$ C [to have *wh-op* with ðe kyngdome of heuene]]]

b. ðe prise [$_{CP}$ wh-op$_i$+for [$_{C'}$ C [to have t$_i$ with ðe kyngdome of heuene]]]

If the assumption that *for* occupies [Spec,CP] were correct, then *for* would block wh-movement and make such a sentence ungrammatical, which obviously is not the case.[4] With this in mind, let us look at (12c,d). Recall that the fundamental idea of Rizzi's *Relativised Minimality* is that movement operations must not skip over any *closer*

[4] However, Kayne (1991, fn: 51) notes that taking *de* to be in [Spec,CP] does not imply that its effect on extraction is identical to that of *wh*-phrases.

possible landing site [5] (where the landing site can be either A, A-bar or X^0 elements). In the case at hand, since the embedded CP-specifier, which is occupied by another element, is a possible landing site, it follows that the movement of *what* over *for* should yield a violation of *Relativised Minimality*. This would incorrectly rule out the well-formed sentences in (12c,d). Based on the facts of Rizzi's *Relativised Minimality*, we conclude that Kayne's proposal that French *de* occupies [Spec,CP] does not apply to MidE *for*. Next, we look at the possibility of analysing MidE *for* as a complementiser.

4.2.3. The Complementiser Status of Middle English *for*

Let us begin our investigation by assuming with Chomsky (1981), Koster & May (1982), and Stowell (1981,1982) that finite and infinitival clauses exhibit a one-to-one correspondence with respect to internal structure.[6] Our descriptive task then will be to determine whether or not MidE *for* is a complementiser occupying the same structural position that ModE *for* or *that* occupies. As is well-known lexical heads idiosyncratically select finite and infinitival clauses. Thus a verb like *bidden* can be followed by either a finite clause, as in (14a), or an infinitival clause, as in (14b):

(14) a. and bad me that I scholde schrive

---

5 For a definition of Chomsky's version of *Relativised Minimality*, see chapter one.

6 This is true of MidE infinitives to the extent that they are verbal, which we are assuming. On the other hand, OE infinitives do not obey this if our structures given in chapter two are correct, i.e. this is true after but not before the diachronic reanalysis in (6) of chapter three has taken place.

and asked me that I should write

(c1290 Gower *C. A.* 1. 295; Pickles & Dawson (ibid: 50))

b. he bad hem for to telle it plein

he asked them to tell it plain

(c1390 Gower *C. A.* 7. 3968; Pickles & Dawson (ibid: 51))

Apart from its (direct) object *me/hem*, the verb *bidden* in (14) can be analysed as subcategorising for a sentential complement, which in (14a) is introduced by the complementiser *that*. Similarly, the infinitival sentential complement of *bidden* in (14b) is *for to telle*, which is introduced by *for*. Assuming the common view that complement clauses containing an overt complementiser are CP-constituents, (14a) and (14b) therefore can be represented as follows:

(15) a. and bad me $[_{CP}$ $[_{C'}$ that $[_{AgrSP}$ I scholde schrive]]]

b. he bad hem $[_{CP}$ $[_{C'}$ for $[_{AgrSP}$ PRO to telle it plein]]]

Thus, infinitival complement clauses appear to have the same sentential structure that is assigned to finite complement clauses, i.e. finite and infinitival clauses exhibit a one-to-one correspondence with respect to internal phrase structure, both consisting of CP and AgrSP (Cf. Chomsky (1981), Koster & May (1982), Stowell (1982), among others). The property of selection of finite and infinitival clauses can also be seen in ModE, where individual lexical heads (i.e. verbs, adjectives & nouns) select various types

of complements.

Now if we turn to an examination of just infinitival complements, we observe an immediate difference between MidE and ModE, namely in the appearance of MidE *for* after all lexical heads, as in (16):

(16) a. bad: [+V;___NP for to VP] = object control verb

to me she cam, and *bad me for to synge*

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* VII 659; Benson (ibid: 212))

'she came to me and asked me to sing'

b. entent: [+N;___for to VP]

it is not myn *entent forto holde*, defende, or fauoure, in þis book, or in enye oþir...enye erroure or heresie...agnes þe feiþ...

(c1445 Pecock *The Donet* 2a,21; Hitchcock (1921: 3))

'it is not my intent to hold, defend or favour, in this book or in any other, any error or heresies against the faith'

c. wurðe: [+A;___for to VP]

ant neauer i nan stude ne mahte Ich understoneden of nan þe were *wurðe for to beon* iwurget as Drihtin deh to donne

(*Seinte Margarete* 12; Millett & Browne (ibid: 44))

'& I could never find anywhere anyone who were worthy to be given the worship that we owe to God'

d. semede: [+V;___for to VP]= raising verb

And wel a lord *he semede for to be*

(Chaucer *LGW* III 1074; Benson (ibid: 610))

'he seemed to be a good lord'

e. attempten: [+V;___for to VP]= subject control verb

summe clerkis *attempten* and assaien *for to calle*

(c1456 Pecock *Faith* III; Kurath *et al* (ibid))

The distribution in (16) is not surprising if the appearance of *for* depends solely on the selectional properties of the relevant predicates. We can see that MidE *for* is present with precisely those ModE predicates that require that their infinitival complements have no *for*. In ModE complementiser selection depends not only on idiosyncratic properties of heads but also on the nature of the subject DP of the infinitive (overt versus null). We have pointed out earlier that DPs with phonetic/morphological features must have these features checked before SPELLOUT. Overt subjects of infinitives must therefore check their Case features, the checking being accomplished by the complementiser *for* (when present). The null subject PRO, on the other hand, has null Case features, which means that *for* cannot appear when PRO is the subject of the infinitival clause (see 4.2.4. for detailed discussion of this point). Now, while ModE *for* and PRO are in complementary distribution, MidE *for* and PRO are in free variation. This suggests at the very least that ModE *for* spells out the Case features of C, and conversely MidE *for* does not. This contrast gives us an insight into the nature and structural status of MidE *for*. Given the fact that MidE *for* appears within the infinitival sentential complement of *bidden* in (14b)

above, we tentatively conclude that *for* might be an infinitival complementiser with properties different from those of ModE *for*. In the next section we will take up this line of reasoning in detail and try to provide arguments against the complementiser status of MidE *for*.

4.2.4. Against the Complementiser Status of Middle English *for*

In section 4.2.3. we have seen that there is some evidence that MidE *for* is a complementiser in the data we have examined. The purpose of this section is to offer a body of arguments against the complementiser status of MidE *for*.[7] One straightforward piece of evidence against the complementiser status of MidE *for* derives from its compatibility with subject control verbs (17) and object control verbs (18):

(17) a. & al þis he dude *forto lerne* vs þat we schulde nougth grucchen for mete

& all this he did to teach us that we should not grumble for food

ne for drynk= nor for drink

(c1230 *Ancrene Riwle* M.108,2; Zettersten (ibid: 40))

'he did all this to teach us that we should not grumble about food and drink'

b. he nyst how best hire herte *for t'acoye*

he not-knew how best her heart to soothe

(c1387 Chaucer *Troil.* V. 782; Benson (ibid: 570))

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[7] Here, our analysis essentially follows the propoasl in Kayne (1981) concerning French *de* and ModE *for*.

'he did not know how best to soothe her heart'

c. we schal attempten & assay...ðat swollen sorwe *for to pute away*

we shall attempt & try that swollen pain to put away

(c1450 Walten *Boeth* 25; Kurath *et al* (ibid))

'we shall attempt and try to put away that misery'

d. Achilles hade appetite & angardly dissireth the Citie *for to se*

Achilles had passion & anxiously desires the city to see

(c1450 *Destr. Troy* 9104; Kurath *et al* (ibid))

'Achilles had passion and was anxious to see the city'

e. *John decided for to leave

f. John decided to leave

(18) a. my lord...enspired *my hert for to hate* synne

my lord inspired my heart to hate sin

(c1340 R. Rolle *Psalter* 3,5; Visser (ibid: §2074))

'my lord inspired my heart to hate sin'

b. Jhesus compellide *the disciples forto go* vp into a boot

Jesus compelled the disciples to go up into a boat

(c1380 Wyclif *Matt.* 14, 22; Visser (ibid: §2074))

'Jesus urged the disciples to return to a boat'

c. thei preiden *hym for to schewe* to hem a token of heuene

they prayed him to show to them a token of heaven

(c1380 Wyclif *Mt.* 16,I,I; Visser (ibid: §2074))

'they prayed him to show them a token of heaven'

d. he hath bounde *me for to kepe* his people

he has bound me to protect his people

(c1460 *Dictes & Sayings Philosophers* 181,27; Visser (ibid: §2074))

'he bound me to protec his people'

e. *John asked *Mary for to leave*

f. John asked *Mary to leave*

What the data in (17) and (18) reveal to us is that MidE *for* shows the opposite behaviour of ModE *for* with respect to subject and object control verbs. This implies that MidE *for* differs in its syntactic nature from ModE *for* (cf. Kayne (1981) on French). This difference will be spelled out as we proceed. Note also that MidE *for* differs from ModE *for* with respect to instances of raising (to subject position).[8] Consider the following examples:

(19) a. jt was neuere man þat yemede jn kinneriche $þat_i$ so wel semede King or cayser

---

8 For this reason, Fischer (1988) concludes that *for* like *to* is an infinitive marker and not a complementiser. We endorse Fischer's conclusion and try to provide more empirical pieces of evidence in favour of this conclusion (see chapter five).

it was never man that ruled in kingdom who so wel seemed king or czar

for t_i *to be*

(c1300 *Havelok* 977; Smithers (ibid: 32))

b. but he_i semed *for* t_i *to ben* of grete auctorite

but he semed to be a man of great authority

(Chaucer *HF* 2157; Benson (ibid: 373))

'but he seemed to be a man of great authority'

c. yche of hem_i as now-adayes semyth *for* t_i *to been* newtur gendur

each of them as nowadays seems to be neuter gender

(1393-?1447 Osbern Bokenham's Mappula Angliae 125; Burnley (ibid: 174))

d. it_i semes...a bright star *for* t_i *to bee*

it seems a bright star to be

(c1425 *Ch. Pl.* 146, 343; Visser (ibid: §1254))

'it seems to be a bright star'

e. a lovynge persone thu_i mayest seme *for* t_i *to be*

a loving person you may seem to be

(1548 J. Bale *Kynge John* 2064; Visser (ibid: §1254)

'you may seem to be a loving person'

f. *$John_i$ seems *for* t_i *to have left*

g. John$_i$ seems t$_i$ to have left

The incompatibility of ModE *for* in (19f) with raising is a consequence of the well-known restriction against DP-movement across an adjacent complementiser.[9] Note, however, that the grammaticality of (19a-e) poses a serious problem to the restriction in question if MidE *for* is C. We could ask why MidE *for* does not block DP-movement as its ModE counterpart does. We could also raise another related question as to how MidE *for* can occur with *believe*-type verbs (20a-b) and why ModE *for* (20c) cannot do so.

(20) a. he þat *þenkeþ for to be shryue*, & hopeþ hyt is to be forgyue

he who thinks to be confessed & hopes it is to be forgiven

(c1303 R. of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne* 12103; Sullens (ibid: 301))

'he who thinks of confessing & hopes it is to be forgiven'

b. for certyn hopis of good which ful probaly he knowith or *bileuyth for to* come

for certain hopes of good which very probably he knows or believes to come

(1443 Pecock *Reule of Crysten Religioun* 43b; Greet (ibid: 111)

c.*John *believes for to* be the best

---

9 In minimalist terms, the ill-formedness of (19f) is accounted for by the principle of Greed (cf. Chomsky (1993, 1995)). This principle states that a constituent cannot move solely in order to allow the features of another constituent to be checked; a constituent moves only to have its own features checked. Since the DP *John* in (19f) has all its relevant features checked by *for* in [Spec,CP], its movement to the matrix [Spec,AgrSP] is illicit because it has no features that can do any feature checking.

The assumption that *for* is in Comp in (19a-d) is not good enough in view of the fact that complements of raising predicates lack a projection of Comp. We shall say more about the above differences between MidE and ModE. We aim to show that the above differences are in fact related to one another. One way of achieving this aim would be to assume that MidE *for* occupies a position different from the one occupied by ModE *for* (see chapter five). Before we get into the details of this particular point, let us pursue our argumentation against the idea that MidE *for* is a prepositional complementiser on a par with ModE *for*. But, if MidE and ModE *fors* are prepositional complementisers, they must have the ability to check their Case features with argument DPs in the relevant configuration, in the sense of Chomsky (1993, 1995). If this is true, then they should not occur in configurations like the following:

(21) a. teche thy men [$_{CP}$ [$_{C'}$ for [$_{AgrSP}$ PRO to tille]]] and timen thy feldes

teach your men for to till and fence their fields

(1352 *Winner & Waster* 288; Burrow (ibid: 371))

'teach your men to till and fence their fields'

b. *John tried [$_{CP}$ [$_{C'}$ for [$_{AgrSP}$ PRO to leave]]]

Apparently, there is a problem in (21a,b). To identify the problem, consider the examples in (22) and (23):

(22) a. my desire [$_{CP}$ for [$_{AgrSP}$ John to win the race]]

b. it is easy [$_{CP}$ for [$_{AgrSP}$ John to win the race]]

c. it is arranged [$_{CP}$ for [$_{AgrSP}$ John to come to the party]]

d. I arranged [$_{CP}$ for [$_{AgrSP}$ John to come to the party]]

(23) a. *my desire [$_{CP}$ for [$_{AgrSP}$ PRO to win the race]]

b. *it is easy [$_{CP}$ for [$_{AgrSP}$ PRO to win the race]]

c. *it is arranged [$_{CP}$ for [$_{AgrSP}$ PRO to come to the party]]

d. *I arranged [$_{CP}$ for [$_{AgrSP}$ PRO to come to the party]]

The infinitival subjects in (22) are lexical and therefore must check their accusative Case features with a functional head in order for the contructions to converge. The question we should ask is whether the accusative Case in (22) is a property of the matrix AgrO or the complementiser *for*. Accusative Case in (22) is not a function of raising *John* to the specifier of the matrix AgrOP, since the matrix predicates in (22a,b,c) are [+N] heads. Where, then, is the accusative Case of *John* checked? We adopt the standard assumption that accusative Case in these constructions must be a property of the complementiser itself. Something along this line is suggested by Bobaljik & Carnie (1996) to account for Irish infinitival constructions.[10] We would like to suggest that the realisation of the Case-relationship of the *for*-complementiser to the nonfinite lexical

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10 Chung & McCloskey (1987) show that the embedded infinitival subject does not behave as an object of the matrix verb. Thus, the availability of accusative Case for *é* in (i) below is dependent on the prepositional complementiser *gan* rather than on the matrix verb.

(i) Ba mhaith liom [gan é an cupàn a dhfol]
COP good with comp.him the cup sell
'I don't want him to sell the cup'

subject is what makes the subject move to [Spec,CP].[11],[12] Consider, for example, the partial LF representation of (22a), given below as (22a'):

(22a') My desire $[_{CP}$ John$_i$ $[_{C'}$ for $[_{AgrSP}$ t_i $[_{TP}$ to $[_{AgrOP}$ the race $[_{AgrO'}$ win $[_{VP}$...]]]]]]]

Now, if this assumption is correct, the lexical subject in (22d) must be able to check its Case feature with *for*, though the matrix predicate is a [-N] head. Accepting this conclusion, (21b) and (23a-d) are ruled out by the stipulation in (24):

(24) **PRO must have null Case**

The PRO subjects in (23) probably have checked their features, if AgrS has null Case in infinitives. What is wrong in (23) is that *for* must check its features, but can't check them with PRO, due to (24). Even if PRO's Case features have been checked in [Spec,AgrSP] its subsequent movement to [Spec,CP] is ruled out by Greed and Last Resort. These principles block further movement if a position with all relevant properties (Case and others) has been reached in chain formation. Put another way, Last Resort disallows PRO or any argument DP to move past the appropriate functional head with which it should check its features.

11

One serious problem which has remained unaddressed in the theory is the problem of what causes the movement of the subject to [Spec,AgrSP] in these cases. I am grateful to Ian Roberts (p.c.) for pointing this out to me.

12

Note that the LF movement of *John* in (22a) to [Spec,CP] to check its Case features presupposes that [Spec,CP] is an A(rgument)-position. We have nothing interesting to say about that here.

The crucial point here is that *for* has features to assign which it can't discharge, hence the ungrammaticality of (21b) and (23a-d) is accounted for. But what about (21a) and (25a-d) below?

(25) a. bote pouerte wið menske is *eað for to þolien*

but poverty with honour is easy to suffer

(c1240 *Pe W. of Ure Lauerd* I; Morris (ibid: 279))

'but poverty with honour is easy to be endured'

b. & leet comande anon to hakke & hewe, the okes olde and leye hem on a rewe in

& ordered soon to chop & carve the oaks old and lay them in a row in

colpons wel *arrayed for to brenne*

piles well arranged to burn

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* A.2867; Benson (ibid: 63))

'& ordered soon to chop and carve out the old oaks and lay them in a row in piles well arranged to be burned'

c. Men hase grete *lykyng & desyre for to here* new thinges

man has great liking & desire to hear new things

(c1425 Mandeville. (Eg) 155/17; Kurath *et al* (ibid))

'man has great liking & desire to hear new things'

d. thei mygten not neither couthen *araie forto bisette* vpon Crist him silf

they might not neither could arrange to use upon Christ himself

(c1449 Pecock *Repressor* 207; Babington (1860: 207))

'they neither knew nor could arrange to use up Christ himself'

To account for the different distribution of *for* in MidE and ModE, we assume that MidE *for*, unlike its ModE counterpart, does not realise the Case-property of C. This looks straightforward enough: MidE *for* will not be able to check the Case features of the subject of the embedded clause in (21a) and (25a-d) since it does not realise the Case-property of C. It will then be predicted that a lexical subject cannot surface there because it will have no Case and that PRO can, because it will be able to check with the lower AgrS and that *for* has no features which are left unchecked when PRO appears. This prediction seems to be borne out.

(26) a. *it were possyble for us to be Ioyned agayn togyder

b. it were possyble for to be Ioyned agayn togyder

it were possible to be joined agian together

(*Boke of Keruynge*, 163; van der Gaaf (1928b))

c. it is possible for John to leave

Infinitival clauses of the type in (26a), which involve the complementiser *for* and an overt lexical subject, do not occur at all in MidE. Note that ModE (26c) contrasts with MidE in a way that parallels (23) and (25). If we interpret the inability of *for* in (26a) to check the Case of the subject DP of the embedded clause as an indication that *for* does not have any Case features, then the possibility of control is straightforward in (21a) and (25a-d).

Now we come to the issue of language learnability. We assume that the child who is acquiring MidE *to*-infinitives could note that *for* in (25) and (26b) does not have Case features to check with a lexical DP and could then assume that *for* is part of a functional head other than C. Under that view, *for* in (25) and similar examples could plausibly be analysed as part of the infinitival marker *to* (see chapter five where we give a proposal as to which functional position *for* and *to* belong).

A remaining difference between MidE *for* and ModE *for* concerns the possibility of what seem to be subject CPs in clauses with a PRO subject in MidE, as in (27), versus the impossibility of such clauses in ModE, as in (28):

(27) a. $[_{CP}$ for $[_{AgrSP}$ PRO to trusten som wight]] is a preve for trouthe

(c1387 Chaucer *Troil* I.690; Benson (ibid: 483))

'to trust some people is a test of truth'

b. but $[_{CP}$ for $[_{AgrSP}$ PRO to pleye at dees]] and to despende and lese al that he hath is his usage

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* F690; Benson (ibid: 177))

'but to amuse oneself according to one's desire and to spend and lose all that he has is his custom'

c. and $[_{CP}$ for $[_{AgrSP}$ PRO to walke bi grauelous places]] helpeth hem, as seith Alexander

(c1425 Tr. Chauliac's *Grande Chirurgie* 136,a/a; Kurath *et al* (ibid))

'to walk on gravelly places helps them, as Alexander says'

d. [$_{CP}$ for [$_{AgrSP}$ PRO to ete miche of hony]] is not good to the eter

(c1449 Pecock *Repressor* 68; Babington (ibid: 68))

'to eat much honey is not good to the eater'

(28) a. *[$_{CP}$ for [$_{AgrSP}$ PRO to please everybody]] is difficult

b. *[$_{CP}$ for [$_{AgrSP}$ PRO to leave early]] would be embarrassing

The possibility of an overt Case-assigning C in (28) is ruled out by the stipulation in (24) because the complementiser *for* realises the Case-feature of C and can't discharge its features. The well-formedness of (27) is explained by our assumption that MidE *for* is not a complementiser, and hence the subject clauses have null C's rather than overt C's. There is further evidence which supports this conclusion. This evidence concerns the fact that words like *as, but* or *than*, which introduce CPs and other phrases, are followed by *forto*-infinitival clauses, as illustrated in (29), (30) and (31), respectively:[13]

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13 In this respect, it is interesting to note that in ModE *as, but* or *than* are followed by null C's when the embedded infinitival subject is PRO, and by overt C's headed by *for* when the infinitival subject is lexical, as illustrated in (a,b) and (c,d), respectively:

a. the majority of them have the eyes so located *as to give* panoramic vision
b. there's no choice other *than to reopen* his case
(*Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (1987))
c. there is nothing more common *than for gentlemen of this cast to be involved* in what is called love- match
d. I know well that nothing is so unfashionable *as for a husband and wife to be often together* (Stoffell (1894) cited in Fischer (1988))

(29) a. ye knowen wel that ye maken no deffense as now for to deffende yow, *but for to venge yow*

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* VII,1536; Benson (ibid: 232))

'you know well that you make no defence as to defend yourself but to avenge yourself'

b. I warne hem wel that I have doon this deede for no malice, ne for no crueltee, *but for t'assaye* in thee thy wommanheede

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* IV,1075; Benson (ibid: 151))

'I warn them that I have done this deed neither for malice nor for cruelty but for testing your womanhood in you'

c. of ouer mochil waast or of excesse, first wern we fowndid to vse largesse in
of over much waste or of excess first were we found to use free-spending in
our despenses; *but for to exceede* Reson, we han espyed yee nat beede
our spendings; but to exceed reason, we have you not bid

(c1408 Hoccleve *Balades to Sir H. Somer* 13; Seymour (ibid: 26))

d. this is not the right weye for to go to the parties þat I haue nempned before, *but*
this is not the right way for to go to the parties that I have named before, but

---

Since we have established that MidE *for* is never followed by a lexical DP, the facts in (a-d) hence appear to support our analysis of MidE *for* as not being in C. In chapter five we argue that MidE *for* is part of the infinitival morphology. More specifically, *for* is part of the infinitival marker which occupies the T-position.

for to see the merueyle þat I haue spoken of

for to see the marvell that I have spoken of

(c1425 Mandeville 17; Hamelius (ibid: 98))

(30) a. ich þe wulle cuðen herriht þat betere þe is freondscipe to habben *þene for to*

I you will tell here that better to-you is friendship to have than for to

fihten= fight

(1200-20 *Laȝamon's Brut* 13076-7; Barron & Weinberg (1989: 194))

'I must tell you here & now that it is better for you to make peace than to fight'

b. how trewe eek was to Alcebiades, his love that rather for to dyen chees *than for*

how true every was to Alcebiades, his love that rather for to die chose than for

to suffre his body unburyed be

to suffer his body unburries be

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* V,1440; Benson (ibid: 187))

'how true everyone was to Alcebiades, his love which chose to die than to allow

his body to be unburried'

c. gretter plesaunce were it me to die by manie foolde *than for to lyue* so

greater pleasure were it to-me to die in many ways than to live so

(c1420 Hoccleve's*Complaint* 331; Symour (ibid: 85))

'it was greater pleasure to me to die in many ways than to live in this way'

(31) a. that hadde almoost as lief to lese hire nekke *as for to yeve* a peny of hir good

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* III,1575; Benson (ibid: 127))

'...who would be almost as willing as to give a peny ....'

b. now *as for to speken* of goodes of nature as much to oure damage as to oure

now as to speak of virtues of nature as much to our loss as to our

profite *as for to speken* of heele of body

profit as to speak of health of body

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* X,456; Benson (ibid: 302))

c. we yow nat holde auysid in swich wyse *as for to make* vs destitut

we you not believe informed in such way as to make us destitute

(c1408 Hoccleve *Balades to Sir H. Somer* 58; Seymour (ibid: 27))

'we don't believe you were advised in such a way as to make us destitute'

What the examples in (29-31) show is that the subject clauses have null C's rather than overt C's, and, consequently, *for* is not a complementiser. Independent support for the fact that *as, but* or *than* introduce null C's in ModE (i.e. CPs without *that*) can be found in finite clauses:

(32) a. I had seldom seen him looking so pleased with himself *as he was now*

b. *I had seldom seen him looking so pleased with himself *as that he was now*

c. she was fatter *than when he last saw her*

d. *she was fatter *than that he last saw her*

e. I may be old-fashioned, *but why don't they write* nice songs any more?

(33) ...as $[_{CP}$ OP_i $[_{C'}$ C $[_{AgrSP}$ he was t_i now]]]

Note that a null C-analysis of the above clausal complements is in accord with the general distribution of finite complements in ModE. Overt complementisers are not permitted when the Spec of CP is filled with a WH-word or an operator. Roberts (p.c.) points out the Spec of CP in (32a) is probably filled with the operator which is coindexed with the deleted predicate, as illustrated in (33).[14]

To conclude this section, we note some key differences between MidE *for* and ModE *for*. In essence, MidE *for* and ModE *for* differ in that MidE *for* is compatible with control and raising verbs, whereas its ModE counterpart is not. More important is the difference in (26): while ModE *for* (26b) can be followed by an infinitival lexical subject, MidE *for* cannot. Thus, (26a) is ruled out for Case-theoretic reasons.

4.3. Conclusion

Let us conclude this chapter with a summary of the main points. In 4.2.1. and 4.2.2. we have seen that analysing MidE *for* as a preposition heading a PP and selecting a CP-complement or as a *wh*-like element occupying [Spec,CP] is empirically flawed because *for* occurs in constructions (see the examples in (8) above) where it follows the WH-word, and hence cannot be either outside the CP or in [Spec,CP].

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14 The idea that comparatives involve wh-movement goes back to Chomsky (1977).

In the light of our discussion in 4.2.4., we come to the conclusion that analysing MidE *for* as a complementiser is unsatisfactory because *for* is compatible with (i) raising constructions, (ii) *believe*-type verbs, (iii) control verbs and (iv) wh-phrases, and that an alternative analysis is required to overcome the problems which the previous analyses run into. The next chapter introduces the alternative analysis for MidE *for*.

CHAPTER FIVE

AN ALTERNATIVE ANALYSIS FOR MIDDLE ENGLISH *FOR**

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter established that MidE *for* is neither a preposition heading its own PP nor an element in [Spec,CP] nor a complementiser. This chapter argues that *for* must be identified as part of the infinitival marker which is base-generated as the head of Tense Phrase (TP). This chapter is organised as follows. Section 5.2. provides morphological and syntactic evidence in favour of analysing *for* and *to* as a compound infinitival marker. A number of factors which show that *for* and *to* constitute one constituent rather than two separate constituents will be noted and discussed. Section 5.3. argues that the position of the compound infinitival marker *forto* is T(ense). This analysis correctly predicts *forto* to be present in raising and control infinitives. Section 5.3.1. explains why *forto* is in T. It will be argued that T qualifies as the eligible position for the infinitival marker *forto* because MidE *forto*-infinitives exhibit temporal distinctions. A further argument in favour of taking T to be the eligible position for *forto* derives from the occurrence of negation (section 5.3.2). It will be shown that, like ModE where the negative adverb *not* modifies *to*-infinitives, MidE does allow the negative adverb *nat/not* to modify *forto*-infinitives. Section 5.4. concludes this chapter.

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* The material in this chapter is an expanded version of material in Jarad (1993).

5.2. Morphological & Syntactic Evidence for a Compound Marker

In this section we wish to propose that MidE *for* and *to* should be identified as one independent morphological element rather than two separate elements. The morphological unity of *forto* can be shown in a number of ways. First, *for* and *to* are written as one word (cf. Fischer (1988, nt 17), Jack (1991: 316), and Roberts (1992:258)), as in (1):

(1) a. ich hit wulle heortliche *forte* ofgan þin heorte

I it desire cordially to win your heart

(c1230 *Ancrene Wisse* 97; Burnley (ibid: 102))

'I cordially desire it in order to win your heart'

b. I hold him mad that mournes his make *forto* winne

I hold him mad that worries his mistress to win

(c1353 *Winner & Waster* 446; Burrow (ibid: 45))

'I hold him mad who worries to win his mistress'

c. and if they lese ther is no wei *forto* chese

and if they lose there is no way to choose

(c1390 Gower *C. A.* 1.1350; Pickles & Dawson (ibid: 96))

'and if they lose there is no way to choose'

d. þe hool substaunce of trouþis whiche ougte *forto* be leerned

the whole substance of truth which ought to be learned

(c1445 Pecock *The Donet* 1b,28; Hitchcock (ibid: 2))

'the whole substance of truth which ought to be learned'

Second, no syntactic element can intervene between them. For example, adverbs and negation adverbials always precede or follow *for* and *to*, but they very rarely occur between them (see chapter four).

(2) a. as he may ful **ligthlich** *forto desire* so holy lyf

as he may very easily to desire so holy life

(c1230 *Ancrene Riwle* M.10,33; Zettersten (ibid: 4))

b. that I was of hir felaweship anon and made forward **erly** *for to ryse* to take

that I was with them fellowship soon & made agreement early to rise to take

oure wey ther as I yow devyse

our way there as to you

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* I.33; Benson (ibid: 23))

'and soon I was with them in fellowship, and pledged to rise early and to take the way to there (Canterbury), as I told you'

c. it nedeth me ful **sleighly** *forto pleie*

it needs me fully shrewdly to act

(c1387 Chaucer *Troil.* II 463; Benson (ibid: 495))

'it is absolutely necessary to me to act shrewdly'

d. bot **pleinly** *forto speke* of that

but plainly to speak of that

(c1390 Gower *C. A.* P.473; Pickles & Dawson (ibid: 474))

'but to speak plainly of that...'

(3) a. what sum euer þing þou makist oure natural eende, reste and most natural good,

whatever thing you make our natural end reste and most natural good,

or *forto* **þerynne** *be* oure natural eend

or to therein be our natural end

(c1443 Pecock *Reule of Crysten religioun* 40b; Greet (ibid: 103))

b. it were good gou *forto* **in this mater** *be stille*

it was good you to in this matter be quiet

(c1445 Pecock *The Donet* 77a,2; Hitchcock (ibid: 160))

'it was good for you to be quiet in this matter'

c. Y haue lefir *forto* **mekeli** *knouleche* that Y & thei han failid and mowe

I have friends to meekly acknowledge that I & they have failed and may

heraftir faile= hereafter fail

(c1449 Pecock *Repressor* XVI; Babington (ibid: 92))

d. he schal be *forto* **perfitli**, **sureli**, & **sufficientli** *vnderstonde* Holi Scripture in alle

he shall be to perfectly, surely, & sufficiently understand Holy Scripture in all

tho placis wheryn he spekith of eny moral lawe of God

those places wherein he speaks of any moral law of God

(c1449 Pecock *Repressor* IX; Babington (ibid: 43))

(4) a. of god almyghty haþ he noun eye ne he ne þenkeþ **nat** *for to deye*

of God Almighty has he no eye neg he neg thinks not to die

(c1303 R. of Brunne *Handlyng Synne* 6048; Sullens (ibid: 149))

b. this prison caused me **nat** *for to crye*

this prison caused me not to cry

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant. T.* I.1095; Benson (ibid: 40))

c. **Nat** *for to axe* or borwe of him moneye

not to ask or borrow from him money

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* VII.338; Benson (ibid: 207))

d. I weerne him **not** *forto holde* him in the seid maner

I warned him not to hold them in the same way

(c1445 Pecock *The Donet* 64a,11; Hitchcock (ibid: 134))

(5) a. it is good *forto* **not** *ete* fleisch and *forto not drynke* wyn

it is good to not eat flesh and to not drink wine

(c1380 Wyclif *Rom.* 14,21; Visser (ibid: §979))

b. & þanne make þi confessioun....& desire *forto* **not** *falle* agen into synne

& then make your confession... & desire to not fall again into sin

(c1445 Pecock *The Donet* 103b,5; Hitchcock (ibid: 209))

c. & *forto* **not** *haue go* ferþir into tyme þei were bettir examyned of me &

& to not have gone further into time they were well examined by me and

approvid of my lordis &fadris of þe churche

approved by my lords and fathers of the church

(c1445 Pecock *The Donet* 3b,5; Hitchcock (ibid: 7))

d. Crist forsoke forto be chose king,....as that theryn Crist yaue an ensaumple to

Christ refused to be chosen king, as that therein Christ gave an example to

preestis forto **not** *receyue* eny temporal possessions...

priests to not receive any temporal possessions..

(c1449 Pecock *Repressor* VI; Babington (ibid: 315))

'Christ's refusal to be made a king supplies no example to priests not to accept

temporal possessions'

The examples in (2-5) demonstrate that adverbs and negation adverbials either precede or follow the infinitival marker *forto*. Thus morphological and syntactic factors suggest that *for* and *to* form one single infinitival marker.

Third, *forto* is used as a lexical preposition indicating movement, direction or position, as in (6), and with the meaning of 'until', as in (7):

(6) a. & yn hys herte was tresun bold *for to* þe Iewes he had hym sold

and in his heart was treason bold to the Jews he had him sold

(c1303 R. of Brunne *Handlyng Synne* 4194; Sullens (ibid: 106))

b. *for to* a wight were it greet nycetee his lord or freend wityngly for t'offende

to a man were it great folly his lord or friend wittingly to offend

(c1405 Hoccleve *La Male Regle de T.H.* 47; Seymour (ibid: 13))

'it was great folly for a man to wittingly offend his lord or friend'

(7) a. for þu art unlef mine worde þu shalt beo dumb *forte* þat child beo boren

because you are believed my words you shall be dumb until the child be born

& þerbi wite þat ich soð seie

& thereby know that I truth say

(*OE Homilies* XXII; Morries (II) (ibid: 125))

'because you don't believe my words, you shall be dumb until the child be born,

& thereby you shall know that I speak the truth'

b. he secheð *forte* þat he open fint and diȝeliche smuhgð þer inne

he seeks until that he opening finds and secretly sneaks therein

(*OE Homilies* XXX; Morris (II) (ibibd: 191))

'he seeks until he finds an opening, and secretly sneaks therein'

Finally, our analysis of MidE *forto* as an independent morphological constituent will be strongly supported if *forto* can strand, i.e. can be left unattached after the rest of the

construction has been deleted. Consider the following examples:

(8) a. þe soules of synners...þer *to take and resseyue* so as þei on eorþe *deserueden to*

the souls of sinners there to take and receive so as they on earth deserved to

(13..*Minor Poems from Vernon* MS xxxiii,74; Visser (ibid: §1000))

b. but wyle ye alle foure do a þyng þat Y *prey yow to*

but will you all four do a thing that I pray you to

(1303 R. of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne* 8024; Sullens (ibid: 202))

c. þei seien þe more hastili and wiþ lasse sauour her seruice, þat þei bien *bounden to*

they say the more hastily and with less savour her service, that they are bound to

(c1450 *The Chastising of God's Children* 220,13; Visser (ibid: §1000))

d. be ware how that ye spend it, but in acquityng you ageyn such as ye be in

beware how that you spend it but in acquiting you again such as you are in

daunger to= danger to

(1470 *Pst.Lett.* no.761; Visser (ibid: §1000))

These examples show that *to* behaves like a free morpheme; it can be separated from its verb either by the intervention of objects, adverbs and negation adverbials or VP-deletion (cf. Pullum (1982: 185), who uses similar arguments and chapter three).[1] As far as the

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1 Most of the examples which fall under this type in Visser (1963-73; pp: 1062-63) have an infinitive with *to*. We have found no clear case of a *forto*-infinitive where *forto*

semantics of *forto/to* is concerned, Visser (1963-73; pp: 986,995,1008) has arrived at the conclusion that there is no semantic difference between the infinitive with *to* and that with *forto*. Quirk & Svartvik (1970: 398) show that in Chaucer the *forto*-infinitive takes all the functions of the *to*-infinitive except as a complement of the verb *Be*. Warner (1982: 116) shows that *forto* and *to* are distributionally parallel in the Wycliffite sermons. The following examples from Chaucer suffice to show clearly that there is no semantic distinction between the infinitive with *to* and that with *forto*.

(9) a. ...that felawe...was come to Athenes his felawe *to visite*; and *for to pley*

...that fellow...was come to Athens his fellow to visit; and to play

as he was wont to do as he was wont to do

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* I 1194; Benson (ibid: 41))

'that friend came to Athens to visit his friend and to play...'

b. and right anon they tooken hire away to the court of melibee, and tooken with

and immediately they took her away to the court of melibee, and took with

hem somme of hire trewe freends *to maken feith* for hem and *for to been* hire

them some of her true friends to stand surety for them and to be her

borwes= guarantors

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* VII1806; Benson (ibid: 238))

c. and ther ben folk that entrechaungen the causes and the endes of thyse forseyde

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is stranded.

and there are people who exchange the causes and the ends of these aforesaid goods, as they that desiren rychesses *to han power* and delitz, or elles they desiren goods as they that desire richness to have power and delight or else they desire power *for to han money*, or for cause of renoun

power to have money or for the sake of fame

(Chaucer *Boece* III (P2) 43; Benson (ibid: 422))

d. I warne hem wel that I have doon this deede for no malice ne for no crueltee, but *for t'assaye* in thee thy wommanheede, and nat *to sleen* my children...

But *for to kepe* hem pryvely and stille

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* IV 1073-77; Benson (ibid: 151))

'I warn them that I have done this deed neither for malice nor for cruelty but for testing your womanhood in you, nor to slay my children...but to protect them secretly and quietly'

These examples show that there was no significant semantic difference between purpose infinitives preceded by *to* and those preceded by *forto*. Furthermore, when *forto* was first introduced as an infinitival marker it was more emphatic than *to*; but the increasing use of *forto*, and its transition from use primarily in the expression of purpose to being an alternative marker found in most situations in which *to* was employed, must have eroded any distinction between the two (cf. Jack (1991)). This supports the idea that *for* underwent a DR during MidE (i.e. towards the end of the 12th century). What remains as yet to be determined in detail is the position of *forto* in the articulated IP structure. This is what we shall pursue in the ensuing section.

5.3. The Position of *forto*

Having demonstrated that MidE *for* and *to* must be identified as a single morphological element, we are now in a position to propose that MidE *for* and *to* occupy the same functional head position that ModE *to* occupies in the articulated IP structure. That is, the *for* of *forto*-infinitives is part of the infinitival morphology base-generated in T, and that the infinitival ending *-e(n)* is a functional category, call it Inf, which heads its own projection. Accordingly, the structure of a MidE infinitival clause takes on the following form:

(10) $[_{CP}\ldots\ [_{AgrSP}$ PRO $[_{AgrS'}$ AgrS $[_{TP}$ forto $[_{InfP}$ Spec $[_{Inf'}$ -e(n) $[_{VP}$ subj $[_{V'}$ V...]]]]]]]]

Fundamental to (10) is the assumption that the infinitival verb raises overtly to Inf to check its infinitival feature and that the Spec of InfP serves as an A(rgument)-position. This accounts for a number of features of *forto*-infinitives in MidE, including Object Shift (OS) and the placement of adverbs in a position before and/or after the infinitival verb. We address the question of verb movement and object shift in chapter six. It will be argued that overt verb movement is always found in MidE *forto*-infinitives, but the connection between overt verb movement and object shift is not systematic. This implies that verb movement facilitates object shift, but it does not require it.

The structure in (10) also allows for PRO to be the subject of a *forto*-infinitive, since *forto*, like ModE *to*, has only null Case features to be checked with PRO in [Spec,AgrSP] or [Spec,TP]. Furthermore, the structure in (10) does not contain a

projection of D and the infinitive is not dominated by a PP. This is consistent with the conclusion arrived at in chapter two that the V+Inf-to-D movement was lost as a consequence of the loss of morphological dative case. The loss of V+Inf-to-D movement is the account of the traditional observation that the infinitive drifted from nominal to VP behaviour (cf. Lightfoot (1979)). Above all, the structure in (10) implies that both *for* and *to*, which were prepositions in OE, were diachronically reanalysed as infinitival markers occupying the functional head position T, i.e. *to* was reanalysed c1100 and *for* c1200 (c1250) (cf. Chapter three).

We should note that the assumption that the *for* preceding the infinitive in MidE is part of the infinitival morphology is not a new one. In fact, it has been suggested by a number of traditional grammarians (cf. in particular Visser (1963-73) and contemporary ones, i.e. those who have been working in the Principles & Parameters framework) (cf. in particular Lightfoot (1979, 1981a), and Fischer (1988)). What is original to this analysis is the claim that *forto* is one morphological unit which occupies the T position in the articulated IP structure. We shall take up this claim in detail in the next subsection.

5.3.1. Why *forto* is in T(ense)?

This section considers the question of why *forto* is in T. A number of arguments are given in favour of analysing MidE *forto* as the head of TP. As a point of departure, we would like to stress again the fact that *forto* is neither a complementiser nor a preposition nor the head of an infinitival AgrP. First, as argued for *for* in chapter four, the fact that

forto is compatible with all infinitival constructions (e.g. raising & control) and that it is never followed by a subject DP argues against an analysis of *forto* as a complementiser.[2] A second argument against analysing MidE *forto* as a complementiser derives from the fact that in MidE *forto*-infinitives complements of verbs precede *forto* in their clauses, as in (11):

(11) a. and sikirly **the soothe** *for to seyne*

and certainly the truth to tell

(c1387 Chaucer *Troil.* II 520; Benson (ibid: 496))

b. I have no salt bacoun, ne no kokenay, by Crist, **coloppes** *forto maken*

(c1388 Langland *P.Plowman* B286; Burrow (ibid: 121))

'I have neither salted bacon, nor small eggs to make bacon-and-eggs'

The fact that the complements can precede *forto* suggests that *forto* is lower than C. Third, the assumption that MidE *forto* is a preposition when it has a VP complement, just as it is when it has a DP complement can be rebutted since a *forto*-infinitive cannot be coordinated with a PP and since adverbs which modify *forto + VP* do not modify PPs with *forto*.[3] Third, the analysis of *forto* as the head of an infinitival AgrP seems to us to

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2 This reminds us of our argument against analysing OE *to* as a complementiser. For more on this point, see chapter two.

3 What is true of adverbs is also true of the negative adverb *nat/not* in this connection. See Pullum (1982) for additional argument against analysing ModE *to* as a preposition.

have all the faults of Kageyama's (1992) analysis of OE *to*, which we have dismissed in chapter two.[4]

It was pointed out in chapter two, in the discussion of the position of the OE infinitival marker *to*, that the possibility of ModE *to* being in T depends on the presence of aspectual distinctions in infinitival clauses (see Chomsky (1981, 1991), Stowell (1981, 1982), Pollock (1989), and Roberts (1992), among others). Stowell (1981,1982) has observed that the tense interpretation of *to*-infinitives combined with the aspectual distinctions such as those in (12) and (13) below provides good evidence for taking ModE *to* to be generated in T.

(12) I believe John *to have read* the book

(13) I believe John *to be reading* the book

The situation in MidE is essentially the same. It is commonly known that MidE *forto*-infinitives have perfective forms, as in (14a,b,c) below, or progressive forms, as in (14d).[5] Since aspectual auxiliaries are standardly postulated to be licensed by TENSE, their presence suggests that MidE infinitives project to TP.

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4 The idea that *to* can't be Agr because it would have to assign two Cases (null and DAT) doesn't carry over to *forto* since *forto* doesn't assign DAT.

5 In fact, MidE marks the beginning of the development of the so-called perfect infinitival constructions. The progressive form of the infinitive becomes more frequent towards the end of the MidE period (cf. Miyabe (1954,1955)).

(14) a. Yif I had liberte *forto han used* and ben at the confession of my accusours

if I had liberty to have used and been at the confessions of my accusors

(Chaucer *Boece* 174; Benson (ibid: 403))

b. be it ynew3 *for to have said* so myche of perfacioun

be it enough to have said so much of perfection

(c1380 Wyclif *Mac.* I,33; Visser (2224))

c. this cursede kyng neuer made sorwe fore as he supposed *forto have ben*

this cursed king never made sorrow for as he supposed to have been

(c1425 Mandeville 24; Hamelius (ibid: 59))

d. Eahte þinges nomeliche leaðieð us *to wakien*...and *beo wurchinde*

eight things in-particular urge us to be watchful and be working

(c1230 *Ancrene Wisse* 39b, 3; Denison (1993: 384))

The most crucial piece of evidence in favour of identifying *forto* as T concerns the position of the infinitival marker in relation to sentential adverbials, in particular to the negation marker *not*. This is what we turn to next.

5.3.2. *Forto* and Sentential Negation

Adverbs of negation are those forms whose function is to negate the event expressed by the verb, whether it be an action or a state. As is well-known, there are two main ways

of marking sentential negation in MidE, one involves placing the adverb *ne* immediately before the finite verb, and the other involves, in addition to *ne*, placing after the verb a further negative adverb commonly spelled *nawt*,[6],[7] as illustrated in (15)

6

According to Jespersen (1940: 426-30), the placement of negation in English finite clauses has developed as in (i), (ii), (iii), respectively:

Old English

(i) NE + V
he *ne andwyrde* ðam wife æt fruman
he neg answered the woman at the beginning
(Æ CHom ii,110,33; Mitchell (1985: §1599))

Middle English

By continuation of OE usage the finite verb in a negative clause in MidE is preceded by the adverb *NE*. But MidE exhibited another way of expressing negation, in which the finite verb is preceded by *NE* and followed by *NAT/NAWT*.

(ii) a. NE + AUX + NAT
he *ne mai nat* be prince of alle thynges
he neg may not be prince of all things
(Chaucer *Boece* III P10,48; Benson (ibid: 432))

b. NE + V + NAT
thow *ne knowest nat* what is the eende of thynges?
you neg know not what is the end of things
(Chaucer *Boece* I P6,47; Benson (ibid: 407))

This state of affairs has changed by the late MidE, i.e. roughly between the earlier 14th century and the first half of the 15th century. The general tendency in that period is to postnegate the finite verb with the adverb *not*, as in (c)

c. V + NOT
i. sche *forsaketh nat* myn estatuz
(Chaucer *Boece*; Benson (ibid: 408))

ii. If he *forsake* me *not*, I never dye
(a1593 Marlowe & Nashe, Dido. (ed. Brooke) 1327; Visser (ibid: §735))

It is interesting to note that the V + NOT-order, which involves V-to-AgrS movement

(cf. Jack (1978a, 1978b, 1978c)):

(15) a. and þah heo do, Ich *ne mei þe forgeoten* neauer

and though she do, I neg may you forget never

(c1230 *Ancrene Wisse* 7,23; Millett & Browne (ibid: 118))

'even if she forgets, I shall not forget you'

b. but what they were, no thyng he *ne woot*

but what they were nothing he not knew

---

along the lines argued for in Roberts (1992), was lost after 1600-cf. Kroch (1989), Jespersen (1940), Lightfoot (1991), and Roberts (1985, 1992, 1994).

In the ModE period some additional changes have taken place. First of all, verbs have ceased to move overtly to AgrS because the features of T and AgrS have become weak (see Roberts (1992)) and *do*-insertion developed in c1600. Second, *not* changed from an adverbial into a syntactic head since it started to appear in its reduced form *n't*, as in (iii)

Modern English

(iii) a. I hold you a guinea you *don't make* her tell it you
(1697 Vanbrugh, *Provok'd Wife* II,i; Visser (ibid: §739))
b. If you *do not yield*, you are all lost
(1719 Defoe *Robe.Cr.* I,317;Visser (ibid: §738))

For a fuller account of the 'do-insertion' rule, the reader is referred to Ellegård (1953), Denison (1985, 1993), Kroch (1989), Roberts (1992, 1995), and Arnold (1995), among others.

7

In other ways, the adverb is spelled *noht, noght, naht, not, nogt* and *nout*. The crucial question that poses itself is whether the choice between *ne* and *ne...nawt* was systematic or they were in free variation. Jack (1978b) suggests that the choice between them was a semantic one, in view of the fact that *ne...nawt* was a more emphatic negative adverbial than *ne*. We will not deal with this issue here. What we would like to do is to focus our attention on the position of the negative adverb in relation to the position of the infinitival marker.

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* I 1703; Benson (ibid: 48))

'but what they could be he did not know'

c. Ye *ne* schulen *nawt* eatoen flesch ne seim bute for muche seenesse

you neg shall not eat flesh nor fat but for serious illness

(c1230 *Ancrene Wisse* 8,30; Millett & Browne (ibid:130))

'you should not eat meat or fat in the case of serious illness'

d. I drede noght that outher thow shalt dye; Or thow *ne* shalt *nat* loven Emeyle

I doubt not that either you shall die or you neg shall not love Emeyle

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* I 1594; Benson (ibid: 47))

'I doubt it not you shall be slain by me, or else yield up the love of Emily'

Since there were two main methods of negating a finite verb it is natural to ask whether or not the grammar of MidE employed the same mechanisms to negate infinitival clauses. A cursory glance at any MidE text (prose or poetry) shows that in MidE infinitival clauses there is a regular preference for one adverb of negation. What is crucial here is the fact that whereas in finite sentences sentential negation always immediately follows lexical material (i.e. verbs, auxiliaries & modals)[8] moved into AgrS, as in (16), the

8 Whether such verbs as *kan, may, shall, etc* were indeed modals in MidE has been disputed; Lightfoot (1979, 1991) claims that they were merely 'pre-modals' before being reanalysed as members of INFL in the 16th century. This reanalysis was followed by a second stage in the 17th century in which verbs lost the ability to move to INFL (a proposal earlier advanced by Roberts (1985)). Roberts (1992: 313) argues that modals were theta-assigning raising/control verbs but became auxiliaries in the 16th century via a Diachronic Reanalysis (DR) which was triggered by the loss of T^{-1}, i.e. the demise of the infinitival affix *-en*. This development made finite T a possible site for the insertion

unmarked position for the negation marker *nat/not* in infinitival clauses is to the immediate left of *forto*, as in (17):[9]

(16) a. þey *shulde nat* make hyt so amys gyf þey þoghte ofte on þys

they should not make it so messy if they thought often on this

(c1303 R. of Brunne *Handlyng Synne* 3351; Sullens (ibid: 85))

'they should not make it so messy if they often thought of this'

b. he *kan nat* stynte of syngyng by the weye

he can not cease from singing by the way

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* VII 557; Benson (ibid: 210))

'he cannot cease from singing in this way'

c. it is nat honest; it *may nat* avaunce forto deelen with no swich poraille

it is not honest; it may not help to deal with no such poor people

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* I 246;Benson (ibid: 27))

'it is not respectable; it cannot be profitable to deal with such poor people'

---

of modals, *do* and the infinitival marker *to* (see Warner (1982, 1993) Plank (1984), and van Kemenade (1993) for different views on this matter). This issue of analysis need not be pursued here, however, since for present purposes it is sufficient to recognise *kan, may, shall,* etc, as belonging to a group of modal auxiliaries.

9 We assume that the negative marker *nat/not*, whose structural status in infinitival clauses has not changed since MidE, is not part of the functional category (NegP), but rather is an adverbial element which can be adjoined to any maximal projection, on a par with sentence adverbials (see Ernst (1992) for a similar view, and Pollock (1989), Belletti (1990), Chomsky (1991, 1995), Ouhalla (1990), and Roberts (1992, 1995) for different views on the status of negation in ModE).

d. hwen ha alles walden fallen dunewart, ne *feollen nawt* wið alle adun...

when they all were (about to) fall headlong, neg fall not with all down..

(*Hali Meiðhad* 25; Millett & Browne (ibid: 16))

'when they were in danger of falling headlong, they did not fall all the way...'

e. yet somtyme it shal fallen on a day, that *falleth nat* eft withinne a thousand yeer

yet sometime it shall happen on a day, that happens not again within a 1000 years

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant. T.* I.1669; Benson (ibid: 48))

'that thing will happen on a certain day though never again within a thousand years'

(17) a. for to deffenden hym and **nat** *for to vengen* hym

to defend him and not to avenge him

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* VII1532; Benson (ibid: 232))

'to defend him and not to avenge him'

b. that is for to understoned, the goodes of the emperour to deffenden hem

that is to understand the virtues of the emperor to defend them

in hir right, but **nat** *for to robben* hem ne reven hem

in their right but not to rob them nor seize them

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* X757; Benson (ibid: 314))

c. I sall fall vnto syn agayn; ffor my harte more delynyd vnto þat þan **not** *for to syn*

I shall fall into sin again for my heart more drawn into that than not to sin

(c1450 *Alphab.Tales* 145,15; Visser (ibid: §970))

d. certayn folk... dowtis **not** *for to do* grete trispas

certain people fear not to do great sins

(c1450 *Alphab. of Tales* 326; Visser (ibid: 1318))

'certain people do not fear doing great sins'

If *forto* is generated under T, the impression may emerge that *nat/not* precedes T in both finite and infinitival clauses, as the examples in (16) and (17) illustrate, respectively. Actually, the situation in infinitival clauses turns out to be more complex than is suggested by (17): sentential *nat/not* can also follow *forto*, as in (18):[10]

(18) a. what shulde lette or moue þee *forto* **not** *releue* vs from oure disese which vs

what should allow or move you to not relieve us from our disease which us

oppressiþ =oppresses

(c1443 Pecock *Reule of Crysten Religioun* 167a; Greet (ibid: 438))

b. & so þou fadir mygtist make þe sone & þe holy goost *forto* **not** *be*; but what

& so though father might make the son & the holy ghost *to not be*; but what

euer persoonys suche þat þey mowe ceese and *to not be* or be maad *to not be*, þey

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10

Pollock (1989) accounts for similar alternations in ModE by assuming that the infinitival marker *to* optionally lowers down from its base position in T to an adjunction position to VP, a syntactic movement operation which, as Pollock (1989: 375) suggests, instantiates affix movement (Chomsky's (1981) "Rule R"). We could handle this by saying that ModE *to* can be in Inf or T.

ever persons such that they may choose & *to not be* or be made *to not be*, they ben not almygty

are not almighty

(c1443 Pecock *Reule of Crysten Religioun* 32b; Greet (ibid:))

c. his heering & vndirstonding schal haue power forto dissente from hem or *forto* **not** his hearing & understanding shall have power to dissent from them or to not *consente* to þe entente of hem

consent to the intent of them

(c1443 Pecock *Reule of Crysten Religioun* 163a; Greet (ibid: 428))

d. & þerfore it is ful profitable ech man forto vse him...,& *forto* **not** *be* ouer mych

& therefore it is fully profitable to-each man to use it..., & to not be over much coward to leue of þe leernyng of a mater or of a book

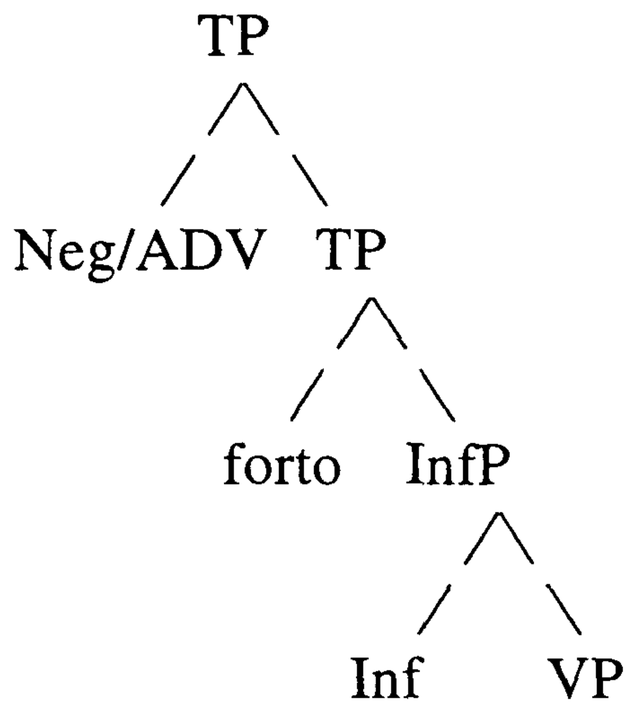
coward to leave of the learning of a matter or of a book

(c1454 Pecock *Folewer* 18; Hitchcock (ibid: 15))

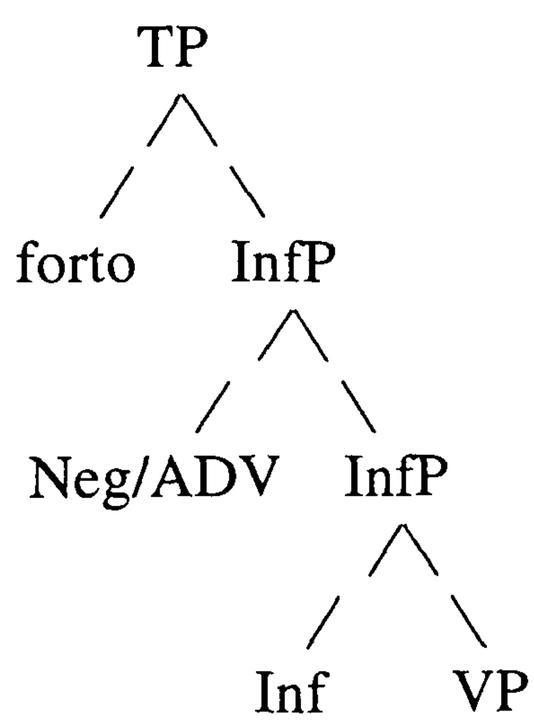
Simply to stipulate that sentential *nat/not* precedes *forto* will not do, and, therefore, a more principled account is required. A prerequisite for determining how the two alternative orders in (17) and (18) can be derived is to know where the infinitival marker *forto* and sentential *nat/not* are generated in the syntactic tree. It will be clear that once we know where either of these two elements finds itself in the tree we can infer the position of the other element. On the basis of the examples in (17) and (18) we can infer that the position of *forto* is T. What do we know about the position of sentential *nat/not*?

In the literature on ModE sentential negation it is commonly assumed that *not* must occupy a position between AgrSP and VP. We fully concur with this assumption and would like to propose that there are two positions for *nat/not* in MidE infinitival clauses. The unmarked position is to the immediate left of *forto* (i.e. adjoined to TP) and the marked position is to the immediate right of *forto* (i.e. adjoined to InfP). This line of reasoning is consistent with our earlier observation that adverbs can either precede or follow the infinitival marker *forto* (i.e. they can adjoin either to TP or to InfP), as partially illustrated in (19) and (20), respectively:[11]

(19)



(20)



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11 The analysis of MidE negation proposed here obviously has consequences for an account of the distribution of the so-called VP-adverbs. In chapter six we discuss the position of adverbs relative to the position of the infinitival verb. It will be shown that these adverbs have no blocking effect on verb movement since they are not syntactic heads.

If our proposal that sentential *nat/not* is either adjoined to TP or InfP, the infinitival marker being positioned in T, is correct, then the two alternative orders in (17) and (18) are accounted for, and the identification of *forto* as a filler of the T(ense)-position is supported.

5.4. Conclusion

In this chapter we have given morphological and syntactic evidence in favour of analysing *for* and *to* as a single infinitival marker. Several factors which show the morphological unity of *forto* have been established. The fact that it was possible to employ *forto* in the same syntactic and semantic function of *to* indicated that *forto* functioned as an independent infinitival marker, alternating with the other infinitival marker *to*. It has been shown that, like the ModE marker *to*, the MidE infinitival marker *forto* occupies the T(ense)-position (in the syntactic tree). This was supported by the presence of aspectual distinctions in MidE *forto*-infinitives and the occurrence of negation.

Having established the morphological and syntactic status of the infinitival marker *forto*, we have to address the question of the status of the infinitival verb in MidE *forto*-infinitives. Chapter six deals with this question.

CHAPTER SIX

SYNTACTIC DERIVATION OF *(FOR) TO*-INFINITIVES: OBJECT SHIFT & VERB MOVEMENT*

6.1. Introduction

The questions that this chapter is concerned with stem from our earlier investigation (chapters four and five) into the morphological and syntactic status of the MidE infinitival marker *(for)to*. So far it has been argued, in contrast to Lightfoot (1979, 1981a) and Roberts (1992), among others, that the infinitival marker *(for)to* must be identified as an independent morphological constituent base-generated in T, and that the infinitival suffix *-e(n)* heads its own functional projection. Various factors which show the morphological unity of *(for)to* were established.[1]

There is a consensus among scholars who have worked on MidE syntax that finite verbs move to C in main clauses and to I in embedded clauses. The precise details of verb movement are treated in van Kemenade (1987), Lightfoot (1991, 1997), Roberts (1992, in press), and Rohrbacher (1994), among many others). Scholars also agree that the predominant word order in MidE is uniformly Verb-Object (VO) and that surface OV

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* An earlier version of this chapter was presented at the Autumn Meeting of the Linguistics Association of Great Britain, Middlesex University, September 1994. A slightly different version of this chapter appeared in *Bangor Research papers in Linguistics* (1995).

1 See chapter five for details

order can be derived from the underlying order by means of a leftward movement rule applying to the object DP. If we characterise the difference between VO and OV orders in MidE in terms of features of functional heads, then the source of variation is the strength/weakness of features of some functional head or heads. This entails that nonfinite verbs move out of VP to the head of a functional projection. If this turns out to be true, then we can say that there is a correspondence between the movement of nonfinite verbs and the movement of finite verbs to functional heads in MidE.

In this chapter, it will be argued that verb movement in infinitival clauses is attested throughout the MidE period. This movement is presumably necessitated by the requirement of feature checking *à la* Chomsky (1993, 1995). Some empirical evidence relating to conjoined structures is discussed which shows that the infinitival verb, which we are assuming raises to Inf in both conjuncts, exhibits the infinitival suffix without the presence of *(for)to*. This evidence suggests that the infinitival ending is not triggered by the presence of *(for)to*. Furthermore, we shall argue that the optionality in the position of the so-called VP adverbs with respect to the verb can only be accounted for if we assume that these adverbs can adjoin either to InfP or to VP. A direct result of our proposed analysis is that the object is predicted to raise, hence surface OV order should be attested. In order to account for the fact that (pro)nominal objects may precede or follow the infinitival verb we will assume that accusative Case is assigned to the object DP in [Spec, InfP] via feature checking with the verb in Inf either in the overt syntax or at LF depending on whether Inf has strong or weak morphological features. Our conclusion is that the non-attestation of object shift in Modern English (ModE) *to*-infinitives can be attributed to the absence of overt V-to-Inf movement.

The outline of the present chapter is as follows. Section 6.2. will present evidence from conjoined structures (6.2.1.) and adverb placement (6.2.2.) supporting the claim that the infinitival verb undergoes overt movement to Inf. In section 6.3. we shall consider the issue of the correlation between verb movement and object shift. Section 6.4. deals with what appears to be a problem for the analysis assumed in this chapter, namely constructions where the weak pronouns and nominal objects occupy a position higher than [Spec, InfP]. We shall advance a proposal as to how to structurally represent such constructions. Section 6.5. addresses the loss of object shift in ModE infinitival constructions. Finally, section 6.6. presents the conclusion of this chapter

6.2. V-to-Inf Movement

6.2.1. Evidence from Conjoined Structures

This subsection argues that the infinitival verb raises overtly to the head position of the functional projection which houses the infinitival feature. This implies that in an example like (1), whose simplified structure is given in (2), the verb *breoken* moves to Inf to check its infinitival features.

(1) ne nalde he nawt þolien þe þeof *forte breoken* hire

neg not-would he at all allow the thief to break it

'he wouldn't allow the thief to break into it'

(*Sawles Warde* 8; Bennett & Smithers 1966: 247)

(2) ...$[_{TP}$ forte $[_{InfP}$ $[_{Inf'}$ breok*en* $[_{VP}$ $[_{V'}$ t_v ...]]]]]

The first piece of evidence for V-to-Inf movement derives from the optional reduction of *(for)to* in coordinated structures, as illustrated in (3)

(3) a. for it sholde be koud the moore lightly *for to* [*withholden* it the moore esily in herte] **and** [*helpen* hymself] = heart and help himself

for it should be known the more lightly to withhold it the more easily in

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* X 1041; Benson (ibid: 326))

'for it should be known more quickly to hold it easily in heart & help himslef'

b. it is nat good *for to* [*take* the breed of sonys] **and** [*sende* it to houndis]

it is not good to take the bread of sons and send it to dogs

(c1382 Wyclif *Mt.* 15; Visser (ibid: §967))

'it is not good to take the bread of sons & send it to dogs'

c. Thou seyst thy princes han yeven myght both [[*for to sleen*] **and** [*for to quyken*]] a wight

(c1386 Chaucer Cant.T. VIII. 480; Benson (ibid: 268))

'you say your princes bestowed on you power of life & death'

As shown in (3) when *(for)to*-infinitival complements are co-ordinated, the second conjunct may or may not repeat *(for)to*. The important observation about (3) is the fact that the infinitival verb exhibits the infinitival suffix *-e(n)* regardless of whether or not

(for)to is used.[2] The question arises here as to how the infinitival verb is derived. Since co-ordination normally involves phrasal constituents, examples like the ones in (3) suggest that the bracketed strings are phrases (cf. Larson (1988: 345, nt. 11)).[3] Moreover, Johnson (1991) argues that the verb in conjoined structures adjoins to a functional head whose projections dominate VP. In our account, we identify this functional head as Inf. Thus, the observation (noted earlier) that the infinitival suffix is not triggered by the presence of *(for)to* can be captured by saying that this suffix is licensed by V-to-Inf movement, giving the following representation for (3a).

(4) $[_{TP}$ forto $[_{InfP}$ $[_{Inf'}$ withholden$_i$ $[_{VP}$ t_i it...]]]] **and** $[_{InfP}$ $[_{Inf'}$ helpen$_i$ $[_{VP}$ t_i hymself]]]

The crucial fact to note in (4) is that head movement has taken place in both conjuncts. If head movement has not taken place in the second conjunct, the construction will not converge, i.e. it will crash, which is not the case in (4).

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2 The importance of this observation lies in the fact that in OE it is impossible to have the dative ending *-enne/anne* on an inflected infinitive without *to* immediately preceding it or to have a bare infinitive preceded by *to* (though now and then in poetry, seldom in prose, *to* is followed by the uninflected infinitive (see Mustanoja (1960: 513))). This is so because the inflected infinitive in origin is made up of the preposition *to* plus the dative case of a verbal noun ending in *-enne/anne* (see Callaway (1913: 2), Visser (1963-73: §896), and Mitchell (1985: §§ 921-24)).

3 Olga Fischer (personal communication) raised the question as to why the coordinated infinitives in (3a,b) are InfPs and not full IPs. The reason why they are InfPs, we assume, has to do with the fact that *(for) to*, which occupies the Tense position, is not repeated in the second conjunct, and that both conjuncts share the same subject.

6.2.2. Verb Movement & Adverb Placement

A further justification for verb movement is based on the relative position the infinitival verb assumes with respect to VP adverbs. We take up the conventional view that adverbs should be sisters of the constituents they modify (cf. Zubizarretta (1982) and Sportiche (1988)). On this view, (5a) would have the simplified structure given in (6).

(5) a. and *forto tellen* **withoute ryme** þeos wordes

and to tell without rhyme those words

(*Saint Kenelm* 186; Bennett & Smithers (ibid: 104))

'and to tell those words without rhyme'

b. bot now it is not so, *for to suffre* **meekly** and in mesure þe pyne of þe original

but now it is not so, to suffer humbly and in moderation the pain of the original synne= sin

(c1360 *The Cloud of Unknowing* 83b,4; Hodgson (ibid: 119))

'but now it is not so...to suffer humbly and moderately the pain of the original sin'

c. thy desire is *forto witen* **overmore** the forme of Aristotles lore

your desire is to know too much the form of Aristotle's traditions

(c1390 Gower *C.A.* 7.607; Pickles & Dawson (ibid))

'your desire is to know more about the form of Aristotle's traditions'

d. whair I ane galland micht get aganis the nixt yeir *forto perfurneis*

where I one gentleman might get in preparation for the next year to perform

furth the work when failyit the other

further the work when fail it the other

(1505 William Dunbar 84; Burrow (ibid: 386))

'where I as one gentleman might get in preparation for the next year; to carry out the work further when others fail to perform it'

(6) $...[_{InfP}\ [_{Inf'}\ \text{tell}\textit{en}\ [_{VP}\ \text{ADV}\ [_{VP}\ [_{V'}\ t_v\ ...]]]]]$

Faced with the fact that the adverbs in (5) follow the verb and precede complements (that are not likely to have been moved to the right), if these adverbs are adjoined to VP, then verb movement has taken place. This reasoning parallels Pollock's (1989) account of French. The position of these adverbial phrases argues for movement of the infinitival verb out of its base-generated position to a functional head which we identify as Inf.

If the assumption that the *(for)to + verb + ADV* order of constituents implies that the verb has moved out of its base-generated position in VP, then the question which immediately arises is how to account for the *(for)to + ADV + verb* order. The examples in (7) illustrate this order:

(7) a. the prestis ben forfended *to* **enymore** *takyn* monee of the puple

the priests are forbidden to anymore take money of the people

(c1382 Wyclif *Selected. Works* II, 303; Visser (ibid: §981))

'the priests are forbidden to take money any more from the people'

b. we han bound us silf *for to* **neuere** *touche* neither bere money

we have bound ourselves to never touch neither bear money

(c1449 Pecock *Repressor* XIV; Babington (ibid: 556))

'we have bound ourselves neither to touch nor bear money'

c. a modir is not bounde *forto* **alwey and for euere** *fede* her children

a mother is not bound to always and forever feed her children

(c1449 Pecock *Repressor* XII; Babington (ibid: 219))

'a mother is not always & forever bound to feed her children'

d. he schal not be able *to* **fruytefully** *preie* for him silf neiþer for oþere

he shall not be able to fruitfully pray for him self neither for other

(c1449 Pecock *Reule of Crysten Religioun* 160a; Greet (ibid: 421))

'he shall not be able to pray fruitfully either for himself or for others'

Given the *(for)to + ADV + verb* order of constituents in (7), and given that the infinitival verb must move to Inf to check its inflectional infinitival feature,[4] it follows that the adverb must occupy a position higher than Inf after V-movement has taken place.

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4 But cf. Nunes (1993) for a different view on this point.

Assuming that VP adverbs can adjoin either to VP or InfP,[5] we can maintain the conclusion with respect to the examples in (5) and (7), that the infinitival verb has undergone V-to-Inf movement in both types of example. More to the point, the examples in (7) show that there is a higher position for *ADV*. Assuming the position of *(for)to* in (7) shows that *ADV* is lower than T, the infinitival verb must be in Inf. Thus any account of MidE infinitival clauses which assumes that VP adverbs can only adjoin to VP would fail to account for their ability to appear preceding the infinitival verb, since this infinitival verb moves out of VP. On the other hand, any account which assumes that the infinitival verb does not move out of VP would fail to account for the ability of these adverbs in examples like (5) to appear after the infinitival verb. Visser (ibid) points out that the earliest examples in which the infinitive is separated from *(for)to* by a word or words-due to the tendency to put the modifiers of a verb as close before it as possible-date back to the 13th century.[6]

Next we turn to the strongest piece of evidence supporting our postulation that the infinitival verb moves to Inf.

6.3. Object Shift

As we mentioned in chapter one, three analyses have been proposed to tackle the issue

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5 On the possibility of adverbs adjoining to VP or InfP in French and Italian infinitives, see Kayne (1991).

6 The use of adverbs before the infinitival verb since the 13th century clearly shows that the *to*-infinitive lost its nominal status (see chapters two and three).

of object shift. The first analysis maintains that object shift is head movement; the second analysis holds that object shift is an instance of A-bar movement, whereas the third one regards object shift as an instance of A-movement. We believe that taking object shift as head movement forces us to postulate a kind of head movement that is otherwise not attested at all in MidE *(for)to*-infinitives.[7] Roberts (1995) argues against this claim which allegedly assimilates object shift to cliticisation in Romance. He points out that pronoun object shift has many properties that are quite unlike any Romance cliticisation. For instance, Romance clitics always occupy 'special' positions, unlike Mainland Scandinavian object pronouns, which may remain in their base position if the verb does not move.[8] Given this point of view, we reject the head-movement analysis of object shift. Our next task will be to investigate whether or not object shift is an instance of A-bar movement.

Assuming that object shift is an instance of A-bar movement, the null hypothesis is that it could make use of the [Spec,CP] position and thus be able to move DPs into higher clauses successive cyclically. However, this is not the case, as the following examples illustrate.

(8) a. & for ðelliche þing hine forhowest & forlatst ðat tu ne wilt *to* **him** *clepiyen* ne

& for such things him despise & hate that you neither wish to him call nor

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7 An additional argument against the head movement analysis of object shift derives from the fact that object shift affects full DPs in MidE *(for)to*-infinitives. I am indebted to Susan Pintzuk (personal communication) for bringing this to my attention.

8 See Roberts (1995) for more details.

to his niede him helpen

to his need him help

(1200 *Vices & Virtues* 28; Holthausen (ibid: 65))

'and for such things you despise him and omit to call on him, not to help him in his need'

b. swo hi nomen conseil betuene hem þet hi wolden go *forto* **hyne** *anuri*

so they would consult between them that they wanted to go to him greet

(13..*Kentish Sermons* 9; Bennett & Smithers (ibid: 214))

'so they would consult with each other that they wanted to go to greet him'

c. summe heeres or reders being moche redier *forto* **suche writingis** *lette* & distroie

some hearers or readers being much readier to such writings let and destroy

þan forto eny suche bi her owne laboure fynde, make & multiplie

than to any such by their own labour find, make & multiply...

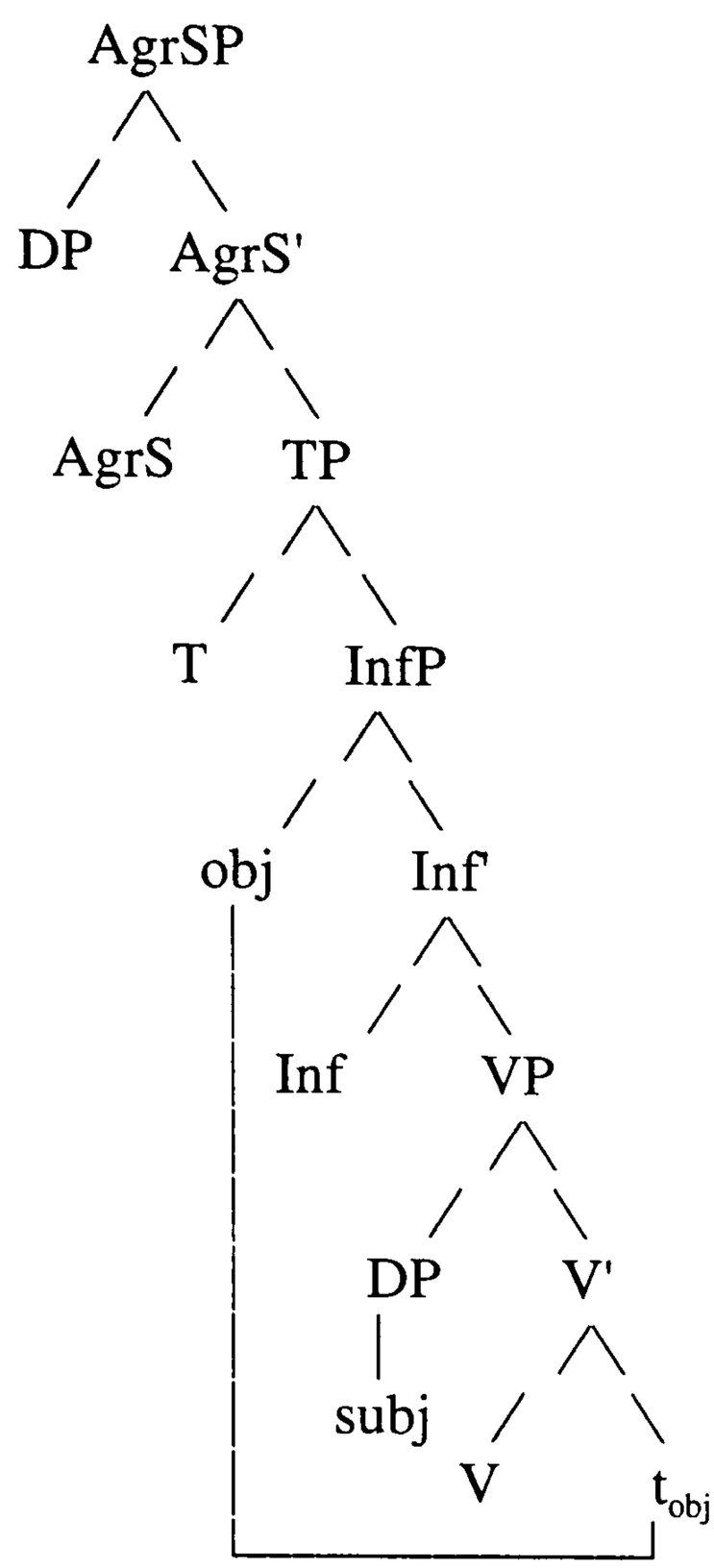
(c1445 Pecock *The Donet* 3a,25; Hitchcock (ibid: 6))

'hearers or readers are being prepared to abandon & destroy such writings than to find...'

The examples in (8) show that object shift is a non-*wh*-type of movement, i.e. object shift is not an A-bar movement. How do they show this? The position of the object in (8) clearly shows that the shifted object is not in [Spec, CP]. Since it occurs between *forto* and the infinitival verb, object shift appears to be bounded. Therefore, in what follows, we shall assume that OS is an instance of A-movement, and that [Spec, InfP] qualifies

as the landing site for OS, as partially represented in (9):

(9)



Under minimalist assumptions, this movement is triggered by the need to satisfy the Case filter, i.e. that the accusative Case feature is checked by a functional head, Inf in this case, under Spec-Head agreement. In order to support this assumption, we shall first present evidence relating to weak pronouns. Then, we shall extend the analysis to full DPs and argue that MidE has an optional leftward object shift.

Concerning the first point, consider the following examples.

(10) a. ȝif þe hosebonde wiste whanne þe peof wolde come wake he wolde *ffor to* **him**
if the husband knew when the thief would come wake he would to him
ffounde= attack
(c1280 S. Leg.*Pass. (Pep)* 526; Visser (ibid: §978))

'if the husband knew when the thief would come, he would wake up to attack him'

b. he sal þe send Angels *for to* **þe** *defend*
he shall you send Angels to you defend
(13.. *Curs. M.* 12965; Visser (ibid: §978))
'he shall send you angels to defend you'

c. & such oþere of which y am not ware, & þerfore *forto* **hem** *avoid* & agenstonde
Y may not in special labore and wirche
(c1443 Pecock *Reule of Crysten Religioun* 67a; Greet (ibid: 174))
'and others of which I am not aware, and therefore I may not avoid and endure them in special work'

d. thoug thei not rede and studie in the Bible oonly *forto* **it** *leerne*
though they not read and study in the Bible only to it learn
(c1449 Pecock *Repressor* XI; Babington (ibid: 59))
'though they do not read & study in the Bible only to learn it'

If we assume, following Chomsky (1986b) and Williams (1994), that immediate sisterhood is a necessary condition for θ-role assignment to take place, then the non-sisterhood relation of the verb and its object in the surface string must be the result of movement. It is worth mentioning that English was preponderantly Verb-Object (VO) after the 12th century (cf. Canale (1978) & Lightfoot (1991)). Therefore, the OV order in (10) must be derived. Crucially, the overt movement of *him* in (10a), *þe* in (10b), *hem* in (10c), and *it* in (10d) to [Spec, InfP][9] to have their accusative Case features checked is possible only if the verb has moved overtly to Inf. But what makes the verb move

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9 One might say that the object in (10a-d) could be in a position higher than [Spec, InfP]. We believe that this is incompatible with our assumption that *(for)to* is in T. Since we have seen arguments that *forto* is in T, obj must be in [Spec, InfP] in *forto-object-V*-order.

overtly to Inf? The reason for this movement, we assume, is that MidE has overt verbal morphology; there are thus morphological features in Inf triggering V-to-Inf movement in (10). Put another way, Inf's features trigger movement into its checking domain. For this reason, when the infinitival verb moves to the checking domain of Inf, the object pronouns in examples like (10a-d) are required to move to [Spec, InfP] in order to check the Case feature of Inf. While this accounts for the derivation of the verb, it raises the question as to how (i) the object should move across the subject in [Spec,VP] and (ii) how the subject should move across the object to a higher position. For an answer to these questions, see chapter one.

One of the properties of OS in Mainland Scandinavian (MSc) languages is that it distinguishes between *weak pronouns* and *full DPs*. According to Holmberg (1986) MSc weak pronominal objects are required to move to a position which nominal objects do not move to because weak pronominals show morphological case. This is also true of Icelandic nominal objects which exhibit morphological case and undergo object shift but only optionally. However, the attestation of examples like those in (11) poses a serious problem for Holmberg's analysis. That is, the nominal objects in (11) exhibit no morphological case but they nevertheless undergo object shift (cf. also Faroese, as discussed in Vikner (1994)).

(11) a. he sal bath regn in pes and rest *to* **temple** *makie* he sal be best
he shall both reign in peace and rest to temple make he shall be best
(13.. *Curs. M.* 8318; Visser (ibid: §978))
'he shall rule both in peace & rest & be the best to build a temple'

b. wel lever is me liken yow and dye than *for to* **anythyng** or *thynke* or seye that
well better is me to like you and die than to anything or think or say that
yow myghte offende in any tyme
you might offend in any time
(c1374 Chaucer *Compl.Lady* 122; Benson (ibid: 643))
'it is better to me to like you and die than to think of or say anything that might

offend you in any time'

c. Triacle schal be leide to...*forto* **þe posteme** *breke*

Treacle shall be laid to to the boil break

(c1398 Trevisa *tr.De Propr. rerum* 98 b/a; Visser (ibid: §978)

d. it folewith that *forto* **eny of hem bothe** *holde* is not feyned waar

it follows that to any of them both hold is not stop war

(c1449 Pecock *Repressor* III; Babington (ibid: 14))

'it follows that holding any of them is not going to stop the war'

What these examples show is that there is an A-position in which accusative Case is checked, and that both pronominal and nominal objects requiring this Case raise overtly to the same position. More specifically, we contend that the movement of the pronominal and nominal objects to [Spec, InfP] to have their Case and agreement features checked in examples like (11) is obligatory. In order to support this contention, consider the following examples where the *shifted object* is preceded by an adverb.

(12) a. seoþþe in allė londes, hi eoden vor to prechen, and *for to* **fully þat folk and**

then in all lands they went to preach and to fully those people and

godes lawe *techen*= God's law teach

(c1275 *Passion Our Lord* 674; Visser (ibid: §982))

'then they went all over the world to preach and teach God's law in full to those people'

b. whanne the peple were vnkinde and vndeuout *forto* **sufficiently hem** *fynde* in

when the people were unkind and undevout to sufficiently them find in

necessaries= unnecessary

(c1449 Pecock *Repressor* XI, Babington (ibid: 342))

Examples like (12) are consistent with our analysis of the so-called VP adverbs, which

we have assumed can adjoin either to VP or InfP. Here they are adjoined to InfP and the object is shifted to [Spec, InfP], as illustrated in the simplified structure given in (12').

(12') ...[$_{TP}$ (for)to [$_{InfP}$ ADV [$_{InfP}$ obj [$_{Inf'}$ V + e(n) [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ t_v t_{obj}]]]]]]

The question that arises is: what has the positioning of the adverb got to do with object shift? Since OS is contingent on overt verb movement for reasons having to do with equidistance and since the position of the moved verb can be shown by the position of the adverb, the object moves to [Spec, InfP] to form the surface strings illustrated in (12a,b) above.

If the conclusion that object (pro)nominals must overtly undergo A-movement to [Spec,InfP] to have their morphological features checked is correct, then the occurrence of sentences like (13)[10] and (14) is clearly a problem.

(13) a. and sitte bi þis holi bodi al þe logue dai, ase it were *forto honouri* **him** for hit...
and sit by this holiy bodi all the long day as it were to honour him for it
(*Saint Kenelm* 150; Bennett & Smithers (ibid: 102))
'and sit by this holy body all day long, as it were, to honour him for it...'

b. he bad hem *forto telle* **it** plein
he asked them to tell it plain
(c1390 Gower *C.A.* 7. 3968; Pickles & Dawson (ibid))

(14) a. all his entente is *forte tweamen* **heorten**, *forte bineomen* ***luue*** þet halt men
all his intention is to attack hearts to destroy love that holds men
togeders = together

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10 One possibility is to assume with Kayne (1991) that weak pronominals must be governed by a functional head. This requirement is met only if we assume that Inf lowers down onto the infinitival verb. But the attestation of examples like (14) shows that this option is available for full DPs. Therefore, we shall not pursue this option here.

(c1230 *Ancrene Wisse.* 165; Bennett & Smithers (ibid: 229))

'all his intention is to attack hearts & destroy the love that holds men together'

b. it is noȝt possible *forto make* **articulaciouns**

(c1425 *Chauliac* (1) 13a\b; Kurath *et al* (ibid))

'it is not possible to make articulations'

In order to account for the fact that the pronominal objects in (13) remain in situ we must appeal to the principle of *Procrastinate*. This principle rules out any movement which is not driven by *strong* morphological features, i.e. features which must be checked before *SPELL-OUT*. So the movement of the verbs to Inf in the examples above must have been driven by the strong features of Inf. But the features in question must have the option of being *weak* in (13) and (14) above. Chomsky (1993, 1995) proposes that there must be some optionality in the strength of features at the point at which lexical items are selected from the lexicon. When strong D-features of Inf are chosen, the object must be raised to [Spec,InfP] in overt syntax. When weak D-features are chosen, the overt movement will be blocked by *Procrastinate*. We conclude that the optionality of OS in MidE can be ascribed to the strength or weakness of morphological features in Inf.[11] In conclusion, we should stress that overt verb movement in MidE *(for)to*-infinitives is always found, but the connection between overt verb movement and object shift is not systematic. What this shows is that verb movement only permits object shift, but it does not require it.

6.4. A Remaining Problem

Having established that object shift is an instance of A-movement and that [Spec,InfP]

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11 Following Holmberg (1986), Roberts (1995) points out that Icelandic pronominal objects obligatorily shift whenever the (finite) verb moves, and that nominal objects optionally shift. He attributes the obligatoriness of pronoun object shift to the systematic verb movement, and the optionality of nominal object shift to the fact that AgrO has an optionally strong N-feature. Our claim here is that MidE is like Icelandic. That is, optional object shift is attested with both weak pronouns and full DPs.

qualifies as the landing site for the shifted object, we can now formulate the A/A-bar distinction as follows:

(15) a. A chain α is an A-chain iff the head of α is in an L-related position
b. A chain α is an A-bar chain otherwise (Chomsky & Lasnik (1993))

Chomsky (1993, 1995) defines the A/A-bar distinction in terms of the notion *L-related*. A position is *L-related* if it is in the domain of an *L-head*, where *L-heads* are lexical heads and heads which check the features of lexical heads. V, N, A, and P as lexical heads are *L-heads*. T, Inf and Agr are *L-heads* because they check the features of lexical heads, whereas C and Neg are not *L-heads*. A-positions are *L-related*, whereas A-bar positions are not. Movement to [Spec, AgrSP/InfP] for Case-theoretic reasons is an instance of A-movement while adjunction, topicalisation, and scrambling are instances of A-bar movement.

It is clear that (15), in conjunction with the postulate that object shift moves DPs into a Case-checking position and that Case-checking positions are always and only L-related, derives the required result that chains formed by object shift are A-chains, as opposed to A'-movement (e.g *WH-movement*), where Case features are checked at the foot of the chain. Put another way, A-moved DPs check their Case features with a functional head in their landing site, whereas A-bar moved DPs do not. With this distinction in mind, let's consider the following examples:

(16) a. he hoved over a hive **the hony** *forto kepe*
he stood over a hive the honey to keep
(c1402 *Mum & the Sothsegger* 966;Burrow (ibid: 263))
'he stood over a hive to keep the honey'

b. first he clad him in his clothes **the colde** *forto were*
first he clothed him in his clothes the cold to ward off
(c1360 *Sir G. & the Gr. Knight* 2015; Burrow (ibid: 79))

'first he clothed him in his clothes to ward off the cold'

c. mony a mery mason was made þer to werk, harde stones *forto hewe* with
many a merry mason was made there to work hard stones to shape with
eggit toles, mony grubber in grete **þe grounde** *forto seche*
sharp-edged tools many diggers in earth the (solid) ground to search
(c1390 St.*Erkenwald* 41; Burrow & Turville (ibid: 202))
'many a merry mason was made to work there, to shape hard stones with sharp-edged tools; & many diggers search in the solid ground'

d. for everi wight that hath an hous to founde ne renneth naught **the werk** *for to*
for every man that has a house to build neg runs not the labour to
bygynne = begin
(c1387 *Troli.* I.1066; Benson (ibid: 488))
'for any man who has to build a house does not run at once to begin the labour'

(17) a. & þrattest **hine** *to slænne* and **his cun** *to fordonne*
& threaten him to slay & his kin to destroy
(c1200-20 *Laȝamon's Brut* 9351; Barron & Weinberg (1989: 8))
'& threaten to slay him & destroy his kin'

b. þat Octa scal ifinden that he þrattede **me** *to binden*
that Octa shall find that he threatened me to fetter
(c1200-20 *Laȝamon's Brut* 9745; Barron & Weinberg (ibid: 26))
'as Octa shall discover that he swore to fetter me'

c. he ne oghte nat **hyt** *for to telle*
he neg ought not it to tell
(c1303 R. of Brunne *Handlyng Synne* 3659; Sullens (ibid: 93))
'he ought not to tell it'

d. forþi **me** *forto fynde*, if þou fraystez, faylez þou never
therefore me to find if you ask fail you never
(c1360 *Sir G. & the Gr. Knight* 455; Burrow & Turville (ibid: 196))
'therefore if you ask you won't fail to find me'

e. none othir noote to eneve is nede but latte us haste **hym** *forto hange*
no other business to talk about is need but let us hasten him to hang
(c1463-73 *The York Play* 28; Burrow & Turville (ibid: 251)
'there is no need to talk about any other business but to let us hasten to hang him'

Still assuming that *(for)to* is in T, these examples show that OS can go higher than T.[12] Observe that examples like (16) and (17) seem to involve movement to an A-bar position, given that the landing site of the moved object is not [Spec,InfP], and we assume it's not [Spec, AgrSP] and [Spec, TP] too as PRO and its trace must be there. In other words, the surface position of the object DPs in the above examples violates the requirement of Spec-Head relationship between the accusative Case assigner (or Case-checker) [Inf + V] and the accusative Case assignee. It is tempting to analyse (16) and (17) as instances of scrambling.[13] There is good reason for analysing these examples as cases of scrambling. First note that scrambling affects definite DPs, as in (16). Secondly, weak pronouns are often scrambled (except where they stay lower, as in the examples cited in section 2), as in (17).

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12 Note that analysing (16) and (17) as involving incorporation of the object DPs either to T or to AgrS is unsatisfactory because they are clearly DPs in the non-pronominal examples and so can't incorporate to heads.

13 It is not clear to us whether scrambling is A- or A'-movement. Some authors claim that scrambling is A'-movement, and that the trace left by scrambling is a variable. Fanselow (1990) and Santorini (1991) claim that scrambling (in German) is A-movement and therefore leaves behind an anaphoric trace. Webelhuth (1989: 406-14) argues that scrambling exhibits properties of both A- and A'-movement. Müller & Sternefeld (1991) reject these analyses and argue that scrambling is uniformly A'-movement, in German and elsewhere.

Interesting confirmation for our analysis comes from Dutch: in Dutch definite DPs are more likely to scramble than indefinite ones, as the following examples illustrate:[14]

(18) a. dat zij dat boek$_i$ na eenmaal t$_i$ gekocht heeft
that she that book after all bought has
b. dat zij na eenmaal dat boek gekocht heeft

(19) a. dat zij na eenmaal een huis gekocht heeft
that she after all a house bought has
b. ?dat zij een huis$_i$ na eenmaal t$_i$ gekocht heeft

The data above show that scrambling can affect only definite DPs in Dutch as well as MidE. However, (20) shows that scrambling in MidE does affect indefinite DPs.

(20) a. shold not a ladde be in londe **a lord** *forto serve*
should not a lady be in land a lord to serve
(1352 *Winner & Waster* 388; Burrow (ibid: 42))
'shouldn't there be a lady on earth to serve a lord'

b. forto shake to the shawe and shewe him the estres, in ich holt that they had
to go out to the wood and show him the coverts in each wood that they had
an hare *forto finde*= a hare to find
(c1352 *Winner & Waster* 404; Burrow (ibid: 43))
'they would go out to the woods and show him the coverts, and that they had found a hare in each wood'

c. this is a mervail message **a man** *forto preche* among enmies so mony and mansed
this is a marvell message a man to preach among enemies so many and cursed

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14 These examples are taken from Haegeman (1991).

fendes= devils

(c1360 Gawain *Patience* 81; Burrow (ibid: 49))

'this is a marvell message to preach to a man who lives among so many enemies & cursed devils'

d. that is so horrible **a tale** *for to rede*

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* II.84; Benson (ibid: 88))

'the tale is too horrible, it can't be read'

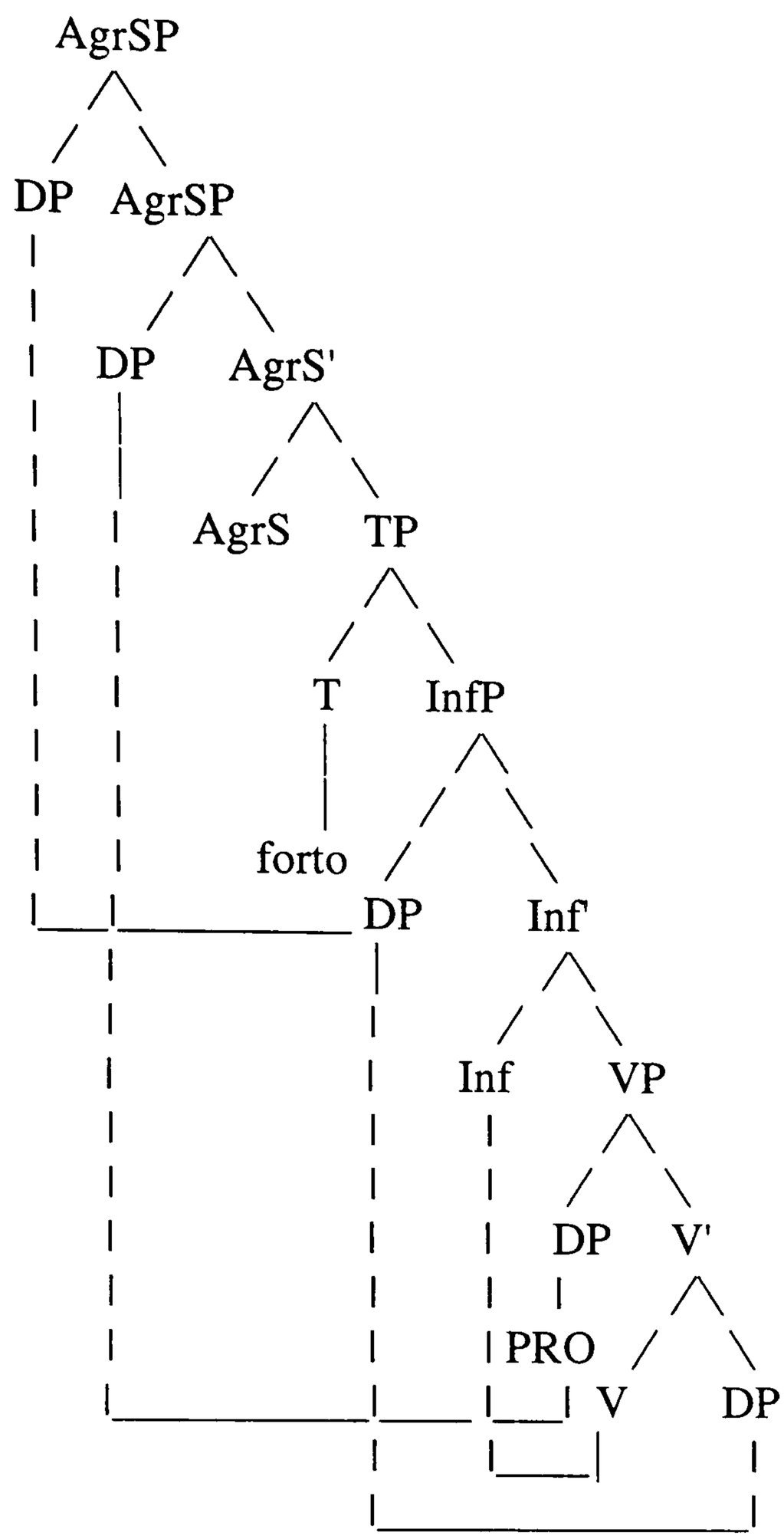
e. was I so besy **no man** *forto preche*

(c1387 Chaucer *Troil.* II.569; Benson (ibid: 497))

'was I so busy that I couldn't preach any man'

We have to take these examples to be untypical cases of scrambling. On the assumption that the scrambled DP is adjoined to AgrSP, (16a) would have the following partial representation:

(21)



The object DP *the hony* goes first to [Spec, InfP] and then scrambles to an AgrSP-adjoined position. Such a claim is unsatisfactory because it gives rise to a (crucial) problem. That is, it does not explain why the object DP must move past [Spec, InfP]. It merely states that the object DP is adjoined to AgrSP, begging the very basic question of how the accusative Case would be assigned to that DP. The answer to this question is that Case is transmitted to the object DP via its trace in [Spec, InfP]. More to the point, the morphological features of the object DP are checked with the foot of the chain in [Spec, InfP] and then transmitted to the head of the chain in its AgrSP-adjoined position.[15] This results in two linked chains. The lower chain is a uniform A-chain, with

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It should be noted that the adjunction-to-AgrSP idea doesn't really solve the problem. All that we can say in this case is that there are two levels of object shift: one

its head in [Spec, InfP] and its foot or tail inside VP (i.e. the object position). The higher chain is a non-uniform A'-chain, with its head in A'-position (adjoined to AgrSP) and its foot or tail in A-position, i.e in [Spec, InfP].

6.5. The Loss of Object Shift

Recall that object shift in MidE infinitival constructions required the overt adjunction of the verb to the functional head Inf (and the projection of the Spec of InfP to host the shifted object). By the beginning of the 15th century, the infinitival ending died out, so there was no trigger for overt infinitive movement, and accordingly overt object shift disappeared. Thus the absence of object shift in ModE *to*-infinitives is keyed to the absence of overt verb movement. The disappearance of overt object shift implies that speakers of ModE replaced shifted objects with a simpler and less costly construction. In finite clauses, object shift with weak pronouns seems to have been possible in the 16th century, as argued for in Roberts (1995). The loss of object shift is also keyed to the general loss of overt verb movement in finite clauses. A crucial aspect of Roberts' (1995) analysis and of ours is that they lead to the conclusion that the English object pronoun system has not changed at all since the MidE period. What has changed since then is the position of both the finite and the infinitival verbs. Since these two verbs never move to AgrO or Inf, they neither trigger nor license object shift.

6.6. Conclusion

Given the evidence presented above for verb movement in MidE *for-to*-infinitives and the evidence presented in van Kemenade (1987), Roberts (1992) and Rohrbacher (1994) for verb movement in finite clauses, we conclude that there is a correspondence between nonfinite verb movement and finite verb movement in MidE. On the basis of morphological and syntactic evidence we have argued in this chapter that the infinitival verb must raise to the functional head of InfP in MidE. Support for this conclusion was

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to [Spec, InfP\AgrOP] and one to a position above AgrS but below C, i.e. below *that* in a finite clause.

drawn from conjoined structures, the position that VP adverbs adopt relative to the verb, and from object shift. Concerning object shift, we have shown that analysing object shift as an instance of A-movement provides a more straightforward and coherent description of the syntactic behaviour of (pro)nominal objects in MidE *(for)to*-infinitives. Further and more importantly, we have shown that the optionality of object shift is attributable to the optional strength or weakness of D-features in Inf, and that the absence of object shift in ModE is ascribable to the loss of verb movement to Inf, which took place in the early part of the 15th century.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE ORIGIN & REANALYSIS OF *FOR* AS A COMPLEMENTISER*

7.1. Introduction

Having established the morphological and syntactic status of the infinitival marker *forto* (chapter five) and the infinitival verb (chapter six), we now turn to investigate the origin of *for* in the ModE [for DP to VP] construction. The nature and the origin of *for* in the [for DP to VP] construction has given rise to a lot of discussion in the literature on Middle English infinitives and a number of proposals have been formulated to account for its status (cf. Zeitlin (1908); Jespersen (1940) Zandvoort (1949); Mustanoja (1960); Visser (1963-73); Lightfoot (1979, 1981a, 1981b); Fischer (1988); Roberts (1992); among others). On the basis of morphological and structural evidence, we will propose that the [for DP to VP] construction is the outcome of two Diachronic Reanalyses (DR), which took place at two different stages in the history of English. The first DR, which took place in the 12th century, was triggered by the loss of dative case which paved the way for the introduction of prepositions like *to/for* to realise the benefactive function.[1]

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* Earlier versions of this chapter were presented in 1996 at the Departmental Research Seminar, University of Wales, Bangor, the Spring Meeting of the Linguistics Association of Great Britain (LAGB), University of Sussex (11-13 April) and the VIII Students Conference in Linguistics (SCIL), University of New York (18-20 April). To appear in the proceedings of SCIL.

1 In this respect, we fully concur with Fischer (1988) that the introduction of *for* before the [DP to VP] construction is a new development in MidE (see section 2, for more details). The rise of *for* before the [DP to VP] construction is in no way related to the rise of *for-to*-infinitives (see section 3 below). This argues against Lightfoot's (1979, 1981a) analysis in which the rise of the [for DP to VP] construction is ascribed to the

In Old English the benefactive function was typically associated with morphological dative case. Once dative case had been lost, the benefactive function had to be realised by prepositions like *for*. Throughout the MidE period *for* was a case-realiser and not a lexical preposition. Its main function was to realise an inherent case feature which belonged to the matrix lexical head. The second DR, which occurred in the 16th century, was triggered by the fact that the string [for DP to VP] had become structurally ambiguous for acquirers, allowing an interpretation where [for DP] is part of the matrix predicate, or alternatively an interpretation where [for DP] is the subject of the infinitival clause. In the latter interpretation *for*'s function is to realise a Case which does not belong to any lexical head. It realises the Case property of the C-position. We will argue that the preposition *for* was reanalysed as a complementiser as a result of the loss of infinitival clauses as complements of prepositions, and the consequent development of the C-position as a potential accusative Case-licenser.The change can be regarded as a change in the status of *for* from a lexical case-realiser to a functional Case-realiser. Before examining the diachronic facts, it is worthwhile to articulate certain synchronic assumptions about the modern [for DP to VP] construction.

7.2. Synchronic Assumptions

As a point of departure, we will hypothesise that the historical development of the [for DP to VP] construction is reflected in the synchronic structural status of that construction. If that hypothesis is correct, then the structural ambiguity of (1) should

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demise of *for-to*-infinitives, and the introduction of a new rule of S-bar deletion into the grammar of MidE (cf. Fischer (1988)).

provide a clue to the diachronic development of the modern [for DP to VP] construction.

(1) it is good *for John to win* the race

In ModE the sequence [for DP to VP] can have two interpretations: one where the [for DP] is part of the matrix predicate, as in (2a), and another type where the whole string [for DP to VP] is one constituent with the DP construed as the subject of the infinitival verb, as in (2b):

(2) a. predicate $[_{PP}$ for DP_i] $[_{CP}$ PRO_i to VP]

b. predicate $[_{CP}$ $[_{C'}$ for $[_{AgrSP}$ DP to VP]]]

The difference between the two interpretations emerges very clearly in sentences where there are two *for*-phrases present, thus clearly indicating the existence of the two distinct structures for [for DP].[2] Consider the following examples from Chomsky (1977: 103):

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It is also possible to test the status of [for DP] by moving the [for DP to VP] sequence in front of the matrix predicate, as in:

(i) a. *for John* to win the race is easy
b. *for teenagers to smoke* is wicked

The contrast in (ia-b) motivates the claim that in (ib) the [for DP to VP] string is a complement clause introduced by the complementiser *for*, and that in (ia) [for DP] is a prepositional phrase outside of the complement clause. We may then observe that in (ii) it is just the lower predicate that is fronted into the higher clause, in contrast with (i).

(ii) a. to win the race is easy for John
b. *to smoke is wicked for teenagers

From both (iia) and (iib) the position of the phrase [for DP] is clear.

(3) a. it is a waste of time [$_{benefactive}$ for us][$_{subject}$ for them] to teach us Latin

b. it is pleasant [$_{benefactive}$ for the rich][$_{subject}$ for the poor] to do the hard work

The bracketing in (3a) is meant to show that *for us* is an argument of the matrix predicate *waste of time*, and *for them* of the infinitive. Similarly, in (3b) *for the rich* is an argument of *pleasant* and *for the poor* of the infinitive. One criterion for judging whether the bracketing is correct is that the θ-roles associated with the predicate(s) must be assigned to the structurally realised arguments. For example, in (3b) the predicate *pleasant* has one benefactive argument, realised by the DP *the rich*, and assigned to it through the intermediary of the preposition *for*. Under the θ-Criterion (cf. Chomsky (1981: 36)), which requires that each θ-role be assigned to one and only one argument and that each argument be assigned one and only one θ-role, the second *for DP* (*for the poor*) cannot be assigned the benefactive θ-role of the matrix predicate because that is already assigned to *for the rich*.[3] This clearly shows that *the poor* is an argument of the infinitive, and that *for* is a complementiser.

The complementiser status of *for* is particularly clear if it is followed by expletive *it*, as in (4), or existential *there*, as in (5), which cannot bear benefactive or any other θ-roles. Since they cannot be benefactives or any other kind of complement, they can only be subjects:

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3 Roberts (personal communication) pointed out that in principle the predicate could assign two benefactive theta-roles. In reality, however, this is non-attested for unknown reasons.

(4) it is essential *for it to rain* soon

(5) it is essential *for there to be* a conference on syntactic change soon (Stockwell (1976))

It is evident from (4) and (5) that the position which *for* occupies is the C-position and that the DPs preceding the infinitive function as the subjects of the infinitive, and not as the indirect objects of the matrix predicates. The observation that the DPs preceding the infinitive cannot bear benefactive θ-roles supports the fact that they are not the indirect objects of the matrix predicates.

In a similar vein, we can argue that *for* in (6) below is in the C-position and that the DPs preceding the infinitive are arguments of the infinitive. Since the matrix predicates do not have benefactive θ-roles to assign, these DPs cannot be their arguments.

(6) a. that is *for you to say*

b. it was not *for me to intrude*

The second crucial point about the string [for DP to VP] functioning as the complement of some verbs is the question whether the *for* in (7) is the prepositional *for* or the complementiser *for:*

(7) a. we *hoped for John to win* the race

b. we *waited for John to open* the door

It has been suggested in the literature that one stage in the derivation of (7a), for example, is of the form of (8) (many details of description are glossed over in (8)).

(8) we hoped for [$_{CP}$ for [$_{AgrSP}$ John to win the race]]

A crucial feature of (8) is the presence of two instances of *for*. Given that, we could approach the structure of (8) by inquiring into the source of *for* in (7a-b): is that *for* the prepositional *for* or the complementiser *for*? The question has been touched on by Rosenbaum (1967), Bresnan (1972), and Chomsky & Lasnik (1977), among others. While Rosenbaum\Bresnan hypothesise that it is the complementiser *for* which surfaces in (7a-b), Chomsky & Lasnik propose that it is the preposition which appears in (7a-b). The two-*for*-structure of *hope* and *wait* is motivated by pseudocleft sentences such as (9a-c) and (10a-c):

(9) a. what we *hoped for* was *for John to win* the race

b. *what we hoped was for John to win the race

c. *what we hoped for was John to win the race

(10) a. what we *waited for* was *for John to open* the door

b. *what we waited was for John to open the door

c. *what we waited for was John to open the door

In pseudocleft sentences such as (9a) and (10a) both *fors* appear in surface structure. As (9b-c) and (10b-c) show, neither *for* may be left out in pseudocleft sentences. Note that

the precise position of the DP following *for* has a crucial bearing on the source of *for* in (7a-b). It is easy to see how the position of this DP may be relevant. In (8) the DP is in the lower clause, but if it were the case that the DP is out of the lower clause, it would follow that the *for* of (7a-b) is the preposition *for*. That is, instead of (8), we would have:

(11) we hoped for John [$_{CP}$ for [$_{AgrSP}$ PRO to win the race]]

Now, if it is true that *John* is a prepositional object, it must be capable of being questioned, relativised and passivised, but (12) shows that this is not possible after *hope for*. More importantly, if it is true that the *for* which follows the verb is the preposition *for* and not the complementizer *for*, it must be capable of subcategorising for a gerund object, as in (13):

(12) a. *who$_i$ did we hope for t$_i$ to win the race?

b. *the man$_i$ whom we hoped for t$_i$ to win the race

c. *John$_i$ was hoped for t$_i$ to win the race

(13) a. *we hope for him/his winning the race

b. *I was exhausted and longing for them/their going

c. *I asked if it could be arranged for me meeting the president

Note that the ungrammaticality of (12) and (13) argues against the structure in (11) and for the one in (8). On the basis of such facts, it seems reasonable to hypothesise with Rosenbaum (1967), Bresnan (1972), Hantson (1980), and many others, that there must

exist a rule of preposition deletion. The rule can be represented by the PF filter given in (14) below (cf. Larson (1990)):

(14) ***[P CP], where the head of CP has phonological content**

The filter in (14) says that in a sequence of the form [P CP] the preposition is obligatorily deleted in front of a complement clause introduced by a complementiser. But why does the preposition have to delete? I would like to suggest that when verbs like *hope, wait, arrange long, call, plan* etc, select nominal arguments, there has to be a preposition to Case-mark those arguments because the verbs themselves lack the ability to assign Case. The selection of a preposition depends on the verb. For example, the verbs in (15) select different PP complements headed by different prepositions.

(15) a. we hope for/*to/*after/*from a miracle

b. we depend (up)on/*to/*from/*after you

What is crucial about (15) is the fact that the selection of the preposition used to introduce the PP complement in each case has to be specified in the relevant lexical entry, so that, for instance, the entry for *hope* would be along the lines of (16):

(16) *hope*: [+V, -N]

[--[$_{PP}$ for DP]]

But when these verbs (i.e. *hope, wait, arrange*, etc), select sentential complements

introduced by *for* or *that*, prepositions delete obligatorily. Consider the following examples from Bresnan (1972):

(17) a. John would be ashamed *of/*Ø/for us to see him

b. what John would be ashamed of would be for us to see him

c. *what John would be ashamed would be for us to see him

The failure of the preposition *of* to surface in (17a) shows that *for*-complement clauses come within the scope of the preposition deletion rule. Diachronically, this state of affairs, we think, can be related to the following examples:

(18) a. the cause why thei comen *for* was *forto seche* and forto finde Appolinus

the cause why they came for was to search and to find Appolinus

(c1393 Gower *C. A.*8,992; Pickles & Dawson (1987)

b. and this lord, Sir Ector, lete hym be *sent for forto come...*

(a1400 Malory 10,40-11-1; Fischer (1992: 45))

'and let this lord, Sir Ector, be sent for...'

A crucial feature of (18) is that *fors* are the *fors* of the prepositional verbs *come for* and *send for*. At that time of the MidE period it was quite unusual for *to*-infinitives to be introduced by complementizers. But as a result of the Diachronic Reanalysis which took place in the 16th century the preposition *for* became a complementiser in other contexts (see the examples in (30)). Another crucial feature of (18) is that *forto* is a compound

infinitival marker. This supports our general analysis of *forto* as an independent infinitival marker. Synchronically, the presence of the complementiser *for* in (19a) below is shown in the corresponding pseudo cleft in (19b):

(19) a. we sent for John to fix the car

b. what we sent for was for John to fix the car

In what precedes, we presented two points about the [for DP to VP] construction: (i) the ambiguity of the construction after some predicates, and (ii) the nature and status of *for* after some verbs and the [P CP] filter. We saw that where *for* is a preposition *for* +DP is a constituent and hence fronting is possible. Fronting is not possible when *for* is a complementiser. Extraction is also possible after preposition *for* but not after complementiser *for*. We also saw that there is good evidence which suggests that the preposition *for* must be assumed to delete in front of infinitival clauses. In section 4. we will see whether there is any diachronic evidence motivating the postulation of a preposition deletion rule in front of infinitival clauses. Before we come to that point, let us look at the origin of the preposition *for*.

7.3. The Origin of *for*

This section investigates the source of *for* in the [for DP to VP] construction. In order to set the stage, let us consider again the patterns of (2), repeated here for convenience as (20):

(20) a. predicate $[_{PP}$ for $DP_i]$ $[_{CP}$ PRO_i to VP]

b. predicate $[_{CP}$ $[_{C'}$ for $[_{AgrSP}$ DP to VP]]]

The pattern of (20b) is of a relatively recent occurrence in English. It did not exist in MidE. It developed out of (20a) in the course of the 16th century. Further, it is well-known that the pattern in (20a) was very common in MidE, as may be ascertained from data collected by Visser (1963-73: §§913-14). However, instances of this pattern did not occur at all in OE. This suggests that benefactive *for* is a new development in MidE.[4] The question arises here as to what caused this innovation. It is standardly hypothesised that the loss of morphological case can have syntactic consequences. If this hypothesis is true, then this innovation, i.e. the introduction of *for* before infinitival clauses is related to the change in the morphological case system of MidE. As is well-known, OE and early MidE predicates may subcategorize for a dative object DP, and an infinitival complement, as in (21):

(21) a. hit is earmlic & sorhlic *eallum mannum* [dat.pl.] *to gehyrenne*

it is miserable & sorrowful all men to hear

(Wulfstan *Polity* P. 245 §:70; Visser (1963-73: §911))

'it is miserable & sorrowful for all men to hear'

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4 Traditional grammarians distinguish two types of *for*: organic and inorganic. Organic *for* is a pure dative case realizer; inorganic *for* is a prepositional complementizer. As far as the origin of organic *for* is concerned, the views of traditional grammarians vary considerably. Zeitlin (1908) believes that organic *for* which appeared before the [DP to VP] construction is an equivalent of the old dative of person in impersonal constructions. Mustanoja (1960: 383) points out that the whole [for DP to VP] construction owes something to Celtic influence and in particular to modern Welsh.

b. hit is swiðe earfoðe *æniyum* [dat.pl.] *to ðeowienne* twam hlafordum

it is very difficult anyone to serve two lords

(c1000 Hexameron *St. Basil* 36; Visser (ibid: §911)

'it is very difficult for anyone to serve two lords'

c. nis *me* [dat.sg.] nan neod fæder þe to secgenne hwanon ic come

is-not to-me no need father you to tell when I come

(Ælfric *Lives of Saints* XXIIIB,71; Skeat (ibid: 6))

'There is no need for me, father, to tell you when I come'

d. Ic bidde ðæt ðu *me* [dat.sg.] alyfe ofer ðin land *to ferrenne*

I ask that you me allow over your land to go

(Ælfric *Numbers* XXI,22; Crawford (ibid: 326))

'I ask you to allow me to travel across your land'

e. hie sealdon *anum unwisum cyninges þegne* [dat.sg.] Miercna rice *to haldanne*

they gave a foolish king's thane Mercia kingdom to rule

(Chron. 874; Bosworth *et al* (1898))

'they gave Mercia to a foolish king's thane to rule'

The crucial question is what syntactic and semantic relationship holds between the italicised DPs and the matrix predicates on the one hand and between these DPs and the infinitives on the other. One relationship can be postulated. That is, the italicised DPs function only as the indirect objects of the matrix predicates, and not as constituents of

the infinitival clauses. On this assumption, (21a-b) would have the structures given in (22a-b), respectively:

(22) a. hit is $[_{AP}$ $[_{A'}$ earmlic & sorhlic $[_{DP}$ eallum mannum$_i$$][_{AgrSP}$ PRO$_i$ to gehyrenne]]]]

b. hit is.. $[_{AP}$ $[_{A'}$ earfoðe $[_{DP}$ æniyum$_i$$][_{AgrSP}$ PRO$_i$ to ðeowienne twam hlafordum]]]]

In (22a-b) the reference of PRO is controlled by the indirect object and consequently is coreferential with it.

We have postulated that *eallum mannum* and *æniyum* in (21a-b) function as the indirect objects of the matrix predicates. We can say that this kind of relationship is actually a reflection of an idiosyncratic property of the matrix predicate, i.e. the property of being a dative case assigner. Within the theoretical framework (cf. Chomsky (1993, 1995)) adopted in this thesis, dative case is not a well-studied phenomenon. Chomsky (1981, 1986a) observes that dative (or oblique) case, which he calls inherent case, is closely linked to theta marking (θ-marking). Given that, the matrix predicate in (21a) assigns dative case and *experiencer* θ-role to *eallum mannum*, while that of (21b) assigns dative case and *benefactive* θ-role to *æniyum*. Once dative case was lost, it became possible for such arguments to have neither dative case marking (especially in the case of non-pronominal DPs) nor prepositional marking. Compare (21) above with (23) below:

(23) a. it is vncuth & vnwon *ðe fader to be-cum* ðe sun

it is uncouth & unwonted the father to become the son

(13..*Curs. M.* 10139; Visser (ibid: §911))

'it is uncouth & unwonted for the father to become the son'

b. it is good & resonable *men to haue* chirches in mesure

it is good & reasonable men to have churches enough

(1400 Wyclif *Pseudo-Freris* 121; Visser (ibid: §911))

'it is good & reasonable for men to have enough churches'

c. it seemeth evil *a dede man to go about* and beg

it seems evil a dead man to go about and beg

(c1400 *Political Poems & Songs* II, 20,20; Visser (ibid: §911))

'it seems harmful for a dead man to go about and beg'

d. perilous is it *a man* his feithe *to breke*

perilous is it a man his faith to break

(c1412 Hoccleve, *De Reg. Pr.* 80; Visser (ibid: §911))

'it is perilous for a man to break his faith'

At the same time, we find examples with prepositions like *for* or *to* assuming the roles played by the (benefactive) dative case ending in OE and early MidE. The following illustrate:

(24) a. hyt ys gret perel *to an vncouþ man*, a mayde chyld *for to holde*

it is great peril to an uncouth man a maid child to hold

(c1303 R. of Brunne *Handlyng Synne* 9880; Sullens (1983: 246))

'it is a great danger for an uncouth man to hold a maid's child'

b. bot elles it is hard & wonderful *to þee for to do*

but else it is hard & wonderful to you to do

(c1360 *The Cloud of Unknowing* 24b,18; Hodgson (1944: 16))

'otherwise it is hard & wonderful to you to do'

c. if it is leefful *to me for to speke* ony thing to thee?

if it is lawful to me to speak anything to you

(c1384 *WBible*(1) *Deeds* 21,37; Kurath *et al* (ibid))

'if it is lawful to me to say anything to you'

d. it is a greet shame *to a man to have* a povere herte and a riche purs.

it is a great shame to a man to have a poor heart and a rich purse

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* VII 1603; Benson (ibid: 233))

'it is a great shame to a man to have a poor heart and a purse full of money'

e. it were bettre *for yow to lese* so muchel good of youre owene than forto

it were better for you to lose so much good of your own than to

taken of hir good in this manere

consider of her good in this manner

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* VII 1840; Benson (ibid: 238))

'it was better for you to lose so much goodness of your own than to consider

her goodness in this way'

f. hit is no synne *for such men forto seggen* as thei seen

it is no sin for such men to say as they see

(c1392 Langland *P.Plowman*.c13,29; Visser (ibid: §914))

'it is no sin for such men to say what they see'

The examples in (24) highlight the fact that the preposition *for/to* realises the benefactive dative function used in OE and early MidE. They also highlight the *newness* of the construction with *for* in MidE. We can account for this by saying that *for* is a realisation of the inherent dative case feature which belonged to the matrix lexical head in OE.

As we indicated above (see footnote 1), the rise of *for* before the [DP to VP] construction is in no way associated with the rise of *for* before the *to*-infinitive. It is true that the introduction of both *fors* before the infinitive resulted from the loss of dative case, but what is crucial to note is their contrasting syntactic function. The latter *for*, which was discussed in chapters three, four and five, is part of the infinitival marking, as the examples in (25) illustrate:

(25) a. hie lið al abuten itrand, and hire heaued on midden, *for to bergen* ðat heaued

it lies all down rolled, and its head in middle, to save the head

(c1200 *Vices & Virtues* 101,21; Holthausen (1921: 101))

'it lies down all rolled up, and its head in the middle, in order to save the head'

b. & better *þee* were *for to haue* it & *for to fele* it in þin affeccion gostly

& better you were to have it & to feel it in your disposition spiritually

(C1360 *The Cloud of Unknowing* 34b,10; Hodgson (ibid: 34))

'it was better for you to have it and to feel it spiritually in your disposition'

c. this is to seyn, that *thee* is bettre *to hold* thy tonge stille than *for to speke*

this is to say, that you is better to hold your tongue than to speak

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* VII1218; Benson (ibid:224))

'this is to say that it is better for you to hold your tongue than to speak'

d. wiste I what. Good freend, tell on what is best *me for to make* and folwe it..

knew I what, good friend, tell on what is best me to make and follow it

(c1422 Hoccleve *The Dialogue with a Friend* 553; Seymour (1981: 88))

'what did I know? Good friend: tell me what is best for me to make and follow it'

e. therefore it is no nede *me forto* as here in this book encerche the writingis of

therefore it is no need me to as here in this book study the writings of

Doctouris sowyng agens mi present entent

doctors disagreeing with my present intent

(c1449 Pecock *Repressor* XIII; Babington (ibid:71))

'therefore it is not necessary for me to study the writings of doctors

disagreeing with my present intent'

As is well-known in the traditional literature on MidE infinitives, this *for* appeared before the *to*-infinitive in early MidE. Under traditional assumptions, the appearance of *for* is assumed to have been motivated either by (i) the fading away of the prepositional meaning of *to* or (ii) the demise of the dative ending *-ne* which was part of the infinitival verb. It was argued in chapters two and three that the OE *to*-infinitive should be treated as a single (morphological and) syntactic unit which can't be broken up by intervening elements. It was also argued that as long as V+Inf-to D movement is attested, the syntactic unity of the *to*-infinitive can't be broken up by intervening elements like adverbs, negation, or objects. Once the OE case system disintegrated, the internal structure of the *to*-infinitive underwent a radical change such that the demise of *-ne* (which resulted from the weakening of *to* as a dative case assigner) resulted in the demise of D, and this led to the disintegration of the syntactic unity of the *to*-infinitive. In fact, the demise of D was the major factor in the disintegration of the (morphological and) syntactic unity of the internal structure of the OE *to*-infinitive, and the consequent appearance of *for* before *to*. In other words, when *to* ceased to be a preposition, *for* moved in and 'took over' as P (and then perhaps was reanalysed as an infinitival marker as well, giving *forto*).

The *for* in the [for DP to VP] construction, which replaced the dative case in realising the benefactive dative function (which was a property of the matrix predicate), is the head of a matrix PP. This state of affairs is best illustrated in (26):

(26) a. I wol conclude that it is bet *for me to sleen* myself than ben defouled thus

I will conclude that it is better for me to kill myself than been suffered thus

(c1386 *Cant.T.* V 1422; Benson (ibid: 186))

'summarising: better the thought to kill myself at once than suffer thus'

b. she was a prymerole, a piggensye *for any lord to leggen* in his bedde or yet *for*

she was a daisy, a lollipop for any lord to lie in his bed or yet for

any good yeman to wedde

any good yeoman to wed

(c1386 Chaucer *Cant.T.* I 3268; Benson (ibid: 69))

'she was a daisy, a lollipop lady for any lord to take to bed or some good man of yeoman stock to wed'

c. hit bycometh *for clerkes* Crist *forto serve*

it becomes for clerks Christ to serve

(c1392 Langland *P.Pl.* 7a,61; Burrow & Turville (ibid: 144))

'it becomes fitting for clerks to serve Christ'

d. it shall be leffull *for every man to ship* & carry all maner of Cornes & Greynes

it shall be lawful for every man to ship & carry all kinds of corns & grains

oute of this Rioalme

out of this kingdom

(1436 *RParl.* 4.500a; Kurath *et al* (ibid))

'it will be lawful for every man to ship and carry all kinds of corns and grains out of this kingdom'

The *for* in (25) is closely linked to the infinitival marking, and is much older than that in (26). The *for* in (26) is the preposition *for* and is linked to the matrix predicate. Observe that both *fors* appear side by side in (26c). This clearly shows that they are different morphological and syntactic elements.

The purpose of the preceding discussion was to provide an explanation for the introduction of *for* before the *to*-infinitive. We saw that the introduction of *for* as a benefactive before the [DP to VP] constructions is related to the loss of dative case in general, and within clauses that contain an infinitive in particular. The question to be addressed next is when and why the Diachronic Reanalysis of *for* as a complementiser took place.

7.4. The Diachronic Reanalysis of *for* as a Complementizer

In section 7.2 we explored the synchronic side of the story of the [for DP to VP] construction. In this section we argue in favour of positing a rule of preposition deletion because it seems to provide a simpler account of the diachronic side of the story. Diachronic evidence for the introduction of preposition deletion rule in ModE is provided by the fact that MidE infinitival (and finite) clauses could function as the object of a preposition, as would appear from (27) and (28):

(27) a. for *after that* we fall and rise the world riste and falleth with al

for after that we fall and rise the world rises and falls with all

(c1390 Gower *C.A.* P.544; Pickle & Dawson (ibid))

b. *whil that* the Cite was aslepe

while that the city was asleep

(C1390 Gower *C.A.* I.1180; Pickles & Dawson (ibid))

(28) a. Ich was many tyme *aboute forto haue stilled* it ȝif ich hadde miȝth

I was many times about to have stilled it if I had power

(c1230 *Ancrene Riwle* M.88,10; Zettersten (ibid: 35))

'if I had the power, I would keep it secret'

b. for sum....more lokyng *after for to seme* holy in sigt of men, þen for to be so in

for some more consideration to appear holy in sight of men than to be so in

þe sigt of God & his aungelles

the sight of God& his angels

(c1360 *The Cloud of Unknowing* 72b,6; Hodgson (ibid:101))

'or some....more consideration to appear holy in the eyes of men than to be so in

the eyes of God and his angels'

c. & instede of tresour of gold & syluer wee maken oure tresoure *of* accord &

& instead of treasure of gold & silver we make our treasure of goodwill &

pees & *for to loue* euery man oþere

peace & to love every man other

(c1400 Mandeville 23; Hamelius (1919: 195))

'instead of gold & silver we make our treasure of goodwill and peace and loving

everybody'

d. Then they took them to ascent for to follow *after for to know* whither they repaired, and so they rode after a great pace till that they came to a valley (c1400 Malory *Le Morte D'Arthur* II,XXII, ch. 9; Cowen (1969: 345))

The examples in (27) and (28) show that the category of clausal complements to MidE prepositions can be indisputably a CP at least for (27) which has an overt *that*. These examples contrast sharply with distributional facts in OE. Callaway (1913: 78) points out that he has found no clear example of a *to*-infinitive used as the complement of another preposition. Visser (1963-73: 1031) also says that in OE the *to*-infinitive does not seem to occur after prepositions. The immediate question which arises here is: why didn't OE *to*-infinitive occur as the complement of preposition? The answer to this question lies in the nature of the *to*-infinitive. It was argued in chapter two that *to* is a preposition which heads its own PP and takes a dative phrase (DP) as its complement. The fact that it was impossible for prepositions to precede the *to*-infinitive in OE provides yet another argument in favour of our claim that *to* was a preposition. This goes along with Stowell's (1981:146) *Case Resistance Principle* (CRP), which states that categories with Case-assigning features can't appear in Case positions. The CRP predicts that Case cannot be assigned to a category bearing the categorial feature [-V, -N], since this too is a Case-assigning category. In OE we see that this prediction is borne out. In fact, there is a good piece of evidence which suggests that PP must not be assigned Case. Specifically, PP may never appear in a Case-marked position such as the object position of a preposition which obligatorily assigns Case.

In the course of the 15th and 16th centuries a PF filter, which marks

combinations such as [P CP] as ill-formed, was introduced into the grammar of early ModE (see (14) above). Under the PF filter prepositions may precede infinitival clauses before *SPELLOUT* but are deleted subsequently. The fact that prepositions may precede infinitival clauses before *SPELLOUT* provides a simpler representation of the relation between *ordinary* sentences and their pseudocleft counterparts. Given the fact that both *fors* are found in the pseudocleft surface string (see (9) and (10) above), it seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that preposition deletion is available as an independently motivated rule, deleting the preposition *for* before (non)finite overt CP-complements as we saw in section one. The immediate question which arises is: how did the [P CP] filter arise? To answer this question we would like to propose that the loss of *to*-infinitives as complements of prepositions, and the consequent development of the C-position as a potential accusative Case-licensing position made this position, as it were, hostile to the preceding preposition, which had to delete. In other words, the [P CP] filter may have originated due to CRP once C becomes activated as an accusative Case-licensing position.

Throughout the MidE period, the *for* in (35) was undoubtedly a pure preposition.

(29) a. wher it be leeful *for a man to leve* his wijf

whether it is lawful for a man to leave his wife

(1382 Wyclif Matt. xix,3; Mustanoja (1960: 383))

'whether it is lawful for a man to leave his wife'

b. it is no maystrye *for a lord to dampne* a man withoute answer or word

it is no mystery for a lord to condemn a man without answer or word

(Chaucer *LGW* 386; Benson (ibid: 599))

'it is no mystery for a lord to condemn a man without answer or word'

Then, some kind of Diachronic Reanalysis of the preposition *for* seems to have taken place. Put another way, as a result of the Diachronic Reanalysis by which it became impossible for infinitival clauses to be selected by prepositions and the development of the C-position as a potential accusative Case-licenser, the reanalysis of the preposition *for* as a complementiser took place, as in (30). This *for* came to take on the function of a complementiser.

(30) a. *for us to levy* power Proportionate to th'enemy is all unpossible

(1594 Shakespeare *Rich III*,III,ii,2)

b. too light *for such a swaine as you to catch*

(1596 Shakesp. *Taming Shrew* II,i,205; Visser (ibid: §961))

c. she is now coming to town in order *for me to make* my addresses to her

(1749 Fielding *Tom Jones* XIV,IV; Visser (ibid: §952))

d. Elizabeth saw that he was anxious *for her sister and herself to get acquainted*

(1797 J. Austin *Pride &Prej.* 233; Visser (ibid: §945))

On the basis of such examples, we postulate that the C-position is an accusative

Case-licensing position and that one overt morpheme can realise the Case properties of this position, i.e. the complementiser *for*. While ModE has this property, MidE lacks it. The parameter responsible for this difference is the C-parameter: C is a potential Case-licensing position in ModE but not in MidE. This reasoning parallels Kayne's (1981) account of the differences between French *de* and ModE *for* in terms of the inability of the former versus the ability of the latter to govern and Case-mark a lexical DP in the lower clause . Given the significant occurrence of *for* as a complementizer in early ModE (i.e. from 1600 onwards) I take this period to be the date of the establishment of C as a potential accusative Case-licensing position. I will return to this point below where I provide further empirical evidence supporting it.

The Diachronic Reanalysis of *for* as complementiser was preceded by the reanalysis of the [DP to VP] construction in which the DP, which used to function as the indirect object of matrix predicate in OE, is interpreted as the argument of the infinitival verb. Fischer (1988) believes that the [DP to VP] construction was reanalysed before the [for DP to VP] construction because it is older than the new interpretation. Fischer (ibid: 79ff) suggests that the new interpretation of the DP following *for* was made possible by changes such as (i) the gradual loss of inflections, (ii) the rigidification of word order and (iii) the change in basic word order from SOV to SVO. To show how changes (ii) and (iii) affected the [DP to VP] construction she assumes that the OE example in (31) would have the underlying structure in (31') and that the MidE example in (32) would have (32') as the underlying structure:

(31) genoh bið *munece* [dat.sg.] two tunecan *habban*

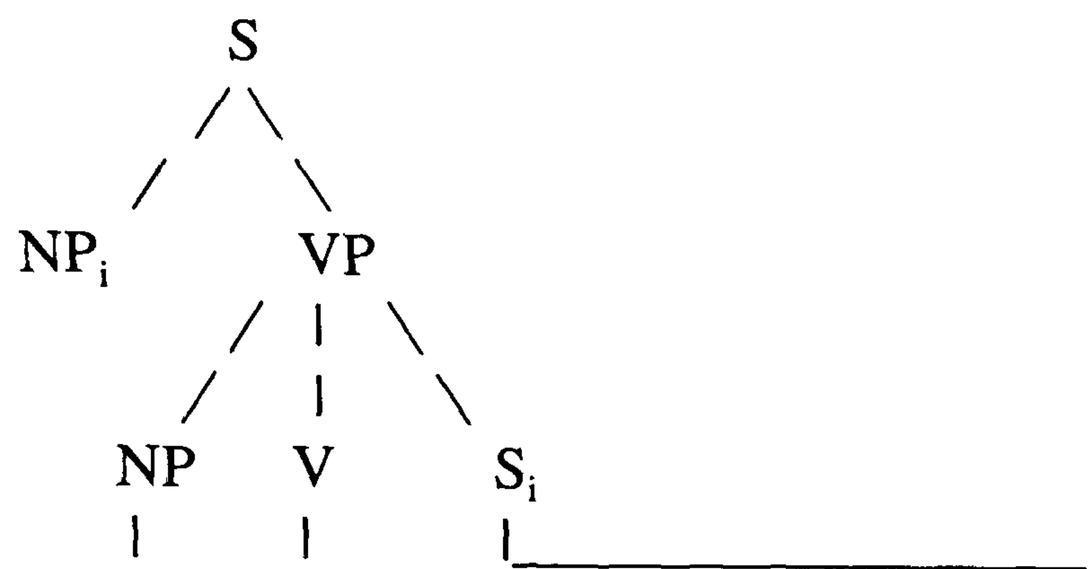
enough is to-monk two garments have

(Ben. *Rule*, Visser (ibid: §951)) (Fischer's (38))

(32) if it be a foul thing *a man* [obl.sg.] *to waste* his catel on wommen

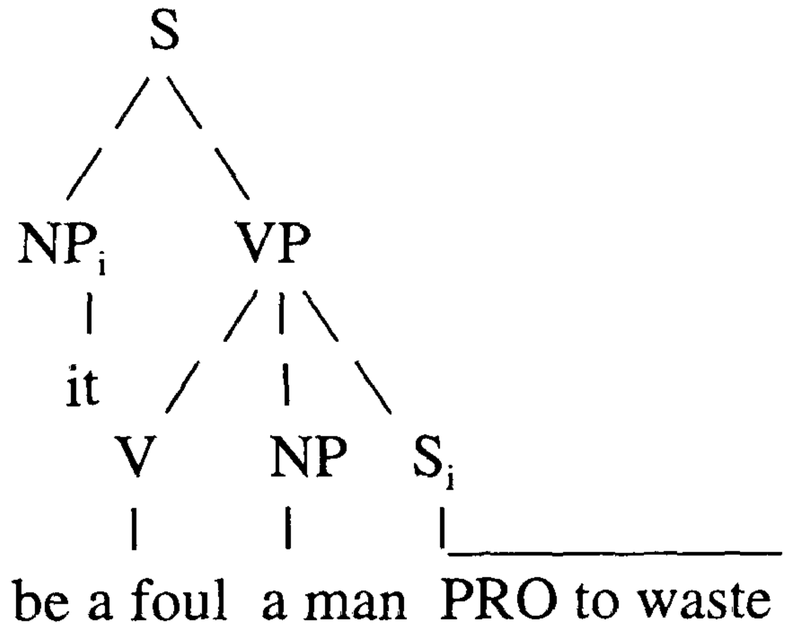
(Chaucer *Pars.T.* Benson (ibid:)) (Fischer's (39))

(31')



(Fischer's (40))

(32')



(Fischer's (41))

The fact that the NP *a man* and the infinitival verb are adjacent in underlying structure (and surface structure) triggered the reanalysis. This reanalysis couldn't take place in OE because the benefactive DP and the infinitival verb were not adjacent. We endorse Fischer's analysis but do not wish to go into the details of word order change. For more on this point, see Bean (1983), Canale (1978), Lightfoot (1979, 1991), van Kemenade (1987), and Roberts (1995).

The change from preposition to complementizer is represented in (33) :

(33) a. predicate $[_{PP}$ for $DP_i]$ $[_{CP}$ PRO_i to VP]===>

b. predicate $[_{CP}$ $[_{C'}$ for $[_{AgrSP}$ DP to VP]]]

The complementiser status of *for* in (33b) is strongly supported by the attestation of constructions like (34) and (35) where *for* is followed by existential *there*, expletive *it* and inanimate DPs, i.e. DPs whose reference is not to living things like persons and animals. Inanimate DPs cannot bear benefactive θ-roles, and hence cannot occur in structures like (33a).

(34) a. it is impossible *for there ever to be* a conflict between our two countries

(1931 Curme (p.191); Visser (ibid: §914))

b. he made arrangements *for it to happen*

(1948 Irwin Shaw *The Young Lions* 418; Visser (ibid: §953))

c. it looks bad, first, to omit to mention having been on the scene a few hours before a murder is committed; and then *for it to be* discovered that you had had some sort of dispute with the dead man

(1952 Bingham, *My Name is Sibley* (Penguin) 167; Visser (ibid: §914))

(35) a. *ffor clerer vndirstonding to be had* of oure soulis powers now spoken of in þis

for clearer understanding to be had of our soul's powers now spoken of in this firste trouþe good it is to reede in þis parti of þis book

first truth good it is to read in this part of this book

(c1443 Pecock *Reule of Crysten Religioun* 88b; Greet (ibid: 230))

b. it was the Custom *for every great House* in England *to keep* a tame Fool

(1711 Adison *Spec.no* 47; Visser (ibid: §914))

c. the Chieftain made a signal *for the pipes to cease*

(1814 W. Scott. *Waverley (tauchn)* 142; Visser (ibid: §952))

d. it is impossible *for such a catastrophe to overtake* us

(1886 Baring Gould *Court Royal I*, III; Visser (ibid: §914)

It is evident that the only possible structure for these examples is (33b), i.e. where the Diachronic Reanalysis of *for* has taken place. In (35a), for example, the string *ffor clerer vndirstonding* occupies the subject position and hence cannot be a PP. (35a) also shows that *clerer vundirstonding*, which is the passivised object of *to have*, is the subject of the lower clause, and that *for* is not a preposition but a complementiser. Now we can turn to further empirical evidence supporting the proposal that the C-position emerged as a potential Case-licensing position.

Our proposal that the C-position emerged as an accusative Case-licensing position is independently supported by the emergence of ECM constructions in the 15th

century, as the examples in (36) illustrate:

(36) a. *y bileeue his holy vniuersal or general chirche to be*; *y bileeue forgeuenes of*

I believe his holy universal or general church to be; I believe forgiveness of

synne to be; *I beleeue euerlasting liif to be* or to come

sin to be; I believe everlasting life to be or to come

(c1445 Pecock *The Donet* 48a,5-7; Hitchcock (ibid: 104))

b. *those...whome* he *belieueth to belieue* wrongly

those whom he believes to believe wrongly

(1533 St.T. More Wks 886 G5; Visser (ibid: §2079))

c. wea... aucht *to belief ðame to be* plege of oure resurrection

we ought to believe them to be guarantor of our resurrection

(c1561 Kennedy *Ane Compendious Resoning* 169,7; Visser (ibid: §2079))

'we ought to believe them to be guarantor of our resurrection'

d. I cannot *believe this crack to be* in my dread mistress

(1611 Shakesp. *Winter's T.* I,ii,321; Visser (ibid: §2079))

We would like to propose that infinitival complements of accusative subjects not introduced by an overt complementiser are nonetheless headed by a phonologically null complementiser [ϕ]. This proposal was made by Kayne (1981) who postulated an abstract preposition in Comp which transmits Case to the infinitival lexical subjects after

undergoing a (successful) process of reanalysis with the matrix verb. Under the present proposal, *believe*-type verbs take a null complementiser which shares with ModE *for* the ability to realise the Case property of the C-position but differs from it in having no phonetic content. This means that the accusative Case realised on the embedded infinitival lexical subject is a property of the C-position and not of the matrix predicate. This fact rules out Kayne's (1981) extra requirement on the null complementiser to undergo a process of reanalysis with the matrix verb and then transmit the Case features of that verb. Notice that the infinitival subjects in (36) are lexical and therefore must check their accusative Case features in order for the constructions to converge. Assuming that C has the Case-licensing feature as an intrinsic property (listed in the lexical entry) and that the null complementiser in (36) realises this property of C, the natural assumption is that the lexical subjects raise at LF to the [Spec, CP] position to check their accusative features. (This presupposes that [Spec, CP] is an A-position. I have nothing to say about this here).

We would like to point out that constructions like (36) did not occur in OE and MidE.[5] They appeared in ModE. One crucial question arises in connection with this: (i)

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Lightfoot (1981a) accounts for the appearance of ECM constructions by positing that a new rule of S-bar deletion was introduced into the grammar of MidE as a result of the Latin *accusativus cum infinitivo* constructions being adopted. The possibility of foreign influence is not considered likely by most linguists (including Lightfoot (1981b: 357; 1991: 84)), but it could not be altogether overlooked (cf. Warner (1982) and Fischer (1989)). Such a possibility could be assumed only if the two languages had been in close contact. As is well-known OE was influenced by Latin (see in particular Blatt (1957), Fisiak (1957) and Sørensen (1957)), and so the question that arises is why didn't these constructions appear in OE? Fischer (1989) points out that the small number of examples of ECM constructions in OE is attributed to literal translation of Latin accusative and infinitive constructions. Fischer believes that the accusative and infinitive constructions attested in OE do not form a homogeneous group, and that Latin influence

why didn't ECM constructions exist in OE and MidE? In order to answer this question, I would like to propose that ECM constructions couldn't have existed because C wouldn't license Case. This proposal provides a straightforward account of the OE and MidE facts. Once C became activated as an accusative Case-licensing position, ECM constructions started to appear in the grammar of ModE.

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cannot be disregarded once we have differentiated the group of verbs that allow accusative and infinitive constructions into different types. She believes that ECM constructions without Latin influence appeared in MidE as a result of the word order change from the OE SOV to MidE SVO.

Lightfoot (1991: 79) argues that ECM constructions arise as a by-product of the new verb-object order, a conclusion independently arrived at by Fischer (1988) and (1989). Lightfoot chooses to account for the rise of ECM constructions by assuming that the infinitival marker *to* may coalesce with a verb that governs it and transmit properties of head-government and Case. In order to justify his analysis, Lightfoot (ibid: 87) adopts the following clause structure:

(i) $_{S'}$[Comp $_{S}$[NP INFL VP]]

The adoption of the S' notation, where INFL acts as the head of S', is deliberate. The rationale behind this adoption is to suit the standard definition of government that Lightfoot (1991: 27; 87) proposes. There are two difficulties with Lightfoot's approach. Firstly, this approach fails to account for the status of *to* in the [for DP to VP] construction. Lightfoot actually gives one example of the [for DP to VP] construction:

(ii) I want (for) Kim to win

In (ii) *Kim* is governed by *for*, always present underlyingly with such verbs, which may be deleted by a post-S-structure process. Under the analysis proposed here, the deletion of *for* after *want*-type verbs is an indication that the accusative Case realized on the infinitival lexical subject is a property of the C-position. In (ii) the Case features of C can be realized either overtly by *for* or covertly by the null complementiser [ϕ]. In both cases the Case features of C are activated by the presence of a lexical DP in its checking domain. Where the lower subject is PRO, as in *(John wants [$_{CP}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ PRO to go home]])*, the Case features of C are deactivated, and so neither *for* nor [ϕ] can appear in the C-position. Secondly, it is difficult to see why Lightfoot excludes P from the category of head-governors. Considering the examples in (34) and (35) above, we see that the infinitival marker *to* is not governed by a head-governor, hence coalescence does not take place. A skeptic might question this selectivity!

One question remains, how the language learner can have enough evidence to fix the parameter for the new interpretation of the [for DP to VP] construction. Under the theory of language change developed in Roberts (1992) and adopted in this thesis, I make the following suggestions. Firstly, the appearance of *for* before the [DP to VP] infinitival constructions can be taken to be a Step towards diachronic change. Secondly, the reanalysis of *for* from preposition (33a) to complementiser (33b) is an example of Diachronic Reanalysis. We can think of DRs as relations between the E-language of one generation and the I-language of a subsequent generation, i.e. the parents' E-language and the child's I-language. Thirdly, there is the notion of parametric change. I suggest that the change from (33a) to (33b) is a change in the value of the C-parameter. The C-parameter can be formulated in the following way:

(37) **(Nonfinite) C is a potential accusative Case-licensing position**. (True/False)

Assuming that parameters are binary (i.e. they have different values), a child acquiring ModE will have to fix the relevant value for the C-parameter indicated above on the basis of his/her trigger experience. The child's triggering experience consists of positive data about the ability of *for* and [ϕ] to realise the intrinsic Case property of the C-position. The difference between MidE and ModE can then be captured by the changed value assigned to the parameter in (37).

To summarise this section: we saw that there is compelling evidence for the postulation of preposition deletion before infinitival clauses. We argued that the loss of *to*-infinitives as complements of prepositions triggered the Diachronic Reanalysis of *for*

as a complementiser, and, consequently, the C-position became a potential accusative Case licenser. We proposed that the [P CP] filter may have originated due to CRP once C becomes activated as an accusative Case-licensing position.

7.4. Conclusion

On the basis of morphological and syntactic evidence we gave an explanation for the rise of [for DP] in the [for DP to VP] construction both as a complement of matrix predicates and as a subject of the infinitive. It has been shown that the rise of *for* before the [DP to VP] construction was triggered by the loss of dative case. It has also been shown that the subject construction, which appeared in the 16th century, was made possible by the fact that *to*-infinitives ceased to be subcategorised by prepositions, and the consequent development of the C-position as a potential accusative Case-licensing position. We consider these two changes to be connected to the DR of *for* in (33). The C-position has an intrinsic Case-licensing feature which can be realised either overtly by *for* or covertly by the null complementiser [ϕ]. Independent evidence was drawn from ECM constructions which, we have proposed, are headed by the null complementiser [ϕ].

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