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THE ACCUSATIVE WITH INFINITIVE
AND SOME KINDRED CONSTRUCTIONS
IN ENGLISH

BY

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PREFACE

Perhaps no construction has been the object of so deep-rooted a misconception or of so oft repeated a misstatement as that which goes by the name of accusative with infinitive. The prevalent notion concerning the construction, that it is of fifteenth century origin and due to Latin influence, is indorsed by such scholars as Professor Jespersen. But the presence in Old English of a number of clear examples of accusative with infinitive makes it evident that the statement is in need of qualification. It was for the purpose of ascertaining the truth concerning this construction that the present dissertation was undertaken.

After a review of the various theories which have been advanced during the last century in regard to the origin and development of the accusative with infinitive, the writer briefly examined the status of the construction in a number of the Indo-Germanic languages. This was done with a view to determining its earliest phases in each language and the elements possessed in common by all. The examination was in the nature of a critical summary of the most important contributions on the subject in the separate dialects. The extent of the construction in Old English was next investigated. All the poetical texts were read, and on these, as being least subject to the contamination of Latin influence, the chief emphasis was laid. A number of original prose texts and translations were also read for the purpose of observing whether there was any distinct difference in the usage. In the Middle English period, five or six texts were chosen from each century. The selection was made from poetry and prose, and with a view to having the learned, the courtly, and the popular styles all represented. In many

cases texts were not read in their entirety, if a perusal of several hundred pages revealed a general uniformity in usage and no striking peculiarities. After the middle of the sixteenth century, when the construction may be considered to have attained its full development, a number of Shakespeare's plays and an equal amount of the prose of representative writers of successive periods was examined, for the sake of noting the extent of modern usage and the relative employment of the construction by various writers.

In illustrating the development of so common a construction it was, of course, inexpedient and unnecessary to make exhaustive citations from the texts examined. In the case of the more common and obvious phases, such as that of the active infinitive employed after verbs of causation and sense perception, only a few examples after any verb are given from Old English texts and the earliest occurrences from the Middle English texts examined, no illustration being given in any case after Chaucer. The passive infinitive after these verbs, as being more important, is illustrated more fully, but not exhaustively. For the rarer manifestations of the construction—after verbs of mental perception and declaration—all the occurrences in Old English are given either by quotation or by reference, while from the Middle English only as much is given as is required to indicate clearly the course of the development. This, it may be said, involves the citation of practically all occurrences except after such very common verbs as *think* and *know*. In Modern English the construction is illustrated only after verbs of mental perception and declaration. No more than one or two quotations from a writer are made after any particular verb, references being given for other passages.

This study was begun with the sole purpose of investigating the accusative with infinitive, but the course of the investigation forced upon the writer the consideration of several peculiarly Middle English constructions which have hitherto

been crudely associated with the accusative with infinitive, but which seemed in need of a different explanation. This gave rise to the fourth and fifth chapters of this dissertation, in which the writer has attempted to classify all cases in which a substantive is used in conjunction with an infinitive. In the first of these chapters the use of a substantive with infinitive as the subject of a neuter or impersonal verb is discussed, while in the other there is grouped a series of examples illustrating a very striking use of the infinitive with imperative force in Middle English, together with some other miscellaneous usages. The examples for these two chapters were chosen from scattered sources.

There only remains the pleasant duty of extending my thanks to all those who through their generous co-operation have made the existence of this dissertation possible. To Professor G. R. Carpenter I am indebted for the original suggestion of the subject. I wish to thank Professor W. W. Lawrence for numerous helpful suggestions in regard to substance and style, and for his assistance in reading proof. The Indo-Iranian section of this dissertation owes its value in the greatest measure to the supervision, both in manuscript and in proof, of Professor A. V. W. Jackson, whose kindness and courtesy it is impossible to overestimate. My thanks are due also to Professor A. H. Thorndike for useful suggestions in regard to mechanical form, and to Mr. Leo Frachtenberg for help in reading proof. But my chief indebtedness is to Professor G. P. Krapp. From the initial step in the collection of material to the reading of the last proof-sheet, his constant guidance and unfailing counsel have made easy the execution of this task. I wish to express my deep gratitude to him for his share in this dissertation.

JACOB ZEITLIN.



CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF THEORIES

The interpretation of the construction of the accusative with the infinitive which is generally found in English grammars is based on a definition which Grimm formulated without considering its historical bearings, but merely from the observation of the special Greek and Latin application of that construction. "Whenever the accusative is so joined with the infinitive," so runs Grimm's definition, "that in the conception of the whole as consisting of two parts the accusative becomes the nominative subject of the second, dependent clause, we have the construction of accusative with infinitive."¹ Since the time of Grimm this construction has been fully investigated, but the results have not been applied to English. Krickau, for instance, views the construction "apart from its origin, considered only in its further development in the classical languages."² Regarding the construction from the same point of view, Th. Müller³ and Wülfing⁴ affirm that few cases of a "genuine" accusative with infinitive occur in Old English. Its rise, indeed, is generally as-

¹ "Ueberall nun, wo ein im Satz ausgedrückter Accusativ nicht zum herrschenden Verbo, sondern zu dem abhängigen Infinitiv dergestalt gehört, dass er bei Auffassung des ganzen in zwei den Nominativ des zweiten, abhängigen Satzes gebildet haben würde, ist die Construction des Accusativs mit dem Infinitiv vorhanden: *ih weiz in waltan* zerlegt sich in die beiden Sätze *ih weiz, daz er weltit*. Auch die Phrase *ih pat in queman* ist zerlegbar in *ih pat in, daz er quami*, gewährt aber keinen Accusativ mit dem Infinitiv, weil in geschehener Auflösung das *in* noch bei *pat* verbleibt." *Deutsche Grammatik*, IV, 114.

² *Der Acc. mit dem Inf.*, 8.

³ 248.

⁴ II, 182.

signed to the fifteenth century, and is attributed chiefly to Latin influence.¹ It is the purpose of this study to investigate the beginnings of this construction in English, to examine its kinship with the accusative and infinitive of other Indo-Germanic dialects, and then to trace its growth and development through the successive periods of the English language. But a glance at the leading theories in reference to the origin of the construction, which have been advanced during the past century, may first be of interest.

One of the earliest theories regarded the construction as something ready-made; it looked upon the accusative as possessing some primitive and natural affinity with the infinitive, and it explained this affinity by the help of logic rather than of grammar.² The origin of this explanation is ascribed by Jolly to Scioppius, who, in his "Grammatica Philosophica," says that "as every finite verb has a subject in the nominative expressed or implied, so every infinitive has one in the accusative, expressed or implied."³ According to the statement of Egger, the infinitive is merely a method of subordinate expression, and this subordination is emphasized by the placing of the subject of the infinitive in the accusative case. M. Egger is aware that "this very simple but thoroughly logical explanation may seem astonishing at first sight," but he advises his readers to go to the Greek and Latin literatures and become convinced "that it is the only true one."⁴ This, also, is essentially the view which had previously been expressed by Humboldt, who had remarked that the construction ought more properly to be called infinitive with accusative, because it is the former element which determines the case of the substantive. The infinitive,

¹ Jespersen: *Growth and Str. of Eng.*, 127; Schmidt: *Lang. of Pecoock*, 119; Krickau, *passim*; Gaertner, 103.

² Gernhard, 10.

³ Jolly, 245.

⁴ *Notions Élémentaires*, 136; *Apollonius Dyscole*, 256-257.

he said, represents the change from an independent to a dependent position; in that position it is governed by the main clause, and, in turn, governs all the elements of its own clause; therefore it must change the original nominative into a dependent case, the accusative, which, however, remains the logical subject of the infinitive.¹

Opposed to this explanation by logic is the theory of the psychological school. This interpretation, first suggested by Koch,² and more fully developed by Schmitthenner,³ has been very vigorously, almost fiercely, defended against all opposition by Schömann.⁴ The infinitive, according to the view of Schömann, always stands in some position of dependence, whether the idea on which it depends is expressed in some verb or not. Even when not grammatically the object, the infinitive is invariably the object logically, and therefore any noun which is employed as its subject is inevitably felt as the logical object and must be expressed by the only case which is capable of indicating an objective relation, the accusative. He scouts the very pointed objection of Miklosich, which is that cases denote grammatical, not logical relations, and he seems to forget, as Albrecht points out,⁵ that the dative and genitive cases, as well as the accusative, may indicate an objective relation. Schömann treats those cases in which the construction in question is the grammatical, as well as the logical object, as of secondary interest,⁶ and he adds that the German language does not have and cannot possibly have the construction as it is found in Greek and Latin;⁷ why

¹ *Indische Bibliothek*, 117 ff. The same view is to be found in Steinthal: *Log. Gram. u. Psych.*, 371-372; Reisig: *Vorlesungen*, 806 note.

² *De Linguarum Indole*, quoted by Jolly, 248.

³ 161 ff.

⁴ *Redetheilen*, 46; *Zur Lehre v. Acc. c. Inf.*, 221-222.

⁵ 8.

⁶ *Zur Lehre v. Acc. c. Inf.*, 222.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 237.

this should be so, in spite of the psychological basis of the idiom, he thinks it “unnecessary” to explain.¹

But this interpretation of the accusative with the infinitive has within recent years received a more scientific exposition. In his “Lateinische Moduslehre,”² Dittmar maintains that the construction was developed from the accusative with infinitive used in exclamations. For example, when Titus learns that Gaius has been elected consul, he exclaims *Gaium consulem esse creatum!* and then adds *Admodum gaudeo!* or *Quis tibi istud dixit?* In the course of time these two originally independent sentences coalesce into a single sentence, and thus there arises the feeling that the accusative with the infinitive is to be employed after verbs expressing an emotion. The theory is further elaborated by Professor F. W. Thomas.³ He starts from the nominative with infinitive which is sometimes employed in Sanskrit to denote a mere predication; thus *sōmō mādāya* may mean *soma is for intoxication* or *soma is intoxicating*. This construction is used most frequently in wishes and commands and can be directly connected with the Greek idiom in which the infinitive is employed in an analogous manner:

ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀχαιοὶ
εὐρύν θ' ὑψηλὸν τε τιθήμεναι *Iliad*, 23, 246-7.
Then that the Greeks must make. . . .

When no subject is expressed, as *Iliad*, 14, 501:

εἰπέμεναι μοι Τρῶες ἀγαοῦ Ἰλιονῆος
πατρὶ φίλῳ καὶ μητρὶ γοήμεναι
Ye Trojans (standing) near Ilioneus, *bid* his father and mother weep

we have an exclamation parallel to general directions with the infinitive in German, such as the sign “nicht hinauslehnen” posted in railway carriages. “Now in these cases,”

¹ *Ibid.*, 238.

² 311.

³ *Classical Review*, XI, 372 ff.

Professor Thomas continues, "except where the second person is concerned, the accusative with the infinitive is incomparably the more common . . . in wishes even of the first person, while in commands we find it in Homer with the third person, and in later Greek it is the ordinary idiom for laws, decrees, and commands, and occurs with the greatest frequency in both inscriptions and books."

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἢ Αἴαντα λαχεῖν ἢ Τυδέος υἱόν *Iliad*, 7, 179.
Would that Ajax or Tydeus' son should obtain the lot.

But why have we an accusative in this construction and not a nominative? To assume an ellipsis is unsatisfactory, and "if no word is to be definitely understood, then we have a new idiom: and if so, how old? I think it belongs to the *Ursprache*. . . . If we assume that the primitive tongue employed an accusative of the subject and predicate in simple acclamations, and that such acclamations were used or could be used in the special sense of commands, wishes, expressions of surprise or admiration, then the whole question will be near solution." He professes to find just such an idiom in Sanskrit after the particle *ed*, e. g.,

éyāya vāyúr *éd dhatām vrtrām* *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 4. 1. 3. 4.
Vayu went and lo! Vṛtra slain

and he considers this expression parallel to the English *him to do such a thing*, which he terms "the natural and usual expression of which the corrected form with *he* is merely an artificial variant." A cognate idiom, likewise, is the Latin *me miserum* and the Greek ὦ ἐμὲ δειλαιον, since the subject and predicate in the accusative are strictly analogous to the accusative with the infinitive. "There is therefore no reason for questioning the great antiquity of the construction. The fact being ascertained, we may well postpone the inquiry into its explanation. . . . In English also we feel the appropriateness of the idiom and we may

say that in any exclamation the subject when felt as an object would take the accusative case." The last statement is obviously a reassertion of Schömann's theory. "It follows at once" concludes Professor Thomas, "that in that large class of cases where the construction is dependent upon intransitive verbs (*a*) of *surprise, indignation*, and other emotions, (*b*) of *will and desire*, the hypotactic construction may be simply and directly derived from an original parataxis. We may compare also expressions, common in vulgar English, such as 'It is a shame *him to have treated us so*,' which are patently derived from an earlier parataxis."

One of the earliest grammatical explanations of our construction was suggested by a contributor to the "Heidelbergsche Jahrbücher der Litteratur" (1816).¹ He treats the infinitive as the direct object of a verb of *feeling or declaring* and the accusative as the case of specification, introduced to define more narrowly the scope of the infinitive. This writer is followed in essentials by Max Schmidt, who asserts that, whether the infinitive be dependent or independent, the accusative is always introduced to limit or define it.²

That the case of the noun is due to its relation to the main verb was asserted as early as the second century by the Greek grammarian, Apollonios Dyskolos, but the view had received scant courtesy from the philosophical grammarians.³ It was first reiterated in modern times by Wachsmuth,⁴ who declared that the accusative was directly dependent on the finite verb and that the infinitive was then joined to the accusative; but neither Wachsmuth nor the Heidelberg contributor explain why the infinitive should be used in the

¹ Quoted by Gernhard, 3, note 4.

² *Ueber den Inf.*, 40. Reising, *op. cit.*, 805-808, also adopts this view, though he later subjoins a note retracting it. Billroth in his *Latin Grammar* and Thiersch in his *Greek Grammar* likewise accept this interpretation; see Jolly, 247.

³ Cf. *Apoll. Dysk.*, 255-257.

⁴ *De Acc. c. Inf., Disputatio*, quoted by Gernhard, 2.

place of a finite verb.¹ Bopp's discussion of this idiom is somewhat more interesting. A finite verb, he says, may be doubly transitive: one of its objects may be a noun expressing an abstract action or quality, *i. e.*, an infinitive, while another accusative of a person may also be directly dependent upon it. The accusative in such a construction should not be called the subject of the infinitive, since it is the subject only logically and not grammatically. Its connection with the main verb is closer than with the infinitive.² In the sentence *I saw him fall*, *him* and *fall* are two coordinate objects of the verb *saw* and stand in apposition to each other (*I saw him and fall*), but that the action expressed by the second object applies to the first, personal object is quite clear from the context, though it is not indicated by the form.³ For those cases in which the accusative of the person or thing is not directly governed by the main verb, Bopp adopts the same explanation as had been suggested by the Heidelberg writer and Schmidt, calling the accusative one of specification.⁴

The first scholar to employ the methods of comparative syntax in investigating our construction was Miklosich, but his conclusions were not of a very satisfactory nature. He found that in Gothic and Church Slavonic the dative case is frequently employed where the other Indo-Germanic dialects require the accusative, that, in fact, both the languages mentioned have a dative with infinitive construction corresponding to the ordinary accusative with infinitive. Since these two constructions are quite indistinguishable, they must, in his opinion, be traced to a common origin. It is obviously absurd, Miklosich adds, to seek for the explanation in the relation of the noun to the finite verb, since the same verb

¹ Cf. Albrecht, 14.

² *Conjugationssystem*, 75.

³ *Vergleichende Grammatik*, III, 322.

⁴ *Conjugationssystem*, 76 ; *Vergleichende Grammatik*, III, 317-321.

cannot take either an accusative or a dative case after it. Therefore we must find our explanation in the nature of the infinitive itself: its nominal origin makes it necessary that its subject should be in an oblique case, either the dative or accusative.¹ In attempting to account for the phenomenon of an accusative being used as the subject, Miklosich makes this surprising statement: since the original significance of the accusative is, and must forever remain, a secret, it is impossible for any one to explain this particular use of the accusative by reference to its primitive signification.² This is a statement which most students of comparative grammar do not accept as final. But Miklosich's chief error lies in his assumption that there is a close inner connection between the dative and accusative cases which makes them parallel in function.

It was Curtius who, in his "Griechische Schulgrammatik," made a suggestion which greatly illuminated the history of the construction. He thus stated the usage in Greek: when the subject of an infinitive is expressed, it is placed in the accusative case, whence the construction of accusative with infinitive. Not only the content of a declaration or a perception, but the result or consequence of an action may be expressed by the construction. It is thus found after verbs of *happening, demanding, commanding, forbidding*. The accusative is really dependent upon the verb of the main clause and is to be explained by prolepsis. For example, the sentence *ἤγγειλαν ὅτι ὁ Κῦρος ἐνίκησε* might be rendered *ἤγγειλαν τὸν Κῦρον ὅτι ἐνίκησε*, and then the infinitive *νικῆσαι* might be substituted for the clause *ὅτι ἐνίκησε*.³

¹ *Ueber den Accusativus cum Infinitivo*, 490-493.

² *Ibid.*, 505.

³ §§ 567-568. The proleptic explanation had already been suggested by Wachsmuth and Füisting (*Commentatio de Natura Acc. c. Inf.*), but neither of these men, as Albrecht (p. 13) remarks, had accounted for the use of an infinitive in place of a clause. After Curtius it was taken up by Delbrück (*Grundlagen der Griechischen Syntax*, 124-125) Albrecht, (13-14), Lindskog (*Eranos*, I, 129).

The use of the infinitive is here to be accounted for by its locative origin: 'they announced Cyrus *in conquering*.' But it was in justifying, against Schömann's objection, the use of the construction after impersonal verbs that Curtius enunciated his most important contribution. Although the accusative, he writes, was first governed by the main verb, yet syntactic feeling went so far astray that the case which stood close to the infinitive became entirely abstracted from the main verb and was construed as a concomitant of the infinitive, and hence, in time, came to be used with those intransitive verbs which, without an accompanying infinitive, would not admit an accusative case.¹ Curtius further notes that such modern usage as *ich höre ihn reden* or *ich heisse ihn kommen* does not differ radically from the special classical construction, but that in German the relation of the accusative to the main verb has never slipped from consciousness. This statement will be seen to apply with even greater force to the English use of the construction.

Curtius' ideas were taken up by a number of his own pupils and other disciples and were by them elaborated and modified. Jolly, for instance, thinks that the construction grew from such verbs of *causing* and *saying* as were originally followed by an accusative and that all subsequent developments are due to the operation of analogy.² The chief value of the investigations by Fleischer and Albrecht of Homer's use of the construction, consists in their demonstration of the gradual extension of the idiom. Both Albrecht³ and Fleischer⁴ assert that only the accusative was originally dependent on the main verb and that the infinitive merely had a sort of limiting, epexegetical force, but no connection what-

¹ *Erläuterungen*, 198-199. See also Fleischer, 25-26; Albrecht, 20; Wilhelm: *De Inf.*, 64-66; Schmalz: *Lateinische Syntax*, II, 288; von Planta: *Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, II, 438; Krickau, 5-6.

² 202-203.

³ 1 ff.

⁴ 7-10.

ever with the main verb.¹ Albrecht in particular emphasizes the locative origin as instrumental in the development of the idiom, and he supposes that the locative force was still felt in the Homeric poems; in this way he finds it possible to account for the construction with impersonal verbs.² Against this we must oppose the view of Delbrück, that, as far as syntax is concerned, the use of the infinitive can be traced back to a purely dative signification. Morphologically it may be explained as a locative or any other case, but all those cases which contributed to the development of the syntactical functions of the infinitive were in primitive times absorbed by the dative.³ In the main the two dissertations in question are taken up with showing that in Homer the vast majority of examples are those which occur after transitive verbs, which, besides the full construction, may take either an accusative alone or an infinitive alone. They further show that many of the verbs at an earlier stage of the language had a transitive force which later was lost, and by this fact they account for the construction after those verbs. Particularly instructive is the illustration by Fleischer of the possible extension of the construction from certain type words.⁴

The whole matter is made very plain by Brugmann and Delbrück. The infinitive was originally a dative noun of action, used to express purpose. The action of the infinitive did not at first need to have a distinct subject; its subject might be that of the main verb or a dative or accusative dependent upon the main verb. This forms the basis of our construction. In time the accusative, which originally belonged to the transitive verb, was attracted to the infinitive

¹ Fleischer, 32.

² Fleischer, 15-18. This view has been most strongly defended by Deecke: *Beiträge*, 35-38.

³ *Vergl. Syntax*, II, 441; Fleischer, 11.

⁴ Fleischer, 34-43.

as its subject—a confusion of syntactical relations which was produced, partly, by analogy to dependent clauses with a distinct subject (cf. ‘I saw *him* flee’ with ‘I saw *that he* fled’). Later, verbs which were never associated with an accusative object assimilated the construction.¹ The manner in which this confusion of syntactical relations might sometimes come about is illustrated by Lindskog.² He points out that in very early Latin the accusative was employed after a large number of words with which it could not be used in later Latin. In the sentence *sentio eum fecisse*, for instance, the accusative and infinitive were originally separate objects dependent on the main verb, but, when it was no longer possible to construe *eum* as the object of *sentio*, the only alternative was to unite *eum* with *fecisse* into a single objective conception to *sentio*, and thus it came to be treated as a separate clause.

Quite recently a psychological explanation for the construction has been suggested by Fritz Wolff.³ The latter classifies the locution under three heads: (1) where the object of the finite verb and the infinitive are present, e. g., *make him kill*; (2) where the object of the finite verb is lacking, but where the infinitive has an object dependent on itself, e. g., *make (some one) kill him*; and (3), a combination of (1) and (2), e. g., *make him kill him*. “The speaker,” Wolff explains, “when he causes the subject of the infinitive to direct his activity against an expressed object, must mentally free the subject of the infinitive from the main clause in order to gain clearness and vividness. As soon as the separation is complete, we have a certain case of accusative with infinitive.”⁴

These are the most important theories of the construction

¹ Brugmann: *Kurzvergl. Gram.*, § 807; Delbrück: *Vergl. Syntax*, II, 465.

² *Eranos*, I, 134-135.

³ *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, XXIX, 491-500.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 499-500. Cf. Thomas, 379.

which have been advanced during the nineteenth century. The clearest explanation and the one most justified by the evidence of comparative syntax is that first suggested by Curtius and finally stated by Brugmann and Delbrück. A brief examination of the various Indo-Germanic dialects, with a view to ascertaining the earliest phases of the idiom, will clearly establish this point, and it is now in order to make this examination.



CHAPTER II

THE CONSTRUCTION IN INDO-GERMANIC

(1) *Indo-Iranian*

Traces of the construction of the accusative with infinitive are to be found as early as the Vedic Sanskrit. As its basis Brugmann¹ cites the sentence,

tvám indra srávitavāi apás kaḥ RV, 7, 21, 3.
thou, O Indra, didst make the waters to flow,

in which the accusative *apas* and the infinitive *sraivitavāi* are both dependent on the predicate verb, without themselves forming a direct syntactical entity. But there is a somewhat closer connection between accusative and infinitive in the following passages with *kr*, from the Veda :²

má mātáram amuyá páttavē kaḥ RV, 4, 18, 1.
let him not cause his mother to perish so

kavím akṛṇṇutam vicáksē RV, 1, 116, 14.
ye have caused the poet to be discerning

sá nō jīvátavē kṛdhi RV, 10, 186, 2.
therefore make us to live

Bartholomae³ further supplements this class of examples :

yád im uśmási kártavē kárat tát RV, 10, 74, 6.
what we wish him to do, let him do that.

Whitney had translated the same passage “*what we wish to be done, may he do that,*”⁴ but in so doing he not only

¹Kurzvergl. Gram., II, 603.

²Kuhn's Zeitschrift, XXIX, 496.

³Beiträge, XV, 13.

⁴Sanskrit Grammar, § 982 b.

ignored the *im*, but unnecessarily ascribed a passive force to *kartavē*.

Wolff, supported by the analogy of certain Avestan examples,¹ is inclined to admit the following passages as illustrations of our idiom.²

tvāṃ ca sōma nō vāsō jīvātum ná marāmahē *RV*, 1, 91, 6.
do thou desire *us to live*, we would not die

tāthā kṛṇu yāthā ta uśmāsi iṣṭāyē *RV*, 1, 30, 12.
do so, as we wish *thee to prosper*

asmākaṃ va índram nśmasi iṣṭāyē *RV*, 1, 129, 4.
we desire *our (your) Indra to prosper you (us)*

vayāṃ vām uśmasi iṣṭāyē *RV*, 5, 74, 3.
we desire *you to prosper*

For the classical Sanskrit the following examples may be adduced:

yadi mām ca jīvitum icchasi *Sāvitrī*, V, 100.
if you wish *me to live*

rājānaṃ snātum tatra dadarśa *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 20, 6, 172.³
he saw *the king bathe there*

In addition to the very rare examples of this construction, there is found in classical Sanskrit the closely analogous idiom of an accusative with a predicate participle following a verb of wishing or of sense perception.

ahaṃ tvayā pratyabhijñātam ātmānam icchāmi *Śakuntala*, *Chez.*, 158, 6.
I wish *myself recognized by you*

tām viditvā ciraḡatām *MBh.*, I, 5962.
having known *her gone for a long time*

na vivēda gatāṃ niśām *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 64, 49.⁴
he did not know *the night gone*

¹ Bartholomae, *loc. cit.*

² Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XXIX, 491-495.

³ *Bombay Edition*, p. 89; *Brockhaus Edition*, I, 314.

⁴ Wilhelm: *De Inf.*, 65-66.

The expression “*māṃ jīvantam icchāsi*” (you wish me *living*) also occurs as a variant of *māṃ jīvitum icchāsi*.”¹

From the Avestan Bartholomae has gathered a few examples after verbs of wishing.²

yē hīm ahmāi vāstravaitīm stōi usyāt Yas., 50, 2.
he who may desire *it* (the cattle) together with the pasture *to be* his

aṭ tōi ātrēm ahurā aojōṅhvantēm ašā usēmahī asištēm ōmavantēm stōi
rapantē ciθraṅjavāṅhēm Yas., 34, 4.
Then through Asha, O Ahura! we wish thy mighty, powerful
Fire, which is inculcated, *to be* of manifest help unto the adherent.

yāng usvahī uštā stōi Yas., 46, 16.
whom we wish *to be* in happiness.

yezi vasən mazdayasna jvōdaxštēm maēθmanēm Vd, 15, 46.
if the worshippers-of-Mazda wish *a dog* in heat *to copulate*

Our construction has, apparently, a very limited range in the Indo-Iranian languages. It occurs only after transitive verbs, and, as our examples indicate, “the accusative which depends on the infinitive depends on the verb of primary declaration as its object.”³

(2) Greek

When we come to the Greek, we find a far broader development of the idiom, but it is a development which can be traced to the same sources as the Indo-Iranian construction. Its simplest and commonest form, as found in Homer, is after factitive and causative verbs, where, as in Indo-Iranian, the accusative depends directly on the main verb and serves as the logical subject of the infinitive, which also is dependent upon the main verb.

¹ Höfer: *Vom Inf.*, 123.

² *Beiträge*, XV, 13.

³ Wilhelm, 66.

πρό με πέμψε ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων
 παῖδά τε σοὶ ἀγέμεν *Iliad*, 1, 442.
 Agamemnon sent *me* to lead the child to thee

Μοῦσ' ἄρ' αἰοῖδδν ἀνήκεν ἀειδέμεναι κλέα ἀνδρῶν *Odyssey*, 8, 73.
 The Muse encouraged *the bard* to sing the exploits of the heroes

τόνδε δ' ἐγὼ τοι
 οἰχομένη πεπιθήσω ἐναντίβιον μαχέσασθαι *Iliad*, 22, 223.
 I shall go and persuade *him* to fight against him

εἰ δέ κε λίσσωμαι ὑμέας λῦσαι τε κελεύω *Odyssey*, 12, 163.
 if I implore and bid *you* to release

For other verbs of this class which admit the locution but are not ordinarily construed with an accusative as direct object, it would be easy to assume the operation of analogy. But a more satisfactory explanation is often obtained by a study of the remoter history of the governing verb. Thus we find *εἶάω* employed by Homer with a direct object in the accusative case, in the sense of *to leave*:

Ἴππους μὲν γὰρ ἔασε καὶ ἄρματα
 he left the horses and the weapons

Other meanings of this verb are *cease*, *spare*, *neglect*, *pass by*, from which its later meaning of *permit* or *allow* was developed. For this reason *εἶάω* is construed with an accusative and infinitive instead of with the dative which customarily follows verbs of *allowing*:

οὐδέ ἐ μήτηρ
σημαίνειν εἶασκεν ἐπὶ δμῳῆσι γυναιξίν *Odyssey*, 22, 426.¹
 his mother did not allow *him* to rule over the handmaids

Similarly the verbs *κελεύω* and *κέλομαι* originally had a transitive force and seem connected, according to Fleischer, with the root of *καλέω*.² The transitive force is clear

¹ Fleischer, 34-37.

² *Ibid.*, 37.

from such passages as *κέλεται δέ με θυμός* (*Iliad*, 19, 187), and *κέλεται δέ ε γαστήρ* (*Odyssey*, 6, 133), and it accounts for the much greater frequency with which Homer employs the accusative with infinitive than the dative with infinitive.¹

Verbs of sense perception offer no peculiarities in Greek and stand in no need of illustration, since such verbs are always followed by a direct object in the accusative case. But the verbs of *saying* and *thinking* are instructive in their development. The verb connected with *φημί* originally meant *to make clear* and was transitive. The signification of *saying* is derivative, and the persistence of the transitive force with the new meaning is illustrated by

εἰ περ γάρ σ' Ἔκτωρ γε κακὸν καὶ ἀνάλκιδα φήσει *Iliad*, 8, 153.
if Hector declare thee base and unwarlike

ἀνὴρ ὃν φημι . . . *Iliad*, 5, 184.²
the man whom I speak of

This verb took the accusative with infinitive very commonly, and to its influence may be ascribed the occasional use of the construction after other verbs of *saying*, assisted, often, by a lurking transitive force within the verbs themselves, as in *μυθέομαι*:

πάντας δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι *Odyssey*, 11, 517.³
I shall not name all

In considering verbs of *thinking*, Fleischer takes his departure from *οἶω* and *οἶομαι*.⁴ He is unable to adduce as clear citations as with the preceding verbs to prove their original transitive force, but he asserts that they must at one time have indicated a sense perception,—a statement which

¹ *Ibid.*, 38–39.

² Fleischer, 41.

³ *Ibid.*, 48–49.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

accusative when the latter came to be felt as the case most appropriately associated with the infinitive.¹

The extension of the idiom to intransitive and neuter verbs must be ascribed to the operation of analogy working through the cognate meanings of the various expressions. When the combination of an accusative and an infinitive into a single syntactical element became completely crystallized, it was probably found easy to transfer it from the verb *βούλομαι*, with which it was common, to the neuter verb *βουλή μοί ἐστι*.²

These few illustrations, though necessarily brief and incomplete, suffice to show that the rich and varied use of the accusative with infinitive in Greek, like its meagre and limited use in Indo-Iranian, has its origin in the relation of the accusative to the predicate verb of the main clause as its object, and does not depend on some unexplained relation between accusative and infinitive.

(3) *Latin*

In Latin our locution reached its greatest development, but here also there is no question that the usage goes back to those cases in which the accusative served as the object of the main verb. From our earliest literary monuments we find the construction employed after verbs of *making, causing, allowing, commanding, seeing, hearing, etc.* Examples such as “*tu facis me vivere*” (Plautus), “*familiam ne sieri peccare*” (Cato), are too simple to require extensive citations, and our glance at the history of the locution in Greek has shown how the construction may extend to verbs of kindred signification. The Oscan-Umbrian dialects furnish a few transition examples in which the relation between the accusative and the main verb is still very plain.

¹ Fleischer, 59-63.

² *Ibid.*, 63.

Oscan: *pod ualaemon touticom tadait ezum*
Latin: *quod optimum publicum censeat esse*

Umbrian: *pursikurent rehte kuratu eru*
Latin: *pronuntiauerint recte curatum esse*

Umbrian: *panta multa . . . eru pepurkurent*
Latin: *quanta multa . . . (adfertori) esse poposcerint.*¹

These dialects, early as they are, exemplify the construction in its fully developed stage, with the accusative, namely, in feeling quite independent of the main verb, *e. g.*,

Oscan: *pous touto deiuatuns tanginom deicans siom . . . deicum*
Latin: *ut populus iurati sententiam dicant se . . . dicere*

Oscan: *deiuatud . . . siom . . . pertumum*
Latin: *iurati . . . se . . . perimere.*²

Lindskog has pointed out³ that the wide extent of the locution in Latin is in a measure due, as in Greek, to the use of the accusative in earlier Latin after verbs which ceased to admit such a usage in the classical language. The following passages from Plautus and Terence illustrate the earlier usage:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>censeo</i> : <i>quid illum censes</i> | Terence: <i>Andria</i> , 853. |
| <i>nescio</i> : <i>illa illum nescit neque compressam autem pater</i> | Plautus: <i>Aulularia</i> , 30. |
| <i>nescio</i> : <i>deos nescio; ego quod potero, sedulo</i> | Terence: <i>Heautontim.</i> , 1038. |
| <i>dico</i> : <i>scio ut me dices</i> | Plautus: <i>Menaechmi</i> , 433. |
| <i>sentio</i> : <i>neque eo nunc dico, quo quicquam illum senserim</i> | Terence: <i>Heautontim.</i> , 554. |
| <i>spero</i> : <i>dis sum fretus, deos sperabimus</i> | Plautus: <i>Casina</i> , 346. |
| <i>deos sperabo teque</i> | Plautus: <i>Miles Gloriosus</i> , 1209. |

¹ Von Planta, II, 438.

² *Ibid.*, II, 468.

³ *Eranos*, I, 127.

<i>volo</i> : quom quae <i>te uolt eandem</i> tu uis	<i>ib.</i> , 1071.
<i>vos uolo</i> . . . et nos <i>te</i>	<i>ib.</i> , 1267.
si quid <i>te uolam</i>	Plautus : <i>Asinaria</i> , 109.
<i>nolo</i> : nolo uictumas	Plautus : <i>Pseudolus</i> , 329.
iam nolo <i>argentum</i>	Plautus : <i>Persa</i> , 127. ¹

This old use of the accusative maintained itself longest in the proleptic construction. The difference between classical usage and that of Plautus and Terence is indicated by the parallel citations below :

<i>Plautus and Terence</i>	<i>Cicero</i>
<i>nescio</i> : at pol ego <i>eum</i> , qua sit facie, nescio Plautus : <i>Poenulus</i> , 592.	Quod <i>de fratre</i> ubi <i>eum</i> uisuri esse- mus nesciebamus <i>Atticus</i> , III, 7, 3.
<i>quaeso</i> : quaeratis <i>chlamydem</i> et <i>machaeram hanc</i> , unde ad me pervenerit Plautus : <i>Curculio</i> , 632.	in quo etiam <i>de animis</i> , cuius gener- is essent, quaereretur <i>Fin.</i> , IV, 5, 82.
<i>perspicio</i> : priusquam <i>tuom</i> ut sese habeat <i>animum</i> ad nuptias perspexerit Terence : <i>Andria</i> , 377.	Nam <i>de Pollione Asinio</i> puto te per- spicere quid facturus sit <i>Fam.</i> , XI, 9, 1.
<i>scio</i> : scio equidem <i>te animatus</i> ut sis Plautus : <i>Trinummus</i> , 698.	Volo etiam <i>de naufragio Caniniano</i> scire, quid sit <i>Atticus</i> , XII, 44, 3.
<i>video</i> : vides <i>me</i> , ornatus ut sim Plautus : <i>Rudens</i> , 573.	Nunc videamus, quaero, <i>de summo</i> <i>bono</i> , quod continet philoso- phiam, quid tandem attulerit <i>Fin.</i> , XV, 6, 14. ²

The passages from Plautus and Terence in which the predicate verb is followed by an accusative case as direct object and by a proleptic clause indicate the stage from which the accusative with infinitive construction was immediately developed by the substitution of the infinitive for the proleptic clause. The accusative with infinitive is also richly exempli-

¹ *Eranos*, I, 127-128.

² *Eranos*, I, 132.

fied in the plays of Plautus and Terence. In classical Latin many of these verbs had assumed a more special meaning, and the greater precision of the language demanded the employment of a definite prepositional phrase where a rough accusative had sufficed for the earlier writers. This dissociation of the accusative from the main verb resulted in welding the former into a closer syntactical unity with the infinitive and stimulated the rapid extension of the construction in classical Latin.

(4) *Gothic*

The consideration of our construction in Gothic is beset with several difficulties. Not only is the body of Gothic literature very meagre, but what we have of it is dominated entirely by Greek, so that it is difficult to determine the normal limits which our idiom would have had if unsupported by the Greek. For this we are in part compensated by a number of divergences from the original, which, in view of the general fidelity of the translation, are significant.¹

The construction after factitive verbs is found in all the Germanic dialects; its employment in Gothic, therefore, need not be ascribed to Greek influence.

taujan : hwazūh saei afētiþ qēn seinā . . . taujiþ þō hōrinōn *Matthew*, 5, 32.
whoever puts away his wife causes *her* to commit adultery

jah gatauja *iggis wairþan* nutans mannē *Mark*, 1, 17.²
and I will make *you* to become fishers of men

That this construction was natural to Gothic is indicated by its substitution in several places for a different Greek locution, *e. g.*,

¹ The text of Streitberg's new edition of the *Gotisches Elementarbuch* (1906) has been consulted in all possible instances, and it has not been found to affect, in the case of this construction at least, the customary inferences concerning the translator's usage.

² Also, *Mark*, 7, 37.

<i>gatawidēdun anakumbjan allans</i> <i>ἀνεκλιναν ἀπαντας</i>	<i>Luke, 9, 15.</i>
<i>sunus þanzei wili liðan gataujip</i> <i>ζωοποιεῖ</i>	<i>John, 5, 21.</i>
<i>gawaurkjan : gawaurhta twalif du wisan miþ sis</i> <i>ἐποίησε . . . ἵνα ᾧσιν</i>	<i>Mark, 3, 14.¹</i>

Closely connected with factitive verbs in signification are *lētan*, *fralētan*, and *haitan*. According to Apelt,² words of this class cannot be said to govern the accusative with infinitive strictly, because the object belongs to the main verb rather than to the infinitive, and herein Apelt follows the narrow limits of Grimm's definition.

<i>lētan : lēt þans dauþans filhan seinans dauþans</i> <i>ἀφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκροὺς</i>	<i>Matthew, 8, 22.³</i>
<i>fralētan : jah ni fralailōt rōðjan þōs unhwilþōns</i> <i>καὶ οὐκ ἤφιεν λαλεῖν τὰ δαιμόνια</i>	<i>Mark, 1, 34.⁴</i>
<i>bidjan : bēdun ina . . . galeiþan</i> <i>ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν . . . ἀπελθεῖν</i>	<i>Luke, 8, 37.</i>
<i>haitan : haihait galeiþan siroþnjans hindar marein</i> <i>ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν</i>	<i>Matthew, 8, 18.</i>

The closeness of this use to the strict classical accusative with infinitive is more readily observed when the Gothic active infinitive is used to translate a Greek passive:

<i>haihait ina iuþhan du sis</i> <i>ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν</i>	<i>Luke, 18, 40.</i>
<i>haihait wōrþjan du sis þans skalkans</i> <i>εἶπεν φωνηθῆναι αὐτῷ τοῦς δούλους</i>	<i>Luke, 19, 15.</i>

¹ Other examples are: *Mark, 8, 25; Luke, 5, 34; John, 6, 63; II Cor., 9, 10; Skeirins, V b, VII, c.* With *gamanwjan*: *I Cor., 9, 5.*

² Pfeiffer's *Germania*, XIX, 296.

³ Also, *Mark, 7, 27; 10, 14; Luke, 4, 41; 9, 60; 18, 10; John, 11, 44; 18, 8; etc.*

⁴ Also *Mark, 5, 37; 7, 12; Luke, 8, 51.*

There are even a few examples after *bidjan* and *anabiudan* in which the accusative is entirely detached from the main verb, but these are literal translations of the corresponding Greek passages.

bidjandans, ni swarei *anst* guþs *niman* izwis II Cor., 6, 1.
 παρακαλούμεν μὴ εἰς κενὸν τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ δέξασθαι ὑμᾶς

anabiuda . . . *fastan* þuk þō *anabun* I Tim., 6, 13.
 παραγγέλλω . . . τηρήσαι σε τὴν ἐντολήν

Verbs of *seeing* and *hearing* are followed in Greek quite regularly by a substantive (in the accusative case after verbs of *seeing*, in the genitive or accusative after verbs of *hearing*) and by a participle in agreement with the substantive. This construction Gothic generally imitates faithfully, but in a few places it substitutes the accusative with infinitive and thus betrays the natural tendency of the language.

gasaihwiþ *supu* mans *ussteigan* John, 6, 62.
 θεωρῆτε τὸν υἱὸν . . . ἀναβαίνοντα

þan gasaihwiþ þata *wairþan* Mark, 13, 29.
 ὅταν ἴδῃτε ταῦτα γενόμενα

hwan *filu* *hausidēdun* *waurþan* in Kafarnaum Luke, 4, 23.
 ὅσα ἠκούσαμεν γενόμενα . . .

Examples of the customary construction with the participle are:

gasahw *mōtari* . . . *sitandan* Luke, 5, 27.
 ἐθέσατο τελῶνῃν . . . καθημένον

weis *gahausidēdun* *qirbandan* *ina* Mark, 14, 58.
 ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος

bigat *unhwilþōn* *usgaggana* jah þō *dauhtar* *ligandein* ana *ligra* Mark, 7, 30.

εὔρε τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐξεληλυθὸς καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα βεβλημένην ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης

Verbs denoting a mental action seem to be treated exactly like verbs of sense perception. The accusative with infinitive

occurs a number of times in Gothic independently of the original.

- rahnjan: ni wulwa rahnida *wisan sik* galeikō guþa *Phil.*, 2, 6.
 οὐχ ἄρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ
- þatuh rahnida in Xristaus sleiþa *wisan* *Phil.*, 3, 7.
 ταῦτα ἠγγημαι διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ζημίαν
- wēnjan: unte wēnja *mik* hwō hweilō *saljan* at izwis *I Cor.*, 16, 7.
 ἐλπίζω γὰρ χρόνον τινὰ ἐπιμεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς
- wēnja . . . swikunþans *wisan uns* *II Cor.*, 5, 11.
 ἐλπίζω . . . πεφανερῶσθαι
- munan: man auk ni waihti *mik* minnizō *gataujan* *II Cor.*, 11, 5.
 λογίζομαι γὰρ μηδὲν ὑστερηκέαι
- munandans *sik* aglōns *wrauisjan* *Phil.*, 1, 17.
 οἴμενοι θλιψίην ἐγείρειν
- gatraujan: jabai hwas gatrauaiþ *sik silban* Xristaus *wisan* *II Cor.*, 10, 7.
 εἴ τις πέποιθεν ἑαυτῷ Χριστοῦ εἶναι
- wiljan: wileidu *fraleitan* izwis þana þiudan *Judaie* *Mark*, 15, 9.
 θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῶν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων

More often the use of the accusative with infinitive after these verbs of mental perception is due to a literal imitation of the Greek.

- rahnjan: ak mais sildaleikjandans frauþins *laisein swikunþaba*
 in allaim alamannam faura *wisan* rahnidēdun *Skeirins*, VIII, b.
doctrinam . . . existere putabant
- hugjan: hugjandōna in gasinþjam *ina wisan* *Luke*, 2, 44.
 νομίσαντες αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ συνοδίᾳ εἶναι
- galaubjan: triggwaba galaubjand auk allai *Jōhannen* praufētu
wisan *Luke*, 20, 6.
 πεπεισμένοι γὰρ εἰσιν Ἰωάννην προφήτην εἶναι
- gadōmjan: eis allai gadōmidēdun *ina skula wisan* dauþau
Mark, 14, 64.
 οὐδὲ πάντες κατέκρινον αὐτὸν ἔνοχον εἶναι θανάτου
- munan: ik *mik silban* ni nauh man *gafāhan* *Phil.*, 3, 13.
 ἐμ αὐτὸν οὕτω λογίζομαι κατεληφέναι

- witan : unte wissēdun silban Xristu *ina wisan* *Luke, 4, 41.*
ὅτι ᾗδειςαν τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι
- wiljan : ne wilda witan mannan *Mark, 7, 24.*
μηδένα ᾗθελε γινῶναι
- ni wileima þana þiudanōn ufar unsis *Luke, 19, 14.*
οὐ θέλομεν τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς

Several times the active infinitive is used after *wiljan* to translate a Greek passive infinitive.

- hwaiwa wildēdi *haitan ina* *Luke, 1, 62.*
τί ἂν θέλοι καλεῖσθαι αὐτὸν

That the use of the accusative with infinitive after verbs of mental action is not foreign to Gothic, may be inferred from the frequent occurrence of an accusative with a predicate adjective or participle after verbs of this class. These two constructions are practically identical.

- rahnjan : sa mik silban wairþana rahnida *Luke, 7, 7.*
οὐδὲ ἐμαυτὸν ᾗξίωσα
- þiwōs seinans fraujans allaižōs swēriþōs wairþans rahnjainē *I Tim., 6, 1.*
δεσπότης . . . ἀξίους ᾗγελσθωσαν
- gahugjan : galauþjandan mik gahugida *I Tim., 1, 12.*
πιστὸν με ᾗγήσατο
- munan : ibai hwas mik muni unfrōdana *II Cor., 11, 16.*
μητίς με δόξη ἀφρονα εἶναι
- gamunan : gamuneis Xristu Iēsu urrisanana *II Tim., 2, 8.*
μνημόνευε Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐγγηγεμένον
- dōmjan : mōtarjōs garaihtana dōmidēdun gub *Luke, 7, 29.*
ἐδικαίωσαν τὸν θεόν
- kunnan : ei kunneina þuk ainana sunju gub *John, 17, 3.*
ἵνα γινώσκωσι σέ τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεόν
- ufkunþa maht usgaggandein *Luke, 8, 46.*
ἐγγων δύναμιν ἐξελεθούσαν
- witan : wait mannan . . . frauwilwanana þana swaleikana *II Cor., 12, 2.*
οἶδα ἀνθρώπων . . . ἀρπαγέντα τὸν τοιοῦτον

After *qīþan* Gothic generally employs a clause introduced by *ei* (*that*) instead of the Greek accusative with infinitive, the former being the regular native construction. But the original is imitated in a few passages.

hwana mik qīþand mans wisan
τίνα με λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι

Mark, 8, 27.

þaiei qīþand usstass ni wisan
λέγουσιν ἀνάστασιν μὴ εἶναι

Mark, 12, 18; Luke, 20, 27.

qōþun þeiþwōn wairþan
ἔλεγον βροντὴν γεγονέναι

John, 12, 29.¹

An examination of the foregoing examples will show that it is possible in nearly every instance to connect the accusative with the verb of the main clause as an object to it. But when the translator encountered an accusative with infinitive after an impersonal verb, he found it impossible, apparently, to render it faithfully and still preserve the Gothic idiom. When the object referred to a person, therefore, he changed the accusative case to a dative and thus brought the substantive into closer relation with the main verb as a sort of dative of advantage.²

jah warþ þairhaggan imma . . . þairh atisk
καὶ ἐγένετο διαπορεύεσθαι αὐτόν

Mark, 2, 23.

jah warþ . . . galeiþan imma in synagōgein iah laisjan
ἐγένετο δὲ . . . εἰσελθεῖν αὐτόν . . . καὶ διδάσκειν

Luke, 6, 6.

swaei mis mais faginōn warþ
ὥστε με μᾶλλον χαρῆναι

II Cor., 7, 7.

hwaiwa aglu ist þaim hugjandam afar faihau in þiudangardja guþs galeiþan
Mark, 10, 24.

πῶς δύσκολόν ἐστι τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐπὶ χρήμασιν εἰς τὴν
βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν

¹Other examples of the construction after verbs of mental action and of speaking are: *Mark, 10, 36; Luke, 19, 27; 20, 41; I Cor., 7, 7; 10, 20; 11, 13; II Cor., 4, 6; I Tim., 2, 8; 5, 14; II Tim., 2, 18.*

²Pfeiffer's *Germania*, XIX, 287-289.

It seems safe to assume with Apelt that the few instances in which Gothic employs an accusative with infinitive after an impersonal construction are slavish imitations of the Greek.

azētizō ist himin jah airþa hindarleīþan þau witōdis ainana writ
gadriusan Luke, 16, 17.

εὐκοπώτερον δέ ἐστι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν ἢ τοῦ
νόμου μίαν κεραλαν πεσεῖν

This analysis, furthermore, justifies us in construing as datives the doubtful substantives in the following sentences:

mēl ist uns us sleipa urreisan Romans, 13, 11.
ὦρα ἡμᾶς ἤδη ἐξ ὑπνοῦ ἐγερθῆναι

gōd ist unsis hēr wisan Luke, 9, 33.
καλὸν ἐστι ἡμᾶς ὠδε εἶναι

More frequently Gothic substitutes a clause with *ei* for the accusative with infinitive in such passages. The same holds true of the use after *swaswē* and *swaei* (Greek ὥστε). Generally¹ the accusative with infinitive of the original is translated by a clause, but there are sporadic cases of literal imitation.

swaei þata andaneīþō izwis mais fragīban jah gablaihan II Cor., 2, 7.
ὥστε τούναντιον μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς χαρίσασθαι καὶ παρακαλέσαι

(5) Old High German

In Old High German we are confronted by some of the same difficulties that are met with in Gothic. Much of the prose literature is translated from Latin and the rest is clearly under the influence of Latin models. It is hardly permissible to assume² that an original text like the "Evan-gelienbuch" represents the widest usage which Old High German ever had. Since the construction was on the wane

¹ E. g., Mark, 1, 27; II Cor., 3, 7; 7, 7; 8, 6; Romans, 7, 6, etc.

² As is done by Apelt: *Ueber den Acc. c. Inf. im Ahd. und Mhd.*, 12.

in Middle High German, but was even there more freely employed than in the "Evangelienbuch," we may with greater security adopt the criterion established by Denecke, that where the construction occurs in Middle High German it probably also occurred in Old High German.¹

Otfrid's relatively limited use of the accusative with infinitive is freer than that allowed by the modern German idiom. After factitive verbs the construction is fairly common.

gituon : ih tuon <i>ivvuih uuesan mannō fiscārā</i> faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum	Tatian, 19, 2. ²
gituost tu <i>mih erstān</i> thou makest me to arise	Notker, II, 29a5. ³
gifestenōn : <i>den dū dir gefestenōtōst uuesan einiclichō liēbin</i> whom you establish to be for yourself the only life	Notker, II, 289a16.
lāzen : <i>liaz thaz wuastweldi sīn</i> he caused the waste-world to be	Otfrid, I, 23, 9. ⁴

Verbs of *permitting* and *commanding* are also generally joined with an accusative and infinitive.

lāzen : wir sculun . . . lāzan <i>sīn thaz slāfan</i> we should let sleep be	Otfrid, IV, 37, 7.
heizan : <i>hiaz inan irwintan</i> he bade him turn around	Otfrid, II, 9, 52.
<i>hiaz er sie bringan thero fisgo</i> man sie hiēz legem spiritalet̃m <i>intellegere</i>	<i>Ib.</i> , V, 13, 35. Notker, II, 446b15.
bittan : bat sih <i>katrencau daz wip</i> asked the woman to give him a drink	Müllenhof u. Scherer's <i>Denkmäler</i> , X, 5.
<i>in bāten chomen</i>	Notker, II, 446b15.

¹ *Der Gebrauch des Inf., bei den Ahd. Uebersetzern*, 27.

² *Ed. Sievers.*

³ *Ed. Hattemer.*

⁴ *Ed. Erdmann.*

gibiotan : gibōt her <i>thiē jungiron stigan</i> iussit <i>discipulos ascendere</i>	Tatian, 80, 7.
lāren : lēri <i>unsih betōn</i> doce <i>nos orare</i>	Tatian, 34, 5.
wellen : willih <i>inan wonēn</i> volo <i>eum manere</i>	Tatian, 239, 3.
ni wollemēs <i>thesan rīhhison</i> nolumus <i>hunc regnare</i>	<i>Ib.</i> , 151, 3.
uuolta <i>mih uiesen sīna sponsam</i>	Notker, II, 64b12.

Besides the accusative with infinitive, these verbs also employ an accusative with a predicate adjective or participle.

lāzen : er <i>wihtes ungedān ne liaz</i> he did not leave aught <i>undone</i>	Otfrid, v, 4, 46.
in <i>caleitūt unsih ni lāzzes</i> <i>induci nos ne siveris</i>	<i>Murbach Hymns</i> , 2, 10. ¹

Verbs of sense and mental perception :

gisehan : sah <i>sī druhūn stantan</i>	Otfrid, v, 7, 44.
in imo <i>sāhun sie gotes kraft scīnan</i>	<i>Ib.</i> , II, 11, 29.
ih sah <i>in habēn gēislicha genāda</i> I perceived <i>him to have</i> spiritual grace	Notker, II, 128b14.
hōren : <i>then fater hōrt er sprechan</i>	Otfrid, I, 25, 15.
thaz ir hōrtut <i>quedam mih</i> what you heard <i>me say</i>	<i>Ib.</i> , II, 13, 5.
findan : <i>thesan fundumēs . . . quedan</i> <i>hunc inuenimus . . . dicentem</i>	Tatian, 194, 2.
chiusen : <i>chiuset tih taz kemugen</i> perceives <i>you to be able</i> (to do) this	Notker, III, 253a8.
gewār werden : sie uurten <i>guār die sangeutenna dār zu faren</i> they noticed <i>the muses go</i> there	Notker, III, 258b26.

¹ *Ed.* Sievers.

- irkennen : ih irkanta . . . *thia kraft hiar faran fona mir*
 I recognized . . . *the might go before me* Otfrid, III, 14, 36.
- wānen : wāntun *sih* geist *gisehan*
 existimabant se spiritum *videre* Tatian, 230, 3.
- wāntun *in wesan*
 existimantes *esse* *Ib.*, 12, 3.
- wānit *sih* ambaht *bringen*
 arbitretur obsequium *praestare* (accusative lacking) *Ib.*, 171, 3.
- daz man *sih* uuānet *uuesan* dīnhalb helfelose
 that one thinks *himself to be* helpless Notker, II, 206a9.
- rachōn : vuanda uuir *daz ende* geuūār rachōtōn guōt *uuesan*
 for we deemed *the end to be* good Notker, III, 149b4.
- bechnāen : ih pechnāta *mih* uuandalichin
 I acknowledged *myself* converted Notker, II, 222a9.
- wizzen : den er uueiz *sih* mugen fersueren
 whom he knows *to be able to* forswear himself Notker, II, 402a3.
- zuīvelōn : zuīvelōst tu danne *daz uuesan* naturlich ambaht tero fūozo
 do you doubt *that to be* the true service of the feet Notker, III, 168b3.
- ahtōn : *daz ahtōt* er *uuesen* *daz* pezesta
 he considers *that to be* the best Notker, III, 99b36.

There are other examples with *truwen* (Notker, III, 233b7), *gedenchan* (*ib.*, III, 336b35), *erhugen* (*ib.*, III, 166b31), and *ratiscōn* (*ib.*, III, 229b8).

This class of verbs very frequently takes an accusative with a predicate adjective or participle.

- (gi)sehan : gisāhun . . . *fisgā brātenti*
 they saw *the fish* broiling Otfrid, v, 13, 32.
- thih sulichan* gisahi
 he saw *thee* such *Ib.*, v, 20, 84.
- findan : fand *sia* drūrenta
 found *them* mourning *Ib.*, I, 5, 9.

funti ganzan sīnan sun found his son whole	<i>Ib.</i> , III, 2, 22.
wizzen: wir wizun inan firdānan we know him wicked	<i>Ib.</i> , III, 20, 108.
sie sih wēstīn reinan they knew themselves pure	<i>Ib.</i> , IV, 12, 21.
ih weiz megin fon mir ūzgangen novi virtutem de me exisse	Tatian, 60, 6.
zēlen: thaz er nan zalta sō guat	Otfrid, II, 7, 58.

The persistence of the construction after these verbs of perception in Middle High German is an indication of its genuine Germanic character. Grimm cites among other examples:

ich sach vil liechte varwe hān die heide
ich sihe si hān sō suezez leben
ich hōrtin wol den ērsten sīn
ich erkenne alle diesen Stücke wār sīn

Luther has "ich achte es billich sein," and Opitz at the end of the seventeenth century writes "acht ich es das beste sein." There are also such eighteenth century survivals as "ich habe dies geschehen zu sein mir erzählen lassen" and "da ich mich zu liegen vermerkte."¹

The accusative with infinitive after verbs of *speaking* is hardly found outside of Tatian and Notker, but we are not therefore justified in attributing it to Latin influence, since plentiful analogies exist in other Germanic dialects.

quedan: ir quedet mih werphan diwalā dicitis eicere me demonia	Tatian, 62, 3.
er chad sih finden sīn herza he said his heart to find itself	Notker, II, 306b30.
chundan: sih chundida wesam chisendida announced himself to have been sent	Isidor, 10, 11. ²

¹ Grimm: *Deutsche Grammatik*, IV, 118-119.

² Ed. Weinhold.

lichazen : lichizita *sih* rūmor *faran*
finxit *se* longius *ire*

Tatian, 228, 1.

iehen : pediu sulen uuir iehen guot *uuesen* allero dingo *ende*

Notker, III, 149b6.

we should affirm *the end* of all things *to be* good

bezeichnenen : tiu dir bezeichnenet *eteuuaz uuesan*

Notker, III, 475b30.¹

which indicates to you *something to be*

The "Murbach Hymns" once employ an accusative with a predicate participle after *sprechan* to translate a Latin accusative with infinitive.

erstantan truhīnan sprichit
resurrexisse dominum fatetur

19, 10.

Peculiar to Notker and probably due to Latin influence is the use of the locution after verbs expressing an emotion, *e. g.*,

chlagetost tu dih tir *unrehto uuesen gelōnōt*
do you complain *that injustice was done* to you

III, 40a5.²

In considering the usage with impersonal and neuter verbs we must remember that many Old High German expressions of this class govern an accusative case as direct object, *e. g.*,

ist wuntar : ist filu *manno* wuntar
great wonder is on the men

Otfrid, v, 1, 1.

wuntar was *thia menigi*
wonder was on the multitude

Ib., I, 9, 27.

ist niot : thes *thih* mag wesan wola niot
of this you it may well be pleasing (you may well rejoice at this)

Ib., v, 6, 14.

¹Other examples in Notker are found after *sprechen* (III, 506b31), *lougnen* (III, 168b), *antwurten* (III, 252b34 ; 242a8), *sagēn* (III, 203a12).

²Other examples after *riiuwen* (III, 45a3), *zihen* (III, 475b30), *zurnen* (III, 107b20).

thes ist *sic* iamēr filu niot
they are ever pleased at this

Ib., v, 22, 7.

wola ward : ward wola *thiu selbun mennisgon* *Ib.*, v, 9, 11.

When an object infinitive is added to sentences like the preceding, we have a combination which is hardly distinguishable from the free Latin accusative with infinitive. But it is quite apparent from these illustrations that the assumption of Latin influence is not necessary, that the accusative, indeed, is almost always felt as directly connected with the main verb, and that these cases, therefore, do not differ from the other categories of the accusative with infinitive which are found in Old High German.¹

gilustit : *then lesan iz gilusti* Otfrid, I, 1, 10.
whom the desire takes to read (den es verlangt)

gilimphit : *gilimfit mih gangen.* Tatian, 92, 1.
oportet me ambulare

gilamf *inan varan* *Ib.*, 87, 1.
oportebat eum transire

bifāhit : *ni bifāhit wīzagon vorwerda* *Ib.*, 92, 1.
non capit prophetam perire

In Notker, impersonal verbs with this construction seem to follow Latin models in most cases, since often the accusative has no connection whatever with the main verb, which is followed by another substantive in the dative case as indirect object.

ist offen : unde offen sī sament tein lichamen *ersterben dia uuerltsālda*
III, 68b3.
it is plain *that* together with thy body earthly happiness will perish

ist chunt : tir ist chunt . . . *alla dia erda sih kezihen uuider demo*
himile III, 84b29.
it is known to you . . . *that* the whole earth moves . . .

ist not : fone diu ist nōt, chad si, misseliche namen *habēn diu finuū*
und siu doh ein uuesen III, 124b29.
hence it is necessary . . . *that* the five should have different names
and yet be a single thing

¹ Denecke, 44.

(6) *Old Saxon*

In Old Saxon the accusative with infinitive presents no difficulties. It is found after verbs expressing a causation and a sense or mental perception, but it occurs neither after verbs of speaking nor after impersonal verbs.

- dōn** : *gehirmon duon uuir alla dāga firliċa* *Psalms, 73, 8.*
quiescere faciamus omnes dies festos
- thu mahtis an ēnon dage all teuerpan
 that hōha hūs heḅancuninges,
 stēnuuercō mēst endi eft *standan* giduon *Heliand, 5574.*
- dōit im iro *hugi twīfliēn* *Ib., 5188.*
- lātan** : Thō lēt hi *that uuerod thanan . . . sēdon* *Ib., 1986.*
- Ne lāt thu thi thīnan *hugi twīfliēn,*
merrean thīna mōdgithāht *Ib., 328.*
 2346 ; 2633 ; 4951 ; 5031 ; 5690.
- hatan** : hēt sie im thō nāhor *gangan* *Ib., 1255.*
- hēt *ina standen* up ia fan themu *graḅe gangan* *Ib., 4097.*
- hietun thuo *hōḅidband* hardaro thorno
 uuundron *uuindan endi* an uualdand Crist
selḅon settean *Ib., 5499.*
 317 ; 2117 ; 2388 ; 3571 ; 3724 ; 3860 ; 4505 ; 5508.
- biddian** : *ina gerno bad helpan* *Heliand, 2094.*
- bādun thō sō gerno *gōdan drohtin*
antlūcan thea lēra *Ib., 2578.*
- gisehan** : thō he gisah *that barn cuman* *Ib., 474.*
- uui gisāhun is *bōcan skīnan* *Ib., 599.*
 601 ; 2180 ; 2217 ; 4538 ; 5009 ; 5093 ; 5295 ; 5373.
- hōrian** : gihōrdun *uuilspel* mikil fon gode *seggean.* *Ib., 527.*
- siu gihōrda ira *barn sprekan* *Ib., 831.*
- thō sie that gihōrdun *thea magaḅ sprekan* *Ib., 2777.*
- findan** : Thō sie *Ērōdesan* thar rikean fundun
 an is *seli sittien* *Ib., 548.*
 807 ; 818 ; 4770 ; 5460.

uuitan : thar he thene ödagan *man* inne uuisse
 an is gestseli *gōme thiggean*,
sittean at sumble

Ib., 3337.

Like Gothic and Old High German, Old Saxon admits an accusative with a predicate participle or adjective after these verbs.

sehan : quāðun that sie *quican* sāhin
thene erl mid iro ögun

Heliand, 4129.

huan gisah *thi* man ēnig
bethwungen an sulicun tharaðun

Ib., 4405.

findan : fand sie *slāpandie*

Ib., 4797.

fundun *ina gifaranan* thuo iu

Ib., 5700.

uuitan ; thar hie uuissa that godes barn,
hrēo hangondi hērren sīnes

Ib., 5730.

thar sie *ina* ēr biforan *uðilan* ni uuissin,
 uuordun *faruuarhten*

Ib., 5185.

uuissun *ina sō gōden* endi gode uuerðen

Ib., 2726.

sīðor hi *ina hluttran* uuēt sundeono *sicoran*

Ib., 1719.

tellian : the sie *thō uuīsostun*

undar theru menegi manno taldun

Ib., 4467.

he *ina sō rikean* telit

Ib., 5103.

(7) *Old Norse*

The richness of Old Norse literature in the construction of the accusative with infinitive contains a suggestion of what may have existed in the other Germanic dialects whose surviving documents are too meagre to furnish an accurate measure of the extent to which they employed the locution. No better illustration of the inadequacy of Grimm's definition for the Germanic languages could be desired than the attempted application of it to Old Norse by Lund. Lund classifies his examples under two categories: one of these he calls the accusative *and* infinitive to indicate that the union between these two elements is a loose one, while he terms the

other accusative *with* infinitive because the two forms are there joined in a firm syntactical combination. But he adds that "the two sometimes run together, so that it is very difficult to make a distinction."¹ Though it is justifiable to note the distinction between the two uses, we must recognize that the latter is derived immediately from the former and that the transition from one to the other is practically unnoticeable.²

lāta : vil ek at þū lātir <i>mik vita</i>	<i>Egilss.</i> , 168.
hann lét þā fara með sem þeir vildu	<i>Sn. Edda</i> , 19.
biðja : bið ek barna sífjar duga	<i>Ægisdr.</i> , 16.
þorvaldr bað biskup fara til Íslands	<i>Kristn.</i> , 4.
sjá : hann sēr utlenda menn koma í holl fōðin sīns	<i>Alex.</i> , 2.
þā sjā þeir átján menn renna í mōti sēr	<i>Dropl.</i> , 23.
þā er guð faðir sā son sinn vilja sva gott verk gōra	<i>A. M.</i> , 675, 17.
heyra : ef þū þjōta heyrir ulf	<i>Sigurðukv.</i> , II, 22.
finna : Billings mey ek fann beðjum ā solhvīta, sofa	<i>Havam.</i> , 96.

Verbs of mental perception :

trúa : þeir trúðu hann guð vera	<i>Sn. Edda</i> , 148.
hyggja : ek hygg hann vera engan vin þinn	<i>Egilss.</i> , 169.
hygg ek nū hēr vera komna velflesta bændr	<i>Gisl.</i> , 44, 3.
engi jōtun ek hugða jafnramman vera	<i>Vafsr.</i> , 2.
hygg ek þik æpa munu	<i>Harbarslj.</i> , 47.
ætla : ekki er því at leyna, at ek ætla Urpak stólit hafa	<i>Band.</i> , 12.
þat ætla ek ybr kalla Ōdäinsakur	<i>Fornald.</i> , III, 66.
hafa : þeir hófðu hann engum fyrr sēt sitt hófuð hneigja	<i>Alex.</i> , 16.

¹ *Ordforhøjningslære*, 379.

² Cf. Falk and Torp : *Dansk-norskens Syntax*, § 128.

geta: ek get <i>Harold skjött munu hēr koma</i>	<i>Egilss.</i> , 4.
vita: veit ek öfullt ok opit <i>standa sonar skarð</i> , er mēr sjār um vaun <i>ask</i> veit ek <i>standa</i>	<i>Sonator.</i> , 6. <i>Voluspá</i> , 62, 19.
allt er þū veit í mínum hūse <i>vera</i>	<i>Hrafnk.</i> , 9.
dœma: dœmdan <i>yðr vītislaussan verða</i>	<i>Gisl.</i> , 44, 123.

Verbs of speaking:

segja: þeir sogðu <i>okkr eiga börn saman</i>	<i>Kristn.</i> , 22.
þeir sogðu <i>hann svikit hafa lánardrottinn sinn</i>	<i>Hervar.</i> , 24.
Heiðrekr segir <i>son Haralds konungs vera</i> <i>œztan</i>	<i>Hervar.</i> , 25.
eigi nennir Darius heðan af at segja <i>hamingja blinda vera</i>	<i>Alex.</i> , 46.
kveða: hann kvað þat eigi <i>vera</i>	<i>Hrafnk.</i> , 13.
Úlfr kvað <i>hann mundu þvī rāða</i> , en kvað sēr <i>mart hafa verit</i> í mōt gört af <i>Haraldi</i>	<i>Gisl.</i> , 44, 60.
þik kveð ek allra kvena <i>vergjarnasta vera</i>	<i>Ægisdr.</i> , 17.
at þū þēr <i>Frey</i> kveðir <i>öleiðastan lífa</i>	<i>Skirnism.</i> , 19.
kalla: kalla ek <i>yðr vera</i> <i>yfirkomna</i>	<i>Sn. Edda</i> , 28.
konungr kallaði <i>son Heiðreks vera</i> <i>œztan</i>	<i>Hervar.</i> , 25.
telja: tel ek <i>bræðr þína hafa fallit</i> <i>úgilda á sjálfra sinna verkum</i>	<i>Egilss.</i> , 163.
taldi <i>þræla Steinars hafa nōgar sakir</i> til <i>gört</i>	<i>Egilss.</i> , 216.
þeir tölðu <i>hann verða mundu ágætan mjök</i> at <i>afi</i>	<i>Sn. Edda</i> , 19.

Construction with predicate participle or adjective:

bidja: konungr bað <i>hann velkominn</i>	<i>Formn.</i> , 1, 16.
vilja: þeir er þik <i>vilja feigan</i>	<i>Dropl.</i> , 35.
sjā: þeir sā <i>Rómveya nær</i> <i>alla laupa þar vāpnāða</i>	<i>Gisl.</i> , 44, 149.
trūa trūir þū þann <i>guð</i>	<i>Sn. Edda</i> , 4.
vænta: væntir ek þik mēr ok þeim <i>altraustan</i>	<i>Gisl.</i> , 44, 122.

ðæma : ðæma hinn vesta mann sekjan, þjóf, ok mandrǫpsmann	Band., 18.
skilja : jarlinn skildi í því kominn endadag sinn	Form., v, 388.
vita : hann vissi sik eigi þar til mjök úlikan ok vanferan	Stjorn., 2.
sā maðr er vēr vitum mestan ok agæztan	Sn. Edda, 5.
þā konu er hann vissi vænsta	Helg. Hjorc., pref.
segja : hōn segir þā satta	Band., 14.
þing skal laust segja	Grag., 107.
kveða : Steingerðr kvað hann vānan	Korm., 18.
þik kveð ek ðblauðastan alinn	Fafnism., 23.
telja : þeir telja hana fullmjök djarfa ok úvitra	Flatey, I, 40.
jāta : jātum vēr hann guð	Sn. Edda, 4. ¹

This very free use of the construction in Old Norse is highly interesting in view of its greatly restricted limits in modern Danish. With verbs of mental perception and declaration the use has been almost extinct since the Renaissance, *finde* being practically the only verb of these categories which now admits the construction.²

(8) Summary

From a brief survey it appears that a number of the Indo-Germanic languages at a very early period in their history possessed the construction of an accusative with infinitive in its simplest and most limited form after verbs of causation—a construction in which accusative and infinitive were at first separately dependent on the main verb. In some dialects, such as the Sanskrit, it developed very little beyond

¹All the Old Norse examples are taken from Lund's *Oldnordisk Ordforlingslære*. The index to the references is to be found pp. iii–vi of his preface.

²Cf. Falk and Torp : *Norsk-danskens Syntax*, §128. For the use in Old Swedish, which scarcely differs from that of Old Norse, see Grimberg : *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, n. s., XVII, 205–235 ; 311–357.



this stage, but even Sanskrit, in the classical period, illustrates the use with verbs of seeing, and also employs a predicate participle, equivalent to an infinitive, after verbs of mental action. In all of the Sanskrit examples the main verb is unmistakably transitive, and it is this fact which determines the case of the substantive in our construction.

In Greek and Latin, where the developments were far richer, the point of departure in no wise differed from that of the Sanskrit. Originally the construction was only possible after transitive verbs which were followed by an accusative case, but through the operation of two important forces its use was greatly widened. In the first place, a number of verbs which were commonly associated with the accusative and infinitive suffered a change of meaning which involved the loss of their transitive force, and the effect of this was to dissociate the accusative completely from the main verb in these cases. It was now inevitable that the accusative should be felt as forming a strict union with the infinitive, and, when the construction became thus crystallized, the way was prepared for the operation of the second force, that of analogy. Having gained admittance after certain intransitive verbs, it naturally spread to others, and then there was no difficulty in applying it even to impersonal and neuter verbs whose meaning was akin to those with which the construction was customary.

The usage in the early Germanic dialects represents a stage intermediate between Sanskrit on the one hand and Greek and Latin on the other. All Germanic languages employ the accusative with infinitive commonly after verbs of causation and of sense perception, and quite frequently after verbs of mental perception. Gothic, and, even more, Icelandic, show the locution likewise after verbs of declaration, where the relation of the accusative to the main verb is no longer obvious. In the former, this phase of the construction has sometimes been unnecessarily attributed to the in-

fluence of Greek. In Old High German there are even instances of the use of the accusative with infinitive after neuter and impersonal verbs in documents where Latin influence is not probable. But verbs so construed are found to admit a pure accusative also. It is permissible, therefore, to assert that the use of the accusative with infinitive in Germanic is conditioned and limited by the dependence of the substantive on the verb of the main clause. Usages which violate this condition can, as a rule, be proved imitations of foreign syntax. In such surviving Germanic languages as Danish, Swedish, and German, only the faintest traces of the construction remain with verbs of mental perception, and this fact, in view of the steady development of the construction in English, is of considerable interest.

CHAPTER III

THE ACCUSATIVE WITH INFINITIVE IN ENGLISH

It was stated at the beginning of this essay that the rise of the accusative with infinitive in English has generally been ascribed to the Latin influence which set in strongly at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The unqualified nature of this belief is best represented by the following generalizations found in a recent dissertation. "Pecock's extensive use of the accusative with infinitive after this third group of verbs [mental perception] is characteristic of his style. Krickau calls him the writer 'welcher mit der Einführung des Acc. mit dem Inf. nach den Verben des Sagens und Denkens begonnen hat.' And thus much is certain, that before Pecock this construction is very sporadically to be found. Einkenkel (*Anglia*, VIII, 94 *sqq.*) gives a few examples from Chaucer (after *conferme, deeme, holde, wite*) and two from O[ld] E[nglish] after *weene*. In Wycliffe's sermons I have found: '*sixe thingis tellith Crist to come in his passioun*' p. 106; '*he seith his apostlis to be hise friendis*,' p. 170. If Peacock may thus be termed the introducer of this kind of accusative with infinitive, yet it was a considerable time before the construction became really incorporated in the English language. According to Krickau (*ibid.*, p. 19) it does not occur at all in other prose works of the fifteenth century such as: *Prose Romaunce of Merlin* (about 1450), *Morte D'Arthur* (1469), *Caxton's Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (1471), *Golden Legend* (1483); and it is not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that it begins to reappear. In the Elizabethan period the construc-

tion is used about as commonly as in Present English.”¹ The following investigation is intended to test the accuracy of this statement.

A. VERBS OF EXPRESSED OR IMPLIED CAUSATION

The commonest class of verbs with which our construction is found in English, as well as in other Indo-Germanic languages, is that of expressed or implied causation.

(1) *Verbs of Causing*

Old English

<i>lāetan</i> ; <i>hē lēt heo þæt land būan</i>	<i>Gen.</i> , 239.
<i>Ic on andwlitan nū ofer seofon niht sīgan lāete wællregn ufan wīdre eorðan</i>	<i>Ib.</i> , 1348.
<i>Drihten sende regn from rōderum, ēac rūme lēt willeburnan on woruld þringan of ædra gehwære, ēgorstrēamas swearte swōgan</i>	<i>Ib.</i> , 1371.
<i>hīe þā fromlice lēton forð flōgan flāna scūras</i>	<i>Jud.</i> , 220.
<i>Hwīlum heaþorōfe hleapan lēton on geflit faran fealwe mearas</i>	<i>Beow.</i> , 864.
<i>Lēt sē hearda Higelāces þegn brādne mēce . . . breccan ofer bordweal</i>	<i>Ib.</i> , 2977.
<i>Læt nū of þinum staþole strēamas weallan</i>	<i>Andr.</i> , 1503.

¹Schmidt: *Language of Pecoek*, 119. Compare also Gaertner (*Zur Sprache von Utopia*, 103); Robinson's translation uses the accusative with infinitive after verbs of saying and thinking, "wo sie erst im 15. Jahrh. durch Pecoek in ein Originalwerk eingeführt wurde und dann bald eine weitere Verbreitung fand, während der acc. c. inf. vordem nur vereinzelt und als nachahmung des lat. gesetzt wurde." See also Krickau, *passim*.

Lēton þā ofer fīfelwæg fāmige scrīðan
bronte brimpisan

Elene, 237.

Since Old English had no infinitive which was passive in form, it was obliged, like other Germanic dialects, to employ the active form to express a passive meaning.¹ Often, indeed, it is difficult to determine whether in a given instance the infinitive is to be construed as active or passive. In sentences like "hāt *mynster timbrian*" or "lēt *hine ofslēan*," it is perhaps only our modern analytic feeling for the language which inclines us to associate the substantive in the accusative case immediately with the predicate verb which precedes it, and to make it the object of that verb rather than of the infinitive which comes after. There are, however, a number of passages, which will be cited in their proper place, in which the active form of the infinitive is employed to translate a Latin passive, and there are some instances in original texts in which the interpretation of the infinitive as passive is scarcely to be questioned, *e. g.*,

Ðā ic wīde gefrægn *weorc gebannan*
manigre mægþe geond þisne middangeard Beow., 74.

ic ondræde gif sum dysig man þās bōc ræet oððe ræðan gehyrð
Ælfric: *Introd. to Gen.*, 27.

The verbs which are found to take this construction in Old English are the same as in the other members of the Germanic branch: *lætan*, *hātan*, *hýran*, and *sēon*.

lætan (with passive infinitive):²

¹ "Lange begründet ist in unserer Sprache nach den Verbis *hören* und *sehen* den inf. act. zugleich passivisch zu gebrauchen; ich höre *erzählen* (audio narrari), ich sah ihn mit Füße *treten* (calcari), ich kann kein Thier *schlachten* (mactari) sehn; . . . Gleich zweideutig ist die bedeutung des Inf. hinter den Verbis *lassen* und *heissen*; erst der Zusammenhang gibt zu erkennen, ob die active oder passive gemeint werde. . . ." Grimm: *Deutsche Grammatik*, IV, 61–63. See also Wilhelm, 36; Wülfing, II, 191; Steig: *Zsfd.Ph.*, XII, 311.

² Of none of the examples classed in this way can the positive assertion be made that the infinitive is passive. I have here included all examples in which the passive interpretation is probable.

- lēton him þā betweonum *taan wīsian* *Andr.*, 1099.
- Swā bið gumena gehwām
se þe oftost his unwerlice
on þās lænan tīd lif biscēawað,
læteð *hine beswīcan* þurh swētne stenc *Whale*, 62.
- Swā swyðe nearwelice hē *hit lētt ut āspyrian* þæt . . . *Chronicle*, 216.
- castelas hē lēt wyrcean* *Ib.*, 220.
- sume hē læt þrēagan* mid heardum broce, þæt hī leornigen þone
cræft geþyldelīcu *Boethius*, 133, 25.
- alios duris agitari, ut virtutes animi . . . confirmant*
gif hī lētað *hī selfe bebyrgan* on hāligre stōwe
Gregory : *Dialogues*, 341, 36.
- sī in sacro loco sepeliri se faciant*
Lætt hī *ealle fordōn* *Ælfric*, 96, 155.
- ne lætt þū *mē naht beswīcan*, ne nāfre mīn gewit fram þē gehwerfan,
ne mīn mæghād *āfylan* *Ib.*, 172, 67.
- And ne lætt þū *mē nāfre mīne sǽwle beswīcan* *Ib.*, 175, 175.
- dōn (active infinitive) :
Oc se ilce Hēanri dide þone *king tō understandene* *Chronicle*, 257 ; 259.
- dide *him gyuen up* þæt a ððrice of Burch and faren ut of lande
Ib., 262.
- dide *heom cumen* þider *Ib.*, 266.
- þone *ēadigan Matheum* hē gedyde *gangan tō þām east-dǽle*
Blick. Hom., 239.
- ūtan biddan ælmihtine God ðe ðe *eardian dēð þā ēadmōdan* in his
fæder hūse *Bede*, 502, 18.¹

In Middle English the construction spread rapidly to all verbs of causing and became the regular syntactical combination after these words.

¹Cited by Wūlfing, II, 184. The examples after *don* here quoted are exhaustive for the texts examined.

let (passive infinitive) :

He let *hym*, þo he was ded, *burye* at þilke gate Robt. of Glouc., 44.

Oþer radde, þat he schulde al myd þe kyndome
late *ys dogter spousi* to an hey prince of Rome *Ib.*, 89.

lete his *doughtur be y spoused* *Ib.*, note.

A mychel tour longe & brade
In Ierusalem he let *be made* *Curs. Mundi*, 7877.

But if he let *hit* so *be hid* *Ib.*, 9279.

do (active infinitive) :

and his up *ariste do me stepen* upward in heie and holi þeawes
Hom., I, 207.

forte don *him understanden* *Ib.*, 221 ; II, 57 ; 145, etc.

he doð *men hungren* and *hauen* ʒrist *O. E. Misc.*, 17, 543.

þenne doþ *him pyne nyhtes wake* *Ib.*, 95, 60.

and don *hem monen* his sinfulhed
2351 ; 2752 ; 2927 ; 3482. *Gen.-Ex.*, 180.

don (passive infinitive) :

And to her ynne dud *hit be born* *Curs. Mundi*, 4856.

And dude *her sakes to be vndone* *Ib.*, 5004.

Forgyue me þat I dud *you take*
In to bondes wiþouten sake *Ib.*, 5079.

I shal *you do aqueynted to be* *Ib.*, 5298.

his modir dud *him for to hide* *Ib.*, 5609.

A cofur of yerdes dud she *be wrougt* *Ib.*, 5614.

Do *hit* in þe fuyr *be brint* *Ib.*, 6086.

And have my trouthe, but thou it finde so,
I be thy bote, or that it be ful longe,
To peces do *me drawe*, and sithen *honge* *Troilus*, I, 831.

ffor thei seyn thow dedist *their brother to be slain* *Merlin*, 41.

and how ye sholde do *hym be brent* *Ib.*, 51.

comaunde her that she do *the childe to be delyuered* *Ib.*, 89.

do *the to be bore* in a lytier *Ib.*, 92.

dide *hym to be baptised* *Ib.*, 112, etc.

make (active infinitive) :

- þine licome þe hit þe makeð *don* *Hom.*, I, 21.
 and makede *arisen* mid him *alle þa þet* him efden er ihersumed
Ib., 141 ; 205 ; 267 ; 269.
 he makeð þe *unbilefulle man to leuen* *Ib.*, II, 11.
 makeð *him to forlese* his aihte *Ib.*, 13 ; 29 ; 111 ; 213.
 þe *blynde* he makede *loki* and þe *dede aryse* *O. E. Misc.*, 39, 54.
 he makeþ *vs don* sunnen *Ib.*, 72, 7, etc.
 Alle men owe þat lord to drede
 þat made *mon to haue* mede *Curs. Mundi*, 271.
 slegely he made *Adam to slepe* *Ib.*, 626 ; 808 ; 1865 ; 2517, etc.

make (passive infinitive) :

- feirnesse and lufsum neb, flesch hwit under schrud makes *moni*
mon beo luued te raðer and te mare *Hom.*, I, 269.
 He made *vs alle* in bale *be brougt* *Curs. Mundi*, 614.
 Siþ he made *him alle out dryue*
 Foule & beest mon & wyue *Ib.*, 1909.
 Alle speke of hir she was so shene
 And so hir preysed to þe kynge
 þat he *hir* made to him *brynge* *Ib.*, 2416.
 þis verrei knowlechyng schal make *men to ben approued* of crist
 at þe day of dome *Wyclif*, 22.
 ye knoweth well that he maketh *hem to ben waissken* in a water
Merlin, 2.
 make *it to be baptiseth* *Ib.*, 14.
 The kynge made *hem alle be shett* in a stronge house
Ib., 29 ; 26 ; 40 ; 57 ; 62 ; 64 ; 68 ; etc.

nede (active infinitive) :

- man *him* wile neden his sinnes to forleten *Hom.*, II, 75.
 þei neden *prestis to figtte & werre* *Wyclif*, 99.
 & nedid *alle prestis to leue þe betre & take* the worse lif *Ib.*, 190.

nede (passive infinitive) :

- & so þei neden *hem to be dampnyd* *Ib.*, 57.

gar (active infinitive) :

- Til Gregory gerte *clerkes to go* here and preche *Piers Pl.*, xv, 436.

gar (passive infinitive) :

Thyne absens gars *thi saull be shent* Townley, 350, 299.

(com)move (active infinitive) :

And many tymes haue moeued *þe to þinke* on þine ende
Piers Pl., XII, 4.

and this comveveth *me to speke* Troilus, v, 1783.

by the whiche he moued gretely *his goodnes for to forgyue* hym
Fisher, 73, 29.

forsothe it sholde moue *vs to haue pyte & compassyon*
Ib., 280, 28 ; 299, 1 ; 344, 31 ; 374, 8 ; 389, 2.

bring : Heo brogte *oure lord Jhesu Christ to dye* on þe rode
Robt. of Glouc., 61.

bind : thou hast vtterly bounde *me* by thy grace and many-folde
benefytes *to be* thy seruauant. Fisher, 40, 14.

cause (active infinitive) :

cause *me to dye* Troilus, III, 1505.

Yet, er that ye *me* cause so *to smerte* Ib., IV, 1448.

This prison caused *me nat for to crye* C. T., A, 1095.

I shall not do nothings that sholde cause *hym to be angry*
Merlin, 51.

and that sholde cause *hym to foryete* a grete partie of his sorowe
Ib., 71.

cause (passive infinitive) :

be about to cause *synnes to be done* Fisher, 20, 29.

that may so spedefully cause *ony creature to be blyssed* Ib., 23, 19.

he may cause *the kynges pyte* in his besynes *to be obteyned and had*
Ib., 73, 13.
99, 7 ; 102, 16 ; 133, 6 ; 155, 36 ; 398, 1.

causing *some of them to be taken* More, 346 G.

whiche els he shal cause *to be done* unto us himself Ib., 369 F, etc.

cause *them to be so instructed and furnisshed* Elyot, 27.

For he caused *the countrayes . . . to be discribed and paynted* Ib., 78.

causinge *them to be taught* that lerninge Ib., 168, etc.

compel : þat he compelle not for his pride þis *suget to putte* bihynde þe
betre worschipynge of god Wyclif, 33.

- compell *them* by his punysshement *to do* penaunce Fisher, 40, 35.
 compellynge *her to crye* *Ib.*, 300, 22 ; 385, 6.
- constrain : & noon obedience schulde constreyne *a prest to wittnesse a*
falshede Wyclif, 36.
- a pore man* þei constreynen *to synne bi manas* *Ib.*, 63.
- hou schulde þan ony synful wrecche . . . constreyne *men to bileue*
 þat he is heuyd of holy chirche? certis þei constreynen *men*
sumtyme to bileue . . . Wyclif, 84 ; 85 ; etc.
- He that hath done his duty and constrayned *hymselfe* so besyly
 and many tymes *to make* satysfaccyon Fisher, 26, 18.
- draw : what thyng drawes *hym for to ordayne* his will all at goddes will
 Hampole, I, 21.
- enforce : They enforced *theyr ennemies to stryke* on lande Elyot, 180.
- stir : þe fadir of lesyngis þat stired þe *heige prestis & pharisees in*
crisis tyme to pute on hym & his disciplis . . . Wyclif, 27.
- god almygty stireþ *prestis, lordis & comunis to knowe* ypoecrisie
Ib., 140 ; 176 ; 189.
- And that lyght of grace stereth . . . *the foules to brynge* forth the
 fruyte of good werkes Fisher, 37, 27.
- stereth *the synner to do* penaunce Fisher, 159, 16.
 276, 7 ; 374, 29.
- blind : þe fend blyndiþ *ypocritis to excuse* hem by feyned contemplatif
 lif Wyclif, 188.

(2) *Verbs of Advising, etc.*

In verbs of *advising, teaching, persuading*, and the like, the causative element is sufficiently prominent, but it is modified by a secondary notion. In Old English *læran* and *tæcan* generally are followed by a direct object in the accusative case and by a clause in which the substantive is repeated, *e. g.*,

hine lærde, þæt hē sceolde drihten tō dēaðe belæwan Ælfric, 153, 45.

But the briefer accusative with infinitive construction is sometimes employed.

læran : God *ūs* *læreð wæccan* Ælfric, 168, 404.

God *ūs* *læreð fæstan* and *ælmessan syllan earmum mannum*
Ib., 168, 108.

tæcan : *tæc mē þinne willan tō wycenne* Boeth., 149, 21.

ac Crist sylf and his apostolas *ūs tæhton ægðer tō healdenne*
 Ælfric : *Pentateuch*, 24.

In Middle English, however, the latter construction becomes the more common, soon supplanting the other completely.

leren : þo þe *leren þe folc to understonden* god noht mid weldede ac
 mid wise speche *Hom.*, II, 93.

and *leren elch man to helpen* him seluen þe hwile he mai *Ib.*, 185.

ðe lage *us lereð to don* god *O. E. Misc.*, 10, 297.

And *some* he *lered to laboure* *Piers Pl.*, XIX, 231.
 242; 244.

learn (passive infinitive) :

I shalle be your rescowe and *lerne hym to be ruled* as a knyghte
 Malory, 197, 10.

teach : Gif he seolf nule don swa swa he *heom techeð to donne*
Hom., I, 109.

techen þe folke godes hesne to done *Ib.*, 139.
 II, 75; 119.

Alle men he tauhte *to holde treowe luue* *O. E. Misc.*, 38, 45.

And *wisse us* and theche
To wyten vs wyþ þan vnwihte *Ib.*, 72, 3.

how *worschipen þei* and *techen opere to worchipe* Wyclif, 9.

wissen (and *filsten*) :

wisseþ us to leden ure lif on clenness *Hom.*, II, 7.

wisseð hem to understanden wat is uuel *Ib.*, 39.

wisse and *fulste us swo to folgen* his holi eorþliche procession *Ib.*, 93.

“Holy writt,” quod þat weye, “*wisseth men to suffre*”
Piers Pl., XI, 374.

wissen (passive infinitive) :

þat *wissen vs to be saued* *Piers Pl.*, XII, 271.

- kennen : if mon kennes *you hom to knowe* *Gawaine*, 1484.
 Kenne *me bi somme craft to knowe þe fals* *Piers Pl.*, II, 4.
 x, 338 ; XIV, 16.
- reden : readeð *us ant leareð forte geme lutel alle fallinde þing*
Hom., I, 255.
 Ic rede ðe *king*, nu her bi-foren,
To maken laðes and gaderen coren *Gen.-Ex.*, 2133.
Somme men redde Resoun þo to haue reuthe on þat schrewe
Piers Pl., IV, 110 ; x, 266 ; XIII, 442.
- I rede *ye not youre broþer slo* *Curs. Mundi*, 4128.
 But, after wo, I rede *us to be merie* *C. T.*, A, 3068.
- counsel : Gif þei counseilen *men to be bysi a-boute worldliche*
richessis . . . and conseilen men more to taken vengauce
Wyclif, 16 ; 17.
 Conseilled *caym to kullen his brother* *Piers Pl.*, I, 66.
 IX, 195 ; XV, 337 ; XIX, 195 ; 389.
- advise : wherfore they aduysed *them in no wyse to meue*
Malory, 175, 13.
 alway I wolde aduysen *hym nat to detayne the childe to*
longe in that tedious labours *Elyot*, 55.
- munegen : *Ihadede men he munegeð wel to lerene ilewede men*
Hom., I, 131.
 Ah ure drihten þet munegeð *us to fechten te-geines þet alde*
neddre *Ib.*, 155.
 and muned *us alle to ben warre þarof* *Ib.*, II, 5.
 7 ; 9 ; 11 ; 15 ; 39 ; 51 ; 67 ; 139 ; 169 ; 201 ; 215.
 Ðe mire muneð *us*
mete to tilen *O. E. Misc.*, 9, 273.
- enspiren : first god enspires *þam to forsake þis worlde* *Hampole*, I, 48.
- conforten : counforten *hem to don extorcions . . . and to meyntene false*
causes *Wyclif*, 6.
 for þei conforten *hem to figtte ayenst cristene men in false werris*
Ib., 176.
- enclynen : that it ne enclynede *som juge to han pitee or compassioun*
Ch. Boeth., 136, 261.

glosen : Ye shal eek seen, your fader shal *yow* glose
To been a wyf

Troilus, IV, 1471.

(3) *Verbs of Allowing and Preventing*

Old English

- lætan* : hē lēt *hine* swā micles *wealdan* *Gen.*, 253.
 þonne lēte hē his *hine* lange *wealdan* *Ib.*, 258.
- And þū, Hunferð, læt ealde lāfe,
 wrætlic wægsweord, *wīdcūðne man*
 heard-ecg *habban* *Beow.*, 1488.
- lætað *hildebord* hēr *onbidian* *Ib.*, 397.
 1728 ; 1996 ; 2389 ; 2550 ; 3082 ; 3132.
- læt nū *gefēran flōtan ūserne . . .*
 ond þonne *gebīdan beornas þīne* *Andr.*, 397.
 831 ; 1180 ; 1330.
- ond forhwȳ se gōða god læte *ænig yfel bēon* *Boeth.*, 6, 9.
 26, 6 ; 49, 26 ; 49, 29 ; 67, 6 ; 117, 5 ; 123, 26 ; 136, 9.
- lēton ealles ðēodscipes *geswīneg þus leohtlice forwurðan* *Chron.*, 139.
- þā lett hē *sum þone here faren tō heora āgene lande* *Chron.*, 216.¹
- lætan* (passive infinitive) :
 þā þonne *hwæþre* hē ne læteþ na *bēon forholene æfter dēaþe*
Greg. Dial., 294, 5.
- quos tamen post mortem cuius sanctitati fuerint non patitur celari*
 hē sette scole, & on ðære hē lēt *enihitas lēran* *Bede*, 545, 45.²
- forlætan : þā *hine hālig god*
 ēce upp forlēt *edmonne*
 strēamum *stīgan stīðferhð cyning* *Gen.*, 1404.
- forlēton eorla *gestrēon, eorðan healdan*
 gold on grēote *Beow.*, 3167.
- þā se beorg tōhlād,
 eorðscraf egeslic, ond þær in forlēt
flōd fæðmian *Andr.*, 1587.

¹ For other examples, see *Juliana*, 200 ; 622 ; *Elene*, 818 ; *Brunnan.*, 60 ; *Maldon*, 7 ; 108 ; 140 ; *Wūlfing*, II, 184.

² *Wūlfing*, II, 192.

oð þæt dryhten forlēt <i>dægcandelle</i> scīre scīnan	<i>Ib.</i> , 835.
Ðā hine sēo fāemne forlēt æfter þræchwīle þýstra nēosan	<i>Jul.</i> , 553.
Hio on sybbe forlēt <i>sēcan gehwylcne</i> āgenne eard <i>Holy Rood</i> , 61 ; <i>Father's Advice</i> , 74.	<i>Elene</i> , 598 ; 793.
hē forlēt <i>his here abīdan</i> mid Scottum	<i>Chron.</i> , 5. ¹

Middle English

After *let* our construction is too common to require citation in the later stages of the language.

leun : leue me <i>vnderstonde</i> þi dol and herteli <i>to felen</i> sum hwat of þe sorhe	<i>Hom.</i> , I, 285.
Ure louerd ihesu crist leue us swo ure synnen <i>to beten</i>	<i>Ib.</i> , II, 59 ; 97.
God leve <i>him werken</i> as he gan devyse	<i>Troilus</i> , III, 56.
þolen : þole us <i>to bi-wepen</i> ure sunne	<i>Hom.</i> , I, 71.
þat tu ne þoledes <i>ham noht fulli fainen</i> of me	<i>Ib.</i> , 277.
ne nalde he nawt þolien þe þeof <i>forte broken</i> hire	<i>Ib.</i> , 245.
and ne þole me <i>neauer nan oðer þing</i> again þi wille <i>luuie</i>	<i>Ib.</i> , 285.
þat cold iren þu þoledest in þi syde of þe spere kene to þin herte <i>glyde</i>	<i>O. E. Misc.</i> , 140, 45.
For elles he sal noght thole þam <i>lyefe</i>	<i>Pr. Con.</i> , 4352.
suffer : þis may be said be all þa þat God suffers <i>folow vanytese</i>	<i>Ib.</i> , 1581.
þat God wald suffer þe <i>devel</i> of helle, <i>Apere</i> til hymself þat es of myght mast	<i>Ib.</i> , 2275.
wiþouten childe ofte suffreþ he <i>mon & wommon longe to be</i>	<i>Curs. Mundi</i> , 10325.

¹ For other examples, see Wülfing, II, 185.

whi schulde þei suffre so grete cost of kechenes and gate housis and
wast chambris for lords and ladies and riche men, and *a frere to*
have a chambre for an erl or duk Wyclif, 15.

but certis it is foul ypocrisie þus to suffre *synne regne*
Ib., 9; 14; 17; 26; 30; 32; 56; etc.

suffer (passive infinitive):

“Loverd, þou suffers here,” says he,
“*Be writen bitter syns ogaynes me*” *Pr. Con.*, 5496.

suffren *cristene soulis be stranglid wip woluys of helle* Wyclif, 104.

suffer never *her soules be forlorne*
In the brynnynng fyre of hell *Gaw. & Ragn.*, 840.

And wol nat suffren *hem*, by noon assent,
Neither *to been y-buried nor y-brent* *C. T.*, A, 945.

that he wolde not suffer *her to be shamed here in this worlde*
Merlin, 10.

the voide place of the table, *that I suffred to be assaide* *Ib.*, 71.

why suffrest *me so longe to be vexed* with this trouble Fisher, 13, 16.

neyther to suffre *the shyppe of his chirche to be so shaken*
Ib., 58, 33; 132, 34; 171, 4; 193, 17; 231, 30;
379, 15; 389, 12, etc.

who shal nat suffre, in the childes presence, *to be shewed any acte*
or tache dishonest, or any wanton or unclene worde to be spoken
Elyot, 29.

grant: lord *us graunte to dwelle him wip* *Curs. Mundi*, 5466.

Ther mighty god yet graunte *us see that houre* *Troilus*, II, 588.

Wherefore we beseke yow to graunte *us to live* *Merlin*, 37.

Graunte me good lorde *my soule to be replete with the*
fatnes of charyte Fisher, 147, 30.

let (= prevent):

Ageyn vs shal he haue no mygt
Or at þe lest holde him stille
And lett *vs not to do oure wille* *Curs. Mundi*, 2234.

God bad hem to wildernes wende
Or philistiens wolde wip hem mete
And let *hem for to wende her strete* *Ib.*, 6180.

Gif þei maken prelatiſ and lordiſ . . . to lette *prestis*
to preche goddiſ lawe and to lette þe peple to knowe
and to kepe þe comaundementiſ of god Wyclif, 5.

Gif þei letten *curatiſ and pore preſtiſ to techen men godiſ*
lawe *Ib.*, 9 ; 23 ; 50 ; 57 ; 73 ; etc.

but noon of the clerkes ne cowde ſe the cauſe that
 letted *the werke to holde* *Merlin*, 31.

he wold bren them or any other chriſten man that he
 thought myght let *hiſ opiniſ to go forwarde* *Fisher*, 345, 5.

let (passive infinitive) :

but þei leuen & diſpiſen þe goſpel & letten *it to be prechid*
Wyclif, 70.

þei putten here owen curſed ſynnes vpon trewe men to lette
goddis lawe to be knowen *Wyclif*, 138.

But doubtleſſe neyther of theſe may let *uſ to be herde*
Fisher, 237, 25.

warnen : And he wernede *ʒiſ folc ut-gon* *Gen.-Ex.*, 2966 ; 3000.

And na thing ſalle þam warn ne lett,
To do þair wille whare-ſwa it eſ ſett *Pr. Con.*, 7985.

I maye not warne *peple to ſpeke of me what it pleaſeth hem*
Malory, 198, 2.

bireven : for no wight may bireve
A man to love, til that him liſt to leve *Troilus*, I, 685.

(4) Verbs of Commanding

Old English

hātan : Metod engla heht,
lifes brytta leoht forʒ cuman *Gen.*, 121.

Heht þā lifes weard
 on mereflōde middum *weorðan*
hyhtlic heofontimber *Ib.*, 144.
 157 ; 345 ; 499 ; 516 ; 525 ; 537 ; 830 ; 864 ; 943 ; 1047 ; 2039 ;
 2504 ; 2783 ; 2798 ; 2867.

Heht þā ymb twā niht *turfæstne hœleʒ*
ymbwīcigeaſ werodes bearhtme *Exod.*, 63 ; 254.

hēt þā hiſ *ſcealcas ſcūfan þā hyſſas* *Dan.*, 231 ; 79 ; 431.

hāteð hēhenglas hlūdre stefne
bēman blāwan ofer burga geseotu *Cr. & Sat.*, 601.

hātað hȳ upp āstandan *Crist*, 889 ; 294 ; 1025 ; 1342 ; 1375.

þæt hē healreced hātan wolde
medo-ærn micel men gewyrcean *Beow.*, 68.

hēt hine mid þām lācum leode swāse
sēcean on gesyntum, snūde eft cuman *Ib.*, 1868.
293 ; 1045 ; 1807 ; 2812.

hātan (passive infinitive) :

Hēr Offa Myrcena cining hēt Æðelbrihte þæt hēafod ofslēan
Chron., 55.

Hē hēt hine þā gebindan ond gebringan on þæt land *Ælfric*, 104, 153.

þā hēt hē þysne biscop bēon gelæded
hunc jussit deduci *Greg. Dial.*, 194, 17.

þā hēt hē hine hēafde beceorfan *Bede*, 478, 3.

hēt hine þā tēon & lēdan tō ðām deōfolgyldum *Ib.*, 477, 17.

ad simulacros eum jussit pertrahi

hēt ðām ðearfan þæt hors syllan *Ib.*, 540, 21.

praecepit equum pauperi dari

& se cuning hī ofslēan hēt

Bede, 584, 28.

atque occidi jussit.¹

The verb (*be*)*bēodan* is ordinarily followed by a dative case with a clause or by a dative with an infinitive, *e. g.*,

Swā ic nū bebēode bearnum mīnum,
þegnum þrȳðfullum, ðæt hie ðē hnāgen *Andr.*, 1328.

bēodan Hābrahāme mid his eaforum twām
of eorðscrafe ārest fremman *Ib.*, 779.²

But a few times, probably by the analogy of *hātan*, this verb also takes the accusative with infinitive.

Nū ic bebēode bēacen aetȳwan,
wundor geweorðan on wera gemange *Andr.*, 729.

¹ For other examples, see Wūlfing, II, 189, 191.

² *Hātan*, also, is occasionally found with a dative and infinitive, *e. g.*,
Gen., 1858, 1865, 2223 ; *Dan.*, 126 ; *Metra*, IX, 9.

oð Moyses bebēad
eorlas on uhtīd ærnum bēnum
folc somnigean, frecan ārīsan,
habban heora hlencan, hycgan on ellen,
beran beorht searo, baēcnum eīgean *Exod., 215.*

hēt þā & bebēad hrāpe men swingan & tintregian ðone
 godes andettere *Bede, 477, 42.*
*caedi sanctum dei confessorem a tortoribus praecepit*¹

bebēodan (passive infinitive) :

ðā bebēad se biscop ðysne tō him lādan *Bede, 615, 1.*

*hunc ergo adduci praecepit Episcopus*²

Erconbryht bebēad dēofolgyld bēon toworpene *Ib., 531, 2.*

ut E. *idola destrui* praecepit

bebēad þæt fēowertiglice fæsten healden bēon ær Ēastrum *Ib., 531, 10.*

jejunium Quadraginta dierum observari praecepit.³

Biddan, which in Old English receives the same syntactical treatment as *bebēodan*, has *ask*, *request* for its primary meaning, and will be best considered with that class of verbs. But sometimes, in late Old English, it approaches very closely to the idea of *commanding*, and in this sense it is followed at least once by the accusative with infinitive.

ofsænde se cyng Gōdwine eorl ond bād *hine faran* in tō Cent mid
 unfriða tō Dofran *Chron., 173.*

forbēodan : and hē ne abyhð na ūs, þæt hē ūs ne forbēode ealle
 unrihtwisnyssa and yfel tō dōnne *Ælfric, 9, 212.*

þe ðā hālgan bōceras forbudon tō *secgenne* *Ib., 24, 9.*

Middle English

haten : hehte *hine swiðe stille steolen* vt of hirede & hehte *hine faren*
 to þon tune *Layamon, 100.*

ah god almihtin þe hat *don* þin god on-gein his uuel *Hom., I, 15.*

ah þenne þe preost *hine hat agefen* þa ehte þon monne
 þet hit er ahte *Ib., 31 ; 121 ; 229 ; II, 201.*

¹ For other examples, see Wūlfing, II, 182.

² Wūlfing, II, 179.

³ *Ibid.*, 188-189.

As þis dragones fogte þus, þe kyng hette *Merlyn* þere,
Fortē segge, gef he coupe, wat þe tokonyng were *Robt. Glouc.*, 131.

he het *men to gyue* hem mede *Curs. Mundi*, 7121.

Hym, or ysaak myn ayre þe which he higte *me kulle*
Piers Pl., xvi, 232.

haten (passive infinitive) :

Quik he het *his sone take*,
 And *spoli him* of clothes nake,
 And *beten him* with scourges stronge,
 And afterward *him hegge an-honge* *Seven Sages*, 499.¹

In Middle English *biddan* and *bēodan* were completely leveled under the form *bidden*, and the latter verb was followed by the accusative with infinitive much more frequently than were either of the Old English verbs. To this extension of the construction the leveling of the accusative and dative cases must have distinctly contributed :

bæd *heom* for heora wurðscipe
wreken hire teonan *Layamon*, 104 ; 115 ; 128 ; 132 ; etc.

bed *hine witen* þone forwundede Mon *Hom.*, i, 85.

þu biddes *me bihalde* hu þu faht for me *Ib.*, 277 ; 279.

On festing he bit *us us turnen* *Hom.*, ii, 63.
 65 ; 87 ; 139 ; 147 ; 173 ; 211 ; 215.

he bit *us don* ure bukes wille *O. E. Misc.*, 14, 432.
 43, 227 ; 160, 38 ; 166, 81.

ðo bad god *wurðen stund and stede* *Gen.-Ex.*, 41.

ðo god bad *ben ðe firmament* *Ib.*, 95.
 120 ; 137 ; 163 ; 787 ; 979 ; 1085 ; 1219 ; 1269 ; 1549 ; 1595 ;
 2121 ; 2141 ; 2143 ; 2238 ; 2255 ; 2290 ; 2376 ; etc.

bid (passive infinitive) :

Bad *hire* ðor wið hir heuod *ben hid* *Gen.-Ex.*, 1193.

He bad *him ben sperd* fast dun
 And *holden harde* in prisun *Ib.*, 2039.

Do bad monophis pharaun
wimmen ben set in euerile tun *Ib.*, 2569.

¹ *Ed.* Weber.

Do bad ðis king al opelike,
 In alle burges modilike,
Euerilc knape child of ðat kin
ben a-non don ðe flod wið-in *Ib.*, 2583.

Ghe bad *it ben* to hire brogt *Ib.*, 2605.

þat help may avayle þe saules son
 For his sake, þat biddes *it be don* *Pr. Con.*, 3662.

charge : Gif þei chargen *men more to seke* blynde stockys or ymagis
 and to offre to hem more þan to pore bedrede men *Wyclif*, 7.

þes worldly prelatiſ chargen *men to speke* not agenst here pride
 and coueitise *Wyclif*, 31 ; 57 ; 112, etc.

And þanne he charged *chapmen to chasten* her childeren
Piers Pl., v, 34.

This amorous quene chargeth *her meynee*
 The nettes *dresse* *L. G. W.*, 1189.

Command was often followed by a dative with infinitive or by a dative and a clause in recollection of its customary construction in French. The expression *commander à quelqu'un* is imitated in sentences like the following :

For God *til ilk man* commandes right
 To helpe his neghebur after his myght *Pr. Con.*, 5862.

& þefore crist comaundid to alle men þat þei schulde not bileue
Wyclif, 29.

But the prevailing construction, even in the earliest documents in which the word occurs, is the accusative and infinitive, although very often it is impossible to distinguish this usage from the former when the dative is not marked by a preposition.

þe þridde morn commaundide he
A gederyng of þe lond to be *Curs. Mundi*, 4925.

Bremely commaundide he and bad
Midwyues to be of þat same lond *Ib.*, 5542 ; 11559.

siþ he comaundid a man to leue þe beriynge of his fadir and go
 preche þe gospel *Wyclif*, 31.
 55 ; 57 ; 79 ; 90 ; 111 ; 158, etc.

- And comanded a *constable* þat come atte furst
 To "attache þo tyrauntz" *Piers Pl.*, II, 198.
- And how þe kyng comaunderd *constables and seriantz*,
 Falsenesse and his felawship to *fettren an to bynden* *Ib.*, II, 206.
 IV, 85; XI, 175; XIX, 358; 361.
- Comaundeth *me*, how sore that me smerte,
 To doon al that may lyke un-to your herte *Troilus*, v, 132.
- command (passive infinitive):
 Putifar comaundide sone
Ioseph for to take and done
 In kyngis prisoun for to ly *Curs. Mundi*, 4417.
- & in leuyng werkis of mercy where god comaundiþ *hem to be don*
 Wyclif, 176.
- The duke comaundeth, schortly for to seyn,
His handes hym be-hinde to be bounde *De Reg. Princ.*, 2626.
- Thus Merlyn, on the Witsunday, chese fifty knyghtes, and
 comaundeth *hem to be sette* at that table *Merlin*, 60.
- When the kyng herde hem thus sey, he hadde grete merveile,
 and comaundeth *hem to be serued* *Ib.*, 61.
- We wyll command *the gates to be kept* aboute Digby, 50, 422.
- The physycyen also commaundeth *a man to be let blode* by a
 certayne mesure or quantyte Fisher, 218, 21.
- statutes & ordynaunces . . . *whiche* by her offycers she comaundeth
 to be redde *Ib.*, 296, 18.
- whan our sauyor commaundeth *this double trybute to be payed*
 for hymselfe & for Peter *Ib.*, 318, 24; 375, 7.
- he commaundeth *the bridge to be broken* Elyot, 178.
- say (= command): Sey *him* on ðin stede to gon *Gen.-Ex.*, 4114.
- forbid: ðe lage us lerð don god,
 and forbedeð *us sinne* *O. E. Misc.*, 10, 297.
- And pharaon stirte up anon
 And for-bed ðis folc to gon *Gen.-Ex.* 2932.
- Hem þougte kynde *him* wolde forbede
 To haue done so cursed a dede *Curs. Mundi*, 1105.
- Dauid seide god hit forbede
 þe to þenke to do þat dede *Curs. Mundi*, 7723.
 3203; 4372; 1956; 2830.

forbid (passive infinitive) :

his highnes by his proclamacions forbode *any maner english bokes*
 printed beyonde the sea *to be broughte* into thys realme, or
any to be solde, prynted within this realme More, 343 G.

defend : I deffende *yow to speke* ther-of Merlin, 54.

forbear and prohibit : no more than it were to forbear or prohibite
a man to come into a faire gardein Elyot, 129.

(5) *Verbs of Requesting*

This class is represented in Old English by *biddan* and is sometimes found with accusative and infinitive.

bæd him þræcrōfe, þā rincas þæs ræd āhicgan	Gen., 2030.
bædon bletsian bearn Israela, eall landesceaft ēne drihten	Dan., 359.
bæd hine āreccan, hwæt seō rūn bude	Dan., 542.
bæd gangan forð gōde gefēran	Maldon, 170.
bæd hāligne helpe gefremman	Andr., 1614.
bæd hine þurh mihta scyppend, gif hē his wordcwida wealdan meahte, spræce āhebban	Guthlac, 1131.
bæd him engla weard geopenigean uncūðe wyrd	Elene, 1101.
bæd hine Cristenne bēon	Bede, 475, 24. ¹
biddan (passive infinitive) :	
bæd Scs. Albanus from Gode him wæter seald bēon	Bede, 478, 25. ²

In Middle English, it has been pointed out, *biddan* merges with *bēodan* in meaning as well as in form. There are, however, numerous examples in which the primary force of *biddan* is still strong.

And bad hire fader graunt hym þe gode Cordeille Robt. Glouc., 31.

¹ Wulfing, II, 182.

² *Ibid.*, II, 188.

- And bed *hire*, for þe loue of God, his wrapþe hym *forgeue* *Ib.*, 35.
- beseech : þo þis castel gare was, Hengist þe *king* bisogte
To come to hys castol *Robt. Glouc.*, 116.
- bisougte þe *knygtes*
Telle þe comune þat þere cam a compaignye of his apostoles
Piers Pl., XIX, 149.
- And *hir* bisoughte on thee *to han* som routhe *Troilus*, I, 769.
- But nathelees, yet gan she *him* biseche . . .
For to be war of goosish peples speche *Ib.*, III, 582.
 IV, 725 ; V, 857.
- pray : þou *him* preye sum word me *sende* *Curs. Mundi*, 1271.
- And preye *him to do* you bote *Ib.*, 4734 ; 4943.
- he preide þe *peple* of his cite *to taken* þe rentis agen *Wyclif*, 118.
- And preide *cyuile to se and symonye to rede it* *Piers Pl.*, II, 70.
- And preyed *peronelle* her purfyle *to lete*
 VI, 199 ; 202 ; XIII, 112 ; XVI, 73. *Piers Pl.*, V, 26.
- It nedeth nought to preye *him freend to be* *Troilus*, II, 1451.
- pray *him* with us *dye* *Ib.*, II, 1458.
- And after this, she may *him* ones preye
To ben good lord *Ib.*, II, 1657.
 III, 124 ; 546 ; 632 ; 718 ; IV, 294 ; 1384 ; V, 305, etc.

Verbs such as *to will, desire, summon* may be considered as stronger verbs of requesting, containing an element of command.

- will : God hem andswarede “*iosue*
Ic wile ben loder-man after ðe” *Gen.-Ex.*, 4109.
- I wool *noon* oþere *do* outrage *Curs. Mundi*, 1972.
- For God wille *men se*, thurgh swilk takens sere,
 How unstable þis world es here *Pr. Con.*, 1428.
- Monkes and monyals and alle men of Religioun*
 Her ordre and her reule wil *to han* a certeyne noubre
Piers Pl., XIX, 262.
- Holi Scripture wole a man *to loue* al what God wole *him loue*
Pecock, 114.

- my fader of heuen will *it so be* Townley, 369, 82.
- For he sayd that all such lawes be contrary to the gospel,
which wil *no man to dye* More, 345 H.
- will (passive infinitive) :
and Cryst will *nathyng be done* bot wele, & with-ouen harme
of othir men Hampole, 1, 40.
- Oure lawe he seide þat we in lyue
Wol furste *oure elder dougter be gyue* Curs. Mundi, 3883.
- God wolde haue *men . . . be stirid* toward religioun Pecock, 523.
- Euery one (sayth he) that worketh wyckednesse doth abhorre
that lyghte, because they wyll not *their myschieues* therby *to be*
knowne Leland : *New Year's Gift*, 8.
- desire : Whan the kyng herde hem desire *Vlfyn to be* of here
counseile Merlin, 83.
- He desyrth *you*, and preyyt on eche party,
to fulfill his commavndment and desyre Digby, 62, 215.
- I desyer þe *redars to be* my frynd Ib., 136, 2143.
- the mother of Achilles desired *Jupiter* importunately *to*
inclyne his fauour to the parte of the Troyanes Elyot, 48.
- desire (passive infinitive) :
desyre *a lettre* of supplicacyon *for to be made* dylygently
Fisher, 73, 12.
- he desyred *the same to be perfourmed* Ib., 136, 3.
- Quintilian, instructyng an oratour, desireth *suche a childe to be*
giuen unto hym Elyot, 51.
- covet (passive infinitive) :
he coueyteth more *his mercy to be magnefyed* than the power of
his Iustyce Fisher, 230, 20.
- require : ye requeren *me*
To come ayein Troilus, v, 1600.
- I requere *you sone to helpe* myn hertes desire Merlin, 75.
- exhort : Exhort *tham to be* of gud chere Digby, 220, 1492.
- And therefore scripture in many places exhorteth *vs to seeke* after
him Fisher, 364, 26.

- exhorted *Ptholomee*, kyng of Egipt . . . to haunte and embrace
histories Elyot, 82.
- exhort and call: whiche mekenesse our prophete remembrynge,
calleth and exhorteth *euery creature to do penauce* Fisher, 38, 15.
- clepan: clepede *hem* to shrifte, þat is to reusende and to forleten
and to beten here sinnes Hom., II, 129.
- laþen: þere-fore ure drihten ne laðeð us noht to *beren* swiche rode
Ib., 207.
- þenne he *hine* laðeð to *drinken* more Ib., 213.

(6) *Verbs of Creating, Choosing, Appointing, etc.*

- ordain: For oure lord had ordeyned yete
A childe to rise in his ospringe Curs. Mundi, 1198.
- Alsua he ordaynd *man to dwelle*
And to *lyf* in erthe, in flesshe and felle Pr. Con., 81.
- First what it es to fele and se,
And whar God has ordaynd *it to be* Ib., 3956.
- þus ordaynd God þam to *serve* man Ib., 6382.
- þoug god of his rigtwisnesse ordeyne þat *soule to abide* þere fourty
yere or mo Wyclif, 102.
- he hadde ordeyned *that childe to haue* his arte and witte Merlin, 14.
- that thus hath ordeyned with-ouen ende
Me in his blisse euer for to reigne Digby, 146, 190.
- If almyghty god had not ordeyned *the tyme* of Antecryste to be
shorte Fisher, 191, 35.
- for whome crystes chirche hath ordeined specially *this psalme to*
be sayd Ib., 209, 6.
- choose: chese yow *soche a man to be* youre kyng and lorde
Merlin, 96.
- here is the man *that god hath chosen to be* youre kyng Ib., 106.
- a Lorde, that thus hath appoynted and chosen *you to bee* his
creature Fisher, 369, 30.
- appoint: hath appointed *you to be* a Christian woman, & to be
partaker of all those graces Fisher, 372, 6.

- when it should like him to appoynte *any of them to come* to his presence
Ib., 375, 11.
- who appointed to them *Saul to be* their kyng
 Elyot, 14.
- constitute: his heuently ministres, *whom*, as the church affirmeth,
 he hath constituted *to be* in diuers degrees called hierarches
 Elyot, 4.
- elect: dyd nat they by one assent electe *Agamemnon to be* their
 emperour
Ib., 16.
- devise: And thenne hadde she *me deuysed to be* kyng in this land
and soo to regne
 Malory, 133, 7.

In Modern English all verbs of express or implied causation are regularly followed by an accusative with infinitive. Detailed illustration is unnecessary. A partial enumeration of the verbs is enough to indicate the wide extent of the locution.

(a) Verbs of pure causation: *bring, cause, compel, constrain, dispose, drive, enable, enforce, force, goad, impel, incite, incline, disincline, lead, oblige, move, prompt, provoke, stimulate, urge.*

(b) Modified verbs of causation: *advise, counsel, embolden, exhort, recommend, teach, warn.*

(c) Verbs of allowing: *authorise, allow, permit*; "he would not permit *it to be acted* in his house," *Spec.*, No. 5; *suffer*: "When men have suffered *their imagination to be long affected* with any idea," Burke.

(d) Verbs of commanding: *bid*: "for we bid *this be done*," *Meas. f. Meas.* I, iii, 37; *charge, command, order*: "ordered *his tongue to be cut out*," *Spec.*, No. 23; *enjoin, forbid*: "has forbidden *any such ceremony to be used* in the house," *Spec.*, No. 12.

(e) Verbs of wishing: *desire, like, require, want, wish*: "some of which I could wish entirely *rejected, and the rest to be used* with caution," *Spec.*, No. 44.

(f) Verbs of requesting, persuading, etc: *adjure, ask, beg,*

beseech, conjure, entice, entreat, importune, induce, invite, persuade, prevail with, prevail upon, request, solicit.

(g) *appoint, choose, elect, etc.*

B. VERBS OF SENSE PERCEPTION

In discussing the construction of accusative with infinitive in the Indo-Germanic languages, notice was taken of the parallel locution in which some predicate other than an infinitive—an adjective, adverb, participle or prepositional phrase—is employed with the accusative. This locution, which occurs most frequently after verbs of sense and mental perception, is a very important factor in the development of the construction of accusative with infinitive in English. It is obvious that there is no essential syntactical difference between the construction with the infinitive and with the other predicate, and that it is often possible to employ the two locutions interchangeably.¹

Old English

(ge)sēon : dæg āresta geseah <i>deorc sceado</i> sweart <i>swīðrian</i> geond sīdne grund	<i>Gen.</i> , 133.
Wende hine wraðmōd, þær hē þæt wif geseah on eorðrice <i>Euan stonðan</i>	<i>Ib.</i> , 547.
gesēo ic him <i>his englas ymbe hweorfan</i> 772 ; 1320 ; 1820 ; 2087 ; 2403 ; 2577 ; 2777 ; 2877 ; 2926.	<i>Ib.</i> , 669.
siððan hīe gesāwon of sūðwegum <i>fyrð Faraonis forð ongan</i>	<i>Exod.</i> , 155 ; 471.

¹Grimberg remarks that the nominal form was the one originally employed as predicate in cases of this kind and that the similar use of the infinitive is of later origin. The transition, he thinks, was supplied by those forms in which a participle was the predicate. When the infinitive *to be* was joined to this participle, the relation between accusative and predicate was made more definite, and the development of this infinitive construction was assisted, moreover, by the analogy of the accusative with infinitive after verbs of causing. *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, XXI, 226.

þā geseah ic þā gedriht in gedwolan hweorfan,
Israhela cyn unriht dōn,
wommas wyrcean

Dan., 22.

hwæt se bēam bude þe hē blīcan geseah *Ib.*, 545 ; 553 ; 601 ; 726.

þæt hīe sweotollice gesēon mihten
þære wlitegan byrig weallas blīcan *Jud.*, 136.

Sioh nū sylfa þē geond þās sīdan gesceaft
swylce rodores hrōf rūme geondwītan *Crist*, 59.

Gesēgon hī on hēahþu hlāford stīgan *Ib.*, 498.
506 ; 522 ; 554 ; 1249 ; 1292.

mære mǣþþumsweord manige gesāwon
beforan beorn beran *Beow.*, 1023.
1347 ; 1425 ; 1516 ; 1585 ; 1661 ; 2542 ; 2604 ; 2756 ;
2767 ; 2822 ; 3038 ; 3128.

(ge)sēon (passive infinitive) :

þā of wealle geseah weard Scildinga,
sē þe holmclifu healdan scolde,
beran ofer bolcan beorhte randas *Beow.*, 229.

þūhte mē þæt ic gesāwe syllicre trēow
on lyft lēdan lēohte bewunden *Holy Rood*, 4.

þā hē geseah þone hlāf of dūne lētan *Greg. Dial.*, 99, 9.

cum quadam die submitti panem conspiceret
forþām hē gesyhp hine sylfne byrnan *Ib.*, 304, 7.

quia concremari se aspicit
þy mā þe hī gesēoð ēac þā mid heom blissian *Ib.*, 311, 12.

qui secum eos laetari conspiciunt
þā geseah hē Germanes sāwle . . . fram ænglum bēon borne
Ib., 171, 19 ; 272, 13.

vidit Germani . . . animam . . . in coelum ferri
þæt hē gesāwe Petrum bēon borene *Ib.*, 319, 17.

se etiam Petrum . . . magno ferri pondere religatum . . . vidisse . . .
swā hī gesēoþ ððra yflu bēon wīnode in ēcnesse *Ib.*, 333, 23.

quanto in aeternum mala puniri conspiciunt¹

gesēon (other predicate) :

Geseah þā lifes weard
drīge stōwe, dugoða hyrde
wīde ætēowde *Gen.*, 163.

¹For other examples, see Wūlfing, II, 185–186.

- Bare hīc gesāwon*
 heora *līchaman* Gen., 783.
- geseah unrihte *eorðan fulle*
sīde sēlwongas synnum gchladene
 wīdlum *gewemde* Ib., 1292.
- Geseah þā swīðmōd cyning, þā hē his sefan ontrēowde
wundor on wīte agangen Dan., 269.
- Gesyhð sorhcearig on his suna būre
wīnsele wēstne, windge reste
 reote *berofene* Beow., 2455.
- syððan wē gesēgon under swegles gang
wīndas and wāegas ond wæterbrogan
 forhte *gewordne* for frean ēgesan Andr., 455.
- hreþer innan swearc
 hyge hrēowcearig, þæs þe hē his *hlāford* geseah
ellorfūsne Guth., 1025.
- hē gesāwe þone *forbryccedne and gebundenne* mid mycelre
 byrðene *and ofdūne āworpenne* in þā sweartestan stōwe
Greg. Dial., 319, 18.
- Petrus . . . deorsum positum . . . magno ferri pondere*
religatum ac depressum vidisse confessus est
- behealdan : syllic æfter sunnan setlraðe behēold
 ofer lēodwerum *lige scīnan*,
byrnende beam Exod., 109.
- behealdan (predicate adjective) :
 þā stōwe behēold
 drēama *lēase* Gen., 107.
- sceawian : þonne þe hē scēawaþ þā *gōdan fremian and weaxan tō*
 Godes wuldre Greg. Dial., 206, 26.
- (ge)hýran : ic gehýrde *hine þīne dæd and word*
lofan on his leohte and ymb þīn lif *sprecan* Gen., 507.
- Ic on þisse byrig bearhtm gehýre,
 synnigra cyrm swīðe hlūdne,
 ealogātra gylp, yfele spræce
 werod under weallum *habban* Ib., 2406.
- gehýreð *cyning mæðlan*,
 rodera *ryhtend spreca*n rēpe word Crist, 797.

- hwilum ic gehēre helle *scealcas*,
gnornende cynn grundas mǣnan *Cr. & Sat.*, 133.
- þāra þe of wealle wōp gehýrdon
gryrelēoð *galan godes andsacan*
sigelēasne sang, sār *wānigean*
hellehæfton *Beow.*, 785.
- Ic þæt londbūend lēode mīne
selerǣdende secgan hýrde *Beow.*, 1345.
- ne hýrde ic snotorlicor
on swā geongum fēore *guman þingian* *Ib.*, 1842.
- þā ic Freaware *flatsittende*
nemnan hýrde *Ib.*, 2022.
- Hwæt! wē þæt hýrdon *hæleð eahtian*
dēman dǣdhwate, þætte in dagum gelamp *Jul.*, 1.
- sipþan hēo gehýrde *hæleð eahtian* *Ib.*, 609.
- gehýrde hēo hearm *galan helle dēofol* *Ib.*, 629.
- Nǣfre wē hýrdon *hæleð ǣnigne*
on þysse þēode būtan þec nū þā
þegn oðerne þyslic cýðan
ymb swā dýgle wyrd *Elene*, 538.
- Ful oft ic *frōde menn* fyrr gehýrde
secgian and swerian ymb sume wīsan *Sol. & Sat.*, 424.
- Hwæt! wē ǣc gehýrdon be Iōhanne
ǣglǣawe menn æðelo reccan. *Fat. Ap.*, 23.
- sipþan þū gehýrde on hliþes ōran
galan gēomorne gēac on bearwe *Husb. Mess.*, 21.
- Hīo gehērdon *stefne* of heofone *clypion tō þære fǣmne* þus
Ælfric, 178, 296.
- And mē was efne þan gelicost, þe ic þā eft gehýrde mīnne *hlāford*
cēgan *Ib.*, 206, 380.¹
- (ge)hýran (passive infinitive) ;
Hēr is gefered ofer feorne weg
æðelinga sum innan ceastre,
ellþeodigra, þone ic Andrēas
nemnan hērde *Andr.*, 1173.

¹ For other examples, see Wūlfing, II, 186–187.

- and þis nāfre
 þurh æniges mannes mūð gehýrdon
 hæleðum cýðan bútan hēr nū þā *Elene*, 659.
- Hwæt! wē ðæt hýrdon þurh hālige bēc
 hæleðum cýðan *Ib.*, 670, 853.
- Swelce þone mæran morgensteorran,
 þe wē oðre naman æfensteorra
 nemnan hērað *Metra*, IV, 13.
- þā muneces hērdon ðā horn blāwen þæt hi blēwen on nihtes
Chron., 258.
- þæt hālige godspell, þe gē gehýrdon nū rædan *Ælfric*, 66, 1.
- þā sæde hē, hū hē þis ongæt, and ēac hwylce word hē gehýrde
 be him spreccan in gemētinge þāra āwyrgedra gāsta
Greg., 190, 17.¹
- qualiter hoc cognovisset, vel quae in conventu malignorum
 spiritum de eo audivisset, indicavit
- gehýran (predicate participle):
 gehýrde þone hellesceaþan
 oferswīðedne *Elene*, 957.
- (on)findan: funde þā on bedde blācne licgan
 his goldgifan gæstes gēsne,
 lifes belidenne *Jud.*, 278.
- fand þā þær inne æþelinga gedriht
 swefan æfter symble *Beow.*, 118.
- sē æt Heorote fand
 wæccendne wer wīges bīdan *Ib.*, 1267.
- op þæt hē færinga fyrgebēamas
 ofer hārne stān hleonian funde *Ib.*, 1414; 2270; 2841; 3033.
- þær ic hine finde ferð stapelian *Jul.*, 364.
- (on)findan (other predicate):
 Hē þā gefērede þurh fēondes cræft
 oð ðæt hē Adam on eorðrice,
 godes handgesceaft gearone funde *Gen.*, 453.
- hēo þār þā gearwe funde
 mundbyrd æt þām mæran þeodne *Jud.*, 2.

¹ For other examples, see Wūlfing, II, 189, 192.



- Hē þā mid þām māðmum *mārne* þiōden,
dryhten sinne driorigne fand
ealdres æt ende *Beow.*, 2788.
- him sēo wēn gelāh,
 syððan mid corðre carcernes *duru*
 eorre æsberend *opene* fundon,
 onhliden *hamera geweorc, hyrdas dēade* *Andr.*, 1074.
- Sume, þā ic funde
butan godes tacne, gymelease,
ungeblētsade *Jul.*, 490.
- Symle h̄y *Gūplāc gearene* fundon *Guth.*, 885.
- Hwīlum him tō honda hungre geþrēatad
 flēag fugla cyn, þær h̄y *feorhnere*
witode fundon *Ib.*, 888.
- Fonde þā *his mondryhten*
ādltwērigne *Ib.*, 980.
- fond þā *hlingendne*
fūsne on forðsiþ frēan unwenne
gæsthāligne in godes temple *Ib.*, 1120.
- h̄y gesunde æt hām
 findað *witode* him *wiste and blisse* *Riddles*, XLIV, 7.
- hē mæg siððan
 on his rūncofan *rihtwisnesse*
 findan on ferhðe *fæste gehj̄dde* *Metra*, XXII, 58.
- gemētan : Hīe þā æt burhgeate *beorn gemitton*
sylfne sittan sunu Arōnes *Gen.*, 2426.
- gif þū *byslicne þegn gemittest*
wunian in wīcum *Bi Manna Mōde*, 45.
- Hīe ðā gemētton *mōdes glāwne,*
hāligne hæle, under heolstorlocan
biðan beadurōfne *Andr.*, 143.
- oð ðæt hē gemētte be *nearcpaðe*
standan stræte nēah stapul ærenne *Ib.*, 1061.
- forðæm hē *hine gemētte sittan* on *gerēnedum scridwæne*
Boeth., 61, 18.
- þā gemētte hē *hine lūtian* in *ānum scræfe* *Greg.*, 99, 23.
- and þā brōðru gecigde tō him, þe hē gemētte þær mid þām
scinlācan fyre bysmrian *Ib.*, 124, 9.

gemētan (passive infinitive) :

þā gemētte hēo hire hwæte calne bēon nēah gedæledne
fram hire āgenum suna þearfendum mannum Greg., 68, 22.
omne triticum . . . invenit a filio suo pauperibus expensum

gemētan (predicate adjective) :

Ic nāefre þē,
þēoden lēofesta, þyslicne āer
gemētte þus mēðne Guth., 986.

gefēlan : þā semninga gefēldon hī ān swīn yrnan hider
and þider betwyh heora fōtum Greg., 236, 1.¹

Middle English

see : hwenne ho isegen *hore emcristene* wandrede þolie. Hom., I, 157.

þo þe he sah *Martha and marie Magdalene* þo two sustres
wepen for here broðres deað Ib., II, 147.
I, 257 ; 259 ; 261 ; II, 115 ; 209.

Peter iseyh þe *Gyves* vre louerd vaste bynde O. E. Misc., 43, 211.

Ye mowen iseo þe *world aswynde* Ib., 94, 39.

And slep and sag, an soðe drem,
fro ðe erðe up til heuene bem,
A leddre stonden, and ðor-on
Angeles dun-cumen and up-gon Gen.-Ex., 1605.
1911 ; 1951 ; 2773 ; 3872.

Loverd when saw we þe *haf* hunger or thrist
Or of any herber *haf* grete brist Pr. Con., 6204.
611 ; 2644 ; 2906 ; 3778 ; 5145, etc.

whenne þe baronage of egip
Say *him haue* suche worship Curs. Mundi, 4627.

I seygh neuere *palmore* with pike ne with scrippe
Azen after hym er til now in þis place Piers Pl., v, 542.

þow shalt see in þi-selue *treuthe sitte* in þine herte Ib., v, 615.

Resoune I seighe sothly *suen alle bestes* Ib., XI, 326.
VI, 328 ; X, 362 ; XV, 219 ; XVI, 39 ; XVII, 106, etc.

That knew this worldes transmutacioun,
As he had seyn *it chaungen* up and down C. T., A, 2839.

Ne at this tale I saugh *no man him greve* Ib., 3859.

¹For other examples after *findan*, *gemētan* and *gefēlan*, see Wūlfing, II, 187, 190.

- Whan he saugh so benigne a creature
Falle in disese and in misaventure *Ib.*, B, 615
Troilus, I, 628 ; II, 333 ; 574 ; III, 153 ; *L. G. W.*, 978, etc.
- see (-ing infinitive) :
- Rebecca seide what man is he
 þat towarde vs comyng I se *Curs. Mundi*, 3356.
- On þat ladder say be (*sic*) boun
Aungels clymbynge vp & doun *Ib.*, 3781.
- yonder I se his dougter rachel
*Drywyng*e his beestes to þe wel *Ib.*, 3831.
- I saugh cominge of ladyës nyntene *L. G. W.*, B, 283.
- My body* mote ye seen, within a whyle,
 Right in the haven of Athenes *fletinge* *Ib.*, 2551.
- Ther maistow seen *coming* with Palamoun
Ligurge him-self *C. T.*, A, 2128.
- Yet saugh I *woodnesse laughing* in his rage *C. T.*, A, 2011.
- Saw I *conquest sittinge* in greet honour *Ib.*, 2028.
- For sikirly I saugh *him nat stiringe* *Ib.*, 3672.
- see (passive infinitive) :
- To se *our dere Children* that be so yong,
 With these Caytyves thus sodeynly *to be slayn* *Digby*, 13, 31.
- To se *hym* that regnyd in blisse . . .
 Thus *to be slayn* in al giltlesse *Ib.*, 193, 659.
- this is a dooleful syghte to see *the yonder knyghte so to be*
entreted *Malory*, 146, 1.
- called hym coward knyghte that he wold for shame of his
 knyghthode see *a lady soo shamefully be taken aweye* *Ib.*, 296, 18.
- see (other predicate) :
- hwen þai sehen *me swa wak and swa forhuhande and buhande*
 toward ham *Hom.*, I, 277.
- þat seh *to cleue his heorte wið þe speres ord* *Ib.*, 285.
- and segh þos *twie brodren* in þe se on here shipe *werpinde*
 ut here fishnet *Ib.*, II, 175.
- hwanne þu iseye *heouen-king*
 Of þe *ibore wip-vte* wo *O. E. Misc.*, 51, 495.
- God sag his *faste fair and good* *Gen.-Ex.*, 127.

- ðo pharaun sag is lond al fre *Ib.*, 3098.
- Quan he segen ðis hird al cumen *Ib.*, 3222.
- And kyng Cassibel y sei so muche folk y-lore,
and adreynt of his fon, glad he was þer fore *Robt. Glouc.*, 52.
- He sey þe emperoure's ost ysprad a boutte wyde *Ib.*, 55.
- þo he say ys felawes ymorþred so viliche *Ib.*, 126.
- whenne eiþer say oþere naked *Curs. Mundi*, 799.
- For bi his cheer he say him wroop *Ib.*, 1091.
- þan may men his liknes se
Chaunged, als it had never bene he *Pr. Con.*, 832.
- þarfor þe world, þat clerkes sees þus helde *Ib.*, 1478.
- For him men demen hoot that men seen swete *Troilus*, II, 153.
- I have eek seyn with teres al depeynted
Your lettre *Ib.*, v, 1599.
- Yet saugh I brent the shippes hoppesteres ;
The hunte strangled with the wilde beres ;
The sowe freten the child right in the cradel ;
The cook y-scalded, for al his longe ladel *C. T.*, A, 2017.
- sceawen : and þer wið-inna he him sceawede gan on ald mon þet
.iiii. deoflen ledden abuten *Hom.*, I, 43.
- behold : beholdynge *this lyght to shewe* forth *Fisher*, 50, 33.
- beholdeth *the corrupte mater ren* downe from his sores *Ib.*, 141, 17.
- whan thou behelde & sawe *that blyssed lorde turne aweye*
his face from the *Ib.*, 143, 24.
- whan he shall beholde *Eneas folowe* Sibille in to helle *Elyot*, 65.
- beholding *me daunce* *Ib.*, 226.
- behold (-ing infinitive) :
whan we beholde *a man and a woman daunsinge* *Elyot*, 236.
to beholde *a personage . . . folowyng* in his actis *Elyot*, 266.
- behold (passive infinitive) :
to beholde *a personage . . . to be resolued* in to all vices *Elyot*, 266.
- behold (other predicate) :
And som other man beholdeth *his conscience defouled* with
sinnes *Ch. Boeth.*, 188, 338.

- Beholdinge *his body thus torne & rente* Digby, 176, 146.
- Whan Arthur beheld *the ground so sore bebledde* Malory, 130, 15.
- beholdeth *hymselfe forsaken* by his owne defaute Fisher, 250, 31.
- And therefore when we behold *the Image* of the Crucifixe
in anye place *set vp* *Ib.*, 398, 17.
- beholdyng *them dayly broken* Elyot, 302.
- espy : she aspyed *an armed knyghte comyng* toward the bedde
Malory, 249, 12.
they may espy *vs wauer or stumble* Fisher, 83, 3.
- perceive : whan Ihesu perceyued & behelde *the ryche folkes offre*
many grete gyftes Fisher, 130, 14.
- and whan they perceyue *a synner leue* his synfull waye
Ib., 258, 13 ; 266, 10.
- perceyuing therin *to be a perfecte measure* Elyot, 224.
- whan they perceyue or here *any doctrine or vertuose*
worde procede from any of their companyons Elyot, 279.
- And if, moste vertuous prince, I may perceyue *your hyghnes*
to be herewith pleased *Ib.*, exciii.
- And finally perceyuing *hym to be* of a trew perfite faith,
and his desire to procede of a feruent mind More, 349, H.
- perceive (-ing infinitive) :
perceiuinge *the improfitable weedes apperynge* Elyot, 248.
- perceive (other predicate) :
he perceyueth *hymselfe deceyued* by his dreame Fisher, 78, 12.
wherto he perceiueth *the childe inclined* Elyot, 56.
- hear : And we iherden *heom heryen* in heore preching
After ure tunge þen heoueliche kyng *O. E. Misc.*, 56, 671.
1, 2 ; 56, 667 ; 56, 670.
- He herde *hem murnen* *Gen.-Ex.*, 2053.
- As men may here þer *clerkes telle* *Pr. Con.*, 983.
1303 ; 2268 ; 2810 ; 2903 ; 3392 ; 3815 ; 3954 ; 3992, etc.
- heere *her gostly fadris preche & do* after hem Wyclif, 159.
- I have yherde *hiegh men* etyng atte table,
Carpen as þei clerkes were of cryste and of his migtes
Piers Pl., x, 101 ; Prol., 189 ; xv, 521 ; xx, 229.

hear (-ing infinitive) :

Whan that she hereth any herde tale,
Or in the hegges any wight steringe *Troilus*, III, 1235.

I herde goinge, up and doune,
Men, hors, houndes, and other thing *Bk. of Duch.*, 348.

hear (passive infinitive) :

But who hering a man, whom he knoweth nat, *to be called*
a disar *Elyot*, 278.

hear (other predicate) :

Siben schul ye here *hit tolde* *Curs. Mundi*, 141.

For no man schulde here *goddis lawe tauwgt* *Wyclif*, 157.

I pray to god, so yeve me sorwe and care,
If ever, sith I highte Hogge of Ware,
Herde I a miller *bettre y-set a-werk* *C. T.*, A, 4335.

yf thou here ony thyng spoken *Fisher*, 80, 30.

find : *þesne mon we funde vorbeoden vre lawe* *O. E. Misc.*, 46, 325.

Ge schul bi neþe yet y fynde holwe stones tweye,
And in eyber a dragon þer inne *sepe faste* *Robt. Glouc.*, 131.

Freres and faitoures han founde *suche questiouns*
To plesse with proude men *Piers Pl.*, x, 71.

þow shalt fynde *fortune þe faille* *Ib.*, xi, 28.

fond *hir fro the mete aryse* *Troilus*, II, 1462.

I fond *him for to haue don* no thing worthi of deeth
Acta Apos., 25, 25.¹

find (-ing infinitive) :

þei fond *loth sittynng bi þe gate* *Curs. Mundi*, 2767.

And *figtyng*e fonde he *iewes two* *Ib.*, 5666.

I coom rennonde

On mounte Gelboe & fonde
Saul lenyng on his spere *Ib.*, 7804.

She fond *hit ded liggynng* her by *Ibid.*, 8617.

And thou shalt finde *us*, if I may, *sittynge*
At som windowe, in-to the strete *lokinge* *Troilus*, II, 1014.

And at the laste *her love* than hath she founde
Betyng with his heles on the grounde *L. G. W.*, 862.

¹ Koch, *Grammar*, II, 114.

- And so bifel, that in the tas they founde . . .
Two yonge knightes ligging by and by C. T., A, 1009.
- find (passive infinitive):
 Gef alle luper holers were y-serued so,
 Me schulde fynde þe les *such spouse bruche do* Robt. Glouc., 26.
- find (other predicate):
 fint hit *emti and mid besme clene swopen* Hom., II, 87.
 gef hie findeð *us slepende* Ib., 193, 201.
 He smot on ðat flod wið ðat wond,
 Sone anon *blod* men al *it fond* Gen.-Ex., 2944.
 Ful soone he fonde *hit ful grille* Curs. Mundi, 464.
 Vpon þe watir þere he fond
A drenched beest þere fletond Ib., 1885.
 4024; 4163; 4563; 5043; 5743; 6829; 7716.
 And þo fonde I þe *frere aferde and flyttinge* bothe Piers Pl., XI, 62.
- meet (present participle):
 I met *the kingis sekand a barne* Townley, 149, 275.
- read (passive participle):
This thyng we rede *done* in an other parable Fisher, 264, 26.
- feel: For whiche him thoughte he felte *his herte blede* Troilus, I, 502.
 That yet fele I *myn herte* for him *wepe* Ib., II, 567.
 But wel he felte aboute his herte *crepe* . . .
The crampe of deeth, to streyne him by the herte Ib., III, 1069.
 III, 1443; 1671; V, 17; C. T., A, 1220.
- feel (infinitive and present participle):
 þat he or scho þat es in þis degre, may als wele fele þe *fyre of life*
byrnand in þaire saule, als þou may fele þi *fynger byrn*, if þou
 putt it in þe fyre Hampole, I, 32.
- feel (other predicate):
 Wha-swa feles *hym* here *gylty* Pr. Con., 3374.
 whan he felte *hym self soo wounded* Malory, 350, 5.
 reade it at suche tymes as you shall feele *your selfe most heauie*
and slouthfull to doe any good worke Fisher, 351, 13.
 when shee felt *hyr selfe tempted* with hyr ghostly enemy.
 Ib., 414, 32.

C. VERBS DENOTING MENTAL ACTION

The dividing line between verbs of sense and mental perception is not one which can be precisely marked. It will be noted that in a number of the citations grouped under *sense perception* the verbs have a derivative force which tends to place them in the other class. The fact that the same verbs assume the two significations naturally involves the extension of the construction in vogue after the primary class to the derivative class. But, further than this, there are in Old English a number of verbs which are not associated with any idea of sensation and which admit after them an accusative with infinitive of a more developed type than any thus far noticed.

Old English

gefrignan, gefrīnan, gefricgean :¹

þā ic aldor gefrægn Elamitar
fromne folctogan fyrd gebēodan Gen., 1960.

þā ic nēðan gefrægn under nihtscuwan
hæleð tō hilde Ib., 2060.
2242 ; 2482 ; 2540.

Hwæt ! wē feor ond nēah gefrigen habað
ofer middangeard Moyses dōmas,
wræclīco wordriht wera cnēorissum,
in uprodor ēadigra gehwām
æfter bealusīðe bōte lifes,
lifigendra gehwām langsumne ræd,
hæleðum secgan² Exod., 1.
98 ; 285.

¹ Both *gefrignan* and (*ge*)*hýran* (= *hear of, i. e., learn*) take also a pure accusative, even when unaccompanied by an infinitive, *e. g.*,

Nō ic on niht gefrægn
under heofones hwealf heardran feoltan
ne on ēgstrēamun earnran mannon Beow., 575.

Nænigne ic under swegle sētran hýrde Ib., 1197.

² The infinitive here is passive : 'we have heard the decrees of Moses to be announced far and near over the mid-earth,' etc.

- Gefrægn ic *Hebrēos* ēadge *līfgean*
in Hierusalem goldhord *dælan*
cyningdōm *habban*, swā him gecynde wæs
57; 459; 739. *Dan.*, 1.
- þā gēt ic furðor gefregen *fēonda* . . .
. . . *ondetan*
526. *Cr. & Sat.*, 225.
- Gefrægen ic ðā *Holofernus*
wīnhātan *wyrcean* georne ond eallum wundrum þrymlic
girwan up swāsendo
246. *Jud.*, 7.
- Ne wē sōðlice *swylc* ne gefrugnan
in *ærdagum* *æfre gelimpan* *Crist*, 78.
- Fela* ic monna gefrægn *mægþum wealdan*
Widsith, 10.
- Ne gefrægn ic þā *mægþe māran* weorode
ymb hyra sincgyfan *sēl gebæran*
1027; 1966; 2484; 2694; 2752; 2773. *Beow.*, 1011.
- Ne gefrægn ic *næfre* wurþlicor æt wera hilde
sixtig sigebeorna sēl gebæran
ne *næfre swānas swētne* medo *sēl forgyldan*
Finnsb., 37.
- Ðā ic lungre gefrægn *lēode* tosomne
burgwaru *banman*
1706. *Andr.*, 1093.
- Hwæt! ic *flitan* gefrægn on fyrndagum
mōdglēawe men middangeardes *ræs*wum
Sol. & Sat., 179.
- Ic on wincle gefrægn *weax nāthwæt*
þindan ond þunian, þecene *hebban*
Riddles, XLVI, 1.
- Ic gefrægn for hæleðum hring *ærendean*,
torhtne butan tungan tila *reordian*
Ib., XLIX, 1.
- gefrignan, gefricgean (other predicate):
Hwæt! wē gefrūnan on fyrndagum
twelfe under tunglum *tīrēadige hæleð*,
þeodnes þegnas
Andr., 1.
- syððan hīe gefricgeað *frēan* *ūserne*
ealdorlēasne
Beow., 3002.
- hýran: ne hýrde ic *guman* ā fyrn
ænigne *ær æfre bringan*
ofer sealtne mere *sēlran* *lāre*
Menologium, 101.

- Ne h̄yrde ic s̄ið ne ær.
 on ēgstrēame *idese lēdan*
 on merestræte mægen fægrre *Elene*, 240.
- Gif þē þæt gelimpe on lifdagum,
 þæt ðū gehyre ymb þæt hālige trēo
frōde frignan ond geffitu *ræran*
 be þām sigeþeame *Ib.*, 441.
- h̄yran (passive infinitive):
 Ne hyrde ic cymlicor *cēol gegyrwan*
 hildewæpnum ond heaðowædum *Beow.*, 38.
- witan: Ðær ic *seomian* wāt þinne *sigebrōðor*
 mid þām burgwarum bendum fæstne *Andr.*, 183.
- þær he glædmōd *geonge* wiste
 wic *weardian* *Jul.*, 91.
- se þe his mondryhten
 life belidenne lāst *weardian*
 wiste *wine lēofne* *Guth.*, 1311.
- hwær ic under swegle sēlast wisse
 goldhrodene *cwēn* giefe *bryttian* *Widsith*, 101.
- Ic wāt eardfæstne *ānne standan* *Riddles*, I, 1.
- Hyse cwōm gangan, þær hē h̄ie wisse
standan in wīnsele *Ib.*, LV, 1.
- Ic wāt *ānfēte* ellen *drēogan*
 wiht on wonge *Ib.*, LIX, 1.
- witan (other predicate):
 þā hē h̄it *geare* wiste
 synnihte *beseald*, sūsle *geinnod*,
geondfolen f̄yre ond f̄ærcyle,
 rēce ond rēade lēge *Gen.*, 41.
- þær hē wiste *handgeweore* heofoncyniges
 wiste *forworhte* þā hē ær wlite sealde
 1346; 2517; 2793. *Ib.*, 494.
Ib., 857.
- wiston him *be sūðan* Sigelwara *land* *Exod.*, 69.
- wiston *drihten*
 ēene uppe, *ælmihhtigne* *Dan.*, 194.
- on þām drihtenweard *dēopne* wisse
 sefan *sīdne gēþanc* ond snytro *cræft* *Ib.*, 535.

- wiston gumena gemōt,
 æþelinges *lic* eorðærne *bīþcaht* *Harr. of Hell*, 2.
 þæs þe ic þē on þyssonum *hȳnðum* wāt *Body & Soul*, 156.
- þe him symle wāt
 after ligþræce *lif ednūwe* *Phoenix*, 369.
- wāt *his iūwine*
 æþelinga *bearn* eorþan *forgiefene* *Seafarer*, 92.
- wiste þām *āhlæcan*
 tō þām *hēahsele hilde geþinged* *Beow.*, 646.
 714 ; 764 ; 1306 ; 1863 ; 2409.
- Wāt ic *Mathēus* þurh *māenra* hand
hrīnan heorudolgum, *hēafodmagu*
searonettum beseted *Andr.*, 941.
- witon hyra *hyht mid drihten*
 976 ; 1065 ; 1326. *Guth.*, 61.
- ond mē þæt tō worulde wāt tō *helpe* *Psalms*, LI, 7.
- forðon ic *hine goodne* wāt *Ib.*, LIII, 6 ; CV, 1.
 LVIII, 3 ; CXVIII, 14, 21, 164 ; CXXI, 18.
- Ne wāt ic *mec beworhtne* wulle flȳsum *Riddles*, XXXVI, 3.
- Ic wāt *mīne sāule synnum forwundod* *Hymns*, I, 3.
- cunnan (predicate adjective) :
 ond ic þīne *sōðfestnysse sweotule* cunne *Psalms*, CXVIII, 12.
- forstandan (predicate adjective) :
 selfe forstōdon
his word onwendod *Gen.*, 769.
- āfandian : ic habbe āfandod þē *habban gōde gefēran* *Col. ad Puer.*¹
- ongitan : bearhtm ongēaton
gūðhorn galan *Beow.*, 1431.
- þæt hē þone *grundwong* ongitan meahte,
 wræte *giondulitan* *Ib.*, 2770.
- hē *hine sylfne* mā ongæt æfweardne *āgyllan* beforan
 his fæder ēagum *Benedictes* *Greg.*, 130, 5.
 se cognovit etiam absentem in *Benedictis patris oculis deliquisse*

¹ Koch : *Grammar*, II, 112.

and ēac, þæs þe þā wif sǣdon, þæt hī ongæton þær mycele
mænigo in gān *Ib.*, 284, 26.
 atque, ut dicebant, *intransium multitudinem* sentiebant

ðā ongēat hē mid scarepre glēawnysse *hwæthugu wundurlicre*
 hālignesse on ðære stōwe *bēon* Bede, 533, 42.
 intellexit *aliquid sanctitatis* huic loco *in esse*

gif ðū heofonlic weorud ongēate ofer ūs *cuman* *Ib.*, 568, 31.
 si *caelestes supervenire coetus* cognovisti

þone sylfan rīm wintra *hine hæbbende bēon*, oft hē ær his
 monnum foresæde þæt hē mid onwrignesse his swefnes
 ongēate *Ib.*, 621, 23.¹
 quem *se numerum annorum fuisse habiturum*, ipse jamdudum
 somnii revelatione edoctus suis *praedicere* solebat

ongitan (passive infinitive) :

ðā ongēat hēo ge on ðām swefne ge on hire mōdes
 gesyhþe hire *ætjwed bēon* þæt hēo geseah *Bede*, 596, 6.²
 intellexit vel in somnio vel in visione mentis *ostensum*
 sibi *esse quod viderat*

ongitan & oncnāwan (passive infinitive) :

ge ēac *fela ōpera gescreōpa & gesynto . . . hē oncnēow &*
 ongēat heofonlic him *forgifēn bēon* *Bede*, 592, 22.²
 sed & *alia commoda & prospera caelitus sibi fuisse donata* intellexit

ongitan (other predicate) :

Hē ongit siððan
yfel ond unnēt eall þæt hē hæfde
 on his incofan *æror lange* *Metra*, xxii, 16.

frīne mē syþþan
 ond *mīne stīge* ongit *gestaðelode* *Psalms*, cxxxviii, 20.

gemunan : ēac ic gemān mē *sylfne secgan* *Greg.*, 281, 9 ; 283, 1.
 jam *narrasse me memini* (recolo)

on mīnum swēoran, in ðām ic mē gemon *gēo beran*, ðā ic geong
 wæs, ðā ydlan byrþenne *gyldenra sigla* *Bede*, 589, 26.³

¹ Wulfing, II, 187.

² *Ib.*, 190.

³ *Ib.*, 188.

geācsian : and wē geācsodon *his geceasterwaran bēon* godes englas
and wē geācsodon þāra engla *gefēran bēon þā gāstas sōðfæstra* and
fullfremedra manna Wulfstan, 2, 1.¹

geleornian : in ðām ānum hē geleornode moncynne *ingong openian*
ðæs heofonlican lifes Bede, 620, 39.²
in quo solo didicerat generi humano *patere vitae caelestis*
introitum

geleornian (passive infinitive) :
worhte ðā cyricean, ðe hē ær gēara iu geleornade ealde Rōmanisce
weorce *geworhte bēon* Bede, 498, 31.³
ecclesiam *quam ibi antiquo Romanorum fidelium opere factam*
fuisse didicerat

wēnan : on ðære stōwe wynsumnesse mid ðy ic *unc wēnde ingangende*
bēon Bede, 629, 39.²
in cuius amoenitatem loci cum *nos intraturos sperarem*

gelýfan (passive infinitive) :
ðā æriste hē gelýfde on ānum ðāra restedaga *bēon gewordene*
Bede, 548, 28.³

Middle English

hear : Alas sayd syr Launcelot that euer I shold lyue to here *that*
moost noble kyng that maad me knyght thus *to be ouersette* wyth his
subiecte in his owne royame Malory, 852, 14.

witen : And sone he dede it eft agen,
Al hol and fer he wiste *it sen*⁴ Gen.-Ex., 2811.

tho thinges *which that* purviance wot biforn *to comen*
Ch. Boeth., 198, 91.
Men wiste never *womman han* the care Troilus, v, 20.

not with stonde that thei wisten *these seid bokis not be* of Holi
Scripture Pecoock, 251.

I wille not wete *my lady to be* in no ieopardy Malory, 120, 30.

¹ *Ib.*, 187.

² *Ib.*, 188.

³ *Ib.*, 190.

⁴ He knew it to be.

witen (*-ing* infinitive) :

Eek right so, whan I woot *a thing coming* *Troilus*, IV, 1075.

witen (passive infinitive) :

Ghe wiste of water *it boren ben* *Gen.-Ex.*, 2632.

witen (other predicate) :

wiste *hire drogen sori* for *ðrist* *Gen.-Ex.*, 977.

of ali kinde he wiste *him boren* *Ib.*, 2761.

Maxencius þo he wiste *him come* *Robt. Glouc.*, 86.

He says, "if my fader or moder ware
In helle, and I wist *þam þare*" *Pr. Con.*, 2845.

And wist *her foos brought to grounde* *Curs. Mundi*, 2534.

I wist not *his wonyng here* *Ib.*, 3800.

Falsenesse is faine of hire for he wote *hire riche* *Piers Pl.*, II, 77.

he wiste *hym moste fell and hasty* *Merlin*, 30.

I wyste *you neuer soo mysauysed* as ye are now *Malory*, 358, 29.

know : And knew *coueryng to com of care* *Curs. Mundi*, 3478.

he þat alpha con not seen
how schulde he knowe *tayu to ben* *Ib.*, 12203.

Who knew euer *any kyng such counsel to take* *Gawain*, 682.

men þat knowen þe *freedom of goddis ordynaunce* for prestis *to be*
þe beste *Wyclif*, 194.

whanne that god knoweth *anything to be* *Ch. Boeth.*, 204, 176.

whan that god knoweth *any thing to bityde* *Ib.*, 204, 179.

he knoweth *it to be* *Ib.*, 204, 208.

he knowith *me admytte and allowe* the writingis of *Doctouris*
Pecock, 71.

This childe is right wise that knewe *this to ben* here
Merlin, 37.

know (passive infinitive) :

he knoweth and vnderstandeth *hymselfe to be delyuered*
Fisher, 111, 22.

know (other predicate) :

þis *wommon* was þe furst man knew
Martirid for loue of crist iesu *Curs. Mundi*, 8923.

- hir gyeint* abouen the kne
naked the knightes knewe *Sir Tristrem*, II, 103.
- “Madame,” quod he, “hit is so long agoon
 That I *yow* knew so *charitable and trewe*”
L. G. W., A, 433.
- be iewes knewe *hemseluen*
Gultier as afor god *Piers Pl.*, XII, 80.
- wenen : For whenne þou wenest *hit* trewest to be *Curs. Mundi*, 59.
 & wayned *hom* to *wynne* be worchip ber-of *Gawaine*, 984.
- And who-so sayth, or weneth *it be*
 A jape or elles a nycetee *Ch. R. R.*, 11.
- he, *that* thou wenest *be* glorious and renomede *Boeth.*, 161a27.
 181, 14 ; 188, 251 ; 189, 405 ; 195, 111.
- that is goddes myght,
 Which *wham* men wene most upryght
 To *stonde*, schal hem overcaste *Conf. Am.*, Prol., 655.
- Thei wene *it be* a Paradys *Ib.*, I, 502.
- This ij^e* opinioun thei wenen to be groundid
 129 ; 149 ; 151. *Pecock*, 6.
- wenen (other predicate) :
 weneth *him-selven nedy* *Ch. Boeth.*, 143a25.
- why thou sholdest wene *thy-self a wrecche*
 144, 83 ; 149, 99. *Ib.*, 144, 85.
- He weneth *no knyght so good* as he *Malory*, 202, 10.
 but he shall wene *it be* the Duke *Merlin*, 76.
- menen : Bot mon most I algate mynn *hym* to bene *Gawaine*, 141.
 but if thei meeneden *hem* in that that thei weren
 preestis *forto be* ouerers to hem to whom thei
 weren preestis *Pecock*, 425.
- trowen : *This* I trowe *be* treuthe *Piers Pl.*, I, 143.
 trowe *it be* trewe *Pecock*, 50.
- thou trowist *Artur and Iulius Cesar and Hector* to be
 quyk in thi clooth *Ib.*, 151.
- trowid *no thing be* better and mygtier and vertuoser
 than *eche of these spiritis* to be *Ib.*, 244 ; 153.

trowen (passive infinitive) :

as the seide hethen men trowiden the seid *ymagis to haue*
be quyke continueli with the seid spiritis whom thei
trowiden to haue be Goddis, therefore tho hethen men
trowiden tho ymagis to haue alwey herd . . . and haue
seen *Ib.*, 246.

think : holy faders thynke *all synners to be vnder*
 the power of an euyl spyryte Fisher, 71, 7.

suche as thynke *themselſe to haue deserued* more than other
Ib., 264, 18.

they bee fewe or none *that I can thynke to bee* auayleable
Ib., 359, 23.

they think *that to be* very seruice of God More, 359 C.

think (other predicate) :

þenche gie *ælc word of him swete* *Hom.*, I, 217.

þe ne wilen noht here sinnes forleten ac þincheð *hem swete*
Ib., II, 83.

þencheð *þis mannes wile boht mid þe almesse* *Ib.*, II, 157.

As moyses on fer þought
 þe *tre brennyng & brent nought* *Curs. Mundi*, 5751.

þai þynk *þam-self vylest* Hampole, I, 17.

Haly men thought *þis luf bot wast*
 3998 ; 4915 *Pr. Con.*, 2184.

þei þenken *it ynowg to kepe here owene fyndyngis*
Wycliff, 77.

Ye xall nat thynk *your mony spent in wast* *Digby*, 73, 487.

thynkyng *my-selff creatur' most veyne* *Ib.*, 146, 195.

he thoght *hymself as worthi as hym that hym made*
Townley, 23, 19.

And we thoght *it well wroght* *Ib.*, 286, 237.

I thought *no man my pere ne to me semblable* Malory, 177, 20.

I wold thynke *my selfe good ynough* for them all *Ib.*, 234, 36.

bothe they thoughte *it a passyngge fayre swerd* *Ib.*, 289, 28.

euery man thynketh *his owne lady fayrest* *Ib.*, 358, 20 ; 25.

judge : And þoug Iustices iugge *hir to be ioigned with fals*
Piers Pl., II, 136.

iuge and diffame ful scherpli weelnyg *alle Cristene*
to be ydolaters Pecock, 149.

- they iudge *swete to be sowre & sowre to be swete* . . .
 and *that they iudge to be the lawe of God* which
 is but a fals imaginacion More, 359 B-C.
- judge (other predicate) :
 Sitthen Iuwes þat we iugge *Iudas felawes* Piers Pl., IX, 84.
- Ne I may nat, for swiche honours, iugen *hem worthy*
 of reverence Ch. Boeth., 158, 32.
- deem : How many men, trowest thou, wolden demen
hem-self to ben almost in hevене Ch. Boeth., 145, 116.
 And demed *him-self ben lyk a cokewold* C. T., A, 3226.
- deem (passive infinitive) :
 And thilke thing *that any wight demeth to ben desired*
Ch. Boeth., 194a18.
what resoun deemeth to be doon for God Pecock, 223.
- deem (other predicate) :
 demed *hire unmihti onont hire seoluen to etstonden wið his*
Hom., I, 255.
 Nu is riht þenne þat we demen *us seolf eauer unmihtie*
 to werien Ib., 257.
- we demen *us seolf eðeliche ant lahe* Ib.
- for þenne demeð he *us muche wurð* Ib.
- Ne deme ðe nogt *wurði* O. E. Misc., 6, 186.
- Also men demen *it a grete charite to saue* . . . Wyclif, 58.
- þes prelati demen *heresie alle þat is agenst here*
 lykyng Ib., 85.
- that I deme and hold unworthy* Ch. Boeth., 158, 34.
- the whiche wikked shrewes wolde I demen aldermost*
unsely and caitifs Ib., 181, 55 ; 177, 171 ; 182, 118 ; 187, 208.
- Wol deme *it love of freendship in his minde* Troilus, II, 371.
- For *him men deemen hoot that men seen swete* Ib., II, 1533.
- I trowe men wolde deme *it negligēce* C. T., A, 1881.
- hold : I holde *hit be a sikēnesse*
 That I have suffred this eight yere Bk. of Duchess, 36.
- no Cristen man holdith or trowith *eny godli vertu to be*
 in eny ymage Pecock, 153.

hold (other predicate) :

- hald *hinne þenne swilche mon þe beo bute lage* *Hom.*, I, 17.
 Whar-for I hald *a man nocht witty* *Pr. Con.*, 588,
 He prayses ald men and haldes *þam wyse* *Ib.*, 794.
 And *worlisshe riches*, how-swa þai come,
 I hald *noght elles bot filth and fantome* *Ib.*, 1196.
 1094 ; 1349 ; 1528 ; 1609 ; 1920 ; 4298.
 And al holicherche holdeth *hem bothe ydampned*
þat folke helden me a fole *Piers Pl.*, x, 386.
Ib., xv, 10.
 haldes *þam wretchedest, leste, & lawest* *Hampole*, I, 17.
 holden *hem goode cristen men* *Wyclif*, 25 ; 86.
 Wemay, man, I hold *the mad* *Townley*, 13, 148.

account : *which name they accounte to be of so*
 base estymation

Elyot, 99.

wherin they accounted *to be the truest and most*
 certayne *meditation of warres*

Ib., 188.

(ac)count (other predicate) :

- As to þe clergyge of cryst counted *it but a truþle* *Piers Pl.*, xii, 140.
 I cownte *us shent* *Townley*, 319, 435.
 I compte *me neuer the wers knyght for a falle of sir*
Bleoberys *Malory*, 342, 12.
 thenne I accompte *her trauaille but loste* *Ib.*, 234, 34.
 And *connyng* . . . they reiecte, and accounte *unworthy*
 to be in their children *Elyot*, 112.

consider : more than y se men considere *it so to come*

Pecock, 474.

consider (predicate noun) :

ye al *this considered a meetly thyng for vs to desyre*

Fisher, 306, 20.

let (= consider, with predicate adjective) :

and for þese þre þing let *hit unleslich* and ne lefde *hit*
 noht

Hom. II, 125.

have (predicate noun) :

for alweyes ye wold haue *me a coward*

Malory, 221, 21.

- reckon : rekeneth *all other* that folowe not theyr
opinions *to be* deuyded from the chyrche Fisher, 343, 3.
I rekoned *my selfe to be* in most healthe *Ib.*, 362, 18.
- reckon (other predicate) :
reken *myself unable* More, 351 A.
I reckon *myself* of duetye depely *bounden* *Ib.*, 352 A.
- repute : reputeth *all theym* that folowe not his doctryne
to be deuyded from the chirche catholyke Fisher, 342, 30.
they dyd repute *themself & theyr adherentes* only
to be of the chirche catholyke Fisher, 343, 1.
reputing all that *his fiers demeanure to be*, (as it
were), a diuine maiestie Elyot, 40.
- repute (predicate noun) :
Who wyll nat repute *it a thinge* vayne and
scornefull Elyot, 266.
- suppose : supposyng by here seyde sute *hem to*
haue taken of the seyde William. . . . Paston, 1, 18.
they which do suppose *it so to be called* Elyot, 2.
one supposed *felicite to be* onely in lechery *Ib.*, 24.
some suppose *it to be* fury and hastines *Ib.*, 37.
49; 116; 124; 237; 273; 278.
- presuppose : Who euer in his speche . . . presupposith *the same*
gouernaunce to be knowen bfore his same speche *and to be knowen*
eer he so ther of spekith Pecock, 23.
- take : Wherefore alle the men in thilk while taken *a creature to*
be her God Pecock, 199.
- tell (= reckon, with other predicate) :
Swo ben alle oregel men *be telleð hem seluen heige*
Hom., II, 37.
Certainly I tell *us shent* *Townley*, 319, 446.
- comprehend : as science comprehendeth *it to be* Ch. *Boeth.*, 195, 130.
- conceive : and no man conceyue *me* in contrarie wise
to feele Pecock, 90.
- imagine : ymagine *this freend be* present to us *Ib.*, 269.

- tergates, *that they imagined to falle from heuen* Elyot, 223.
- understand : which wordis many men vnderstonden
*Crist to haue seid and meened of the sect of
 Pharisees* Pecock, 529.
- they wepte to see and vnderstande *soo yonge a
 knyght to Ieoparde hym self for their ryghte* Malory, 281, 17.
- leuen (= believe, with predicate participle) :
 I dred nought þat so sore
 As when I lened and leued *it lost* Piers Pl., XIII, 38.
- believe : whi and wherto schulden we bileene
his seiying to be trewe Pecock, 351.
- he beleued *them to be goddes frendes* More, 348 D.
- they beleued *it to be trewe* Ib., 349 H.
- feynen : He sal feyn *hym to ryse fra dede* Pr. Con., 4304.
- Gif þei feynen *hem to be men of abstynence* Wyclif, 13.
- feynen (other predicate) :
- He sal feyn *him ded til mens syght* Pr. Con., 4302.
- Gif þei feynen *hem sotil of fisik and knowynge
 of wymmenys complexcion* Wyclif, 10 ; 11 ; 172.
- feyned *hem blynde* Piers Pl., VI, 123.
- But þo þat feynen *hem folis* Piers Pl., X, 38.
- I will to-morowe go to an Abbey, and feyne *me
 stronge sike* Merlin, 52.
- pretend : pretending *hem to loue the lawe of God* Pecock, 462.
- record : as ech wijs man can *it recorde to be
 trewe* Ib., 249.
- remember : whan we remembre *our selfe to be
 tempted* Fisher, 79, 22.
- forget : having forgotten *that copy to remayne in
 my hand* More, 1426.
- savor : all true christen nacions haue sauored
always those meatis to be good and holsome More, 359 H.

- trust : he trusteth to god or euer he come to the
courte ageyne to be of as grete noblesse as
euer were ye bothe and *mo men to speke* of his
noblesse than euer they did yow Malory, 590, 33.
- shall not I trust one time or other *lacke to
suffyse* More, 356 C.
- dread : he dred *hym self to be shamed* Malory, 218, 5.
- fear : ferynge *the vengeance* of god to fall upon
them Fisher, 107, 17.
- promise : He promysed also at his ascencion *the
holy ghost to come* Fisher, 108, 25.
- deserve : *Such a dunt* as þu hatz dalt disserued þu
habbez
To be gederly golden on nw geres morn Gawaine, 452.

Modern English

- believe : but I cannot
Believe *this crack to be* in my dread mistress *W. T.*, I, ii, 322.
whom I believe *to be* most strait in virtue *Meas. f. Meas.*, II, i, 9.
- Believing *you to be* an universal encourager of
liberal arts and sciences *Spec.*, No. 54.
- No complaisance to our court, or to our age,
can make me believe *nature to be so changed* Burke, 357.
- We must be tainted with a malignity truly
diabolical, to believe *all the world to be*
equally wicked and corrupt *Ib.*, 378.
- The necessary approach to our use of the
salvation offered by the Christian religion
is to believe *the story* of Adam's fall to be
historical Arnold, xvii.
- his disciples believed *him to have risen* *Ib.*, xxxix.
13; 175 ;
- believe (other predicate) :
we did not believe *the reporters* of Jesus capable,
in either case, of rendering Jesus perfectly Arnold, 153.

- conceive : and of the same do some conceive *our father Adam to have been* Browne, 20.
whom many conceive to have borrowed his description from More *Ib.*, 385.
 34 ; 387 ; 445 ; 472.
- conceive (-ing infinitive) :
This sort of incident, again, it is as natural to conceive repeating itself Arnold, 48.
 101 ; 252 ; 274.
- conceive (other predicate) :
conceiving the heavens an animated body Browne, 19.
 58 ; 63 ; 72 ; 84 ; 457 ; 481 ; 493.
- I conceive *them very sufficient to account for all the phenomena* Burke, 186.
- consider : I did not consider *things from books to be of so much good to me* Arnold, 169.
- consider (other predicate) :
 since the jurisprudence of this country does not consider *any person incompetent to manage his own affairs* Bagehot, 65.
 170.
- although we did not consider *the ordinances of society binding* Arnold, 133.
- esteem : since we esteem *this opinion to have some ground in nature* Browne, 62.
- esteem (predicate adjective) :
 that *which both esteemed affixed and certain* *Ib.*, 66.
- fancy : might fancy *sailors to be* Bagehot, 233.
 fancy . . . *a seafaring village to be like that* *Ib.*, 233.
- fancy (-ing infinitive) :
 I have often fancied *one of our old kings standing in person, where he is represented in effigy, and looking down upon . . .* *Spec.*, No. 69.
- fancy (other predicate) :
 fancies *himself out of the world* *Ib.*, 15.
 25 ; 63.

- We fancy *his mind placed* in the light of thought
Bagehot, 84.
- guess : *These I guess to be* a party of puns
Spec., 63.
- hold : the greater file of the subject held *the duke*
to be wise
Meas. f. Meas., III, ii, 144.
- some hold *it to be* seven heads
Burke, 139.
- hold (predicate noun) :
And *Valentine* I'll hold *an enemy*
Two Gent., II, vi, 29.
- imagine : as I imagine *it to be* in all respects
the opposite
Burke, 160.
- Ugliness* I imagine likewise *to be* consistent
enough with an idea of the sublime
Ib., 160.
- men imagine *it to be* adequate
Arnold, XXXVIII.
- who imagines *Moses* or *Isaiah* or *David* or *Paul*
or *Peter* or *John* to have written Bible-books which
they did not write
Ib., 12.
34 ; 78 ; 137 ; 263.
- imagine (-ing infinitive) :
everything about which he can imagine there *being*
the smallest doubt
Arnold, 57.
210 ; 273 ; 332.
- imagine (other predicate) :
you imagine *me* too un hurtful *an opposite*
Meas. f. Meas., III, ii, 175.
- "*A great poet*," he says, "I should not have
imagined *myself*"
Bagehot, 55.
- judge (other predicate) :
If your honor judge *it meet*
Lear, I, ii, 297.
- Haply when they have judged *me fast asleep*
Two Gent., III, i, 25.
- a stranger to the cause of the appearance, would
rather judge *us under some consternation*
Burke, 84.
- presume (predicate adverb) :
presuming *therein some cordial relation*
Browne, 8.
- reckon : whereof I reckon
The casting forth to crows thy baby daughter
To be or none or little
W. T., III, ii, 191.

repute (predicate adjective) :

That all in England did repute *him dead* *I Hen. IV, V, i, 54.*

suppose : by supposing *humour to be* a person *Spec., 35.*

Supposing *you to be* a person of general knowlege *Ib., 41.*

Suppose *one* who had so vitiated his palate . . . *to be presented* with a bolus of squills *Burke, 68.*
73 ; 83 ; 85 ; 96 ; 144 ; 194 ;

We suppose therefore *the reader of Literature and Dogma to admit* the idea *Arnold, 136.*
15 ; 126 ; 150 ; 153 ; 181 ; 227 ; 254 ; 273 ; 338.

suppose (-ing infinitive) :

to suppose *him suddenly turning* to the law and its precepts is not natural *Arnold, 319.*

suppose (other predicate) :

he supposeth *the root of a tree the head or upper part* thereof *Browne, 18.*

supposing *the acuteness* of the sense equal *Burke, 74.*
122 ; 189 ; 194.

the writer of the Fourth Gospel *whom* we suppose *a Jew* *Arnold, 217.*
220.

suspect : If you meet a thief, you may suspect *him,* by virtue of your office, *to be* no true man *Much Ado, III, iii, 53.*

which, notwithstanding, many suspect *to be* but a panic terror *Browne, 46.*

suspect (predicate noun) : lest she suspect, as he does, *Her children not her husband's* *W. T., II, iii, 107.*

take : but he at that time, over-fond of the shepherd's daughter, so then he took *her to be* *W. T., V, ii, 127.*
Temp., II, ii, 112 ; Meas. f. Meas., III, ii, 17.

which . . . I take *to be written* by some young Templar *Spec., 8.*
20 ; 24 ; 28 ; 58 ; 65 ; 66 ; 67 ; 76 ; 79.

whose idea of the line of beauty I take in general *to be* extremely just *Burke, 156.*

think : I think *your blazon to be* true *Much Ado, III, i, 107.*

- I think *this lady*
 To be my child Cordelia *Lear*, IV, vii, 69.
- And *this* we rather think to be the tree mentioned
 in the Canticles *Browne*, 433.
- he would think a *general mourning to be* in a less
 degree the same ceremony *Spec.*, 64.
- this difference, *which* I think to be apparent *Burke*, 63.
- I believe no man thinks a *goose to be* more beautiful
 than a swan *Ib.*, 67.
- beliefs *which* it now thinks to be untransformable
Arnold, xl.
- They think *the body of laws* now existing to be, in
 the main and in its essence, excellent *Bagehot*, 19.
- think (other predicate) :
 May I be bold
 To think *these spirits?* *Temp.*, IV, i, 119.
- Two Gent.*, I, ii, 24; II, vii, 33; *M. f. M.*, I, i, 22; *Lear*, I, iv,
 71; II, iv, 238, etc.
- a man . . . would think *himself* but *sixty-one*
 460; 495. *Browne*, 65.
- I shall not think *myself obliged* *Spec.*, 4.
 6; 8; 15; 16; 34; 35; etc.
- This manner* of proceeding I should think very
improper *Burke*, 57.
 147; 164; 378; etc.
- which* he was at first disposed to think *identical* with
 our St. Matthew *Arnold*, 286; 293; 339.
- every one thinks *himself competent* to think
 124; 155. *Bagehot*, 4.
- apprehend (predicate noun) :
 apprehending *their bodies* too tender a morsel
 for fire *Browne*, 483.
- compute : I compute *myself to be* two hundredweight *Spec.*, 25.
- know : I know *the gentleman*
 To be of worth and worthy estimation *Two Gent.*, II, iv, 55.
 III, i, 264; *M. f. M.*, III, i, 169; *Much Ado*, III, iii, 57; *W. T.*,
 IV, iii, 91; V, ii, 38; *I Hen. IV*, I, ii, 195; 205.

- I have known *the shooting of a star spoil a night's rest* . . . *Spec.*, 7.
20 ; 29 ; 33 ; 45 ; 54 ; 77 ; 79.
- when they know and feel *it to be* the effect and pledge of their own importance . . . *Burke*, 369.
- For *metaphysics* we know from the very name *to be* the science of things which come after natural things . . . *Arnold*, 50.
- the reputation . . . which we know *him to have* . . . *Ib.*, 170.
277 ; 315.
- I know *the present state* of things *to be* consistent with the existence of John Lord Eldon . . . *Bagehot*, 8.
144 ; 179 ; 205.
- know (other predicate) :
she knows *it cowardice* . . . *Two Gent.*, V, ii, 21.
Mer. Wives, III, iii, 123 ; *W. T.*, II, iii, 184.
- knowing *you a serious student* of the highest arcana of nature . . . *Browne*, 384.
- I have known *a soldier* that has entered a breach, *affrighted* at his own shadow . . . *Spec.*, 12 ; 18 ; 44.
- recognize : it will recognize *it to have been* an attempt conservative and an attempt religious . . . *Arnold*, xli.
- discover : one, *who*, by the shabbiness of his dress . . . I discovered *to be* of that species . . . *Spec.*, 31.
- those who have discovered *the action* of God *to be* impersonal . . . *Arnold*, 31.
- discovered *the nature* of God *to be* impersonal . . . *Ib.*
- find : I find *the brains to weigh* but half a drachm . . . *Browne*, 6.
7 ; 30 ; 403 ; 420 ; 431 ; 470 ; 471 ; 472.
- when a set of men find *themselves agree* in any particular . . . *Spec.*, 9.
14 ; 19 ; 25 ; 32 ; 41 ; 56 ; 63.
- we find *any object to be* beautiful . . . *Burke*, 134.
139 ; 382.
- find *themselves to be* out in their reckoning . . . *Arnold*, xliii.

- And *this conception* we shall find to stand us in
good stead *Ib.*, 341.
xv; 109; 127; 192.
- find (other predicate):
I find not
Myself disposed to sleep *Temp.*, II, i, 201; V, i, 98.
Mer. Wives, II, i, 246; *M. f. M.*, II, iv, 91; IV, iii, 93; IV, iii,
130.
- we shall find *it measured* by another number *Browne*, 52.
462; 471.
- I had the misfortune to find *his whole family*
very much *dejected* *Spec.*, 7.
29; 33; 57; 58; 78.
- we have found *them in a state* of much sobriety *Burke*, 84.
85; 109; 117; 136; 141; 155; 184; 188.
- find *the work useful* to them *Arnold*, xxxi.
- man . . . finds *laid down* for himself *no rights* *Ib.*, 8.
232; 323.
- mark: By noting of the lady I have mark'd
A thousand blushing *apparitions*
To start into her face, a thousand innocent
shames
In angel whiteness *beat away* those blushes *Much Ado*, I, i, 160.
- marking certain *mutations to happen* *Browne*, 70.
- observe: *The brains* of a man Archangelus and
Bauhinus observe *to weigh* four pounds *Browne*, 6.
78; 428.
- how empty I have in this time observed *some*
part of the species *to be* *Spec.*, 4.
19; 56; 75.
- such things as* we have already observed *to be*
genuine constituents of beauty *Burke*, 187.
- observe (other predicate):
false protestations *which* I observe *made* by
glances in publick assemblies *Spec.*, 4.
41; 53; 76.
- we shall all along observe *the sublime the*
concomitant of terror *Burke*, 114.

perceive : if I perceive *the love come from her* *Much Ado*, II, iii, 234.

Thus we may perceive the custom is more ancient than commonly conceived, and *these opinions* hereof in all ages, not any one disease, *to have been* the occasion of this salute and deprecation Browne, 35.

perceiving *the parts* of the human and other animal bodies *to be* at once very beautiful, and very well adapted to their purposes Burke, 147.

what they perceive, or think they perceive, *to be* a law of nature Arnold, 80.

Now, an unsubstantial ground of reliance men more and more perceive *miracles to be* *Ib.*, 91.

A French Dante . . . we at once perceive *to be* a mere anomaly Bagehot, 146.

perceive (-ing infinitive) :

I perceive a great national *law*, the law of righteousness, *ruling* the world Arnold, 101.

look upon : we look upon a certain northern Prince's *march* . . . *to be* palpably against our good-will and liking *Spec.*, 43.
52 ; 55 ; 61 ; 62.

feel : when they know and feel *it to be* the effect and pledge of their own importance Burke, 369.

extravagances *which* men versed in practical life *feel to be* absurd Arnold, 209.

makes him feel *certain things to be* improbable and impossible *Ib.*, 281.

they felt *him to be* a great man Bagehot, 23.

feel (-ing infinitive) :

he felt a *gale* of perfumes *breathing* upon him *Spec.*, 56.

feel (other predicate) :

It is worth observing how we feel *ourselves affected* in reading the characters of Caesar and Cato Burke, 152.

D. VERBS OF DECLARATION

The accusative with infinitive after verbs of declaration is found in Old English only in translated documents in imitation of the Latin original.

andettan : *ærðon David andette hi fram wifum clæne
bēon* Bede, 496, 15.

cweðan : on ðām nænig heora of þām þe hi ähton
ðwhit his bēon on sundran cwæð Bede, 489, 15.

bodian & lāran : *ðā ðe bododan & lārdon æwne willan
& ān wyrcnesse bēon on Drihtne hælende* Bede, 639, 34.
*qui unam in Domino Salvatore voluntatem atque
operationem dogmatizabant*

gecýðan : *hē gecýðde hine sylfne cunnan, hwylce
wāren Godes gestihtunge* Greg., 137, 7.

secgan : & hire sægde ealra heora *mōdor Hilde
abbuddisan þā of weorulde gelēoran & hire
gesēondre mid miccele leohte & mid engla
ðrēatum tō ðām ēcan leohta heofona rices
wuldres & tō gemānan þāra upplīcra
ceasterwarena āstīgan* Bede, 596, 10.¹

þā secgað hine lybban Luke, 24, 23.²

secgan (passive infinitive) :

*nis þæt wundor tō forswyggienne þæt Herebald
se Cristes ðēow sēde from him, & þæt ēac swylce
bēon geworden on him sylfum* Bede, 618, 27.³
*neque hoc praetereundum silentio, quod famulus
Christi Herebald in seipso ab eo factum solet
narrari miraculum*

tellan : *ne tellaþ wē synne wesan gesynscype* Bede, 495, 17.

gehātan : *gehēt hine sylfne deofolgyldum wīpsacan* Bede, 511, 35.⁴

¹ For this and preceding examples from Bede, see Wülfing, II, 188.

² Koch : *Grammar*, II, 112.

³ Wülfing, II, 190.

⁴ *Ib.*, 188.

The nearest approach to this locution in Old English poetry is found in the employment of an accusative with a predicate adjective after *secgan* in several passages.

ond þone clēnan ēac sacerd sōðlice sægdon tōweard	Crist, 136.
ōþer him þās eorþan calle sægde lāne under lyfte	Guthlac, 90.
sægdon hine sundorwīse	Elene, 588.
gecennan : ic þē ēcne god wēne gecenne	Glaubensbekenntnis, 4.

This construction, either with the infinitive or other predicate, begins to occur more frequently after the thirteenth century.

knowledge : Austin knoulechid <i>him silf hunte</i> out	Pecock, 178.
knowleged <i>hymselfe greuously to haue offended</i>	Fisher, 7, 10.
knowledge, <i>inacwen</i> (other predicate) :	
ich icnowe <i>me gulti</i>	Hom., I, 205.
knewleched <i>hym gulty</i>	Piers Pl., XII, 193.
he knowleged <i>himself worthy</i> to be hanged	More, 346 G.
Dauid was in wyll for to knowlege <i>hymselfe gyltye</i>	Fisher, 6, 30 ; 33, 18 ; 163, 27 ; 215, 31.
knowleged <i>hymselfe a greuous synner</i>	Ib., 131, 36. 144, 23 ; 162, 4.
confess : whan he dyd confesse <i>cryst Iesu to be the sone of god</i>	Fisher, 320, 14.
confess (predicate adjective): <i>my-selff right nought</i> than I confesse	Digby, 146, 201.
call (= declare): git say I more forsoþe here Of abraham <i>whiche ye calle</i> <i>For to be youre fadir alle</i>	Curs. Mundi, 12150.
thei callen <i>it to be werk of the feend</i>	Pecock, 476.

- clepe : but gif þei clepen be contrarie name þe
deuelis chirche to be holy chirche Wyclif, 61.
- If thou clepist oonli *thilk vertu to be a godli*
 vertu Pecock, 153.
- he clepith and seith *Thymothie to be such a*
 bischop *Ib.*, 446.
- tell : *size thingis* tellith Crist to come in his pas-
 sioun Wyclif,¹
- say ; he seith *his apostlis to be hise frendis* *Ib.*
- neither eny creature ougte seie *him to haue a*
 propre Euangelie Pecock, 61.
- If thou seie the now rehercid *opynyoun* of the
 seid clerk *to be groundid* here on this *Ib.*, 414.
- declare ; Dynys declarith openli *a bischop to be*
 aboue othere longer preestis Pecock, 446.
- he shall declare *them to be* of all men mooste
 fortunate Elyot, 38.
- declareth *to be* in them *these qualities or diuersities* *Ib.*, 289.
- declare (predicate participle) :
whiche I shall declare
 to the *apporprid* by moralite *Digby*, 20, 487.
- allege : alleggith *Holi Scripture to be* worthier
 than is the doom of resoun Pecock, 81.
- pronounce (predicate adjective) :
 whi schulde curatis pronounsen *here breþeren*
a cursed Wyclif, 35.
- gif a preste pronounce sicke *a man a cursed* *Ib.*, 36.
- preyse (predicate adjective) :
 Ac charite þat poule preyseth *best and most*
plesaunte to owre saueoure *Piers Pl.*, xv, 152.
- avaunt : what or wherto avauntede ye *me to ben*
 weleful *Ch. Boeth.*, 130, 34.

¹Schmidt : *Language of Pecock*, 119.

- their maister wyll perchance auauante *hym selfe*
to be a good philosopher Elyot, 167.
- whome he aduaunted to be his father *Ib.*, 222.
- prove: who euer can proue *him self to be noon*
such as y haue here now spoken of Pecoock, 88.
- for ellis there were no wey to proue bi it *eny*
thing be trewe *Ib.*, 373.
- And no scripture can there proue the very
trewe church to hold an article as trew faith More, 355 D.
- prove (other predicate):
& bi þis false lawe þei may proue *heretikis whom*
euer þei wolen Wyclif, 75.
- proue *eche kyng* in cristendom *forsworn & no*
kyng *Ib.*
- who that preued *hym the best knyght* Malory, 147, 15.
- warante: "Who is ther
That knocketh so? I warante *it a theef*" C. T., A, 3791.
- show: he therbi schewith weel *him to be noon of*
hem Pecoock, 88.
153; 239; 403.
- wherby he may shewe *his wretchednes to be grete &*
ouerheped Fisher, 74, 24.
102, 31; 136, 5.
- to shewe *him selfe to be weary* Elyot, 41.
- show (other predicate):
shewynge *themselfe culpable* Fisher, 153, 14.
226, 21; 253, 25.
- he shewed *himself* so *repentaunt* More, 346 H.
- shewed *themselues* open incestuose *harlottes* *Ib.*, 359 B.
- cleyme (= proclaim):
also he cleymyd *hym-sylf* son of þe godhed Digby, 105, 1321.
- proclaim: proclaymynge *hymselfe synfull & vnkynde*
Fisher, 236, 16.
- assent: and I assent, right as ye say,
Some preuay poynt to be puruayed Townley, 206, 71.



affirm : Johne Waters, that namyth hym self Paston,
and affermith *hym* untrewely *to be* my cousyn *Paston*, 1, 19.

What euer deede or thing Holi Scripture of the
Oold Testament tellith or affermeth *God haue*
do Pecock, 525.

whiche Plato affirmeth *to be* the firste and chiefe
parte of a publyke weale Elyot, excii.

which these fonde felowes affirme now *to be* bitter
and perilous meate . . . *such as* now these
mad men affirm *to be* well seasoned and good More, 360 A.

for *faith* his felowes and he affirme *to bee* that
thing which onely doth iustify us *Ib.*, 363 C.

describe : But yet Cornelius Tacitus describeth
an oratour to be of more excellent qualities Elyot, 117.

conclude : concludeth nat *daunsinge to be* at all
tymes and in euery maner unlauffull Elyot, 209.

define : prudence, *whom* Tulli defineth *to be* the
knowlege of thinges *whiche* ougte to be
desired and folowed Elyot, 239.

Pecock also employs the construction after *assigne* (209 ; 472), *conferme* (147 ; 528), *defende* (123), *denounce* (112), *denye* (509), *diffame* (149), *expresse* (305), *graunte* (246), *obiecte* (50), *prophesie* (234), *storie* (299), *teche* (248), *wijte* (155), *witnesse* (526).

Modern English

acknowledge : But Nineveh, *which* authors
acknowledge *to have exceeded* Babylon Browne, 399.

they acknowledged *their bodies to be* the lodging
of Christ *Ib.*, 481.

acknowledge (predicate adjective):
this thing of darkness I
Acknowledge *mine* *Temp.*, V, i, 276.

whom nature is ashamed
Almost to acknowledge *hers* *Lear*, I, i, 216.

- confess : *Which he confesseth to be manifold* I Hen. IV, IV, iii, 47.
 so doth Eucharist confess *it to be* the emblem of
 Christ Browne, 88.
all that we say about the Bible we confess to be
 a failure Arnold, 10.
- confesse (predicate participle):
 we have to confess *ourselves fairly puzzled and*
beaten Arnold, 61.
- confirm (predicate phrase):
 nor will inspection confirm *a peculiar vessel in*
this finger Browne, 10.
- (ac)count (other predicate):
 The philosopher accounts *that east* from whence
 the heavens begin their motion Browne, 21.
 51; 60; 65.
 Byron counted *the critic and poet equal* Bagehot, 202.
- declare : declared *the owners of it to be* altogether
 untainted Spec., 9.
 by declaring *him to be* without body Arnold, 74.
- declare (other predicate):
 declaring *in his death somewhat* above humanity Browne, 61.
 of whom I must declare *myself an admirer* Spec., 13.
- define : if we define *sitting to be* a firmation of the
 body Browne, 2.
 I shall here define *it to be* a conceit Spec., 62.
- demonstrate : *which we could demonstrate to be*
 beautiful Burke, 135.
- describe ; *whose tenderness* Busy describes *to be* very
 beautiful Spec., 65.
- discover : which must discover *the writer to be* a
 man of sense Spec., 35.
- give out (predicate participle):
which, but three glasses since, we gave out *split* Temp., V, i, 223.

- grant : though we grant *it to be measured* by sevens
Browne, 52.
- although we may grant *every logion* in the series
to be in itself authentic Arnold, 297.
- have : Nabuchodonosor (*whom* some will have to
be the famous Syrian king of Diodorus) Browne, 386.
439 ; 478 ; 489.
- have (other predicate) :
since some will have *them emeralds* Browne, 400 ; 464.
- justify (predicate noun) :
I here could pluck his highness' frown upon you
And justify *you traitors* Temp., V, i, 128.
- maintain : but I will maintain *the word* with my
sword *to be* a soldier-like word II Hen. IV, III, ii, 82.
- I have heard him oft maintain *it to be* fit Lear, I, ii, 77.
- and *this* my worthy predecessor . . . always
maintained *to be* no more than the true oval
proportion Spec., 52.
- the fundamental theme* of Jesus, we maintain *to*
be no " arid mysticism " at all Arnold, 284.
- mark (predicate adjective) :
These signs have mark'd *me extraordinary* I Hen. IV, III, i, 41.
- proclaim : and many other evidences proclaim *her*
to be with all certainty the king's daughter W. T., V, ii, 42.
- profess : so we profess
Ourselves to be the slaves of chance W. T., IV, iv, 550.
- profess (other predicate) :
that I profess
Myself an enemy to all other joys Lear, I, i, 74.
- profess *myself* . . . *your* ever faithful friend Browne, 453.
- pronounce : whether it pronounce *the attempt*
here made *to be* of solid worth or not Arnold, XLI.
75 ; 139 ; 231 ; 271.
- Goethe . . . pronounced *Beranger to have* " a
nature most happily endowed " Bagehot, 156.

pronounce (other predicate):

- I hate thee,
Pronounce *thee a gross lout, a mindless slave* *W. T.*, I, ii, 301.
- you may pronounce *it true* *Spec.*, 62.
- those who pronounce *them vain* Arnold, 2.
31 ; 143.

prove: proves *this to be* the Evangelist's main point

Arnold, 202 ; 227.

prove (other predicate):

- this proves *me still a sheep* *Two Gent.*, I, i, 82.
M. f. M., IV, ii, 40 ; *I Hen. IV*, I, iii, 95.

report: a notable lubber as thou reportest *him to be*

Two Gent., II, v, 47.

And was the duke a fishmonger, a fool, a coward, as you then reported *him to be*

Meas. f. Meas., V, i, 336.

the very words our Gospels report *him to have said*

Arnold, 264.

represent (predicate adjective):

after he has represented *Cimon so stupid* *Spec.*, 77.

say (predicate participle):

I should say *myself offended* *Ant. & Cleop.*, II, i, 32.

show: A little thought will shew *this to be impossible* Burke, 167.

an explanation *which* the whole account we have of Jesus shows *to be idle*

Arnold, 263 ; 300.

show (other predicate):

His little speaking shows *his love but small* *Two Gent.*, I, ii, 29.
Mer. Wives, II, iii, 56 ; *Lear*, III, iv, 36.

subscribe (predicate noun):

I will subscribe *him a coward* *Much Ado*, V, ii, 59.

swear (predicate noun):

I'll swear *myself thy subject* *Temp.*, II, ii, 155.

E. SUMMARY

From the very earliest times English, in common with other Indo-Germanic languages, employed, after certain verbs of express or implied causation (*lætan*, *forlætan*, *hātan*, *biddan*), an accusative with an infinitive. In some cases, as after *hātan* and *biddan*, the two elements were apparently felt as separate objects of the main verb, though they were loosely united by the logical relation of subject and predicate. But after verbs of direct causation it is impossible thus to analyze the component parts of the locution. In a sentence like "he caused *him to work*," *him* cannot be construed as independently the object of *caused* but must be considered as associated with the infinitive and forming with it a single objective conception dependent on the verb of the main clause. The tendency to dissociate the accusative from the main verb and to attach it to the infinitive is even stronger in those instances in which the latter element has a passive force. In "he ordered *the army to be sent*," *army* is manifestly not the direct object of the command, but rather *the sending of the army*. In later Old English the construction of accusative with infinitive spread to verbs of this group which earlier were construed with a clause only or with an accusative and a clause. Verbs like *bēodan*, *dōn*, *macian*, *tācan* and *lēran*, though found very rarely with an accusative and infinitive in late Old English, began to employ the construction more and more frequently in early Middle English, and by the opening of the fourteenth century that was the prevailing locution and practically the only one employed. New words, introduced from the French or Latin, very soon adopted the native construction. The verb *command*, for instance, as has been pointed out, was for a time employed in accordance with both the French and English idioms. The French construction, that

of a personal object introduced by the preposition *to* and followed by an infinitive or a clause, was used alongside the English accusative with infinitive, but the latter locution before long completely replaced the other. In Middle English the periphrastic form of the passive infinitive is employed in original literature side by side with the active form, so that there is no doubt as to the nature of the construction intended.

With verbs of sense perception, even when the infinitive is active, the accusative is to be taken as more closely connected with the main verb than with the infinitive. The relationship here is the same as that described in causative verbs with a passive infinitive. It is, in brief, impossible mentally to dissociate the two elements, accusative and infinitive: they express a single conception. When I say "he sees *a man walking*," I do not mean that he sees *a man* or that he sees *walking*, but only that he sees *a walking man*. This construction is regular in all periods of the English language with verbs expressing an immediate sense perception, and therefore requires no extensive comment.

From verbs of sense perception to those of mental perception the transition is an easy one, since the same verbs often have both functions. In its use with verbs of mental perception the accusative with infinitive possesses a degree of development scarcely differing from that found in Greek and Latin. The closer association which is felt between the accusative and the infinitive after such verbs arises, probably, from the fact that many of them do not admit a personal object in the accusative case if no predicate is associated with the latter. But a direct neuter object is possible with any of these verbs, and this fact renders their inherent transitive force sufficiently obvious. The point is illustrated in Old English by *gefrignan* and *gehyran*, meaning *to learn about*. The former verb in particular is followed by the accusative with infinitive much

more frequently than any other verb of mental perception, but it occurs only sporadically with a pure accusative. The fact that it occurs so at all, however, is evidence sufficient to indicate that the accusative in our construction is due to its original employment as the object of the main verb and not to its use as the subject of the infinitive.

After verbs of declaration the early language, in its original literature, shows only the faintest beginnings of the construction in the form of an accusative followed by a predicate noun, adjective, or participle. The importance of the use of the latter forms as predicates is fundamental in the development of the accusative with infinitive. The frequency with which these predicate forms occur in Old English after verbs of mental perception, and their employment after verbs of declaration previous to any similar use of the infinitive, may be treated as a confirmation of the view that they preceded the accusative with infinitive in time, and, in fact, afforded the model by analogy to which the latter construction was more fully developed. The relation between the accusative and the predicate, whatever form that predicate may take,—whether infinitive, substantive, adjective, or participle—is the same. The practical identity of the two locutions is illustrated by the fact that it is possible to convert every non-infinitive predicate into an infinitive by the introduction of the copula *to be*.

The question of Latin influence in this period can be disposed of without difficulty. As is manifest from the Bede citations, the translator on a number of occasions imitates the Latin construction in rendering an accusative with infinitive after verbs of mental perception and declaration. But very seldom does he do violence to the English idiom in so translating. He refrains from imitating the construction after neuter and impersonal verbs, confining his translation within the same limitations that bound the native locution. That it should be found more frequently in

translations than in original works is to be expected from the extensive use of this construction in Latin; and it is not surprising to find sporadical examples bearing the distinct stamp of foreign importation. But in expanding the great mass of Latin accusatives and infinitives into English clauses, the translator has shown that his feeling for the native idiom has not been corrupted by the foreign language. Since Latin exerted so slight an influence on Old English translations, it may readily be inferred that it had no effect at all on original literature or spoken language.

It has already been remarked that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries our construction became regular after verbs of causation, and that with verbs of sense perception it already had been so in Old English. After verbs of mental perception and declaration, also, its use became wider in Middle English. Every document examined (dating after 1250) affords some examples of an accusative with a predicate after verbs belonging to the latter groups. Though there are great discrepancies in the extent to which the construction is employed, even by contemporary writers, there is, in general, a marked progression in successive periods. It is employed with greater frequency by Wyclif than by other writers of his time, owing, it may be, to his somewhat more Latinized vocabulary. When verbs which in Latin were customarily used in conjunction with an accusative and infinitive were taken over into English, it was found natural to associate them with the same locution in the latter language. This is an element of Latin influence which ought to be conceded, and it accounts for the extensive use of the construction by Pecoek in the fifteenth century.

But the position of Pecoek with reference to the history of the accusative with infinitive in English has not been rightly estimated. There is in all his work scarcely a single example of its use after verbs of mental perception which

is without some earlier parallel. His usage after verbs of declaration is rather more eccentric, and it cannot be denied that on the whole he employs the accusative with infinitive more extensively than any preceding writer, or, indeed, than any succeeding one. But the difference is only one of degree, and we must take into consideration the fact that Pecoock's vocabulary is saturated with Latin words, that he is writing a controversial treatise, almost every page of which bristles with verbs of mental perception and declaration which afford him endless opportunities for the use of the construction, and that he employs this construction much less frequently than the *that* clause, and apparently only for the sake of varying the latter. To draw an inference as to the uniqueness of Pecoock's usage by contrasting it with that of Malory or the "Merlin" romance seems eminently unfair. If we were to compare a volume of Matthew Arnold with a romance of Bulwer-Lytton's, let us say, the disparity in their usage with regard to this construction would be found not a whit less striking. A work of pure narrative fiction, written in a popular style, does not give the same occasion for the use of the accusative with infinitive as does a more formal and technical work, especially if the latter be of an argumentative character. The statement quoted at the head of this chapter, moreover, to the effect that not a single example of the construction exists in "Merlin," Malory or Caxton, is obviously unwarranted. Even a very fragmentary examination of the works in question was sufficient to reveal its inaccuracy.

This supposed absence of our locution from all English literature between the age of Pecoock and that of Fisher, More, and Elyot inspired the other assertion: that it took a full century for the example set by Pecoock to bear fruit. There is certainly no more justification for saying that Fisher and Elyot imitate Pecoock than there would be for declaring that they imitate the Latin. It is indeed more

probable that their native feeling for the construction was colored by their familiarity with the classical languages. But with them too the subject matter is partly responsible for their usage, which, again, is not startlingly different from that of the fourteenth century, but simply represents another stage in the development of the native locution.

The usage at the end of the sixteenth century, as represented in the works of Shakespeare, may be taken as the norm of modern usage. By putting together the occurrences in all the thirty-seven plays, it is possible to collect a number of examples which gives a disproportionate idea of the actual extent of the construction. In scarcely any play does Shakespeare employ it after verbs of mental perception and declaration more than half a dozen times, but he does use it after a great variety of verbs. In later writers the construction differs in extent as considerably as among the earlier ones, but the reasons for this variation it is difficult to assign. Thus the number of examples found in the "Spectator" or in Matthew Arnold far exceeds those found in an equal amount of the prose of Dr. Johnson or Walter Bagehot.

Our final conclusion, therefore, is that the accusative with infinitive existed to a considerable extent in the very oldest English, and that the language possessed at hand all the elements necessary to a further development. This development was actually taking place in early Middle English without the assistance of foreign influence, at a time when other Germanic dialects, whose literature was as much dominated by Latin as was that of England, were rapidly losing the construction. This native tendency, however, was probably stimulated by the great stream of Latin verbs which flowed into the English language between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries.

CHAPTER IV

CONSTRUCTION WITH NEUTER AND IMPERSONAL VERBS

No wonder is a lewed man to ruste
C. T., A, 502.

The Middle English construction of a substantive with infinitive after neuter and impersonal verbs bears a striking resemblance to the accusative and infinitive which Latin employs with such verbs, and hence all the accounts of the origin and development of this locution in English have been strongly colored by preconceptions based on Latin syntax. This criticism does not, indeed, apply very strictly to the description of it given by Professor Jespersen. Grouping the locution with a number of others, not very closely allied to it, he considers it as a "peculiar form of anacoluthia (*sic*)"¹ and tentatively adopts for it the term "unconnected subject." "Sometimes," remarks Jespersen, "the phenomenon . . . of an unconnected subject with an infinitive, corresponds very nearly to the Latin accusative with the infinitive, only the nominative is used."²

According to Einkenel³ the origin of the construction is to be sought in the Middle English use of the infinitive as subject of an impersonal verb, when that verb was also followed by a dative case of the person. The loss of inflections tended to obscure the form of the substantive, and, the construction having thus grown somewhat vague, its interpretation was determined by the existence in Latin of a similar construction, the substance of which was in

¹ *Progress in Language*, 205.

² *Ib.*, 209.

³ *Streifzüge durch die mittlenglische Syntax*, 247 ff.

the accusative case. Einkenkel feels quite convinced that the substantive is felt as an accusative in English, for Chaucer affords several examples in which the oblique case of the pronoun cannot be disputed, and others, with the case doubtful, in which a dative interpretation would produce no sense. But this construction, Einkenkel remarks, held sway for a brief period only. It disappeared as something quite foreign to the language, and the accusative was replaced by the dative or its prepositional substitute *for*, thus restoring the original syntactical relation. The entire development presents, to Einkenkel, the interesting phenomenon of an Old English construction being entirely converted by strong Romance influence, of the new construction for a time supplanting the old one, but being checked, and finally completely destroyed, by the older form.¹

Stoffel² differs from Einkenkel in deriving the construction directly from the accusative with infinitive, not, however, from the Latin construction, but from an accusative with infinitive which, he declares, "as the logical subject of a quasi-impersonal verb must once have been as common in the Germanic tongues as we find it to have been in the classical languages."³ In support of this he cites passages from Gothic which have been pointed out as most probably due to the influence of the Greek original, and he adds a single example from English, "gōd is ūs hēr tō bēonne," rendered by Wyclif "it is good *us to be here*," which translates the "bonum est *nos hic esse*" of the Vulgate. In order to establish a connection between this construction and the so-called "inorganic *for*," it is necessary for Stoffel to prove

¹ Baldwin (*Inflection and Syntax of Malory*, § 241 ff.) agrees with Einkenkel as to the origin of the construction, and also ascribes its anomalous form to the decay of the dative inflection, but he, like Jespersen, is aware of instances in which the substantive is in the nominative case, and his explanation of this development is not convincing.

² *Studies in English*, 49 ff.

³ Stoffel, 55.

a transition from the accusative case to the dative, and this is no easy matter. "To me," he says in generously spaced letters, "there is hardly any doubt that 'inorganic *for*' came into use as a substitute for a *dative* case, which to the consciousness of Middle English speakers, had taken the place of the original *accusative* in such a sentence as 'It is good us to be here.'" ¹ The obvious objection to this statement is that it ignores the undoubted priority of the dative construction. To prove the possibility of such a substitution Stoffel makes use of the very convenient loss of English inflections, and he adduces the very unreliable Gothic as a parallel. The *conditio sine qua non*, he adds, for the substitution of the dative for the accusative is that the predicate of the principal sentence should admit a dative complement, and this condition is fulfilled by English verbs such as *is fair, is a great chance, is good*, etc.²

Having thus satisfied himself of the probability of the transition, Stoffel proceeds to describe its manner. "There must have been a time somewhere in the fifteenth century, when it began to be felt that in our Middle English construction the noun or pronoun preceding the infinitive could no longer be looked upon as an accusative. An accusative even if accompanied by an infinitive, as the subject of the sentence, it was too absurd!" ³ (Why should it suddenly have become absurd in the fifteenth century, and not before?) Two developments were possible: first, the substitution of the nominative, now obsolete; secondly, the interpretation of the substantive as a dative, directly connected with the main verb, thus leaving the infinitive by itself to perform the function of logical subject of the sentence. Since an unmarked dative is against the genius of an uninflected language, the preposition *for*, which was rapidly encroaching on *to*, was pitched upon to mark the case. "Such, I am firmly con-

¹*Ib.*, 57.

²*Ib.*, 60.

³ Stoffel, 61.

vinced, is the origin of *for* + Acc. cum. Infin., which at the beginning of the XV century we have found to come into use as the logical subject of a sentence.”¹ The use of the locution in cases where there is no underlying dative relation constitutes a return to Middle English practice; the *for* is here utterly redundant, and the expression is placed at the head of the sentence to emphasize its function of subject and to lay stress on the fact that there is no connection between *for* + accusative and the main verb.²

The weak points of Stoffel’s explanation are quite obvious. It starts from a construction, that of the accusative and infinitive with impersonal verbs, which cannot be shown to have had any existence in English. The account of the transition from an accusative to a dative is neither clearer nor more convincing than Einkenkel’s account of the transition from a dative to an accusative. A new examination of this construction is therefore not out of place. It seems to me that the explanation of the various case-forms in which the substantive appears is to be sought, not in some improbable and far-fetched theory of a transition from one case to another, but in a variety of sources, and that three such sources can be clearly distinguished.

(1) One of the most important of these is the substantive use of the infinitive as subject of a neuter verb:

<i>to do thus, were to me a full noyous bond to be</i>	
bounden with	<i>Exam. of Sir Wm. of Thorpe.</i> ³
Grevous to me, god wot, is <i>for to twinne</i>	<i>Troilus, iv, 904.</i>

Often, for the sake of emphasis, the infinitive is to a certain extent detached from the predicate, and sometimes an anticipatory subject is introduced:

¹ *Ib.*, 62.

² Stoffel’s explanation is followed by Franz: *Sh. Gramm.*, 380, and by the *New English Dictionary* (see under *for* 18).

³ Pollard: *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, 113.

to swear by any creature, both GOD's Law and
man's law is against *Exam. of Sir Wm. of Thorpe.*¹

& þis is luciferis pride, stynkyng ypocrisie and
anticristis blasphemye, to crie and meyntene
þat suche ben able curatis and grete men of
holy chirche *Wyclif, 24.*

and þis is foule ypocrisie to make men holden
hem holy whanne þei stynken bifore god for
old endured synne *Ib., 25.*

These are all general statements. If, now, it is desired to associate a substantive with the action of the infinitive, in order to limit it or make it more specific, what course was followed? Neuter verbs joined with certain nouns or adjectives admitted the employment of a dative of advantage or disadvantage, and in such cases the dative was felt as logically, if not syntactically, the subject of the action expressed by the infinitive:

Ēow is geseald tō witanne Godes rices gerynu *Bright's Reader, 2, 4.*

Men seyn, "to wrecche is consolacioun
To have an-other felawe in his peyne" *Troilus, 1, 708.*

but yet it hardere is to me
To seen that sorwe which that he is inne *Ib., iv, 905.*

a ful gret negligence
Was hit to thee, to write unstedfastnesse
Of women *L. G. W., A. 525.*

yit is it bet for me
For to be deed in wyfly honestee *Ib., 2700.*

But not all predicates admit the employment of a dative of advantage, as in the sentence

to swear by any creature, both GOD's Law and man's law is against.

Most frequently is this true when the element joined with the neuter verb is a prepositional phrase or a noun. In such

¹ *Ib.*, 112.

a case the obvious way of indicating the subject of the infinitive is by placing the substantive directly before it in the normal subject position, and in the normal subject case, the nominative:

A carpenter to be a knyght
That was ever ageyne ryght.

Halliwell : *Nugae Poet.*, 17.¹

It is quite clear, from this illustration, that the substantive has a force entirely distinct from that which would be conveyed by placing it in the dative case after *ageyne ryght*, and the locution thus introduced was therefore a distinct acquisition for the language.² That the locution came into use actually in this simple way seems to be borne out by examples like the following:

For gif it be symonye a clerk to serue a lord for a
benefice & þe lord to resceyue þerfore gold or gold
worþ, bi þe same skil it is symonye to serue the
pope in sich a straunge traueile and contre Wyclif, 66.

And yet to have that good purpose all their life,
seemeth me no more harm the while, than a
poor beggar that hath never a penny, to think
that if he had great substance, he would
give great alms for god's sake More, 35.

There is one way to go surely, that is, to set
lyttell by thynges worldly, and a manne to holde
hym contented onely with honestie Elyot : *Bank. of Sap.*, 10b.

To labour in vayne, and a man weryenge hym
selfe to gette nought but displeasure is ex-
treme peuyshenes Ib., 30.

¹ Mätzner : *Gram.*, III, 22.

² The naturalness of this usage is attested by the recurrence of the construction in modern English :

Apollo himself to turn out of his own temple,
in the very age of Sophocles, such Birming-
ham hexameters as sometimes astonished
Greece, was like an English court keeping
a Stephen Duck, etc.

De Quincey, *Style*, Edinburgh, 1862, p. 203.

A man doyng a trespasse ayenst almighty god
& lye longe in it offendeth more greuously
than

Fisher, 203, 26.

Even more significant in relation to this point are two examples of this construction in Chaucer's translation of Boethius, which are not in imitation of an accusative with infinitive of the original.

Thou seidest eek, by the mouth of the same
Plato, that it was a necessarie cause, wyse
men to taken and desire the governaunce of
comune thinges 134, 36.

Tu eiusdem viri ore hanc sapientibus capessendae
reipublicae necessariam causam esse monuisti

And yif it seme a fair thing, a man to han
encreded and spred his name, than folweth it
that it is demed to ben a foul thing, yif it ne
be y-sprad and encreded 161a19.

Quod si hoc ipsum propagasse nomen pulcrum
videtur, consequens est, ut foedum non extendisse iudicetur

In the second sentence *ipsum*, as well as *hoc*, agrees with *nomen*, thus leaving *propagasse* alone as the subject of the sentence. If, then, we wished to attribute to the influence of the original Chaucer's translation of the phrase by a substantive with infinitive, we should have to impute to him an imperfect understanding of the Latin text.

But the use of the nominative with infinitive is by no means limited to those predicates which admit no dative of advantage. As has been pointed out, the function of the nominative is distinct from that of the dative, and the use of one in no way precludes the employment of the other in the same clause. This appears clearly from the following sentences, the predicates of which allow a dative case, but either omit it or employ it in addition to the nominative and infinitive, according to the requirements of each particular case.

Wiche is an ensample þat it is not good a kynge
to ouer sore charge his peple Sir John Fortescue, 133.¹

a barons childe to be begyled, it were a cursed dede Nut-brown Maid.²

For hit is to þe soules biheue,
Ech man to knowen his bileue On Seven Deadly Sins, 21.³

A kinges sone to ben in swich prisoun
And be deuoured, thoughte hem gret pitee L. G. W., 1975.

(2) This tendency toward the formation of a clear nominative with infinitive construction as the subject of a neuter verb was reinforced from another direction. There is found, in Middle English, an independent infinitive in expressions indicating surprise or some other strong emotion, amounting almost to an exclamation:

“Horaste! allas! and falsen Troilus?
I knowe him not, god helpe me so,” quod she. *Troilus*, III, 806.

With this infinitive, as with the one discussed above, there may be associated a substantive in the nominative case. To this completed exclamation, moreover, there may be joined, either to precede or follow, a declaratory sentence which gives a more precise and definite expression to the emotion:

O lord! what a tokene of mekenesse & forsakyng
of worldly riches is þis; a prelat as an abott
or a priour, þat is ded to þe world & pride &
vanyte þer-of, to ride wiþ foure score hors . . .
& to spende . . . boþe þousand markis and
poundes Wyclif, 60.

“A kinges sone, and eek a knight,” quod she,
“To been my servant in so low degree,
God shilde hit, for the shame of women alle!”
L. G. W., 2080.

Is this a fair avaunt? Is this honour?
A man himself accuse thus and defame! Occleve: *Letter of Cupid*.⁴

¹ Ed. Plummer.

² Skeat: *Specimens of Eng. Lit.*, 105.

³ *Englische Studien*, IX, 43.

⁴ Pollard, *15th Cent. Prose & Verse*, 16.

What ioy is me to here! *A lad to sesse my stall!*

Townley, 169, 111.

thu make me a knyght, that were on the newe!

Digby, 14, 338.

*A man to haue his sight, born starke blinde,
From Adam's Creation where shall we fynde?* *Ib., 172, 40.*

*I to bere a childe that xal bere alle blisse
And haue myn hosbond ageyn; ho mythe haue joys more?*
Coventry, 77.¹

*So yonge a childe suche clergie to reche,
and so sadly to say it, we wondyr sore* *Ib., 193.*

The exclamatory emotion is still distinctly perceptible, though in a somewhat weakened form, in sentences like the following:

That were shame vnto the sayd syre launcelot,
*thou an armed knyghte to slee a naked man
by treason* *Malory, 209, 7.*

Never hast bee seyn ne shall be after this,
Suche cruell rigore to the kinge of blisse;
*The lord that made all,
Thus to suffere in his humanitee,
And that only for our iniquitee!* *Digby, 175, 102.*

*a maydn to bere a chyld, I wys,
Without mans seyde, that were ferly* *Townley, 187, 29.*

It should be noted how these latter examples tend to approximate those of the first class, and how in the few citations below the two constructions become practically indistinguishable.

*A more meruell men neuer saw
then now is sene vs here emang
from erth til heuen a man be draue
With myrth of angell sang* *Townley, 363, 326.*

*This is a febyll fare,
A seke man and a sare
To here of sich a fray* *Ib., 161, 31.*

¹ Mätzner: *Gram.*, III, 22.

What a fawte, it was,
The seruaunte, alas,
 His master to forsake! *Digby, 210, 1157.*

It is a straunge thyng *an old man to take a*
 yonge wyff *Coventry, 95.¹*

Nou is þis, seide þat on, gret schame, ic understonde,
An emperour to siche aboute so wide in eche londe St. Catherine, 75.²

According to our interpretation, it is possible to construe most of the expressions with neuter verbs as cases of nominative with infinitive. After these are differentiated from the mass, a small and well-defined residuum is left which needs to be accounted for in another way. The general characteristics of the former class are first, that the predicate verb is practically always neuter, not impersonal, the copula being more usually joined with a noun than with an adjective. In the second place, the predicate verb is never considered in relation to the substantive which is joined with the infinitive, but is felt either universally or in relation to another object which is definitely expressed in the dative case.

is hit nu wisdom *mon to don so wo him suluen Ancren Riwle, 364.³*

ðowgte ðis quead, "hu ma it ben,
Adam ben king and eue quuen" *Gen.-Ex., 295.*

ðor was nogt wune on & on,
 ðat orf ðor to water *gon Ib., 1639.*

Quat laban, "long wune is her driuen,
firmest on elde, first ben giuen Ib., 1681.

For hit is vncouþ & vnwone
 þe *fadir to bicome þe sone Curs. Mundi, 10139.*

ffor it es a velany *a man for to be curyously*
arrayde apone his heuede with perre and
precyous stones, and all his body be
nakede and bare Rolle of Hampole.⁴

¹ Mätzner : *Gram.*, III, 22.

² Wülcker : *Altenglisches Lesebuch*, p. 14.

³ Jespersen : *Gr. & Str. of Eng.*, 209 note.

⁴ Mätzner : *Sprachproben*, 138, 26.

ffor it is a presumpcion *a man* by his awene
 wytt *for to prese* to mekill into knawing of
 gastly thynges Rolle of Hampole.¹

It is a fendis pride *a synful creature to putte*
 defaute in þe ordynaunce of crist Wyclif, 3.

For god seiþ be ysaye þat *a man to turmente* his
 hed *and peyne* his bodi only is not þat fast þe
 whiche god chees, but þis is þe fast þat god
 ches; *a man to breke* þe bondis of synne & *do*
 werkis of mercy to poore men & nedi Ib., 25.

þei demen it dedly synne, *a prest to fulfille* þe
 ordynaunce of god in his fredom wiþ-oute
 nouelrie of synful men Ib., 193.

pat hit was to wordliche
 Or elles to mucho loue of flesche
A mon to kepe him self to nessesche St. Bernard, 332.²

Goddess sone to Iugge þare
And leten a þef to lyue gon,
 Bernard, þis was a sori fare,
 Such dom hedde neuer no mon! *Minor Poems of Vernon MS.*, p. 308.³

Therfor hit ys a gret peril
Schipmen for to liste thertyl Robt. of Brunne, 1462.⁴

þei thowt it was enow, quan þei schuld speke,
A kyng to be lord owyr thys a-lone
Capgrave: *Life of St. Katherine*, 24, 139-9.⁵

And þat þis synne in yow schuld not be sene,
A kynges doghtyr to dey bothe mayd & qween Ib., 144, 1077.

Oure goddis may seyn that we been on-keende,
 ffor alle the benefetes that thei to vs sende
We to suffre the yougthe of woman-keende
 Thus openly crist for to commende
 And al his treson with colouris to defende,
 Oure goddis eke deueles for to calle—
 This suffre we, and that is werst of alle. Ib., 307, 1422.

¹ Mätzner: *Sprachproben*, 149, 33.

² Horstmann: *Altenglische Legenden*, 47.

³ Ed. Horstman, *E. E. T. S.*, 98.

⁴ *Anglia*, IX, 43.

⁵ *E. E. T. S.*, vol. 100.

- Ac it is but selden yseye þere sothenesse bereth witesse,
Any creature þat is coupable afore a kynges iustice
Be raunsoned for his repentaunce *Piers Pl.*, xvii, 299.
- Poule preueth it impossible *riche men to haue*
heuene *Ib.*, x, 336.
- For certainly, the firste poynt is this
 Of noble corage and wel ordeyne,
A man to haue pees with him-self, y-wis *Troilus*, I, 891.
- For trewely I holde it greet deyntee
A kinges sone in armes wel to do,
And been of good condicions ther-to *Ib.*, II, 164,
- It is oon of the thinges that furthereth most,
A man to haue a leysur for to preye,
And siker place his wo for to biwrewe *Ib.*, II, 1368.
- Now were it tyme *a lady to go henne* *Ib.*, III, 630.
- Now is this bet, than *bothe two be lorn* *Ib.*, III, 1223.
- The worst kinde of infortune is this,
A man to haue ben in prosperitee,
And it remembren, when it passed is *Troilus*, III, 1626.
- For it were better worthy, trewely,
A werm to comen in my sight than thou *L. G. W.*, A, 243.
- This is the sentence of the philosophre :
A king to kepe his liges in justyce ;
With-ouen doute, that is his offyce *Ib.*, 365.
- No wonder is *a lewed man to ruste* *C. T.*, A, 502.
- But it is good *a man ben at his large* *Ib.*, 2288.
- It is ful fair *a man to bere him euene* *Ib.*, 1523.
- Lo, swich it is *a miller to be fals !* *Ib.*, 4318.
- ther is a maner garnison that no man may
 vanquisse ne disconfite, and that is, *a*
lord to be bileved of hise citizeins and of his
peple *Ib.*, B, 2528.
- It is a woodnesse *a man to stryve with a stranger*
 or a more mighty man than he is him-self *Ib.*, 2671.
- no-thing . . . is so muchel agayns nature, as *a*
man to encressen his owene profit to the harm
 of another man *Ib.*, 2776.

- It is a gret worschipe, *a man to kepe him fro*
noyse and stryfe Ch. *Melibeus*.¹
- certes it is a full greet folye *a man to pryden*
him in any of hem alle C. *T.*, I, 456.
- Another is, *a man to have a noble herte* *Ib.*, 469.
- a man to pryde him* in the goodes of grace is eek
an outrageous folye *Ib.*, 470.
- The thridde grevance is *a man to have harm* in
his body *Ib.*, 666.
- if it be a foul thing, *a man to waste* his catel on
wommen, yet is it a fouler thing whan . . . *Ib.*, 849.
- It is a greet folye, *a womman to have a fair array*
outward and in hir-self be foul inward *Ib.*, 935.
- Forthi good is, whil a man may,
Echon to sette pes with other
And loven as his oghne brother *Conf. Am.*, Prol. 1048.
- Lo now, my sone, what it is,
A man to caste his yhe amis *Ib.*, I, 379.
- Men to say well* of women, it is the best :
And naught for to despise them, ne deprave *Occleve : Letter of C.*²
- The werste kynde of wrecchednesse is,
A man to have been weelful or this *De Reg. Princ.*, 55.
- Nay sothely, sone, it is al a-mys me pinkyþ ;
So povre a wight his lord to counterfete
In his array, in my conceyit it stynkith *De Reg. Princ.*, 435.
- Good is *a man eschewe* swich a powke *Ib.*, 1921.
- Perillous is, *a man his feith to breke* *Ib.*, 2222.
- A ! lord, what it is fair and honorable,
A kyng from mochil speche *him refreyne*
Ib., 2416 ; 2423 ; 2712 ; 2424 ; 3971 ; 3951 ; 4574.
- it is better that we slee a coward than thorow
a coward *alle we to be slayne* *Malory*, 60, 8.

¹ Mätzner : *Sprachproben*, 401, 5. Skeat (l. 2675) has "worship to a man."

² Pollard : *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, 20.

- for it is gods wyll *youre body to be punysshed*
for your fowle dedes *Ib.*, 67, 10.
- it semeth not (= is not likely) *yow to spede* there
as other haue failed *Ib.*, 77, 34.
- It is the customme of my Countrey *a knyghte*
alweyes *to kepe* his wepen with hym *Ib.*, 92, 23.
- I calle hit foly *knyghtes to abyde* when they be
ouermatched *Ib.*, 172, 12.
- Thou to loue* that loueth not the is but grete foly *Ib.*, 237, 17.
- Thou to lye* by our moder is to moche shame for
vs to suffre *Ib.*, 453, 4.
- Loo, what it is *a man to haue connyng*e Skelton, I, 36.¹
- No merwell is *a man be lik* a best Henryson : *Fables*.²
- His folke . . . putte hem self vpon their ennyes,
so that it was force *the polonyens to recule abak*
Caxton : *Blanchardyn*, 107, 16.³
- It is better *a man wysely to be styll* than folysshly
to speke Caxton : *Charles the Grete*, 93, 5.³
- Yf I retorne wythoute to auenge my barons, I
shall do pouerely, sythe they haue susteyned
and borne up the Crowne Imperial and my
wylle, and *I now to retorne* wythoute to auenge
them. He that gaf me suche counceyll loueth
me but lytel, I se wel *Ib.*, 16, 14.³
- It is shame *yow to bete* hym *Townley*, 237, 296.
- This bewteose lord to bryng* to me,
his awene seruande, this is no skyll,
A knyght to baptyse his lord kyng,
My pauste may it not fulfyll *Townley*, 198, 125.
- Ther may not be lightly a greter trispesse,
Then *the seruaunt* his master *to denye* *Digby*, 210, 1147.
- Ther-for it is the best,
Ych on of vs a diuerse way *to take* *Ib.*, 209, 1125.

¹ Ed. Dyce.² Gregory Smith : *Specimens of Middle Scots*, 3.³ Ed. Kellner in *E. E. T. S.*; see introduction, lxx.

- It is not conuenient *a man to be ther women*
gon in travalynge *Coventry, 149.*¹
- It was never the maner, by dere worthi God,
A yoman to pay for a knyght *Gest of Robyn Hode.*²
- “It were greate shame,” sayde Robyn,
“*A knight alone to ryde*” *Ib.*³
- it sholde be profytable and necessarye *the pyte*
of god to be purchased for vs Fisher, 73, 20.
- it is meruayle *this lyne to be so longe holden vp*
by his power and mageste *Ib., 92, 34.*
- what dooth it profyte *the secrete mysteryes of*
hym to be shewed and made open to vs *Ib., 109, 4.*
- But it is not yough *all synnes to be done away* *Ib., 117, 8.*
- And it is of a trouth *the water and the oyle to haue*
no strength of theyr owne nature *Ib., 109, 30.*
- It is impossyble *synnes to be done away* by theffusyon
of gotes blode or bulles *Ib., 126, 134.*
- The gretest charyte & loue that may be shewed is
one frende wyllingly to suffre deth for an other
Ib., 138, 35.
- Take hede how conueniently it agreeth with holy
scripture *this virgyn to be called a mornynge* *Ib., 49, 23.*
- God wist that it was nothing meet *the servant to*
stand in better condition than his master More, 29.
- any man to chide* once any of them for a hundred
heresies, that were utter wrong and no lawful
law *Ib., 366 H.*
- for sith I see well that that thyng wyll not bee,
better it is I reken there be triacle redy, then
the poison to tary and no triacle for it *Ib., 356 F.*
- it seemeth impossible *a countrey nat to be well governed*
by good lawes Elyot, 26.

¹ Mätzner: *Grammar*, III, 22.

² Gummere: *Old English Ballads*, 6.

³ *Ib.*, 12.

- And what pleasure and also utilitie is it to a man
which intendeth to edifie, *himselpe to expresse* the
figure of the warke that he purposeth *Ib.*, 45.
- I suppose this to be the very trewe lawe of
amitie, *a man to loue* his frende no lesse
nor no more than he loueth hymselfe *Elyot: Bank of Sap.*, 3.
- It is a fowle thyng *a man to tell moche* of hym
selfe, specially that whiche is false *Ib.*, 7b.
- It agreeth not with reason, that *he*¹ whom feare
can not vanquysshe, *to be subdewed* with
couetyse, or *he* which can be ouercome
with no peyne, *to be vanquyshed* with carnal
affection *Ib.*, 9.
- A man to perceyue* that he is ignorant, is a
token of wysedome *Ib.*, 28b.
- Plinius hath thys very notable sentence, that
one to helpe an other, is a meet comelinesse
in the mortal kynde of man *Leland: New Year's Gift*, 101.
- For as Vlpianus reporteth in his Pandectes,
it is all one, *a thyng not to be, and not to*
apere to the commen vse *Ib.*
- And yet *all this to be sylenced* by all the ancient
wryters of the same country . . . is so strange,
that it may well seem impossible for any such
thing to have been *Verstegan*, 91.
- This coniuncture to haue remayned* for some
space after the great and general deluge,
and *the breach and separation* of Albion
from Gallia by the said deluge *not to haue*
been caused, is by sundry reasons to bee proued *Ib.*, 100.
- assuredly his mother witte wrought this wonder,
the childe to disprayse his father, *the dogg to byte*
his mayster for his dainty morcell *Lodge: Defence of Poetry.*²
- It is the lesser blot, modesty finds,
Women to change their shapes, than men their minds
Two Gent., V, iv, 108.

¹The nominative case may here be due to a slight contamination, suggested by the introduction of *that*.

²Gregory Smith: *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 64.

which . . .

Is all as monstrous to our human reason As <i>my Antigonus to break his grave</i>	<i>W. T.</i> , V, i, 40.
<i>I to bear this is some burden</i>	<i>Timon</i> , II, iii, 266.
<i>Thou this to hazard, needs must intimate</i> Skill infinite or monstrous desperate	<i>All's Well</i> , II, i, 186.
A heavier task could not have been imposed Than <i>I to speak my griefs unspeakable</i>	<i>Errors</i> , I, i, 33.

(3) There is a distinct group of examples, in which the substantive is without doubt of dative origin, although the form of the pronoun in these cases has been employed by some as an argument in favor of the accusative interpretation. This is the construction after impersonal verbs, where the substantive is originally closely united with the predicate verb, *e. g.*,

It sit a <i>prest to be wel thewed</i>	<i>Conf. Am.</i> , I, 273.
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Sometimes the substantive happens to be separated from the predicate verb by other expressions, and on such occasions there is a tendency to associate the substantive with the infinitive, forming a locution which at first sight is not distinguishable from the one employed after neuter verbs:

For wel sit it, the sothe for to seyne, <i>A woful wight to han a dreary fere</i>	<i>Troilus</i> , I, 12.
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In the following examples the feeling for the dative varies in distinctness, but is never quite absent.

Bette it is and more it availleth a <i>man to have</i> a good name, than for to have grete riches	<i>C. T.</i> , B, 2828.
And <i>thilke folk</i> that ben blisful, it accordeth and is convenable to <i>ben</i> goddes	Ch. <i>Boeth.</i> , 179, 53.
it myshapped <i>me to be sore wounded</i>	Malory, 286, 27.

- And thogh it happene *sum* of hem, be fortune,
to gon out, thei conen no maner of langage
 but Ebrew Mandeville.¹
- When hit happith *the herte to hente* the edder *Depos. of Rich. II.*²
- he deuised, that if it fortun-ed *the quene to be*
deyuered of a sonne . . . and if it fortune
ye quene to haue a doughter Berners: *Chronicle*, 30.³
- It may also fortune *a man to be sory* for his
 synne & *to be confessed* of the same Fisher, 32, 11.
- if it fortune *any man to sinne* *Ib.*, 412, 27.
- if it missehappe *any man to fall* in such a fond
 affeccion More, 357 A.

After certain adjectives compounded with neuter verbs,
 an unmarked dative may be employed, as in the following
 instances:

- Betere were *a ryche mon*
For te spouse a god woman,
 Thah hue be *sum del pore*,
 Then *te bringe* into his hous
 A proud quene ant dangerous,
 That is *sum del hore*. *Proverbs of Hending*, 280.⁴
- hard hit was *hem to abyde*⁵ *Curs. Mundi*, 2398.
- Unkinde were *ous to kis* so kenne *Sir Tristrem*, III, 42.
- It sholde not be suffred *me to erre* *Troilus*, IV, 549.
- Now was this child as lyk un-to Custance
 As possible is *a creature to be* *C. T.*, B, 1030.
- That in his house as famulier was he
 As it possible is *any freend to be* *Ib.*, 1221.
- Now is it right *me to procede*,
 How Shame gan medle and take hede *Rom. Rose*, 3787.

¹ Morris & Skeat: *Specimens of Early English*, II, 173.

² Mätzner: *Grammar*, III, 22.

³ Krickau, 24.

⁴ Mätzner: *Sprachproben*, 310.

⁵ Cf.: Nis þæt unēaðe eallwealdan gode tō gefrenmane *Andreas*, 205.

O Alisaundre ! it is vncouenable,
The for to haue of peple regyment *De Reg. Princ.*, 3501.

Nat were it knyghtly, *me to be consente* *Ib.*, 2610.

But an element of confusion in the case of the impersonal verbs is that a number of them were undergoing a change from an impersonal to a personal use, as may be seen from

what neede *me to care* whatsoever I doe (Fisher, 382, 32) and
you need not to care what you doe (Fisher, 384, 10).

It seems that in the transition there is a group of examples in which the *it* is retained in its original position with the verb, while the substantive, which comes to be felt as the subject of the now personal verb, follows in the position ordinarily occupied by the dative. The construction then presents every appearance of a nominative with infinitive as the subject of an impersonal verb.

þan nedly byhovos *be punyſt ſyn*,
 Outher opon erthe or with-in *Pr. Con.*, 2864.

And that happe (= if it happen) *the fundacion* of
 the ſeyd collage *to take* to noon effecte *Paston Letters*, I, 449.

It fortuneth after *enemyes to come and lay ſyege*
 to that Cyte *Fisher*, 261, 22.

It ſemeth *almighty god to be* in maner in a deed ſlepe
Ib., 170, 28.

Laste all though it ſemeth *the mornynge to be a*
cause of the ſonne, notwithstandinge the ſonne
 without doubtte is the cause of it *Ib.*, 48, 17.

Yet ſurely if it ſhold happen *any boke to come abrode*
 in the name of hys grace or hys honorable counſail
More, 1422.

It happened *a bataile to be* on the ſee betwene them
Elyot, 180.

And verily I ſuppoſe, if there mought ones happen
ſome man, hauyng an excellent wytte, *to be brought*
 up in ſuche forme as I haue hytherto written *Ib.*, 153.

Another fact which seems to point to a dative origin for the substantive is the indiscriminate use of the dative, marked by the preposition *to*, and of an unmarked substantive, as illustrated in the prose of Pecoock. The two locutions are there employed after the same adjectives without the slightest variation in meaning.

If it like <i>to eny man for to holde</i>	142.
It is forbodun <i>to us forto vse</i> the othere writingis dyuerse fro Holi Scripture	211.
It is bettir <i>to a man forto entre</i> sureli into lijf with oon yge	539.
folie hadde be <i>to al thilk Cristen multitude . . .</i> <i>forto haue storid & tresourid</i> to hem eny grete possessiouns	318.
it is not perel <i>to Cristen men</i> neithir <i>to the Iewis</i> neither <i>to hethen men forto haue</i> and entermete with ymagis of God	249.
it is ouer hard <i>to him</i> being riche <i>for to entre</i>	297.

The substantive in the following examples may, possibly, be felt as a dative, though such an interpretation is not absolutely necessary.

it is not synne <i>a man forto giue</i> ensample to othere men	168.
<i>a man for to smyte and bete</i> his neighbour . . . is no synne	155.
it is possible <i>a riche man to entre</i> into the kingdom of heuen	296.
it is profitable and speedful ofte tymes <i>a man forto</i> <i>speke</i> as many vsen <i>forto speke</i>	27.
it is leeful and expedient <i>a man to bere</i> and holde	171.
it is not forbodun of God <i>eny man to be</i> riche	297.
how hard it is <i>a man to reule</i> his tunge	422.

sithen it was profitable <i>dekenes to be</i> in the clergie	332.
it is alloweable <i>me for to seie</i>	260.

These sentences, it is plain, in no way resemble those in which the substantive with infinitive is the subject of the neuter verb, since the substantive here is closely attached to the main verb. The only possible significance of this use of the unmarked dative is that when the feeling for the case became obscured, and the substantive, for the sake of emphasis, was placed at the beginning of the sentence, it was necessarily construed as a nominative case and was then merged with the similar construction of different origin.

(4) There still remain to be considered a few facts which seem to point to an accusative interpretation of the substantive. The Hereford-Wyclif translation of the Bible, a very literal version, sometimes translates a Latin accusative with infinitive by a similar English construction:

non est bonum <i>hominem esse</i> solum	<i>Gen.</i> , II, 18.
it is not good <i>man to be</i> alone	
amarum est <i>te reliquisse</i>	<i>Jerem.</i> , II, 19.
bittir it is <i>thee to han forsaken</i>	

The first of these examples is, of course, neutral, and, to completely counterbalance the weight of the second, the same version affords us an instance of a Latin accusative rendered by an English nominative.

notum sit <i>isse nos</i>	<i>Ezra</i> , V, 8.
be it known <i>wee to han go</i> . ¹	

Occasionally, no doubt, an isolated writer, saturated with his Latin models and influenced by the resemblance of the English construction to the Latin, may reproduce a real

¹Hollack: *Vergl. Stud. zu der Her.-Wyc. und Purv. Bibelübersetzung*, 68.

accusative with infinitive. Examples of such imitation are the following passages:

Nis it bot hert breke,
That swithe wele finde we,
And foly *ous to speke*,
Ani word againes the *Sir Tristrem*, III, 64.

Kynde tellith that the more eldere a man
waxith, the more it is agen kynde *hym*
for to pleyn *Sermon against Miracle Pl.*¹

The tendency to imitate the Latin is most marked in the prose of Pecoock, who, as has already been pointed out, is in general dominated by Latin syntax. His prose contains the most numerous illustrations of the accusative with infinitive after impersonal and neuter verbs.

it is preisable *him to bind* him silf 557.

it is profitable *him to haue* sum thing 555.

it is alloweable, resonable, and profitable *hem*
to haue mansiouns 549.

it is no nede *me forto . . . encerche* the writingis
of Doctouris 71.

it is open *Poul for to haue* meened 217.

it was so stabilid *ymagis to be had* in chirchis 254.

it migte seme *miche* of al what y haue bifore
taugt in this present book *be vntrewe* 73.

And whether this was not an horrible abhomynacioun
. . . *hem forto* so sturdili bi manye yeeris *iuge*
and diffame bothe the clergi and weelnyg al the
lay party of Goddis chirche 149.

which it is sure *God to chese* 188.

it accordid not with resoun *eny man forto hold* to
gidere apostilhode or disciplhode and possessioun
of immouable godis 295.

¹ Mätzner : *Sprachproben*, 241, 13.

it schulde be agens Scripture . . . a preest forto haue
377.

In one passage Peacock employs a pronoun in the nominative case:

and therefore thilk proces rather confermeth
ymagis to mowe lawfulli be, than that *thei*
alle to be is vnleeful 147.

Our facts make it clear that the construction of a substantive and infinitive with neuter and impersonal verbs is the result of native linguistic forces. The elements which contributed to the development of this construction are (1) the infinitive, employed as the subject of neuter verbs, to which a substantive in the nominative case was joined when it was desired to limit the action expressed by the infinitive, without in any way connecting the substantive with the main verb; (2) the use of a nominative with infinitive to express a strong emotion—an exclamatory phrase to which a declaratory statement was often added in order to give a more precise and deliberate utterance to the emotion. The two coördinate parts in time coalesced into a single sentence group, and then it became possible for examples of this class to be merged with those of the first. (3) Still another source for the construction is to be sought in a group of impersonal verbs regularly followed by a dative case with a supplementary infinitive. The transition from the impersonal to the personal construction, and the consequent change of the dative to a nominative, produced a number of examples in which the substantive continued to be construed with the infinitive instead of being taken as the subject of the main verb. If any importance is to be attached to the loss of inflections as a factor in determining the case of the substantive in our locution, it must obviously be to emphasize its nominative value. For it is difficult to

understand how a feeling for the accusative case could have been developed in the language at a time when there was no way of marking or of recognizing such a case. The only certain uses of the accusative are such as occur in literal translations of Latin texts or, very sporadically, in original documents written under strong Latin influence. The close parallel between the English and Latin locutions rendered the contamination of one by the other very easy. The only writer in whom the contamination takes place to a notable degree is Pecoek, and his position in the history of English prose is scarcely that of a pioneer or model, as is often assumed. Syntactically he is anomalous and under complete subjection to his Latin models.

“INORGANIC *For.*”

In the light of the foregoing facts, the explanation of the construction with inorganic *for* is a simple one. The use of a dative case, introduced by the preposition *for* or *to*, after neuter verbs compounded with certain nouns and adjectives, was quite common in the fourteenth century. The same nouns and adjectives also admitted a construction of a substantive and infinitive which possessed a different force and in which the former element was in no way connected with the predicate verb. This loose and apparently detached position of the substantive was not long tolerated in the language, and the tendency to assimilate this independent noun and infinitive with the dative construction, outwardly at least, by the introduction of *for* revealed itself even in the prose of Wyclif:

it is agenst charite *for prestis to preie* euere
more and no tyme *to preche*

112.

The force of the original construction is very seldom obscured by this intrusion of the preposition, since the context plainly

indicates the syntactical function of the expression introduced by it, which is that of subject of the sentence.

By the continued operation of analogy, the leveling process was extended. Not only was the preposition inserted when the substantive with infinitive followed the predicate, but even when it preceded and stood at the head of the sentence. Not only was *for* introduced after predicates which admitted a dative case, but it was also employed in conjunction with such as could by no possibility be construed with a dative. In all of these uses the primary force of the construction stands out clearly. The preposition *for* in no way changes the feeling for the expression; it disguises its origin to a certain extent, but the disguise is penetrated by the slightest examination. What we have in this construction, therefore, is not, as Einkenel would have it, a dative case which reverts to an earlier construction after having gone through the intermediate stage of an accusative. Neither is it a dative derived directly from an accusative and later returning to its accusative function, as Stoffel interprets it. The construction is merely that of a nominative with infinitive, subject of a neuter verb, which is leveled in order to bring it into conformity with the much older and more familiar dative construction after such verbs, and in which the syntactical relations of the substantive are not in the least affected by the formal change. The use of the preposition, however, necessarily eliminates the nominative forms from the construction.

Examples of the use of inorganic *for* are found in the fourteenth century,¹ are fairly common in the sixteenth, and increase rapidly thereafter.

¹There is no justification for an assertion like the following: "Such sentences as 'I don't know what is worse than *for such wicked strumpets to lay* their sins at honest men's doors' (Fielding) would be sought in vain before the eighteenth century, though the way was paved for them in such Shakespearian sentences like '*For us to levy power Proportionate to th' enemy is all impossible.*'"

- it is best *for hem to be men of priuat religion* Wyclif, 17.
- it is blasphemye *for ony creature to take þis to hym*
Ib., 81.
- For, sir, hit is no maystrie *for a lord*
To dampne a man with-oute answeere or word L. G. W., A, 386.
- It is a besy thing
For one man to rule a kyng Skelton, I, 349.
- And syth it is conuenyent & accordyng *for synners*
to wayle, to wepe, to faste Fisher, 31, 27.
- Many causes there be *for synners to be penyent* *Ib.*, 63, 28.
- Better it were *for the artyfyceer to make a clocke all*
new than to mende or bryngge agayne into the
ryght course a clocke . . . *Ib.*, 117, 33.
- It is a straunge and a dede in maner ayenst nature
for almyghty god to shewe vengeaunce *Ib.*, 166, 10.
- And though it were sorowful & greuous *for the*
chirche to here these sayd wordes *Ib.*, 192, 6.
- Were it suppose ye al this considered a meetly
 thyng *for vs to desyre to haue this noble princes*
 here *Ib.*, 306, 20.
- O my sweete Lorde, what is this *for thee to desire* *Ib.*, 385, 35.
- It booteth not *for me to weep or cry* More, ii.
- It is a great reproche and dishonestie *for the*
husbande to come home wythowte hys wiffe, or
the wiffe withoute her husband, or the sonne
without his father *Utopia*, 257.¹
- In maximo probro est coniux absque coniuge
 redux, aut amisso parente reuersus filius
- when it shal not be lawfull *for their bodies to be*
seperate agayne *Ib.*, 227.
- quum corpore iam seiungi non liceat
- But *for the husbande to put away his wyfe for*
no faulte, but for that some myshappe is
fallen to her bodye, thys by no meanes
they wyll suffre *Ib.*, 227.

¹ Ed. Lupton.

- Alioquin inuitam coniugem, cuius nulla sit
noxa, *repudiare*, quod corporis obtigerit
calamitati, id uero nullo pacto ferunt
- Then if it be a poynte of humanitie *for man to*
bryng health and comforte to man *Ib.*, 191.
hominem homini saluti ac solatio *esse*, si
humanum est maxime
- had it not bene better *for yowe to haue played* the
domme persone *Ib.*, 98.
nonne praestiterit *egisse* mutam personam
- For it is not possible *for all thynges to be well* *Ib.*, 100.
nam *ut omnia bene sint* fieri non potest
- for *for the watch to babble and to talk* is most
tolerable and not to be endured *Much Ado*, III, iii, 36.
- Besides, it were a mock
Apt to be render'd, *for some one to say*
"Break up the senate till another time" *Caesar*, II, ii, 96.
- 'tis no sin *for a man to labour* in his vocation *I Hen. IV*, I, ii, 116.
- for, *for me to put* him to his purgation would
perhaps plunge him into far more choler *Hamlet*, III, ii, 317.
- But *for him*, though almost on certain proof,
to give it hearing, not belief, deserves my
hate for ever *Massinger ; Duke of Milan*, IV, ii.¹

¹For further extension of the construction, see Stoffel, 48 ff.

CHAPTER V

THE CONJUNCTIVE-IMPERATIVE USE OF THE INFINITIVE

It seems convenient to adopt the term *conjunctive-imperative* for the construction about to be described, because of its analogy to a Greek locution bearing that name. This construction has been noticed by several writers, but in so fragmentary a fashion, due to the fact that the authors were each considering a single literary monument, that a satisfactory description of it was out of the question. The full extent of its use in Middle English has not hitherto been estimated.

Baldwin quotes the following passage from Malory:

this is my counceill . . . that we lete puruey x
knygtes . . . & they to kepe this swerd¹ 40, 35.

and regards the italicized expression as an extension of the use after neuter verbs, through analogy to such sentences as "I will rescue her or else to die." Such an analogy, however, is not sufficiently obvious to warrant the acceptance of his theory. Hardly more satisfactory is the explanation of Kellner, who asserts a tendency in Middle English to supplant temporal and conditional clauses by absolute constructions. The present and past participles were thus employed to represent present and past tenses, *e. g.*,

the same Plato livinge, his maister Socrates deservede
victorie Ch. *Boeth.*, 133, 29.

The service doon, they soupen al by day C. *T.*, F, 297.

¹ § 244.

But the lack of a future participle forced writers to resort to the infinitive to denote future tenses. Thus, Kellner says, there came into existence that peculiar use, which, in the course of its development became more and more free, so that in the fifteenth century the infinitive absolute often serves to alternate with any principal sentence or clause. Caxton, he affirms, disliked the construction, but Malory made a great deal of it, and it is possibly due to the influence of this great favorite that the absolute infinitive is frequent in Berners and occurs even in Elizabethan times.¹ A fundamental objection to Kellner's theory is that he has comprehended under a single definition four or five widely divergent constructions, among which is the substantive with infinitive after neuter verbs, and that his explanation does not absolutely fit any of them.²

Still another interpretation of this so-called absolute construction is suggested by Krickau, who thus describes it: 'When two coördinate clauses depend upon a verb of *wishing*, the writer employs a substantive clause for the first and usually an accusative with infinitive for the second. Curiously the subject of the second clause, when it is a personal pronoun, is in the nominative instead of the accusative case.' He then proceeds to give the following arbitrary explanation of this curious phenomenon: 'When a modal auxiliary was used in the first of several coördinate clauses, its use was avoided in the second [no reason] even with a different subject, and the bare infinitive with the preposition *to* was substituted, the auxiliary being understood. Now even when there was no such auxiliary, but there might have been, the writer placed the nominative of the personal pronoun in the second coördinate clause in recollection of the former construction.' 'Fundamentally,' he adds, 'the

¹ Caxton's *Syntax* in *Transactions of Phil. Soc.*, 1888-1890, § 29.

² Baldwin, § 249, analyzes Kellner's classification.

construction is one of accusative with infinitive after verbs of *wishing*, and the subject whose case cannot be identified by its form is originally to be construed as an accusative in these expressions.' The greater freedom of the construction in Berners forces Krickau to assume that it was possible to consider a verb of *wishing* or *desiring* omitted, and the construction as dependent upon it.¹

Einkenel arrives nearer the truth when he suggests that the frequent employment of the *absolute* infinitive is to be traced primarily to its use in expressing purpose. 'We may have a sentence, he says, in which an infinitive of purpose, dependent on the main verb, has a subject distinct from that of the main verb and sometimes to be supplied from the context, *e. g.*,

He yaf *me* al the brydel in *myn* hond
To *han* the governance of hous and lond C. T., D, 813.

The words *me* and *myn* here suggest the subject for *to han*. But if the context did not afford us any clue as to the subject, or if the infinitive for which the subject was to be supplied were preceded by another infinitive, the subject of which was identical with that of the main verb, we should have an ambiguous sentence, such as

* He yaf *me* al the brydel in *myn* hond to live in idelnesse
and to have the governance of hous and lond.

To render this perfectly intelligible, Chaucer would introduce the personal pronoun in the nominative case to define the subject of the infinitive:

I dar the better aske of yow a space
Of audience, to shewen our requeste,
And *ye*, my lord, to doon right as yow leste C. T., E, 103.²

¹*Der Acc. mit dem Inf.*, 21-22; 27-29. Cf. also Jespersen: *Prog. in Lang.*, 206-209.

²*Streifzüge*, 80.

But Einkenel is content to call it one of Chaucer's *make-shift* constructions,¹ and he gives no account of the nature or the manner of its development. He confines his explanation within the limits of Chaucer's usage, and therefore his explanation is too narrow. We can, however, avail ourselves of his useful hint in order to establish more firmly a connection between the final and the conjunctive-imperative uses of the infinitive in Middle English.

According to Brugmann and Delbrück the imperative use of the infinitive is derived immediately from its use to indicate purpose and result, which is its primary function. An instance of a substantive in the nominative case being employed as the subject of such an infinitive is cited by Delbrück from Vedic Sanskrit:²

यó mártýēṣv amṛta řtānā dēvó dēvēṣv aratír nidhāyi hótā yájiṣṭhō
mahná śucādhyaī havyaīr agnír mánuṣa īrayādhyāi RV, 4, 2, 1.

He who is set among mortals as an immortal, sacred comrade, *may the priest* most fitted for sacrificing *burn* mightily, *may Agni become alive* through the sacrifice of the man (lit. *the priest to burn . . . Agni to become alive*).

In Homeric Greek, also, it was quite usual to employ a subject in the nominative case with an imperative infinitive referring to a third person:

καὶ δ' αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μάχεσθαι *Iliad*, 9, 709.
let him fight (lit. *he to fight*) among the foremost

ἠῶθεν δ' Ἰδαῖος ἴτω κοῦλας ἐπὶ νῆας
εἰπέμεν Ἀτρεΐδῃσ' Ἀγαμέμνονι καὶ Μεγέλαω
μῦθον Ἀλεξάνδροιο τοῦ εἵνεκα νεῖκος ὄρωρεν
καὶ δὲ τόδ' εἰπέμεναι πικρὸν ἔπος *Ib.*, 7, 372.

In the morning let Idaeus go to the hollow ships to announce to the sons of Atreus, Agamemnon and Menelaus, the message of Paris, because of whom the strife arose, and *to say* this shrewd speech (= let him say)

¹ *Ib.*, 82.

² *Vergleichende Syntax*, II, 453-454.

τεύχεα συλήσας φερέτω κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας

σῶμα δὲ οἰκαδ' ἐμὸν δόμεναι πάλιν

Ib., 7, 78.

(he) *to return* (= let him return) my body again

εἰ μὲν κεν Μενέλαον Ἀλέξανδρος καταπέφνη

αὐτὸς ἔπειθ' Ἑλλήνην ἐχέτω καὶ κτήματα πάντα

ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν νηέσσι νεώμεθα ποντοπόροισιν,

εἰ δὲ κ' Ἀλέξανδρον κτείνῃ ξανθὸς Μενέλαος

Τρῶας ἔπειθ' Ἑλλήνην καὶ κτήματα πάντ' ἀποδοῦναι

Ib., 3, 281.

If Paris should slay Menelaus, then let him retain Helen and all his possessions and let us return in our sea-journeying ships, but if the yellow-haired Menelaus slay Paris, then the Trojans to restore Helen and all the treasures.

It is worth while to anticipate for a moment in order to indicate the exact parallel between the last passage and the following from Berners:

yf it fortunyd that the vanquysser sle his enmye
in ye feld or he confesse ye treason for ye deth
of his sonne, that than ye vanquesser to lese al
his londys & hym selfe to be bannysshyd out of
ye realme of france

Huon, 40, 23.

Another Greek construction which may enable us better to estimate our Middle English locutions is that commonly occurring in inscriptions. There, according to Delbrück, the will of the lawgiver is expressed by the imperative, optative, future indicative and infinitive, in connection with the last of which the subject is either omitted or placed in the accusative case. It seems natural to assume, adds Delbrück, by way of explanation, that in this apparently independent accusative with infinitive there constantly hovers before the mind some expression such as *it is decreed*.¹ Practically all the uses of the infinitive alluded to above are represented in Middle English literature, and they will be taken up in order. First, therefore, comes the purpose-result use.

An isolated example of a nominative with infinitive ex-

¹ *Vergleichende Syntax*, II, 454-456.

pressing purpose and depending more or less closely on the main verb is found in Anglo-Saxon prose:

hīe heora here on tū tōdǣldon ; ōþer æt hām
bēon heora lond tō healdanne, ōþer *ūt faran*
 tō winnanne Orosius, 46, 16.¹

In Middle English the construction is not seldom met with.

Whi schope thou me to wrother-hele
 To be thus togged & to-torn and *othere to haven*
 al mi wele Debate of Body & Soul.²

Vndir þe rote a welle out braste
 wiþ stremes clere fresshe & colde
Alle to drinke ynowge þat wolde Curs. Mundi, 11704.

Oure lord wolde for resoun þilke
 Be fed of a maydenes mylke
So hir maydenhede to be hid
and hir husbonde wide kid Ib., 10795.

Some he gaf wytte with wordes to shewe,
 Witte to wynne her lyflode with as þe worlde asketh,
 As prechouris & prestes & prentyces of lawe,
þei lelly to lyue by labour of tonge,
And bi witte to wissen other Piers Pl., XIX, 224.

þe kyng and þe comune and kynde witte þe þridde
 Shope lawe & lewte *eche man to knowe* his owne Ib., Prol., 121.

Glotonye he gaf them eke and grete othes togydere,
 And alday to drynke at dyuerse tauernes,
 And there to iangle and to iape . . .
And þei to haue and to holde and here eyres after,
 A dwellyng with þe deuel *and dampned be* for eure Ib., II, 92.

in so sitting in the myddil he was the redier and
 the abler forto waite into al her good and profit,
 (for to be seen of hem alle, and forto be herd
 of hem alle, and *alle hem*³ forto receyve mete of
 him the bettir) Pecock, 300.

¹Shearin : *Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose*, 15.

²Mätzner : *Sprachproben*, 103. Commenting on it in a note, M. calls it an accusative with infinitive to express purpose.

³The accusative here may be due to Pecock's associating the accusative as the regular subject of the infinitive.

sped well, good woman! I am to be sentt,
you for to speke with þe Kyng *Digby, 116, 1643.*

therfor' a rib I from the take,
 therof shall be (maide) thi make,
 And be to thi helpyng.
Ye both to gouerne that here is,
 and euer more *to be in blis*
ye wax in my blissyng *Townley, 7, 186.*

Pray to thy Son aboute the sterres clere,
He to vouchesaf, by thy mediacion,
 To pardon thy seruaunt, and brynge to saluacion
Skelton, 1, 14.

That sonday thenglysshmen made great dykes and
 hedges about, *their archers to be the more stronger*
Berners: Chron., 196.

lette vs all be a fote, except thre hundred men of
 armes . . . *to the entent they somewhat to breke and*
to opyn the archers, and thanne your batayls to
folowe on quicklye afote . . . *Ib., 195.*

I wold desyre you . . . that ye wolde graunt a
 truse to endure all onely but to morowe, so
that you nor we, none to greue other, but to be in
peace y^t day *Ib., 142.*

Than the kyng sente to prelates of the chirche,
 that euery man of the oste sholde be confessed
 and *euery man to foryeuen other, and be in*
charite and clene lyf *Merlin, 55.*

This moost precyous blode was shedde without
 mesure . . . *to thentent our synnes . . . shal*
 . . . be clesed, done away and *we to be parte*
takers of the redempcyon ones done *Fisher, 229, 29.*

gyuyng also example of good and honest
 conversacyon *to thende* that all the people in
 this worlde may be gadered in to one flocke,
 and *the chyrche to be knytte togyder* in one fayth
 hope & charyte *Ib., 191, 1.*

Then have we nowe come furth the booke of
 Frere Barnes . . . which . . . is at thys daye
 comen to the realme by safe conducte, whiche
 at hys humble suite, the kynges hyghnesse of
 his blessed disposicion condiscended to graunt

hym, to thende that if there myght yet any
 sparke of grace be founden in hym, it myght
 be kept kindeled, and encreased, rather *than*
the man to be cast away

More, 342 G.

I trust so to open this wyndow, that the lyght
 shal be seane . . . and *the old glory* of your
 renowned Britaine to *reflorish* through the
 worlde

Leland : *New Year's Gift*, 67.

The infinitive is also employed in English with an imperative force, to state an injunction or agreement, after expressions denoting a *command*, *decree*, *pledge*, etc. Chronologically this use is parallel with that of purpose and result, but its precise relation to the latter is illustrated by other Indo-Germanic languages. The kinship of the two constructions is quite obvious from the following Middle English examples :

“ It nere,” quod he, “ to thee no greet honour
 For to be fals, ne for to be traytour
 To me, that am thy cosin and thy brother
 Y-sworn ful depe, and ech of us til other,
 That never, for to dyen in the peyne,
 Till that the deeth departe shal us tweyne,
 Neither of us in love to hindren other,
 Ne in non other cas, my leve brother ;
 But that thou sholdest trewely forthren me
 In every cas, and I shall forthren thee ”

C. T., A, 1129.

Ordinarily the expression of command is followed by a clause, and a second statement, parallel to the first, is rendered by a substantive with an infinitive :

he *het* men to gyue hem mede
 If þei coude hit rigtly rede
 And þei to gyue þe same ageyn
 If þei hit red nougt certeyn

Curs. Mundi, 7121.

And my wyll is, that my body be Beryed in the
 Chirchhey of the Paryshchurch of Thornecombe
 . . . And no fest noþer terment y-hold, bote.iiij.
 Masses atte my buryyng, saue CCC poure men
 schullen haue mete & drynke ynowe . . . and

.xiiij. poure men clothed in Russett ylyned
witt white, and *euery of ham to haue .viijd.*

Earliest English Wills, 26, 20.

More-ouer hit *is my will* that my body be buryd
. . . And that at the day of my buryng ther
be saide iij masses, And all-so that þer be
xiiij pore men clothid in white, holdyng
eche of hem a torghe brennyng . . . And
afterward *the torgis to be dalt .iij.* of hem
to the Chirch of Thornecombe

E. E. W., 129, 12.

I will that then all such porcion or porcions
as schulde come to hym or theym soo dyng
remayn unto the other on lyving, evynly
amonges theym to be devided: provided
alway, that if the said .ij. parts be in any
maner of stuff or catall or any part of
theym and not brought into money, that
then *my said wif to haue* the choyse off
whiche half she best lyketh, and *my said*
.iiij. childern to holde theym contented with
all suche half as she refusith

Fabyan's Will, vii.

which .iiij. tapers *I will* be holden at euery
tyme by foure poore men, to the whiche
I will that to everyche of theym be geven
for their labours . . . and if any of theym
happen to be unmaried, than *they to haue*
but .iiijd. a pece

Ib., iv.

Also *I will* that myn executrice doo assemble
upon the said day of moneths mynde .xij.
of the porest menys children of the fore-
said parisshe and after the masse is endid
and other obseruances, *the said children to*
be ordered aboute my grave, and there
knelyng, *to say* for my soule . . . and *the*
residue to say a pater noster

Ib., v.

Also if it happen me to dye at London, than
I will that suche .iiij. of my felishipe as
bere me to churche, haue my ryngs of gold
. . . and *the other too . . . to haue viijd.* a
piece of theym

Ib., vi.

I will that the seid Seynt Marie preest ne his
successours shal not lete to ferme the seid
place to no man nor woman . . . but *he and*
his successours to logge there

Bury Wills, 21.

*I will and ordeyne . . . that he shall . . .
 founde or do founde . . . and indewe
 withinne the seid mancion or collage of vij.
 religeous monkys or pristes, to preye for
 the soules above seyde in perpetuite, of
 whiche one to be chief governor of hem, and
 he to have x li.*

Will of Sir J. Fastolf (b)¹.

Sche is vndyr godd made be patent lettyr
 hys vycere generall, if I schall sey sothe,
 To geue mankynd bothe nase, eye, & tothe
 Of what schape þat hyr lykyth to geue,
 And of hyr werk *no man* hyr to *repreue*

Capgrave: *Life of St. Katherine*, 158, 1319.

And the clerkes *charged* the kyng that in no
 manere he sholde not se me a-lyve; but as
 sone as I were founde, that I sholde with-
 oute respite be slain, and *my blode to be
 brought* to be putte with mortar in the
 foundement of the tour

Merlin, 31.

that he and the gode lady his wif *swere* on a
 boke to kepe a childe that shal be brought
 vnto hem, and that she yeve it soke of hir
 owne mylke, and *hir owne childe to be put* to
 a-nothir woman to be norished

Ib., 88.

and he *badde* me that I sholde pray yow to
 put youre owne childe to sowken a-nother
 woman, for my love, and *your wif to yeve* the
 childe sowken of her owne mylke

Ib., 88.

They within *made apoyment* with the erle, to
 sende xxiiii of their chiefe burgesses to
 Burdeux, in hostage . . . and if within
 that space, the frenche kyng do sende a
 suffycient persone, to kepe the felde agaynst
 therle of Derby, than *they to have agayne*
 their hostages, and *to be quyte* of their
 bonde; and yf nat, than *they to put theym*
 vnder the obeysaunce of the kyng of
 Englande

Berners: *Chronicle*, 135.

the same season ther were *acorded, ordeyned*
 and *confyrmed*, alyaunces and confederacions,

¹ *Paston Letters*, I, 446.

right great and large, and *sworne* solely on bothe parties, to holde firmly and nat to breke, nor to do agaynst it by no maner of way, but *that those two kynges to abyde* firmly in vnyte of peace, loue, and alyance *Ib.*, 438.

The other lordes were of the contrary opinyon, sayeng, how they had *sealed and sworne*, howe that if the kyng, or one of his chyldren, were nat there personally by the sayd day, *than they to yelde them up* to the obeysance of the frenche kyng *Ib.*, 451.¹

In memorie where of it was then *ordayned*, that from thence foorth no drum, pype or other instrument should be sounded in the street leading to the gate through which they passed: nor *no osterie to be there holden* *Verstegan*, 86.

The idea of commanding, on which the expression of nominative with infinitive depends, may be merely implied in the context, not directly expressed. In such cases the infinitive approaches very closely to the force of a pure imperative.

“The beste counseile,” seide thei, “that we se ther-inne is that ye somowne a grete courte to be at Cardoel . . . and that eche come araide to a-bide xv dayes, and *eueriche man to brynge* with hym his wif . . .” And the kyng was plesed wele with her counseile, and sente to alle the barons to be at Pentecoste at Cardoel, and *euery baron to brynge* with hym his wif *Merlin*, 65.

and therefore hit was my quest to brynge her ageyne and yow bothe or els *the one of vs to abyde* in the felde *Malory*, 114, 27.

& yf he can vanquyssh me then he shall delyuer to thee thy nece Esclaramond & yf I ouercome thy man then *thou to returne* to thy cite & suffer thy nece styll with him & also *thou to restore* all y^e domages that thou hast done him & his in this warre *Berners: Huon*, 185, 9.

¹Quoted by Krickau, 27, but not found.

hit shall be expedient that a noble mannes sonne, in his infancie, haue with hym continually onely suche as may accustome hym by litle and litle to speake pure and elegant latin. Semblably *the nourisses and other women* aboute hym, if it be possible, to do the same

Elyot, 34.

Wherfore there wolde be radde to hym, for an introduction, two the fyrste bokes of the warke of Aristotell, called *Ethicae*, wherein is contained the definitions and propre significations of euery vertue; and *that to be lerned* in greke

Elyot, 91.

Lastly, that if there shall be two or more competitors for the same vacancy, *caeteris paribus*, he that has the thickest skin to have the preference

Spec., 18.

The future indicative is likewise employed to express a command when the subject is in the third person, and parallel to such forms an infinitive is sometimes found:

Also *he will* that if his wyf or eny of his saide sonnes worke the contrarye of this his present wille, in lettynge or distourbyng of the saide executours of fulfillingg ther-of, that then *þey shall lose* aduantage and benefite of this his present wille

E. E. Wills, 128, 9.

The stage directions in the Townley and Digby plays generally read "Here *shall enter* . . .", "Here Herod *shall rage*," etc., but in one instance we have:

Here to enter a dyuel with thunder and fyre, and to auance hym sylfe, saying as folowyth; and hys spech spokyn, to syt downe in a chayre Digby, 43.

A commaundement make I here
 þat ye alle may se & lere
 þe bareyn shal hir fruyt fynde
 And opere sene that gitt are blynde
 þe pore also to gete some bote
 And crepel to go rigt on fote
 þe dede to rise & opere vchone
 Be sett in to her state anone

Curs. Mundi, 12255.

spirits malyngny xall com to þe,
 Hyr to tempt in euery plase,
 now *alle the vj þat her' be*,
 wysely to *werke*, hyr fawor to wynne,
 to *entyr* her person be þe labor of lechery,
 þat she at þe last may com to helle

Digby, 70, 428.

Sometimes the infinitive has a force between that of futurity and command, corresponding rather closely to the Latin periphrastic:

In bedleem iuda *he to be bore*

Curs. Mundi, 11468.

I woll Elysabeth Keston have (80) marke paid
 to Norman Waschebourne for her mariage.
 And yef he gruche therwith, *the mater so to be
 laboryd and sewyd* that he be constrayned ther
 to do hit

E. E. Wills, 118, 18.

And all-so if the saide Margarete his wyff
 decesse or tyme Rauf his son comme at ful
 age, thanne *all her dower, and the xx marc
 yerely forsaid, to be kept* to the sustenance
 of al his Children yn the maner and fourme
 forsaide

Ib., 122, 35.

And if he die withoute heires of his body
 comyng . . . Thanne *the saide maners, londes,
 tenementes, rentes & seruices*, with the
 appurtenaunces, *to remayne* to Margarete

Ib., 124, 3.

I must go & seke for the horne cuppe &
 harnes y^e which thou wert wont to haue
 & enioy & *I¹ to bere* them to kinge Oberon

Berners: Huon, 169, 12.

Which treaty toke such effect, that all such
 knightes as were within the towne, might
 depart at their pleasur, without any damage,
 and to drawe to Niorth, to Xaintes, and to
 Lusyngnen, or whyder soeuer it pleased them,
 and the lady of *Soubise to put herself vnder*
 the obeysance of the frenche kyng

Berners: Chronicle, 452.

And the yonge kyng was putte vnto the rule
 of the gentyll knyght sir Rycharde Dangle,
 by the accorde of all the lande, to be

¹ Variant inserts *am.*

instructed in noble vertues; and *the realme of England to be governed by the duke of Lancastre* *Ib.*, 483.

Among whom if any be proued after to have abused it, than *the use thereof to be forboden* him, eyther for euer or till he be waxen wyser *More.*¹

Their bloody sign of battle is hung out, And *something to be done* immediately *Cæsar*, V, i, 15.

I saw him arrested, saw him carried away; and, which is more, within these three days *his head to be chopped off* *Meas. f. Meas.*, I, ii, 67.

'Tis opportune to look back upon old times, and contemplate our forefathers. Great examples grow thin, and *to be fetched* from the passed world *Browne*, 403.

We even find in English instances of the use of an infinitive in direct commands of the second person.²

Cumað him fore ond cnēow bigeað
on ansýne ūres drihtnes,
ond him *wēpan*³ fore, ðe ūs worhte ær!
Venite, adoremus, et procidamus; et *ploremus*
ante dominum, qui fecit nos

Psalms, xciv, 6.

Ne ahebbað gē tō hēa ēowre hygeþancas
ne gē wið gode æfre gramword *sprecan*!³ *Ib.*, lxxiv, 5.

¹Skeat: *Specimens of Eng. Lit.*, 187.

²Such a use of the infinitive is quite common in Italian in negative expressions of command; e. g.,

O Pilato, *non fare*

'L figlio mio tormentare

Jacopone da Todi.

Quoted in J. A. Symonds' *Italian Literature*, I, 293.

O santa allegrezza

Di devozione,

Per nulla stagione

Non m'abandonare

Ib., I, 301.

Levati su, donzello, e *non dormire*

Ib., I, 57.

In positive expressions of command, the idiom is also familiar to the colloquial speech of several of the modern European languages, notably German and Russian. See Delbrück, II, 459-60.

³Grein, in the *Sprachschatz*, glosses the forms as conjunctives.

Nolite extollere in altum cornu vestrum :
nolite loqui adversus eum iniquitatem

swike nu and gon ofte to chirche

Hom., II, 66-67.

And if ich hadde wel ispeke þer-of þu nym gome

And *nouht* me vor to beten al wyþ-vte dome

O. E. Misc., 45, 269.

Fader be þu wid child,
 and be þu wudewis frend,
 be arme gume þu *froueren* ;
 and þe woke gume þu *coueren*,
 be wronke gume þu *rigtin*
 mid alle þine migtin

Ib., 135, 592.

Gyf þou do hyt, I shal þe gyve
 Ten pound of gold wel wiþ to lyve ;
 þo ten pound I take þe here,
 And me to *selles* on bonde manere,
 I ne recche unto whom,
 But onlych he have þe Crystendom

Manning : *Handlyng Synne*.¹

God seide tel me & *not layne*²

Curs. Mundi, 1127.

And if grace graunte þe to go in in þis wise,
 þow shalt see in þi-selue treuthe sitte in þine herte,
 In a cheyne of charyte as þow a childe were,
 To *suffre hym and segge* nougte, agein þi sires wille

Piers Pl., v, 614.

All have I noght to done in this matere
 More then another man hath in this place,
 Yet for as muche as ye, my lord so dere,
 Han alwey shewed me favour and grace,
 I dar the better aske of yow a space
 Of audience, to shewen our requeste,
 And ye, my lord, to *doon* right as yow leste

C. T., E, 99.

I seye this, be ye redy with good herte
 To al my lust, and that I frely may,
 As me best thinketh, do yow laughe or smerte,
 And *never ye to grucche* it, night ne day.³
 And eek whan I sey "ye," ne say nat "nay,"
 Neither by word ne frowning contenance ;
 Swer this, and here I swere our alliance.

Ib., E, 351.

¹ Emerson : *Middle English Reader*, 94, 19.

² Göttingen MS reads : þat þu ne lain.

³ Skeat's punctuation with an interrogation point seems to me to be wrong.

And also *thou to brynge* me thy handfull of the
 here of hys herde and .iiii. of hys grettest
 teth

Berners: *Huon*, 50, 20.

Consider he's the prince, and you his subjects,
 And *not to question or contend* with her
 Whom he is pleased to honour

Massinger: *Duke of Milan*, I, ii.

It is readily seen that all the foregoing groups of examples are closely related and lend themselves to a common classification. The Indo-Germanic infinitive was, by its very nature, flexible, and its potentialities were variously developed in the various languages. From its primary use in expressing purpose and result, it tended in a number of languages to develop an imperative force. This tendency is most markedly illustrated in Greek, but is manifested also in a number of the modern European languages. In Italian it is quite regular in negative expressions of command, while its use in Russian and German, in all expressions of command, might possibly be considered a direct development from the nominal use of the infinitive.

In Middle English the tendency to develop the imperative force of the infinitive seems to have been no less strong than in ancient Greek. Though all shades of the construction can be illustrated from English texts, it is not possible, by means of the examples discovered, to arrange a chronological sequence which shall establish a clear development from the original phase, the use of the infinitive for purpose and result, to the highest stage, its use as a direct imperative. These extremes are already found in Old English, and they exist side by side, together with all the intermediate stages, throughout Middle English. The examples have been arranged to indicate the manner in which the transition might have occurred. First come those passages in which the infinitive expressing purpose and result is employed, together with a substantive in the nominative case, as equivalent to a clause. The exact function of the infinitive in these

cases is often made clear by the use of a conjunction or of a parallel clause. The infinitive of purpose and result is followed by a group of examples in which the infinitive contains the idea of command, but not directly, only as derived from some verb of commanding, agreeing, appointing, or decreeing in the main clause on which the infinitive is dependent. The accusative with infinitive after these verbs may to some extent have influenced this construction, but that the accusative with infinitive was not the construction intended in these cases is sufficiently evident from the frequent use of the nominative forms of the pronoun. But when the meaning was sufficiently clear from the context, it was often possible to omit the governing verb, which, however, remained vaguely before the consciousness, and the infinitive, being then left as the principal verb of the sentence, came very near to expressing a direct command. From this point the transition is not difficult to the final stage in which the infinitive becomes a direct imperative, without the intervention or even the remotest mental suggestion of a governing verb being felt. The dozen examples of this last use which have been quoted seem to admit of no other interpretation.

There has been included also a group of examples in which the infinitive is employed with an imperative force as parallel or equivalent to a future indicative similarly employed. But this use merges with the one previously described and is quite analogous to the Greek use of the future indicative in commands which is spoken of by Delbrück.

FUTURE AND POTENTIAL INFINITIVE

The passages already cited, in which an infinitive is employed parallel to a future indicative to denote command, may suggest the explanation of such a use of the infinitive

when no command is expressed or implied. The examples of an infinitive which is used as equivalent to a future indicative, even when the latter form does not precede, are clear enough.

I leue monkynde *fordone be*¹
But hit be stored bi me & þe *Curs. Mundi*, 2939.

If ye hit do I you teche
Siker may ye be of wreche
And youre shame shal be coup
*Alle men to haue you in mouþ*² *Ib.*, 4133.

Alle þat bereth baslard, brode swerde or launce,
Axe other hachet or eny wepne ellis,
Shall be demed to þe deth but if he do it smythye
In-to sikul or to sithe to schare or to kulter ;
Conflabunt gladios suos in vomeres, &c ;
Eche man to pleye with a plow pykoys or spade,
Spynne, or sprede donge or spille hym-self with sleuthe.
Prestes and persones with placebo to hunte,
And *dyngen* vpon dauid eche a day til eue *Piers Pl.*, III, 303.

þanne shal þe kyng come and casten hem in yrens
And but if dobest bede for hem þei *to be þere* for euere
Ib., VIII, 101.

And þanne shal I come as a kyng crowned with angeles,
And han out of helle alle mennes soules.
Fendes and fendekynes bifor me shulle stande,
And be at my biddynge where so eure me lyketh.
And³ *to be merciable* to man þanne my kynde it asketh
Ib., XVIII, 369.

And thanne agreeen that I may ben he,
Withoute braunche of vyce in any wyse,
In trouthe alwey to doon yow my servyse
As to my lady right and chief resort,
With al my wit and al my diligence,
And *I to han*, right as yow list, comfort,
Under your yerde, egal to myn offence,
As deeth, if that I breke your defence ;

¹ I think man-kind *sal* perist be (Cotton, Göttingen) ; I þink mankinde *sal* lorne be (Trinity).

² Other MSS read : All men *sall* you haue in mouþ.

³ Subject *I* omitted.

And that ye deigne me so much honoure,
 Me to comaunden ought in any houre.
 And *I to been* your verray humble trewe

Troilus, III, 131.

Let hym fynde a sarsyn
 And *y to fynde* a knyght of myn.
 The batell vpon them schall goo

Guy of Warwick, 3531.

Out of the erth herbys shal spryng
Trees to florish and frute *furth bryng*

Townley, 2, 43.

and than thou mayest goo and retourne surely
 in the palays at thy pleasure, and *no man to*
let the for yf thou haddest slayne v. C. men
 there shalbe none so hardy to touche the

Berners: *Huon*, 107, 3.

assay if ye canne get graunt of therle of Derby
 to let vs depart, our lyues and goodes saued,
 and *we to delyuer* to hym this castell (= *nous*
li renderons le forterece)¹

Berners: *Chronicle*, 133.

Who so euer causeth a synner to leue his
 synful lyf shal both saue his owne soule
 from dampnacion & *his synne to be done away*

Fisher, 123, 28.

When theyr soules ben departed from the
 bodyes, they shall neyther be cast in to hell
 neyther into the paynes of purgatory, but
 without ony lette *to be* in the glorious place
 of heuen

Fisher, 11, 5.

When the future verb is found in a dependent clause (indirect discourse) and *shall* is therefore changed to *should*, the infinitive continues to be employed in the same manner.

As oure lord biforne him higt
 Of him *to springe* alle þinge to rigt²

Curs. Mundi, 8527.

For euery cristene creature shulde be kynde til other,
 And sithen hethen *to helpe*

Piers Pl., x, 364.

alle thinges bityden the whiche that the
 purviaunce of god hath seyn biforn *to comen*

Ch. Boeth., 194b12.

right as we trowen that the thinges which that
 the purviance wot biforn *to comen* ne ben
 nat to bityden

Ib., 198, 90.

¹ Krickau, 25.

² Other MSS read: of him *suld spring* that all *suld* right.

“For certaynly, this wot I wel,” he seyde,
 “That for-sight of divyne purveyaunce
 Hath seyn alwey *me to for-gon Criseyde*” *Troilus*, iv, 960.

& also yf a man had bene of grete age he
 shulde retourne agayne to the age of .xxx.
 yere and *a woman to become* as freshe & lusty
 as a mayde of .xv. yere *Huon*, 116, 30.

sayd to these lordes of France, how they were
 well content to be vnder the frenche kyng,
 so that they myght caste downe their castell
 to the erthe . . . and on that condicyon the
 towne of Rochell . . . shulde be for euer vnder
 the resort and demayne of ye frenche kyng,
 and neuer to be put away by maryage . . .
 also *they of the towne to haue* a mynt to forge
 money *Berners : Chron.*, 454.

The people herynge the wordes of the prophete
 Ionas and ferynge the *vengeaunce of god to fall*
 vpon them *Fisher*, 107, 16.

He promysed also at his ascencion *the holy ghost*
to come *Ib.*, 108, 25.

God almyghty promysed by his prophete
 Ezechiel that euery true penytent wyllynge
 to forsake his synfull lyfe shoulde haue
 forgyuenes, & neuer after *his wyckednes to be*
layd to his charge *Ib.*, 221, 16.

For as for leysore shall not I trust one time or
 other *lacke to suffice*, for so muche & for
 muche more to *More*, 356 C.

A variation of this use is that occasionally found in future conditions less vivid.

sayd he wolde neuer depart thens, tyll he had
 wonne it, orels *the kyng of Scottis to come*, and
 to reyse his siege parforce *Berners : Chronicle*, 38.

yf ye had weddyd a lady, & loue her derely
 . . . & then a traytoure pryuely *to purchase*
 your dethe for loue of your wyfe *Huon*, 287, 15.

I coniure the by ye grete vertu deuyne, & by
 your parte of paradyce, & that *your soule to*
be dampned yf case be that ye say not the
 trouth *Ib.*, 287, 8.

but I could then have looked on him without
 the help of admiration, though the catalogue
 of his endowments had been tabled by his
 side, and *I to peruse* him by items *Cymbeline*, I, iv, 4.

With this group the following passages in which the infinitive has a distinctly optative force, are to be compared:

Ne in him desyr noon othere fownes bredde
 But arguments to this conclusioun,
 That she on him wolde han compassioun,
 And *he to be* hir man, whyl he may dure *Troilus*, I, 465.

They would gladly se theyr wyues and
 chyldren, and *some to se* theyr louers *Huon*, 303, 26.

Heaven would that she these gifts should have,
 And *I to live and die* her slave *As You Like It*, III, ii, 161.

For would that I myself had such a son,
 And not that one slight helpless girl I have,—
 A son so famed, so brave, to send to war,
 And *I to tarry* with the snow-haired Zal,
 My father, whom the robber Afghans vex
 Arnold : *Sohrab and Rustum*.¹

Oh, that I were a beast on the wild hills,
 And I had borne thee to my twilight lair
 Alive, and there had bitten thee to death,
 And dabbled all thy beauty in the dew—
 And *he to look* upon it Mackaye : *Sappho and Phaon*, p. 81.

The so-called *resumptive to* construction, in which an infinitive is used parallel to a verb with a modal auxiliary, when the subject is unchanged, is exactly our construction of the infinitive with the force of a future indicative, except that the subject is not repeated before the infinitive. The instances of an infinitive alternating with other than a future auxiliary are of comparatively later date and scarcely found outside of Malory.

¹ Eversley Edition, p. 106.

- If he be rightwis king, þai sall
 Maintene him both night and day,
 Or els *to lat* his frendschip fall
 On faire manere, *and fare* oway Minot's Poems, 25, 113.¹
- Hit tokenep Adam & his sede
 Ouer al þe world shulde be sprad
 And þereof *to be* lord *mad* Curs. Mundi, 598.
- He shalbe a lord of great renoume,
 And after me *to were* the crowne Squir of Low Degre, 1059.²
- & who-so wol nat, he xal be had in hold ;
 & so *to be* cast in carys cold Digby, 60, 150.
- how myght this be, that the day I shall on dye,
 I sholde breke my nekke, and be hanged, and
 also *to be* drowned Merlin, 52.
- Yef ye wole yeve vs leve, we will assaye it, and
for to preve the grete lesyng Ib., 62.
- Of yow and yowers I wyll have remenberavn
 & dayly yower bede woman *for to be* Digby, 129, 1966.
- Thys wryght would wedde no wyfe,
 Butt yn yougeth *to lede* hys lyfe Wright's Chaste Wife, 19.³
- That no man schuld beseke her of grace,
 Nor her *to begyle* Ib., 101.²
- I shalle be your woman and *to doo* ony thyng
 that myghte please yow Malory, 150, 2.
- And anone the kynge commaunded that *none*
of them vpon payne of dethe *to myssaye* them
 ne doo them ony harme Ib., 160, 32.
- we wyl be felawes to gyders and neuer *to fayle* Malory, 194, 21.
- god wold that ye shold put him from me
 outhur *to see* hym Ib., 221, 28.
- I wyl foryeue the the dethe of my broder and
 for euer *to become* thy man Ib., 224, 18.
- ye shal haue homage & feaute of me & *an C*
knyghtes to be alweyes at your commaundement Ib., 231, 7.

¹ Ed. Hall.² Hazlitt : *Early Popular Poetry*.³ Quoted by Baldwin, § 239 note.

I loue her and wille rescowe her or els *to dye* *Ib.*, 237, 22.

I will doo to yow homage and feaute with an
C knyghtes with me and alle the dayes of my
lyf *to doo* you seruyse where ye wille
commaunde me

Ib., 266, 29 ; 277, 11 ; 282, 34 ; 286, 21 ; 242, 20 ;
244, 14 ; 690, 5 ; 191, 8 ; 716, 29.

I would no more
Endure this wooden slavery than *to suffer*
The flesh-fly blow my mouth *Temp.*, III, i, 62.

Who would be so mock'd with glory, or *to live*
But in a dream of friendship *Timon*, IV, ii, 33.

She tells me she'll wed the stranger knight,
Or never more *to view* nor day nor night *Pericles*, II, v, 17.

Some pagan shore,
Where these two Christian armies might combine
The blood of malice in a vein of league,
And not *to spend* it so unneighborly *John*, V, ii, 39.¹

ABSOLUTE CONSTRUCTION

A secondary idea is sometimes joined to the main clause by the insertion of a parenthetical nominative with infinitive. Such an expression is by its form subordinate and requires no connective to elucidate its relation to the main clause. But because the secondary clause cannot be construed as in any way dependent upon the main verb, the writer often introduces the conjunction *and*, and thus gives a coördinate value to the infinitive and the finite verb.

Also y will þat Iohn Edmund haue al þe led
. . . , *he to paie* per-for as it ys worthy *E. E. W.*, 2, 11.

And all the remenauntys of my godys, y wyll
they be preysyd & parttyd in thre : *on part*
for to be don for my soule, & that other part
to my wyfe *Ib.*, 13, 19.

¹ Quoted by Abbott, § 350.

- Also y be-queyth to ysabell my dowter, an .C. pounde to hir mariage, of whiche somme ys owynge to me, to be payd, an .C. Mark . . . *and þe remnaund to be payid of my godes þat leuyth* *Ib., 19, 11.*
- Also I bequethe to my wyfe alle þe goodis þat be meuablis, *and she to be my prinsepall seccutur* *Ib., 80, 4.*
- Also I be-quethe to be distribued a-mong prisoners . . . *the prisoners to praie for my soule, xx.s'* *Ib., 78, 3.*
- Item I beqwethe all maner of godis to my wyf Alson Newent, *and she forto do me like as she wolde I dede for her in þe same cas* *Ib., 83, 13.*
- y will the best prest that may be founde, sey for me the saide trentall, with the hole diriges, and all the seruice thurghout the yere, *and the prest to have* *Ib., 88, 10.*
- And I make myn executours, Marie my wyif, and my sone Richard, *Marie to be evermore myn executrice principall, And no thyng to be dymened agens here wille* *Ib., 93, 17.*
- All-so I woll that Iane Newmarch haue CC mark in gold, *And I to bere all Costes as for her bryngynge yn-to seynt Katrens, or where-euer she woll be elles* *Ib., 118, 14.*
82, 14 ; 95, 16 ; 123, 18 ; 132, 18.
- Item, I will and ordeyne . . . that the pore pepyl . . . have . . . quantitie of the x. part of oon yeerly valewe and reueneuse of the seyd lordshepis . . . *halfe to be departyd to . . . parishe cherchis for werkys . . . and half to be departyd amonges the seyd pore pepil* *Will of Sir J. Fastolf.*
- I geue and qwethe to Willm Hussher iijs iiijd, *and he to have his identour of his prentished* *Bury Wills, 16.*
- first I will be .iiij. preests yerely at the said obite, whereof *oon to be assigned to syng masse of Requiem, another masse of the v.*

- Wounds . . . and at the tyme of the
lavatory *everych of them to say* "De Pro-
fundis"
Fabyan's Will, ix.
- Than bothe the brethern be-sought hym full
lowly to a-bide with hem, *and thei to be*
gouverned by hym as he wolde
Merlin, 48.
- this is my counceill . . . that we lete puruey
x knyghtes . . . & *they to kepe* this swerd
Malory, 40, 35.
- And thenne hadde she me deuysed to be kyng
in this land and soo to regne *and she to be* my
quene
Ib., 133, 7.
- therefore they agreed on a truce, to endure to
the fyrst day of May next after, in all the
marches of Calais . . . *and other landes to be*
styll in warre
Berners : Chronicle, 478.
- tidynges came, how trewse was taken bytwene
the sayde two kynges, to endure to the feest
of Saint John Baptist; and in the mean
tyme, *the pope to do* what he myght to make
a further peace
Ib., 185.
- Man that was create in great honoure, & among
all creatures lyuynge none but he had their
face set streyght to loke vp in to heuen, en-
dued also with reason and free wyll, fourmed
and made lyke vnto the ymage of almyghty
god, ordeyned by his maker to be aboue all
other creatnres of the worlde, *and they also to*
be at his commaundement
Fisher, 39, 1.
- If they wold use but a fewe nombre of houndes,
only to harborowe, or rouse, the game, and
by their yorning to gyue knowlege whiche
way it fleeth; *the remenant of the disporte to*
be in pursuyng with iauelyns and other
waipons, in maner of warre
Elyot, 193.
- warnyng her (as for all) hensfurth to desist for
feare of the reward of shame, *and he to rest*
contented with the wrong he had alrede done
Fenton's Bandello, II, 82.¹
- be then desired
- By her that else will take the thing she begs

¹ Ed. Douglas.

A little to disquantity your train,
And the remainder that shall still depend,
 To be such men as may besort your age,
 Which know themselves and you

Lear, I, iv, 268.

But she used him for her sport, like what
 she was, to trifle a leisure sentence or
 two with, and then to be dismissed, *and*
she to be the Great Lady still

Elia : *On Some Old Actors*.

HISTORICAL INFINITIVE

The infinitive is sometimes found parallel to a simple narrative tense.

Stormes roos on euery syde,
 Sonne & moone þe ligt gan hide.
 Hit merked ouer al þis world wide.
 þe reyn fel doun so wondir fast,
 þe welles wax, þe bankes brest,
 þe see to ryse, þe erthe to cleft,
 þe springes all oute to dref¹

Curs. Mundi, 1762.

þe frount frounseþ þat was shene,
 þe nese droppeþ ofte bitwene,
 Teeþ to rote, breeþ to stynke

Ib., 3571.

Esau went hoom his wey
 vnto syer þere he coom fro,
 and *iacob* to his fadir to go²

Ib., 4020.

In þat lond was a werre strong
 And hit lasted somdel long.
 Foure kynges werred vpon fyue
 þe fyue ageyn þe foure to stryue³

Ib., 2491.

paraurenture he loueth in somme other places
 ladyes and gentylywymmen, and to be loued
 agayne, and he be suche a man of prowesse *Malory*, 141, 1.

¹ þe springes cum over-all utedriue *Cotton*.

þe springes gan over-all utedriue *Göttingen*.

² *can ga* (*Cotton & Fairfax*); *gan ga* (*Göttingen*).

³ *to-stryue* (*Cotton*).

CONCLUSION

The results of this entire investigation may briefly be summarized as follows:

1. Old English, in common with other Indo-Germanic languages, possessed the construction of an accusative with a predicate as the object of a principal verb. This predicate could be a substantive, an adjective, a participle, or an infinitive. The usage was limited only by the capacity of the governing verb for taking an object in the accusative case. Subject to this limitation, the construction was becoming more common in early Middle English, without the aid of Latin influence, but its rapid extension in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may to some extent have been stimulated by the Latinizing of the English vocabulary which was going on during that period. In its fullest development in the middle of the sixteenth century, the construction is distinguished by the same essential characteristics which marked it in the earliest English. It at no time developed with the freedom of the classical construction.

2. The use of a substantive with infinitive as the subject of a neuter or impersonal verb, which has often been identified with a similar classical construction, is really of native origin. The instances in which the substantive is in the nominative case far outnumber the others, but it is possible to account for the examples in which the substantive assumes another case by proving a variety of sources for the construction. This construction is not found at all in Old English, is in general use between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries inclusive, and survives in Modern English in a disguised form in the so-called "inorganic *for*" construction, in which the substantive is preceded by the preposition *for* and in which the case is therefore necessarily objective.

3. The infinitive, accompanied by a substantive, has been found in Middle English employed to express purpose and result, to denote various shades of command in sentences in which a verb of commanding is expressed or implied, and finally, to express command by itself without the presence of any verb of commanding. These uses have been classified under a common heading as the conjunctive-imperative use of the infinitive, because of their analogy to a similar use of the infinitive in Greek.

4. The infinitive occurs in Middle English as equivalent to a future indicative. When it is reduced to a dependent position in a subordinate clause, this infinitive naturally tends to become potential in its force, and it is therefore not surprising that it should also be found to have an optative force in certain independent statements.

5. The use of a nominative and infinitive in place of a clause, to express an idea parenthetically or loosely joined to the principal idea of the sentence, is frequent in Middle English. This is the Absolute Infinitive, which is also quite common in Modern English.

6. The infinitive sometimes occurs in Middle English as equivalent to a simple narrative tense, and in this respect it resembles the Latin historical infinitive.

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VITA

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