Infinitival Verb Movement in Middle English

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1. Introduction

(1) a. and [he] **suffryd ever** grete penauance for Goddis sake in weryng of the heyre
and [he] suffered always great penance for God's sake in wearing of the hair
(*Life of St. Edmund* 165.61 / Han (1999: 13))
b. Here men **vndurstonden ofte** by þis nyȝt þe nyȝt of synne.
here men understood often by this night the night of sin
(*Wycliffite Sermons* I, 477.605 / ibid.)

(2) a. Monye men han a maner **to ete ofte** for to drynke
many men have a manner to eat often in-order to drink
(*Wycliffite Sermons* I, 478.631 / Han (1999: 13))
b. þe oþur was þat God wold ȝeue hur þat grace, to hur þat was þe modur of God **to do**
the other was that God would give her that grace to her that was the mother of God to do
always plesaund seruyse to God.
always pleasing service to God (*Sermons from the MS Royal* 256.260 / ibid.)

(3) A Diagnosis for Verb Movement: the position of the verb relative to the negative marker

(4) Sources of Data
I. *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English* (Kroch & Taylor (1995))
II. *The Oxford English Dictionary*

2. Basic Facts

2.1. Observation by Han (1999)

(5) Word Order Possibility: I.   *not-to*-V order: 14 instances
  II.   *to*-V-*not* order: 14 instances

(6) Infinitival verb movement is obligatory in ME.

2.2. Optionality of Infinitival Verb Movement

(7) *NOT TO* V
a. for I have i-lerned [to telle þis wonder, and **not to discreve** what it schulde mene
because I have learned to tell this wonder and not to describe what it should mean
(POLYCH, VIII, 89.206 / *PPCME*)

b. the defense is doon anon withouten intervalle or withouten tarying or delay, that right axeth a
the defense is done soon without interval or without tarrying or delay that right askes a
man [for to deffenden hym and **nat for to vengen** hym].
man for to defend him and not for to avenge him (CTPROS, 232.C1.120 / ibid.)

(8) *TO* V *NOT*
a. And herfore monye men vson wel [**to come not** in bedde wiþ schetis, but be
and therefore many men are-accostomed well to come not in bed with sheets but be
hulude aboue þe bed]
covered above the bed (WYCSER, I, 479.641 / *PPCME*)
b. þat he doos [**to sorow noght** for hys syn] as he sulde do; [**to dispoos** hym **noght** and if **to**
that he does to sorrow not for his sin as he should do to dispose him not and if to
use it **noght** als ne **to kepe** it **noght**];
use it not as than to keep it not (ROLLFL, 99.261 / ibid.)

(9) *TO NOT* V (FROM *PPCME*)
þat is to siggen þat þou ȝiue þin entent [**to** don alle þe dedes to honour of God, *and* **nouȝt**
that is to say that you give your intent to do all the deeds to honour of God and not
aȝeyn his wille **don** wiþ eny of þi fiue wittes]
against his will do with any of the five wits (EDVERN, 240.42 / *PPCME*)

(10) *TO NOT* V (FROM *OED* AND VISSER (1966))
a. It is good [**for to not ete** fleisch, and **for to not drynke** wyn],
it is good for to not eat flesh and for to not drink wine
(1382 Wyclif Rom. xiv. 21 / *OED*)
b. Yf þou wolt lerne & can eny þinge profitably, loue [**to not be** known] and to be accountyd
if you will learn and know any thing profitably love to not be known and to be accounted
as nought.
as nothing (<c>1500 tr. Imit. Chr. 4. 7 / Visser (1966: 1040))

(11) *THE PENN-HELSINKI PARSED CORPUS OF MIDDLE ENGLISH*

	NOT (FOR) TO V	*(FOR) TO NOT* V	*(FOR) TO* V *NOT*
ME1 (1150-1250)	1	0	0
ME2 (1250-1350)	2	0	0
ME3 (1350-1420)	12	1 (1)	5 (2)
ME4 (1420-1500)	10	0	12 (2)
TOTAL	25	1 (1)	17 (4)

(12) *THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY*

	NOT (FOR) TO V	*(FOR) TO NOT* V	*(FOR) TO* V *NOT*
1150-1250	2	1	0
1250-1350	12	0	2
1350-1420	128	8	13
1420-1500	251	4	8
1500-1600	1142	3	9 [5]
1600-1700	1699	3	12 [5]
TOTAL	3234	19	44

(13) *TO* V ... *AND* V *NOT*
a. þe toþir maner o mekenes is, sais sain benet, [**For to** hate yure ahen propir wyl, *And* **fulfil**
the other manner of meekness is says saint benet for to hate your own proper will and fulfill
noght yure langing, bot do godis wylle, and his desire fulfille];
not your longing but do God's will and his desire fulfill (BENRUL, 12.355 / *PPCME*)

2

b. and he hath nede [**to** lyue a clene lif, and be ful deuout in preiers, *and* **haue not** his wit]
and he has need to live a clean life and be full devout in preyers and have not his wit
(PURVEY, I, 56.127 / ibid.)

(14) *TO* V ADV DP$_{OBJECT}$
a. what spiryt makith sithen idiotis hardi the foure greete doctouris dursten neuere do this? [**to**
what spirit makes then idiots hardy the four great doctors dared never do this to
translate now [**the bible**] into English],
translate now the bible into English (PURVEY, I, 56.92 / *PPCME*)
b. Đe oþur was þat God wold ʒeue hur þat grace, to hur þat was þe modur of God [**to do**
the other was that God would give her that grace to her that was the mother of God to do
euer [**plesaund seruyse**] to God].
always pleasing service to God (ROYAL, 256.260 / ibid.)

(15) WORD ORDER POSSIBILITY: I.   *not-to*-V order
II. *to-not*-V order
III. *to*-V-*not* order

(16) Infinitival verb movement is optional in ME (and EModE).

(17) The *to*-V-*not* order attested during the seventeenth century cannot be considered as the cases of
infinitival verb movement. (cf. (12))

(18) *TO* V *NOT* IN 17C.
I.   *to*-V-*not* order with *be*: 5 instances
II. *not* (and its variants) functioning as a constituent negator: 4 instances
III. *nought* (and its variants) functioning as a direct object or adjective with the meaning 'nothing':
3 instances

(19) a. Which we shall labour [to induce *not* from postulates and entreated Maxims].
(1646 Sir T. Browne Pseud. Ep. 296 / *OED*)
b. Experience, that great Teacher, tels us [to be *nought*], at all times to undertake for health.
(1658 A. Fox tr. Würtz' Surg. ii. i. 47 / ibid.)

(20) In Present-day English, the *to*-V-*not* order is possible only with the auxiliary *have* and *be*.
(cf. Pollock (1989), Iatridou (1990))

(21) a. To not have played football for many years is a disadvantage in a major game.
b. To have not played football for many years is a disadvantage in a major game.
(Iatridou (1990: 574))

(21') a. ambiguous: *not* > *many* / *many* > *not*
b. unambiguous: *many* > *not*

(22) I.   The *to*-V-*not* order with the auxiliary *have* and *be* in Present-day English cannot be derived by
verb movement. (cf. Iatridou (1990))
II. The infinitival verb movement was already nonexistent in the seventeenth century, and it was
lost during the sixteenth century.

(23) a. They counseiled the kynge **to tary not**, but to ouir-ride his reaume.
they counseled the king to tarry not but to override his realm
(<c>1500 Three Kings' Sons 144 / *OED*)

b. **To lash not** out too lashinglie, for feare of pinching penurie.
   to   lash not out too lavishly   for fear   of pinching penury

<div align="right">(1573 Tusser Husb. ix. (1879) 17 / OED)</div>

3. AN ANALYSIS

3.1. Analysis by Han (1999)

(24) ASSUMPTIONS
  I. The infinitival clause lacks Tense Phrase (TP), and the infinitival marker is a head of Mood Phrase (MP).
  II. There are two distinct Negative Phrases (NegP) in a clause, one directly above MP and the other below MP, and either of them can be headed by *not*.
  III. There is Aspect Phrase (AspP) between MP and VP to whose head infinitival verbs obligatorily move.

(25) [$_{NegP}$ *not* [$_{MP}$ *to* [$_{AspP}$ Asp [$_{NegP}$ *not* [$_{VP}$ V]]]]]   (cf. Han (1999: 12))

(26) PROBLEMS
  I. If *to* is a head of MP, it is wrongly predicted that the existence of *to* always contributes to the irrealis meaning of infinitival clauses: the infinitival marker cannot be a head of MP.
  <div align="center">(cf. Stowell (1982), Martin (1992, 1996), Bošković (1996, 1997))</div>
  II. If the lower negative marker also heads NegP, it is expected to block the infinitival verb movement: the lower negative marker cannot be a head of NegP.
  <div align="right">(cf. Minimal Link Condition in Chomsky (1995))</div>
  III. i. Infinitival verb movement is not obligatory: it is optional.
      ii. Under the minimalist assumptions, it is not clear at all why the infinitival verb must move to Asp: this movement has to be feature-driven.

(27) a. John tried to leave early.   (28) a. John tried to bring the beer.
    b. Jane believes Bill to be a genius.   b. *John believed Mary to bring the beer.
    c. Tom seems to be sick.   c. *John seems to bring the beer.

3.2. An Alternative

(29) ASSUMPTIONS
  I. The infinitival marker is a head of TP.   (cf. Chomsky (1981) among others)
  II. There are two distinct NegPs: one is located higher than TP and the other is located lower than TP.   (cf. Han (1999))
  III. There is a functional projection which is responsible for the infinitival morpheme: Infinitive Phrase (InfnP).   (cf. Guasti (1990), Kayne (1991), Tanaka (1994))

(30) PROPOSAL ON THE NEGATIVE MARKER
  The higher negative marker appears in the head position of the higher NegP while the lower negative marker appears in the specifier position of the lower NegP.
  I. The negative marker *ne* is a head of NegP.   (cf. Ishikawa (1995), Frisch (1997) among others)
  II. The negative marker *not* was also used as an adverb during ME and EModE.
  <div align="right">(cf. Ishikawa (1995), Frisch (1997))</div>
  III. Adverbs are licensed or hosted in the specifier position of the corresponding functional head which has the same semantic content.   (cf. Cinque (1999), Mizuno (1999a, 1999b))

(31) [$_{NegP}$ *not* [$_{TP}$ *to* ... [$_{NegP}$ *not* [$_{Neg'}$ Neg [$_{VP}$ V$_{Infn}$]]]]]]

(32) y   cowde no skyll [**ne to speke** ne **move** of menys]
      you knew no skill NEG to speak nor move of   men   (CMPRIV, SHILLET, 9.13 / *PPCME*)

(33) *to ne* V / *to* V *ne* --- not attested in *PPCME*

(34) a. It ne   come **noȝt**   þoru.
          it NEG come not   through   (<c>1325 Glo. Chron. A 4228 / Ishikawa (1995: 199))
      b. Ðat dai hie   ne com   **nauwer** ute.
          that day they NEG come   never   out   (<a>1225 Lamb. Hom. 7 / ibid.: 200)

(35) a. we han bound   us silf   **for to neuere touche** neither bere money.
          we have bound our-selelves for to never   touch   neither beer money
                                              (<c>1449 Pecock, Repressor 556 / Visser (1966: 1041))
      b. it is moste certaine **to haue neuer** bene chresmed
          it is most   certain to have never been anointed
                                              (1561 T. Norton Calvin's Inst. iv.xix.151 / *OED*)

(36) PROPOSAL ON THE INFINITIVAL VERB MOVEMENT
      I.   Infinitival verbs in ME and EModE carry a nominal formal feature (i.e. D-feature) along with
           the verbal formal feature (i.e. V-feature).
           i.   Infinitives in ME and EModE had nominal properties.
                                                          (cf. Lightfoot (1979), Roberts (1993))
           ii. Infinitival verbs could be preceded by the prepositional *to* in early ME. (cf. Tanaka (1997))
           iii. Infinitives in ME and EModE carried the infinitival morpheme (i.e. *-en/-e*) which was the
                typical inflectional ending of nouns.   (cf. Lightfoot (1979), Roberts (1993))
      II. Infn also carries a D-feature, which can be either strong or weak depending on the
           parametric value.
           i.   The D-feature of Infn attracts the D-feature of V.
           ii. The D-feature of Infn in ME and EModE is weak.
                       iii. The D-feature of Infn in ME and EModE can tolerate an unforced violation of
                                                          Procrastinate. (cf. Ura (2000))

(37) NOMINAL PROPERTIES OF INFINITIVES
      a.   They function as subjects in syntactical units.
      b.   They function as complements to a copula.
      c.   They function (in the genitive) as attributive adjuncts to noun.
      d.   They function as antecedents to relative clauses.
      e.   They function as objects in syntactical units.
      f.   They take the case endings of a noun.
      g.   *They take adnominal modifiers in the form of adjectives.
      h.   *They take adnominal modifiers in the form of articles and demonstratives.
      i.   *They take adnominal modifiers in the form of possessives.
      j.   They can be preceded by prepositions.
      k   They occur in passive constructions.
      l.   They occur in cleft constructions.   (Lightfoot (1979: 191-192))

(38) [$_{NegP}$ *not* [$_{TP}$ *to* [$_{InfnP}$ Infn-[D] [$_{vP}$ *v* [$_{NegP}$ *not* [$_{Neg'}$ Neg [$_{VP}$ V$_{Infn}$-[D]]]]]]]]]

(39) *not-to*-V order --- the higher negative marker (& the infinitival verb movement)
      [$_{NegP}$ **not** [$_{TP}$ **to** [$_{InfnP}$ Infn-[D] [$_{vP}$ *v* [$_{VP}$ **discreve**-[D]*what it schulde mene*]]]]]   (cf. (7a))

(40) *to-not*-V order --- the lower negative marker
[$_{TP}$ ***for to*** [$_{InfnP}$ Infn-[D] [$_{vP}$ v [$_{NegP}$ ***not*** [$_{Neg'}$ Neg [$_{VP}$ ***drynke*-[D]** *wyn*]]]]]]   (cf. (10a))

(41) *to*-V-*not* order --- the lower negative marker & the infinitival verb movement
[$_{TP}$ *to* [$_{InfnP}$ [$_{Infn}$ ***come*-[D]** Infn-~~[D]~~] [$_{NegP}$ ***not*** [$_{VP}$ t_{come} *in bedde wiþ schetis*]]]]   (cf. (8a))

(42) þat he doos [to sorow noght for hys syn] as he sulde do; [**to dispoos** *hym* **noght** and if **to use** *it*
     that he does to sorrow not for his sin as he should do to dispose him not   and if to use it
     noght als ne **to kepe** *it* **noght**];
     not   as than to keep it not   (ROLLFL, 99.261 / *PPCME*)

(43) [$_{TP}$ *to* [$_{InfnP}$ Infn-[D] [$_{vP}$ Spec [$_{v'}$ v [$_{NegP}$ *not* [$_{Neg'}$ Neg [$_{VP}$ V$_{Infn}$-[D] DP]]]]]]]]

4. LOSS OF INFINITIVAL MOVEMENT

(44) PROPOSAL
     I.   The loss of the infinitival morpheme caused the loss of the infinitival verb movement.
          i.   The infinitival morpheme was lost during the sixteenth century.
                                                          (cf. Lightfoot (1979), Guasti (1990))
          ii. The infinitival verb movement was lost during the sixteenth century.   (cf. (22))
     II. Infn ceased to be instantiated after the loss of the infinitival morpheme.
                                                  (cf. Mirror Principle in Baker (1985), Thráinsson (1996))

(45) a. V$_{Infn}$-*en*/-*e*: [D], [V] --- Infn can attract V$_{Infn}$.
     b. V$_{Infn}$: [V] --- Infn does not attract V$_{Infn}$.

(46) a. The child learning the relevant language could deduce that infinitival verbs had a nominal
         property (i.e. D-feature).
     b. The child ceased to make the previous deduction, and began to deduce that infinitival verbs
         had only a verbal property (i.e. V-feature).

5. CONCLUSION

(47) In Present-day English, only the *not-to*-V order and *to-not*-V order are possible (except for
     have/*be* and constituent negation).

(48) a. I told you not to do that again.
     b. Bianca considered Mayumi not to be a suitable candidate.
     c. Tom seemed not to be satisfied with his meal.

(49) a. I must try to not do it any more.
     b. Roger believed Kirsty to not be paid well.
     c. Staunton still seems to not have fully recovered from his hernia operations.

(50) I tried not to NOT drink beer.   (Goto (1999: 22))

(51) Instances of the *not-to*-V order exceeds those of the *to-not*-V in number.
    I.   This might be due to the status of the lower negative marker: the lower negator might be the relic of adverbial *not*.
    II. The *to-not*-V order is not always interchangeable with the *not-to*-V order and vice versa.

<div align="right">(cf. 長原 (2000))</div>

APPENDIX: INFINITIVAL MORPHEME AND STRENGTH OF THE D-FEATURE

(52) INFINITIVAL MORPHEME IN SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES
    a. Icelandic: *-a*
    b. Swedish: *-a*   (cf. Vikner (1997))

(53) ICELANDIC
    a. María lofaði   [**að lesa ekki** [$_{VP}$ t_{lesa} bækur]].
        Mary promised to read not   books   (Thráinsson (1993: 186))
    b. Risarnir   lofudu   [**að éta** ríkisstjórnina   **ekki** [$_{VP}$ $t_{éta}$ $t_{ríkisstjórnina}$]].
        the-giants promise   to eat the-government not   (ibid.: 203)

(54) SWEDISH
    Maria lovade   [**att inte läsa** böcker].
    Mary promised to not read books   (Thráinsson (1993: 186))

(55) INFINITIVAL VERB MOVEMENT
    a. Icelandic: obligatory ---   The D-feature of Infn is strong.
    b. Swedish: impossible ---   The D-feature of Infn is weak and cannot tolerate an unforced violation of Procrastinate.

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