THE DERIVATION OF INFINITIVE FORMS IN MIRK'S *FESTIAL*

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The essential nature of the infinitive is nominal. Its substantival realization is clearer on inspection of the underlying syntactical relations of the language. One phrase structure rule which introduces nouns into the grammar is satisfactory for the derivation of infinitive structures which arise from the NP dominated embedded sentences forming the underlying source of their derivation. This is the principle of the noun phrase complementation captured in the phrase structure rule:

NP → (Det)   N   (S)

The following simple sentences such as,

(1)   He confermeþ þe old lawe.

(2)   All crysten men comen to þe chyrche þys day.

can be embedded into higher sentences

(3)   ...he was circumcysed, forto conferme þe old lawe.

(46 : 20)

(4)   ...hyt ys comyn use to all crysten men forto come to þe chyrche þys day...

(59 : 2 - 3)

transformationally mapped onto the surface structure forms considerably different from derived strings of simple sentences (1 - 2).

The rule that converts a relevant sentence into an infinitival phrase, that is, 'infinitive formation transformation' or 'infinitive phrase rule' consists in the operation of tense and modal deletion, namely Aux (aspect is retained), and the insertion of *to* or *forto* into a position in front of the verb of the clause,

the place occupied previously by the tense and modal. This may be specified by the rule:

Rule A.   tense+modal ⇒ $\begin{matrix} \text{TO} \\ \text{FORTO} \end{matrix}$

The infinitival form is used with *to* or with *forto* by Mirk in *Festial*, and since these forms are often applied quite alternatively they do not appear to differ semantically. The use of *forto* to express purpose in the meaning of 'in order to', 'for the purpose of' at the beginning of the Middle English period seems to have weakened in this function in Mirk's language, or if it does convey this semantic interpretation, *to* can essentially be used in the same position and accordingly the two forms occur in the form of free variation. For example:

(5)   For ryght as he was circumsyset, to fulfyll and conferme þe old lawe, ryght soo he was folowed, to begynne and to halow þe crysten lawe for no nede þat he had þerto, for he was clene wythout synne, but forto make þe sacrament þat schuld wasschen and clause hom þat takyþe cristyndome yn hys name, of all synne.

$$\begin{pmatrix} 50 : 32 - 36 \\ 51 : 1 \end{pmatrix}$$

(6)   ...he schall haue bettyr lust forto lowren þen to lagh, forto syke þen forto syng to reme þen rymov, to drowpe þen to daunce.

(65 : 21 - 23)

Mirk is apparently inconsistent in his overall usage of the infinitival form being either marked with *TO* or *FORTO*. We assume that *forto* is the equivalent of *to* wherever it occurs to signal the infinitival form in *Liber Festialis*. Mossé (1968: 101) remarks that "a possible origin of this use of *for+to* may lie in the construction *for+object+to+inf. ...For hom to lere gode þewes. And for to leton hor unþewes*".

Rule A is valid except in cases when *to* and *forto* are generally deleted after verbs of perception, though they are occasionally used by Mirk in *Liber Festialis*. For example:

(7)   And when sche herd hym speke of the gret mode...

(177 : 24 - 5)

(8)   ...he segh a drownet man east up on þe watyr.

(7 : 36)

(9)   And as glad as þe Fadyr ys forto see þe childre ryse from deþe to lyfe, soo glad ys Crist, and moch mor, forto se a mon to ryse out of dedly syn and nevyr aftyr to hit mor.

(187 : 14 - 17)

The form of the infinitive which is not accompanied by *to* or *forto* is also used after a class of causatives; however, with a few verbs both 'the plain infinitive' and 'the to-infinitive' are found in Mirk's *Festial*. For example:

(10)   ...fyrst let hym unswar to a question.

(10 : 13)

(11)   ...and bade hom go to Bedeleem.

(49 : 6)

(12)   Wherfor he bade vche mon and womon to pray to God, to rase hur aȝayn to lyue; and so he dudde.

(178 : 31 - 3)

(13)   ...for Herode, kyng of Iewes, made to sle hom wythout gult.

(35 : 29 - 30)

(14)   þeras he, þys day rehersyth how God made Adam and Eue forto laboure and to kepe paradyse, and bade hom ete of all þe treun yn paradyse, excepte won tre þat he kepte a chefe to hymselfe.

(66 : 11 - 13)

In the majority of cases the infinitive preceded by *to* or *forto* is found after the causative verb *make*.

These verbs and similar ones must be marked as $\begin{bmatrix} \pm\text{TO} \\ \pm\text{FORTO} \end{bmatrix}$

Rule A does not hold in case of the plain infinitive occurring after modals as in the examples below:

(15)   ...þat no man may tell hit.

(3 : 24 - 5)

(16)   But for scho durst not for schame goo byfor Cryst.

(203 : 33)

(17)   ...forȝe wold do no mercy, and þarfor ȝe schull haue no mercy.

(4 : 19 - 20)

When the infinitive follows the modal at some distance, that is, when it is separated from the modal by one word or a whole group of words, then the 'to-infinitive' is found.

(18)   We wer fourty ȝeong men ynfere, and herden of a holy man þat was yn þys contre, and wolden haue gon to hym to haue herd his prechyng.

(8 : 5 - 6)

(19) Then sory may þay be þat haue ben wont to swer by his hert, by sydes, by blod and bones of hym.

(3 : 34 - 5)

The next procedure of the infinitive derivation erases, moves or marks with the preposition the subject of the underlying finite clause the discussion of which will be presented in greater detail later in the article.

Infinitive structures are characteristic of being deprived of a finite verb which is a marked form specifying the number and person of the subject and the verb. They are then manifestations of the non-finite verb forms in which the specification of the subject—verb agreement cannot be accounted for, and hence are assumed as unmarked forms.

We can formalize the infinitive transformational rule and present it in the form:

Rule B: Matrix verb $\cap$ Tense $\cap$ Modal $\cap$ (Aspect) $\cap$ X $\Rightarrow$

TO

Matrix verb $\cap$ FORTO $\cap$ (Aspect) $\cap$ X

This is a rule of *Aux*-replacement for *to* or *forto*, but it retains the perfect or progressive aspect of the infinitival structure.

Let us illustrate this by Modern and Middle English examples:

(20) We expected Paul $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Paul would have prepared it} \\ \text{Paul prepared it} \end{bmatrix}_s \Rightarrow$
We expected Paul to have prepared it.

After modals before Rule B has operated:

(21) And when he schuld haue prayde for hor boþe amendement, ...
(154 : 35)

(22) But wold God þat we haden ben cast vp all ynfere, þat we myghten haue ben rayset all togedyr!

(8 : 6 - 8)

After matrix verbs expressing purpose, hope, desire, wish, expectation, etc. This construction was extensively used by Mirk.

(23) ...and put hom ynto þe see, hopyng soo forto haue drownyd hom al.

(204 : 33)

(24) ...and bynd her hondys and fete and cast her þeryn, forto haue drownd her þere.

(201 : 30 - 33)

(25) þe kyng of Ierusalem, pursued Dauid to haue slayne hym, ryght soo þis Saule pursewet Cryst, and his dyscyples, and his seruantys, to haue broght hom to þe deþe.

(53 : 5 - 7)

No example of the progressive aspect of the infinitive was recorded in Mirk's *Festial*, as in a Modern English structure:

(26) We expect Paul [Paul is singing in the opera-house tonight]$_s$ $\Rightarrow$ We expect Paul to be singing in the opera-house tonight.

Such constructions as:

(27) þys story ys yn holy chyrch yn hegh ensampull to yche Goddes seruant þat desyryth to gete þe blessyng of hys Fadyr of Heuen, ...

(94 : 26 - 8)

or (28) We expect Paul [Paul (will) do it]$_s$ $\Rightarrow$ We expect Paul to do it.

imply the future reference of the infinitival structure possibly modified by the type of the matrix verb.

The infinitive structure is capable of expressing passivity and a good many instances of this construction have been found in *Liber Festialis*:

(29) ...hit schall be schowet to all þe world yn gret confusyon and schenschyp.

(2 : 21 - 2)

(30) For when þou comyst to schryfte, þou comyst forto be demed of thy schryft-fadyr.

(89 : 35 - 6)

(31) And when þe kyng was comen to be folowet, ...

(158 : 12 - 3)

Essentially the same structure is found in Modern English examples:

(32) They expected Paul $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Paul be prepared for the lecture} \\ \text{Paul would be prepared for the lecture} \end{bmatrix}_s \Rightarrow$
They expected Paul to be prepared for the lecture.

It is worth noting here that infinitive structures can result from the subjunc-

tive embeddings as presented in examples (32 - 35):

(33)   ...he was circumcysed forto conferme þe old lawe.

is derived from

(33a)   ...he was circumcysed [he (subj) conferme þe old lawe]ₛ

or

(34)   ...he send Pylat to Rome forto be þer yn hostage for a tribet...

with the underlying structure of

(34a)   ...he send Pylat to Rome [Pylat (subj) be þer yn hostage for a tribet]ₛ

(35)   They ordered he [he (subj) dig a ditch in the garden]ₛ ⇒
       They ordered him to dig a ditch in the garden.

After *that*-formation rule the structure results in the reappearance of subjunctive in the surface.

(35a)   They ordered that he dig a ditch in the garden.

The following transformations are relevant for the derivation of infinitival structures:

    1. Equi-NP-Deletion.
    2. Subject-raising.
    3. Marking the subject with the oblique case.

1. The *Equi-NP-Deletion* applies whenever there is an instance of the identical noun phrase in the clause with that of the matrix sentence, that is, the subject noun phrase of the embedded sentence is erased by the higher identical object noun phrase of the matrix, or in case there is no coreferential (identical) object, with the subject of the matrix sentence.

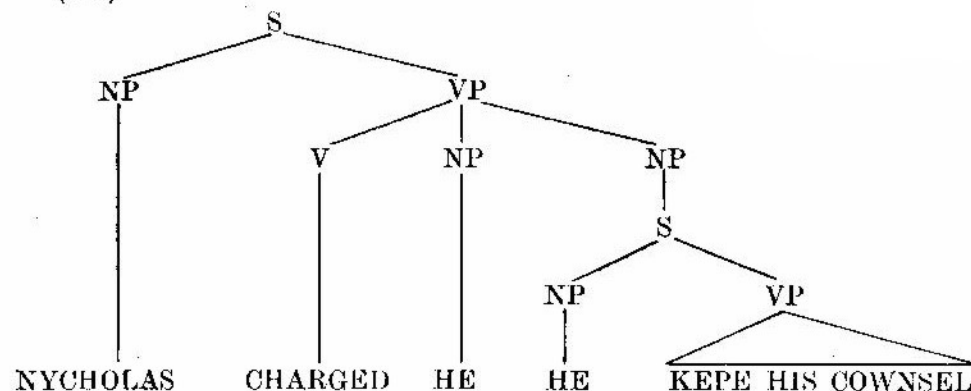The operation of this rule can be exemplified in the following sample derivations:

(36)   Nycholas charged hym forto kepe his cownsell.

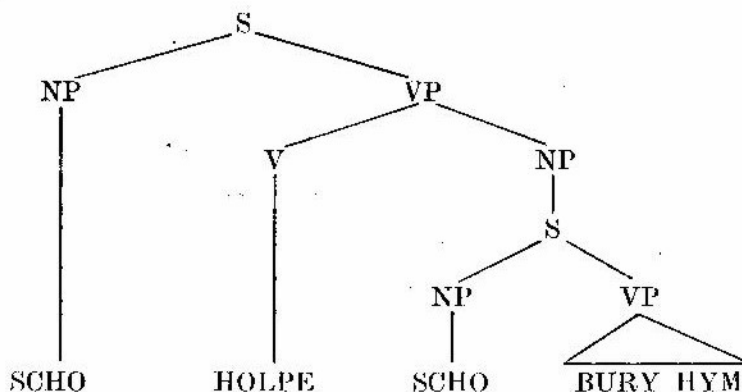(37)   Scho holpe forto bury hym.

(36a)

(37a)

The Equi-NP-deletion rule erases the constituent subject noun phrase under the condition of identity with the coreferential matrix object and subject in (36a) and (37a) respectively[1]. On the basis of the above examples the rule of Equi-NP-deletion may be presented in the following form:

$$NP_1--V--(NP_2)-_s[NP_3-VP]$$

NP_3 is erased by NP_1 — Equi-subject-deletion applies
NP_3 is erased by NP_2 — Equi-object-deletion applies

The rule operates provided that no more than one S-node separates the two coreferential noun phrases and that they are identical at the underlying structure level.

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[1] Let us point out that the rule operates here at the level of the underlying structure which is not the deepest structure of the derivation. Deep structure level is regarded as more abstract than the underlying structure.

A. The infinitive embedded sentence may be *the subject* of the matrix sentence, e. g.

(38)   ...To put away all maner worldes vanyte ys a pryncypal salue.

                                                (64 : 21)

(39)   Forto labur bysyly ys that othyr salue.

                                                (65 : 25)

Extraposition can operate on these structures and they are transformed into

(38a)   A pryncypal salue ys to put away all maner worldes vanyte.

(39a)   That othyr salue ys forto labur bysyly.   etc.

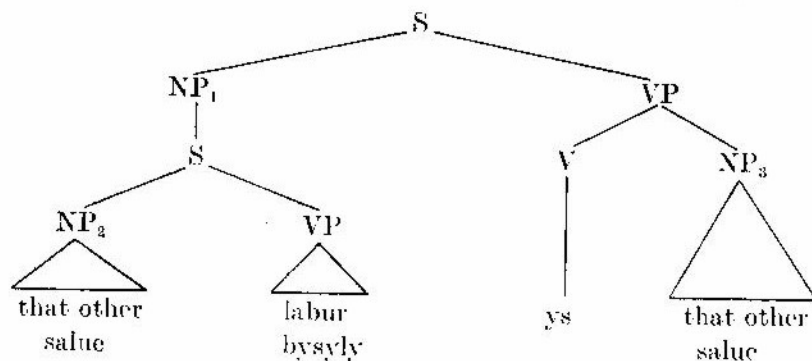An essentially similar operation is presented by the example (40):

(40)   To protect his old parents is Paul's duty.

derived from the structure

(40a)   [Paul protects his old parents]ₛ' is Paul's duty.

The underlying structure of (39) has the form of (39b)

(39b)

The embedded subject of the infinitive clause has been erased by the co-referential object noun phrase of the matrix sentence which follows the embedded sentence but does not precede as in the previous examples (36 - 37) and from which we have:

$$NP_1 - _s[NP_2 - VP] - V - NP_3$$

NP_2 is erased by NP_3 following the embedded sentence. In this case and similar ones *Equi-object-deletion* applies.

B. The infinitive embedded sentence may be *the object* of the matrix sentence, that is, the only object of the matrix verb.

(41)   ...he trauaylde forto bryng man ynto euerlastyng reste.

                                                (2 : 28)

(42)   þe byschoppys of þe contrey comen togedyr forto chese anoþer byschoppe.

                                            (12 : 11 - 12)

(43)   Wherfor Saynt Marke prayde forto amende his schone þat wer torne.

                                            (136 : 15)

This set of examples illustrates the operation of *Equi-subject-deletion*. The infinitive embedded subject has been erased by the coreferential matrix subject preceding the embedded noun phrase in question.

The embedded sentence may be *an object* of the matrix sentence whose main verb is followed by another object except the infinitive. For example:

(44)   ...he send Pylat to Rome forto be þer yn hostage for a tribet þat þe kyng schuld ȝeue to þe Emperour.

                                        (120 : 28 - 9)

(45)   Abraham ... made Isaak to ber wod to bren hymself wyth.

                                            (77 : 24)

(46)   For when þe kyng of Inde had send a messager þat heght Abbanes, ynto þe contre of Cesare, to seche hym a carpenter þat couþe make hym a palyce...

                                        (19 : 1 - 2)

The above sentences are illustrations of the application of *Equi-object-deletion* transformation.

The situation seems to be slightly complicated, however, in case of such verbs as *beheten* "promise". Let us consider the following pair of sentences:

(47)   Mary persuaded John to see the new film in the A.B.C.

(48)   Mary promised John to see the new film in the A.B.C.

The superficial similarity of these two sentences seems to obscure the underlying structure relations of sentence elements. In (47) the underlying embedded subject is *John* since it was he whom Mary persuaded to see the film and thus the simplex sentence which has been embedded into the matrix is 'John saw the new film in the A.B.C.', whereas in (48) it is Mary who promised John that she would see the new film in the A.B.C. and accordingly the sentence embedded is 'Mary saw the new film in the A.B.C.' A semantic interpretation
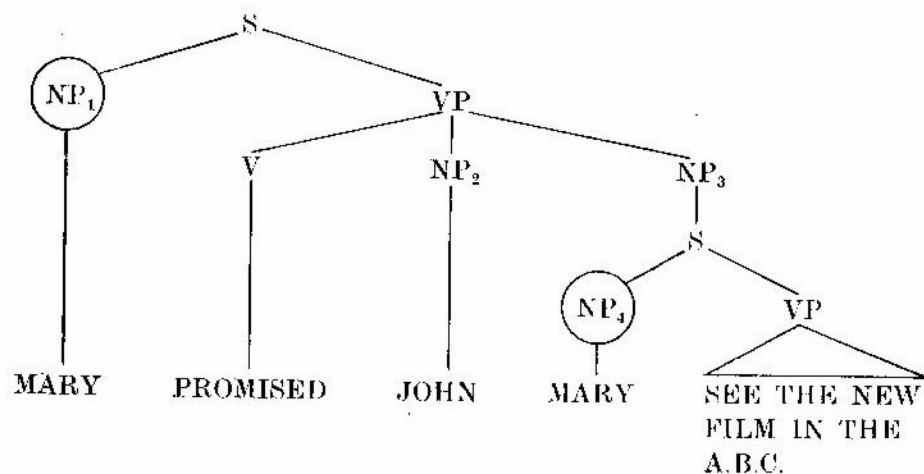
that it was Mary who promised *John* that *John* would see the new film in the A.B.C. cannot take place in this situation.

Sentences (47) and (48) may be diagrammatically presented in the following form:

(47a)
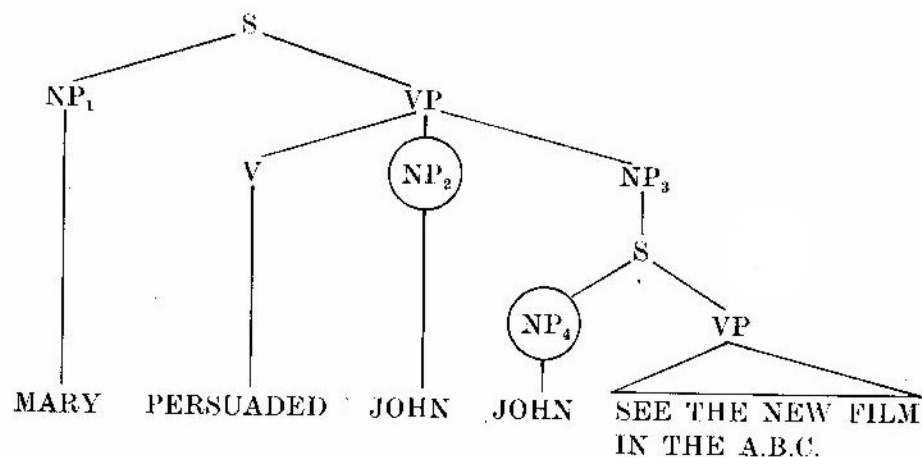
(48a)

In both examples the matrix verb is followed by an object [+ dat] besides the infinitive clause. NP$_2$ and NP$_3$ are two objects of the matrix sentence but *Equi-object-deletion* operates on structure (47a) erasing NP$_4$ on coreferentiality with the object NP$_2$, whereas (48) is yielded through the application of *Equi-subject-deletion* for the requirement of identity with the coreferential object has not been satisfied.

Infinitives produced through Equi-NP-deletion transformation appear to occur most frequently of all other infinitive structures generated by other transformations and analyzed in the present study of Mirk's language.

2. The second possible way of deriving infinitives is through the *subject-raising transformation* by raising the constituent subject into the higher sentence. The subject-raising rule operates in two directions: either by raising the subject noun phrase out of the embedded sentence into the subject position of the matrix sentence and hence 'raising to subject' operates, or into the object position of the containing sentence in the case of which 'raising to object' is at work. After raising has operated the remaining part of the embedded sentence, more specifically the verb phrase, is immediately put into the infinitival form. Thus, the rule operates on subject and object clauses yielding in traditional terms 'nominative and infinitive' and 'accusative and infinitive' constructions respectively.

The rule may be illustrated by the following set of examples.

a) (49) ...he begynnyth to know þe good from þe euell.

(35 : 23 - 4)

(50) Seynt Poule... turnyþ ...forto syng þe mas fastyng.

(127 : 12 - 3)

(51) Hit ys gret nede forto aske helpe and socour of God: forto defende vs out of temptacyon.

(128 : 36)

The sample sentence (51) seems to be derived from the underlying structure:

(51a) Ys gret nede [hit askeþ helpe and socour of God]$_s$
           [hit defendeþ vs out of temptacyon]$_s$

The impersonal subject *hit* or expletive *hit* is a syntactic subject and behaves like any other noun phrase functioning as subject and therefore easily can be raised. (Cf. Perlmutter's (1970 : 116) analysis of the expletive *there*).

b) (52) ... I beleue Ihesu forto be God and man.
(53) We beleue now fully þis forto be verray Godis body.

Sentences (52) and (53) are the result of *þat*-deletion and the infinitivalization operating on structures in
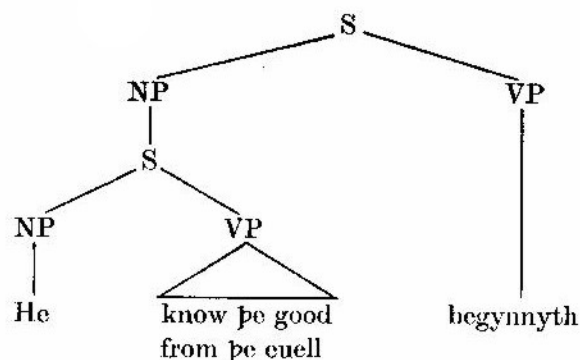
(52a) I beleue, þat Ihesu is God and man.

(127 : 12 - 3)

(53a) We beleue now fully þat þis is verray Godis body.

(171 : 6)

*'Raising to subject'* may be diagrammatically presented in the following form:

(49a)

The embedded noun phrase udergoes raising into the higher sentence and emerges as a derived subject of the matrix sentence. The remainder of the embedded sentence is converted into the infinitival phrase.

Raising of the constituent subject noun phrase to matrix object instead of subject would result in an ungrammatical sentence.

(49b)   * To know þe good from þe euell begynnyth he.

'Raising to object' may be illustrated by the example (52) in the configuration (52b):

(52b)
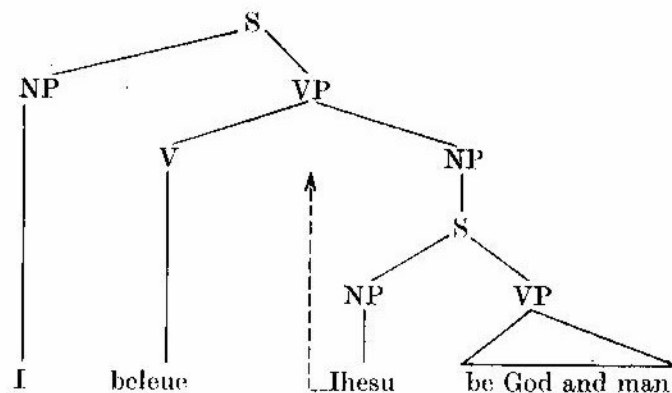
The embedded noun phrase is lifted up into the position of a surface object of the matrix verb, the embedded verb phrase is put into the infinitive form.

Let us compare a Mod. English example for 'raise-subj':

(54)   Mary is certain to leave for New York.

which is derived from the underlying structure

(54a)   Is certain [Mary leaves for New York]$_S$

and not from the extraposition of (54b).

(54b)   It is certain that Mary will leave for New York.

Essentially the same derivation applies to Middle English sentences:

(55)   Ihesus ys ... ready forto helpe me.

                                                    (28 : 34)

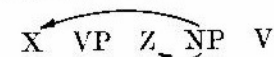(56)   ... he wer worthy to take hys deth...

                                                    (87 : 35)

(57)   ... Kyng Iewes ys certeyne forto be borne þer.

                                                    (87 : 35)

Accordingly, sentence (55) is derived from the underlying structure

(55b)   ys ready [Ihesus helpeþ me]$_S$ etc.

The rule of subject-raising may be presented in the following form:

$$X \quad VP \quad Z \quad NP \quad V$$

NP is raised into X-subject position if the subject slot of the matrix sentence is open for the raised subject to be inserted. NP is raised into Z-object position if the matrix sentence does not have an object and whose position is open for the embedded subject to be inserted. The embedded subject noun phrase is raised out of that sentence if one S-node separates it from the matrix verb phrase.

Let us analyse the following two sentences:.

(58)   I beleue Ihesu to be god and man.

(59)   Nycholas charged hym forto kepe his cownsell.

They seem to have similar surface structures though they have been generated through different transformations. Sentence (58) is an example of 'raise to object'. The rule applies raising the embedded subject into the matrix object position.

A. $X [Z \, Y \, ...]_S$

     $X \, Z \, [Y \, ...]_S$

Sentence (59), on the other hand, is a result of Equi-object-deletion rule which erased the embedded subject upon identity with the coreferential object of the matrix sentence.

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B. $X\ Z\ [Z\ Y\ ...]_s$
$$\approx\quad=$$
$X\ Z\ [Y\ ...]_s$

The superficial similarity of the two sentences can easily be distinguished syntactically, for Equi-object-deletion applies when the matrix object is specified in the underlying structure whereas 'raising to object' operates when the object is not lexically defined in the underlying structure.

In B, Z is the 'original' object, the existence of which in the underlying structure excludes the 'raise to object' since the object position has already been filled by Z.

In A, Z is a derived object obtained by raising the embedded subject. The vacant object position after the matrix verb has been filled by the raised subject. Configurations (A_1) and (B_1) respectively represent the underlying structures on which the two transformations operate.

(A₁)　　　　　　　　　　(B₁)
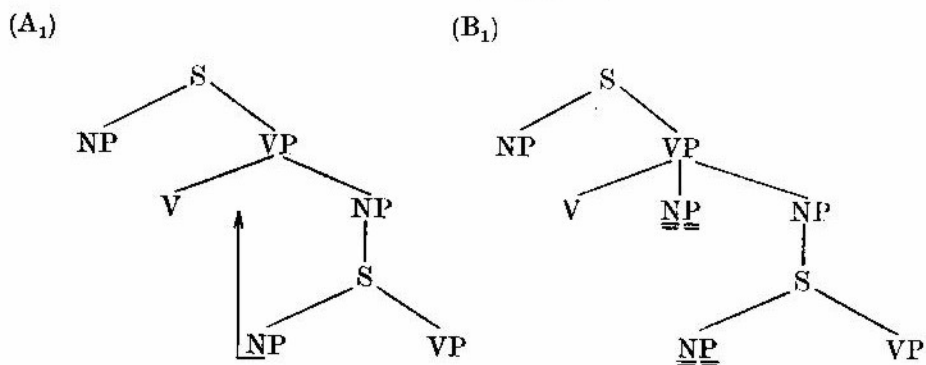
Let us note here that such verbs as *beleue, knowe* allow the operation of subject-raising transformation whereas *ask, expect* etc., require Equi-NP-deletion under these circumstances. The fact that the constituent subject in (58) has been raised out of the clause to object of *beleue* seems to be supported by the possibility of the operation of reflexivization in this position. It could not have operated if the subject concerned had not been raised into the higher sentence first and since the reflexive transformation applies when the two nouns in question are dominated by the same S-node, that is, after the 'raising to object' has applied. For example:

(60)　　Paul believes [Paul be witty]$_s$
(60a)　*Raise to obj*: Paul believes Paul [be witty]$_{VP}$
(60b)　*Reflex + Inf.*: Paul believes himself to be witty.

In not drawing *it* with embedded sentences and referring to this process as 'raising' transformation rather than as 'it-replacement' or 'pronoun replacement' transformations discussed by Rosenbaum (1967) or 'it-substitution' as

in R. Lakoff (1968), we follow P. Kiparsky and C. Kiparsky (1970). Rosenbaum's *it + S* analysis with *it* occurring as a dummy element in the underlying structure
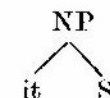

does not seem to be well motivated and has not accordingly been accepted in this study.

3. The final operation necessary for the derivation of infinitives is exemplified by marking the subject of the underlying constituent sentence with a preposition. The remainder of the sentence is converted into the non-finite form as a consequence of putting the subject into the oblique case. Before these transformations have operated the early rules of subjectivalization and objectivalization apply.

It was observed by Jespersen as early as 1933 that "the *for*-group is felt as belonging closely to the infinitive as its subject-part. Thus through sentences like *It was no uncommon thing for him to be away days and nights on end*; ... the *for*-group cannot be anything else but the subject of the infinitive" (Jespersen 1969 : 344).

There is evidence in Emonds (1970) that the *for-to* complementizer assumed by Rosenbaum (1967), Lees (1960), underlying all infinitives, has the syntactic properties of a preposition and the transformation puts the embedded subject into the object position of *for* as in the diagram:

[a man is byried in chirch]$_s$ is notte profytte.
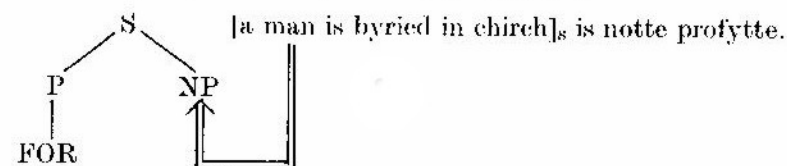
The prepositions which mark the subject of the infinitival structure are in Mirk's grammar *for* and *to* functioning as prepositional equivalents of the dative. *To*, however, is recorded to be used more often by Mirk but since the function of these prepositions is essentially equivalent in all instances tested in *Liber Festialis*, their use with the infinitive will be treated interchangeably[2].

It has been suggested by P. Kiparsky and C. Kiparsky (1970) that the preposition *for* in infinitive nominalization is inserted by a group of predicates called 'emotives'[3]. This means that whenever the infinitival subject is marked with

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[2] Mustanoja (1960 : 95 - 7) speaks of the *for* and *to* prepositions in the function of prepositional equivalents of the dative.

[3] P. Kiparsky and C. Kiparsky (1970 : 169) postulate a semantic distinction determining the syntactic form of predicates, and this is a distinction made between emotive

this preposition, the matrix verb is of an emotive character, having the feature [+EMOT]. Although the Kiparskys' proposal seems not to be thoroughly elaborated, it is more convincing than Rosenbaum's 'for-to complementizer placement' rule. We assume that in all cases in which marking with the preposition *for* or *to* takes place it indicates the subject of the infinitive structure involved in an activity of 'the subjective value'. The following sentence will exemplify this operation:
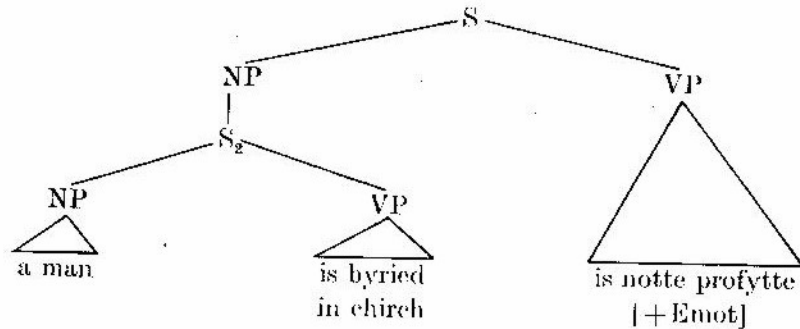
(61) ... it is notte profytte for a man to ben byried in chirch...

             (298 : 1 - 2)

Sentence (61) is derived from (61a) after the subjectivalization has operated:

(61a) [a man is byried in chirch]$_S$ is notte profytte.

This may be diagrammed as (61b):

(61b)

The 'for-insertion' rule marks the infinitive embedded subject with *for* in the surface and the 'infinitive formation' rule converts the rest of the structure into the non-finite form.

Some further examples may illustrate the infinitive construction in the oblique case.

(62) Hit was gret gladnesse to all cristen men forto see hym þat was so lyghtly before redy forto destrye hom...

             (54 : 35)

(63) Then ys hit nedfull to iche man to lerne how he schall haue þys beleue

             (165 : 25 - 6)

(64) For hit ys vnpossybull to me to telle þe ioy and þe gladness þat þay haddyn yn hor hertes þat day ...

             (245 : 9 - 11)

and non-emotive predicates which are characteristic of taking *for* in infinitive nominals and having the semantic property of expressing "the subjective value of a proposition".

According to this derivation of infinitives the embedded subject has neither been deleted nor raised out of the constituent sentence after the 'for-insertion' rule has operated. In sentence (65) *Mr Smith preferred for his son to work at his office*, which is accepted as grammatical in some idiolects of English, Equi-NP-deletion cannot apply for coreferentiality between matrix subject or object does not hold here. That subject-raising is not operative may be tested by the use of the reflexive transformation in this position.

(65a)* Mr Smith preferred for himself to work at his office.

(65a) is not grammatically acceptable which explains that the embedded subject could not have been raised into the matrix. Structures with such verbs as *hate, hope, regret* in

(66) I hate for Mary to cook.

are different from (65) in this respect that after the 'for-deletion' rule operating on (66) an ungrammatical sentence results

(66a) * I hate Mary to cook.

whereas (65) results in a grammatical sentence and thus allows the subject-raising rule.

(65b) Mr Smith preferred his son to work at his office.

On the other hand, the reflexivization is not operative on (66) which accounts for the ungrammaticality of (66b) or (67).

(66b) * I hate for myself to cook.
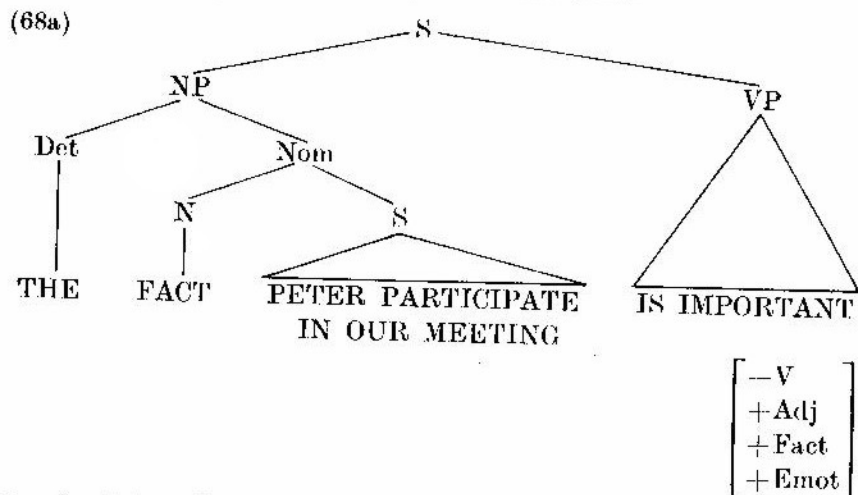(67) * She hopes for herself to do it.

A number of transformational rules were set up in order to account for the relationships of the infinitive phrases and matrix sentences in Mirk's grammar, and structures were obtained in which the underlying strings in Middle English hold true for the Modern English examples. Essentially the same phrase structure rule NP→S is the source in the derivation of the infinitive structures. We shall demonstrate on Modern English examples that the same underlying structures and transformational rules that have been presented for Middle English complement structures are found in Modern English and it is the surface realization that makes those structures look different.

Let us examine a sentence whose matrix verb is an example of the factive predicate[4], being simultaneously of an emotive character.

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[4] P. Kiparsky and C. Kiparsky (1970). A distinction between factive and non-factive predicates is done on the basis of presupposition implying the speaker's belief in the truth of the statement. Semantic properties of these predicates obtain the syntactic justification and thus factive predicates permit the occurrence of the noun *fact* plus a *that*-clause or gerund in the subject and object position in the sentence. Non-factive predicates, unlike factives, allow infinitival constructions which are the result of the operation of Sub-

(68) For Peter to participate in our meeting *is important*.

The derivation of this sentence can be pursued according to the following analysis. The underlying structure is represented as (68a):

(68a)

```
                          S
             NP                        VP
      Det          Nom
                 N      S
      THE      FACT   PETER PARTICIPATE   IS IMPORTANT
                      IN OUR MEETING
```

$$\begin{bmatrix} -V \\ +Adj \\ +Fact \\ +Emot \end{bmatrix}$$

That and *will*-insertion rules can operate, whose result is sentence (69).
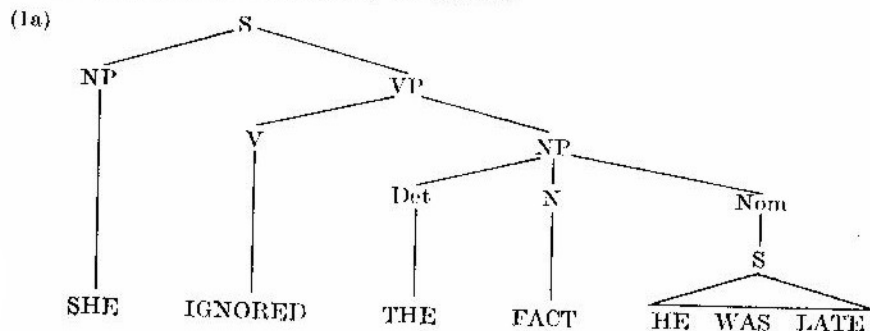
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ject-raising or Equi-NP-deletion transfromations. As a consequence of semantic—syntactic relation a distinct underlying structure has been proposed for factive and non-factive nominalizations.

```
      Factive          Non-factive
        NP                 NP
      fact   S              S
```
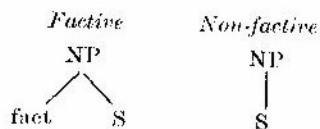
The structure of factive nominalization is characterized by the occurrence of the NP node which consists of the head noun *fact* followed by a constituent sentence, whereas non-factive nominalization contains a constituent sentence only. The following sentences seem to be superficially similar:

(1) She ignored that he was late.
(2) She supposed that he was late.

Their underlying structures, however, are distinct:

(1a)

```
                      S
          NP                     VP
                      V                NP
                              Det    N       Nom
                                               S
          SHE   IGNORED     THE   FACT    HE WAS LATE
```

(69) The fact that Peter will participate in our meeting is important.

Fact-deletion yields

(70) That Peter will participate in our meeting is important.

Extraposition can aply optionally giving

(71) It is important that Peter will participate in our meeting.

That and *will*-deletion followed by the *for*-insertion and infinitivalization rules generate structure (72)

(72) It is important for Peter to participate in our meeting.

The gerundive transformation can operate optionally on the structure (68a)

(73) The fact of Peter's participating in our meeting is important.

It seems unnecessary to present the derivation of sentences (61) *It is notte profytte for a man to ben byried in chirch* and (65) *Mr Smith preferred for his son to work at his office*, for their derivation will be similar to structures occurring with non-factives, that is, they do not combine with the item *fact* and do not allow the gerundive transformation.

On the other hand, if the *for*-insertion applies to the sentence

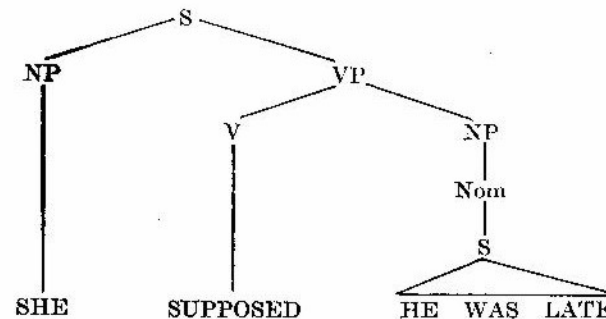(74) It is well known that Peter is a good doctor.

which is an instance of the non-emotive but factive predicate, the ungrammatical structure is yielded.

(75) * For Peter to be a good doctor is well known.

The gerundive transformation, however, gives (76):

(76) The fact of Peter's being a good doctor is well known.

─────

(2a)

```
                      S
          NP                    VP
                         V               NP
                                          Nom
                                           S
          SHE      SUPPOSED        HE WAS LATE
```

In (1a) the optional rule of *fact*-deletion can apply yielding the surface structure form (1).

When a non-emotive predicate in (75) is replaced by the emotive, non-factive predicate *improbable*, the sentence becomes grammatically acceptable. Consequently, we have:

(77)   For Peter to be a good doctor is improbable.

Transformations not relevant for the discussion here have accordingly been omitted.

Hence, we reject Lees' (1960) claim that the *for-to* complementizer underlies all infinitives and Rosenbaum's derivation of infinitives as '*for-to* constructions' resulting from the '*for-to* complementizer placement' rule in cases like:

(78)   Everyone would prefer for you to come early.
(79)   Everyone would prefer you to come early.

(Rosenbaum 1967 : 54)

Instead of deriving all infinitives from the '*for-to* structures' we would rather treat those structures which are marked with *for* as a surface structure form in which the preposition is introduced by the predicates which have been called 'emotives'. For example:

(61)   For a man to ben byried in chirch is notte profytte.
(63)   Then ys hit nedfull to iche man to lerne how he schall haue þys beleue.

Perlmutter (1968) in his unpublished draft of (1971) remarked that such sentences as

(80)   It is dangerous to lean out.
(81)   To know is to love her.

do not arise from the Equi-NP-deletion, and the identity of the underlying subject is not specified. It seems that the subject of the embedded sentence in (80) has been moved not by a deletion rule but rather by that of subject-raising. Sentence (80) seems to be derived from the structure in which the expletive subject *it* is the syntactic subject of the embedded sentence and since it behaves like any other noun phrase in this position, therefore it can easily be raised to the subject of the main sentence. Sentence (80) is then derived from

(80a)   Is dangerous [It lean out]$_s$

and not from the extraposition

(80b)   ? It is dangerous that someone leans out.

or the '*for-to* complementizer placement'

(80c)   It is dangerous for someone to lean out.

The same analysis will account for structures like:

(82)   Hit ys gret nede forto aske helpe and socour of God.

(128 : 36)

Sentence (81), on the other hand, is generated by a deletion rule, and it may be suggested that the indefinite pronoun, for example, is underlying this infinitive structure on essentially the same syntactical basis as *it* in (80), which gets deleted in the course of derivation whenever there is a need of the non-expression of the subject in the surface realization.

In any case, the generalization still holds good, and the infinitive structure, one can argue, is yielded whenever the constituent subject noun phrase has been moved from the embedded sentence by deletion, raising or being put in the oblique case in the course of a derivation.

An alternative standpoint is represented by Emonds (1970), whose arguments consist in positing that infinitives are not derived from sentences but *are ever generated directly*. They are not noun phrases, that is, the phrase structure rule NP→S is never their source and only those clauses which are marked with an *-ing* affix on the verb are noun phrases.

According to this analysis, "the only source for sentence and infinitive complements is the 'extraposed' S (and perhaps VP) → generated by VP → ...(S)". For example:
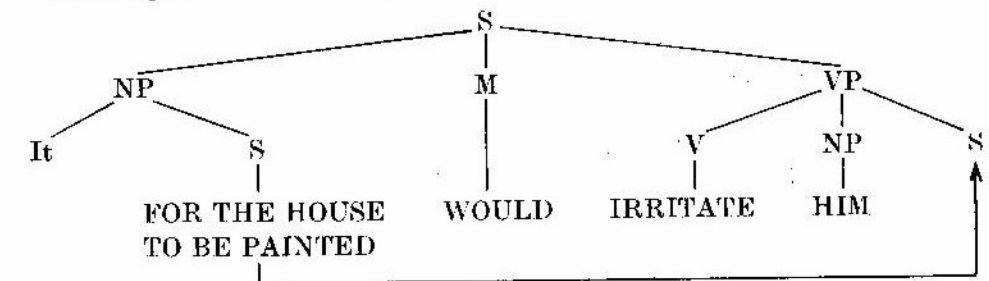
(Emonds 1970 : 79)

Emonds (1970:79) points out that the rule of extraposition is structure preserving since "if the S under VP is non-empty, a subject S may not be extraposed". Subject-replacement rule will generate:

(83)   For the house to be painted would irritate him.

This analysis favours the view that sentences and infinitive complements originate at the end of the verb phrase in the underlying structure [5] which unfortunately we cannot agree with in this study.

[5] For other arguments and detailed analysis assuming the non-NP status of infinitives see Emonds (1970).

Summing up our analysis of the infinitive structures in Mirk's *Festial*, we arrive at the conclusion that they are generated through three transformational processes: Equi-NP-deletion, Subject-raising, marking the infinitive embedded subject with the oblique case; function as noun phrases and occur in subject and object positions of the matrix sentences. Accordingly, we account for the infinitive phrases in *the subject NP position* generated via

Equi-object-deletion

(39)   Forto labur bysyly ys that othyr salue.

Raising to subject

(50)   Seynt Poule... turnyþ ... forto syng þe mas fastyng.

Oblique case

(61)   For a man to ben byried in chirch is notte profytte.

and infinitive phrases in *the object NP position* yielded through

Equi-subject-deletion

(42)   þe byschoppys of þe contrey comen togedyr forto chese anoþer byschoppe.

Equi-object-deletion

(44)   ... he send Pylat to Rome forto be þer yn hostage for a tribet þat þe kyng schuld ʒeue to þe Emperour.

Raising to object

(52)   I beleue Ihesu forto be God and man.

Oblique case

(84)   He was wylful for Godys pepull forto serue God yn holy tyme.

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