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Causative *Make* in the King James Bible (1611): Possible Factors Influencing the Choice of Bare and *To*-Infinitives

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1. Introduction

The causative verb *make* typically takes the bare infinitival complement in present-day English (PE). The *to*-infinitive complement is rarer, and as the *Oxford English Dictionary* states, it is ‘now normally used only when *make* is in the passive voice; otherwise somewhat *arch*’ (s.v. *make*, v¹. IV. 53. b.).

However, a number of studies confirm that in the Middle English (ME) period (from the eleventh to the late fifteenth century), and up to the Early Modern English (EModE) period (from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century), it was more common to use the causative *make* with the *to*-infinitive. For example, the King James Bible (1611) applies both bare and *to*-infinitive complements to the verb *make* in the active voice:

- (1) And wherefore haue ye made vs to come vp out of Egypt, to bring vs in vnto this euil place? (Numb. 20.5: all underlines by the author)
- (2) And hee doeth great wonders, so that hee maketh fire come downe from heauen on the earth in the sight of men, ... (Rev. 13.13)

The long period of ambiguity in the choice of infinitival complements following the causative *make* provides us with an interesting opportunity to understand English causative constructions. By revealing the pattern of infinitival choices after the causative *make* in the EModE period, it might be possible to determine what factors influenced the development of causative construction in PE.

This study targets the causative uses of *make* in EModE biblical texts – mainly, the King James Bible (KJB). Norton (2011: 54) states that the KJB was translated by 54 Christian scholars from Westminster, Oxford and Cambridge. The choice of infinitival complements in the KJB texts, therefore, may indicate that religious experts in the early seventeenth century considered certain usages of causative construction appropriate.

2. Previous studies

English causative construction has been explored in a number of studies. This section will cover some significant studies on the Old English (OE), ME, and Modern English periods.

2.1 The origin of English causative construction

In OE (before the eleventh century), the verb *macian* ('make') was rarely used as a causative verb, but other causative verbs (*don*, *giefan* and *letan*) were more common (Visser 1973: 2261). The verb *macian* is not included in Callaway's (1913) list of 'verbs of causing and permitting'¹ in OE.

Los (2005: 130) observes that OE originally had the construction [causative verb + NP (accusative) + bare infinitive] (AcI) for the aforementioned verbs of commanding and permitting. She asserts that AcI and ditransitive [NP *to* VP] constructions are structurally distinct. NPs in AcI construction tend to be implicit and animate, while NPs in [NP *to* VP] construction are likely to be explicit and inanimate. Los also theorises that in [NP *to* VP] construction, the RECIPIENT NP can select whether he or she obeys the command and performs the action. In contrast, AcI structure requires no intentions from the RECIPIENT NP. Therefore, it is 'used in a purely causative sense' (Los 2005: 132-3).

However, Fischer (1992: 21-2) asserts that a certain type of accusative-and-infinitive construction, the 'learned' aci, originated from Latin. In that construction, the NP is syntactically the object of the matrix verb, but semantically functions only as the subject of the infinitive². Los (2005: 124) also suspects that 'Latin gerunds, gerundives, and future participles are automatically translated by OE *to*-infinitives'.

2.2 *Make* as a causative verb in Middle English

The verb *make* has been used as a causative verb since ME. At the time, the use of marked infinitives (*to*- and *for to*-infinitives) expanded, except

¹ *alætan* ('allow'), *biegan* ('urge/force'), *don* ('make/cause'), *forlætan* ('allow'), *gedon* ('make/cause'), *geðafian* ('allow'), *geunnan* ('grant'), *lætan* ('allow/permit/cause') and *niedan* ('compel/force'). See Callaway (1913): 110-2.

² An example of the 'learned' aci is as shown below.
'...[I] was advised to give the kids what they wanted unless I wished my son to be socially ostracized. ...' (LOB corpus, r05-20). See Fischer (1992): 22.

for certain verbs, such as *don* and *leten*, as well as others that would later become auxiliary verbs (Mustanoja 1960; Visser 1973; Fischer 1992).

Fischer (1995) proposes six semantic factors affecting the choice of infinitival markers in the late ME period³. These factors imply that in the causative construction with the marked infinitive, the action is likely an indirect causation, in which the causer is unintentional or inanimate, or the causee has control over his or her own action. When God is the subject, the *to*-infinitive can occur in direct contexts. Fischer assumes this to be due to God's ability to perceive future events. Lowrey (2013: 113-7) further explores decisive factors for complement types in ME texts, and finds that the causative *make* with the *to*-infinitive tends to occur with a non-agentive or an indirect causer, while *make* with the bare infinitive conveys more direct or agentive contexts. The agentive and the non-agentive usages of *make* have become increasingly distant, such that *make* is exclusively associated with agentive, direct contexts.

Furthermore, the type of verb appearing in the complement clause has also been shown to affect the infinitival choice. Iyeiri (2012) provides late ME text data, in which the verbs *be* and *come* tend to take the (*for*) *to*-infinitival form after the causative *make*, whereas the verb *die* is more likely to be the bare infinitive. She infers that the verb *die* prefers the bare infinitival form because it is usually employed in the context where the causee is not allowed to make the decision of not dying (Iyeiri 2012: 70-1). This further supports the semantic distinction factor based on the

³ Six semantic factors proposed by Fischer are:

- (i) the activity expressed in the infinitival clause is or is not simultaneous with that of the matrix verb (presence/absence of identity of tense domain)
- (ii) the activity expressed in the infinitival clause is or is not directly perceivable
- (iii) after causatives, the *to*-infinitive is used when the causation is in some way not direct, either because (a) the subject of the matrix verb (the causer) does not concretely cause what is expressed in the infinitival clause, or (b) because the subject/causer is inanimate and as such more of an instrument than a cause, or (c) what is caused is a process in which the causee himself takes/must take an active part
- (iv) in *general* contexts, i.e., when the infinitival clause does not express an actuality, the *to*-infinitive is the rule
- (v) the zero infinitive is the rule in 'irrealis' constructions
- (vi) the *to*-infinitive is the rule when the infinitive or the matrix verb is in the passive form.

(Fischer 1995: 7-8)

directness of causation.

2.3 *Make* as a causative verb in Early Modern English

In Fanego's (1994) study on EModE structures in which the matrix verb takes an object and an infinitival complement (including causative constructions), she examines plays written during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The results show some usage of the *to*-infinitive after the verb *make*, yet the use of the bare infinitive prevails. In her study, all verbs including *make* tend to take the bare infinitive complement when the object is shorter in length, or is composed of a pronoun alone. In turn, the *to*-infinitive is more likely to occur with a longer, non-pronominal NP.

Rohdenburg (1995) finds a similar tendency in sixteenth to early nineteenth century English texts, and identifies a pattern for constructions favouring the use of *to*-infinitives: 'the more complex the object turns out to be, the higher is the incidence of marked infinitives' (Rohdenburg 1995: 375). In other words, the relative complexity of an NP requires use of the more explicit marked infinitive as a complement.

However, as opposed to Fanego's (1994) data on EModE writings, Visser (1973: 2261) states that until the nineteenth century, the *to*-infinitive complement in the causative *make* construction had been considered grammatically correct.

3. Data analysis

3.1 Corpora and methods used for this research

This research is based on three different versions of the EModE Bible: the KJB, as the primary corpus, and the Tyndale Bible (Tyndale) and Geneva Bible (Geneva), as the secondary corpora. The KJB was published in 1611, with extensive aid from Greek (for the New Testament), or Greek and Hebrew (the Old Testament) source materials (Norton 2011: 33-53). Tyndale and Geneva were published in 1530–1534 and 1560, respectively, preceding the KJB. Norton (2011: 8) states that the KJB owes a large proportion of the English expressions in the Scripture to Tyndale. Geneva was a version commonly used in the late sixteenth century. According to Mansbridge (1995), 83% and more than 81% of the words in Geneva and the KJB, respectively, were taken directly from Tyndale, showing a close relationship in word choices among the three versions.

All occasions of the causative *make* in the three versions of the Bible are examined, according to the criteria applied by Fanego (1994) for EModE, and Iyeiri (2012) for ME analysis: the number of words in the NP, whether it is pronominal⁴ or non-pronominal, and the type of verb appearing in the complement clause. For convenience, occasions of *for to*-infinitives are included in those of *to*-infinitives because use of *for to*-infinitive had become rare before the EModE period (only one occasion in the KJB). Coordinated complements, such as those used in the example (3), are counted as a single occasion:

- (3) Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Iewes, and are not, but doe lie: behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feete, and to know that I haue loued thee. (Rev. 3.9)

In example (3), each underlined infinitive is a complement to the verb *make*, and they are all counted as one occasion. In the case of (4), however, the two occurrences of infinitive *be* are considered separate as they are complements to two separate main verbs.

- (4) And the king made siluer to be in Ierusalem as stones, and Cedars made he to be as the Sycomore trees, that are in the vale for abundance. (1 Kgs. 10.27)

3.2 Results (King James Bible)

KJB texts, as opposed to initial expectations, contain a considerable amount of *to*-infinitive complements in causative *make* constructions.

KJB texts illustrate a rather clear pattern of *to*-infinitive preference (Table 1). The results are consistent with Visser's (1973) findings and contradict those of Fanego (1994). Bare infinitives, however, are by no means rare occasions, whereas *that* clauses are extremely scarce (only one example). This suggests that by the EModE period, *that* clause complements had been largely replaced by *to*-infinitival complements, as

⁴ A pronominal NP has a single pronoun within the object phrase. If the pronoun is complemented by a finite clause or an adjective as in the following passage, it is considered a non-pronominal NP:

Then hee made him that remaineth, haue dominion ouer the Nobles among the people: the Lord made me haue dominion ouer the mightie. (Judg. 5.13)

proposed by Los (2005).

Figure 1 exclusively pertains to the infinitival complements used after the active *make*, to compare the complexity of NPs for marked and bare infinitives. This figure shows that bare infinitives occur more frequently with simple pronominal NPs rather than more complex non-pronominal NPs. The construction with the bare infinitive complement tends to co-occur with pronominal NPs and rarely occurs with an NP more than three words in length. Table 2 lists verbs used frequently (more than ten times) as the complement of *make* in KJB texts. It is also worth noting that certain verbs like *be* appear with *to*-infinitives almost exclusively.

Table 1. Forms of complement after the causative *make* in the KJB

	active	passive	total
<i>to</i> infinitive	229	5	234 (65%)
bare infinitive	123	1	124 (35%)
<i>that</i> clause	1	0	1 (0%)
totals	353	6	359

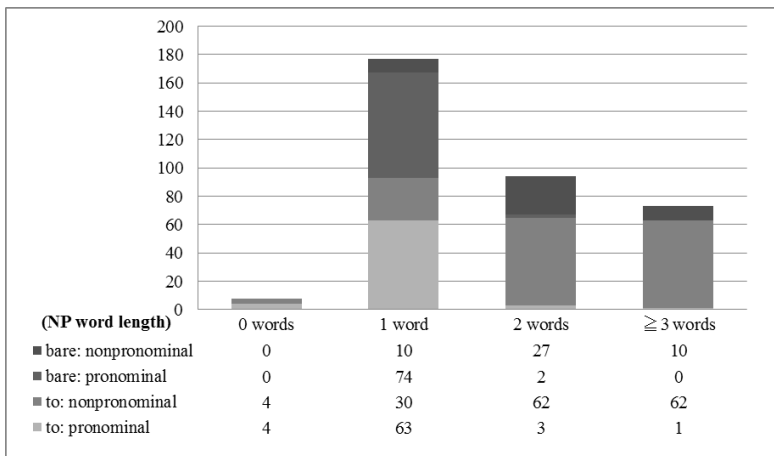


Figure 1. NP length and forms of infinitive (active voice only)

Table 2. Verbs appearing ten or more times as infinitival complements

	<i>to</i>	bare	totals
<i>be</i>	34 (100%)	0 (0%)	34
<i>cease</i>	12 (92%)	1 (8%)	13
<i>sin</i>	20 (77%)	6 (23%)	26
<i>dwell</i>	7 (70%)	3 (30%)	10
<i>pass</i>	9 (69%)	4 (31%)	13
<i>go</i>	6 (50%)	6 (50%)	12
<i>swear</i>	4 (33%)	8 (67%)	12
<i>drink</i>	3 (23%)	10 (77%)	13

3.3 Comparative analysis between three versions of the Bible

Comparison of Tyndale, Geneva and the KJB provides further insight into infinitival choice. Figure 2 compares the number of three types of complements that follow *make* (bare and *to*-infinitives, and *that* clause), and reveals the supremacy of bare infinitive over the other complements in Tyndale. This was an unexpected result, given that both later-published versions, Geneva and the KJB, clearly show a preference for *to*-infinitives over bare infinitive complements. Of the three biblical texts, Geneva has the highest percentage (73%) of *to*-infinitive complements.

The variations in NP word length and type (pronominal or non-pronominal) after every active causative *make* with infinitive complements are collated in Table 3, according to each type of infinitive. The table indicates a common trait among all versions: the bare infinitive generally tends to occur with a single-word, pronominal NP rather than a longer, non-pronominal NP. The *to*-infinitive complements, by contrast, occur with both shorter, pronominal NPs and longer, non-pronominal NPs.

This pattern of complement preference suggests that the causative construction of *make* did not develop in a linear way, from both the bare infinitive and *to*-infinitive being allowed, to the bare infinitive being used exclusively. Rather, there was possibly a time when use of the *to*-infinitive complement after the causative *make* was considered more desirable than the bare infinitive in the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century. Other possibilities include translational issues and the editors' intention to follow ME styles of infinitival distinction.

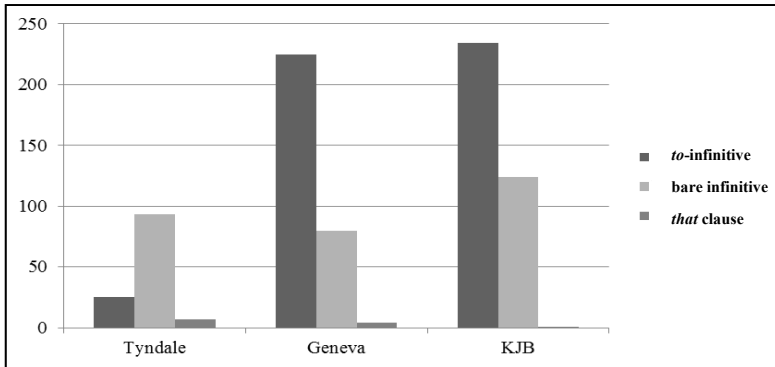


Figure 2. The number of complements after the causative *make* in the three versions of the Bible

Table 3. NP length and choice of infinitive (active voice)

(NP word length)	0	1	2	3 or more
(<i>to</i>)	1	7	7	9
Tyndale	(0 pronominal)	(7 pronominal)	(0 pronominal)	(0 pronominal)
(bare)	3	49	28	13
	(1 pronominal)	(46 pronominal)	(3 pronominal)	(0 pronominal)
(<i>to</i>)	6	97	68	50
Geneva	(4 pronominal)	(64 pronominal)	(2 pronominal)	(1 pronominal)
(bare)	1	52	17	10
	(0 pronominal)	(45 pronominal)	(1 pronominal)	(0 pronominal)
(<i>to</i>)	8	93	65	63
KJB	(4 pronominal)	(63 pronominal)	(3 pronominal)	(1 pronominal)
(bare)	0	84	29	10
	(0 pronominal)	(74 pronominal)	(2 pronominal)	(0 pronominal)

4. Further discussion

4.1 Semantic factors and the choice of markers

The English language used to have a semantic distinction between the bare infinitive and *to*-infinitive: the use of the bare infinitive implied direct causation, where the causee has little control over the action. The use of *to*-infinitive, however, emphasised indirectness, or the causee's status as being able to control actions (Los 2005; Fischer 1995; Lowrey 2013).

In all three versions of the Bible, the bare infinitive more likely occurs

with a pronominal NP. The semantic factors in the infinitival choice are evident. However, they seemingly contradict the OE causative AcI construction characteristics proposed by Los (2005) (i.e., AcI prefers an inanimate object), because the majority of pronominal NPs are personal pronouns. Another causative verb, *let*, occurs only with bare infinitives in all 1383 occasions in the KJB. It seems that the translators of the KJB strongly associate the verb *make* with marked infinitives as opposed to *let*.

To gain a clearer picture on complementation determinants in the KJB, I will examine certain infinitival verbs and the contexts in which they are used. The verbs examined here include *be*, *sin* and *sit*, all three of which are used prominently in the KJB, featuring distinctive patterns.

In all versions, the verb *be* never appears as a bare infinitive complement. In Tyndale, finite *be* in *that* clauses is the most common form. In the others, the *to*-infinitive prevails, as in passage (5). It can be assumed that the KJB retains the late ME trait explored by Iyeyri (2012).

- (5) Hee hath made his wonderfull works to be remembered: the Lord is gracious, and full of compassion. (Ps. 111.4)

In (5), God is the causer while the NP is inanimate. It is possible to infer that God's causer status contributes to the choice of the *to*-infinitive. God is able to perceive unseen events, and he is naturally capable of causing all kinds of outcomes. The general preference for the *to*-infinitive in the KJB may also be due to God being the most frequently appearing causer throughout the Scripture. The semantic factors of directness or coerciveness may also account for the exclusive occurrence of verb *be* in *to*-infinitive or *that* clause complements. Lowrey (2013: 116) suggests that in PE, the causative *make* in an indirect causation context 'would almost certainly be accompanied by a "small clause"'. Accordingly, example (5) would be written as 'He has made his wonderful works remembered', without infinitival complements. When infinitival *be* appears after *make* in PE, it exclusively conveys agentive or coercive context.

For the verb *sin*, the Bible repetitively mentions King Jeroboam having caused the Israelites to commit sin, as in (6) and (7).

- (6) Howbeit, from the sinnes of Ieroboam the sonne of Nebat, who made Israel to sinne, Iehu departed not from after them, to wit, the golden calves that were in Bethel, and that were in Dan. (2 Kgs. 10.29)
- (7) Neuerthelesse, they departed not from the sinnes of the house of Ieroboam, who made Israel sinne, but walked therein: and there remained the groue also in Samaria. (2 Kgs. 3.3)

In 20 cases out of 26, *to*-infinitives are employed. It is indirect causation, involving Israelites' decision to follow the King. However, the remaining text in the KJB uses bare infinitives, in spite of the same context. Supposedly, this context exists on an intermediate level of agentivity or directness of causation.

The KJB contains nine occasions of the verb *sit*, with two *to*-infinitive and seven bare infinitive cases. The cases with *to*-infinitive complements are shown below:

- (8) Wisedome lifeth vp the head of him that is of low degree, and maketh him to sit among great men. (Sir. 11.1)
- (9) Blessed are those seruants, whom the Lord when he commeth, shall find watching: Uerily, I say vnto you, That he shall girde himselfe, and make them to sit downe to meate, and will come forth and serue them. (Lk. 12.37)

In example (8), the subject is inanimate, while in (9), the servants' intention to sit down and eat is implied, instead of being a result of coercion. By contrast, all seven occasions of bare infinitive *sit* are in the context of direct commanding. Thus, the translators of the KJB were likely aware of the semantic distinction between direct (bare infinitive) and indirect causation (*to*-infinitive).

4.2 Complexity and *horror aequi* principle

The effect of semantic factors on the complement choice is observed to some extent in KJB data. The results from the three Bible versions also indicate a syntactical factor: the tendency of bare infinitive complements

to occur with simpler NPs (i.e., NPs short in word length and pronominal). This finding is consistent with results from the EModE texts by Shakespeare, Marlowe and Dryden (Fanego 1994), and Rohdenburg's (1995) Complexity Principle, a general principle on relativity between semantics and syntax:

The less directly the dependent clause is linked to its superordinate clause, or the more complex the dependent clause turns out to be, the greater is the need to make its sentential status more explicit (Rohdenburg 1995: 368).

Longer NPs in between the matrix verb and the complement increase the complexity of the passage. Hence, the more explicit marker, *to*, is preferred. In ME, *for to* might have been more explicit. However, in the EModE period, it has become so obsolete that we find almost no usage in the KJB.

Rohdenburg (2003: 236) proposes another general principle: the *horror aequi* principle, which is the inclination to use different grammatical elements and to avoid the identical ones. If an infinitive is preceded by the matrix verb in *to*-infinitival form, the complement is more likely to be the bare infinitive, in order to avoid being identical. The *horror aequi* principle also seems to be supported by the KJB data: when the infinitive is preceded by bare infinitives, the following infinitive is more likely to be a *to*-infinitive (49 *to*-infinitives, 37 bare), and vice versa (10 *to*-infinitives, 16 bare).

Therefore, general syntactical factors, the complexity and the *horror aequi* principle, are present in the KJB. The findings suggest that these factors, along with the semantic factors (the directness of causation), influence the choice of complement forms to a certain extent. However, the factor accounting for higher frequency of bare infinitive complements only in Tyndale, and not in the other two versions, remains unclear.

4.3 Translators and the choice of infinitival forms

In this section, some influences originating from the process of translating Tyndale, Geneva and the KJB will be discussed, including who the translators were and what sources they used.

According to Norton (2011: 54), the KJB was translated by 47 experts, ‘divided into six companies, two each at Westminster, Oxford and Cambridge’. Figure 3 illustrates the six divisions and sets of translators in detail, along with the types of infinitive complements applied to the causative *make* constructions.

Figure 3. Divisions of translators for the King James Bible (1611).

Based on Norton (2011: 55-60).

First Westminster Company	-	<i>Pentateuch</i> : 5 people (33 marked, 32 bare infinitives)
	-	<i>Joshua- 2 Kings</i> : 5 (36 marked, 30 bare infinitives)
First Cambridge Company	-	<i>1 Chronicles-Song of Solomon</i> : 8 (67 marked, 17 bare infinitives)
First Oxford Company	-	<i>The Prophets</i> : 7 (45 marked, 19 bare infinitives)
Second Cambridge Company	-	<i>The Apocrypha</i> : 7 (34 marked, 14 bare infinitives)
Second Oxford Company	-	<i>Gospels, Acts and Revelation</i> : 10 (9 marked, 8 bare infinitives)
Second Westminster Company	-	<i>The Pauline Epistles</i> : 4 (6 marked, 4 bare infinitives)
	-	<i>The canonical Epistles</i> : 3 (no cases available)

The Cambridge and Oxford divisions’ preference of *to*-infinitive complements over bare infinitives (except for the New Testament) is clear. Like the KJB, Geneva, the first collaborative English Bible, was translated by approximately a dozen Protestant scholars. Tyndale had been translated single-handedly by William Tyndale before his successor, Myles Coverdale, took over the process (Norton 2011: 14-9). This suggests that

the tendency to use bare infinitive after *make* may be due to Tyndale's personal preference, or rather to a general characteristic of early sixteenth century English. However, in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, use of the *to*-infinitive after the causative *make* may have become preferable among Protestant scholastic communities in England, especially those in Oxford and Cambridge.

The differences in source materials and translator intentions may have also affected the choices of infinitive complements. William Tyndale relied primarily on the original Greek and Hebrew texts, and attempted to make the Bible more comprehensible to the general public than preceding versions, which originated from Latin sources and were written in dated English (Norton 2011: 8-10). Geneva used the Great Bible (1539) as its base, and included numerous annotations to account for literal or idiomatic interpretations. (Norton 2011: 19-20)

5. Conclusion

The KJB shows preference of *to*-infinitive complements within causative *make* constructions. Geneva shares this characteristic, whereas Tyndale tends towards use of bare infinitive complements, similar to PE, despite Tyndale's version being the oldest among the three.

The significant general semantic and syntactic factors in ME and other EModE texts are applicable to the KJB texts as well. In the case of direct or coercive causation, the bare infinitive is preferred. In cases where God or an inanimate entity is the causer, or the recipient is free to choose his or her action, the *to*-infinitive is more common. Rohdenburg's complexity and *horror aequi* principles also contribute to the choice of infinitive complements, with simple, pronominal NPs and the *to*-infinitival form of *make* calling for the use of bare infinitive complements. This pattern is also evident in Fanego's (1994) data on EModE texts.

However, the high level of inclination towards the *to*-infinitive complements in the KJB and Geneva is absent in Tyndale. A possible reason behind this difference is differing approaches to translation. Although both William Tyndale and the KJB translators made use of Greek and Hebrew texts to support their interpretations, Tyndale chose expressions that were comprehensible to the readers of his time, whereas Oxford and Cambridge scholars who translated the KJB preferred more

traditional expressions, and relied on annotations to aid understanding.

The division between plain and scholastic English may have lasted until the nineteenth century, supporting the statement made by Alexander Bain that the use of *to*-infinitive in the causative *make* construction ‘is not without authority’ (Visser 1973: 2261). More extensive research on various English versions of the Bible will possibly further elucidate how and when the *to*-infinitive complements became the standard among the scholastic community, and how the popularity of this form has diminished with the development of PE.

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