

**The main and embedded clauses in the history of English:
Changes in assertive and non-assertive complements**

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27 March 2017, 7500 words

In this paper, I sketch the CP layer in the main and embedded clause in the history of English. The Modern English main clause is not as easily expandable as the Old English one but the reverse is true in the subordinate clause where Modern English has a more flexible embedded CP than Old English. I'll focus on the developments of the embedded CP. It has been claimed that Old English lacks an embedded split CP and therefore lacks embedded V2 and a host of other embedded root phenomena. I show this to be true for complements to both assertive and non-assertive verbs. In contrast, the Modern English matrix verb has an effect on the strength of the C-position. Assertive verbs in Modern English allow main clause phenomena in subordinate clauses whereas non-assertives typically don't. The main point of the paper will be to chronicle the changes that 'stretch' the embedded clause and the changing role of main verbs. It is descriptive rather than explanatory, e.g. in terms of changes in phase-head status.

Keywords: assertive and non-assertives, complementizers, root phenomena, split CP

1 Introduction

Cross-linguistically, root clauses typically have a more expanded CP than embedded clauses because their mood, tense, and pragmatics are independent of an embedding verb. This results in the CP splitting into a Force Phrase, Top(ic) Phrase, Focus Phrase, and Fin(ite) Phrase. The expanded CP is visible from the topic and focus positions in the main clause, as (1) shows, or a number of focus-elements in the CP, as in (2).

- (1) *mekele ka ñgat na azla siñgwe ya Zulgo*
mekele TOP he FOC he.took money FOC

'As for Mekele, it is he who took the money.' (Haller & Watters 1984: 30)

- (2) *Koj shto na kogo e dal?* Macedonian
who what to whom is given

'Who gave what to whom?' (Daniela Kostadinovska p.c.)

Embedded clauses depend on the higher verbs, e.g. *wonder* requires an interrogative complement, and are therefore more restricted in their tense and mood.

Old English also has a flexible CP layer in the main clause, as we'll see in section 2, but less so in the embedded clause. Modern English, on the other hand, has an expanded embedded CP, as in e.g. (3) with a high complementizer *that* and a topicalized element and (4) with a complementizer and two topics, but a relatively limited main clause CP, as (5) and (6) show, which are judged as awkward by native speakers of (American) English.

- (3) ... think **that as for computer skills** I am very good at word processing.
(<http://dana.ucc.nau.edu/amb96/newpage1.htm>)
- (4) McCain: Oh, I think **that frankly** any person who's the vice presidential nominee, it's his job, his or her job to get along with -- with the nominee. (COCA 2000 ABC)
- (5) **Instructions**, we always avoid (them).
- (6) **No mountain lion do** I ever need to encounter again!

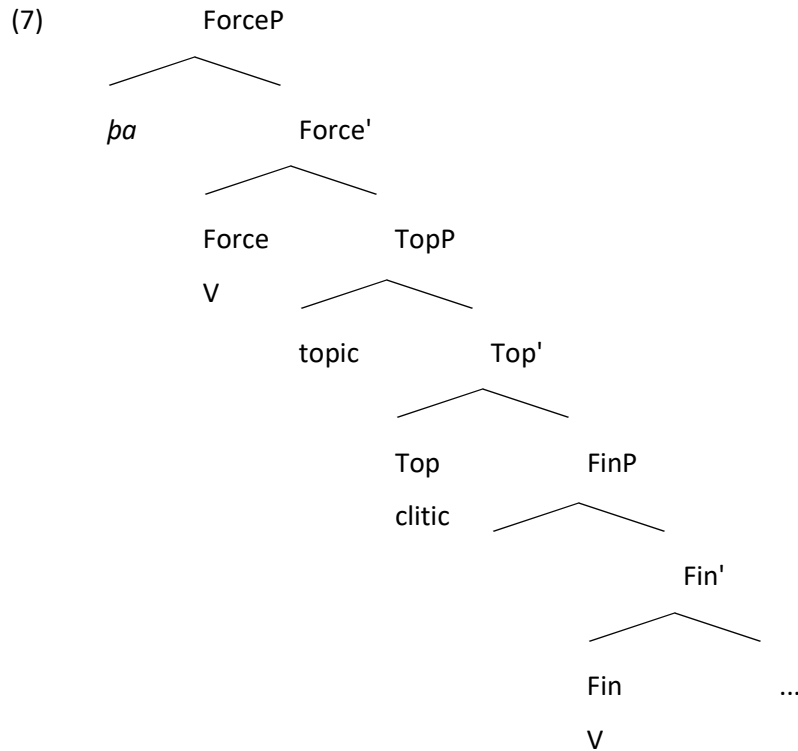
In this paper, I focus on the CP in the embedded clause but start in section 2 with the evidence for a split CP (or more expanded left periphery) in the Old English main clause so that we can't attribute the absence of a split embedded CP to that. Section 3 considers embedded clauses in Modern and Old English and concludes that the assertive/non-assertive division is relevant in Modern but not in Old English. The behavior of the embedded CP in Old English mostly shows a non-split CP. Section 4 considers further evidence for the non-split CP in Old English and its introduction in Middle English. Section 5 provides a conclusion and some speculations on the reasons behind the changes.

2 Evidence of split CP in Old English main clauses

In this section, I review the literature that argues that Old English main clauses have multiple positions in the left periphery of the clause. There are several ways to view this, either as a split CP where high and low C-positions can be occupied by verbs (e.g. Roberts 1996) or as one position in the CP and one in the TP (e.g. Pintzuk 1991). I'll choose the former but little depends on that for the main point of the paper.

Old English *wh*-questions always trigger Verb-second (V2) and some topics do, as was shown in e.g. van Kemenade (1987). In addition, pronouns follow topics in southern Old English varieties, resulting in Verb-third (V3; van Kemenade 1987; Kroch & Taylor 1997; Lightfoot 1999: 155-7; Haeberli

2002; Hinterhölzl & van Kemenade 2012). Using an expanded CP-layer, as in (7), there are two positions for the V, Force or Fin. If the *wh*-element is in the Spec of ForceP, the V has to move all the way up and this results in V2. However, if there is a clitic in the head of Top this V-movement is blocked and the result will be V3 (see, however, Bech 2001 for problems with the clitic status).



Examples of V2 and V3 are given in (8) and (9) respectively; the indefinite pronoun *man* patterns with regular pronouns.

(8) ***Hu lomp eow on lade, leofa Biowulf*** V2
 how happened you on trip, dear Beowulf
 'How was your trip, dear Beowulf?' (*Beowulf* 1987)

(9) ***On byssum geara man halgode bet mynster æt Westmynstre on Cyldamæsse dæg*** V3
 In this year one hallowed the monastery at Westminster on Childermass day
 'In this year, the monastery at Westminster was hallowed on Childermass day.'
 (*Peterborough Chronicle*, year 1066)

Kroch & Taylor (1997) argue that Scandinavian-influenced, northern and eastern texts are more strictly V2, while southern texts can be V3. Whereas that works in (10) with V2 in the (more eastern) East Midlands Peterborough Chronicle and with V3 in the (more southern) Parker Chronicle, it doesn't in (11) because the opposite order occurs.

- (10) a. *Her **for** se myccla here* V2
 Then went the big army
 `Then, the big army went ...' (*Peterborough Chronicle*, year 893).
- b. *Her on bysum gearre **for** se micla here* V3
 Here in this year went the big army
 `Then, the big army went ...' (*Parker Chronicle*, year 893).
- (11) a. *Her Ecgbriht cining **ge feaht** ...* V3
 Here Ecgbriht king PART fought ... (*Peterborough Chronicle*, year 833)
 `In this year King Ecgbriht fought ...'
- b. *Her **gefeah** Ecgbryht cuning ...* V2
 Here fought Ecgbriht king (*Parker Chronicle*, year 833).
 `In this year King Ecgbriht fought ...'

So, main clauses in many varieties of Old English show clear evidence for a split CP with a high and low position for the verb (or a more elaborate left periphery), resulting in V2 and V3 constructions, respectively. Main clauses include information on pragmatics, sentential mood, and tense and their CP includes this. I will now concentrate on embedded CPs where some of this information can depend on the matrix verb.

3 Subordinate clauses in Modern and Old English

In this section, I first show that Modern English subordinate clauses show evidence of a split CP and that certain verbs fill their embedded ForceP and render the clausal complement less flexible (section 3.1). Old English is interestingly different in that (a), unlike Modern English, most verbs have subjunctive complements, (b) that there is no double C, and (c) there is no V2 in embedded clauses, also showing a simple CP. The first characteristic shows that the complement is independent and the latter two that Old English doesn't provide much empirical evidence for a split subordinate CP (section 3.2).

3.1 Modern English

In Modern English, the matrix verb determines if the subordinate can have a split CP or not. Adapting Hooper & Thompson (1973), Meinunger (2004), van Gelderen (2004), and Salvesen & Walkden (2014), I divide verbs into assertive and non-assertive. A definition of assertive is “the speaker or subject of the sentence has an affirmative opinion regarding the truth value of the complement proposition” (Hooper 1975: 95). Some of these verbs are listed in Table 1.

Assertive:	Non-assertive:
saying (<i>say</i>)	emotive factive (<i>resent, regret</i>)
thinking (<i>believe</i>)	negative verbs
semi-factive (<i>discover</i>)	causative (<i>make</i>)
	volition (<i>want, intend</i>)

Table 1: Assertive and non-assertive verbs

Assertive verbs allow embedded topics and (negative) focus elements, as in (12a) and (13a), lack *for-to* infinitives, as in (14a), allow raising and ECM, as in (15a) and (16a), and generally do not allow subjunctives, as shown in (17a). Non-assertive verbs show the opposite characteristics in that they do not allow topics or negatives, as in (12b) and (13b), have *for-to* infinitives, as in (14b), and do not allow raising and ECM, as in (15b) and (16b), but allow (periphrastic) subjunctives, as in (17b).

- (12) a. John believes that **this book** Mary read often.
 b. ?John regrets that **this book** Mary read often.
- (13) a. I believe that **never in my life** have I done that.
 b. ?I regret that **never in my life** have I done that.
- (14) a. *John believes for you to be nice.
 b. I regret for you to be in this fix (K&K 169).
- (15) a. He was believed to be pro-French (BNC-CRK 998).
 b. *He was regretted to be pro-French.
- (16) a. I believe him to be nice.
 b. *I regret him to be nice.
- (17) a. *I believe you be nice.
 b. `... people in India who do not sincerely regret that you should have made it impossible for any government to leave you at liberty', he ... (BNC C90 1004).

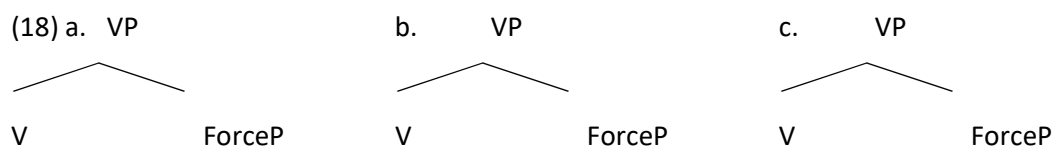
Van Gelderen (2004) argues that the Modern English (finite) CP is always split but that non-assertive predicates such as *regret* have *the fact that* in the ForceP. The occupied ForceP blocks movement to the topic position in English, perhaps because the entire proposition is presupposed. English complements to assertives are split because topicalization is allowed after *that* but their Force has no special mood features.

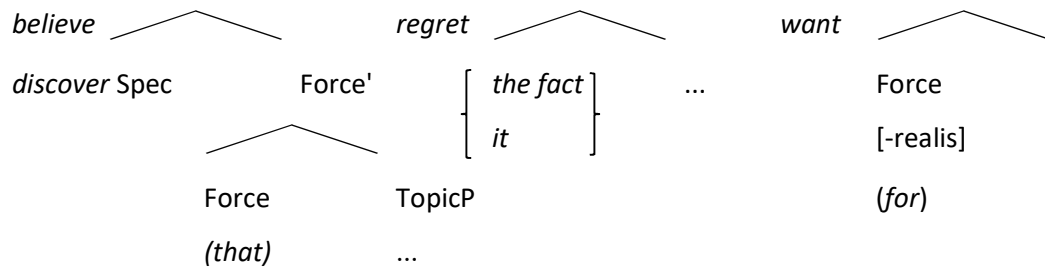
The differences between assertive and non-assertive verbs shown in (12) to (17) are summarized in Table 2. That non-assertives would have subjunctive complements is intuitively appealing and fits the data; assertives are mainly subjunctive. Three other differences result in more mixed results; I have added them to the table. For more details, see van Gelderen (2004).

	Assertive			Non-Assertive	
	semi-factive (<i>discover</i>)	<i>think</i> (<i>believe</i>)	<i>say</i>	factive volition (<i>regret</i>)	(<i>want, intend</i>)
From (12) – (17):					
Emb Top	yes	yes	yes	no	no
for-to	no	no	no	yes	yes
Raising	yes	yes	yes	no	no
ECM	yes	yes	no	no	yes
Subjunctive	no	no	no/yes	yes	yes
Not shown with examples; mixed results:					
Neg Raising	no	yes	no	no	yes
the fact	some	no	no	yes	no
it that	some	no	no	yes	no

Table 2: Modern English complements (adapted from van Gelderen 2004: 64)

Thus, Modern English has an expanded embedded CP which is free, i.e. can be occupied by topics, for assertives as in (18a) but is not free for non-assertives. In the case of factive non-assertives, the ForceP is occupied by *the fact/it that* and with volition verbs, also non-assertives, the CP is specified for irrealis and therefore never reducible since an irrealis/future marker *for* is present. We can collapse (18bc) if factives have [+realis] features and non-factives [-realis].





3.2 Old English subordinates

I'll first show in 3.2.1 that, unlike what's shown in Table 2, Old English subjunctives appear with both assertives and non-assertive verbs. Because subjunctives occur after all verbs, this prompts Visser (1966: 825) to say that "it should not be inferred that the [higher verbs] are determinative" for the choice between indicative and subjunctive. In 3.2.2, I show that the seven other complement types of Table 2 are introduced in Middle English and are due to a splitting of the CP, and their absence in Old English shows Old English lacks a split subordinate CP (cf. also van Gelderen 2004: 51; 65).

3.2.1 Subjunctives and indicatives

In this section, I show that all kinds of matrix verbs can be complemented by subjunctives. This gives the mood in the subordinate clause independence, as Julien (2007) has argued for Scandinavian, to express its own assertion. I'll start with complements to non-assertive verbs.

Old English non-assertives, e.g. the emotives *hreowan* 'be sad', *sorgian* 'be sad', and *sweorcan* 'be troubled', have indicative, as in (19), or subjunctive complements, as in (20).

- (19) *þæt me is on minum mode swa sar, on minum hyge hreoweð*
 that me is on my mind so sorrowful, on my heart is.sorrow
þæt hie heofonrice agan to aldre.
 that they heaven have.pres for ever
 'My mind is full of sorrow, my heart is sad that they have the heavenly kingdom forever.'

(DOE, Junius, Genesis 425-6)

- (20) *ac þæt he sorgode, hu mycel se scyldiga þæs*
 But that he cared how much the guilty that
weorces forlure innan his sawle.
 Work lose.SUBJ in his soul

'He cared how much the guilty would lose in his soul.'

(DOE, *Gregory's Dialogues*, Hecht, 291.10-11)

Causative verbs, such as *don* in (21), and volitional verbs, such as *willan* in (22), are also non-assertive and their complements can be either indicative, as in (21), or subjunctive, as in (22).

(21) *ðære scame & ðære scande ðe ... ic gedoo ðæt ðu forgietsð*
The shame and the disgrace REL ... I make that you forget.IND
'I'll make you forget the shame and disgrace (committed in your youth)'
(DOE, Alfred, *Pastoral Care* 207.11).

(22) *lc wille ... þæt þu forgyte þæt ic þe nu secge*
I want that you forget.SUBJ that I you now say.SUBJ
'I want you to forget what I am telling you now' (*Byrhtferth's Manual* 154.14, Visser 1966: 841).

Assertive complements such as the semi-factive *forgietan* occur with a clausal complement in the indicative, as in (23), and subjunctive, as in (24). The latter is surprising given the situation in Modern English summarized in table 2.

(23) *hig forgæton ðæt hig hlafas namon*
They forgot that they bread took.IND
'They had forgotten to take bread' (Gospel, *Matthew* 16.5, from Visser 1966: 832).

(24) *ðæt hie forgieten hwider hie scylen*
that they forget whither they should.SUBJ
'That they forget where to go' (DOE, Alfred, *Pastoral Care*, Hatton 387.14).

Perception verbs are assertive. In Old English, *see* occurs as a mental perception verb, as in (25), and as a physical one, with both indicative and subjunctive complements, unlike Modern English.

(25) *Gesihst þu nu þ þa rihtwisan sint laþe 7 forþrycte*
Seest you now that those virtuous are.IND hated and oppressed
'Do you see that the virtuous are hated and oppressed' (DOE, Alfred, *Boethius*, 9.24-5).

(26) *þonne gesihþ se deofol þæt ge hine forseoð*

then sees the devil that you him despise.pres
 (DOE, Aelfric, Lives of Saints, 376.166)

Verbs of saying occur with a subjunctive, as in (27), as well as indicative, as in (28), complement in Old English. (See Warner 1982: 189 that verbs of thinking work the same). From a Modern English point of view, the subjunctive use is again unexpected with assertives.

(27) *þe secgað þæt þeos world sy nu wyrse*
 REL say that this world be.SUBJ now worse
 'who say that the world is now worse ...' (DOE, *Orosius*, Bately 27.11)

(28) *Ealle þas goldsmiðas secgað þæt hi næfre ær ... ne gesawon.*
 All the goldsmiths say that they never before ... not saw.IND
 'The goldsmiths say that they never before saw (such a piece of gold).'
 (DOE, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, Clemons 209.92)

As mentioned, Visser suggests that the complement expresses its own mood, something that Julien (2007) has also argued. How the subjunctive is interpreted is very varied cross-linguistically. For instance, Farkas (1992: 70), writing about Romance, says there is a change of meaning, e.g. between (29) and (30) in Romanian. The indicative "reports an assertion" whereas the subjunctive "reports a directive". This may be true in Old English as well.

(29) *Ion a spus ca Maria a plecat*
 Ion has said that Maria has.IND left
 'Ion said that Maria left'.

(30) *Ion a spus ca Maria sa plece imediat*
 Ion has said that Maria that-SUBJ leave immediately
 'Ion said that Maria should leave immediately' (from Farkas 1992: 70).

So far I've shown that in Old English assertive and non-assertive verbs do not have a different complement: both allow subjunctives as well as indicatives. These complements express their mood independently from that of their main predicates. In the next subsection, I will show that when *for-to*,

ECM, and the other complements provided in Table 2 start to occur after Old English, a difference in the CP comes about and the subjunctive is gradually replaced.

3.2.2 Other complement types

In this section, I discuss the other seven complement types listed in Table 2, namely *for-to* complements, ECM, Raising, Negative raising, embedded topicalization, and complements introduced by *the fact*, and by *it*. These arise after Old English, expected if they need an expanded CP which Old English doesn't have.

As is well-known from Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1970) and Table 2, non-assertive factives such as *be important* and *regret* allow *for-to* complements. This use "is hardly ever met with before" the late 19th century, according to Visser (1973: 2244-45). There are, however, earlier instances he mentions, as in (31) and (32). The earliest I have found is (33), from early Middle English.

- (31) *Whan man or womman preyen **for** folk to auancen hem ...*
`When men or women pray for people to promote them.'
(Chaucer, Canterbury Tales I 786, from Visser 1973: 2247)
- (32) and wishing **for** those hands to take off his melancholy bargain
(1681 Dryden, from Visser 1973: 2248).
- (33) *moche he lofde echn(e) cniht. þat lofde **for** to segg(e) riht*
Much he loved every knight who loved for to say truth
`Much he loved every knight who loved to say the truth' (Layamon, Otho, 5523).

In Chaucer, this construction becomes more frequent; and so do (34) and (35), where the position of the subject indicates where *for* and *to* are. This construction can also be seen as evidence that the verb selects *for* as a complementizer with deontic verbs such as *desire* that indicate volition. As mentioned above, the CP is still 'expandable', even though most instances of split CP are with adjunct CPs as in (36), not complements .

- (34) *Nedeth namore **for** hym to go ne ryde*
need.3S nomore for him to go not ride
`He didn't need to ride out anymore.' (Chaucer, Merchant's Tale IV, 1615)

(35) *That oother manere is whan men or wommen preyen **for** folk to avauncen hem, oonly for wikked flesshly affeccoun that they han unto the persone .*

That other way is when men or women pray for people to help them only for wicked fleshly devotion that they have for the person'

'The other way is when men or women ask people to help them only out of wicked, fleshly devotion that they have for the person'. (Chaucer, Parson's Tale, X, 786)

(36) *Assembled been, his answe**re** **for** to heere.*

assembled are, his answer for to hear

'are assembled to hear his answer.' (Chaucer, Wife of Bath's Tale, III, 1029)

So, when verbs such as *expect, hope, desire* start having *for* clauses as complements, an expanded CP becomes incompatible with these verbs, as in (36).

The history of *important* is worth noting in that its use as a predicative adjective with a complement is very late. It is a loanword from French but quite a late one, namely late 16th century according to the OED (the verb *import* is from the early 16th century), and is initially only used attributively. Even 18th and 19th century texts, such as (George) Berkeley, (David) Hume, (Emily) Bronte, and (Jane) Austen only contain attributive use, so the subjunctive use, as in (37), must have arisen late. Some early American texts (e.g. Samuel Adams's 18th century writing) just have subjunctives, as in (37), not yet infinitival complements.

(37) Some of our military gentlemen have, I fear, disgraced us; it is then **important that** every anecdote that concerns a man of real merit among them, and such I know there are, **be improved**, as far as decency will admit of it, to their advantage and to the honor of a colony, which, for its zeal in the great cause, well as its sufferings, deserves so much of America (Samuel Adams, letter to E Gerry 1775, Cushing ed, University of Virginia e-texts)

George Washington (in the 37 volumes of his work written between 1745 and 1799) uses *important for* with an infinitive several times, as in (38), but continues to use the subjunctive.

(38) 'Tis almost as important **for** us to know what does not happen as what does happen (1780, Volume 19, from <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu>).

Thus, the *for-to* replacement of the subjunctive arises after 1700.

There has been a long debate (Callaway 1913, Zeitlin 1908, Lightfoot 1979) as to whether Old English has verbs with ECM complements. The evidence shows, I think, that it does not. It is not particularly important for the question of whether or not Old English has a split CP, and I will therefore not go into it here (see van Gelderen 1993: 43). Raising verbs do not appear either: clausal complements to *seem* and *appear* are introduced in Middle English.

As to Negative Raising, a clear marker for the factive verbs, Fischer (1998) provides evidence that the earliest instances are from the ME3 and ME4 periods of the Helsinki Corpus, i.e. 1350-1500. Her earliest example with *think* is as in (39) from the 15th century. Thus, a differentiation in complement types arises quite late.

- (39) I **cannot** thinke that he hath informed us all truly
(*Paston Letters*, from Fischer 1998: 71).

According to van Kemenade (1997), Old English verbs whose complements have topics are restricted to unaccusatives and impersonals but appear in Middle English, as we'll see in the next section.

The introduction of complements starting with *the fact that* is also quite late. In general, it occurs quite rarely (see Jespersen 1926: 31-2). According to the OED, the phenomenon starts in the 19th century, and the first instances are factive, as in (40) to (43), but are slow to get started. There are some early instances, as in (43), with *evyll* rather than *fact*.

- (40) I would not agree to **the fact** that ennui prevailed (OED, 1803, s.v. *fact*).
- (41) ... ought to be made aware of **the fact** that among the reigning Sovereigns, [they] have not ...
(OED, 1851, s.v. *fact*).
- (42) We cannot ignore **the fact** that aeroplaning is beginning to progress as a pastime
(OED, Observer 1927, s.v. *aeroplane*).
- (43) *We have done evyll that we have not taken surete*
we have done evil that we have not taken safety
'We have done wrong that we aren't in safety' (OED, 1489 Caxton, s.v. *that*).

Related to the introduction of (40) to (43), when do sentences with an *it* start appearing? Heralding objects occur in Old English, as Visser calls them, but are problematic in terms of their analysis. Visser's

examples with *it* (1963: 460) occur with all kinds of verbs, as with the semi-factive *understand* in (44), and others such as *hear* and *believe*, as in (44). This is unexpected if they lack a split CP. However, the heralding objects typically precede the verb and hence do not contribute to an expanded CP.

(44) *and þæt georne understandan, þæt ðær symble heofonlicra engla neawest bið*
and that eagerly understand, that there feast of-heavenly angels nearest is
`and eagerly to understand that there is a feast of heavenly angels near'
(*Wulfstan Polity* 252.15, from Visser 1963: 460).

(45) *þæt ne gelyfdon þte liffruma in monnes hiw... ahafen wurde*
that not believed that source-of-life in man's form... elevated was
`who didn't believe that the source of life had been raised up in the form of a man'
(*Crist* 656, from Visser 1963: 460).

The introduction of the modern variant of (44), one that provides evidence for a split CP is quite late. It doesn't occur in the Early Modern English section (up to 1710) of the Helsinki Corpus or in Shakespeare's First Folio (1623). The earliest I have found are in the Corpus of Historical American, as in (46) and (47).

(46) We regret **it** the less, however, that it gives a variety to the work (COHA 1828 fiction)

(47) He regretted **it**, therefore, that the counsel for the complainant would not exhaust his case
(COHA 1886 NF)

In conclusion to section 3, Modern English assertive and non-assertive verbs choose different complements but this distinction isn't relevant in Old English where assertive and non-assertive verbs have indicative and subjunctive complements and where embedded clauses show little evidence for a split CP. The expanded CP of (18) starts gradually in the 13th century and the complement types are differentiated then as well: *for to* complements start very gradually from the 13th century onwards, and ECM occurs in Middle English as well. The introduction of *it/the fact* becomes available after the split CP is there. In the next section, I examine further evidence for when the split CP arises.

4 V2, complementizer doubling, and topics

So, the evidence presented in the previous section suggests that Old English lacks a split embedded CP. In the current section, I show this is confirmed by the absence of double complementizers and

embedded V2. I'll start in 4.1 with the data that Salvesen and Walkden present on the sparsity of V2 in embedded clauses. Then, I discuss the status of the C in Old and Middle English in 4.2 and I add more on embedded topicalization in 4.3.

4.1 Embedded V2

Salvesen (2014: 3) argues that “the existence of V2 is contingent on the possibility of having high and low complementizers”. A high complementizer in the embedded clause “permits embedded V2” (p. 4). Salvesen & Walkden (2014: 13) provide the data in Table 3, where A and B verbs are assertive, C and D non-assertive, E verbs vary, and V are verbs of volition. As is clear from the table, there is very limited V2 with all verb types.

Verb type	Total	V2	%
A	476	11	.2
B	230	6	.3
C	14	0	0
D	96	2	.2
E	280	8	.3
V	240	2	.1
Total	1336	29	.2

Table 3: Embedded V2 in Old English (from Salvesen & Walkden 2014: 13)

These results confirm my conclusions in section 3 that the assertive non-assertive distinction is not relevant in Old English and that the CP is not split. I'll now examine double complementizers.

4.2 The status of C

I will first examine cases where *þæt* is followed by *þe* and then newly emerging Cs such as *for*. The latter's high position in the CP can be best seen with topics and I look at that in section 4.3.

A pretty normal set of Old English CPs is shown in (48). Thus, there is a *þæt*, a *wh*-phrase, and *hwæðer*.

(48)

<i>He</i>	<i>sæde</i>	<i>þæt</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>æt</i>	<i>sumum cirre</i>	<i>wolde</i>	<i>fandian</i>		
he	said	that	he	at	some	turn	wanted	explore	
<i>hu</i>	<i>longe</i>	<i>þæt</i>	<i>land</i>	<i>norþryhte</i>	<i>læge</i>	<i>opþe</i>	<i>hwæðer</i>	<i>ænig</i>	
how	long	that	land	north	lay	or	whether	any	
<i>mon</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>norðan þæm</i>	<i>westenne</i>	<i>bude.</i>					

man to north that waste lived

'He said that he wanted to explore how far that land lay northwards or whether anyone lived noth of that empty land.' (DOE, *Orosius*, Bately 14.5)

However, there are also instances of what look like double Cs, as in (49) to (55) from *Beowulf*. This use is frequent in Old English, e.g. there are 70 instances in *Orosius*, but it stops by the OE3 period of the Helsinki Corpus. Some instances occur as complements of *cwedan*, as in (50), a verb known to have had some V2 (Visser 1966: 771), and some are subject clauses, as in (49), (51), (52), and (55). Many double Cs are shortened and contracted, as in (51), (53), (54), and (55), a sign that we may have a single C.

- (49) *forðam wearð ylða bearnum undyrne cuð ... þæt þe*
therefore became elders children not-hidden known ... that that
Grendel wan hwile wið Hroþgar
Grendel fought while against Hrothgar

'Therefore, all mankind found out in sad tidings that Grendel fought against Hrothgar.' (*Beowulf* 149-151)

- (50) *monig oft gecwæð þæt te suð ne norð ... oþer ... selra nære*
many often said that that south nor north ... other better not-was
'It was often said that no better one could be found north or south' (*Beowulf* 858).

- (51) *þæt gesyne wearþ ... þ te wrecend þa gyt lifde*
that obvious became ... that that revenger then still lived
'Then it became clear that a revenger was still alive' (*Beowulf* 1255-6).

- (52) *wen ic talige gif þæt gegangeð þæt ðe gar nymeð*
expectation I maintain if that happens that that spear takes [the lord]
'I firmly believe if it comes to pass that the lord dies ...' (*Beowulf* 1845-6).

- (53) *ond þu þin feorh hafast þþe sea-geatas selran næbben ...*
and you your life keep that.that Geats better not-have [than you]
'and if you are still alive that the Geats won't have anyone better than you' (*Beowulf* 1849-50).

- (54) *Ne bið swylc cwenlic þeaw ... þeah ðe hio ænlicu sy*
Not be such queenly manner ... though that she excellent be
þ te freoðuwebbe feores onsæce
that that peace-weaver life deprive

'That is not the behavior of a queen, even though she is beautiful, that she as a peacemaker deprive people of their lives' (*Beowulf* 1940-2).

- (55) *ne wene ac wæs wide cuð þte ongenðio ealdre besnyðede*
 not expect but were widely known that.that Ongentheow life deprived
 '(I) don't expect (this), but were it widely known that Ongentheow killed ...' (*Beowulf* 2923-4).

Allen (1977: 129) says that she "know[s] of no evidence ... to suggest that *ðætte* was anything more than a variation of *ðæt* during the literary period". However, Zupitza's facsimile edition of *Beowulf* shows *þæt* and *þe* are quite separate most of the time, as I have indicated in (49) to (55). If scribes continue to write them as separate, this means that in the scribes' minds the two are separate, since the language is not standardized. If *þe* is the generalized complementizer, these constructions show either that *that* is in the specifier position, expected if it is a demonstrative originally, or that it is a high C. The latter is unlikely given the absence of any material following *that*, as I now show.

4.3 Topics

As mentioned, van Kemenade (1997) argues there are few embedded topics in Old English, as in (56). Similarly, van Gelderen (2004: 51) claims that Old English lacks a split subordinate CP partly on the basis of the rarity of topics following a C. López Martínez (2015) finds a few but these are in subject clauses, as in (57), and in relatives.

- (56) *Gregorius se trahtnere cwæð þæt forði wolde drihten getrahtnian ...*
 Gregorius the translater said that therefore wanted God to-translate
 'Gregorius, the translator, said that therefore God wanted to translate ...' (van Kemenade 1997: 333, from *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*).

- (57) *ðonon gelomp [þætte þa seolfan moldan þær his lichoma gefeol monige men neomende wæron]*
 hence happened that the same clay there his
 body fell many men taking were
 'Hence, it happened that, the same clay where his body fell, many men were taking.'
 (López Martínez 2015, from Bede, Miller, 178, 5-7)

Though rare, sentences such as (56) and (58), together with a few cases of embedded V2 show that split CPs may be starting to occur in Old English.

In Middle English, embedded topics become frequent and I will now look at sentences where topicalizations provide evidence for a high *for* and a high *that*.

4.3.1 High *for* in Middle English

The main evidence that Old English *for* is in the head position of a PP (which itself is in Spec) is that (a) it occurs as a head in sentences, such as (58), and (b) it does not occur before another C or before a topic. In Middle English, *for* becomes a head and actually helps to expand the CP.

- (58) *ac for þæm þe hie us near sint, we ... ne magon ...*
but for that that they us close are, we ... not may ...
'but we can't for those that are near to us ...' (DOE, *Orosius*, Bately 122.18-9).

In Middle English, embedded topics appear, e.g. in adverbial clauses, as in (59) to (64), noun complements, as in (65), and as complements to assertive verbs, as in (66) and (67).

- (59) *for ne uuæren næure nan martyrs swa pined alse hi wæron*
for not were never no martyrs as tortured as they were
'because there were never any martyrs as tortured as they were.'
(Peterborough Chronicle, 1137, 20).
- (60) *For in this erthely lyffe Ar non to God more boune Then is I and my wyffe,*
For frenshippe we haue founne.
for in this earthly life are none to God more bound than is I and my wife
because friendship we have found
'Because in this earthly life none are more bound to God than my wife; because friendship we have (indeed) found.' (York Plays, 10.10-13, from van Gelderen 2004: 44).
- (61) *For hardely I hym heete*
for indeed I him threaten
'Because indeed I threaten him.' (York Plays, 11, 286, from van Gelderen 2004: 44).
- (62) *And I so semely in syghte myselfe now I se, For lyke a lorde am I left to ...*
And I so seemely in sight, myself now I see, Because like a lord am I left to

‘And I, so seemely in sight, I now see myself. Because, like a lord, I am left to ...’

(*York Plays*, 1.51)

- (63) **For in a gloriuſ gle** my gleteyng it glemes; I am so ...

for in a glorious glee my glittering it gleams; I am so

‘Because, in a glorious glee, my glittering, it gleams; I am so ...’ (*York Plays*, 1.81-2)

- (64) *And thus I lyved ful many a day **That trewely** I hadde no ned Ferther than ...*

And thus I lived full many days that really I had no need further than

‘And thus I lived fully for many days so that really I had no need other than ...’ (Chaucer, *Book of the Duchess* 345.1252-3)

- (65) *Ther may swich cause ben ... **That hardily** thou wolt thiselven saye*

there may such reason be ... that certainly you want yourself say

‘There may be such a reason that certainly you yourself want to say ...’ (Chaucer, *Troilus & Criseyde* 577.1305-6)

- (66) *Blanchardyn **answerd, that for no drede nor fere that he had of hym** he shuld kepe ...*

Blanchardyn answered, that for no dread nor fear that he had of him he should keep

‘Blanchardyn answered that not for dread or fear of him should he ...’ (Caxton’s *Blanchardyn* 84/3, Kellner edition)

- (67) *But now is tyme to yow for to **telle: How that** we baren us that ilke nyght, Whan we were ...*

but now is time to you for to tell: how that we carry us that same night when we were

‘But now is the time for you to tell how we conducted ourselves that night when we were ...’ (Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* 721)

The earliest instance of *for* as a finite complementizer in English is in the *Peterborough Chronicle*, if the OED is correct, and is from the entry for 1135, as in (68). There are two others from the entry for 1135, as in (69) and (70), and of course the one in (59) above from 1137. Note that, in these, there is topicalized material so that, with the use of *for* as C, the CP is expanded. The reason may be because the *for* is used as adverbial C so in Force.

- (68) **for þat ilc gær** warth þe king ded ðat oþer dæi efter Sancte Andreas massedæi on Normandi.

for that same year was the king dead that other day after St. Andrew’s massday in Normandy

‘Because (in) that same year the king was dead, on the second day after St. Andrew’s, in Normandy.’ (*Peterborough Chronicle*, 1135, 4-6)

- (69) *for æuric man sone ræuede oþer þe mihte.*
 for every man soon robbed another that could
 `because everyone that could robbed someone else' (*Peterborough Chronicle*, 1135, 7-8).
- (70) *for agenes him risen sona þa rice men*
 for against him rise soon the rich men
 `because against him the powerful men soon rise.' (*Peterborough Chronicle*, 1135, 16-18).

Once *for* occurs as a C, it almost immediately grammaticalizes to Force and triggers a split CP. The evidence for that is the occurrence of *for* followed by *that*, as in (71) and (72), which occurs frequently in the Helsinki Corpus Middle English section (namely 111 times), even though only as causal adjunct not as complement. It also follows if in (73).

- (71) *we clepeð him fader for þat he us feide here*
 we call him father for that he us feeds here
 `We call him father because he feeds us here'. (from HC ME1, *OE Homilies*, Morris 25)
- (72) *for þat he hadde isleþ3e moche of hire cunne*
 for that he had slain much of their people
 `because he had slain many of their people.' (Layamon, Otho 5453)
- (73) *For 3if we here 3erneþ wonie mid Greckes*
 for if we here agree live with Greeks
 `because if we agree to live among the Greeks'. (Layamon, Otho 483).

Forte (that) `until' gets used as a conjunction with finite clauses in 1200 for the first time in (74) and (75) (again *OED* entry) and, here too, very early it moves to Force. In Layamon, there is additional evidence that *for* is in Force since negative verbs move to C when *for* is there, as in (76) and (77), from both versions.

- (74) *forte þat he come to Maximian to Rome*
 for that he came to Maximian to Rome
 `Until he came to Rome to Maximian.' (Layamon, Otho 5746)
- (75) *forte þat ich mihte bet borewes a-winne*
 for that I might better boroughs win

`Until I might the better conquer boroughs.' (Layamon, Otho 7700)

(76) **for nes** he neuer þi fader

because not.was he never your father

`because he was never your father.' (Layamon, Caligula 1146)

(77) **for nis** þar no kinelond

because not.is there no kingdom

`because there is no kingdom.' (Layamon, Otho 6660)

In short, the beginning of the Middle English period sees a double C, evidence for a high and low area in the CP, i.e. a split CP.

4.3.2 High *that* in Middle English

Topicalization, as in (78) and (79), shows clear evidence for a high C. These are from late Middle and Early Modern English, expected with assertive matrix verbs, as in (78), but even with non-assertives, as in (79).

(78) *And I told him **that, as for such mony that shuld ...**, I wold ...*

(Paston Letters, #75 1465)

(79) I am sorrie **that with better speed and iudgement** I had not quoted him.

(Shakespeare, Hamlet, II, i, 111)

Future work needs to find when *that* starts to occupy this high position.

In conclusion to section 4, I have examined evidence for a split CP in Old English by considering double Cs and topicalizations. There is perhaps the beginning of a split in Old English but there is clear evidence in early Middle English.

5 Conclusion and questions about the change

In this paper, I have compared main clauses and subordinate complements in Old and Modern English. There are three clear conclusions. (a) The distinction between assertive and non-assertive is not relevant in Old English for the selection of indicative or subjunctive, whereas in Modern English only non-assertives select subjunctive complements. It may be, as Visser says for Old English and Julien for Scandinavian, that the subordinate clause is more independent in Old English. (b) The independence of

the complement in Old English doesn't translate into a split CP, as evidenced by very infrequent V2 structures and topicalizations. (c) A clear difference between assertive and non-assertive verbal complements arises after Old English and this can be tied to the structure in (18).

As for the motivation behind these changes, I can only speculate that the demise of the inflectional system and the introduction of modals and infinitives must have triggered the increasing dependence of the subordinate clause on the main verb. The subjunctive, which could stand on its own, is replaced by *for* and *to*, which cannot stand on their own. It is not clear to me why, after the introduction of the *for* complementizer, topicalizations arise as well. My description has been cartographic and descriptive; one could imagine an explanation of the differences between older and newer stages on a different level, e.g. through shifting phase head choices.

Abbreviations

COCA	Corpus of Contemporary American (http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/)
COHA	Corpus of Historical American (http://corpus.byu.edu/coha/)
DOE	Dictionary of Old English (http://doe.utoronto.ca/pages/index.html)
ECM	Exceptional Case Marking
FOC	Focus
IND	indicative
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PST	past
REL	relative marker
SUBJ	subjunctive
TOP	Topic
V2/V3	Verb-second/Verb-third

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All of my Old English examples can be found in the Dictionary of Old English <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/doecorpus/> and, in the interest of space, I have therefore not listed them here. The Middle and Early Modern English ones are as follows.

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¹ I'd like to thank the audience at the Oslo Traces conference in March 2015 for its enthusiasm and two reviewers and Johanna Wood for specific comments.