Cosubordination with Old English aspectual verbs. Sharing arguments and operators

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Abstract

This article offers a perspective from Old English on the diachronic development of aspectual verbs. Within the theoretical framework of Role and Reference Grammar, this study shows a situation of competition between finite and non-finite complementation that predicts a change on the diachronic axis. The fact that not only the first argument but also verbal operators are shared by the matrix and the linked predication motivates the change from the looser syntax of finite complementation to the tighter syntax of non-finite complementation.

Keywords: Old English; aspectual verbs; Role and Reference Grammar; arguments; operators.

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1. Background, scope and aims

According to Los (2005: 17), Old English verbs that take infinitival complements belong to three types: AcI (*accusativus cum infinitivo*) verbs, monotransitive subject control verbs and ditransitive object control verbs. AcI verbs partake in constructions in which the subject of the matrix clause is different from the subject of the infinitive clause. AcI verbs of perception and causation select the bare infinitive (Ringe and Taylor, 2014: 484), such as *bēon* 'be' in cogregdC,GDPref_and_3[C]:11.194.17.2490 *Þa het he þisne biscop beon gelæded to þære stowe* 'then he ordered this bishop to be led to the place' (Ringe and Taylor, 2014: 485). Monotransitive subject control verbs can be found in constructions in which the subject of the matrix clause is shared with the infinitive clause. This type includes the pre-modals, verbs of intention and aspectual verbs. Except the pre-modals, which take a bare infinitive, monotransitive subject control verbs can be followed by a bare infinitive or an inflected infinitive, like *tō scinenne* in cosevensl,LS[Seven Sleepers]: 750.593 *And sona swa hi him on besawon eall heora nebwlite ongann to scinenne swilce seo þurhbeorhte sunne* 'and as soon as they looked on him, all of their faces began to shine like the very bright sun' (Ringe and Taylor 2014: 486). Fanego (1996) terms these verbs *subject control verbs* and underlines their relevance for the evolution of the gerund. Ditransitive object control verbs take part in constructions in which the object of the matrix clause is shared with the subject of the infinitive clause. They are verbs of commanding, permitting, persuading and enticing, most of which take an inflected infinitive, as is the case with *tō healdenne* in coaelhom, +AHom_11:103.1545 *And his bebod tobræc þe he him bebead to healdenne* 'and he broke his command, which he ordered him to keep' (Ringe and Taylor, 2014: 489).

Callaway (1913: 266) and Molencki (1991: 162) note that some Old English verbs can be complemented by both a finite and a non-finite clause. In the same line, Denison (1993: 179) describes the choice between finite clauses and infinitive non-finite clauses as verbal complements, and Los (2005: 68) finds competition between the infinitive and the *þæt*-clause with verb in the subjunctive, as in ÆHom II 376 *Ga Geond wegas and hegas, and hyd hi inn to farenne* 'go along the roads and hedges and urge them to come in', and Lk(WSCp)14.23 *Ga geond ðas wegas and hegas and nyd hig ðæt hig gan in* 'go along the roads and hedges and urge them that they go in'. The decline of the formally distinctive subjunctive, which must be considered against the wider setting of the simplification of inflections and the loss of personal verbal endings, led to the demise of *that*-clauses like Lk(WSCp)14.23 *Ga geond ðas wegas and hegas and nyd hig ðæt hig gan in* 'go along the roads and hedges and urge them that they go in' from the later Middle English period onwards (Iyeiri, 2010: 198). Rohdenburg (2006) calls the changes in the complementation of the English verb *The Great Complement Shift*. Iyeri (2010) makes a further distinction between the shift from *that*-clauses to *to*-infinitives and the shift from infinitives to gerunds, which is a defining characteristic of aspectual verbs.

Rohdenburg (1995, 2006) and Iyeri (2010) do not consider the Old English period because they are concerned with the rise of the gerund, which takes place from Middle English

onwards. As regards competition, Los (2005) classifies non-finite complements on the basis of verbal transitivity and independent or shared arguments, but no mention is made in this work to the morphosyntactic categories and features of the verbs found in these constructions.

Against this background, this article focuses on the semantics and syntax of Old English aspectual verbs. Its aim is to offer a synchronic perspective on the diachronic development of these verbs. This study shows a situation of competition between finite and non-finite complementation of aspectual verbs that predicts, at least in the context of aspectual verbs, a change on the diachronic axis. The elements shared by the matrix and the linked predication also anticipate a diachronic change. The fact that the first argument, as well as verbal operators, are common to the matrix and the linked predication also motivates the change from the looser syntax represented by finite complementation to the tighter syntax identifiable in non-finite complementation.

Given these aims, this article intends to be a contribution to the avenue of research in the semantics and syntax of Old English verbal classes and constructions that has recently dealt with verbs of feeling (C. García Pacheco, 2013), verbs of existence (L. García Pacheco, 2013), verbs of rejoicing (Martín Arista, 2020), verbs of inaction (Ojanguren López, 2020, 2021), verbs of increasing (Lacalle Palacios, 2021a), verbs of depriving (Lacalle Palacios, 2021b), verbs of envy (Vea Escarza, 2021), and some specific verbal constructions (Martín Arista and Ojanguren López, 2018; Martín Arista, 2022).

The discussion proceeds as follows. Section 2 reviews the relevant aspects of the theory of RRG, including the types of nexus and juncture. Section 3 describes the sources and data and makes some terminological remarks. Section 4 discusses the cosubordination constructions found with Old English verbs of aspect at the juncture levels of the nucleus, the core and the clause. Section 5 addresses the question of the change of the level of juncture and offers diachronic perspectives from the points of view of shared arguments and operators. Section 6 summarises the main conclusions of the article.

2. Juncture-nexus types in RRG

Role and Reference Grammar, hereafter RRG (Foley and Van Valin, 1984; Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997; Van Valin, 2005), is a theory of language whose main goals are typological validity and the explanation of clausal relations and constructions on semantic and pragmatic grounds. The relevant aspects of RRG for this article include the layered structure of the clause and the juncture-nexus types or, to put it in other words, the theory of the simplex and the complex clause. The review of the layered structure of the clause comprises semantic-syntactic arguments and morphosyntactic operators. The Interclausal Relation Hierarchy, which is also discussed in this study, is reviewed in Section 5 for convenience.

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In RRG, linking is the correspondence both from semantics to syntax (production) and from syntax to semantics (comprehension). The linking syntax-semantics is governed by the Completeness Constraint (Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997: 323), which requires that all the arguments in the semantic representation of the sentence are realized in the syntax and, conversely, that all the elements of the syntactic expression are linked to some argument in the semantic representation in order to be interpreted.

The main descriptive device of the linking between semantics and syntax is the logical structure. The logical structure is a layered representation that originates in the lexical representation of the verb and is expanded by means of generalized semantic roles (or macroroles) and syntactic functions. The resulting structure is a tree-diagram representation of the clause that displays the argument projection and the operator projection (semantic and morphological features like external aspect, tense, modality, etc.). All the elements involved in the realization of the arguments, like agreement, case assignment and prepositional government, together with the relevant construction, constitute the linking algorithm of RRG.

The linking algorithm operates clause by clause. The layered structure of the clause is a hierarchical structure that can be broken down into several semantic layers defined by the hierarchy of constituents (macrorole arguments, non-macrorole arguments, argument-adjuncts), the association of peripheral (optional) constituents to cores (which contain the verbs and the compulsory arguments) and the scope of operators (especially the TAM— tense-aspect-modality—complex; Foley and Van Valin, 1984). The following layers are distinguished in the layered structure of the clause: the core, including the verbal nucleus, its arguments and its argument-adjuncts, as in *eat salad* and *go to the park*, respectively; the clause, which comprises the compulsory core and the optional periphery (as in *to fix the car in the garage*), and the sentence, which consists of one or more clauses, as in *I always have a shower before having breakfast.*

The argument projection is mirrored by the operator projection because operators are assigned by layer of the hierarchical structure of the clause (Van Valin, 2005: 131). Operators can code both lexical and morphosyntactic features. On the morphosyntactic side, nuclear operators include aspect and verbal negation. Core operators comprise modality and noun phrase negation. Operators of tense and illocutionary force are assigned at clause level. As a general rule, operators of external layers have scope over operators of internal layers, although Van Valin (2021: 248) remarks that

> [n]ot all the operators must be shared at the level of juncture. Rather, at least one must be shared, and the more that are shared, the tighter the link between the units (…) In clausal junctures, illocutionary force, the outermost operator, must be shared; other clausal operators such as status and tense may or may not be shared.

Figure 1 presents the semantic representation of *Has Kim been crying?* (Van Valin, 2005: 50). In Figure 1, operators are represented inside brackets that indicate their scope in the logical structure. Subindexes stand for the operators: IF (illocutionary force), TNS (tense), ASP (aspect); values are capitalized: INT (interrogative), PRES (present), PRES PROG (present progressive).

FIGURE 1

Operators in the semantic representation

<$_{IF}$*INT* <$_{TNS}$*PRES* <$_{ASP}$*PRES PROG* <**do'** (Kim, [**cry'** (Kim)]>>>>

The theory of complex sentences of RRG is based on the hierarchical structure of the clause described above. RRG distinguishes the type of unit (juncture) from the type of relation (nexus) involved in the complex sentence. These aspects are considered independently. This results in a typology of juncture-nexus types in which the default choice is the combination of units from the same level of juncture, this is to say, of nuclei with nuclei, of cores with cores, of clauses with clauses and of sentences with sentences. The typology of juncture-nexus, therefore, is a result of the structural complexity of the combining units: nuclear juncture, core juncture and clause juncture. The nuclear juncture is the structurally simplest type, as it contains two or more nuclei. For example, in *John forced open the can*, two nuclei, *force* and *open*, appear in a single core. The core argument is shared by the two predications. Core junctures are structurally more complex than nuclear junctures, given that they are made up of two or more cores, as in *I had Fred to force the can open*. In this type of juncture, a core argument is also shared by the two cores. This is the case with the noun phrase *Fred*, thus: *I had Fred to force the can open, Fred forced the can open*. According to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 445), the linked predication of a nuclear juncture must be intransitive and its nucleus can be adjacent to the nucleus of the matrix predication. For this reason, instances like *I had Fred to force the can open* belong to the core level of juncture. A further difference between the levels of juncture is the presence of complementizers (*to, from*, etc.), which are not found in nuclear junctures, whereas core junctures may include them. The clause juncture is the juncture-nexus type of more complex structures like *John saw Mary yesterday and Jim saw her too*. Core arguments are not shared in a clause juncture, as can be seen in this example.

The syntactic and semantic relations between the units in a juncture, called *nexus*, are coordination, subordination and cosubordination. Independent coordination requires two different first arguments, both at core level (*I made Sally apologize*) and at clause level (*I insisted and Sally finally apologized*). Subordination can belong to two types: daughter subordination, if the subordinate clause is an argument, as in *That they got married surprised everyone*, and peripheral subordination, if the subordinate clause is a periphery, as in *The news was everywhere before they noticed*. Daughter subordination and peripheral subordination can take place at the levels of the nucleus, the core and the clause. How-

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ever, subordination depends on the possibility of clefting and passivization (Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997: 445). For example, *Mary criticised Jim's resigning his position* is an instance of subordination because *It was Jim's resigning his position that Mary criticised* (cleft) and *That Jim resigned his position was criticised by Mary* (passive) are possible. The third nexus type of RRG is called *cosubordination*, or dependent coordination. In cosubordination, the dependence results from shared first arguments and from the scope of the operators. In the coordinate subject construction, or conjunction reduction, such as *I was tired and left early*, the first argument is shared by the two clauses. With respect to operators, the units must share at least one operator at the relevant level of juncture. For example, in *Jack sat drinking beer* the operator of progressive aspect has scope over both nuclei, considering that a paraphrase like *Jack was sitting and drinking beer* is possible. In English, there is nuclear, core and clausal cosubordination. Two adjacent nuclei result in nuclear cosubordination, as in *The customer left complaining*. Two cores linked by a complementizer give rise to core cosubordination, as in *I tried to get up early*. Clausal cosubordination in English can be found only in coordinate subject constructions like *I opened the door and found nobody*. Finally, there is no sentential cosubordination because there are no sentence-level operators and, therefore, sentences cannot share operators.

To close this review, three questions regarding the application of RRG to this study must be addressed. In the first place, a terminological aspect needs comment. If we focus on cosubordination, the nexus relation with which this article deals, Roberts (2010) relates cosubordination to serial verb constructions. A serial verb construction (Haspelmath, 2016: 292) is *a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate-argument between the verbs*. Roberts (2010: 7) puts forward additional properties of serial verb constructions, including the single intonation contour of the construction, the reference of the construction to a single event, the existence of at least one shared semantic argument and the presence of only one grammatical subject, the obligation of non-coreference (two overt NPs cannot refer to the same argument) and the single specification of tense, aspect, modality, negation, etc. (although these features can be marked on both verbs). Roberts (2010: 26) also points out that *a prototypical SVC* [serial verb construction-AEOL] *contains two or more verbs that are fully lexical verbs*. For Roberts (2010: 33), English constructions containing aspectual verbs like 'to stop' with the same participant in the matrix predication as in the linked predication, such as *Mary stopped singing*, can be considered serial verb constructions. The same can be said of Old English, as the data collected for this study show. The juncture-nexus relation assigned by Roberts (2010: 35) to these constructions is core cosubordination because the subject argument is shared by the matrix and the linked predication and because only the finite verb in the matrix predication is marked for tense, in such a way that the tense feature is extended from the clause and shared by the two clauses.
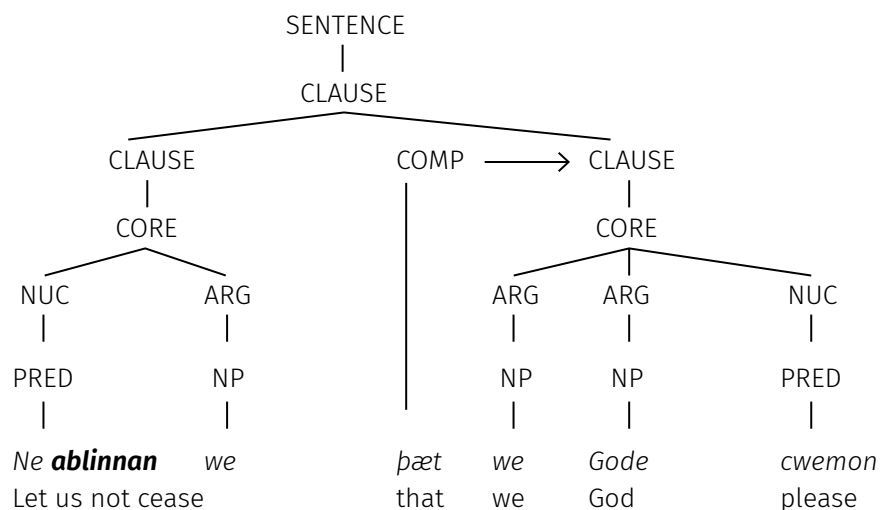
Secondly, RRG has not developed a full-fledged theory of operators, including categories and values, yet. Elaborating on Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), the following operators and

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values apply in the study in Old English that follows: negation (verbal negation) at nuclear level; negation (NP negation) and modality (realis and irrealis) at core level; tense (present, past) and illocutionary force (imperative, interrogative) at clause level.

Thirdly, clausal cosubordination in English is restricted to coordinate subject constructions. In Old English, clausal cosubordination is found at least in predications involving aspectual verbs. Two reasons can be proposed for this assignment of level of juncture. The first has to do with complementizers and the status of the verb in the linked predication. Old English nuclear junctures do not take complementizers and comprise two adjacent nuclei; core junctures may take a complementizer, so that the two nuclei are not always adjacent and present a non-finite form of the verb in the linked predication; and clausal junctures take a complementizer and have a finite form of the verb in the linked predication. Old English coordinate subject constructions also give rise to a juncture-nexus type of clausal cosubordination. The second reason why Old English aspectual verb constructions take place at the clausal level is that, being serial verb constructions, the nexus type must be cosubordination (Roberts, 2010: 35). Bohnemeyer and Van Valin (2017: 142) remark that the nexus of cosubordination is used to describe single events, as is the case with aspectual verbs and their dependents in Old English. Furthermore, Bohnemeyer and Van Valin (2017: 142) define as *a symmetric union of two cores that together behave like a single core*. The key aspect in this definition is symmetry. This means that if the predication linked to a matrix with an aspectual verb in Old English is a unit of the clause type, as it is introduced by a complementizer of the subordinating conjunction type and has a finite form of the verb, the matrix must also be a unit of the clausal type. Figure 2 shows the tree-diagram representation of *Ne ablinnan we þæt we Gode cwemon* 'Let us not cease to please God' as an instance of clausal cosubordination.

FIGURE 2

Old English aspectual verb in clausal cosubordination

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3. Sources and data

The source of this study is *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (Taylor et al., 2003), which contains approximately 1.5 million words of Old English prose. The fragments selected as examples do not mark vowel length, so that the rendering of the Corpus is maintained. The text codes have been taken from *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (Healey et al. 2004), except the ones directly provided by the authors cited in the discussion, which have been kept as in the original.

The inventory of Old English aspectual verbs of this study is based on Faber and Mairal's (1999) lexical domains of English. Given the lexical domain "Action", the following verbs have been found in the dictionaries of Old English (Clark-Hall Meritt, 1996; Bosworth-Toller, 1973; and *The Dictionary of Old English*, 2018) with the relevant meaning components. The list is presented in Figure 3 by lexical subdomain.

FIGURE 3

Aspectual Old English verbs of inaction

To not do something [*fail*]: fail; neglect, omit; give up.
āgǣlan, forgān, forsittan, linnan, mīðan, oferāhebban, ofergīman, oferhealdan, oferhebban, ofersittan, oflinnan, (ge)sparian, (ge)trucian, wandian.

To stop doing something [*end*]: end, finish; cease, stop; desist, relinquish.
āblinnan, ætstandan, blinnan, for(e)sacan, geblinnan, linnan, ofersittan, oflinnan, oðstillan, (ge)trucian.

To make an effort in order to be able to do something [*try*]: try, attempt; strive, struggle, endeavour.
(ge)cneordlǣcan, (ge)fandian, fundian, hīgian, onginnan, (ge)tilian.

The corpus does not turn out relevant occurrences of most of the verbs in Figure 3, for reasons of verbal polysemy or lack of data. A total of 76 instances have been analyzed, which can be broken down by verb as follows: *āblinnan* (15), *āgǣlan* (3), *blinnan* (7), *(ge)cneordlǣcan* (3), *(ge)fandian* (2), *foresacan* (1), *forsittan* (3), *fundian* (6), *geblinnan* (1), *hīgian* (9), *onginnan* (9), *(ge)tilian* (8) and *wandian* (9).

4. Cosubordination in nuclear, core and clause junctures

Old English aspectual verbs like *blinnan* 'to cease' and *onginnan* 'to begin' occur in contexts in which there is a finite verbal form in the matrix predication and a non-finite dependent verb in the linked predication. In Old English, the linked predicate is an inflective or a plain infinitive. In (1a), the two verbal nuclei (*blunnun* 'ceased' and *ricsian* 'to rule') are adjacent

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to each other, so that the linked predicate follows the matrix predicate. The linked predicate *ricsian* 'to rule' is a plain infinitive, in such a way that there is no complementizer linking the two predications. The first argument *Romane* 'the Romans' is shared by the matrix and the linked predication. The linked predication is intransitive. The operators of illocutionary force and tense of the main predication can be said to be extended to the linked predication. Modality is realis in both predications. There is no formally distinctive progressive aspect in Old English, so that the aspect of the matrix and the linked predication can be considered non-progressive, although this is neither a matter of operator scope nor of operator extension but rather a result of the historical development of aspect in English. The juncture-nexus type, therefore, is nuclear cosubordination. The same analysis applies to example (1b). A similar analysis can be proposed for (1c) and (1d), except as regards the relative order of the adjacent verbal nuclei. In (1c) and (1d), the linked predicate precedes the matrix predicate because the matrix is dependent and is aligned in the final position of the clause for this reason.

(1)

a. [Bede 1 9.44.2]

*Of þære tide Romane **blunnun** ricsian on Breotene.*

Of	*þære*	*tide*	*Romane*
from-PREP	that-DAT.SG	time-DAT.SG	Roman-NOM.PL
blunnun	*ricsian*	*on*	*Breoten*
cease-PST.3PL	rule-INF	in-PREP	Britain-DAT.SG

'From that time the Romans ceased to rule in Britain.'

b. [CP 238600 (58.445.26)]

*Hit bið wyrse ðæt mon a **onginne** faran on soðfæstnesse weg, gif mon eft wile ongeancierran, & ðæt ilce on faran.*

Hit	*bið*	*wyrse*	*ðæt*
it-NOM.3SG	be-PRS.3SG	bad-COMPR	that-CONJ
mon	*a*	***onginne***	*faran*
someone-NOM.SG	always-ADV	begin-PRS.3SG.SUBJ	travel-INF
on	*soðfæstnesse*	*weg*	*gif*
on-PREP	truth-GEN.SG	road-DAT.SG	if-CONJ
mon	*eft*	*wile*	*ongeancierran*
one-NOM.SG	after-ADV	will-PRS.3SG	turn back-INF
&	*ðæt*	*ilce*	*on*
and-CONJ	that-ACC.SG	same-ACC.SG	on-PREP
faran			
fare-INF			

'It is worse that someone begins to travel always on the road of truth, if they intend afterwards to turn back and fare on the same ground.'

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c. [Or 6 007300 (6.138.8)]
Uitellus, Germania cyning, gefeaht þriwa wið Othon, & hiene ofslog on þæm þriddan monðe þæs þe hie winnan **ongunnon**.

Uitellus	*Germania*	*cyning*	*gefeaht*
Vitellius-NOM.SG	Germania-GEN.SG	king-NOM.SG	fight-PST.3SG
þriwa	*wið*	*Othon*	*&*
three times-NUM	against-PREP	Otho-DAT.SG	and-CONJ
hiene	*ofslog*	*on*	*þæm*
he-ACC.3SG	slay-PST.3SG	in-PREP	the-DAT.SG
þriddan	*monðe*	*þæs*	*þe*
third-DAT.SG	month-DAT.SG	after-ADV	which-REL
hie	*winnan*	***ongunnon***	
he-NOM.PL	fight-INF	begin-PST.3PL	

'Vitellius, king of the Germans, fought three times against Otho, and slew him in the third month after they had begun to wage war.'

d. [Or 2 002200 (1.37.13)]
Siþþan hæfdon Caldei þa lond gebun on freodome [...] oðþæt Cirus, Persea cyning, ricsian **ongann**.

Siþþan	*hæfdon*	*Caldei*	*þa*
thereafter-ADV	have-PST.3PL	Chaldean-NOM.PL	that-ACC.PL
lond	*gebun*	*on*	*freodome*
land-ACC.PL	inhabit-PST.3PL	in-PREP	freedom-DAT.SG
oðþæt	*Cirus*	*Persea*	*cyning*
until-CONJ	Cyrus-NOM.SG	Persia-GEN.SG	king-NOM.SG
ricsian	***ongann***		
rule-INF	begin-PST.3SG		

'The Chaldeans had inhabited those lands in freedom [...] till Cyrus, king of Persia, began to rule.'

Consider the examples in (2).

(2)

a. [Or 2 002100 (1.37.9)]
Þy ilcan geare þe Romana rice weaxan **ongann** *ond miclian, on Procos dæge þæs cyninges, þy ilcan geare gefeoll Babylonia & eall Asiria rice & hiora anwald.*

Þy	*ilcan*	*geare*	*þe*
the-DAT.SG	same-DAT.SG	year-DAT.SG	which-REL
Romana	*rice*	*weaxan*	***ongann***
Roman-GEN.PL	empire-NOM.SG	grow-INF	begin-PST.3SG

ond	*miclian*	*on*	*Procos*
and-CONJ	increase-INF	in-PREP	Procas-GEN.SG
dæge	*þæs*	*cyninges*	*þy*
day-DAT.SG	the-GEN.SG	king-GEN.SG	the-DAT.SG
ilcan	*geare*	*gefeoll*	*Babylonia*
same-DAT.SG	year-DAT.SG	fall-PST.3SG	Babylon-NOM.SG
&	*eall*	*Asiria*	*rice*
and-CONJ	all-NOM.SG	Assyria-GEN.SG	empire-NOM.SG
&	*hiora*	*anwald*	
and-CONJ	he-GEN.3PL	power-NOM.SG	

'In that same year, in which the Roman empire began to grow and increase, in the days of Procas the king, Babylon and all the Assyrian empire and their power fell.'

b. [CP 096200 (28.197.9)]
*Ac gif we nu **onginnað** reccan ongemong ðissum ymbe Dauides dæda sume, ðonne magon we ðis spel ðe openlicor gereccean.*

Ac	*gif*	*we*	*nu*
but-CONJ	if-CONJ	I-NOM.1PL	now-ADV
onginnað	*reccan*	*ongemong*	*ðissum*
begin-PRS.1PL	narrate-INF	among-PREP	this-DAT.PL
ymbe	*Dauides*	*dæda*	*sume*
thing-DAT.PL	David-GEN.SG	deed-ACC.PL	some-ACC.PL
ðonne	*magon*	*we*	*ðis*
then-ADV	may-PRS.1PL	I-NOM.1PL	this-ACC.SG
spel	*ðe*	*openlicor*	*gereccean*
argument-ACC.SG	therefore-ADV	clearly-ADV	explain-INF

'But if now we begin to narrate among other things some of David's deeds, we may explain this argument more clearly.'

The instance of *onginnan* 'to begin' in (2a) deserves attention. According to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 445), the juncture levels of transitive linked predications are the core or the clause. Linked predications at the nuclear level must be instransitive. There are arguments, however, in favour of considering the Old English fragment in (2a) an example of nuclear cosubordination. Beginning with the nexus relation, this is a case of cosubordination because the matrix predicate *ongunnon* 'began' and the linked *weaxan* 'to grow' share the first argument *þe Romana rice* 'the Roman empire', and because the operators of illocutionary force and tense have scope over the two predicates. The operator of realis modality is also shared by the two predications. As in (1), the absence of complementizer guarantees that the matrix and the first linked predicate are adjacent to each other. The constituent order in which the linked predicate precedes the matrix predicate can be

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attributed to the subordinate character of *þe Romana rice weaxan ongann* 'the Roman empire began to grow', whose function is to modify the nominal head *geare* 'year' in the complex noun phrase *þy ilcan geare þe Romana rice weaxan ongann* 'that same year in which the Roman empire began to grow'. Last but not least, the time modifier is shared by the matrix and the linked predication. In (2b), the matrix predicate *onginnað* 'we begin' precedes the linked *reccan* 'to narrate', which is, in turn, followed by the periphery *ongemong ðissum* 'with this' and the argument-adjunct of *reccan* 'to narrate', *ymbe Dauides dæda sume* 'about some of David's deeds'. Whereas it does not seem problematic to analyze (2a) as a nuclear juncture, (2b) does not seem compatible with a nuclear juncture analysis because, although *reccan* 'to narrate' is not syntactically transitive (it takes an argument-adjunct rather than a direct core argument), the linked predication, involving a periphery and an argument-adjunct, is too complex. Consequently, the juncture-nexus type of (2b) is the core juncture.

The same analysis as conveying a juncture-nexus type of core cosubordination can be applied to the instances in (3). Both of them present non-adjacent matrix and linked predicates, even though the dividing element is not a complementizer. The linked predication is transitive. The verbs found in this configuration include *blinnan* 'to end' and *onginnan* 'to begin'. In (3a), the first argument *heo ealle* 'they all' is shared, while the second argument of *afeohton* 'to attack' (*þa burg* 'the city') separates the matrix from the linked predication. The operators of illocutionary force and tense of the main predication are extended to the linked predication. The operator of realis modality has scope over both predications. In (3b), *libban* 'to live' is intransitive, but a peripheral constituent (*æresð* 'at first') appears between the matrix predicate *onginnað* 'we begin' and the linked predicate *libban* 'to live'. This temporal modifier is shared by the matrix and the linked predication. Although there are differences in the order of constituents between the instances in (1) and (3), the nexus relation of cosubordination holds good because the first argument and the operators of illocutionary force, tense and modality are shared. The juncture takes place at the core level. The juncture-nexus type, therefore, is core cosubordination.

(3)

a. [Bede 3 14.202.20]
*& heo ealle afyrhte onweg flugon & **blunnon** þa burg afeohton.*

&	heo	ealle	afyrhte
and-CONJ	he-NOM.3PL	all-ACC.PL	frightened-NOM.PL
flugon	&	***blunnon***	*þa*
flee-PST.3PL	and-CONJ	cease-PST.3PL	the-ACC.SG
burg	*afeohton*		
city-ACC.SG	attack-INF		

'And they all fled away terrified and ceased to attack the city.'

b. [CP 163000 (44.331.25)]
On ðys andweardan life we **onginnað** *æresð libban to ðæm ðæt we æt ytemestan onfon sumne dæl bledsunge.*

On	*ðys*	*andweardan*	*life*
in-PREP	this-INS.SG	present-DAT.SG	life-DAT.SG
we	**onginnað**	*æresð*	*libban*
I-NOM.1PL	begin-PRS.1PL	first-SUP	live-INF
to ðæm ðæt	*we*	*æt*	*ytemestan*
so that-CONJ	I-NOM.1PL	at-PREP	last-SUP
onfon	*sumne*	*dæl*	*bledsunge*
receive-INF	some-ACC.SG	deal-ACC.SG	blessing-GEN.SG

'In this present life, we begin at first to live so that we receive some deal of blessing at the end.'

Verbs like *āblinnan* 'to cease', *fundian* 'to try', *tiolan* 'to strive' and *wandian* 'to hesitate' are found in the juncture-nexus type of core cosubordination. As can be seen in (4), a core argument and some operators are shared by the matrix and the linked predication. In (4a), the co-referential first argument of the previous clause (*he* 'he') is shared by *ablinð* 'he ceases' and *to asendenne* 'to send'. The linked predication is transitive (its second argument is *bydelas and lareowas* 'messengers and teachers'). The preposition *tō* in the inflective infinitive *tō asendenne* is a complementizer whose presence results in the lack of adjacency between the matrix predication nucleus *ablinð* 'he ceases' and the nucleus of the linked predication *tō asendenne* 'to send'. This is a fundamental difference with respect to the instances in (2) and (3), which have no complementizers, although other elements can preclude the adjacency of the two nuclei. In (4), the only element separating the two nuclei is the complementizer, thus *ablinð to asendenne* in (4a), *fundiað to cumanne* 'we endeavour to come' in (4b), *teolode to lifigenne* 'I strove to live' in (4c) and *wandiað to licgenne* in (4d). As for operators, illocutionary force, tense and modality are shared by the matrix and the linked predication in (4a), (4b), (4c) and (4d). In (4a) and (4d), negation is a core operator with scope over the nucleus.

(4)
a. [ÆCHom II, 5 43.53]
He fram frymðe middaneardes oð his geendunge. ne **ablinð** *to asendenne bydelas and lareowas to lærenne his folc.*

He	*fram*	*frymðe*	*middaneardes*
he-NOM.3SG	from-PREP	beginning-DAT.SG	world-GEN.SG
oð	*his*	*geendunge*	*ne*
until-PREP	he-GEN.3SG	ending-DAT.SG	not-NEG
ablinð	*to asendenne*	*bydelas*	*and*
cease-PRS.3SG	send-INF.INFL	messenger-ACC.PL	and-CONJ

lareowas	*to lærenne*	*his*	*folc*
teacher-ACC.PL	teach-INF.INFL	he-GEN.3SG	people-ACC.SG

'From the beginning of the world until its ending, he does not cease to send messengers and teachers to teach his people.'

b. [Bo 35.98.2]
*Forðæmþe ealla gesceafta gecyndelice hiora agnum willum **fundiað** to cumanne to gode, swa swa we oft ær sædon on ðisse ilcan bec.*

Forðæmþe	*ealla*	*gesceafta*	*gecyndelice*
for-CONJ	all-NOM.PL	creature-NOM.PL	naturally-ADV
hiora	*agnum*	*willum*	***fundiað***
he-GEN.3PL	own-DAT.SG	will-DAT.SG	endeavour-PRS.3PL
to cumanne	*to*	*gode*	
come-INF.INFL	to-PREP	good-DAT.SG	

'For all creatures naturally of their own will strive to come to good, as we have often said before in this same book.'

c. [Bede 4 072900 (30.372.11)]
*Forðon þu wast ðæt ic symle **teolode** to lifigenne to ðines muðes bebode.*

Forðon	*þu*	*wast*	*ðæt*
because-CONJ	you-NOM.2SG	know-PRS.2SG	that-CONJ
ic	*symle*	***teolode***	*to lifigenne*
I-NOM.1SG	always-ADV	strive-PST.1SG	live-INF.INFL
to	*ðines*	*muðes*	*bebode*
to-PREP	you-GEN.2SG	mouth-GEN.SG	teaching-DAT.SG

'Because you know that I always strove to live according to the teachings from your mouth.'

d. [ÆCHom II, 43 004500 (321.104)]
*Hi anðraciað to gefarenne lifes wegas. and swa ðeah ne **wandiað** to licgenne on stuntnysse heora asolcennysse.*

Hi	*anðraciað*	*to gefarenne*
he-NOM.3PL	fear-PRS.3PL	fare-INF.INFL
lifes	*wegas*	*and*
life-GEN.SG	way-ACC.PL	and-CONJ
swa ðeah	*ne*	***wandiað***
although-CONJ	not-NEG	hesitate-PRS.3PL
to licgenne	*on*	*stuntnysse*
lie-INF.INFL	in-PREP	foolishness-DAT.SG

heora	*asolcennysse*
he-GEN.3PL	idleness-GEN.SG

'They fear to fare on the ways or life, although they do not hesitate to lie in the foolishness of their idleness.'

Whereas the instances of core cosubordination with *āblinnan* 'to cease', *fundian* 'to try', *tiolan* 'to strive' and *wandian* 'to hesitate' in (4) present matrix and linked predicates separated from each other by the complementizer, these verbs are found with core arguments between the matrix and the linked predicate in (5). In (5a), the first argument *ge* 'you', shared by the matrix and the linked predication, is placed between the two verbal forms (*ne ablynnon ge to myngyenne* 'do not cease to bear in mind'). The illocutionary force operator of imperative must be shared by the matrix and the linked predication. Tense is also shared. Negation is a core operator with scope over both nuclei. In (5b), the first argument (*blodig regn & fyren* 'a bloody and flaming rain') is shared too, but it is the second argument (*þas eorþan* 'this earth') that has been placed between the matrix and the linked predicate (*fundiaþ þas eorþan tō forswylgenne* 'strive to destroy this earth'). This verb-final constituent order is relatively frequent in Old English dependent clauses. In (5c), the matrix and the linked predication share the first argument (*he* 'he') and the adjectival predicate *ungelic* 'unlike' is found between the finite and the non-finite verbal form (*tiolað ungelic to bionne* 'he tries to be unlike'). In (5b) and (5c), the operators of tense and modality are shared by the matrix and the linked core. In (5d), the verb-final order (*to cristnigenne* 'to christen') is also the result of the dependence of the core, in which the periphery on *þam widgillan felda* 'in the wild fields' and the second argument *þa hæþenan* 'the heathen' precede the linked predicate. The core operator of negation has scope over the two nuclei. Furthermore, the modifier of place on *þam widgillan felda* 'in the wild fields' is shared by the matrix and the linked core.

(5)

a. [ChrodR 1 79.39]

*Forþi þonne swa miclan swa ge magon, mid worde and mid bysne, swa we bufan sædon, ne **ablynnon** ge to myngyenne þa eow betæhtan sceap.*

Forþi þonne	*swa*	*miclan*	*swa*
therefore-ADV	as-CONJ	much-ADV	as-CONJ
ge	*magon*	*mid*	*worde*
you-NOM.2SG	can-PRS.2SG	with-PREP	word-DAT.SG
and	*mid*	*bysne*	*swa*
and-CONJ	through-PREP	example-DAT.SG	as-CONJ
we	*bufan*	*sædon*	*ne*
I-NOM.1PL	above-ADV	say-PST.1PL	not-NEG
ablynnon	*ge*	*to myngyenne*	*þa*
cease-INF	you-NOM.2PL	take care-INF.INFL	that-ACC.PL

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eow	*betæhtan*	*sceap*
you-DAT.PL	commit-INF	sheep-ACC.PL

'Therefore, as much as you can, with words and through example, as we said above, do not cease to bear in mind the sheep entrusted to you.'

b. [HomS 26 174]
*Blodig regn & fyren **fundiaþ** þas eorþan to forswylgenne & to forbærnenne.*

Blodig	*regn*	*&*	*fyren*
bloody-NOM.SG	rain-NOM.SG	and-CONJ	flaming-NOM.SG
fundiaþ	*þas*	*eorþan*	*to forswylgenne*
strive-PRS.3SG	this-ACC.SG	earth-ACC.SG	destroy-INF.INFL
&	*to forbærnenne*		
and-CONJ	burn up-INF.INFL		

'A bloody and flaming rain will strive to destroy and to burn up this earth.'

c. [Bo 173400 (39.135.4)]
*He **tiolað** ungelic to bionne þæm oðrum.*

He	***tiolað***	*ungelic*	*to bionne*
he-NOM.3SG	try-PRS.3SG	unlike-ACC.SG	be-INF.INFL
þæm	*oðrum*		
the-DAT.PL	other-DAT.PL		

'He tries to be unlike the others.'

d. [Æ LS (Martin) 025200 (1035)]
*He eac ne **wandode** on þam widgillan felda þa hæþenan to cristnigenne þa þa hi on Crist gelyfdon.*

He	*eac*	*ne*	***wandode***
he-NOM.3SG	also-ADV	not-NEG	hesitate-PST.3SG
on	*þam*	*widgillan*	*felda*
in-PREP	the-DAT-SG	wide-DAT.SG	field-DAT.SG
þa	*hæþenan*	*to cristnigenne*	*þa þa*
the-ACC.PL	heathen-ACC.PL	christen-INF.INFL	since-CONJ
hi	*on*	*Crist-DAT.SG*	*gelyfdon*
he-NOM.PL	in-PREP	Christ	believe-PST.PTCP

'Neither did he hesitate to christen the heathen in the wide field, because they believed in Christ.'

In all the examples in (6), the matrix and the linked predication belong in the clausal level of juncture. The complementizer *þæt* 'that' introduces the linked predication, which pres-

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ents a finite form of the verb. The verbs *āblinnan* 'to cease', *blinnan* 'to cease', *fundian* 'to strive', *higian* 'to strive', *tilian* 'to strive' and *wandian* 'to hesitate' are found in this config- uration. The linked predicates are conjugated for the subjunctive, thus *cwemon* 'please' in (6a), *willon* 'will' in (6b), *weorðe* 'get' in (6c) and *ofsloge* 'kill' in (6d). The finite form of the verb is aligned in the final position of the linked predication in (6d) only. In (6a), (6b) and (6c) the verb of the linked predication occupies the middle position of the clause. In all four examples, the first argument of the matrix and the linked predication is co-referential, but it is not shared. The second mention to the first argument is pronominal in (6a)-(6d), thus *we…we* 'we…we' in (6a), *þa…hie* 'that…they' in (6b) and *he…he* 'he…he' in (6c) and (6d). The nexus relation is cosubordination not strictly because the first argument is shared by the matrix and the linked predication but rather because it makes reference to the same entity, which is repeated anaphorically. The operators of illocutionary force, such as the imperative in (6a), and of tense are extended from the matrix to the linked predication. The operator of modality (realis in the matrix and irrealis in the linked predication) is not shared.

(6)
a. [HomS 14 141]
    *Ne **ablinnan** we, manna bearn, þæt we Gode cwemon, & deofol tynan, dæges & nihtes.*

Ne	***ablinnan***	*we*	*manna*
not-NEG	cease-INF	I-NOM.1PL	man-GEN.PL
bearn	*þæt*	*we*	*Gode*
child-NOM.PL	that-CONJ	I-NOM.1PL	God-ACC.SG
cwemon	*&*	*deofol*	*tynan*
please-PRS.1PL.SUBJV	and-CONJ	devil-ACC.SG	annoy-PRS.1PL.SUBJV
dæges	*&*	*nihtes*	
day-GEN.SG	and-CONJ	night-GEN.SG	

    'Let us, children of men, not cease to please God and to enclose the devil day and night.'

b. [HomS 26 206]
    *Þy syxtan dæge ær underne þonne biþ from feower endum þære eorþan eall middan- geard mid awergdum gastum gefylled, þa **fundiaþ** þæt hie willon genimon myccle herehyþ manna saula swa Antecrist ær beforan dyde.*

þy	*syxtan*	*dæge*	*ær*
Therefore-ADV	sixth-NUM	day	on-PREP
underne	*þonne*	*biþ*	*from*
third hour-DAT.SG	then-ADV	be-PRS.3SG	from-PREP
feower	*endum*	*þære*	*eorþan*
four-DAT.PL	end-DAT.PL	the-GEN.SG	earth-GEN.SG
eall	*middangeard*	*mid*	*awergdum*
all-NOM.SG	world-NOM.SG	with-PREP	evil-DAT.PL

gastum	*gefylled*	*þa*	***fundiaþ***
spirit-DAT.PL	fill-PST.PTCP	who-REL	strive-PRS.3PL
þæt	*hie*	*willon*	*genimon*
that-CONJ	he-NOM.3PL	will-PRS.3PL.SUBJV	seize-INF
myccle	*herehyþ*	*manna*	*saula*
great-ACC.SG	pillage-ACC.SG	man-GEN.PL	soul-GEN.PL

'Before the third hour on the sixth day, all the world will be filled, from the four ends of the earth, with accursed spirits, who will strive to take away a great booty of men's souls.'

c. [CP 22.169.8]

*He sceal simle **higian** ðæt he weorðe onbryrd & geedniwad to ðæm hefonlican eðle.*

He	*sceal*	*simle*
he-NOM.3SG	must-PRS.3SG	continuously-ADV
higian	*ðæt*	*he*
strive-INF	that-CONJ	he-NOM.3SG
weorðe	*onbryrd*	*&*
get-PRS.3SG.SUBJ	inspire-PST.PTCP	and-CONJ
geedniwad	*to*	*ðæm*
renovate-PST.PTCP	for-PREP	the-DAT.SG
hefonlican	*eðle*	
heavenly-DAT.SG	home-DAT.SG	

'He must continuously strive to get inspired and renovated for the heavenly home.'

d. [CP 186600 (49.379.9)]

*He swa micele unscyldigra wære his niehstena blodes swa he læs **wandade** ðæt he hira unðeawas ofsloge.*

He	*swa*	*micele*
he-NOM.3SG	the-CONJ	more-ACC.SG
unscyldigra	*wære*	*his*
innocent-COMPR	be-PST.3SG.SUBJ	he-GEN.SG
niehstena	*blodes*	*swa*
neighbour-GEN.SG	blood-GEN.SG	the-CONJ
he	*læs*	***wandade***
he-NOM.3SG	less-COMPR	hesitate-PST.3SG.SUBJ
ðæt	*he*	*hira*
that-CONJ	he-NOM.3SG	he-GEN.3SG
unðeawas	*ofsloge*	
evil practice-ACC.PL	kill- PST.3SG.SUBJ	

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'The more innocent he was of his neighbours' blood the less he hesitated to kill their evil practices'.

5. Juncture change

The discussion in this section is couched in terms of the Interclausal Relations Hierarchy, henceforth IRH (Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997: 481), which ranks juncture-nexus types on the basis of the tightness of the syntactic link between the units and semantic relations between matrix and linked predications according to the cohesion between the two propositions. On the syntactic part of the IRH, the degree of the integration is gauged by determining whether they are integrated into a single unit or remain two separate units. On the semantic part of the IRH, the semantic relations give rise to a continuum that expresses the degree of semantic cohesion between the two propositional units by indicating whether they express a single action or event or discrete actions or events. Ultimately, the IRH attributes the strength of the syntactic bond existing between the matrix predication and the linked predication to the cohesion of the semantic relation holding between the two propositions. On the diachronic axis, the IRH predicts that the closer the semantic relation between two propositions is, the stronger the syntactic link between the matrix and the linked unit must be. That is to say, the semantic relations at the top of the semantic part of the IRH should be expressed by the linkage categories at the top of the syntactic part of the hierarchy, and, conversely, the semantic relations at the bottom of the semantic part of the IRH should be expressed by the linkage categories at the bottom of the syntactic part of the hierarchy. The IRH is presented in Figure 4.

With aspectual verbs, the semantic relation in point is Phase, which is nearly on the top of the IRH. This means that juncture types of lower levels of the hierarchy are likely to change to juncture types at the top or, at least, closer to the top, including core junctures and nuclear junctures. We can gather two types of evidence in favour of this explanation. The first is indirect. In Present-Day English, aspectual verbs take part in nuclear junctures, like *The team started climbing*, or core junctures, such as *Susan tried to lock the door*, but not in clausal junctures. The second type of evidence in favor of this explanation is direct. In Old English, aspectual verbs can be complemented by nuclear, core and clausal junctures. As has been shown in Section 4, a verb like *blinnan* 'to cease' can partake in the three juncture levels. It has also turned out that clausal junctures are attested with a wider range of aspectual verbs, which may indicate that the complementation with finite verb is still the preferred option in Old English. It remains to remark in this respect that there are instances of mixed complementation in Old English that constitute evidence for diachronic continuity that anticipates change. This is the case with (6a) and (7), in which the matrix predicate *gecnyrdlæcað* 'we endeavour' is complemented by a unit of the core level (*becuman to ðære heofenlican Hierusalem* 'to come to the heavenly Jerusalem') and another one of the clausal

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FIGURE 4

Interclausal Relations Hierarchy (Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997: 481)

Strongest		Closest
Nuclear cosubordination		Causative [1]
Nuclear subordination		Phase
Daughter		Manner
Peripheral		Motion
		Position
		Means
Nuclear coordination		Psych-action
Core cosubordination		Purposive
Core subordination		Jussive
Daughter		Causative [2]
Peripheral		Direct perception
		Indirect perception
Core coordination		Propositional attitude
Clausal cosubordination		Cognition
Clausal subordination		Indirect discourse
Daughter		Direct discourse
Peripheral		Circumstances
		Reason
Clausal coordination		Conditional
		Concessive
Sentential subordination		Simultaneous actions
		Sequential actions
Sentential coordination		Situation-situation: unspecified
Weakest		Loosest

level, introduced by the complementizer *hū* 'how' (*we þa deofellican Babilonian forfleon magon* 'we may flee away from the devilish Babylon').

(7) ÆCHom II, 4 38.273
Untwylice on ðisum andgite us bið awend þæt fifte wæterfæt to wynsumum wine. gif we **gecnyrdlæcað** *hu we þa deofellican Babilonian forfleon magon. and becuman to ðære heofenlican Hierusalem.*

Untwylice	*on*	*ðisum*
certainly-ADV	in-PREP	this-DAT.SG
andgite	*us*	*bið*
intellect-DAT.SG	I-DAT.1PL	be-PRS.3SG
awend	*þæt*	*fifte*
turn-PST.PTCP	that-NOM.SG	fifth-NUM
wæterfæt	*to*	*wynsumum*
water-pot-NOM.SG	to-PREP	pleasant-DAT.SG
wine	*gif*	*we*
wine-DAT.SG	if-CONJ	I-NOM.1PL
gecnyrdlæcað	*hu*	*we*
endeavour-PRS.1PL	how-ADV	I-NOM.1PL
þa	*deofellican*	*Babilonian*
the-ACC.SG	devilish-ACC.SG	Babylon-ACC.SG
forfleon	*magon*	*and*
flee away-INF	may-PRS.1PL	and-CONJ
becuman	*to*	*ðære*
come-INF	to-PREP	the-DAT.SG
heofenlican	*Hierusalem*	
heavenly-DAT.SG	Jerusalem-DAT.SG	

'In this intellect, the fifth water-pot will certainly be turned to pleasant wine for us, if we endeavour to flee away from the devilish Babylon, and to come to the heavenly Jerusalem.'

Although the IRH does not include operators, it does display nexus relations that are based on shared operators. According to Van Valin (2005: 205), operators are not strictly relevant to the determination of subordination (whose main feature is embedding) or coordination (which is structurally independent), whereas they are crucial in order to define cosubordination. Van Valin (2021: 248) remarks that

> [n]ot all the operators must be shared at the level of juncture. Rather, at least one must be shared, and the more that are shared, the tighter the link between the units (…). In clausal junctures, illocutionary force, the outermost operator, must be shared; other clausal operators such as status and tense may or may not be shared.

Sharing more operators, therefore, increases the degree of syntactic tightness between the units partaking in the juncture. Or, put differently, changes toward juncture levels that appear at the top of the IRH can also be the result of sharing more operators. This is the case with Old English aspectual verbs, in two respects: modality and negation. Example (8) addresses the question of modality. It is a clausal juncture with a linked predication with finite verb that is inflected for the subjunctive (*þegnode* 'serve'). The modality of the matrix

predication, then, is realis (as displayed by the indicative form *ne ablan* 'he did not cease'), while the modality of the linked predication is irrealis. The temporal modifier *forþon* 'thereafter' is shared by the matrix and the linked predication.

(8) [GD 2 (C) 1.99.10]

& *þonne hwæþre ne **ablan** Romanus na forþon þæt he him ne þegnode mid gerisenlicum gemetum.*

&	þonne	hwæþre	ne
and-CONJ	then-ADV	nevertheless-ADV	not-NEG
ablan	*Romanus*	*na*	*forþon*
cease-PST.3SG	Romanus-NOM.SG	not-NEG	therefore-ADV
þæt	*he*	*him*	*ne*
that-CONJ	he-NOM.3SG	he-DAT.3SG	not-NEG
þegnode	*mid*	*gerisenlicum*	*gemetum*
serve-PST.3SG	with-PREP	honourable-DAT.PL	way-DAT.PL

'In spite of all that, Romanus did not cease to serve him ever after by all possible means.'

Van Valin (2005: 202) remarks that in core junctures the relevant operator is modality. Epistemic and deontic modality are shared by all cores in cosubordination (Van Valin, 2005: 203). At the same time, not all operators must be shared but illocutionary force must (Van Valin, 2021: 248). All in all, shared realis modality, as applying in a core juncture with a non-finite linked predicate, is syntactically tighter than realis modality in the matrix predicate and irrealis modality in the linked predicate. The conclusion can be drawn, therefore, that the change from the non-finite to finite complementation of aspectual verbs has been partly caused by the development toward shared operators of realis modality. Another operator seems to have contributed to this change, namely negation. Double negation is far from rare in Old English, both verbal negation and noun phrase negation. As a matter of fact, there is double verbal negation by means of *ne/na* 'not' in example (8), both at core level (*ne ablan Romanus na* 'Romanus did not cease') and at clause level (*ne ablan Romanus na þæt he ne þegnode* 'Romanus did not cease to serve'). Consider example (9). The operator of negation has scope over the matrix predication in (9a) and can be extended to the linked predication. In (9b) the operator of negation is duplicated, thus belonging in the matrix predication (*ne wandað* 'does not hesitate') and in the linked predication (*ne sece* 'does not seek'). In (9c), negation has scope over the linked predication and can hardly be extended to the linked predication.

(9)

a. [GD 1 I 4.27.4]

*Ne **blan** he hwæðre, þæt he his geongran ne manode.*

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Ne	***blan***	*he*	*hwæðre*
not-NEG	cease-PST.3SG	he-NOM.3SG	however-ADV
þæt	*he*	*his*	*geongran*
that-CONJ	he-NOM.3SG	he-GEN.3SG	disciple-ACC.PL
ne	*manode*		
not-NEG	exhort-PST.3SG		

'However, he did not cease to exhort his disciples.'

b. [ÆCHom I, 17 (App) 002700 (537.83)]
*Se goda hyrde ne **wandað** þe godes scep lufað þæt he ða dweliendan scep for his drihtnes ege geornlice ne sece.*

Se	*goda*	*hyrde*	*ne*
the-NOM.SG	good-NOM.SG	shepherd-NOM.SG	not-NEG
wandað	*þe*	*godes*	*scep*
hesitate-PRS.3SG	who-REL	God-GEN.SG	lamb-ACC.SG
lufað	*þæt*	*he*	*ða*
love-PRS.3SG	that-CONJ	he-NOM.3SG	the-ACC.SG
dweliendan	*scep*	*for*	*his*
wondering-ACC.SG	sheep-ACC.SG	for-PREP	he-GEN.3SG
drihtnes	*ege*	*geornlice*	*ne*
lord-GEN.SG	fear-DAT.SG	eagerly-ADV	not-NEG
sece			
seek-PRS.3SG.SUBJ			

'The good shepherd who loves the lamb of God does not hesitate to seek the wondering sheep eagerly for fear of his lord.'

c. [CP 113000 (35.237.7)]
*Hi **tieligeað** ðæt hie ne sculen leasunga secgan.*

Hi	***tieligeað***	*ðæt*	*hie*
he-NOM.3PL	strive-PRS.3PL	that-CONJ	he-NOM.3PL
ne	*sculen*	*leasunga*	*secgan*
not-NEG	should-PRS.3PL	lie-ACC.PL	tell-INF

'They strive not to tell lies.'

Negation is not duplicated in core junctures such as (4a), (4d), (5a) and (5d). It is duplicated in clausal junctures like the one in (9a) only. The change toward core junctures, then, also involves a simpler and more transparent negation pattern. The development of the operator of negation, in other words, also increases the degree of syntactic tightness and can be said to explain or, at least to be parallel to, the juncture change from finite to non-finite linked predication.

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The explanation proposed in this study, based on the IRH and the shared arguments and operators, must be considered in the wider context of the decline and loss of the morphologically distinct subjunctive, which took place in Middle English. It remains for future research to decide which change fueled which: whether the loss of morphology favored the syntactic change or the development of the level of juncture contributed to the disappearance of distinct inflection. The regularization of negation did not take place until the Early Modern English period, with the rise of the auxiliary *do*. It is also worth looking at the relation between the two developments in future research.

To finish up this section, a comment should be made on the relevance and applicability of the nexus relation of cosubordination to Old English. As for the relevance, Old English aspectual verbs are found in nexus relations of cosubordination at the following juncture levels: nuclear cosubordination (adjacent nuclei, shared first argument, no complementizer), nuclear cosubordination (adjacent nuclei, shared first argument, no complementizer, transitive linked predication), core cosubordination (non-adjacent nuclei, shared first argument, no complementizer, transitive linked predication), core cosubordination (adjacent nuclei, shared first argument, complementizer *tō*), core cosubordination (non-adjacent nuclei, shared first argument, complementizer *tō*) and clausal cosubordination (complementizer *þæt*, *hū*; finite form of verb in linked predication). As for the applicability of cosubordination, this nexus relation is based not only on shared arguments but also on shared operators. In Old English, aspectual verbs are found in nexus relations that code one event and can share modifiers. Bohnemeyer and Van Valin (2017: 143) remark that cosubordinate cores behave like a single core and share operators and modifiers. This study shows that modifiers of time and place can also be shared in cosubordinate nexus, at nuclear, core and clausal level, but more evidence must be gathered that supports this analysis. Finally, while the IRH explains the change from the finite to the non-finite complementation of aspectual verbs on the basis of shared arguments, the development towards juncture types more compatible with shared operators of negation and realis modality explains this change from a new perspective.

6. Conclusion

Cosubordination and, above all, its integration in the IRH constitute a principled framework when it comes to explaining the development of verbal complementation in English. This article has shown that the relations in complex constructions displaying aspectual verbs in Old English remain stable whereas the structures of these constructions change throughout the evolution of complementation. Syntactically looser linked predications with finite verb give way to syntactically tighter linked predications with non-finite verb. Clausal junctures of the cosubordinate nexus type change to core cosubordination juncture-nexus types, in instances like *I tried that I opened the door* vs. *I tried to open the*

door. This implies not only that co-referential core arguments are replaced by arguments shared by the matrix and the linked predication but also that complementizers change (*that / to > to*), and that the operators of realis modality and negation have scope over a syntactically tighter construction.

7. Acknowledgement

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