Complement selection in Early English dependent desires: A look at commands and requests

María José LÓPEZ COUSO y Belén MÉNDEZ NAYA

Departamento de Filoloxía Inglesa
Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
iacouso@usc.es, iamendez@usc.es

ABSTRACT

This article studies complement selection in dependent commands and requests in Early English as exemplified by the complements of the high frequency verbs *biddan* and *bēodan*. Using data from the Old and Middle English sections of the Helsinki Corpus, the authors show that these two types of dependent desires behave differently in a number of respects, among them the following: (i) the greater complexity of requests, which, as opposed to commands, can appear in three different semantic types; (ii) the preference for commands to be coded by infinitival complements vs. the survival of the subjunctive until a later stage in requests; (iii) the wider range of modal verbs possible in requests; and (iv) the presence of downtoning expressions in connection with requests. Furthermore, the article provides evidence that, in the two types of dependent desires analysed, modals generally retain their primary modal meanings, and that only very occasionally is this modal meaning bleached.

Key words: Old English, Middle English, syntax, complementation, modal verbs

Selección de complementos en deseos dependientes: Ruegos y mandatos en Inglés Antiguo y Medio

RESUMEN

Este artículo estudia los tipos de complemento en mandatos y ruegos dependientes en Inglés Antiguo y Medio, utilizando para ello los predicados de alta frecuencia *biddan* y *bēodan*. El estudio demuestra que estos dos tipos de deseos dependientes se comportan de diferente manera en lo que respecta a (i) la mayor complejidad de los ruegos, que, a diferencia de los mandatos, pueden aparecer en tres tipos semánticos diferentes; (ii) la preferencia que muestran los mandatos por materializarse en cláusulas de infinitivo, frente a los ruegos, que mantienen el uso del subjuntivo hasta una época más tardía; (iii) la mayor variedad de verbos modales presente en los ruegos; (iv) el uso de expresiones atenuantes en el caso de los ruegos. Por otra parte, el artículo aporta evidencia de que la selección de verbos modales en ruegos y mandatos responde básicamente al significado modal primario de los mismos.

Palabras clave: Inglés Antiguo, Inglés Medio, sintaxis, complementación, verbos modales

SUMARIO: 1. Introduction. 2. Problems of delimitation. 3. Analysis of the data. 4. Concluding remarks.

1. INTRODUCTION[1]

Sentential complementation has attracted considerable attention for several decades now from both a synchronic and a diachronic point of view. A favourite topic in the abundant literature on complementation has been the choice between different types of complement, more specifically the various factors which may bear an influence on the selection of one particular complement-type at the expense of others (cf. Riddle 1975, Warner 1982, Rudanko 1984, Fanego 1990, Mair 1990, Frajzyngier and Jasperson 1991, Rohdenburg 1995, López-Couso and Méndez-Naya 1996, among many others).

In line with such studies, the aim of this paper is to look at the variation between different complements in two types of dependent desires in Early English, namely commands and requests. Old and Middle English dependent commands and requests were also the focus of our 1996 article in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, where we looked at the variation between the subjunctive mood and the modals in finite complements to four high-frequency manipulative predicates ((*be*)*bēodan*, (*ge*)*biddan*, *command* and *pray*). In the present paper, which intends to take a fresh look at the topic, we have restricted the study to only two predicates, namely *bēodan* "command" and *biddan* "pray", together with some of their derivatives, such as *bebēodan*, *gebēodan* and *gebiddan*. On the other hand, the scope of the investigation has been expanded to include a further complement-type in the picture. Thus, in what follows, we will pay attention not only to finite clauses with subjunctives and modals, but also to non-finite complements, with both bare and *to*-infinitives. The data for our study have been retrieved from the Old English (henceforth OE) and Middle English (henceforth ME) sections of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (henceforth HC).

The article is structured as follows: Section 2 deals with a number of cases in which the delimitation of the structures under analysis is problematic. Section 3, in turn, is devoted to the study of the corpus data. In our analysis commands and requests will be studied independently, offering a description of the different complement-types in which they may appear. Finally, section 4 provides a summary of the most relevant conclusions.

2. PROBLEMS OF DELIMITATION

The study of the complementation patterns in which the verbs *bēodan* and *biddan*[2] occur in OE and ME is not as straightforward as it may seem at the outset.

---

[2] In the discussion that follows, *biddan* and *bēodan* are used as cover terms to refer also to their corresponding derivatives in OE and ME.

Prior to the data analysis, we had to circumvent a number of difficulties related, on the one hand, to the distinction between the two predicates under study (cf. section 2.1. below) and, on the other, to the indeterminacy that exists in certain contexts between the different complement-types available for these verbs (cf. section 2.2.).

2.1. *BĒODAN* VS. *BIDDAN*: FORMAL AND SEMANTIC AMBIGUITY

In OE the verbs *bēodan* and *biddan* were clearly distinguishable in all their forms. In the preterite system, for example, *bead* (sg.) and *budon* (pl.) contrasted with *bæd* (sg.) and *bædon* (pl.) as the forms for *bēodan* and *biddan* respectively. In ME, however, the preterites of both verbs coalesced so that, by the end of the period, it was impossible to distinguish one from the other (cf. *DOE* s.v. *bēodan* v.; *MED* s.v. *bēden* v.; *OED* s.v. *bid* v.)[3]. In order to avoid this problem of formal ambiguity, our examples have been classified according to whether the sub-clause expresses a command or a request, and not according to the matrix predicate involved.

To complicate matters even further, *biddan*, whose basic meaning was one of request, i.e. "ask, pray, beseech", could occasionally be used to introduce a command as early as OE (cf. *MED* s.v. *bidden* v.; *OED* s.v. *bid* v. III; Los 1999: 172; 2005: 114). As a consequence, semantic ambiguity adds to the formal ambiguity described above. In fact, it is not unusual for verbs of request to be used as euphemisms for commands, which constitute "potential 'Face Threatening Acts'" (Los 2005: 108), in Brown and Levinson's (1988) terms. In their first uses in such contexts, verbs of asking may have served to tone down the command. In the course of time, however, they may have become so closely associated with the face threatening act itself that a new sense may have arisen for them (Los 1999: 172; 2005: 108). This was probably the case with *biddan* in OE and ME times. In our analysis, *biddan* has been taken to express its primary meaning of request except in the following contexts, in which the sense "command" seems to be far more suitable:

(i) when it is coordinated with a verb of commanding, such as *hātan*, *bēodan* or *lǣran*, as in (1) below (cf. *DOE* s.v. *biddan* 5.a.iii), or when a verb of commanding appears in the context, as in (2). The presence of *biddan* in such cases probably served as an attenuator of the command.

> (1) And we **lǣrað & biddað** & on Godes naman **beodað**, þæt ænig Cristen mann
>   and we exhort & order & in God's name command that any Christian man
>   binnon VI manna sibfæce   on his agenum cynne æfre ne gewifie.
>   within six men   degree of affinity in his own   kin ever not marry
>   (O3, *Laws (Eleventh Century)*, 288)

---

[3] According to Los (2005: 243), coalescence also affected the derivative verb *bebēodan*.

(2) ða **het**   se   gerefa hio nimon and be þan fexe up ahon and **bæd**   wyrcan
    then ordered the judge her take   and by the hair up hang and ordered make
    scearpa piles and **het**   wrecen betweon flæsce and bane.
    sharp nails and ordered press   between flesh and bone
    (O3/4, *A Passion of Saint Margaret*, 174)

(ii) when the subject of *biddan* is of a higher rank than the person addressed, as
when a king addresses his subjects (cf. example (3)) or God addresses a human
being (cf. Ogawa 1989: 216).

(3) & wearð   se cyng swiþe gram wið þa burhware. & ofsænde **se cyng** Godwine
    & becomes the king very angry with the citizens & sent   the king Godwin
    eorl. & **bæd**   hine faran into Cent mid unfriða to Dofran.
    earl & ordered him go   to   Kent with hostility to Dover
    (O3/4, *Chronicle* MS E, 173)

2.2. INDETERMINACY BETWEEN DIFFERENT COMPLEMENT-TYPES

As illustrated in examples (1) to (3) above, in OE and ME *biddan* and *bēodan*
could be complemented by finite clauses containing a verb in the subjunctive or a
modal (cf. example (1)), or by infinitival clauses, as in (2) and (3). However, the
distinction between the different complement-types may sometimes be a rather
complicated task. Consider in this connection a Late ME example like (4) below.

(4) And þis takuþ Poul as lyleue whonne he **bidduth men rise fro slep**.
    And this takes Paul as faith   when   he orders men rise from sleep
    (M3, *Wycliffite Sermons*, I, 476)

From a morphological point of view, the form *rise* can be interpreted in three
different ways at this stage: as a subjunctive, as an infinitive, and as an imperative.
Example (4) is therefore ambiguous between the following three readings:

(a) He commands Ø men should rise from sleep (i.e. *biddan* takes a finite clause
    introduced by the zero complementiser with a subjunctive verb phrase).
(b) He commands men to rise from sleep (i.e. *biddan* takes a bare-infinitive
    clause).
(c) He commands men: "Rise from sleep" (i.e. *biddan* introduces an imperative
    clause in direct speech).

The existence of potential ambiguity in instances of this kind is already
discussed in some eighteenth century grammars. Visser (1963-1973: 2303) reports
how the grammarian Anselm Bayly, in *A Plain and Complete Grammar of the
English Language* (1772), criticises the author of an earlier grammar for taking "the
latter verb after 'bid', 'dare', 'make' and other verbs to stand in the infinitive mood

without its sign *to*." Bayly maintains that this analysis is not correct and that such forms "may rather be supposed to stand in the imperative, subjunctive, or some other form".

Both Fischer (1990: 232-234) and Akimoto (2000: 70-72) consider similar cases of ambiguity after the verb of request *pray*. On the one hand, Fischer discusses instances such as *I prey ȝow fore-ȝette noȝth to brynge me my mony* (her example (3a)), which may be indeterminate between an imperative construction and a bare infinitive reading. On the other hand, Akimoto mentions cases of potential ambiguity between an imperative and a subjunctive clause, in instances of the type *I pray you come and lodge with me here at my place* (his example (1c)), without even considering the possibility of a bare infinitive. Both authors favour the imperative interpretation, without providing, in our opinion, any convincing arguments. As will be shown below, however, a number of criteria may help us in disambiguating between the three possible analyses mentioned above, and it is precisely the imperative reading supported by Fischer and Akimoto that turns out to be the least likely interpretation in the end.

Our first piece of evidence comes from inflectional morphology. Table 1 summarises the inflections for the infinitive, the imperative and the subjunctive in Early English (cf., for example, Quirk and Wrenn 1955: 43, 47; Mossé 1952: 76).

Table 1. OE and Early ME inflections for the infinitive, the imperative and the subjunctive.

	Infinitive	*Imperative*		*Subjunctive*	
		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
OE	*-an*	*-Ø, -a, -e*	*-aþ*	*-e*	*-en*
eME	*-e(n)*	*-(e)*	*-eþ, -es*	*-e*	*-e(n)*

In the course of the ME period, all these endings were gradually reduced to –(*e*), thus giving rise to the ambiguity present in examples like (4) above. For OE and Early ME, however, inflection can be a very helpful tool in distinguishing between the different potential readings. In example (5), for instance, the presence of the ending –*en* in the form *fiȝtten* rules out the imperative interpretation, as the expected inflection for the imperative plural in this text is –*eþ* (cf. *Yhereþ what he dude, jwis!*, p. 227).

> (5) He **bad**   his folk **fiȝtten** hard, Wiþ spere, mace and wiþ swerd.
>   he commanded his people fight   hard with spear mace and with sword
>   (M2, *Kyng Alisaunder*, I, 219)

Example (5), however, still remains ambiguous: it allows a bare-infinitive analysis ("He commanded his people to fight hard"), but can also be interpreted as a subjunctive clause introduced by the zero complementiser ("He commanded Ø his

people should fight hard"). Nevertheless, as will be discussed below, further arguments can be adduced in favour of the infinitival reading in examples of this kind.

As we have seen, inflection constitutes one of the criteria which can be used to discard the imperative interpretation favoured by Fischer (1990) and Akimoto (2000), but it is not the only one. Thus, for example, it must be borne in mind that the presence of an imperative is typically associated with direct speech, in which the exact words of the command or request are repeated. In indirect or reported speech, by contrast, the wording of the command or request is adapted, which entails a number of changes in deictic elements, like pronouns and adverbs, as well as in tense forms (Warner 1982: 158ff.; Quirk *et al*. 1985: 1028-1029; Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1023-1025). Consider, in this context, example (6) below. In this fragment Rymenhild is begging Aylbrus the steward (through Horn) to ask the king, her father, to knight Horn:

> (6) "Horn", quaþ heo, "vel sone / þat schal beon idone. / þu schalt beo dubbed kniȝt /
>   Horn   said she   very soon that shall   be   done you shall be made knight
>   Are   come seue   niȝt. / Haue her þis cuppe, / And þis Ring þer vppe, / To
>   before come seven night have here this cup   and this ring there up   to
>   Aylbrus and stuard, / And se he holde foreward. / Seie ich him biseche, / Wiþ
>   Aylbrus and steward and see he hold forward   tell   I   him beseech with
>   loueliche speche, / þat he adun falle / Bifore þe king in halle, / And **bidde** þe
>   lovely   speech   that he down fall   before the king in hall   and ask   the
>   king ariȝte /   **Dubbe** þe to kniȝte".
>   king straightaway make you as knight
>   (M2, *King Horn*, 21)

The translation of the last two lines in this example reads as follows: "Tell him that I beseech him, with gentle words, to kneel down in front of the king in his hall, and to ask the king immediately to make you a knight". The corresponding direct speech would, in turn, read "and ask the king immediately: 'make **him** [Horn] a knight'". Evidence from the pronouns discards, therefore, a possible imperative interpretation in this and similar examples. On other occasions, we find a third person pronoun where in direct speech a second person pronoun would be expected instead. Consider example (7) below, in which the corresponding direct speech would be "stop your barking".

> (7) þe cherl … chastised his dogge, **bad**   him **blinne** of his berking.
>   the man   chastised his dog   commanded it   stop   of its barking
>   (c 1375 Will. of Palerne 54; quoted from Visser 1963-1973: 2304).

In example (7) and similar instances, where the addressee is pronominal, and thus marked for the oblique case (*him*), the infinitival interpretation is, therefore, the only possible. Note, however, that in cases in which the addressee is realized by a NP, as in (5) and (6) above, ambiguity may remain between the infinitival and the

subjunctive interpretations ("he commanded his people should fight hard" and "ask the king should make you knight"). Nevertheless, the subjunctive interpretation is the least likely, since it requires the sub-clause to be introduced by the complementiser zero, a variant which has been shown to be extremely uncommon in OE and ME (Warner 1982: 169; Rissanen 1991; Méndez-Naya 1995: 402), and to occur only sporadically with the verbs under analysis[4].

Further evidence in favour of the infinitival reading comes from coordination. In example (8), taken from Visser (1963-1973: 2303), the potentially ambiguous form (*ʒelde*) is coordinated with a marked infinitive (*to ʒelde*). As Visser puts it, "the infinitive character of the second verb is clear on account of the occurrence farther on the sentence of an infinitive preceded by *to*" (Visser 1963-1973: 2302).

> (8) þou **biddes** yche man **ʒelde** good for ille, Nouʒt ylle for ylle **to ʒelde** ageyne
> you command each man pay   good for evil not   evil for evil to pay again
> (14.. Relig. Lyrics 15th c. (ed. Brown) 226, 145)

In sum, the foregoing discussion has shown the existence of strong arguments against the imperative and the subjunctive readings in certain ambiguous cases, while no counterevidence can be adduced against the infinitival analysis. We can then conclude that the bare infinitive has certainly been a complementation option for verbs of commanding and requesting from the earliest periods, and indeed quite a robust one. Therefore, in the classification of the data, examples which could, in principle, be considered ambiguous within the parameters outlined above have been counted as illustrating the infinitival pattern.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

### 3.1. BASIC FEATURES OF COMMANDS AND REQUESTS

Dependent commands and requests are complements to so-called manipulative predicates, those which "typically encode situations where the agent attempts to manipulate the affectee into performing some action or assuming some state" (Noonan 1985: 126). One of the characteristic features of complements of this kind is that their time reference is a direct consequence of the meaning of the complement-taking predicate. In other words, given that "the nature of the causative relationship requires a specific temporal order of cause and effect" (Noonan 1985: 126), the time reference of complements to manipulative predicates is determined or dependent (Determined Time Reference (DTR)). This type of dependency has some bearing on the selection of complement-types, as it has been shown that, crosslinguistically, complements with DTR are typically encoded by subjunctive (cf. Noonan 1985: 92) and infinitival clauses (cf. Noonan 1985: 101). In this respect, English is no exception, as will be seen below.

---

[4] Warner's (1982: 171) corpus of Wyclifite English, *biddan* does not show a single example of zero. The same holds for Méndez-Naya's OE data on *biddan* and *bēodan* (Méndez-Naya 1995: appendix I, 5-6).

From a semantic point of view, dependent commands and requests involve three participants, which need not be necessarily overt: the agent who commands or requests (X), the addressee of the command or request (Y), and the person who is to carry out the command or request (Z)[5]. In principle, these three participants may combine according to three different patterns depending on the relations of identity / non-identity established between them:

Type a ⇒   X   Y   Z
Type b ⇒   X   Y   Z

Type c ⇒   X   Y   Z
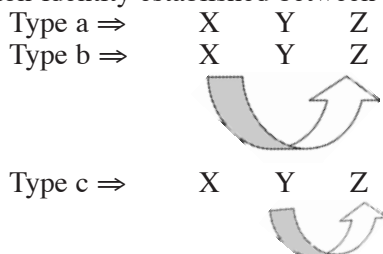
3.2. COMMANDS

In the corpus the verbs *biddan* and *bēodan* (and their derivatives) introduce dependent commands in 290 examples, which are distributed as shown in Table 2 below[6].

Table 2. Distribution of complement-types in dependent commands
(raw figures and normalised frequencies per 100,000 words)

	Indicative	Subjunctive	Modal	Infinitive
O1 (-850)	–	5 (228.3)	–	–
O2 (850-950)	–	16 (17.38)	–	6 (6.51)
O3 (950-1050)	–	54 (21.4)	9 (3.57)	7 (2.78)
O4 (1050-1150)	–	12 (17.8)	14 (20.77)	5 (7.42)
M1 (1150-1250)	1 (0.88)	6 (5.31)	13 (11.5)	17 (15.04)
M2 (1250-1350)	–	2 (2.05)	3 (3.07)	15 (15.38)
M3 (1350-1420)	–	3 (1.62)	12 (6.51)	40 (21.71)
M4 (1420-1500)	–	4 (1.87)	9 (4.2)	37 (17.3)
Total	1 (0.09)	102 (9.98)	60 (5.87)	127 (12.42)

[5] Ogawa (1989: 160) distinguishes only two participants in dependent desires, the Wisher (i.e. "the agent who desires something") and the Doer (i.e. "the agent of whom it is desired that he should do or be something"), which may or may not be identical. As we have argued elsewhere (López-Couso and Méndez-Naya 1996: 417), it is also relevant to distinguish a third participant, the person to whom the command or request is addressed (Y). Again, this may or may not be identical with the Doer.

[6] The following criteria have been used for the classification of the corpus instances: (i) following Los (2005: 24), neutralised VPs, i.e. VPs which are ambiguous between the indicative and the subjunctive moods, have been numbered among unequivocal subjunctives; (ii) VPs containing modals have been counted together irrespective of whether the modal verb was marked for the indicative or for the subjunctive; (iii) in coordination, only the first conjoin was counted, except in those cases in which the conjoins show different types of complement. These criteria also apply to the classification of requests in section 3.3. below.

As can be seen, in the OE and ME sections of the HC commands dependent on the selected verbs materialise in four different complement-types:

(a) Finite clause with a simple VP inflected for the indicative, as in (9) below.
(b) Finite clause with a simple VP inflected for the subjunctive, as in (1) above or (10) below.
(c) Finite clause with a complex VP containing a modal, as in (11).
(d) Non-finite infinitival clause, either with a bare (cf. ex. (12a)) or with a marked infinitive (cf. ex. (12b)).

(9) "(…) þt he **beodeþ**   his englum bi   þe þt heo βe on heoræ handen
that he commands his angels concerning you that they you in their   hands
habbæð pt   ðin fot ne ðurfe forðon   æt stane spurnen".
have   so that your foot not need therefore at stone stumble
(M1, *Bodley Homilies* 10, 102)

(10) And we **beodaþ**   þæt man eard georne clænsian **anginne** on æghwylcan ende &
and we command that one land eagerly cleanse   begin   at each   end &
manfulra dæda æghwær   **geswice**.
wicked deeds everywhere cease from
(O3, *Laws (Eleventh Century)*, 310)

(11) he þa   **bebead**,   þæt man þam   halgan   were þæt ilce hors   eft   **bringan**
he then commanded that one to-the holy   man the same horse again bring
sceolde.
should
(O2/4, *Gregory the Great, Dialogues* MS C, 78)

(12a) Þe kyng by þe chyn hym shook, And his sergeauntz hym he tok, And **bad**
the king by the chain him shook and his attendants him he took and ordered
hym **loken** in presoun.
him lock in   prison
(M2, *Kyng Alisaunder*, I, 221)

(12b) Þis   sindan ða domas þe   se ælmihtega God self   sprecende wæs to Moyse
these are   the laws   that the almighty   God himself speaking was to Moses
& him **bebead to healdanne**.
& him ordered to keep
(O2, Alfred, *Introduction to Laws*, 42)

Judging from the data in Table 2, simple VPs inflected for the indicative constitute a highly marked option in dependent commands at the early stages of the history of English (cf. Gorrell 1895: 371ff; Mustanoja 1960: 461; Visser 1963-1973: §825-826; Warner 1982: 190; Mitchell 1985: §2003; Fischer 1992: 314; Méndez-

Naya 1995: 496). This is not at all unexpected, since, as seen in section 3.1 above, complements to manipulative predicates normally show DTR and are, therefore, typically encoded by subjunctive or infinitival clauses. In examples such as (9), the presence of the indicative carries the implication that the order has indeed been fulfilled (cf. e.g. Traugott 1992: 240, who provides a very similar example; Visser 1963-1973: §826; Mitchell 1985: §2014).

Finite clauses with a simple VP inflected for the subjunctive are by far the most frequent complements of *biddan* and *bēodan* in commands in the earliest subperiods. It seems, however, that towards the end of the OE period complements involving a periphrastic VP with a modal start gaining ground at the expense of the simple VP with a subjunctive form (consider in this connection the data from subperiod O4, which runs from 1050 to 1150). Such a development is in line with the traditional assumption that modal verbs came to be increasingly used as substitutes for the subjunctive once the morphological distinctions indicative vs. subjunctive became blurred (cf. Mustanoja 1960: 453; Fischer 1992: 246ff, 262ff). Although the connection between the two developments cannot be denied, we believe that it should not be overestimated (for a similar view, cf. Ogawa 1989: 229ff). As we showed in our earlier work, in dependent commands and requests complements containing modals were already found in the OE period, when the subjunctive was still in good health. Moreover, if modals are taken to be mere substitutes for the subjunctive, we would not expect to find examples in which the modal verb is itself inflected for the subjunctive mood (López-Couso and Méndez-Naya 1996: 415); but such examples do in fact exist (cf. (13) below). Finally, as shown in Table 2, the increase of modal VPs in the constructions at issue was only ephemeral.

> (13)   La leof, deope   us **is bebeoden** þæt we geornlice mynegian and læran **scylan**,
>   Lo dear earnestly us is ordered   that we eagerly   exhort   and admonish must
>   þæt manna gehwylc to Gode buge and fram synnum gecyrre
>   that of-men each   to God turn and from sins turn
>   (O4, Wulfstan, *Institutes of Polity*, 106)

The prevailing modal in dependent commands in the corpus is *shall* (14 exs.) / *should* (45 exs.)[7]. Our findings thus corroborate the observations of other scholars such as Gorrell 1895: 371ff, Mitchell 1985: §2009, Ogawa 1989: 301ff and Méndez-Naya 1995: 501 for OE, and Warner 1982: 193 for ME. The use of *shall* / *should* in dependent commands implies that the recipient of the command is placed under an obligation, as in (14) and (15), while such an implication is not necessarily present in the case of subjunctive complements (cf. Warner 1982: 193).

---

[7] There are two Late ME examples in which *should* correlates with a present matrix. The dissolution of the past/non-past relationship between *shall* and *should* may have started as early as OE (cf. Anderson 1991: 24, 28; López-Couso and Méndez-Naya 1996: 416), thus anticipating the Present-day English non-past obligational use found in *should*.

(14) The aughten commandement **byddes**   vs þat we **sall** bere no false wytnes
      the eighth commandment commands us that we shall bear no false witness
      agaynes oure euen christen.
      against   our equal Christians
      (M4, *Dan John Gaytryge's Sermons*, 6)

(15) Moyses us **bebead**   on þære   æ þæt we **sceoldon** þus   gerade mid stanum
      Moses us commanded in the law that we should   of-this kind   with stones
      oftorfian;
      stone
      (O3, *West-Saxon Gospels*, 76)

In addition to *shall / should*, one example with *mote* has been found in the structures at issue. This is given as (16) below.

(16) Hym **wæs beboden**, on heora gehealdsumnyssum on Moyses lage, þæt hy **moston**
      him   was ordered   in their observance   in Moses law that they must
      lufian heora agene frynd, and hatian heora fynd;
      love their own friends and hate their enemies
      (O3, Ælfric, *Homilies*, 534)

In this example, *moston* does not seem to convey the idea of permission, which was its primary meaning in OE. Rather, it seems to have acquired the sense of obligation or duty found in its Present-day English counterpart *must*. According to Solo (1977), the nuance of obligation (cf. BT s.v. *motan* II) first arose in negative contexts where the two senses "may not" and "must not" were nearly coincident, and then spread to affirmative contexts, such as the one in (16) (cf. also Warner 1993: 160).

The evidence from the HC indicates that the drastic decline of finite complements, including either a subjunctive VP or a modal periphrasis, witnessed in Early ME was counterbalanced by a considerable increase in the frequency of occurrence of non-finite infinitival complements, which had been present in the language though only sporadically from Early OE onwards. Of the three possible patterns outlined in section 3.1. above, commands are confined to type (c). Such a restriction follows from the fact that in commands the deontic source is to be found in X, which automatically excludes types (a) and (b), where the deontic source is Y. As seen above, the defining feature of type (c) is the identity between Y and Z, so that the latter can easily be left unexpressed, thus favouring the occurrence of infinitives in structures of this kind. The preference for commands to be expressed by means of infinitival clauses can therefore be seen as a direct consequence of their semantics.

Of the two possible types of infinitival complements, the bare infinitive seems to have been the unmarked pattern in Early English for the verbs of command selected for the analysis (110 examples in all, which represent 86.6% of the total of infinitive clauses). A similar picture emerges from the data in the additional sources. Visser (1963-1973: 2303), for example, asserts that the bare infinitive with *biddan* and *bēodan*

predominates all through the history of the language over its marked counterpart, which is only occasionally selected, mostly "for rhythmical or other stylistic reasons". Although the number of relevant instances in the corpus does not allow us to reach definitive conclusions in this respect, certain tendencies of usage can be discerned.

In the OE section of the HC, the verb *biddan* seems to be closely connected with the bare infinitive (no instance of the marked form has been recorded)[8], while *bēodan* occurs in the two patterns (cf. also Los 2005: 102-103, 124). When the addressee of the command (Y) is overt and appears in the dative case, as in (12b) above (*him bebead to healdanne*), the tendency is for the marked infinitive to be chosen (cf. Los 2005: 107), although the bare infinitive is also possible, as illustrated in (17) below (cf. also Traugott 1992: 246; contra Los 2005).

> (17) ða   sende se cyng æfter eallon his witan.   &   **bead** <u>heom</u> **cuman** to
>   then sent the king after all   his counsellors & commanded them come to
>   Gleaweceastre.
>   Gloucester
>   (O3/4, *Chronicle* MS E, 173)

The bare infinitive, by contrast, seems to be preferred when the recipient of the command is left implicit, as in (2) above (*bæd wyrcan*) or appears in the accusative case (i.e. in an accusative with infinitive construction), as in (18) below:

> (18)= (3) & wearð se cyng swiþe gram wið þa burhware. & ofsænde se cyng Godwine
>   eorl. & **bæd** <u>hine</u> **faran** into Cent mid unfriða to Dofran. (O3/4, *Chronicle* MS E,
>   173)

According to Los (2005: 132-133), the selection of a bare or a *to*-infinitive with the verbs under analysis has a direct influence on semantics. The accusative with infinitive construction with the bare infinitive, as in (18), comes close to a causative construction (cf. also Fischer 1992: 318), and the implication is that the command has actually been carried out. By contrast, when the verb occurs with a dative NP and a *to*-infinitive, as in (12b) above, the addressee has "greater freedom of action" (Los 2005: 132), and can choose to obey the order or not.

In the ME sections of the HC the bare infinitive is still the preferred option, while the *to*-infinitive occurs only occasionally (cf. Warner 1982: 117 for similar results)[9]. Example (19) illustrates the use of the latter type, despite the fact that the addressee of the command is implicit, a context which, as seen above, favoured the use of the bare infinitive in OE.

---

[8] But cf. Los (2005: 56, 115), who includes OE *biddan* in the group of "verbs of persuading and urging", which, in addition to the constructions [NPacc] [*to*-PP] and [NPacc] [subjunctive clause], may also occur in the frame [NPacc] [*to*-VP].

[9] The tendency for dependent commands to be realised as infinitival complements continues in the Early Modern English period. Out of the 23 instances of the verb *bid* in the Early Modern English section of the HC, only one shows a finite clause. In the remaining cases, the complement is of the infinitival type (mostly bare and only occasionally marked infinitives).

(19) Whereapoun my lord spake of the bokis to us ayen; and y seide that my bokis were alle redy. And my lord **bade to leye** ham forth; and sowe didde the articulis. (M4, John Shillingford, *Letters*, 13)

Alongside the factors mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, other determinants of variation may also have played a role in the selection of one or the other infinitival form in Early English (cf. Fanego 1992: 32ff; Fischer 1992: 317ff; and the references given therein). Thus, for example, in (20) below the presence of intervening material between the matrix predicate and the infinitive seems to favour the selection of the *to*-infinitive (cf. Mustanoja 1960: 522; Warner 1982: 127ff; Fischer 1992: 322). Nevertheless, in other cases the choice of form does not seem to follow any regular pattern. Consider in this respect example (21) below, which shows the co-occurrence of the bare and the *to*-infinitive in a parallel context.

(20) And oure Lorde **bade** hym [when he shall go to his bed and when he shall aryse] **to blesse** hym with the syngne of the crosse (M4, *The Life of Saint Edmund*, 165)

(21) **Bad** he non ageyn him **go**, / But bitwen his hondes he bar it in, / A[{l{]
ordered he no one again him go but between his hands he bore it in all
him one, to þe kichin. / **Bad** he non him water **to fett**, Ne fro b[{r{]igge
him one to the kitchen ordered he no one him water to fetch nor from bridge
to bere þe mete.
to bear the food
(M2, *Havelok*, 30-31)

3.3. REQUESTS

The total number of requests dependent on the verbs *biddan* and *bēodan* (and their derivatives) in the OE and ME sections of the HC amounts to 259. Table 3 below shows the distribution of these examples into subperiods and complement-types.

Table 3. Complement-types in dependent requests in the HC
(raw figures and normalised frequencies per 100,000 words)

	Indicative	Subjunctive	Modal	Infinitive
O1 (-850)	–	10 (456.6)	1 (45.66)	–
O2 (850-950)	–	30 (32.59)	2 (2.17)	1 (1.08)
O3 (950-1050)	–	79 (31.39)	10 (3.97)	2 (0.79)
O4 (1050-1150)	–	20 (29.68)	2 (2.96)	–
M1 (1150-1250)	–	32 (28.31)	3 (2.65)	2 (1.76)
M2 (1250-1350)	–	21 (21.54)	6 (6.15)	13 (13.33)
M3 (1350-1420)	–	–	–	8 (4.34)
M4 (1420-1500)	1 (0.46)	8 (3.74)	1 (0.46)	7 (3.27)
Total	1 (0.09)	200 (19.57)	25 (2.44)	33 (3.22)

As can be seen in Table 3, requests after *biddan* and *bēodan* show the same range of complements as commands. However, a comparison of Tables 2 and 3 reveals the existence of divergent patterns of distribution of the different complement-types for the two kinds of dependent desires. As seen above, commands favoured the use of subjunctive complements in the OE period, which were replaced by complements with the modal *shall / should*, and then by infinitives in the course of the ME period. Requests, by contrast, clearly favour the selection of subjunctive clauses in both OE and ME. Our results thus coincide with Warner's (1982: 193) for Wyclifite English, where the subjunctive with *biddan* is usually found in requests. The only individual subperiod which does not conform to this tendency is M3 (1350-1420), which shows exclusively infinitival complements. This period also reveals a drastic decline of the overall frequency of occurrence of the verb *biddan*. Such a decrease is undoubtedly related to the borrowing of the French verb *pray,* whose first attested example dates back to c. 1290 (*OED* s.v. *pray* v.). The substitution of *pray* for *biddan* is clearly reflected in the data from the HC: while only two instances of a request dependent on *pray* are recorded in subperiod M2 (in *Havelok* and *King Horn*, both dated c. 1300), the figures for subperiods M3 and M4 rise to 46 and 113 examples respectively.

As was the case with commands, the indicative represents a highly marked option in dependent requests in Early English. The only example with an indicative VP after the verb *biddan* we have been able to trace in the HC is (22) below, an example from *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, a fifteenth century (c. 1450) translation of a popular French treatise, the *Somme des Vices et des Vertus*.

(22) We **biddeþ** not þæt we **beþ** not y-tempted, for þat were a foles bidding and
       we ask   not that we are not tempted   for that were a fool's request and
       schamful.
       shameful
       (M4, *The Book of Vices þand Virtues*, 115)

In this example, the plural indicative form *beþ* seems to convey the certainty of the speaker that the event will actually take place in the future (cf. Visser 1963-1973: §826; Mitchell 1985: §2014; Traugott 1992: 240-241), that is, it seems to imply a kind of prophecy. This type of future of "ordained event" was also conveyed in ME by means of the modal verb *shall* (Fischer 1992: 264). It comes as no surprise, therefore, that *shall* is found in a parallel passage from the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, a fourteenth century (1340) translation of the same French original.

(23) We ne **byddeþ** naȝt / þet we ne **ssolle** by uonden: Vor þet were a fole
       we not ask   not   that we not shall be tempted for that were a fool's
       bezechinge / and ssamuol.
       request   and shameful
       (M2, Dan Michel, *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, 116)

Judging from the evidence in the HC, infinitival complements never became a serious competitor to finite (in particular subjunctive) complements in dependent requests after *biddan* in Early English. In this respect, requests starkly contrast with commands, which show a clear changeover from finite (subjunctive or modal) complements to infinitival complements in the transition from OE to ME (cf. section 3.2. above). Our findings are thus in line with Rohdenburg's observation for Early Modern English that verbs of commanding replaced finite complements by infinitives more readily than verbs "denoting less coercitive acts" (1995: 373).

As was the case with commands, both bare and marked infinitives occur in dependent requests as complements to the verb *biddan*, as shown in examples (24) and (25) below. The bare infinitive is the predominant choice: out of 33 infinitival complements recorded in the corpus, 29 (87.8%) show a bare infinitive. Although the number of examples is too low to draw definite conclusions, the comments made in section 3.2. above concerning the potential determinants of variation between the two forms also seem to apply here.

> (24) "I **bydde** þe **gon** in my name, Ihesu, for I am a-bouyn   thy gostly fadyr &
> I ask   you go in my name Jesus for I am from above your spiritual father &
> I xal   excusyn þe   &   ledyn þe & bryngyn þe a-geyn in safte".
> I shall excuse you and lead you and bring   you again in safety
> (M4, *The Book of Margery Kempe* I, 227)

> (25) and **bad** me **to tarye** for hym
> and asked me to wait for him
> (M4, William Caxton, *The History of Reynard the Fox*, 59)

In order to provide a deeper understanding of complement selection in dependent requests in the corpus, a closer look at the different relations established by the three participants in a request seems in order. In contrast with commands, which can only occur in type (c) (cf. section 3.2. above), requests may appear in all three types. They can therefore be considered to show a higher degree of semantic complexity than commands. Table 4 below displays the distribution of complements depending on the type of request.

Table 4. Semantic relations and complement-types in dependent requests

	Indicative	Subjunctive	Modal	Infinitive	Total
Type (a)	–	5 (83.3%)	1 (16.7%)	–	6 (2.3%)
Type (b)	–	24 (63.2%)	13 (34.2%)	1 (2.6%)	38 (14.7%)
Type (c)	1 (0.5%)	171 (79.5%)	11 (5.1%)	32 (14.9%)	215 (83.0%)

A number of interesting insights can be gathered from the breakdown of the data in Table 4:

(i)   Type (c), the only possible semantic type in commands, also constitutes the most frequent option in dependent requests. This pattern, where Y is identical with Z, could therefore be considered the basic type of manipulative complement, understanding as such that which "typically encode[s] situations where the agent attempts to manipulate the affectee into performing some action or assuming some state" (Noonan 1985: 126).

(ii) Infinitival complements are virtually restricted to occur precisely in this type. As Type (c) entails the identity between Y and Z, the latter participant can easily be left unexpressed, which favours the selection of infinitives.

(iii) The predominance of subjunctive complements holds for all three semantic types, though subjunctives score particularly high in type (c) (79.5%).

(iv) The proportion of modals is much higher in types (a) and (b) (16.7% and 34.2% respectively) than in type (c) (5.1%). This may be due to the fact that types (a) and (b) depart from the basic type of manipulative complement as defined above, being therefore semantically and cognitively more complex. The presence of modals in such contexts, we believe, conveys a greater specificity than is possible with either the subjunctive or the infinitive.

Let us now concentrate on requests involving modals. The comparison of the data in Tables 2 and 3 reveals that complements containing modal verbs constitute a less frequent choice in requests than in commands in Early English (2.44 vs. 5.87 per 100,000 words). The data indicate, however, that requests show a wider variety of modal verbs than commands, which follows from the fact that the former, in contrast to the latter, may appear in all three semantic types.

In both types (a) and (b), the prevalent notion is that of permission: Y is the deontic source, and grants or denies his/her permission for Z or X respectively, to carry out the request. It comes as no surprise, then, that the modal selected in these types is the modal of permission *mote* (14 instances) (cf. Ogawa 1989: 185ff., 213ff.). Example (26) below illustrates a type (a) request, while (27) shows a type (b) structure.

(26) & hie $_{[X]}$ (…) eft waeron **biddende** Ø $_{[Y]}$ thaet Metellus $_{[Z]}$ to Rome **moste**.
      and they   again were   asking   that Metellus to Rome be allowed
      (O2, Alfred, *Orosius*, 232)

(27) Heo $_{[X]}$ **bad** him $_{[Y]}$ þat heo $_{[Z=X]}$ **moste**   a-niȝht: to is bedde wiende
      she   asked him   that she   was-allowed at-night to his bed   go
      (M2, *The Early South English Legendary*, 434)

In type (c), in turn, X asks Y to carry out the request. This type shows a wider variety of modal verbs, with instances of *shall* (1 ex.) / *should* (5 exs.), *will* (2 exs.) and *mote* (2 exs.) / *moste* (1 ex.). In the five recorded instances with *should*, the obligational reading of the modal is completely ruled out. In such cases, it seems that *should* is semantically empty and that it functions as a mere substitute for the subjunctive (cf. Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 214ff). Consider in this context

example (28) below, where the addressee of the request is God, who cannot be placed under an obligation.

(28) ða **bæd** se witega $_{[X]}$ eft æt Gode $_{[Y]}$ þæt he $_{[Z=Y]}$ his folce miltsian **sceolde**,
      then asked the prophet again at God that he   his people pity   should
      & him renas & eorðlice wæstmas forgifan.
      & him rains & earthly fruits   give
      (O3, Ælfric, *De Temporibus Anni*, 78)

In turn, *will* is found in instances in which the focus is Y's intention to carry out the request:

(29) Ine þise bene we $_{[X]}$ **biddeþ** oure uader of heuene $_{[Y]}$ þet he $_{[Z=Y]}$ ous **wylle**
      in this prayer we   pray   our father of heaven   that he   us will
      uoryeue oure misdedes
      forgive our misdeeds
      (M2, Dan Michel, *Ayenbite of Inwit*, 113)

Finally, the example with *shall* and the three instances with *mote / moste* occur in a sub-pattern of type (c), which differs from standard cases of the construction in that the subject of the complement clause does not convey Z. In this subtype, Z, identical with Y, is left covert and the complement clause shows a passive subject, as in (23) above, repeated here as (30) for convenience, and/or an inanimate NP subject, as in (31).

(30)= (23) We ne **byddeþ** naȝt / þet we ne **ssolle** by uonden: Vor þet were a fole
            bezechinge / and ssamuol. (M2, Dan Michel, *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, 116)

(31) & ic $_{[X]}$ **bidde** minne leouan hlaford $_{[Y]}$ for Godes lufun þæt <u>min cwyde</u> standan
      & I   ask   my   beloved Lord   for God's love that my will   stand
      mote.
      is-allowed
      (O3, *Documents* 3, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, 34)

As argued above, the selection of *shall* in (30) indicates that the action referred to in the complement is taken to be an ordained event, something that will necessarily come true. In (31), and the other two examples with *mote / moste*, it is the notion of permission that prevails. Thus, the first part of example (30) would be equivalent to "I ask my Lord that he allows my will to stand".

The previous discussion clearly shows that the type of request exerts a strong influence on the modal selected in the complement clause. Further evidence of the close connection between request type and modals is provided by our analysis of

the ME and Early Modern English data of verb *pray* in the HC, where exactly the same tendencies are observed.

Example (31) above also shows another interesting feature of requests, namely the presence of the expression *for Godes lufun*. "Lexical or phrasal downgraders", such as *for Godes lufun, for his mildheortnisse, georne, ðurh ðonne almightiga drihten*, are relatively common in requests in the corpus, and serve the function of softening "the impositive force of the Request" (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989: 283). These expressions can be seen as functional equivalents of a courtesy marker like *please*, but show a higher degree of politeness (for similar expressions in Spanish, see Ballesteros Martín 2002: 4). Similar expressions can occasionally be found also with commands, where their function is to reinforce, rather than to attenuate, the order. Consider in this connection example (1) above and (32) below, both of which contain the expression *on Godes naman*:

(32)   Ond ic **bebiode on Godes naman** ðæt nan mon ðone æstel from ðære bec ne
       and I command in God's name that no man the clasp from the book not
       do, ne ða boc from ðæm mynstre
       do nor the book from the minster
       (O2, Alfred, *Preface to Cura Pastoralis*, 9)

Formulaic expressions of this kind are, however, far more frequent in requests than in commands. While downgraders are present in one out of four requests in the corpus, reinforcing expressions are found in only 2.7% of commands. Besides lexical or phrasal downgraders, a request can sometimes be mitigated by means of syntactic devices such as the presence of the modal *will* in the matrix (cf. Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989: 281, "syntactic downgraders"). Note in this respect example (33) below, which shows the combination of both devices.

(33)   [{Nu{] ic ðec, beorna hleo,   **biddan wille** ece   ælmihtig, **þurh þæt æðele**
       now   I you of-men protector ask   will eternal almighty by   the noble
       gesceap þe   þu, fæder engla,   æt fruman settest, þæt þu me ne læte of
       creatures that you father of-angels at first   create that you me not let from
       lofe hweorfan þinre eadgife,
       glory turn-back your gifts of prosperity
       (O3, *Juliana*, 120-121)

A close look at the corpus instances reveals that lexical/phrasal downgraders are more common with subjunctive clauses (57 examples out of 200; 28.5%) than with other complement-types (15.4% with modals and 12.1% with infinitives). Moreover, the vast majority of examples featuring a softening expression (59 out of 65; 90.8%) belongs to type (c), in which, as seen above, the manipulative sense of the verb *biddan* is most obvious.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The present paper has focused on two types of dependent desires, namely commands and requests after the predicates *biddan* and *bēodan* in OE and ME. Dependent commands and requests are complements to so-called manipulative predicates and may materialise in three complement-types: subjunctive clauses, infinitival clauses and clauses containing a modal verb. Our analysis of the OE and ME sections of the HC has led us to the following conclusions:

(i) As expected in structures showing DTR, commands and requests clearly favour subjunctive complements in the OE period. Our data also show that the subjunctive gradually decreases in use through time. However, while in requests subjunctive complements remain the most frequent choice in the two periods under analysis, commands show a clear changeover from subjunctive to infinitival complements in the transition from OE to ME.

(ii) Of the three possible semantic types described in section 3.1, commands are restricted to type (c). Requests, in turn, may occur in all three types, although type (c) constitutes the predominant pattern. It is precisely this pattern that more strictly complies with the definition of manipulative complements (Noonan 1985: 126), while types (a) and (b) are semantically and cognitively more complex. In view of this, (c) has been considered the basic type.

(iii) These semantic types have a clear influence on complement selection. On the one hand, the identity between Y and Z characteristic of type (c) favours the choice of infinitive complements. On the other, the proportion of modals in requests is much higher in types (a) and (b) than in type (c). This can be ascribed to the higher degree of complexity of the former types, which require a more precise expression than that provided by either the subjunctive or the infinitive.

(iv) Modal verbs in dependent commands and requests are selected according to their modal meanings: *mote* / *moste* occurs in contexts of permission, *shall* / *should* in contexts where obligation prevails, and *will* where volition is emphasised. This finding goes against the traditional opinion that modals came to be used in the course of the history of English as substitutes for the subjunctive. The only case in which the original modal meaning can be said to be bleached is *should* in dependent requests of type (c).

(v) Finally, both commands and requests can be accompanied by formulaic expressions harmonic with the type of dependent desire, reinforcers of the order in the case of commands and downgraders of the petition in requests.

REFERENCES

Aijmer, Karin and Bengt Altenberg, eds. (1991). *English Corpus Linguistics*. London and New York: Longman.

Akimoto, Minoji (2000). The grammaticalization of the verb "pray". In Fischer, Olga, Anette Rosenbach and Dieter Stein, eds., 67-84.

Anderson, John (1991). Should. In Kastovsky, Dieter, ed., 11-30.

Ballesteros Martín, Francisco José (2002). Mecanismos de atenuación en español e inglés. Implicaciones pragmáticas en la cortesía. *Círculo de Lingüística Aplicada a la Comunicación* 11: 1-21.

Blake, Norman F., ed. (1992). *The Cambridge History of the English Language, vol. II, 1066-1476*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blum-Kulka, Shoshana, Juliane House and Gabriele Kasper, eds. (1989). *Cross-cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Brown, Penelope and Stephen Levinson (1988). *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BT = Bosworth, Joseph (1898). *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Supplement by T. Northcote Toller (1921). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bybee, Joan L., Revere Perkins and William Pagliuca (1994). *The Evolution of Grammar. Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

DOE = Crandell Amos, Ashley and Antonette diPaolo Healey, eds. (1991). *The Dictionary of Old English: B*. Toronto: University of Toronto.

Fanego, Teresa (1990). Finite complement clauses in Shakespeare's English I and II. *Studia Neophilologica* 62: 3-21 and 129-149.

Fanego, Teresa (1992). *Infinitive Complements in Shakespeare's English*. Santiago de Compostela: Servicio de Publicacións e Intercambio Científico.

Fischer, Olga (1990). *Syntactic Change and Causation: Developments in Infinitival Constructions in English*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Studies in Generative Grammar 2.

Fischer, Olga (1992). Syntax. In Blake, Norman F., ed., 207-408.

Fischer, Olga, Anette Rosenbach and Dieter Stein, eds. (2000). *Pathways of Change. Grammaticalization in English*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Frajzyngier, Zygmunt and Robert Jasperson (1991). *That*-clauses and other complements. *Lingua* 83: 133-153.

Gorrell, J. Hendren (1895). Indirect discourse in Anglo-Saxon. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 10: 342-485.

Grossman, Robin E., L. James San and Timothy J. Vance, eds. (1975). *Papers from the Eleventh Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

HC = *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (1991). Helsinki: Department of English, University of Helsinki.

Hogg, Richard M., ed. (1992). *The Cambridge History of the English Language, vol. I, The Beginnings to 1066*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Huddleston, Rodney and Geoffrey K. Pullum (2002). *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kastovsky, Dieter, ed. (1991). *Historical English Syntax*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kytö, Merja (1996). *Manual to the Diachronic Part of the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts: Coding Conventions and Lists of Source Texts*. Third ed. Helsinki: Department of English, University of Helsinki.

López-Couso, María José and Belén Méndez-Naya (1996). On the use of the subjunctive and modals in Old and Middle English dependent commands and requests. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 4/XCVII: 411-421.

Los, Bettelou (1999). *Infinitival Complementation in Old and Middle English*. LOT Dissertation Series 31.The Hague: Thesus.

Los, Bettelou (2005). *The Rise of the* To-*Infinitive*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mair, Christian (1990). *Infinitival Complement Clauses in English. A Study of Grammar in Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MED = Kurath, Hans, Sherman M. Kuhn and Robert E. Lewis, eds. (1952-2001). *Middle English Dictionary*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Méndez-Naya, Belén (1995). *Finite Complementation in Old English: A Corpus-based Approach*. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

Mitchell, Bruce (1985). *Old English Syntax,* 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Mossé, Ferdinand (1952). *A Handbook of Middle English*. Baltimore, Mass.: The John Hopkins Press.

Mustanoja, Tauno F. (1960). *A Middle English Syntax*. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.

Noonan, Michael (1985). Complementation. In Shopen, Timothy, ed., 42-140.

OED = Simpson, John A. and Edmund S.C. Weiner, eds. (1989). *The Oxford English Dictionary on CD-ROM*. Second ed. Oxford. Oxford University Press.

Ogawa, Hiroshi (1989). *Old English Modal Verbs. A Syntactic Study*. (Anglistica, 26). Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger.

Quirk, Randolph and C.L. Wrenn (1955). *An Old English Grammar*. Second ed. London: Methuen.

Quirk, Randolph, Sydney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech and Jan Svartvik (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

Riddle, Elizabeth (1975). Some pragmatic conditions on complementizer choice. In Grossman, Robin E., L. James San and Timothy J. Vance, eds., 467-474.

Rissanen, Matti (1991). On the history of *that*/zero as object clause links in English. In Aijmer, Karin and Bengt Altenberg, eds., 272-289.

Rohdenburg, Günter (1995). On the replacement of finite complement clauses by infinitives in English. *English Studies* 76: 367-388.

Rudanko, Juhani (1984). On some contrasts between infinitival and *that* complement clauses in English. *English Studies* 65: 141-161.

Shopen, Timothy, ed. (1985). *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Solo, Harry Jay (1977). The meaning of *motan. A secondary denotation of necessity in Old English? *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 3/LXXVIII: 215-232.

Traugott, Elizabeth C. (1992). Syntax. In Hogg, Richard M., ed., 168-289.

Visser, Frederik Theodorus (1963-1973). *An Historical Syntax of the English Language*. Leiden: Brill.

Warner, Anthony (1982). *Complementation in Middle English and the Methodology of Historical Syntax*. London and Canberra: Croom Helm.

Warner, Anthony (1993). *English Auxiliaries. Structure and History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.