

# There then and now

Elizabeth Cowper<sup>a</sup> Bronwyn Bjorkman<sup>b</sup> Daniel Currie Hall<sup>c, a</sup> Rebecca Tollan<sup>a</sup> Neil Banerjee<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>University of Toronto; <sup>b</sup>Queen's University; <sup>c</sup>Saint Mary's University

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## 1. Introduction

- In Present-Day English (PDE), 'existential'/'presentational'/'expletive' *there* can occur with transitive or unergative verbs only in passive or progressive clauses:

(1) Transitive:

- a. *Thousands of satellites orbit the Earth.*
- b. *There are thousands of satellites orbiting the Earth.* (progressive)
- c. *There is a planet orbited by thousands of satellites.* (passive)
- d. \* *There orbit thousands of satellites the Earth.* (plain)
- e. \* *There will thousands of satellites orbit the Earth.* (modal)

(2) Unergative:

- a. *Children played outside.*
- b. *There were children playing outside.* (progressive)
- c. *There have been children playing outside.* (progressive perfect)
- d. \* *There have children played outside.* (perfect)
- e. \* *There played children outside.* (plain)

- In some other Germanic languages (German, Yiddish, Dutch, Frisian, Icelandic, and at least one dialect of Faroese—Jonas's (1995) Faroese I—but not Mainland Scandinavian), this restriction doesn't hold. These languages permit sentences like those in (3), known as Transitive Expletive Constructions (TECs; Jonas 1995; Bobaljik & Jonas 1996; Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998).

(3) German (Bobaljik & Jonas 1996: 209):

*Es essen einige Mäuse Käse in der Küche.*

EXPL eat some mice cheese in the kitchen

- The standard view of TECs is that they appear in languages with an extra IP-level functional head, or a functional head that parametrically licenses a specifier, and that both this extra specifier and the ordinary subject position can be filled at the same time.<sup>1</sup> This extra position allows both the expletive and the external argument to appear in the Infl structure of the clause.
- In Middle English (ME) and at the beginning of the Early Modern English (EMnE) period, sentences can be found that look very much like TECs (Tanaka 2000):

(4) *"Sire," said Ector, "for God wille have hit soo, for ther shold never man have drawen oute this swerde but he that shal be rightwys kyng of this land."* (Malory, *Le Morte Darthur*, a. 1470)

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1. But see Rezac (n.d.) for a different view.

- However, such sentences are not found in Old English, and they disappear in the early 16th century.

This historical trajectory gives rise to several **questions**:

1. Are sentences like (4) the same kind of TECs as those found in other Germanic languages?
2. If not, what are they? What is their structure?
3. Why did these constructions arise only in ME, and why did they disappear in EMnE?

**Goals for this talk:**

- Answer question 1, using data from the Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English
- Answer questions 2 and 3, within a framework that situates parametric variation in the (functional) lexicon (Borer 1984; Chomsky 1995, 2013; Baker 2008; etc.)

**Upshot:**

- We will show that apparent TECs in Middle English are not the same as TECs in other Germanic languages.
  - At all stages, *there* is inserted low (Deal 2009; Bjorkman & Cowper 2015).
  - TECs in ME had a biclausal structure in which the verb in the higher clause is a modal.
  - The possibility of TECs in English existed only for a relatively brief period, when modals were still verbs inserted in  $\nu$ , but after their lexical meaning had been sufficiently bleached that they permitted raising.
  - Once modal sentences came to be monoclausal, with modals merged directly in a functional head in the Infl system, TECs ceased to be possible.

## 2. The data

### 2.1 Methodology

- Data from the Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English (PPCHE):
  - Penn–Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, 2nd ed. (PPCME2; Kroch & Taylor 2000)
  - Penn–Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME; Kroch et al. 2004)
  - Penn–Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Modern British English (PPCMBE; Kroch et al. 2010)
- Extracted sentences containing any word tagged as EX ('existential *there*'). There were 6634 tokens, with dates ranging from 1125 to 1913.
- Manually coded for:
  - valency of main verb (ditransitive / transitive / unergative / unaccusative / copular)
  - definiteness of associate (definite / strong indefinite / weak indefinite)
  - polarity of associate (positive / negative)
  - presence of auxiliaries (modal, perfect *have*, progressive *be*, passive *be*)
  - position of associate relative to auxiliaries and main verb

## 2.2 Findings

- Found a total of 111 possible TECs: sentences that...
  - have a (di)transitive or unergative main verb, and
  - do not have (passive or progressive) auxiliary *be*

These examples ranged from 1390 to 1716—a considerably narrower range than the corpus they were drawn from. Only five examples were from later than 1600.

- Of these 111 sentences, a significant majority (69) have both a **modal and negation** (either a negative associate or other negation) in the clause below the modal. A few examples:

(5) Transitive:

- |   |                    |
|---|--------------------|
| a. <i>for ther shold never man have drawn oute this swerde...</i> (a. 1470)   | CMMALORY,9.252     |
| b. <i>for þer xal no wedyr ne tempest noyin þe</i> (ca. 1475)   | CMKEMPE,96.2189    |
| c. <i>Certeyn þer can no tonge telle the ioye and the reste whiche is in Abrahams bosom</i> (a. 1450)                   | CMAELR4,24.731     |
| d. <i>ther may no man doute that ther nys som blisfulnesse that is sad, stedefast, and parfyt</i> (ca. 1380)            | CMBOETH,432.C1.134 |
| e. <i>He ordeyned þere schul no man say masse before þat he had seid þe ters, þat is to sey, 'Legem pone'</i> (a. 1464) | CMCAPCHR,52.616    |

(6) Ditransitive (only one instance):

*but ther could no man shew me which was your ground* (1500) GPOOLE-1500-E1-P2,181.57

(7) Unergative:

- |   |                 |
|---|-----------------|
| a. <i>but there myghte none prevaille</i> (a. 1470)   | CMMALORY,10.290 |
| b. <i>I wold þow wer closyd in an hows of ston þat þer schuld no man speke wyth þe</i> (ca. 1475) | CMKEMPE,27.604  |
| c. <i>Ther shuld no poure peple crye after worldly good aboute thy selle</i> (a. 1450)            | CMAELR4,2.44    |

- Four have a modal but no negation:

- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| (8) a. <i>But when he come þrogh any cyte, þer schuld a man stond by hym in þe char</i> (ca. 1415)  | CMMIRK,116.3176         |
| b. <i>but rather than I sholde be dishonoured, there wolde som good man take my quarell</i> (a. 1470)                                       | CMMALORY,36.1143        |
| c. <i>they ware referrid to London, wheir their schuld speake with them mr. secretary Petre, mr. Wotton, and mr. Thomas Smith</i> (1550–52) | EDWARD-E1-P1,459.533    |
| d. <i>it may be there may some haufe a casion heare aftar</i> (1636)  | PROUD-1630-E2-P1,120.11 |

- Six have negation but no modal:

- |  |                     |
|--|---------------------|
| (9) a. <i>for the lawe seith that 'ther maketh no man himselven riche, if he do harm to another wight'</i> (ca. 1390)                          | CMCTMELI,233.C1.630 |
| b. <i>for itt is so secrete þat þer wote no man lvyngye withowte reuelacion whepur þat he be signett þer-with or no</i> (ca. 1450 / ca. 1425)  | CMROYAL,258.328     |
| c. <i>'þer knowip no man withowte reuelacion whepur þat he be marked with þe signett of grace or no' - predestinatus</i> (ca. 1450 / ca. 1425) | CMROYAL,258.330     |
| d. <i>There escapyd hym not one worde of goddis preceptes</i> (?1495)  | CMFITZJA,A4R.53     |
| e. <i>there hath no man taken this oth all redy more gladly than I wolde doe</i> (1534)  | MROPER-E1-P1,516.17 |

- f. *for wel assured I am that ther hath not passed me anything wherby the general hym self shold hold me in any suspicion* (1582)

MADOX-E2-P2,156.371

- The same pattern also appears to hold in Middle English TECs found in sources other than the PPCHE.

- A preliminary investigation of the Parsed Corpus of Middle English Poetry (PCMEP, Zimmermann 2015) turned up 166 sentences containing words tagged as EX, of which 5 have active transitive or unergative verbs. All five have modals, and all but one have negation.

(10) Examples of TECs from the PCMEP:

- a. *Ther wold no man sey nay* (“Sir Cleges,” ca. 1395)
- b. *Ther myght no þing so moche me queme / As robbe, or see an abbey brent.*  
there might no thing so much me please as rob or see an abbey burnt  
‘Nothing could please me so much as to rob an abbey or see it burnt.’  
 (“The bird with four feathers,” ca. 1400)

The one example that lacks negation may involve locative *there* rather than existential *there*:

- (11) *Per mithe men wel se boyes bete,*  
there might one well see boys beaten  
‘There one might see rascals well beaten’  
 (“Havelok the Dane,” ca. 1296; translation from Mills (2013: 73))

- Similarly, nearly all of the ME/EMnE TECs cited by Tanaka (2000) involve both a modal and negation.

(12) Some examples from Tanaka (2000: 479–80):

- a. *without these ... Ther may no kyng lede gret lordship*  
(Robert Grosseteste, “The Castle of Love,” 14th century)
- b. *the[r] schall no man bete ne bynde a messyng*  
(Proverbs in MS Douce 52, 15th century)
- c. *pere coupe no man it aquenche wip no craft*  
(John of Trevisa’s translation of Ranulf Higden’s *Polychronicon*, 1387)

Tanaka (2000: 482–3, fn. 12) mentions that a reviewer noted the preponderance of examples with negation, and supplies a couple of non-negated examples—but strikingly one of these does contain a modal.

- (13) a. *Peter, knowing ... that there woulde some Iewes reprove this his doing*  
(Nicholas Udall, *The first tome or volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the Newe Testamente*, 1548)
- b. *so that ere the morning, from three of the clocke the day before, there had fyfteeen severall Armados assailed her* (Sir Walter Raleigh, “A report of the truth of the fight about the Iles of Açores, this last Sommer, betwixt the Reuenge, one of her Maiesties Shippes, and an Armada of the King of Spaine,” 1591)

- Though Tanaka (2000) argues that TECs in ME have the same structure as in other modern Germanic languages—an extra subject position in the Infl domain—the TEC examples from these languages in the literature do not show the preponderance of modals and negation found in ME:

(14) TECs in other Germanic languages

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>a. Yiddish (Bobaljik &amp; Jonas 1996: 209):<br/> <i>Es hot imitser gegesn an epl.</i><br/> it has someone eaten an apple<br/> ‘Someone has eaten an apple.’</p>   | <p>b. Frisian (Bobaljik &amp; Jonas 1996: 209):<br/> <i>Der lêst ien in boek.</i><br/> There reads somebody a book<br/> ‘There is someone reading a book.’</p>       |
| <p>c. Dutch (Zwart 1992):</p> <p>i. <i>Er kocht een man een huis</i><br/> there bought a man a house</p> <p>ii. <i>Er danste een paar</i><br/> there danced a couple</p>  | <p>d. Icelandic (Hrafnbjargarson 2004: 155):<br/> <i>Það hefur kona lesið bókina.</i><br/> there has woman.INDEF read book.DEF<br/> ‘A woman has read the book.’</p> |
| <p>e. Faroese I (Bobaljik &amp; Jonas 1996: 209):<br/> <i>Tað bygdu nakrir íslendingar hús í Havn.</i><br/> there build some Icelanders houses in Torshavn<br/> ‘Some Icelanders built houses in Torshavn.’</p> |  |

- Under Tanaka’s account, the preponderance of such examples in English would be coincidental.
- **Hypothesis:** Modals and/or negation are somehow important in making TECs possible in ME.
- This does leave to be explained any apparent TECs that contain neither modal nor negation—and also those that contain only one or the other.
- We will first develop an account for the predominant pattern of TECs in Middle English, i.e., those examples containing both a modal and negation below the modal, arguing, contra Tanaka (2000), that at no point does English *there* occur in an extra subject position such as that found in languages like Icelandic and Frisian. We return to the non-modal TECs in section 4.3.

### 3. Background to the analysis

#### 3.1 *There* in Present-Day English

Bjorkman & Cowper’s (2015) account of how *there* works now, building on Deal (2009):

- *There* originates in the specifier position of the highest projection below PerfP; it is thus the last element to merge into the lower phase of the clause.<sup>2</sup>
- Agentive external arguments are merged in [Spec, VoiceP]. Non-agentive arguments, even in transitive clauses, merge in a specifier below Voice (Belletti & Rizzi 1988 and much subsequent work). In passive and unaccusative clauses, Voice does not have an externally merged thematic specifier.

2. Following Harwood (2013) and Wurmbrand (2013), among others, we assume a dynamic theory of phasehood, in which phasal properties are exhibited in a given structure by the highest head present for that phasal domain. For PDE, the progressive head defines the upper limit of the inner phase.

- Relevant key properties of *there*:

1. *There* must merge with a head whose DP argument positions are already saturated, so it can merge with a passive or unaccusative VoiceP, but not an active transitive or unergative one.

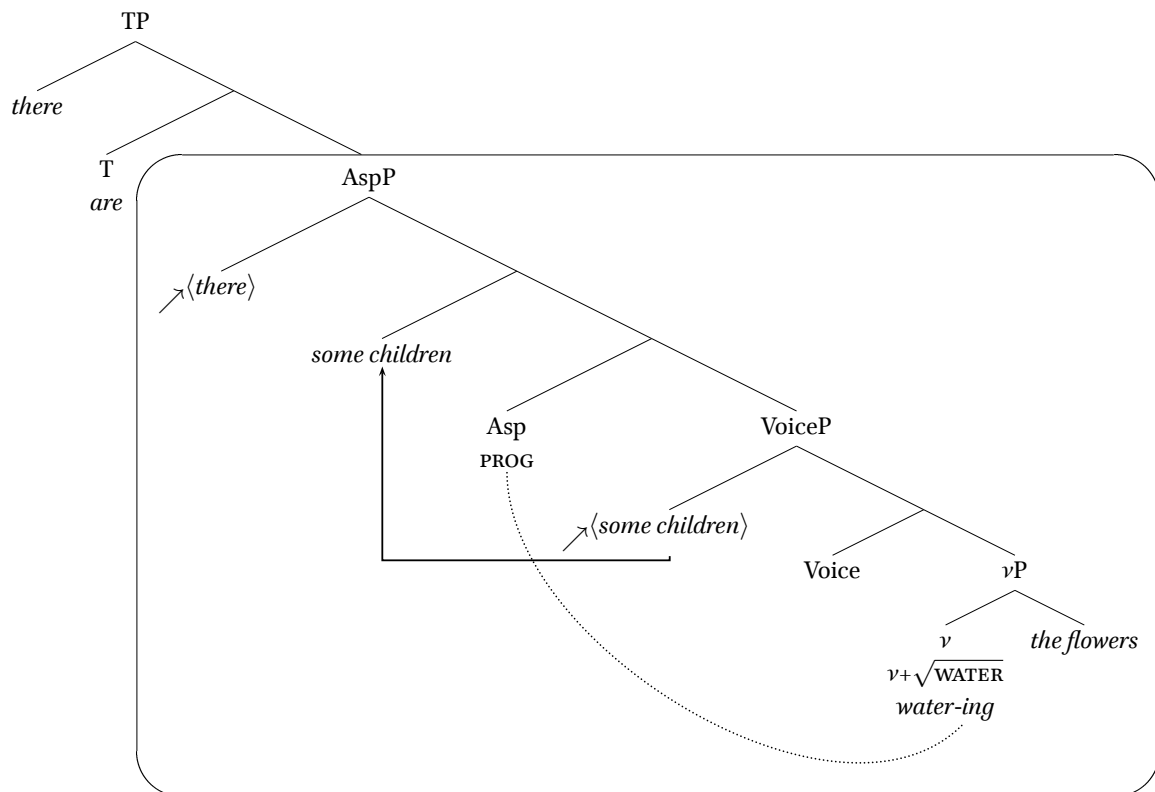
- (15)
- |    |   |   |                |
|----|---|---|----------------|
| a. | ✓ | <i>There gradually emerged a consensus.</i> | (unaccusative) |
| b. | ✓ | <i>There were many stories told.</i>        | (passive)      |
| c. | * | <i>There told many people stories.</i>      | (transitive)   |
| d. | * | <i>There danced a couple.</i>               | (unergative)   |

2. *There* must merge below T; i.e., in the lower phase of the clause, because it is required to occur in the **same phase** as the associate (Deal 2009).

- Why can *there* occur with transitives and unergatives in the progressive?

- Progressive in PDE is an Asp head above VoiceP but still below the TP domain (i.e., within the lower phase).
- *There* can merge as the specifier of AspP.<sup>3</sup>

- (16) *There are some children watering the flowers.*



3. Deal (2009: 300, fn. 28) demonstrates that PDE progressive TECs cannot be analyzed as reduced relative clauses, *contra* Moro (1997) and others.

- Movement of the associate to [Spec,AspP] is visible in clauses with multiple auxiliaries, as in (17):

- (17) a. \* *There will have been being eaten cake.*  
 b. \* *There will have been being cake eaten.*  
 c. ✓ *There will have been cake being eaten.*  
 d. \* *There will have cake been being eaten.*  
 e. \* *There will cake have been being eaten.*

So if AspP can have two specifier positions and thus accommodate both *there* and the associate, why can't VoiceP do the same thing?

**Proposal:** While multiple specifiers are possible, a head can host only one *externally* merged specifier. When an external argument is merged in [Spec,VoiceP], *there* cannot also merge to the same position.<sup>4</sup>

### 3.2 Interim summary for Present-Day English

- The clause is divided into two phasal domains. The lower domain consists of AspP and anything it dominates; the higher domain consists of everything above Asp.
- Not all heads are present in all clauses; the position that Asp would occupy if it were there demarcates the phasal domains.
- *There* merges as the highest specifier of the lower phasal domain. The associate moves from lower in the clause to the lower specifier position of the same head, though in some instances it may surface at the end of the clause (see Milsark's 1974 "outside verbals," also discussed in Banerjee 2015).

### 3.3 The syntax of modals in Middle English

- Old English (pre-)modals:
  - were lexical verbs with modal meanings (Lightfoot 1979; Roberts 1985).
  - did not generally have epistemic meanings (Fischer 1992, though Warner 1990 gives a few counterexamples).
  - could be analysed as lexical verbs taking nominal arguments, or as control verbs.
- Clear and consistent evidence for modals as raising verbs arises only in late ME.
- Middle English modals:
  - increasingly had epistemic uses—the number of examples in Visser (1963–73) jumps dramatically after the mid-15th century.
  - were still verbs, becoming fully established as inflectional elements only in the 16th century (Roberts & Roussou 2003; Cowper & Hall to appear, many others).

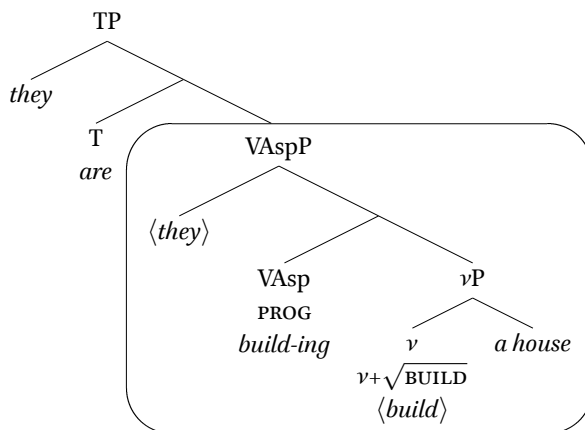
4. A limit of one externally merged specifier per projection seems to follow from the approach to labelling in Sheehan (2013); see also Rezac's (n.d.) Multiple Specifier Theorem.

- increasingly functioned as raising verbs, taking no external argument.
- by and large, had only finite form, and exhibited no aspectual or voice alternations.
- We hypothesize that:
  - Middle English modals appeared as the immediate complement of T, thus in a reduced clausal structure.
  - During this period, the syntactic complement of modals became smaller (see Wurmbrand's (2004) restructuring predicates).
  - Specifically, the complement of modals came to consist of only the internal phasal domain. This set the stage for the reinterpretation of the modals as inflectional heads.

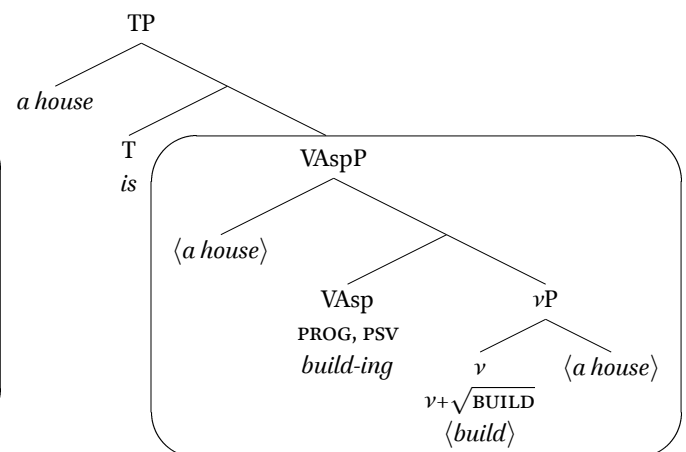
### 3.4 The clausal spine in Middle and Early Modern English

- Following Cowper & Hall (2013), we assume that until the late 18th century, Aspect and Voice in English constituted a single projection (VAspP) whose head bore features of both Voice (active, passive) and Aspect (resultative, progressive). Active (18) and passive (19) thus have similar structures:

(18) *They are building a house.*



(19) *A house is building.*



## 4. *There*-sentences in Middle English

### Proposal in a nutshell:

- At all stages of English, *there* appears only with predicates without a thematic external argument (canonically: unaccusatives, passives, copular constructions).
- The special property of Middle English, we believe, was that modals, on their path to reanalysis as functional elements, had exactly this argument structure and thus permitted *there* subjects.

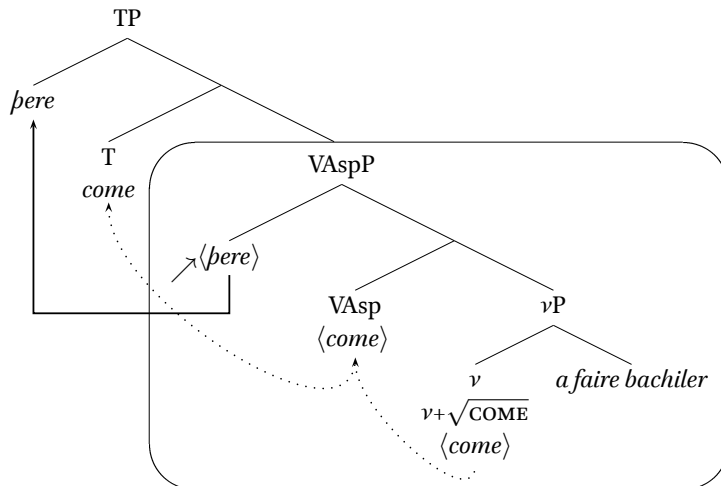


#### 4.1 ME and EMnE *there*-sentences with unaccusatives

- A simple unaccusative *there*-sentence in Middle English:

(20) *And oppon a tyme þere come a faire bachiler* (ca. 1400)

CMBRUT<sub>3,57.1660</sub>



- The verb is unaccusative: its argument merges in  $\nu$ P.
- VAsp, the inner phase head, does not introduce any external argument, and so *there* can merge as its specifier, before moving to [Spec,TP]. (Or, if VAsp is entirely absent in non-progressive unaccusatives, *there* can merge lower, in [Spec, $\nu$ P].)

#### 4.2 ME and EMnE TECs with modals and negation

**Question:** Why the preponderance of modals and negation in Middle English TECs?

**Proposal:** Two reasons:

1. The **modal** provides a position where *there* can merge.
  2. **Negation** triggers movement of the associate to a position local to *there*.
- Modals in ME are raising verbs, taking a reduced complement consisting only of an inner clausal phase.
  - English at this stage had negative concord. Neg-words like *no man* or *never* were licensed by a (possibly null) Neg head above T (Zeijlstra 2008; Haegeman & Lohndal 2010).<sup>5</sup>
  - Neg-words probe upwards (Zeijlstra 2008, 2012; Haegeman & Lohndal 2010) to find a licensing Neg head. If they fail to find Neg in their search domain, they move to the phase edge, becoming local to the next phase.

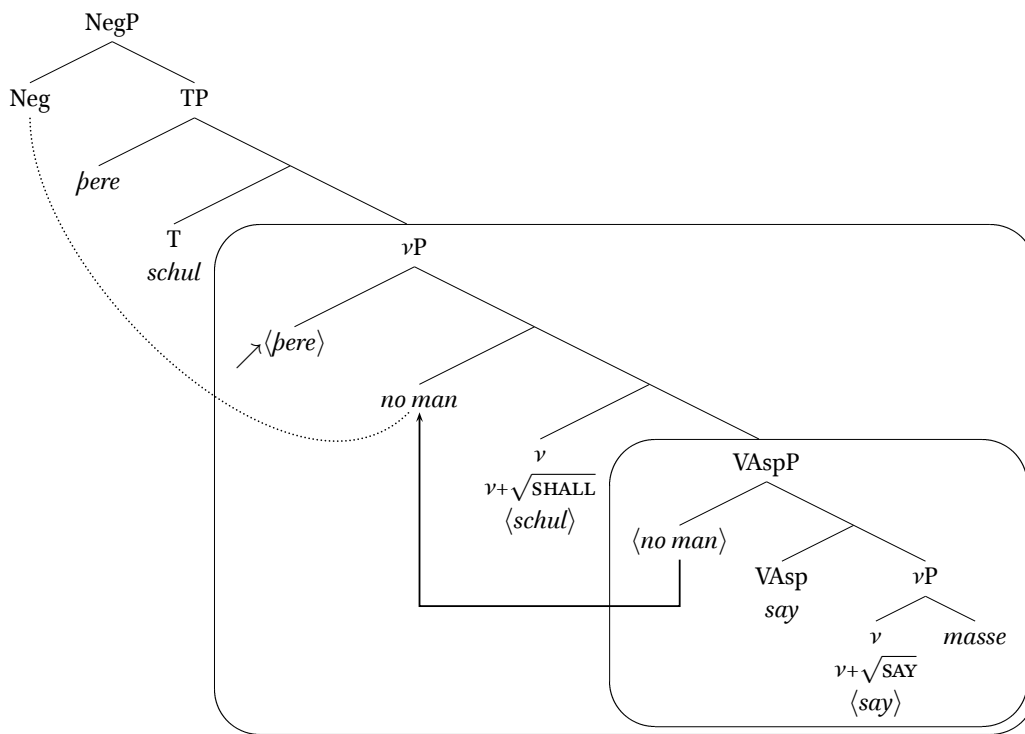
5. It is likely that Neg actually appears in C (Fischer et al. 2000); we take no position on this since all that matters for us is that it is outside the lower phase. Overt high Neg can be seen in examples like (i):

(i) *Ne mihte þer nan wiðstonden...*  
 NEG might there none withstand  
 'None might withstand' (CMLAMBX1,131.1304; a. 1225)

**With both a modal and negation:**

(21) *He ordeyned pere schul no man say masse before þat he had seid þe ters...* (a. 1464)

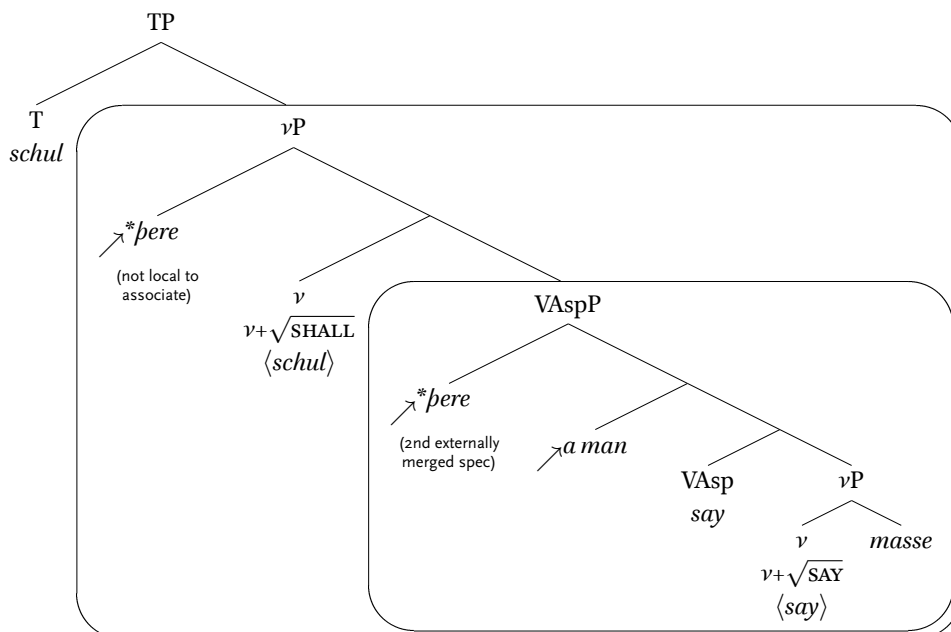
CMCAPCHR,52.616



- The lower clause is transitive; *no man* merges in [Spec,VAspP].
- *No man* probes upwards, finds no Neg locally, and moves to the matrix [Spec,vP].
- *There* merges as the second [Spec,vP], and raises to the main clause subject position.

**With a modal but no negation:**

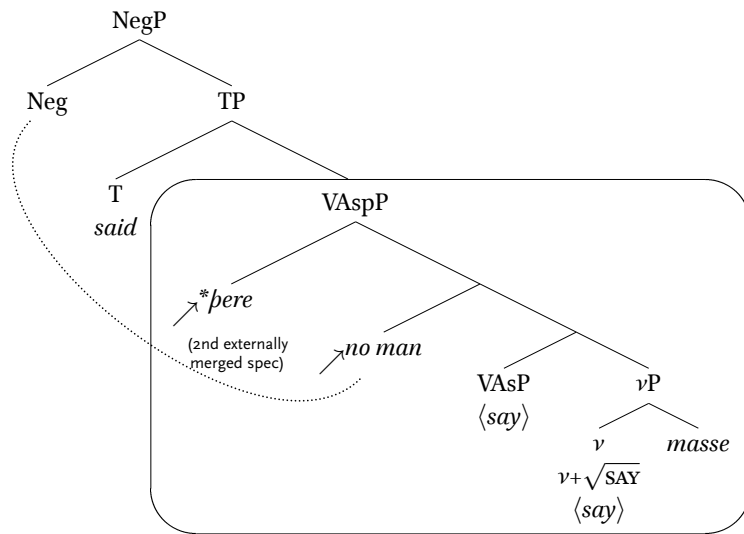
(22) **Ruled out:** *þere schul a man say masse*



- The associate is not a Neg-word, so it remains in [Spec,VAspP].
- *þere* cannot merge as the second [Spec,VAspP], and a TEC is thus impossible.

**With negation but no modal:**

(23) **Ruled out:** *Pere said no man masse*



- Without a modal, the sentence is monoclausal.
- VAspP defines the inner phase, and NegP the outer one.
- *Pere* can't merge as a second specifier of VAspP because the first specifier is externally merged.
- *No man* probes upward, finding Neg in its search space, and thus need not move.
- Since *pere* must merge in the same phase as the associate, there is nowhere in (23) for it to merge.

**Summary:** ME had a particular combination of structural conditions that allowed a narrow range of TECs:

1. The pre-modals were still verbs, but their complements were reduced clauses, consisting only of an inner phase (→ restructuring complements).
2. Voice and Aspect shared a single syntactic projection. Clauses with transitive and unergative verbs thus had an externally merged specifier at the edge of the inner phase.
3. Since Middle English was a negative concord language, a negative associate probed upwards to find Neg: the absence of embedded negation could trigger movement into a higher domain.

**Upshot:** TECs in ME were typically possible only in the presence of both a modal verb and a negative associate.

**4.3 Attested TECs without negation or without modals**

- Recall: our data include some TECs in Middle English that do not have both modal and negation.
- Of the 38 tokens with a transitive or unergative verb that do not contain a modal (including those in (9), which do contain negation), 21 have non-agentive verbs:

- (24) a. *Overthwart this forseide longe lyne ther crossith him another lyne of the same lengthe from eest to west. (ca. 1391)* CMASTRO,64.C1.53
- b. *And anone there mette sir Galahalte an olde man clothyd in relygyous clothyngre (a. 1470)* CMMALORY,648.4223

On the assumption that non-agentive subjects merge lower than [Spec, VoiceP] (Belletti & Rizzi, 1988, et seq.), we group them with unaccusatives and set them aside.

- This leaves a total of 17 possible TECs that do not contain a modal.

- Modal, but no negation ( $n = 4$ ):

- (25) a. *But when he come progh any cyte, þer schuld a man stond by hym in þe char* (ca. 1415) CMMIRK,116.3176  
 b. *...rather than I sholde be dishonoured, there wolde som good man take my quarell* (a. 1470) CMMALORY,36.1143  
 c. *it may be there may some haufe a casion heare aftar* (1636) PROUD-1630-E2-P1,120.11  
 d. *they ware referrid to London, wheir their shuld speake with them mr. secretary Petre, mr. Wotton, and mr. Thomas Smith* (1550–52) EDWARD-E1-P1,459.533

- We assume that in (25a–c), the associate moves to the matrix clause for some other reason.<sup>6</sup>
- We set aside (25d) as an *outside verbal* (Milsark 1974), with a definite associate at the end, separated from the verb by a PP.

- No modal ( $n = 17$ ): potentially true challenges to the account. But:

- Five of the seventeen come from a single source (*The diary of Henry Machyn*, MACHYN-E1-P1), and all five have definite associates. Four of them have a clause-final associate and thus could be outside verbals.

- (26) *The xiiij day of Januarij ther preched at Paul's cross doctur Chadsay...* (1553–1559) MACHYN-E1-P2,80.337

- Two have the verb *ride*, which may have had an unaccusative structure at the time:<sup>7</sup>

- (27) a. *there rode four knyghtes aboute hem* (a. 1470) CMMALORY,182.2513  
 b. *and on the other syede there ryde the quene, and the cardnall afore her* (ca. 1555) MOWNTAYNE-E1-H,209.258

- Another two involve possibly locative uses of *there*:

- (28) a. *Vpon the daye Skyrmysshed there togyder an Henauder and an Englysshe Equyer...* (1516) FABYAN-E1-H,173V.C2.181  
 b. *There dined also my Lord Lucas Lieutenant of The Towre, & The of Asaph* (1688–9) EVELYN-E3-P1,919.402

- This leaves only eight examples to be explained:

- (29) a. *And ther seyde oones a clerk in two vers, 'What is bettre than gold?* (1390) CMCTMELI,221.C2.168  
 b. *ther maketh no man himselven riche, if he do harm to another wight.* (1390) CMCTMELI,233.C1.630  
 c. *in this forseide develes journeys ther forgen three shrewes* (ca. 1390) CMCTPARS,305.C2.723  
 d. *for itt is so secrete þat þer wote no man lvyngye withowte reuelacion wheþur þat he be signett þer-with or no* (ca. 1425–50) CMROYAL,258.328  
 e. *'þer knowip no man withowte reuelacion wheþur þat he be marked with þe signett of grace or no' - predestinatus* (ca. 1425–50) CMROYAL,258.330  
 f. *...in þe mene-tyme þer prechyd many wor-sehepful doctorys & oper worthy clerkys, ...* (ca. 1450) CMKEMPE,152.3511  
 g. *...there hath no man taken this oth all redy more gladly than I wolde doe: ...* (1534) MROPER-E1-P1,516.17

6. As Hedde Zeijlstra (p.c.) has pointed out, our analysis predicts that other kinds of movement, such as *wh*-movement, should make transitive expletives possible with modals in the absence of negation at the relevant stage. We have not yet been able to confirm this prediction.

7. The OED entry for *ride*, sense 1b, notes that it appeared “in past participle with *is*, *was*, etc. Now arch. and rare.”

- h. *I am also, Margaret, of this thinge sure ynough, that of those holy doctours and saintes, which to be with God in heauen long ago no Christen man douteth, whose bookes yet at this day remayne here in mens handes, there thought in some such thinges, as I thinke now. (1534)*

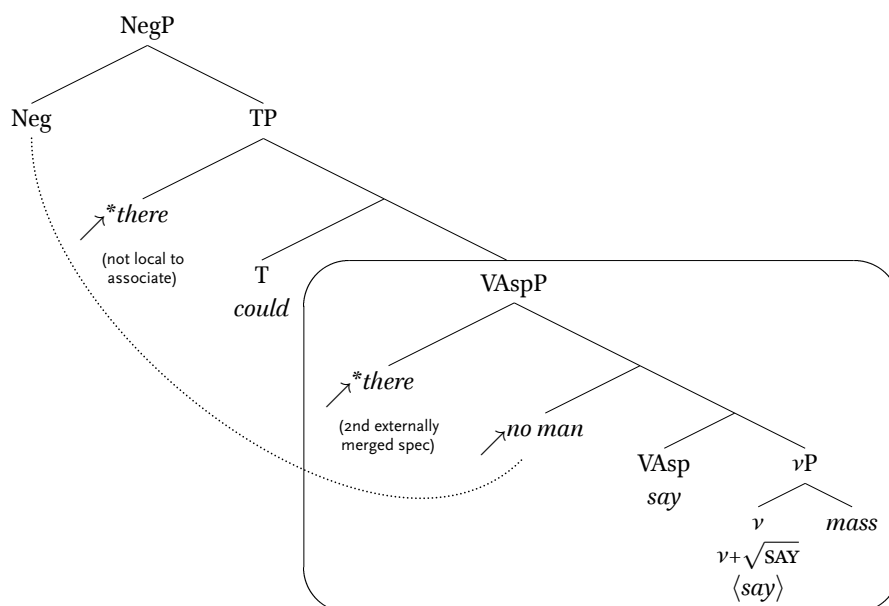
MROPER-E1-P2,528.53

- All of these deserve further attention, but they are few enough that the main account stands.

## 5. The loss of TECs in Early Modern English

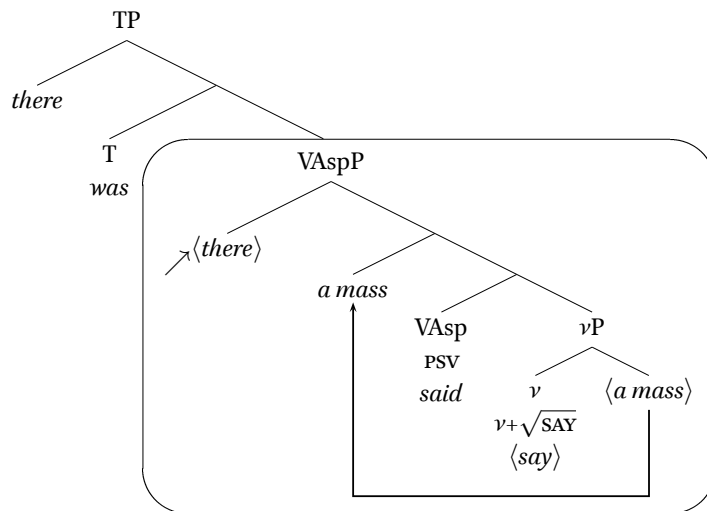
- Around 1600, the modals were reanalyzed as functional elements.
  - They merged directly in Infl—either in T or possibly in a separate Mood head above T.
- Sentences with modals were thus monoclausal.
  - The modal merged in the outer phase
  - The inner phase was headed by VAsp or  $\nu$ , depending on the sentence.
- VAspP (Voice and Aspect) remained a single projection until the late 18th century.
- In active clauses with transitive or unergative verbs, VAspP had an externally merged specifier.
  - There was no possible merge position for *there* in the lower phase of such clauses, due to the prohibition on multiple externally merged specifiers.

(30) \**There could no man say mass.*



- In unaccusative and passive clauses, VAspP had a non-thematic specifier position where *there* could merge, and to which the associate could move.<sup>8</sup>

(31) *There was a mass said.*



## 6. Conclusions

- The brief appearance of TECs in the history of English was due to a transitory situation:
  - Modals were in the process of changing from full verbs to inflectional elements, but were still verbs merged in *v*. Their complement consisted of only an inner phase (VAsp or *v*P).
  - Negative concord still held.
  - Voice and Aspect shared a single syntactic projection.
- The loss of any one of these properties would spell the end of TECs, and around 1600, that is what happened: modals were reanalyzed as inflectional elements merged in the outer phase of a monoclausal structure.
- Our account crucially relies on two assumptions, both of which require further attention.
  - *There* must be merged very close to its associate—at least in the same phase, and possibly as a term of the same syntactic category.
  - A given syntactic head can have multiple specifiers, but at most one externally merged specifier.
- At no point did English have the richer clausal superstructure found in Icelandic, German, Frisian, and Faroese I, with two subject positions that could be simultaneously filled in a single clause.

8. It is unclear whether the associate moves in unaccusative clauses, since the verb moves to a higher position. In PDE, unaccusatives do not exhibit movement of the associate.

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