Interclausal relations with Old English verbs of inaction. Synchronic variation and diachronic change

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Abstract:
The aim of this article is to analyse the syntactic and semantic interclausal relations that hold with Old English verbs of inaction. These verbs are studied from the perspective of juncture-nexus relations and the semantic relations Phase, Psych-action and Causative. The results are compared on the grounds of the Interclausal Relations Hierarchy. The comparison of semantic content and syntactic expression evidences discrepancies between too weak juncture-nexus types, such as clausal subordination, and very close semantic relations, like Phase. Two main conclusions are drawn. Firstly, the Interclausal Relations Hierarchy allows us to describe the variation in the complementation of inaction verbs in Old English; and to make predictions on the diachronic axis, given that the loss of finite clause complementation and the change to infinitival complementation presented by Present-Day English verbs of inaction are fully predicted by the IRH. Secondly, semantic relations and nexus types remain stable throughout the change, whereas juncture levels change.

Keywords: complementation, semantic relations, syntactic constructions, Old English.

1. Introduction

This article focuses on a group of verbs that cannot be complemented by a *that*-clause with finite verb in Present-Day English, but rather take part in expressions like *The visitors tried to take pictures, The new manager ceased to borrow from banks, The law forbids drivers to use mobile phones, The staff prevents minors from buying alcoholic drinks,* and *I refrained from engaging the discussion*. Considering that it is possible for Old English to complement the corresponding verbs with a finite clause or infinitive (uninflected or inflected), this article aims at analysing the syntactic and semantic interclausal relations that hold with Old English verbs of inaction. To be more precise,

two research questions are addressed. Firstly, this article intends to determine what semantic and syntactic relations hold between the predications involving verbs of inaction (as well as the correspondence between the semantic and the syntactic relations that apply). Secondly, the article seeks to identify the causes for the change that are already present in Old English. These aims are consistent with the well-known linguistic principle according to which variation on the synchronic axis of analysis reflects change on the diachronic axis of analysis.

The article is structured as follows. Section 2 reviews the theoretical background of the research, which is based on Role and Reference Grammar and, more specifically, on the theory of nexus and juncture and the hierarchy of interclausal relations posited by this theory. Section 3 reviews previous work on the variation between finite and non-finite nominal complementation in Old English. Section 4 considers the status of *tō* in the Old English inflected infinitive by reviewing some relevant studies in the question and presenting the position held in this respect in the article. Section 5 presents the methodology of this work, including the scope, the sources and the data. The following sections focus on the syntactic intraclausal relations found with inaction verbs. The analysis is carried out by semantic relation: Phase (Section 6), Psych-action (Section 7) and Causative (Section 8). The results are summarised and discussed in Section 9. Finally, Section 10 draws the main conclusions of the article.

2. Theoretical background

This section reviews the aspects of Role and Reference Grammar, hereafter RRG (Foley and Van Valin 1984; Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2012, 2014), which are relevant for an analysis of the semantic and syntactic interclausal relations that can be found with verbs of inaction. For other aspects of the theory, the reader is referred to the overview of RRG available from http: / / linguistics.buffalo.edu / people / faculty / vanvalin / rrg / RRG_overview.pdf, on which this section draws. Some examples have been substituted or modified.

In RRG, the semantic representation of the sentence is based on the *Aktionsart* (internal aspect) class of the verb. The semantic interpretation of verbal arguments in RRG is based on two generalized semantic roles or macroroles called *Actor* and *Undergoer*. Macroroles make grammatical generalisations across argumental structures.

In a transitive predication, the Actor is the first argument and the Undergoer the second argument of the verb. In an intransitive predication, the Undergoer is assigned to the only argument. Building on the lexical representation and the assignment of functions, logical structures relate clausal semantics to clausal syntax and viceversa. For example, perception verbs are represented in the lexicon by means of a logical structure of the type **see´** (x, y), which comprises an x argument with the thematic role Experiencer and a y argument with the thematic role Theme. Then, the syntactic configuration determines whether the macrorole argument (Experiencer) or the non-macrorole argument (Theme) becomes the priviledged syntactic argument (PSA) of the construction (*to see something* vs. *to be seen*).

The layered structure of the clause (LSC) is a nested hierarchical structure that comprises several semantic layers that are motivated by the scope of operators (grammatical features such as tense, aspect, modality, etc.). Peripheries (semantic domains) can be attached to these layers. Peripheries express optional aspects of a predication, such as place, time, manner, instrument, etc.

The semantic layers and domains of the LSC are the Core (comprising a verbal nucleus with its arguments and its argument-adjuncts, as in *drink beer* and *go to the post office*, respectively), the Clause, which is comprised of the Core and the Periphery (as in *play hide and seek in the park*), and the Sentence, which can be broken down into one or more units of Core level or Clause level, as in *Smoking is forbidden* (Core in Sentence) or *I read a novel before going to bed* (Clause in Sentence).

The RRG theory of complex sentences is based on two concepts, juncture and nexus, in order to distinguish the type of unit (juncture) from the type of relation (nexus). As regards juncture, this concept refers to the types of units that belong in the complex structure. These are called *levels of juncture*. Depending on the degree of complexity of the units found in a complex clause, the types of juncture are nuclear juncture, core juncture, clausal juncture, and sentential juncture. Nuclear junctures, for example, are complex constructions made up of multiple nuclei. For example, in *John forced closed the door*, two nuclei, *force* and *close*, can be found in a single core. Core junctures comprise two or more cores in a clause, as in *I ordered Fred to force the door closed*. In this type of core juncture, the two cores share a core argument, in this case the first argument *Fred*. A clause juncture can be idenfied in more complex structures of the type *John criticised Mary yesterday and Jim criticised her too*. Nuclear junctures do not include complementizers, whereas core junctures may require them. This means that

the two nuclei can be adjacent in a nuclear juncture, but they cannot be adjacent in a core juncture. In English, a nuclear juncture is possible with intransitive second predications (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 445).

Three types of syntactic and semantic relations can be distinguished between the units in a juncture. These are called *nexus* types and include coordination, subordination and cosubordination. Subordination is divided into two subtypes, daughter subordination, when the subordinate clause is an argument and can get macrorole, as in *That she was sacked shocked everyone*; and peripheral subordination, when the subordinate clause is a periphery, as in *Kim met Jill after she had left the party*. Both subtypes of subordination are possible at the clause, core and nuclear levels. For subordination to take place, clefting and passivization must be possible. Thus, *I regretted John´s dropping out* is an instance of subordination because the cleft (*It was John´s dropping out that I regretted*) and the passive (*For John to drop out was regretted*) are possible (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 445).

Cosubordination is a relation of dependent coordination, as can be seen in coordinate subject constructions like *The visitors collected their belongings and left*, in which the two parts of the construction are not truly independent. In cosubordination, the dependence is due to the operators, given that the units must share at least one operator at the level of juncture. For example, in *Mary sat singing a song* the operator of imperfect aspect has scope over both nuclei, *sat* and *singing*. An argument is shared in cosubordination, in such a way that, in English, constructions with verbs like *try, want,* etc. are always cosubordinate (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 460), as in *I tried to explain it again*.

In English, constructions with verbs like *tell, make, force, persuade*, etc. are coordinate because a modal does not have scope over the two verbs, as in *Mary must tell John to sit down*. At the same time, a passive like **To sit down must be told to John by Mary*, which assigns PSA to the linked core, is not possible.

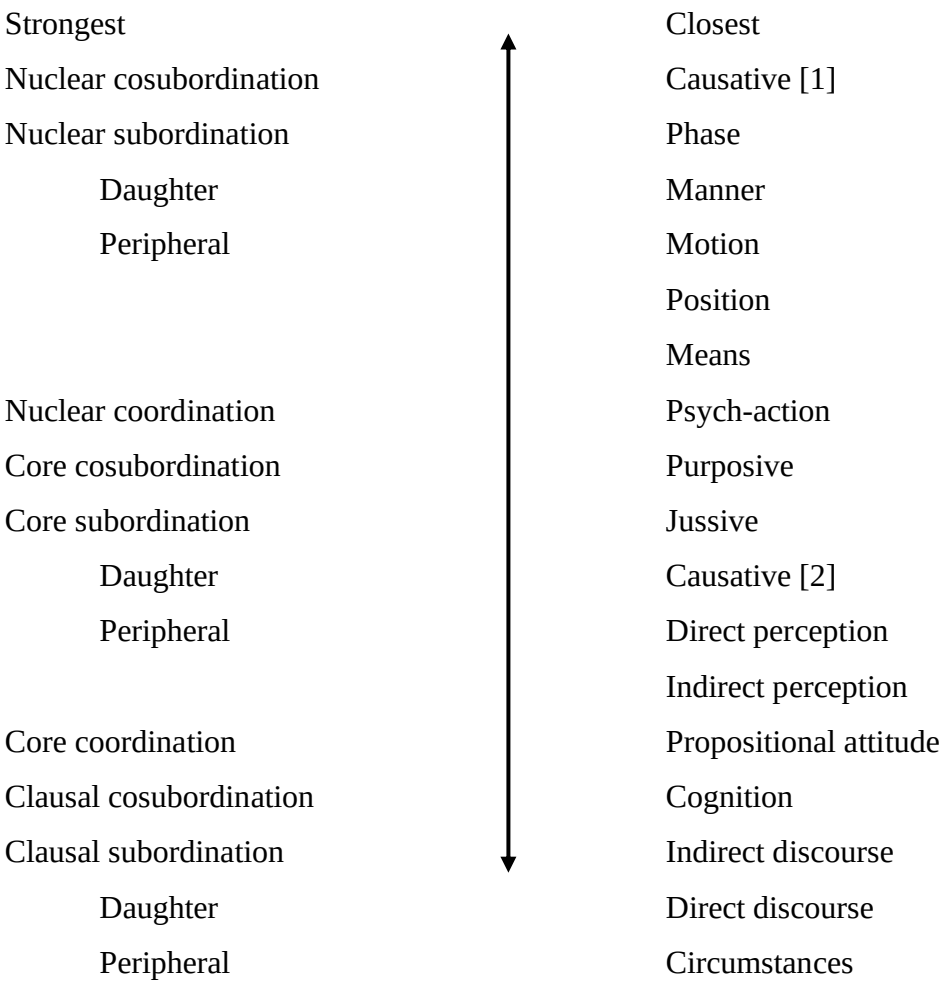
The juncture-nexus types just described are classified on the basis of the tightness of the syntactic link between the units, which is understood as the degree of the integration of the two units: whether they are fully integrated into a single unit or remain two separate units.

The semantic relations form a continuum expressing the degree of semantic cohesion between the propositional units linked in the complex structure, that is to say, the degree to which they express a single action or event or discrete actions or events.

The semantic relations between the units partaking in a complex sentence include the first causative (the bringing about of one state of affairs directly by another state of affairs usually an event or action), as in *Max painted the door green*; phase (a separate verb describes a facet of the temporal envelope of a state of affairs, specifically its onset, its termination, or its continuation) as in *Chris started crying*; modifying subevents-manner (the manner in which a motion event is carried out) as in *Bill entered the room skipping;* modifying subevents-motion (motion accompanying another action), as in *speak while going up*; position (stance while doing an action), as in *Dana sat reading a newspaper*; *means* (the means by which an action is carried out), as in *Sam opened the box by slicing it with a knife;* psych-action (a mental disposition regarding a possible action on the part of a participant in the state of affairs), as in *Max decided to leave*; purposive (one action is done with the intent of realizing another state of affairs) as in *Susan brought the book to read*; jussive (the expression of a command, request or demand,), as in *Pat asked the student to leave*; second causative (the bringing about of one state of affairs through a distinct action or event), as in *Fred forced Max to paint the table*; direct perception (an unmediated apprehension of some act, event, or situation through the senses), as in *Rex saw the child open the door*; indirect perception (the deduction of some act, event or situation from evidence of it), as in (looking at an empty desk) *I see that John has gone home early*; propositional attitude (the expression of a participant's attitude, judgment or opinion regarding a state of affairs), as in *Most fans want very much for their team to win*; cognition (an expression of knowledge or mental activity), as in *Aaron knows that the earth is round*; indirect discourse (an expression of reported speech), as in *Frank said that his friends were corrupt*; direct discourse (the direct quotation of a speech event), as in *Frank said, "My friends are corrupt."*; circumstances (the spatial or temporal parameters of an event), as in *Sam talked to Sally at the library after work*; reason (the motivation or cause for an action or event), as in *The baby cried, because she was hungry*; conditional (an expression of what consequence would hold, given the conditions in a particular state of affairs), as in *If it rains, we won't be able to have a picnic*; concessive (the content of the main clause holds unexpectedly, given the content of the subordinate clause), as in *Bill made it to work, even though it was snowing heavily;* temporal-simultaneous states of affairs (one state of affairs is temporally coterminous with another), as in *Max danced and Susan played the piano, Kim had chicken pox and at the same time Leslie had the measles*; temporal-sequential states of affairs (one state of affairs follows another temporally,

with or without any temporal overlap), as in *Juan had finished talking, and then Carlos entered the room*; temporal-temporally unordered states of affairs (the temporal relation between states of affairs is unexpressed), as in *Tyrone talked to Tanisha, and Yolanda chatted with Kareem.*

The interaction of interclausal syntactic relations and interclausal semantic relations is represented by means of the Interclausal Relations Hierarchy (hereafter IRH), presented in Figure 1. The IRH is organised on the basis of strength of the syntactic bond between the units of the complex structure. This means that the closer the semantic relation between two propositions is, the stronger the syntactic link between them must be. In terms of the Interclausal Relations Hierarchy, the semantic relations at the top of the hierarchy should be expressed by the juncture-nexus categories at the top of the syntactic hierarchy, and the semantic relations at the bottom of the hierarchy should correspond to the juncture-nexus categories at the bottom of the syntactic hierarchy.



	Reason
Clausal coordination	Conditional
	Concessive
Sentential subordination	Simultaneous actions
	Sequential actions
Sentential coordination	Situation-situation: unspecified
Weakest	Loosest

Figure 1. Interclausal Relations Hierarchy.

3. Variation in Old English nominal complementation

This section reviews the main contributions to the question of variation involving non-finite and finite clauses as nominal arguments in Old English.

According to Molencki (1991: 91), Old English uses infinitival and participial constructions in complement clauses less frequently than Present-Day English, probably because Old English had not developed yet the system of perfective and progressive passive infinitives and participles. Molencki (1991) finds three patterns that are functionally equivalent to finite clauses with *þæt*: the accusative and infinitive, as in CP 48/25 *He geseah ær clænsian ðurh þa colu þæs alteres* 'He saw that he was first purified by the coals of the altar' (text code as in original); the accusative and active (present) participle, as in B 340/13 *Þa geseah heo oðere sweostor ymb heo restende* 'She saw the other sisters about her asleep'; and the accusative and passive past participle, as in B 322/6 *Þa geseah ic licoman þære galgan Godes fæmnan up ahefenne of byrgenne and on bedde gestedne* 'Then I saw the body of God's holy virgin taken up from the grave and laid upon a bed'. For Molencki (1991: 129), the most outstanding difference between the complementation of Old English and Present-Day English is the fact that finite clauses were used where in Present-Day English infinitival, gerundial or participial classes are compulsory.

There is no consensus in the literature on this matter, though. Calloway (1913) approaches the question from the perspective of the variation between the uninflected infinitive (as in *leornian* 'to learn') and the uninflected one (as in *to leornianne* 'to learn'). Calloway (1913: 266) reaches the conclusion that:

> The uninflected infinitive is used normally, in substantival uses, as a nominative or an accusative of a verbal noun; in predicative and in adverbial uses, as an accusative; the inflected infinitive is used normally, in substantival (objective), in predicative, in adverbial, and in adjectival uses (…) And, owing to the influence of neighboring dativa l verbs and verbal phrases, we have, from the outset, the inflected infinitive as subject oftener than the uninflected.

Denison (1993: 172) uses the term VOSI (Verb+Object/Subject+Infinitive) to refer to infinitive constructions, of which he distinguishes several patterns: VOSI with causatives, as in *ChronE* 116.10 (963) *& leot him locon þa gewrite þe ær wæron gefunden* 'and had him look at the writs which had been found' (text code as in original); VOSI with two-place verbs (≠ causatives and perception verbs, as in *ÆColl* 203 *ic habbe afandod þe habban gode geferan* 'I have proved you to have good companions'; VOSI with three-place verbs, as in *Bede* 5.20.472.6 *þara þinga, ðe he oðre lærde to donne* 'those things that he taught others to do'. Denison (1993: 179) considers the finite clause alternatives to infinitive complementation, which include: V+NP+finite clause, as in *ÆCHom* I.1.16.3 *and het ða eorðan þæt heo sceolde forðlædan cuce* 'and ordered the earth to bring forth live animals'; V+finite clause *Or* 140.11 *he forbead ofer ealne his onwald þæt mon nanum cristenum men be abulge* 'he forbade throughout his whole dominion that anyone should offen a Christian man'; finite clause coordinated with VOSI, as in *Or* 59.14 *siþþan gelicade eallum folcum þæt hie Romanum underþieded wære, & hiora æ to behealdanne* 'then all the peoples were content to be subjected to the Romans and to observe their law'.

Los (2005) divides Old English verbs that take infinitival complements into three types: AcI (accusativus cum infinitivo) verbs, monotransitive subject control verbs and ditransitive object control verbs. AcI verbs are two-place predicates in which the subject of the matrix clause is different from the subject of the infinitive clause. These are mainly verbs of perception and causation which select the bare infinitive (Ringe and Taylor 2014: 484). An instance of AcI verb can be seen 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' (text code as in original; Ringe and Taylor 2014: 485). Monotransitive subject control verbs are two-place predicates in which the subject of the matrix clause is shared with the infinitive clause.

These are verbs of intention, aspectualisers (beginning, delaying and ceasing) as well as the pre-modal verbs. All of them, except the pre-modals (which take a bare infinitive) can take a bare infinitive or a *to*-infinitive, as can be seen 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). Ditransitive object control verbs are three-place predicates in which the object of the matrix clause is shared with the subject of the infinitive clause. These are verbs of commanding and permitting, as well as verbs of persuading and enticing, most of which take an inflected infinitive, as is the case with 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).

Los (2005) excludes competition between the inflected and the uninflected infinitive and states that the main competition holds between the *þæt*-clause with the subjunctive and the infinitive, as in 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' vs. 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' (Los 2005: 68). As Ringe and Taylor (2014: 484) remark, the competition between the bare and the *to*-infinitive as complement in Old English is restricted to verbs of intention. Ringe and Taylor (2014: 485) follow Los (2005) in identifying the main competition beween the *þæt*-clause with the subjunctive and the infinitive.

4. The status of *tō*

For Van Gelderen (1993) and Kageyama (1992) Old English *tō* is not a complementiser but forms a unit with the inflected infinitive (as in *to leornianne*) because *tō* and the inflected infinitive are always adjacent. As Fischer (1996: 109) remarks, the Old English inflected infinitive cannot be split (as in *to duly perform*) or stranded (as in *you may go if you want to*). Kageyama (1992) also argues that the Old English inflected infinitive cannot be verbal but nominal because it can be coordinated with a prepositional phrase, as in Bede 162.7 *Ut eode to his gebede oððe to leornianne mid his geferum* 'He went out to say his prayers or to study with his friends' (text code as in

original; Fischer 1996: 110)[1]. In this respect, Kageyama's (1992) analysis of the Old English inflected infinitive is based on the historical evolution of the inflected infinitive. This historical evolution is explained by Ringe and Taylor (214: 483), who remark that Old English has two infinitives, the bare infinitive, as in *wyrcan* 'to work', and the inflected infinitive, which has its origin in the dative case of a neuter verbal noun governed by the preposition *tō*, as in *tō witanne* 'to know'.

From the perspective of Role and Reference Grammar, which considers verbs as well as adjectives and participles predicates with nucleus function (thus nuclear junctures like *make open, push open, sit playing, leave wasted*, etc.), the categorial label of the infinitive is not a major issue. The position adopted on this question in the article is that the infinitive is undergoing variation that reflects change on the diachrony: from a dative noun governed by the preposition *tō* to a non-finite form of the verb whose function remains nominal and shows positional variation in pairs such as *Opting out is clearly preferred/We clearly prefer to opt out*. Although Kageyama (1993), Van Gelderen (1993), and Fischer (1996) underline the nominal properties of the Old English inflected infinitive, some remarkable verbal features of this non-finite form of the verb cannot be ignored. Firstly, the infinitive (uninflected and inflected) can take its own verbal arguments. For instance, in example (1) the inflected infinitive *to brecanne* 'to break' shares the first argument with the matrix verb *cuman* 'to come' and takes its own second argument, *ðas bebodu* 'the commandments' (hereafter Old English fragments are identified by means of the text code provided by the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*).

(1)
[LawAfEl 49]
He cwæð, ðæt he ne come no ðas bebodu to brecanne ne to forbeodanne, ac mid eallum godum to ecanne; & mildheortnesse & eaðmodnesse he lærde.
He said that he hadn't come to break or forbid the commandments, but to be increased with all good things; and he taught mercy and kindness.

[1] Unless specified, translations have been extracted from the database *Idunn* (www.nerthusprojec.com).

Secondly, because the infinitive can share an argument in verbal coordination constructions. For example, in (2) the first argument is shared by the matrix verb *fundian* ‘to strive’ and the linked infinitives *tō forswylgenne* ‘to devour’ and *tō forbærnenne* ‘to burn up’; the second argument *þas eorþan*, for its part, is shared by the two inflected infinitives.

(2)
[HomS 26 174]
Blodig regn & fyren fundiaþ þas eorþan to forswylgenne & to forbærnenne.
A bloody and fiery rain will strive to devour and burn up this earth.

Thirdly, the infinitive can be coordinated to a finite *þæt*-clause, as is the case with (3). In this example the inflected infinitive to *gehælgenne* ‘to consecrate’ and the finite verb *onfoe* ‘that he should undertake’ depend on the finite verb *is* 'is'.

(3)
[MtMarg (Li) 10.14]
Biscope is forboden þæt he onfoe niwecumenum preostum & to gehælgenne ferunga.
It is forbidden that the bishop undertakes a rite with new priests and to consacrate them right afterwards.

As regards the status of *tō* in the inflected infinitive, this article considers it a complementiser for functional and historical reasons. Functionally, the choice of the inflected or the uninflected infinitive is not random. As has been said above, Calloway (1913) as well as Ringe and Taylor (2014) find some patterns of complementation that call for the uninflected or the inflected infinitive depending of the verbal class or the clausal function. Historically, the *to*-infinitive of Present-Day English, which can be split and stranded, originates in the inflected infinitive of Old English. The fact that the adjacency of *to* and the infinitive is no longer a requisite does not deprive *to* of its complementiser character.

5. Research methodology

The selection of the verbs discussed in this article has been guided by Faber and Mairal's (1999) lexical domains of English. Faber and Mairal (1999) distinguish thirteen lexical domains, including Action. This domain comprises, among other subdomains, one that may be called *verbs of inaction*: Not to do something; To cause somebody not to do something; To stop doing something; and To make an effort in order to be able to do something. Two subdomains that have not been included in Faber and Mairal (1999) have been added, the group of verbs of inaction is more coherent and exhaustive: To make it difficult for someone to do something; and To refrain oneself from doing something.

The main semantic characteristics of these verbs, according to two authoritative sets of dictionaries (https://en.oxforddictionaries.com; http://dictionary.cambridge.org), is that they convey the common meaning component of the non-happening of an event, either because the action referred to by the verb ceased in the past, as in *We stopped the inspection*; or because it was never completely accomplished, as in *They tried to extinguish the fire*. Consequently, these verbs require a noun phrase that entails a verbal predication (*the inspection*) or a verbal predication expressing the action that finished or never occurred (*to extinguish the fire*).

After the relevant lexical domains have been identified, they have been checked against the online version of the *Thesaurus of Old English* (Roberts and Kay 1995). A total of forty-two verbs have been selected, which are presented by lexical domain in Figure 2.

Not to do something [fail]: fail; neglect, omit; give up.

āblinnan, āgælan, āhabban, anforlætan, ānforlætan, āwægnian, forberan, forbūgan, forgān, forgangan, forhogian, forlætan, forsittan, forwiernan, (ge)blinnan, (ge)fæstan, (ge)ieldan, (ge)lætan, (ge)losian, (ge)mīdlian, (ge)nearwian, (ge)sparian, (ge)swīcan, (ge)trucian, gehabban, linnan, mīðan, misfōn, mistīdan, oferāhebban, ofergīman, oferhealdan, oferhebban, ofersēon, ofersittan, oflinnan, wandian.

To stop doing something [end]: end, finish; cease, stop; desist, relinquish.

āblinnan, ætstandan, anforlætan, ānforlætan, belūcan, forlætan, framdōn, (ge)blinnan, (ge)lætan, (ge)lettan, (ge)trucian, gerestan, linnan, oðstillan, ofergān, ofersittan, oflinnan, restan.

To make an effort in order to be able to do something [try]: try, attempt; strive, struggle, endeavour.

fundian, (ge)cneordlǣcan, (ge)cunnian, (ge)ðennan, (ge)earnian, (ge)fandian, (ge)tilian, hīgian, ōnettan, onginnan, onsacan, winnan, ȳðan.

To make it difficult for someone to do something [hinder]: hinder, hamper

āgǣlan, forestemnan, forstandan, gǣlan, (ge)hremman, (ge)lettan, (ge)stician.

To refrain oneself from doing something [refrain]: refrain, abstain, forbear

āhabban, forberan, forbūgan, foregān, foregangan, forgān, forgangan, forhabban, (ge)bindan, (ge)fæstan, (ge)ieldan, (ge)mīdlian, (ge)nearwian, (ge)sparian, (ge)stīeran, gehabban, gewieldan, mīðan, ofersittan, wandian.

To cause somebody not to do something [prevent]: prevent, restrain; constrain, impede; forbid, prohibit

āgǣlan, āwǣgan, belēan, bewerian, forbēodan, forberan, foresacan, forestæppan, forestemnan, forfōn, forhabban, forlettan, forscēotan, forstandan, forwiernan, framdōn, gǣlan, (ge)bindan, (ge)healdan, (ge)hremman, (ge)lettan, (ge)mīdlian, (ge)nearwian, (ge)stician, (ge)stīeran, gehabban, gewieldan, tōcweðan, wiernan.

Figure 2. Old English verbs of inaction.

Given the verbs in Figure 2, a total of 450 fragments have been extracted for the analysis. All of them come from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (DOEC). The selection of the examples of verbs beginning with the letters A-H is based on the *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE) directly. This guarantees that the verb conveys the meaning that is being analysed. All the citations provided by the DOE for each verb have been selected and translated with the help of the dictionaries by Sweet, Clark Hall and Bosworth-Toller. The selection of the verbs beginning with the letters I-Y is also based on the DOEC or, to be more precise, on the *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose*, which represents approximately one half of the DOEC in size, although it is annotated morphologically and syntactically. Texts with available translations have been chosen only. This subcorpus of the YCOE has been compiled in order to be sure of the meaning of the attestations of verbs beginning with the letters I-Y, on which the information given by dictionaries is scarce and fragmentary and does not include all the inflections of the verbs in question.

With the data just described, only complex sentences have been considered, in such a way that a minimum of one instance is discussed in the following sections per semantic relation, verb, nexus type and juncture level.

6. The semantic relation Phase

End verbs, *Try* verbs, and *Fail* verbs take part in complex sentences that present the semantic relation Phase. The logical structures of these verbal classes are presented in the first place. In the second part of this section the different syntactic configurations found with each class and each verb are discussed.

The *Aktionsart* class of *End* verbs is the Achievement, which corresponds to an ingressive and telic event. The lexical representation of *End* verbs shows that the ongoing activity has a punctual endpoint.[2] This can be seen in Figure 3.

End verbs
ACHIEVEMENT
INGR **do´** (x, [**stop´** (x, y)])
Figure 3. The logical structure of *End* verbs.

End verbs take one macrorole only. In an expression like *He ne ablinð to asendenne bydelas* 'he does not cease to send messengers' in (4), the x argument plays the thematic role Effector and receives the macrorole Actor.

(4)
[ÆCHom II, 5 43.53]
He fram frymðe middaneardes oð his geendunge. ne ablinð to asendenne bydelas and lareowas to lærenne his folc.
Because from the beginning of the world till its ending, he ceases not to send messengers and teachers to teach his people.

[2] The Lexematic Functional Approach has analysed several classes of Old English verbs, including verbs of warning (González Orta 2002), verbs of running (Cortés Rodríguez and Torres Medina 2003), verbs of writing (Cortés Rodríguez and Martín Díaz 2003), verbs of smell perception and emission (González Orta 2003), verbs of speech (González Orta 2004), *remember* verbs (González Orta 2005), verbs of sound (Cortés Rodríguez and González Orta 2006), verbs of feeling (C. García Pacheco 2013) and verbs of existence (L. García Pacheco 2013); and some constructions, such as the resultative (González Orta 2006).

The y argument in the logical structure in Figure 3 is a linked predication. In an expression such as (4) the juncture takes place at core level because there is a complementiser between the two nuclei and the second verb is transitive (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 460). The nexus type is cosubordination because the argument that receives the macrorole Actor is shared by the matrix predication and the linked predication. The complex sentence, therefore, is an example of core cosubordination.

Try verbs and *Fail* verbs can be represented by means of an Accomplishment logical structure which expresses that the first participant is not successful in doing something.[3] The presupposition of this type of expression is that the action does not take place, or, at least, that it has not taken place so far. The BECOME component of the logical structure of the Accomplishment represents both the components of change and duration. The x argument performs the thematic role Experiencer and receives the macrorole Undergoer, whereas the y argument is often a linked predication. The logical structure of *Try* verbs and *Fail* verbs is displayed in Figure 4.

Try verbs, *Fail* verbs
ACCOMPLISHMENT
BECOME (NOT **successful´** (x, y))
Figure 4. The logical structure of *Try* verbs and *Fail* verbs.

For instance, in expressions like *tiligen we us to gescildenne and us to gewarnigenne* 'we should try to shield and to protect ourselves' in (5a) the juncture takes place at core level because the two nuclei are not adjacent but separated by a the complementiser *to*. As is the case with *hwa gemot forsitte þriwa* 'someone fails to attend a meeting three times' in (5b), a deontic modal has scope over the two predications, which share the argument that bears the macrorole Undergoer. If there is complementiser, the complex sentence is an instance of core cosubordination.

(5)

[3] For related aspects of the linking between semantics and syntax in Old English, the reader is referred to Martín Arista (2000a, 2000b). This author also deals with other relevant questions that are not discussed here for reasons of space, including the prefix *ge-* (Martín Arista 2012), the morphological basis of syntax (Martín Arista 2017, 2019) and the polysemy of verbal classes (Martín Arista 2018).

a. [HomS 44 (Baz-Cr) 005900 (121)]
Of þysum tintregum, men ða leofestan, tiligen we us to gescildenne and us to gewarnigenne þa hwile þe we lifes leoht habban
From these torments, dearest men, we should try to shield and to protect ourselves, while we have the light of life.
b. [LawIIAs 20]
If hwa gemot forsitte þriwa, gilde ðæs cynges oferhyrnesse.
And if anyone fails to attend an assembly three times, he shall pay the fine due to the king for insubordination.

In the corpus of analysis, *Try* verbs like *onginnan* and *End* verbs like *blinnan* are found in nuclear cosubordination constructions, in which the first argument is shared by the matrix and the linked nucleus, the two nuclei are adjacent and there is no complementiser. This is illustrated in (6a), (6b), respectively. In (6a), for instance, the finite verbal form (*onginne* 'should try') and the uninflected infinitive (*faran* 'to go') are adjacent and share the argument that receives the macrorole Undergoer and the PSA (*mon* 'someone').

(6)
a. [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.
It is worse than ever to try to travel on the road of truth, if one intends afterwards to turn back and traverse the same ground.
b. [Bede 1 9.44.2]
Of þære tide Romane blunnun ricsian on Breotene.
From that time the Romans ceased to have dominion in Britain.

Try verbs like *(ge)tilian* and *onginnan*, as well as *End* verbs such as *blinnan* appear in core cosubordination constructions in which the first argument is shared by the matrix and the linked predication and there is no complementiser, even though the two nuclei are not adjacent. This can be seen in (7a), (7b) and (7c), respectively. In (7b), for example, the Undergoer of the linked predication (*ða wunda* 'the wounds') is placed

between the nucleus of the matrix predication (*onginnen* ‘should try’) and the nucleus of the linked predication (*lacnian* ‘to cure’).

(7)
a. [Bede 3 052600 (17.230.24)]
Ða teolode sona se Drihtnes wer þa onfongnan stowe þæs mynstres ærest mid gebedum & mid fæstenum from unsyfernessum heo clænsigan.
Then the man of God strove to cleanse the place of the monastery that they had received.
b. [CP 001800 (1.25.19)]
& ðeah ða woroldlecan læcas scomaþ ðæt hi onginnen ða wunda lacnian ðe hi gesion ne magon.
And yet worldly physicians are ashamed of undertaking to cure wounds which they cannot see.
c. [Bede 3 14.202.20]
& heo ealle afyrhte onweg flugon & blunnon þa burg afeohton.
[…] and all fled away in alarm and ceased to attack the city […].

End verbs such as *āblinnan,* as well as *Try verbs* like *fundian*, *higian* and *(ge)tilian* can take part in core cosubordination constructions with shared first argument and a complementiser, the two nuclei being as a result non-adjacent. This is shown in (8a), (8b), (8c) and (8d) respectively.

(8)
a. [ÆCHom II, 5 43.53]
He fram frymðe middaneardes oð his geendunge. ne ablinð to asendenne bydelas and lareowas to lærenne his folc.
Because from the beginning of the world till its ending, he ceases not to send messengers and teachers to teach his people.
b. [Bo 35.98.2]
Forðæm þe ealla gesceafta gecyndelice hiora agnum willum fundiað to cumanne to gode, swa swa we oft ær sædon on ðisse ilcan bec.
For all creatures naturally of their own will endeavour to come to good, as we have often before said in this same book.

c. [CP 16.105.14]
Ðætte sua hwelc sua inweard higige to gangenne on ða duru ðæs ecean lifes, he ðonne ondette ælce costunge ðe him on becume ðam mode his scriftes beforan ðæm temple.
[…] so that whoever inwardly desires to enter the gates of eternal life must confess every temptation which has assailed him to the mind of his confessor before the temple.
d. [CP 252500 (65.463.3)]
Ðæt he hine selfne ne forlæte, ðær he oðerra freonda tilige, & him self ne afealle, ðær ðær he oðre tiolað to ræranne.
Either he seeks for the friends of others or, if he does nor fall himself, he tries to raise the others.

End verbs such as *āblinnan,* as well as *Try verbs* like *fundian, hīgian, (ge)tilian* and *wandian* can be found in core cosubordination constructions in which the subject is shared by the matrix and the linked predication, there is no adjacency of the matrix and the linked nucleus and there is complementiser, although the complementiser does not cause the separation of the two nuclei because additional elements appear between the nuclei. This is illustrated in (9a)-(9e).

(9)
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.
Therefore, as much as you can, in word as well as through example, as we said before, do not cease to take care of the sheep.
b. [Lch II (1) 85.1.1]
If mon fundige wiþ his feond to gefeohtanne, stæþ swealwan briddas geseoþe on wine, ete þonne ær oþþe wylle wætre seoðe.
If a man will fight with his enemy, cook swallows chicks in wine, then eat before, or boil in water.
c. [GD 2 (C) 38.178.1]
Us is nu hwæthugu to blinnenne & to gerestenne fram þissere spræce.
Let us now for a while give over our discourse.
d. [Bo 173400 (39.135.4)]

He tiolað ungelic to bionne þæm oðrum forðæm hit is þæs godcundan anwealdes gewuna þæt he wircð of yfle good.
He tries to be different from the others because it is customary of divine power to turn evil into good.
e. [*Æ* LS (Martin) 017000 (696)]
Þa wandode he lange him þæt to secgenne, ac he sæde swaþeah, Ic halsige eow nu, þæt ge hit nanum ne secgan.
Then he hesitated long to tell it to him, but he said nevertheless, I adjure you now that I tell it to no one.

End verbs such as *āblinnan* and *blinnan,* as well as *Try verbs* like *fundian, hīgian, onginnan, (ge)tilian* and *wandian* appear in clausal cosubordination constructions in which a finite clause introduced by the complementiser *þæt* takes up an argumental slot in a core, in which it receives no macrorole. Several instances follow in (10a)-(10g).

(10)
a. [HomS 14 141]
Ne ablinnan we, manna bearn, þæt we Gode cwemon, & deofol tynan, dæges & nihtes.
Let us, the children of men, not cease to please God and annoy the devil day and night.
b. [GD 4 (C) 46.335.4]
Hi wilniað, þæt hi lifigan aa in þære synne butan ænde, þa þe ne blinnað næfre, þæt hi syngian þa hwile þe hi lifgiað.
That he always lived in neverending sin, so that he never ceased to sin while he lived.
c. [HomS 26 206]
Þy syxtan dæge ær underne þonne biþ from feower endum þære eorþan eall middangeard mid awergdum gastum gefylled, þa fundiaþ þæt hie willon genimon myccle herehyþ manna saula swa Antecrist ær beforan dyde.
Before the third hour on the sixth day, the entire world will be filled with evil spirits from the four ends of the earth who will strive to seize a great pillage of men's souls just as the Antichrist previously did.
d. [CP 22.169.8]
Forðæm se eorðlica geferscipe hine tiehð on ða lufe his ealdan ungewunan, he sceal simle higian ðæt he weorðe onbryrd & geedniwad to ðæm hefonlican eðle.

Since earthly companionship draws him to the love of hie former bad habits, he must ever strive to be inspired and regenerated for the heavenly regions.

e. [CP 110000 (34.229.22)]

Suiðe suiðe we gesyngiað, gif we oðerra monna welgedona dæda ne lufigað & ne herigað, ac we nabbað ðeah nane mede ðære heringe, gif we be sumum dæle nellað onginnan ðæt we onhyrigen ðæm ðeawum ðe us on oðrum monnum liciað be dæle ðe we mægen.

We sin greatly if we do not love and praise the good deeds of others, but we shall get no reward for our praise if we will not to some extent try to imitate the virtues which please us in others, as far as lies in our power.

f. [Bo 043800 (16.38.16)]

& swiðe georne tiolað þæt hit him þæt from ascufe.

And strongly tries that it drives away from them.

g. [CP 143000 (40.295.23)]

Ðæt getacnað ðætte ðara lareowa tungan ðe ðæt uplice leoht bodiað, ðonne hie ongietað hwelcne monnan gesuencedne mid irre & mid hatheortnesse onbærnedne, & ðonne forwandigað ðæt hie mid ðæm kycglum hiera worda ongean hiera ierre worpigen, sua sua æfner wandade ðæt he nolde ðane slean ðe hine draf.

That means that the tongues of the teachers who proclaim the sublime light, when they perceive a man to be afflicted with anger and inflamed with fury, scruple to hurl the darts of their words against their anger, as Abner hesitated to slay him who pursued him.

7. The Semantic relation Psych-action

Refrain verbs appear in complex sentences that present the semantic relation Psych-action. Once the logical structure of the verbal class has been presented, the various syntactic configurations found with each verb will be discussed.

Refrain verbs are volitive, but they also express an act of will that excludes a certain action. Put differently, refraining presupposes that the action from which someone refrains does not take place. At the same time, it is necessary to want something in order to be able to refrain from it. The state and the inaction are shown by

the main participant, which does not interact with other participants. This can be seen in the logical structure in Figure 5.

Refrain verbs
STATE & ACTIVITY
[**want´** (x, y)] ∧ [NOT **do´** (x, [**predicate´** (x, y)]]
Figure 5. The logical structure of *Refrain* verbs.

In the stative part of the logical structure of *Refrain* verbs, the x argument receives the thematic role Wanter and the semantic macrorole Undergoer. The y argument plays the thematic role Desire and does not get a semantic macrorole. In the active part of the logical structure, the x argument is the Effector and the Actor. It coincides with the Undergoer of the stative part of the logical structure. If the expression is reflexive, the x argument of the stative part of the logical structure is duplicated in the argument realization.

For example, in an expression such as (11), the juncture takes place at core level, so that a non-macrorole clause (*ðæt he ne syngað* 'that he does not sing') is inserted into an argumental position of the core. The complex sentence is an example of clausal subordination.

(11)
[CP 52.407.4]
Ðonne giet he stent beforan him, ðonne he hine ne forhygeð, ac for his ege forbierð ðæt he ne syngað.
He still stands before him, when he does not despise him, but for fear of him refrains from sinning.

In the corpus of analysis, *Refrain* verbs like *fæstan* are found in nuclear cosubordination constructions, in which the first argument is shared by the matrix and the linked predication, the two nuclei are adjacent and no complementiser is taken. This is illustrated in (12).

(12)
[ÆLS (Cecilia) 13]

Hwæt ða Cecilia hi sylfe gescrydde mid hæran to lice, and gelome fæste biddende mid wope þæt heo wurde gescyld wið ælce gewemmednysse oððe weres gemanan.
So then Caecilia clothed herself with hair-cloth on her body and frequently fasted, praying with weeping that she might be shielded from any stain or the company of man.

Refrain verbs such as *forberan* appear in clausal cosubordination constructions in which a finite clause introduced by the complementiser *þæt*, and not bearing macrorole, takes up an argumental slot in a core. This is illustrated in (13).

(13)
[LawAfEl 49.5]
Þæm halgan gaste wæs geðuht & us, þæt we nane byrðenne on eow settan noldon ofer þæt ðe eow nedðearf wæs to healdanne: þæt <is> ðonne, þæt ge forberen, þæt ge deofolgeld ne weorðien, ne blod ne ðicggen ne asmorod, & from diernum geligerum; & þæt ge willen, þæt oðre men eow ne don, ne doð ge ðæt oþrum monnum.
It seemed good to the Holy spirit and to us that we should not set any burden on you beyond that which was necessary to restrain you: that is, therefore, that you should forbear from worshipping idols, from tasting blood or things strangled, and from secret fornications, and do not do to other men that which you do not wish that other men would do to you.

8. The semantic relation Causative

Prevent verbs, *Forbid* verbs, and *Hinder* verbs appear in complex sentences in which the interclausal semantic relation Cause holds. The logical structures of these verbal classes are presented in turn. Then, the different syntactic configurations that can be identified with these verbs are discussed.

Prevent verbs express an event that impedes another event. The verb in the matrix predication and the verb in the linked predication, therefore, are related to each other by causation. The relevant *Aktionsart* type is the Causative Activity because the event is durative. The logical structure of the linked predication of *Prevent* verbs contains the lexical representation NOT **do´** (y, z). The x argument of the Activity, which plays the thematic role Agent and gets the macrorole Actor, impedes that the y

argument of the linked predication performs an activity. This coincides with the y argument and the Undergoer of the matrix clause. The logical structure of Prevent verbs is given in Figure 6.

CAUSATIVE ACTIVITY
[**do´** (x, [**predicate´** (x, y)])] CAUSE [NOT **do´** (y, [**predicate´** (y, z)]]
Figure 6. The logical structure of *Prevent* verbs.

To represent *Forbid* verbs, the Causative Achievement logical structure has been chosen in order to describe a process initiated by someone as a result of which someone else is no longer allowed to do something. The component INGR in the logical structure in Figure 7 indicates that there is telicity and the change is punctual. The logical structure of *forbid* specifies that the x argument of [**do´** (x, [**predicate´** (x, y)])] is the Actor and the second the Recipient. The remaining element in the complementation pattern is the Theme, which is performed by the z argument of INGR (NOT **allowed´** (y, z)).

Forbid verbs
CAUSATIVE ACHIEVEMENT
[**do´** (x, [**predicate´** (x, y)])] CAUSE [INGR (NOT **allowed´** (y, z))]
Figure 7. The logical structure of *Forbid* verbs.

The x, the y and the z argument of the logical structure in Figure 7 can be macrorole arguments and get PSA status, depending on the nexus relations and juncture levels. As regards the assignment of macrorole, this constitutes a case of competition between two arguments for receiving the status of macrorole: the Patient and the Theme.

If the x argument in the matrix clause is the PSA of the construction, an active expression results such as (14a). In (14a), the juncture takes place at the core level because the verb in the linked predication is transitive. The nexus is coordination because the argument that bears the macrorole Actor and achieves PSA status is not shared with the linked predication. If the y argument is the PSA of the construction, a passive expression arises such as the one in (14b). This construction consists of two arguments, the first being the Undergoer and getting the PSA and the second being a

non-macrorole clause that is inserted into the core. The juncture, therefore, takes place at the level of the core and the nexus relation is subordination because passivisation is possible, which indicates that the y argument can get macrorole and become the PSA of the construction. If the z argument is the PSA of the construction, as in (14c), we are dealing with a clausal subordination in which the z argument is duplicated by means of the pronoun *hyt* 'it'.

(14)
a. [Bede 1 16.70.8]
Seo halige æ bewereð & forbeodeð þa scondlicnesse onwreon mægsibba.
The holy law prohibits and forbids uncovering the shame of relatives.
b. [CP 11.73.15]
Sua hwelc ðonne sua ðissa uncysta hwelcre underðieded bið, him bið forboden ðæt he offrige Gode hlaf.
Whoever, then, is subject to one of these vices is forbidden to offer bread to God.
c. [Nic (A) 1.1.10]
Hyt ys on ure æ forboden þæt man ne mot nan þing gehælan on restedagum, þeh hyt lama beo.
It is forbidden in our law that a man be permitted to heal anything on the sabbath, even though it is lame.

The *Aktionsart* type of *Hinder* verbs is the Causative Activity, considering that the second participant is not successful in performing an action as a result of the action of the first participant. The logical structure of Hinder verbs is shown in Figure 8.

Hinder verbs
CAUSATIVE ACTIVITY
do´ (x, [**predicate´** (x, y) CAUSE [NOT **do.sucessfully´** (y, z)]
Figure 8. The logical structure of *Hinder* verbs.

Hinder verbs frequently appear in simplex sentences like (15), which represents a border case between inaction and position.

(15)

[ÆCHom II, 22 192.59]
Hwæt ða comon ða awirigedan deoflu on atelicum hiwe ðære sawle togeanes. and heora an cwæð. uton forstandan hi foran mid gefeohte
Whereupon came the accursed devils with horrid aspect towards the soul, and one of them said "Let us obstruct them with battle".

In the corpus of analysis, the *Forbid* verb *forbēodan* can be found in a nuclear subordination construction in which the matrix predication and the linked predication do not share the first argument, and there is no complementiser. An example can be seen in (16), in which the matrix nucleus *forbēodan* 'to forbid' and the linked nucleus *cuman* 'to come' are adjacent.

(16)
[Mt (WSCp) 19.14]
Þa cwæð se hælend, lætað þa lytlingas & nelle ge hig forbeodan cuman to me.
Jesus said "Let the little children come to me, and do not hinder them."

Given that the verb is attested in the passive, it is acknowledged that the linked predication is a macrorole argument of the matrix predication, thus the nexus relation of subordination. As can be seen in (17a), the linked clause receives the macrorole Actor and is duplicated by the pronoun *hit* 'it'. In (17b), the linked clause is a non-macrorole argument in the core, along with the dative PSA *him* 'he', which preserves morphological case in the passive.

(17)
a. [Nic (A) 1.1.10]
Þa Iudeas hym andswaredon and cwædon: hyt ys on ure æ forboden þæt man ne mot nan þing gehælan on restedagum, þeh hyt lama beo.
Then the Jews answered him and said "It is forbidden in our law that a man be permitted to heal anything on the sabbath, even though it is lame".
b. [CP 11.73.15]
Sua hwelc ðonne sua ðissa uncysta hwelcre underðieded bið, him bið forboden ðæt he offrige Gode hlaf.
Whoever, then, is subject to one of these vices is forbidden to offer bread to God.

Forbid verbs such as *bewerian* and *forbēodan* take part in core subordination constructions, in which the matrix predication and the linked predication do not share the first argument; there is no complementiser but the nucleus of the matrix predication and the linked core are not adjacent; and the verb in the linked core is transitive. This is illustrated, respectively, in (18a) and (18b). In (18a) the second argument of the linked verb separates the matrix nucleus from the linked nucleus (*biwerigan þam halgan geryne onfon* 'to prohibit to receive the holy sacrament'). The same can be said of (18b) with respect to *forbeodeð þa scondlicnesse onwreon* 'prohibits to uncover the shame'.

(18)
a. [Bede 1 16.82.23]
We him ne sculon biwerigan þam halgan geryne onfon, se ðe in fyre geseted bið & beornan ne conn.
We shall not prohibit him from receiving the holy sacrament, who is placed in the fire but yet cannot burn.
b. [Bede 1 16.70.8]
Seo halige æ bewereð & forbeodeð þa scondlicnesse onwreon mægsibba.
The holy law prohibits and forbids uncovering the shame of relatives.

The *Forbid* verb *forbēodan* can also be found in a core subordination construction in which a core is inserted into an argumental position of another core without complementiser. The two nuclei are not adjacent and the first argument of the linked predication is different from the one of the matrix predication. The verb, as has already been pointed out, is attested in the passive. The verb in the linked predication is transitive, as in (19): *fulwian þonne þæt cennende wiif oðþe þæt bearn þæt þær acenned bið* 'baptizing the woman after childbirth or the new-born child'.

(19)
[Bede 1 16.76.19]
Fulwian þonne þæt cennende wiif oðþe þæt bearn þæt þær acenned bið, gif heo syn þreade mid frecernisse deaðes, ge heo in þa seolfan tiid þe heo cenneð ge þæt þær acenned bið, nænige gemete is bewered.

So then, to baptize a woman after childbirth or the new-born child, if threatened with danger of death, either the woman in the very hour of childbirth or the babe, is a thing in no wise prohibited.

Forbēodan also appears in core subordination constructions with a complementiser and an intransitive verb in the linked core, as is the case with *to beonne embe þeofas* 'to be near thieves' (20).

(20)
[ÆLS (Edmund) 220]
And eac þa halgan canones gehadodum forbeodað ge bisceopum ge preostum, to beonne embe þeofas.
And all the holy canons forbid the ordained, both bishops and priests, to be near thieves.

The *Forbid* verbs *bewerian* and *forbēodan* take part in core subordination constructions in which the complementiser causes non-adjacency between the two nuclei. This happens in *bewereð to etanne* 'forbids to eat' in (21a) and *forbudon to secgenne* 'forbid to say' in (21b). (21c) shows a variant with *forbēodan* in which the matrix verb and the linked verb are not separated by the complementiser but by other elements.

(21)
a. [Bede 1 16.80.7]
Mid þy seo æ monig þing bewereð to etanne, swa swa unclæne [...]
For while the law prohibits the eating of many things as unclean [...]
b. ÆHomM 8 5: ac we nellað secgan be þære gesetnysse of ðam gedwylde, þe gedwolmen setton be hyre acennednysse, forðan þe hyt tocwædon þa wisan lareowas, and be hyre forðsiðe, þe ða halgan boceras forbudon to secgenne.
But we will not speak about the origin of the heresy, which heretics set about her birth, because the wise teachers forbid it, and about its end, which the holy books forbid to say.
c. [ThCap 1 10.317.3]

Forþan þe we forbeodað ægðer ge geflytu ge plegan ge unnytta word ge gehwylce unnyttnesse in þam halgan stowum to donne.
Therefore, we forbid to do any quarrelling, dancing, vain words or any other follies in that holy place.

The *Prevent* verb *forwiernan* and the *Hinder* verb *gǣlan* take part in core coordination constructions with complementiser. The nexus is coordination because the linked predication does not share the first argument with the matrix predication, thus *us* 'us' in (22a) and (22b).

(22)
a. ÆLS (Auguries) 248: God us ne nyt swa þeah þæt we god don sceolon, ne eac us ne forwyrnð yfel to wyrcenne, forðan þe he us forgeaf agenne cyre.
God does not make us do good, neither does he prevent us from doing evil, because he gave us free will.
b. CP 58.445.28
Gif us ne lyst ðæra ærrena yfela ðe we ær worhton, ðonne ne gælð us nan ðing to fullfremmanne ða godan weorc ðe we nu wyrceað.
If we do not desire the former evils we did, nothing hinders us from accomplishing the good works which we now do.

Finally, the *Forbid* verbs *bewerian* and *forbēodan*, the *Prevent* verb *forbēodan* and the *Hinder* verb *bewerian* can be found in clausal subordination constructions involving a finite clause introduced by a complementiser that is inserted into an argumental slot of a core, which can receive macrorole and PSA. Some instances are presented in (23a)-(23g).

(23)
a. [Bede 1 16.70.18]
Swelce is eac bewered þæt mon hine menge wið his broðorwiife, forðon þurh þa ærran geþeodnesse heo wæs geworden his broðor lichoma
So also it is forbidden that a man weds his brother's wife, for by the previous union she became his brother's body.
b. [Nic (A) 1.1.10]

Þa Iudeas hym andswaredon and cwædon: hyt ys on ure æ forboden þæt man ne mot nan þing gehælan on restedagum, þeh hyt lama beo.
Then the Jews answered him and said "It is forbidden in our law that a man be permitted to heal anything on the sabbath, even though it is lame".
c. ÆHomM 12 75: hi forbudon þam blindan þæt he to þam hælende ne clypode.
They forbid the blind man to talk to the Saviour.
d. [PsGlI 33.14]
Forbeod ł forhafa ł bewere tungan þine fram yfle weleras þine þæt hig ne sprecon faken.
Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile.
e. [ChristC 1503]
Þearfum forwyrndon þæt hi under eowrum þæce mosten in gebugan.
They prevented the needy from being allowed to dwell under a roof.
f. [LawCn 1020 5]
& þæt hæbbe [ic] mid Godes fultume forene forfangen, þæt eow næfre heononforð þanon nan unfrið to ne cymð, þa hwile þe ge me rihtlice healdað & min lif byð.
And with the help of God, I have taken measures to prevent hostility ever from this time forth coming upon you from that quarter, as long as you support me loyally and my life lasts.
g. [Bede 1 14.60.9]
Ne we eow beweriað þæt ge ealle, ða þe ge mægen, þurh eowre lare to eowres geleafan æfæstnisse geðeode & gecyrre.
Nor do we hinder you from attaching and converting to the religion of your faith all, that you may, by your teaching.

9. Results

By verbal class, *Try* verbs are found in nuclear cosubordination, core cosubordination and clausal cosubordination. *End* verbs appear in core cosubordination and clausal cosubordination. *Refrain* verbs take part in nuclear cosubordination and clausal cosubordination. *Forbid* verbs can be found in nuclear subordination, core subordination and clausal subordination. *Prevent* verbs take part in core coordination and *Hinder* verbs can be found in clausal subordination. That is to say, except *Prevent* verbs, all verbal classes partake in clausal subordination constructions.

By semantic relation, the semantic relation Phase co-occurs with nuclear cosubordination (*Try* verbs and *End* verbs), core cosubordination (*Try* verbs and *End* verbs), and clausal cosubordination (*Try* verbs and *End* verbs). The semantic relation Psych-action corresponds to nuclear cosubordination (*Refrain* verbs) and clausal cosubordination (*Refrain* verbs). There is a correspondence between the semantic relation Causative and nuclear subordination (*Forbid* verbs), core subordination (*Forbid* verbs), core coordination (*Prevent* verbs and *Hinder* verbs), as well as clausal subordination (*Forbid* verbs and *Hinder* verbs).

In terms of juncture, the semantic relations Phase and Cause hold at the levels of the nucleus, the core and the clause. With respect to nexus, the semantic relation Cause arises in cosubordinate, subordinate and coordinate constructions.

To summarise, Figure 1 presents the juncture-nexus types and the semantic relations by verbal class.

		Try	**End**	**Refrain**	**Forbid**	**Prevent**	**Hinder**
Juncture-nexus types	Nuclear cosubordination	X		X			
	Nuclear subordination				X		
	Nuclear coordination						
	Core cosubordination	X	X				
	Core subordination				X		
	Core coordination					X	
	Clausal cosubordination	X	X	X			
	Clausal subordination				X		X
	Clausal coordination						
	Sentential subordination						
	Sentential coordination						
	Semantic relations						
Semantic relations	Phase	X	X				
	Psych-action			X			
	Causative				X	X	X

Figure 1 Juncture-nexus types and sematic relations by verbal class.

These results coincide with some of the predictions of the IRH. For instance, Phase co-occurs with nuclear cosubordination and Causative corresponds to core subordination. However, the results diverge from the predictions of the IRH significantly with respect to clausal subordination. This juncture-nexus type is too weak to code the semantic relation Psych-action and rather weak to code the semantic relation Causative.

10. Conclusion

This article has analysed Old English verbs of inaction from two perspectives: interclausal semantic relations and juncture-nexus types in complex clauses. The results have been compared on the grounds of the IRH. Although the complementation of Old English verbs of inaction is in accordance with the IRH at some points, the comparison of semantic content and syntactic expression evidences that overall too weak juncture-nexus types, such as clausal subordination, correspond to very close semantic relations, like Phase.

The IRH, therefore, allows us not only to describe a situation of variation (given that the complementation with finite clause and infinitive co-exist in Old English) but also to make predictions on the diachronic axis, considering the historical evolution of the complementation with nominal clauses in English. The loss of finite clause complementation and the presence of infinitival complementation in Present-Day English verbs of inaction are fully predicted by the IRH. Therefore, the juncture-nexus types of verbs of inaction go up the IRH to become syntactically stronger and reflect close semantic relations like Phase, Psych-action and Causative. Throughout the change, semantic relations and nexus types remain stable whereas juncture levels change. Overall, semantics motivates the syntactic change or, at least, is much more stable than syntax on the diachronic axis. *End* verbs, *Try* verbs, *Refrain* verbs, *Prevent* verbs and *Forbid* verbs appear in clausal junctures in Old English, whereas the counterparts of *End* verbs, *Try* verbs and *Refrain* verbs cannot occur in clausal junctures in Old English and *Prevent* verbs and *Forbid* cannot do so freely. This evolution, which has been noted by previous research (Denison 1993; Los 2005; Ringe and Taylor 2014), has not been explained on a semantic basis before.

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Resumen:

El objetivo de este artículo es analizar las relaciones interclausales tanto sintácticas como semánticas que surgen con los verbos de inacción del inglés antiguo. Estos verbos se estudian desde la perspectiva de nexo y juntura y de las relaciones semánticas Fase, Acción psíquica y Causativa. Los resultados se comparan según lo estipulado por la Jerarquía de Relaciones Intraclausales. La comparación entre el contenido semántico y la expresión sintáctica pone en evidencia discrepancias entre, de una parte, tipos de juntura-nexo que son demasiado débiles, como la subordinación clausal, y, de otra, relaciones semánticas muy estrechas, como Fase. De esto se extraen dos conclusiones principales. En primer lugar, la Jerarquía de Relaciones Intraclausales permite describir la variación en la complementación de los verbos de inacción en inglés antiguo y hacer predicciones en el eje diacrónico, dado que la pérdida de la complementación por medio de cláusulas finitas y el cambio a la complementación de infinitivo que presentan los verbos de inacción en inglés moderno se puede predecir completamente gracias a la JRI. En segundo lugar, las relaciones semánticas y los tipos de nexo se mantienen estables durante este cambio, mientras que los niveles de juntura cambian.

Palabras clave: complementación, relaciones semánticas, construcciones sintácticas, inglés antiguo.