THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MANDATIVE SUBJUNCTIVE IN THE EARLY MODERN ENGLISH PERIOD

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Abstract. This paper focuses on the use of the mandative subjunctive and its alternative variants, the modal constructions and the indicative, in the Early Modern English period, i.e. from 1500 to about 1700. The investigation is carried out for two variants of the English language – the southern variant Early Modern English and the northern variant Older Scots. The analysis is based on the diachronic part of the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts and on the Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots. This study shows that while the use of the mandative subjunctive decreases, the use of the indicatives increases in both variants of the English language, except between the last subperiods of Older Scots the subjunctive and indicative frequencies stay almost constant. The frequency of the modal constructions remains practically unchanged throughout the whole period, only in the first half of Older Scots, it shows a considerable increase. The subjunctive frequencies are higher in Older Scots than in Early Modern English throughout all subperiods. With the frequencies of the indicatives it is the other way round. The modal constructions have nearly identical distributions in the subperiods of Early Modern English and Older Scots.

Keywords: mandative subjunctive, its alternative variants, mandative items, Early Modern English, Older Scots, corpus linguistics

1. Introduction

In the last hundred years, the subjunctive, especially the mandative subjunctive, has been a highly debated topic among linguists. Kellner suggested at the beginning of the 20th century that the English language would "get rid of it altogether" (Kellner 1905:235) and Visser wrote in his *Historical English Syntax* in the late Sixties that the mandative subjunctive "tends to become archaic or obsolete in late Modern English" (Visser 1969:825). On the other hand, several recent studies have proved the revival of the mandative subjunctive in English (cf. Hundt 1998: 171, Övergaard 1995:89). Differences in the use of the mandative subjunctive in the variants of the English language in present-day English have been the subject

in several studies as well – for example, Stig Johansson and Else Helene Norheim found in their examination of the American Brown Corpus and the British LOB Corpus, that in American English, the most preferred realization possibility in subordinate *that*-clauses is the subjunctive, while in British English, the most favoured alternative is the modal construction with *should* (cf. Johansson and Norheim 1988:27, 34).

All recent studies on the topic of the mandative subjunctive in present-day English have been computer-based studies of different corpora which provide statistically more reliable evidence than the older method of counting the examples per hand by allowing the search in larger data bases. So it would be interesting to perform an electronic search in historical corpora (e.g. the diachronic part of the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts) to prove the known statements about the use of the mandative subjunctive in earlier periods of the English language, namely that it decreased from Old English on and that the subjunctives were supplanted by other alternatives, especially by modal constructions (cf. Denison 1993:330, Stein 1990: 233). As far as it is known to the author of this paper, it has been done until now only by Lilo Moessner who investigated the use of the mandative subjunctive in Middle English on the basis of the Middle English part of the Helsinki Corpus (Moessner 2005 *forthcoming*). She found that in the first half of the Middle English period, the mandative subjunctive was the most favoured realization possibility, but from the second half of the 14th century on, its frequency decreased, while at the same time, the frequency of the modal constructions increased. At the end of Middle English, the modal construction was the most preferred alternative, while the subjunctives had fallen to the second position. Moessner also investigated the influence of several linguistic and extralinguistic factors on the use of the mandative subjunctive in Middle English (cf. Moessner 2005 *forthcoming*).

The aim of this paper is to fill the above named gap examining the use of the mandative subjunctive in the Early Modern English period, i.e. from about 1500 to 1700. The investigation is carried out for two variants of the English language – the southern variant Early Modern English and the northern variant Older Scots. The periods of Early Modern English and Older Scots do not cover the same time span – the Early Modern English period lasted from about 1500 to 1700 (cf. Denison 1993:8), while Older Scots is periodized as lasting from the fourteenth to the end of the seventeenth century (cf. Corbett, McClure, and Stuart-Smith 2003:4ff.). Since the time period 1500 to 1700 is the subject of this investigation, the term *Older Scots* will be used only with reference to the sixteenth and the seventeenth century in this paper.

The Helsinki Corpus which the research in this paper is based upon, provides a good basis for a diachronic research and comparison of Early Modern English and Older Scots in the Early Modern English period. The Early Modern English part of the Helsinki Coprus is divided into three subperiods – E1: 1500–1570, E2: 1570–1640 and E3: 1640–1710 (cf. Kytö 1996:2). The subperiods of the Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots are SC0: 1450–1500, SC1: 1500–1570, SC2: 1570–1640, and SC3: 1640–1700 (cf. Kytö 1995:1ff.). So the subperiods E1 and SC1 as well as E2 and

SC2 cover exactly the same time spans, only E3 lasts 10 years longer than SC3. The size of the Early Modern English part of the Helsinki Coprus is about 550,000 words (cf. Kytö 1996:ibid.) and the subperiods SC1, SC2 and SC3 contain altogether about 750,000 words (cf. Kytö 1995:ibid.).

Before the results of the corpus research will be discussed in this paper, the mandative subjunctive and its alternative variants are defined in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, some methodological issues with respect to setting up the data base will be touched upon. Chapter 4 presents the results of the corpus research. The use of the mandative subjunctive will be discussed first with respect to Early Modern English and then with respect to Older Scots, followed by a comparison between Early Modern English and Older Scots. The main results will be summarized in Chapter 5.

2. The definition of the mandative subjunctive and of its alternative variants

The mandative subjunctive, "the most common use of the subjunctive, occurs in subordinate *that*-clauses" when the *that*-clause is "introduced by an expression of demand, recommendation, proposal, resolution, intention, etc." (Quirk et al. 1985:156) It is realized by the base form of a verb:

(1)   They *recommend* that this tax *be* abolished.   [quot. Quirk et al. 1985:ibid.]

In present-day English as well as in Early Modern English, the indicative and the mandative subjunctive forms in the present tense are normally not distinguishable, except in combination with the verb *be* or following third person singular subjects. In Early Modern English, there are also distinct forms of the indicative and subjunctive in the present tense after second person singular subjects, but the verb *be* can have two forms with the plural subjects in the present indicative in Early Modern English: *are* and *be*:

(2)   in present-day English, the forms of *be* are:
      in the present indicative: I ***am***; he, she, it ***is***; we, you, they ***are***
      in the present subjunctive: I, he, she, it, we, you, they ***be***

(3)   in Early Modern English, the forms of *be* are:
      in the present indicative: I ***am***, thou ***art***, he, she, it ***is***, we, you, they ***are***, ***be***
      in the present subjunctive: I, thou, he, she, it, we, you, they ***be***

(4)   in present-day English, the forms of other verbs than *be* are:
      in the present indicative: I, we, you, they ***come***; he, she, it ***comes***
      in the present subjunctive: I, he, she, it, we, you, they ***come***

(5)   in Early Modern English, the forms of other verbs than *be* are:
      in the present indicative: I, we, you, they ***come***; thou ***comest***, he, she, it ***cometh/comes***

in the present subjunctive: I, thou, he, she, it, we, you, they ***come***
[quot. Barber 1997:ibid., Quirk et al. 1985:ibid.]

In Early Modern English, the verb *be* as well as the lexical verbs have distinct forms of the indicative and of the subjunctive in the present only in second and third person singular.

In Older Scots, the subjunctive is formed by the base form of a verb as in Early Modern English and in present-day English. The verb *be* has the forms of *be* or *beis* and the verb *have* the forms *have* or *haf* in the subjunctive in Older Scots. The present indicative ending *–(i)s* is left out in Older Scots when the subject being first person singular, or first, second or third person plural and having the form of a personal pronoun immediately precedes or follows the verb. This subject-verb concord is known as *Northern Present Tense Rule* (NPTR) and is illustrated in the following example (cf. King 1997:175):

(6)   Heirfor <u>we exhort</u> and <u>pray*is*</u> yow rycht effectuislie, and als <u>require*s*</u> and <u>charge*is*</u> yow and siclik our Souerane Ladeis iustices iustice clerkis and thair deputis, (…) (SC1 STA REC EDINB 128)

So when only one verb precedes or follows a personal pronoun in first person singular, or first, second or third person plural and has no ending, then we cannot say whether this verb form is a present indicative (having no ending according to the NPTR) or is this verb form a subjunctive.

The verbs *be* and *have* underlie the NPTR with respect to all grammatical persons and numbers in the present tense in Older Scots and they have different verb forms to indicate their involvement in the NPTR (cf. King 1997:178):

(7)   in Older Scots, the forms of *be* with an adjacent pronoun are:
       in the present indicative: I ***am***, thou ***art***, he, she, it ***is***, we, you, they ***ar(e)***;

(8)   in Older Scots, the forms of *be* with all other subjects are:
       in the present indicative: I ***is***, ***be***, thou, he, she, it, we, you, they ***is***, ***be***, ***beis***;

(9)   in Older Scots, the forms of *be* with all subjects are:
       in the present subjunctive: I, thou, he, she, it, we, you, they ***be***, ***beis***;

(10) in Older Scots, the forms of *have* with an adjacent pronoun are:
       in the present indicative: I ***have*** (***haf***, ***hef***), thou ***haist***, ***has*** (***hes***), he, she, it ***has***, ***hes***, we, you, they ***hav(e)***, ***haif***;

(11) in Older Scots, the forms of *have* with all other subjects are:
       in the present indicative: I, thou, he, she, it, we, you, they ***has***, ***hes***;

(12) in Older Scots, the forms of *have* with all subjects are:
       in the present subjunctive: I, thou, he, she, it, we, you, they ***have***, ***haf***.
                                             [quot. King 1997:179]

The verb *be* shows distinct verb forms of the indicative and subjunctive present only with an adjacent pronoun, or when the verb form *beis* occurs with a first

person singular subject, then it is the subjunctive. The verb *have* shows distinct verb forms of the indicative and subjunctive present with a first person singular subject which is not an adjacent pronoun and with all other subjects.

Because in Early Modern English the lexical verbs have distinct forms of the indicative and subjunctive in the present tense only in second and third person singular and because in Older Scots the Northern Present Tense Rule does not involve lexical verbs with second and third person singular subject, the research of the use of the mandative subjunctive was restricted only to examples with second and third person singular as subjects in subordinate *that*-clauses. So in Early Modern English, there are no ambiguous verb forms in subordinate *that*-clauses after mandative verbs, whereas in Older Scots, there are non-distinct verb forms of the verb *be* when the subject is not an adjacent pronoun, as in example (13).

(13)   The baillies counsale and communite ***ordanis*** that thair ***be*** na playing at the
        fute ball on the Hie Gait in tymes cuming, vnder the pane of ilk persone
        fyndand playand viij s. and cutting of the ball.
        (SC1 STA REC PEEBLES1 324)

The following examples illustrate distinct subjunctive forms of the verb *be*:

(14)   (...) I ***graunt*** it ***be*** maist requisite for a king to exercise his engyne (...)
        (SC2 IS EDUC BASILICO 187)

(15)   (...) he ***would*** subdue and slay by his Grace, and ***grant*** that he ***be not given
        up*** to this sin, to be conquer'd and overcome of it.
        (SC3 NN DIARY ABRODIE 95)

(16)   (…) ***luik*** [{th{]at it ***be*** fyne; (…)
        (SC2 XX CORP KKENNEDY 380)

(17)   (…) ***Provideing*** always it ***be*** meerly accidental (…)
        (SC3 STA LAW ACTS3 606.C2)

(18)   (…) ***supos*** he ***be*** ane sinner and ane ypocrit (…)
        (SC1 IR EDUC GAU 19)

With the mandative subjunctive, there is no backshifting of tense (cf. Greenbaum 2000:260, Quirk et al. 1985:ibid.):

(19)   *His sole requirement is/was that the system **work**.* [quot. Quirk et al.1985:
        ibid]

The present indicative and the present subjunctive also have distinct forms of negation: the indicative forms require the periphrastic construction with *do*, while in the subjunctive, the negative *not* is just placed before the base form or in the case of *be* either before or after *be*:

(20)   the indicative form: It is essential that this mission **does not fail**.

(21)   the subjunctive forms: It is essential that this mission **not fail**.

(22) The Senate has decreed that such students **not be/be not** exempted from
         college dues. [quot. Quirk et al. 1985:ibid.]

In present-day English, the mandative subjunctive has two alternative variants.
The first variant is the periphrastic construction with modal auxiliaries. (cf. Green-
baum 1988:17, Hundt 1998:160, Quirk et al. 1985:ibid.) The mandative subjunctive
and its periphrastic alternant are however semantically not absolutely equivalent:
"the subjunctive can replace all periphrastic alternants, but not vice versa, i.e. the
modals are more specified both in meaning and usage." (Övergaard 1995:55)

(23) *Suppose* thou *fall*, (…)
         (SC2 IR SERM BRUCE 23)

(24) (...) I *suppose* thou *shalt fynde* matter, & cause of great shame, (...)
         (E1 IR SERM FISHER I,403)

(25) I *suppose* he *might* in the end of (^October^), *find* the said stars West-most
         in the evening, and East-most the next morning.
         (SC3 EX SCIO SINCLHYD 215)

(26) I *supose* our martch *wilbe* over for y=e= coast of Holland into sea roome
         and deepe watter.
         (E3 XX CORP RHADDSR 15)

Another alternative variant of the mandative subjunctive in the subordinate
that-clause is the indicative which minimizes the volitional element in the sub-
ordinate clause and reduces the sentence into a neutral statement (cf. Övergaard
1995:63, 85).

(27) I *suppose* my Lord (^Aston^) *is* a (^Roman^) Catholick?
         (E3 XX TRI OATES IV,75.C2)

These three alternative realization possibilities also occur in Early Modern
English as well as in Older Scots. In Older Scots, there is a fourth realization
possibility in subordinate *that*-clauses in mandative sentences – ambiguous verb
forms which can be both either indicative or subjunctive.

3. Methodological issues and setting up the data base

A methodological problem occurred with respect to the mandative items which
should be searched for in the corpus. According to Visser, the use of the mandative
subjunctive depends "on expressions of volition (i.e. of wishing, desiring, command-
ing, exhorting, wanting, preferring, advising, urging, suggesting, proposing, intend-
ing, providing, promising, striving, teaching, warning, disapproving, asking, requir-
ing, granting, allowing, omitting, etc.)" (Visser 1969:825). Mustanoja and Traugott
add expressions of "mental activity of various kinds" (Mustanoja 1960:460) (believ-
ing, hoping, knowing, reporting, saying, thinking, wondering) (cf. Musatnoja

1960:ibid., Traugott 1972:150). Mustanoja also names expressions of fear (cf. Musatnoja 1960:ibid.). Curme, Einenkel, Franz, Kruisinga provide examples with some other mandative items which, however, are all semantically related to the above named expressions (cf. Curme 1931:390ff., Einenkel 1916:39ff., Franz 1986:534f., Kruisinga 1922:79ff.). The problem is that the lists in the grammars do not only differ from each other, but a fixed set of mandative items does not seem to exist at all. The reason for this has to do with the productivity of the mandative subjunctive, namely that it can be introduced by any verb, noun or adjective in the superordinate clause when they satisfy the required semantic condition (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2002:999, Hundt 1998:161, Övergaard 1995:82, Quirk et al. 1985:156).

For setting up a list of mandative expressions to provide a basis for the research of the use of the mandative subjunctive in the Early Modern English period, the author of this paper decided to follow the example of Lilo Moessner (cf. Moessner 2005 *forthcoming*: 2) and to rely on the list of the mandative expressions by Visser in *Historical English Syntax*, which is the most comprehensive list of the mandative items in a historical grammar (cf. Visser 1969:827ff.). This list contains 175 entries of mandative verbs and expressions which govern a subordinate *that*-clause. Visser also illustrates the use of these verbs and expressions (henceforth the mandative items will be referred to only as mandative verbs because there are only a few expressions in this list) with examples from Old English to present-day English.

As the first step for compiling a verb list for the Early Modern English period, it was checked in the electronic versions of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) and *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (DOST) (part of the electronic version of the *Dictionary of the Scots Language*) which verbs of Visser's list were used in the Early Modern English period. At the same time, different spellings of the relevant verbs were noted. The study of the dictionaries yielded 120 verbs and expressions which occur in both language variants in the Early Modern English period: *adjudge, adjure, admonish, advert, advertise, appeal, appose, ask, assay, astir, beg, beseech, be sure, beware (be ware/bewarnian), bid (beodan/biddan), care, charge, clepe, command, conjure, counsel, cry, decree, decreet, deem, defend, demand, desire, determine, do, enact, enjoin, entice, entreat, eschew, exhort, expect, find, flee, forbear, forbid (forbiddan/forbeodan), foresee, forget, forgive, forhow (forhogian/ forhycgan), forlet, forsake, frayne (freyne), give, give orders, grant, have care, have need, halse, hate, hear, implore, insist, intent, judge, keep, learn, lere, let, leve, look, ming, mint, monish, move, observe, ordain, order, permit, pray, propose, provide, provoke, queme, recommend, rede, request, require, resolve, say, see, seek, sell, send, sentence, set, shend, speak, steer, suffer, suggest, suppose, swear, swike, take care, take heed, take keep, tale, teach (taecean/teachen), tell, think, thole, till, trim, urge, vote, vouchsafe, wake, ward, ware, warn, will, wish, wit, wonde.* The use of these verbs in all spelling variants which are documented in OED and DOST was checked in the Early Modern English and Older Scots parts of the Helsinki Corpus. Table 1 lists all 63 verbs which occur in the required construction in one or both language variants in the subperiods of the Early Modern English period.

Table 1. Occurrence frequency of mandative verbs in Early Modern English and in Older Scots

	E1	E2	E3	total	SC1	SC2	SC3	total
adjure	0	0	1	**1**	–	–	–	**–**
admonish	–	–	–	**–**	0	1	1	**2**
advert	–	–	–	**–**	0	1	1	**2**
advertise	1	1	0	**2**	14	4	1	**19**
ask	–	–	–	**–**	0	1	0	**1**
beseech	6	4	0	**10**	9	0	3	**12**
be sure	12	5	23	**40**	2	2	9	**13**
beware	–	–	–	**–**	0	1	0	**1**
bid	1	4	1	**6**	0	5	6	**11**
charge	0	1	1	**2**	8	1	0	**9**
command	0	3	0	**3**	5	0	0	**5**
conjure	–	–	–	**–**	0	0	1	**1**
counsel	1	0	0	**1**	–	–	–	**–**
cry	0	1	1	**2**	–	–	–	**–**
decreet	–	–	–	**–**	3	0	0	**3**
desire	3	4	8	**15**	6	7	10	**23**
determine	2	0	0	**2**	0	1	0	**1**
enact	13	21	16	**50**	0	1	5	**6**
entreat	1	1	0	**2**	0	1	0	**1**
exhort	–	–	–	**–**	2	0	0	**2**
expect	0	1	1	**2**	0	2	0	**2**
find	2	15	27	**44**	29	19	39	**87**
forbid	0	1	1	**2**	0	2	0	**2**
foresee	0	1	0	**1**	0	2	1	**3**
forget	1	2	1	**4**	–	–	–	**–**
give orders	1	2	0	**3**	–	–	–	**–**
grant	4	7	9	**20**	14	59	7	**80**
hate	–	–	–	**–**	0	1	0	**1**
have care	0	0	1	**1**	0	1	0	**1**
hear	23	39	31	**93**	5	24	43	**72**
insist	–	–	–	**–**	0	0	2	**2**
intent	0	0	2	**2**	–	–	–	**–**
judge	3	3	0	**6**	–	–	–	**–**
learn	2	0	2	**4**	1	0	1	**2**
lere	–	–	–	**–**	1	0	0	**1**
look	0	2	7	**9**	0	3	0	**3**
observe	0	2	7	**9**	0	5	9	**14**
ordain	10	0	0	**10**	95	55	72	**222**
order	–	–	–	**–**	1	0	0	**1**
permit	–	–	–	**–**	0	1	0	**1**
pray	9	12	7	**28**	20	11	13	**44**
provide	15	11	22	**48**	19	12	15	**46**
rede	1	0	0	**1**	–	–	–	**–**
request	–	–	–	**–**	0	1	0	**1**
require	2	0	0	**2**	2	2	0	**4**
resolve	0	1	1	**2**	0	1	1	**2**
say	159	99	100	**358**	72	99	92	**263**
see	59	52	25	**136**	15	53	64	**132**
speak	1	5	0	**6**	0	2	0	**2**
suffer	–	–	–	**–**	2	0	0	**2**

	E1	E2	E3	total	SC1	SC2	SC3	total
suppose	5	9	7	**21**	5	7	9	**21**
swear	2	3	4	**9**	1	0	0	**1**
take care	–	–	–	**–**	0	0	1	**1**
take heed	2	1	0	**3**	0	3	0	**3**
teach	–	–	–	**–**	0	1	1	**2**
tell	27	66	68	**161**	2	22	96	**120**
think	33	58	62	**153**	17	52	43	**112**
urge	0	2	0	**2**	0	1	1	**2**
vote	0	0	1	**1**	0	2	0	**2**
warn	1	0	0	**1**	0	0	1	**1**
will	7	1	0	**8**	8	2	0	**10**
wit	4	0	0	**4**	9	5	0	**14**
wish	1	3	2	**6**	0	4	6	**10**
total	**414**	**443**	**439**	**1296**	**367**	**480**	**554**	**1401**

It must be pointed out here that the total numbers of the mandative verbs on the one hand and the total numbers of the realization possibilities on the other hand are not identical. The reason is that the superordinate clause in which the mandative verbs occur can govern more than one subordinate *that*-clause, and even in one subordinate clause, there can be several verbs. However, in the corpus investigated, there are also examples with more than one mandative verb in a superordinate clause.

Some problems regarding the decision whether an example represents the required construction occurred when the subject in the *that*-clause was a collective noun. Nouns like *jury, committee, company, council* and *parliament* can be used in plural when they refer to the members of a group and in singular when the whole group is involved. In case of collective nouns, only examples with a clear singular subject were included in the data, as examples (28) and (29). Examples like (30) and (31) where the grammatical number does not become clear are excluded from the data.

(28)   (…) our (^Saviour^) ***tells*** us, (^That a House divided against it self ***cannot stand^***).
       (SC3 AR PAM APOLOGY 21)

(29)   (…) who ***told*** me that Colinton hous <u>*had not*</u> a hall that was worth, (…)
       (SC3 NN TRAV LAUDER 64)

(30)   O, but you'***ll find*** the House ***will expect*** your Attendance.
       (E3 XX COME VANBR I, 38)

(31)   Sir, you'***ll find*** the House ***will compound*** for my Appearance.
       (E3 XX COME VANBR I, 38)

Another difficulty occurred with verbs which show exactly the same forms for the present and past tense concerning the classification of the verb form as a subjunctive (in the present tense) or an indicative (in the past tense). These verbs

are for example *put, set, let*, but in Older Scots also *come* and *send*. In such cases, the context in which the verb occurred helped to define the verb form. In the examples from the Helsinki Corpus, the verb forms of all realization possibilities in the subordinate *that*-clauses are written in italics. Additionally, the indicative verb forms are underlined, while the modal constructions, the subjunctive and the ambiguous verb forms occur in bold type (as the mandative verbs in superordinate clauses).

(32)   Therfor I ***beseikis*** your grace ***send*** na preceptis for na money to me quhill
          the said tyme, (…)
          (SC1 XX CORO WOMEN 150)

(33)   Madame, efter maist lawlie commendatioun of hartly service, plesit your
          grace ***to be advertist*** that the erle of Angus *send* to ane gentil man of this
          toune to knaw my mynd gif I wald suffir him to cum heir accumpanyt
          with his frendis to the noumer of thre thousand hors quhilk I refusit (…)
          (SC1 XX CORO OTTERBUR 47)

(34)   (…) it ***is*** statute and ***ordanit*** (…) That he ***cum*** befoir his Juge Ordinar and
          desyre of him ane summoundis (…)
          (SC1 STA LAW ACTS1 493.C2)

(35)   Pleis your grace ***to be advertist*** that George Douglas *come* to my hous of
          Reidhall Reidhall that samin nycht that I departit fra your [{grace?{] and
          remanit quhill on the morne (…)
          (SC1 XX CORO OTTERBUR 92)

4. The use of the mandative subjunctive in the Early Modern English period

4.1. The use of the mandative subjunctive in Early Modern English

The corpus search yielded 1566 examples of the mandative subjunctive and of its alternatives in mandative sentences in *that*-clauses in Early Modern English. Table 2 gives an overview of the distribution of all three realization possibilities in the subperiods of Early Modern English.

Table 2. Absolute and percentage frequencies of the subjunctive, modal constructions and of the indicative in the subperiods of Early Modern English

	E1	E2	E3	total
subjunctive	19.27% (100)	12.83% (69)	4.52% (23)	12.26% (192)
mod. auxiliary + verb	28.71% (149)	31.23% (168)	32.81% (167)	30.91% (484)
indicative	52.02% (270)	55.95% (301)	62.67% (319)	56.83% (890)
total	100.00% (519)	100.00% (538)	100.00% (509)	100.00% (1566)

The development of the subjunctive is characterized by a tendency of frequency loss. Between E1 and E2, the subjunctive frequency drops by 6.44% and between E2 and E3, by 8.31%. At the beginning of the Early Modern English period, the subjunctive has the frequency of about 20%; in E2, it is about 13% and in E3, the subjunctive forms make up only about 4.5% of all realization possibilities. The subjunctives are throughout the whole period the smallest group amongst the alternatives.

The share of the modal constructions in mandative sentences in *that*-clauses remains almost constant during the Early Modern English period. It increases slightly between E1 and E2 from 28.71% to 31.23% and between E2 and E3 from 31.23% to 32.81%. The increase of the frequencies of the modal constructions is not so high as the concurrent decrease of the subjunctive frequencies.

As the subjunctive loses frequency throughout the whole Early Modern English period and the frequency of the modal constructions remains almost the same, the indicative gains frequency at the cost of the subjunctive. The share of the indicative forms increases from E1 to E2 by 7.6% and from E2 to E3 by 12%. In E1, the share of the indicative is about 52%, in E2 about 56% and in E3 about 63%. So the indicative, which already in E1 makes up roughly one half of all realization possibilities, remains the biggest group until the end of the Early Modern English period.

The summarizing observation about the development of the realization possibilities in *that*-clauses governed by mandative verbs for the whole investigated period is as follows: while the use of the subjunctive decreases, the use of the indicative increases considerably and the frequency of the modal constructions remains almost the same, though increasing very slightly. According to a chi-square test, the shares of the realization possibilities in the subperiods of Early Modern English are significantly different – for the change between E1 and E2, *p* is less than or equal to 0.025 and for the change between E2 and E3, *p* is less than or equal to 0.001.

With respect to the research of the use of the mandative subjunctive in Middle English by Moessner (2005 forthcoming), it is noteworthy that the tendency of a frequency loss of the subjunctive which set in during the second half of the 14th century continues throughout the Early Modern English period. The concurrent increase of the frequency of the modal constructions in Early Modern English is very slight compared to the rapid increase of their use from the second to the fourth subperiod of Middle English. So the development of "a shift from inflectional marking to marking by modal auxiliary" (Stein 1990:233) in the use of the mandative subjunctive can be observed in the second half of Middle English but not in Early Modern English. In Early Modern English, the rapid decrease of the subjunctives is accompanied by the rapid increase of the indicatives. Although the exact development of the subjunctive between Middle English and Early Modern English has not been examined yet, it is interesting to note that the percentage frequency of the subjunctive in the first subperiod of Early Modern English (19.27%) is almost exactly the same as in the last subperiod of Middle English (20.10%).

4.2. The use of the mandative subjunctive in Older Scots

The computer search yielded 1917 examples of the subjunctives, modal constructions, indicatives and the ambiguous forms in Older Scots. The distribution of the realization possibilities between the subperiods of Older Scots is given in Table 3.

Table 3. Absolute and percentage frequencies of the mandative subjunctive and its alternatives in the subperiods of Older Scots

	SC1		SC2		SC3		total	
subjunctive	29.60%	(156)	12.87%	(82)	13.28%	(100)	17.63%	(338)
mod. aux. + verb	26.00%	(137)	32.18%	(205)	31.87%	(240)	30.36%	(582)
indicative	31.88%	(168)	49.45%	(315)	50.73%	(382)	45.12%	(865)
ambiguous	12.52%	(66)	5.49%	(35)	4.12%	(31)	6.89%	(132)
total	100.00%	(527)	100.00%	(637)	100.00%	(753)	100.00%	(1917)

The biggest change in the development of the realization possibilities happens between SC1 and SC2. The frequency of the subjunctive decreases by 16.73%, the indicative frequency rises by 17.57%, the use of modal constructions increases by 6.18%, and even the frequency of the ambiguous forms decreases by about 7%. Between SC2 and SC3, the frequency of the subjunctives increases by 0.41%, the frequency of the modal constructions decreases by 0.31%, the frequency of the indicative drops by 1.28% and the frequency of the ambiguous forms falls by 1.37%. Since the changes of all four realization possibilities between SC2 and SC3 are so minimal, it can be stated that between SC2 and SC3, the frequencies of the subjunctive, modal constructions, indicative and of the ambiguous constructions remain practically constant. This observation is also supported by a chi-square test, according to which the changes between SC2 and SC3 are not statistically significant (p is less than or equal to 1). The different distributions of the realization possibilities between SC1 and SC2 however are statistically significant (p is less than or equal to 0.001).

With respect to the development of the shares of the realization possibilities from SC1 to SC3, it is interesting to note that in SC1, the share of the subjunctives (29.60%) is bigger than the share of the modal constructions (26%). However, already in the next subperiod it is the other way round. In SC2, the frequency of the subjunctives is 12.87%, while the modal constructions form 32.18% of all realization possibilities. In SC3, the share of the modal constructions is still bigger (31.87%) than that of the subjunctives (13.28%). Throughout the whole period, the indicatives show the highest occurrence frequencies and the ambiguous forms the lowest.

4.3. Comparison of the use of the mandative subjunctive in Early Modern English and in Older Scots

The development of the use of the mandative subjunctive and of its alternatives in both language variants in the Early Modern English period are illustrated in the following diagram.
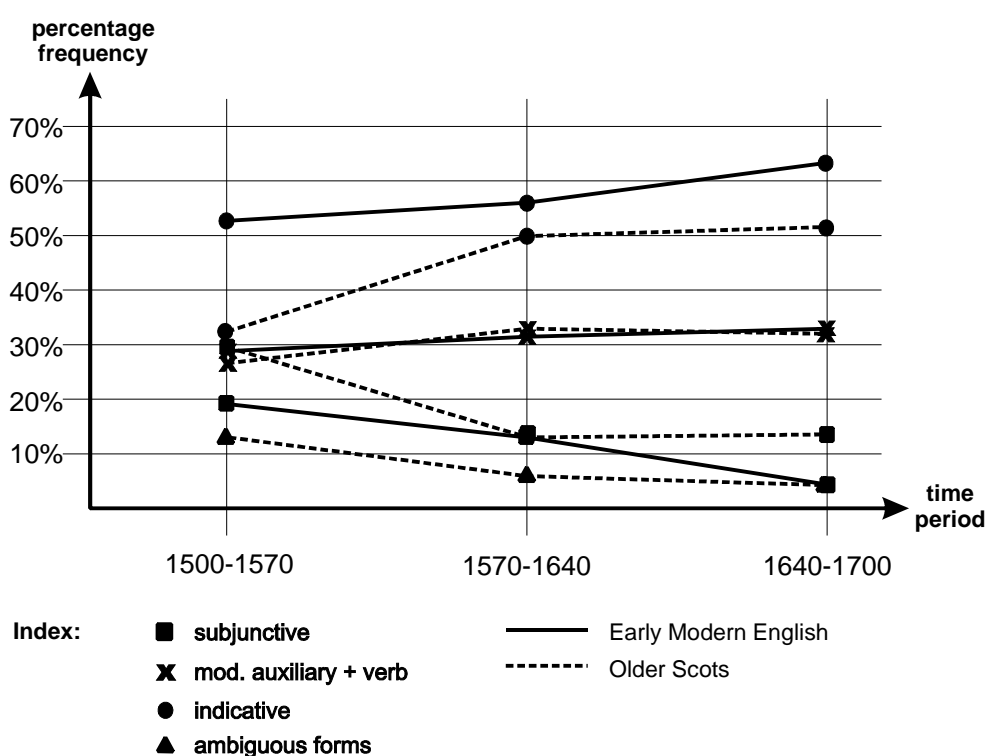

Figure 1. Development of the use of the realization possibilities in Early Modern English and in Older Scots

There are many differences between Early Modern English and Older Scots concerning the use of the mandative subjunctive and its alternatives in the Early Modern English period. While in Older Scots, the development of all realization possibilities is characterized by a considerable concurrent change between the subperiods SC1 and SC2 (from about 6% to 17%), no big changes between sub-periods of Early Modern English take place where all alternatives would be involved (see also Tables 2 and 3). The biggest changes in Early Modern English take place in the developments of the subjunctives and of the indicatives. Between E1 and E2, the frequency of the subjunctives decreases by about 6%. This

development is set forth throughout the rest of the period – the use of the subjunctives decreases between E2 and E3 by about 8%. Between E2 and E3, the indicative frequency rises by about 7% as well. In Older Scots, however, the changes which begin between SC1 and SC2 come to a halt between SC2 and SC3 when the frequencies of the four variables remain practically unchanged. So it can be said that the changes which take place between SC1 and SC2 are bigger than the changes between E1 and E2 but with the changes between the second and the third subperiods it is the other way round – the changes of all realization possibilities are bigger in Early Modern English than in Older Scots.

It is notable that in both Older Scots and Early Modern English, the alternative which shows the smallest changes throughout the whole period is the modal construction. Between E1 and E2, its frequency rises by 2.52% and between E2 and E3 by 1.58%. Between SC1 and SC2 the frequency of the modal constructions increases by 6.18% and between SC2 and SC3 it goes back by 0.31%.

Although the realization possibilities show different frequency changes in Early Modern English and in Older Scots, they still develop into (almost) the same directions in both language variants. The subjunctives are characterized by a decrease in their frequency, while the use of the indicatives increases at the same time. The modal constructions show an increase between the first and the second subperiods. Between the second and the third subperiods, the developments of the modal constructions take different directions – in the southern variant, the frequency of the modal constructions still shows an increase, though a small one, but in the northern variant, the frequency goes slightly back.

Differences between Early Modern English and Older Scots are also evident in the distribution of the subjunctives, the modal constructions and the indicatives in the three subperiods.

In E1, the subjunctives form the smallest group of the three alternatives with nearly 20%. In SC1, the subjunctives form with 29.6% the second biggest group. However, in the following subperiods, the subjunctives have in both language variants the third position with respect to their frequencies. The subjunctive frequency decreases in both language variants between the first subperiods. But while the tendency of frequency loss is continued between E2 and E3, the frequency of the subjunctives remains practically constant between SC2 and SC3. In the first and in the last subperiod, the subjunctive frequencies are in the northern variant higher than in the southern variant. In the second subperiod, the subjunctive frequencies are almost equal in Early Modern English and in Older Scots (about 12.8%).

The modal constructions have nearly identical distributions between the subperiods of Early Modern English and Older Scots. In the first subperiod, the modal constructions make about 26–29% of the realization possibilities and in the second and in the third subperiods their frequencies are about 31–32%. The modal constructions stand in the middle position with respect to their frequencies throughout the Early Modern English period, their frequency is the third highest only in SC1.

With the frequencies of the indicatives it is the other way round as with the subjunctives. The frequencies of the indicatives are throughout all subperiods lower

in Older Scots and higher in Early Modern English. In Early Modern English, they are never lower than 50% but in Older Scots, they never rise above the 50% level. The indicative frequencies form the biggest part of the realization possibilities in all subperiods in both language variants.

According to a chi-square test, the distributions of the subjunctives, modal constructions and indicatives in Early Modern English and in Older Scots are significantly different in the first and in the third subperiod and with respect to the whole Early Modern English period (*p* is less than or equal to 0.001). For the second subperiod, however, the chi-square test does not show statistically significant different distributions (*p* is less than or equal to 1).

5. Summary

This corpus research with altogether 3483 examples of subordinate *that*-clauses in mandative sentences proves the statement that the use of the subjunctives decreases considerably in Early Modern English (cf. Denison 1993:330, Stein 1990: 233). In Older Scots however, the rapid decrease which starts at the beginning of the period comes to a halt between SC2 and SC3. A "shift from inflectional marking to marking by modal auxiliary" (Stein 1990:233) in the use of the mandative subjunctive can be observed only in the first half of Older Scots. Between the last subperiods of Older Scots and in the whole period of Early Modern English, the frequency of the modal constructions remains practically unchanged. The use of the indicatives increases in the course of the whole period, though the increase between SC2 and SC3 is minimal. Throughout all subperiods, the subjunctive frequencies are higher in Older Scots than in Early Modern English. With the frequencies of the indicatives it is the other way round. The modal constructions have nearly identical distributions between the subperiods of Early Modern English and Older Scots.

The realization possibility with the highest frequencies in all subperiods in both language variants is the indicative. The modal construction has the second highest frequencies except in SC1, where the subjunctives occur more often than the modal constructions. In Older Scots, there is also a fourth alternative realization possibility, the ambiguous verb form, which has the lowest occurrence frequencies throughout the whole period.

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