

THE RISE OF OVERT EXPLETIVES IN EARLY ENGLISH

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SWELL 2012

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so also befits that the elder all arranges

“So it is also proper that the elder arranges everything”

(cobenrul, BenR:3.15.16.226)

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 “So it is also [þæt ær ealdor eal gestyhtige] all arranges everything”
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- Expletive
- OE *hit* >>> ModE *it*
- No thematic role

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(1) swa eac geris þæt eac eall gedyhtige]

so also befits • Finite clause associate
arranges

“So it is also p • Usually headed by *that*
Thematic contribution changes everything”

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 - OE1: c. 800 – 950 OE2: c. 950 – 1150
 - ME1: c. 1150 – 1350 ! ME2: c. 1350 - 1500

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- Two parts: A: Outline of the analysis. B: Evidence: subject positioning, dative subjects, clausal subjects, PP EXPERIENCERS, *that*-trace effects

A: Proposal

Lexicon Entries

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Predicate with a subcategorization frame

to show a, b, c

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Grammatical function mapping

subject direct object indirect object

Lexicon Entries

Hierarchy of Theta Roles

(Bresnan & Moshi 1990):

AGENT > BENEFICIARY > GOAL/
EXPERIENCER > INSTRUMENT >
PATIENT/THEME > LOCATIVE

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Hierarchy of Obliqueness

NP[structural case], CP
... NP[inherent case]
... PP, AdjP

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to show a, b, c (Williams 1981)

Grammatical function mapping

subject direct object indirect object

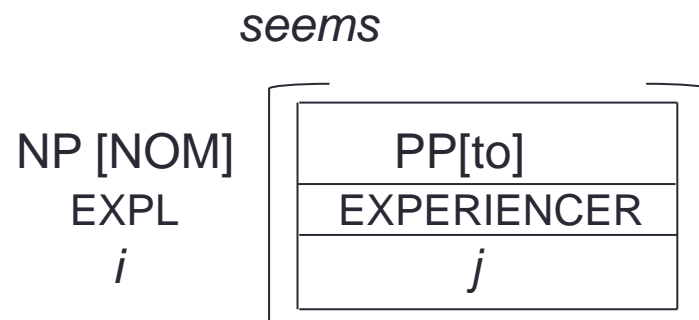
Illustration

Illustration

(3) **It**_i seems (to John) [that ...]_i

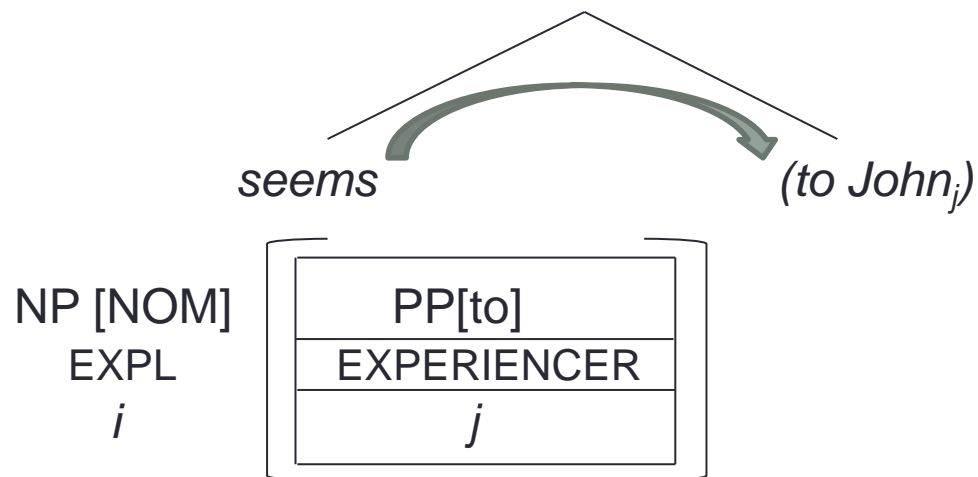
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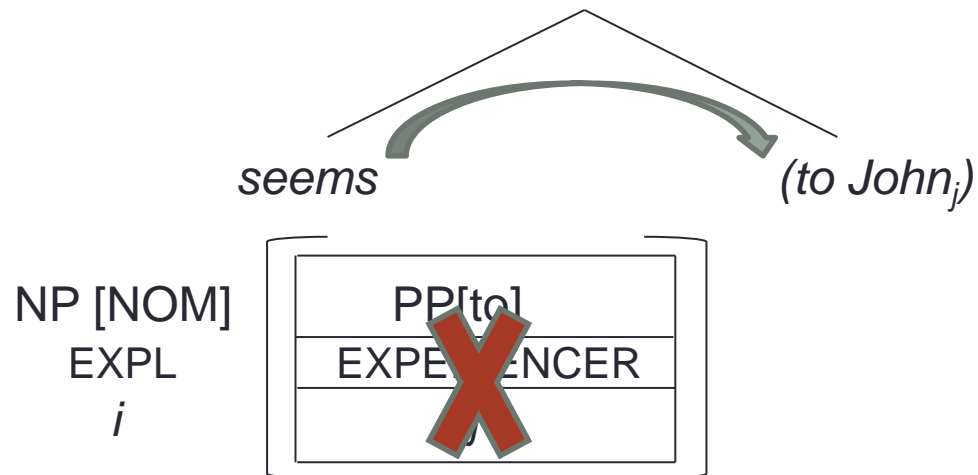
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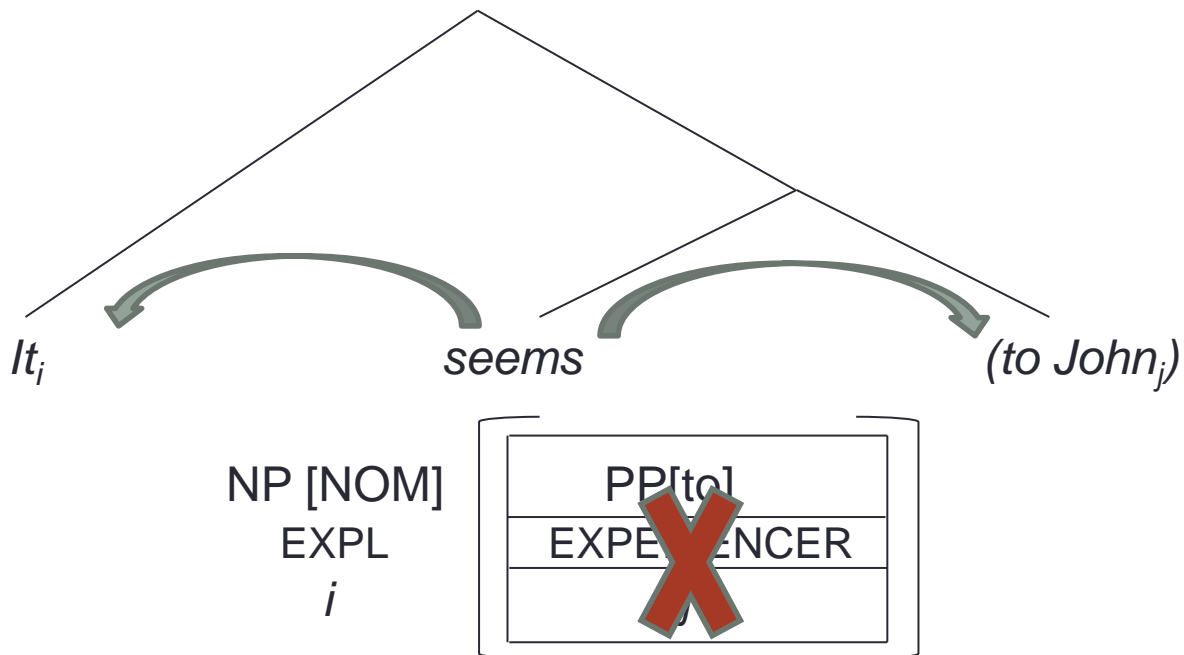
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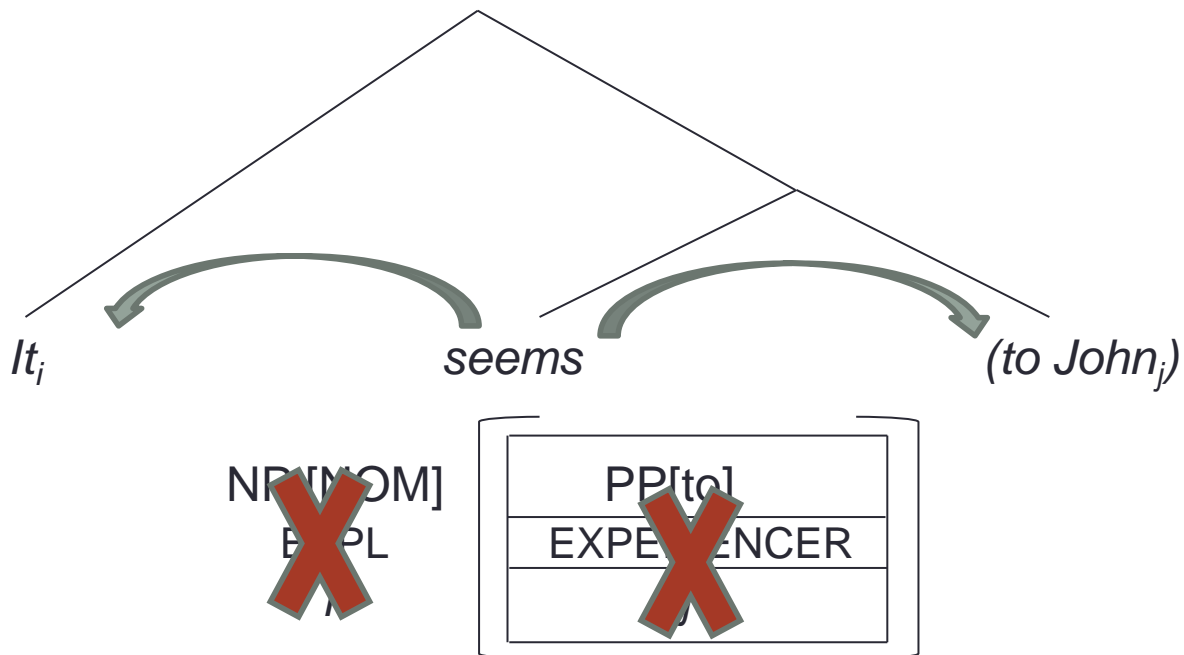
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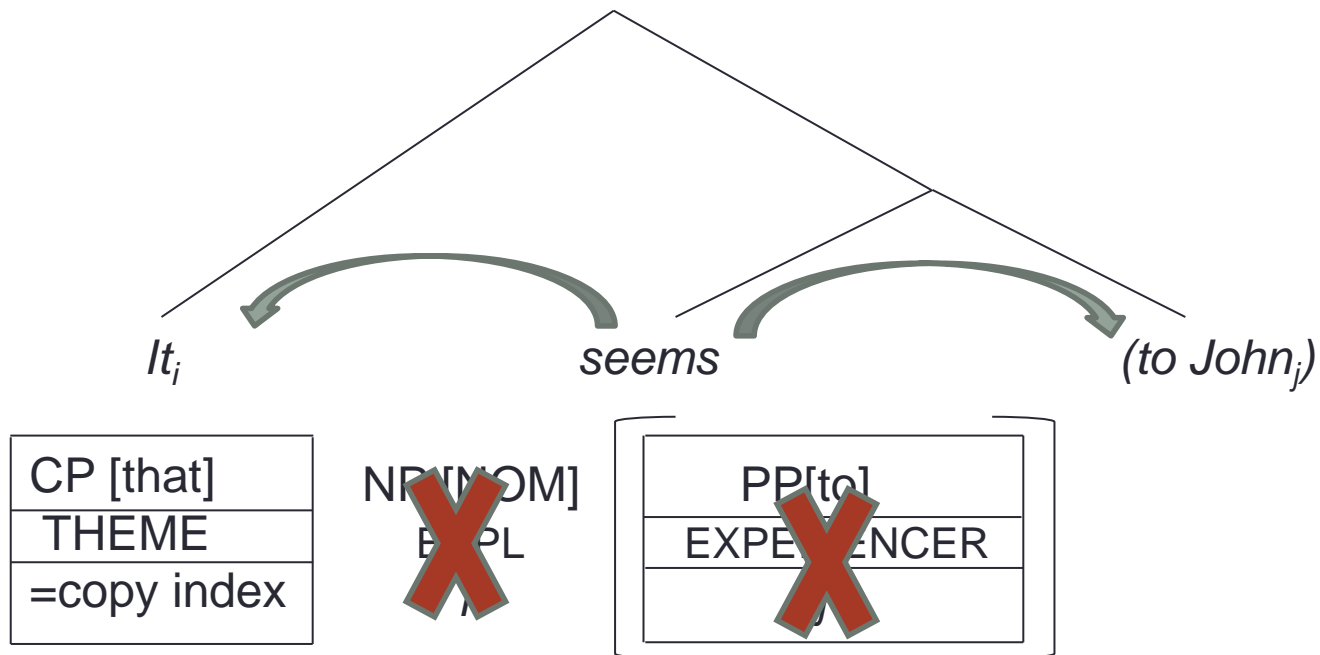
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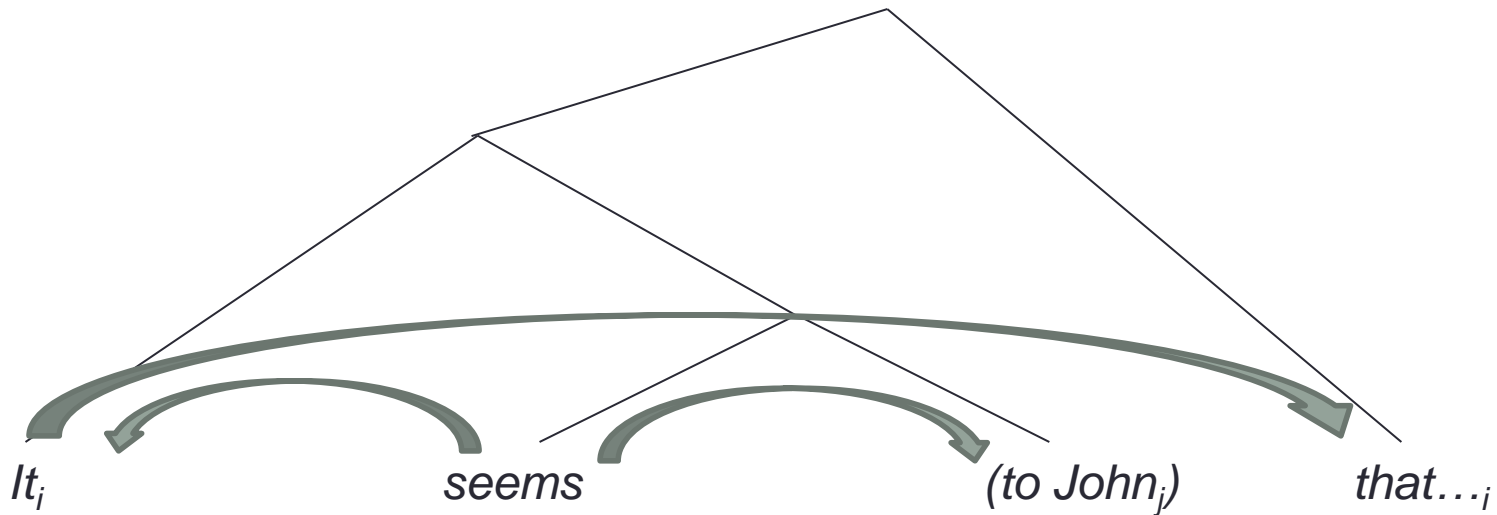
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| |
|-------------|
| CP [that] |
| THEME |
| =copy index |

NP[NOM]
EXPL

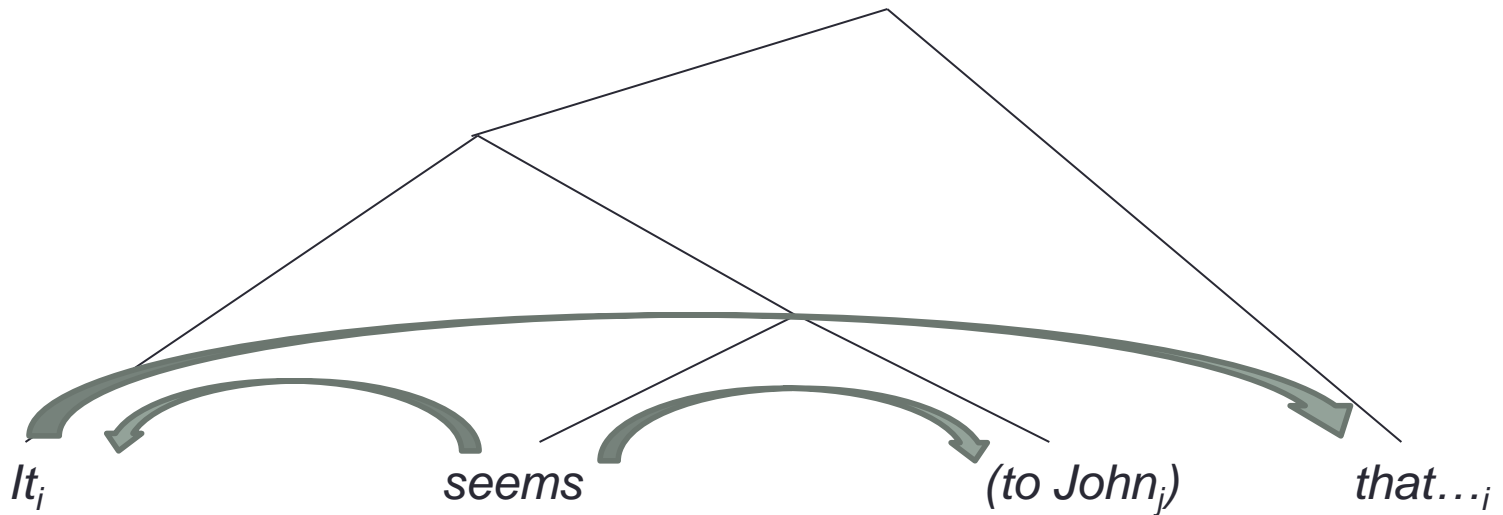
X

| |
|-------------|
| PP[to] |
| EXPERIENCER |

X

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| =copy index |

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EXPL

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Expletive Variation in Early English (1)

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(4) & so befell [þat he wente with the marchandes in to Egipt]
 and so befell that he went with the merchants in to Egypt
 ‘And it so happened that he went to Egypt with the merchants’
 (CMMANDEV,90.2249)

(5) **Hit** bifel thus, [þat Eneas dide, as God wolde]
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| period | overt expletive | no overt expletive | % overt |
|--------|-----------------|--------------------|---------|
| OE1 | 185 | 102 | 64.46 |
| OE2 | 151 | 42 | 78.24 |
| ME1 | 27 | 7 | 79.41 |
| ME2 | 126 | 20 | 86.30 |

$\chi^2=27.44$, $df=3$,
 $p<0.0001$

Table 1: Frequencies of overt vs. no overt expletives for verbs with a finite clause

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|------------|---|---|---|---|------------|
| Proposal 1 | 2 | Evidence 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Conclusion |
|------------|---|------------|---|---|---|---|------------|

Expletive Variation in Early English (2)

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Analysis:

- Conservative lexicon entries for a matrix predicate includes subcategorizes for **one** thematic CP that will be mapped onto the subject function.

(6) a. *befall* (conservative)

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 ... so that not-was that ship between the waves seen
 ‘... so that the ship could not be seen between the waves’
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Pre-verbal position
with non-subject
pronoun

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Preverbal
predicative
complement

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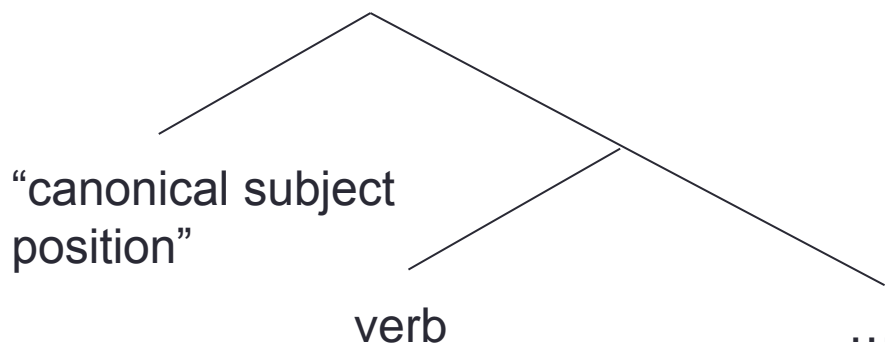
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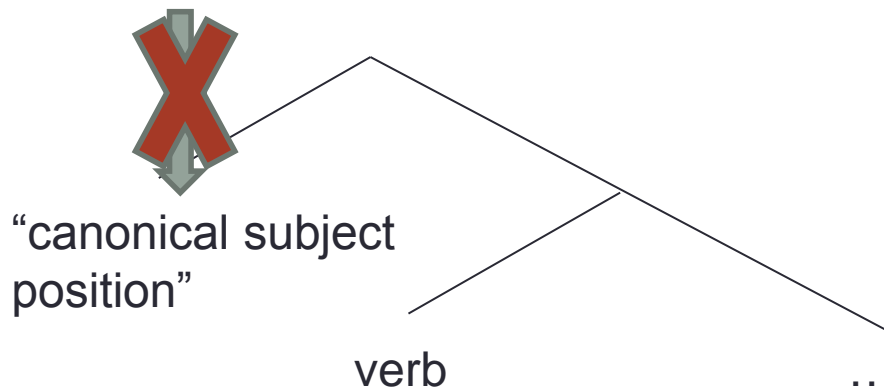
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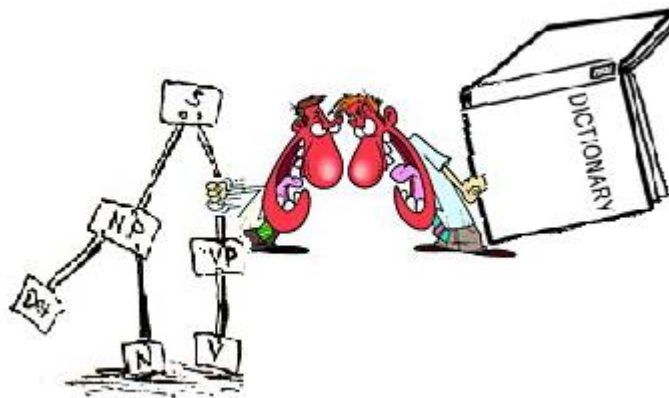
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B: Evidence

Evidence

Evidence: Rise of Fixed Subject Position

Measure for frequency of post-verbal subjects: Subordinate clauses with a full subject that follows the finite verb. Presence of a non-finite verb required to reduce the probability of subject extraposition. Calculate the frequency of such clauses as a proportion of all subordinate clauses with a full subject, finite and non-finite verb.

- (11) ... þæt him wære from Drihtne sylfum **heofonlic gifu** forgifen.
 ... that him were from Lord self heavenly gift given
 ‘... that a heavenly gift was given to him by the Lord himself’
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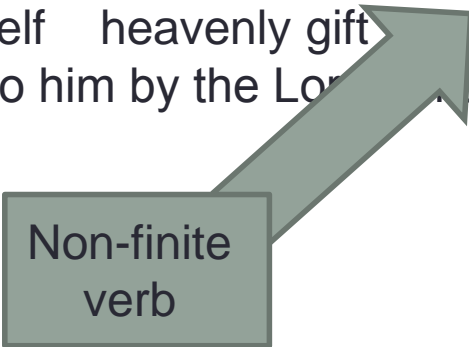


Finite
verb

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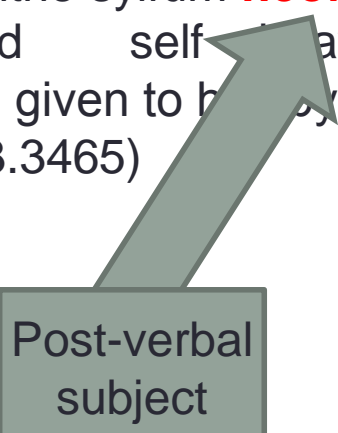


Non-finite
verb

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Post-verbal
subject

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| period | all subordinate clauses | Post-verbal subject | % Post-verbal subject |
|--------|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| OE1 | 868 | 115 | 13.25 |
| OE2 | 996 | 94 | 9.44 |
| ME1 | 245 | 7 | 2.86 |
| ME2 | 1531 | 14 | 0.91 |

$\chi^2 = 167.29$, $df=3$,
 $p < 0.0001$

Table 2: Frequency of subordinate clauses with post-verbal subjects

Evidence

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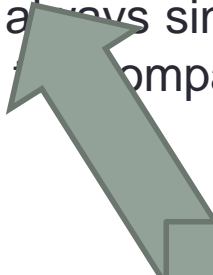
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clausal subject

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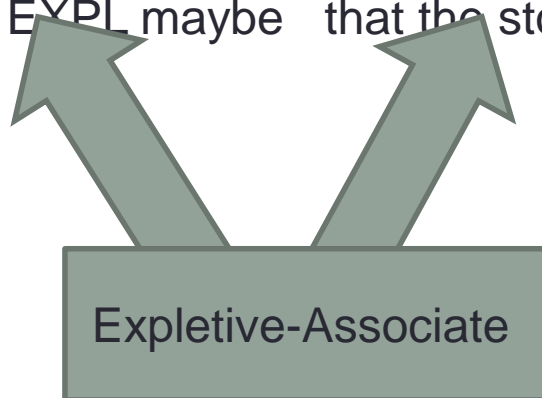
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- c. ... weil **es** [vielleicht [[Probleme in der Firma]]] beweist [**dass die Aktie immerzu sinkt**].
 because EXPL maybe problems in the firm proves that the stock always sinks
 'because maybe it proves problems in the company that the stock is always falling'

Expletive with extraposed Associate

Evidence: Clausal Subjects (2)

Independent evidence for Clausal Subjects in Early English:

Context: (cocura,CP:51.395.11.2678) - (cocura,CP:51.395.23.2685)

“About this, Paul spoke very well with few words in his Letter to the Corinthians. He said: those who have a wife, those should be as if they had none, and those who weep, those should be as if they did not weep, and those who are happy, those should be as if they are not happy.

He then has a wife as if I had none who has her for bodily comfort, and [who], nevertheless, for the pleasure and for the love, does not refrain himself from better works. [...].

That one weeps and not weeps, that then means that one weeps the tears of this world, and nevertheless knows that one shall be comforted, and have bliss in the eternal joy”

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Evidence: Clausal Subjects (3)

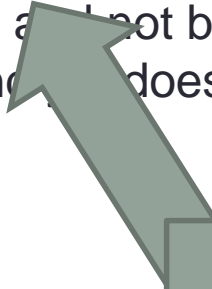
Independent evidence for Clausal Subjects in Early English:

(13) & eft is [ðæt mon blissige & ne blissige] [ðæt mon ahebbe his mod]
 and again is that one bliss and not bliss that one arise his mind
 ‘and again, [that a man rejoices and yet does not rejoice] means [that he exalts his mind]’
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clausal subject

Evidence

Evidence: Dative Experiencers (1)

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Prediction: Lexicon entries specifying arguments with a more prominent thematic role than the clausal THEME will not appear with expletives

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(14) a. *befall* (conservative)

| |
|-----------|
| CP [that] |
| THEME |
| <i>i</i> |

b. *befall* (innovative)

NP [NOM]
EXPL
i

Evidence: Dative Experiencers (1)

Prediction: Lexicon entries specifying arguments with a more prominent thematic role than the clausal THEME will not appear with expletives

(15) *seem* (conservative)

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| NP [DAT] | CP [that] |
| EXP | THEME |
| <i>i</i> | <i>j</i> |

Evidence: Dative Experiencers (1)

Prediction: Lexicon entries specifying arguments with a more prominent thematic role than the clausal THEME will not appear with expletives

(15) *seem* (conservative)

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| NP [DAT] | CP [that] |
| EXP | THEME |
| <i>i</i> | <i>j</i> |

(16) *peah þe nu þince þæt ðu deorwyrðe feoh forloren habbe,*
 Although you.DAT now seems that you dear property lost have
 ‘Although it may seem to you now that you have lost precious property’
 (coboeth,Bo:20.48.17.870)

Evidence: Dative Experiencers (1)

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(15) *seem* (conservative)

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| NP [DAT] | CP [that] |
| EXP | THEME |
| <i>i</i> | <i>j</i> |

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(17) ðeh **hit** þynce mannen, þæt arlease mænn habben wele on þyssen wurlde
 although EXPL seems men.DAT that honour-less men have wealth in this world
 ‘Although it may seem to men that dishonourable people have wealth here’
 (coeluc1,Eluc_1_[Warn_45]:115.88)

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 ‘Although it may seem to men that dishonourable people have wealth here’
 (coeluc1,Eluc_1_[Warn_45]:115.88)

| period | overt expletive | no overt expletive | % overt |
|--------|-----------------|--------------------|---------|
| OE1 | 1 | 279 | 0.36 |
| OE2 | 4 | 190 | 2.06 |
| ME1 | 2 | 28 | 6.67 |
| ME2 | 8 | 96 | 7.69 |

Comparison:
 table 1 vs. table 3
 $\chi^2=15.26$, $df=1$,
 $p<0.0001$

Table 3: Frequencies of overt vs. no overt expletives for verbs with a finite clause and a dative experiencer

Evidence: Dative Experiencers (3)

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Independent evidence for dative subjects in Old English:

Evidence: Dative Experiencers (3)

Independent evidence for dative subjects in Old English:

(18) a. *German*

*Er [~~er~~ sagt von sich fleißig zu sein], aber [~~ihm~~ käme die Aufgabe zu schwer vor.]
 he.NOM says of self diligent to be, but him.DAT find. the task.NOM too hard PT

b. *Icelandic*

Hann [~~hann~~ segist vera duglegur,] en [~~honum~~ finnst verkefnið of þungt.]
 he.NOM says-self be diligent, but him.DAT finds the-work.NOM too hard
 ‘He says to be diligent, but finds the homework too hard’

(From: Wunderlich 2003)

Evidence: Dative Experiencers (3)

Independent evidence for dative subjects in Old English:

(19) *Old English*

hie onfoōð ðære lare sua micle lusōlicor & hīm sua micle ma scamiað hiera unðeawes
 they.NOM receive the lore so much gladder and they.DAT so much more shames their fault

‘they will receive the advice so much more gladly and [they] will be so much more ashamed of their fault.’

(cocura,CP:40.293.21.1939)

(similar examples: Allen 1986)

Evidence

Evidence: PPs without Expletives (1)

Evidence: PPs without Expletives (1)

(20) a. *seem* (conservative)

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| NP [DAT] | CP [that] |
| EXP | THEME |
| <i>i</i> | <i>j</i> |

Evidence: PPs without Expletives (1)

(20) a. *seem* (conservative)

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| NP [DAT] | CP [that] |
| EXP | THEME |
| <i>i</i> | <i>j</i> |

b. *seem* (intermediate)

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| PP [to] | CP [that] |
| EXP | THEME |
| <i>i</i> | <i>j</i> |

Evidence: PPs without Expletives (1)

(20) a. *seem* (conservative)

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| NP [DAT] | CP [that] |
| EXP | THEME |
| <i>i</i> | <i>j</i> |

b. *seem* (intermediate)

| | |
|-----------|----------|
| CP [that] | PP [to] |
| THEME | EXP |
| <i>j</i> | <i>i</i> |

Evidence: PPs without Expletives (1)

(20) a. *seem* (conservative)

| | |
|----------|-----------|
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| <i>i</i> | <i>j</i> |

b. *seem* (intermediate)

| | |
|-----------|----------|
| CP [that] | PP [to] |
| THEME | EXP |
| <i>j</i> | <i>i</i> |

c. *seem* (innovative)

| | |
|-----------|----------|
| CP [that] | PP [to] |
| THEME | EXP |
| <i>j</i> | <i>i</i> |

Evidence: PPs without Expletives (1)

(20) a. *seem* (conservative)

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| NP [DAT] | CP [that] |
| EXP | THEME |
| <i>i</i> | <i>j</i> |

b. *seem* (intermediate)

| | |
|-----------|----------|
| CP [that] | PP [to] |
| THEME | EXP |
| <i>j</i> | <i>i</i> |

c. *seem* (innovative)

| | | |
|----------|--|----------|
| NP | | PP [to] |
| EXPL | | EXP |
| <i>j</i> | | <i>i</i> |

Evidence: PPs without Expletives (1)

(20) a. *seem* (conservative)

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| NP [DAT] | CP [that] |
| EXP | THEME |
| <i>i</i> | <i>j</i> |

b. *seem* (intermediate)

| | |
|-----------|----------|
| CP [that] | PP [to] |
| THEME | EXP |
| <i>j</i> | <i>i</i> |

c. *seem* (innovative)

| | |
|----------|----------|
| NP | PP [to] |
| EXPL | EXP |
| <i>j</i> | <i>i</i> |

Evidence: PPs without Expletives (1)

(20) a. *seem* (conservative)

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| NP [DAT] | CP [that] |
| EXP | THEME |
| <i>i</i> | <i>j</i> |

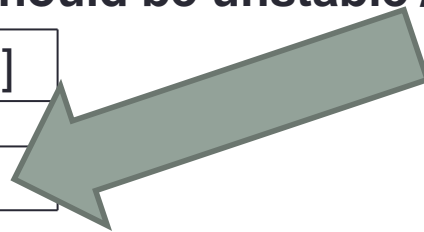
b. *seem* (intermediate)

| | |
|-----------|----------|
| CP [that] | PP [to] |
| THEME | EXP |
| <i>j</i> | <i>i</i> |

c. *seem* (innovative)

| | |
|----------|----------|
| NP | PP [to] |
| EXPL | EXP |
| <i>j</i> | <i>i</i> |

Prediction: The development from dative to PP coding is relatively late. The fixation of a canonical, pre-verbal subject position is relatively early. Therefore, the lexicon entry in (13b) should be unstable / non-existent.



Evidence: PPs without Expletives (2)

Prediction: The development from dative to PP coding is relatively late. The fixation of a canonical, pre-verbal subject position is relatively early. Therefore, the lexicon entry in (13b) should be unstable / non-existent.

Evidence: PPs without Expletives (2)

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There should be no sentences with a PP Experiencer and no expletive.

conservative: ^{ok} *Him seems that John is nice.*

innovative: ^{ok} *It seems to him that John is nice.*

intermediate: **To him seems that John is nice.*

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conservative: ^{ok} *Him seems that John is nice.*

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intermediate: **To him seems that John is nice.*



There are as a matter of fact virtually no PP-Experiencers without overt expletives in the transmitted corpus of Early English.

Evidence: PPs without Expletives (3)

Only one exception:

PP EXPERIENCER without overt expletive - extremely rare in the history of English:

(21) ...þeah ðe **to þam fæder** synderlice belimpe þæt he bearn gestrynde
 ... though that to the father exclusively happens that he son begot
 ‘...although it exclusively belongs to the father that he begot a son’
 (cocathom1,ÆCHom_I,_33:463.141.6666)

Evidence

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (1)

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That-trace effect: Impossibility to extract a subject from a clause introduced by a complementizer like *that*.

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(22) a. John said that Mary read a book.

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (1)

That trace effect: Impossibility to extract a subject from a clause introduced by a complementizer like *that*.

- (22) a. John said that Mary read a book.
b. What did John say that Mary read ____ ?

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (1)

That trace effect: Impossibility to extract a subject from a clause introduced by a complementizer like *that*.

- (22) a. John said that Mary read a book.
b. What did John say that Mary read ____ ?
c. *Who did John say that ____ read a book?

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (1)

That trace effect: Impossibility to extract a subject from a clause introduced by a complementizer like *that*.

- (22) a. John said that Mary read a book.
b. What did John say that Mary read ____ ?
c. *Who did John say that ____ read a book?

(Perlmutter 1971)

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (2)

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Assumption: The *That*-trace effect arises because there is a “canonical”, pre-verbal subject position in English. You cannot extract from that position, but from other positions.

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(23) a. John said that a cat is on the mat.

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (2)

Assumption: The *That*-trace effect arises because there is a “canonical”, pre-verbal subject position in English. You cannot extract from that position, but from other positions.

- (23) a. John said that a cat is on the mat.
b. *What did John say that ___ is on the mat?

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (2)

Assumption: The *That*-trace effect arises because there is a “canonical”, pre-verbal subject position in English. You cannot extract from that position, but from other positions.

- (23) a. John said that a cat is on the mat.
b. *What did John say that ___ is on the mat?
c. John said that there is a cat on the mat.

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (2)

Assumption: The *That*-trace effect arises because there is a “canonical”, pre-verbal subject position in English. You cannot extract from that position, but from other positions.

- (23) a. John said that a cat is on the mat.
b. *What did John say that ___ is on the mat?
c. John said that there is a cat on the mat.
d. What did John say that there is ___ on the mat?

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (2)

Assumption: The *That*-trace effect arises because there is a “canonical”, pre-verbal subject position in English. You cannot extract from that position, but from other positions.

- (23) a. John said that a cat is on the mat.
b. *What did John say that ___ is on the mat?
c. John said that there is a cat on the mat.
d. What did John say that there is ___ on the mat?

Prediction: If expletives come into being as English develops a fixed, “canonical” pre-verbal subject position, *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (3)

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Subject extractions without *that*-trace effect do in fact exist in early English.

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (3)

Prediction: *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.

(24) fela þæra fortacna þe Crist sylf foresæde þæt cuman scolde
 many of.the fore-tokens that Christ self fore-said that come should
 ‘many of the omens that Christ himself foretold (*that) __ would come’
 (cowulf, WHom_6:196.371)

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (4)

Prediction: *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.



Frequency of subject extration without *that*-trace effects declines.

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (4)

Prediction: *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.

| period | all long-distance extractions out of <i>that</i> -clauses | of those, extractions of the subject | % <i>that</i> -trace effect violations |
|--------|---|--------------------------------------|--|
| OE1 | 191 | 56 | 29.3 |
| OE2 | 96 | 19 | 19.8 |
| ME1 | 11 | 4 | 30.8 |
| ME2 | 62 | 5 | 8.1 |

Table 5: Frequencies of *that* trace effect violations in early English

OE vs. ME: $\chi^2 = 4.46$, $df = 1$,
 $p < 0.05$

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (4)

Prediction: *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.

| period | all long-distance extractions out of <i>that</i> -clauses | of those, extractions of the subject | % <i>that</i> -trace effect violations |
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Table 5: Frequencies of *that* trace effect violations in early English

OE vs. ME: $\chi^2 = 4.46$, $df = 1$,
 $p < 0.05$

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (5)

Prediction: *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.



The contexts in which subject extraction without *that*-trace effect occur and the contexts in which post-verbal subject occur are identical.

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (5)

Prediction: *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.

(25) ... swa þæt ___ næs **þæt scip** betwyh þam ypum gesewen
 ... so that not-was that ship between the waves seen
 ‘... so that the ship could not be seen between the waves’
 (cogregdC,GDPref_and_3_[C]:36.248.26.3516)

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (5)

Prediction: *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.

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 ... so that not-was that ship between the waves seen
 ‘... so that the could not be seen between the waves’
 (cogregdC,GDPref_3_[C]:36.248.26.3516)



“empty”

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (5)

Prediction: *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.

(26) fela þæra fortacna þe Crist sylf foresæde þæt ___ cuman scolde
 many of.the fore-tokens that Christ self fore-said that come should
 ‘many of the omens that Christ himself foretold (*that) __ would come’
 (cowulf, WHom_6:196.371)

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (5)

Prediction: *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.

(26) fela þæra fortacna þe Crist sylf foresæde þæt ___ cuman scolde
 many of.the fore-tokens that Christ self fore-said that ___ should
 ‘many of the omens that Christ himself foretold (*that) ___ would come’
 (cowulf, WHom_6:196.371)



“empty”

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (5)


Prediction: *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.

(27) ... þæt hire wand **se innoð** ut
... that her went the inside out
'... that her bowels came out of her'
(coelive,+ALS[Lucy]:127.2244)

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (5)

Prediction: *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.

(27) ... þæt hire wand **se innoð** ut
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 '... that he jewels came out of her'
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Pre-verbal position
with non-subject
pronoun

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (5)


Prediction: *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.

(28) ælcum þara þe he ongyt þæt him on eallum mode to gecyrreð.
 each of.those who he understands that him in all minds to turn
 ‘each of those who he understands (*that) ___ turn to him in all situations’
 (coverhom,HomS_34_[ScraggVerc_19]:145.2520)

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (5)

Prediction: *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.

(28) ælcum þara þe he ongyt þæt him on eallum mode to gecyrreð.
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Pre-verbal position
with non-subject
pronoun

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (5)


Prediction: *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.

(29) ... for þan þe leoht sint þin bebodu ofer eorðan.
... because light are your orders over earth
'... because your orders for this world are "light" '
(coverhom,HomS_11.2_[ScraggVerc_3]:65.434)

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (5)

Prediction: *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.

(29) ... for þan þe leoht sint þin bebodu ofer eorðan.
 ... because light are your orders over earth
 ‘... because your orders for this world are “light” ’
 (coverhom,HomS_11.2 [craggVerc_3]:65.434)



Preverbal
 predicative
 complement

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (5)

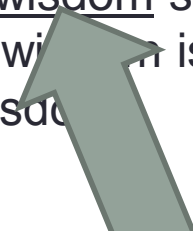
Prediction: *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.

(30) ðone wisdom ðe him selfum ðyncð ðætte wisdom sie,
 the wisdom which him self seems that wisdom is
 ‘the wisdom which he thinks (*that) ___ is wisdom.’
 (cocura,CP:30.203.13.1364)

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (5)

Prediction: *That*-trace effects should be absent at first and develop in parallel with the development of a rigid subject position.

(30) ðone wisdom ðe him selfum ðyncð ðætte wisdom sie,
 the wisdom which him self seems that wisdom is
 'the wisdom which he thinks (*that) ___ is wisdom'
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Preverbal
 predicative
 complement

Evidence: *That*-trace Effect (5)

Conclusion

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Proposal:

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Expletives with finite clause associates developed in English as a consequence of the development of rigid SV order

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Clausal subjects could no longer be licensed.

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This is an example of grammar “tension” between different incompatible constraints imposed by different grammatical components (syntax vs. the lexicon).

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Expletives with finite clause associates developed in English as a consequence of the development of rigid SV order

Clausal subjects could no longer be licensed.

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Conclusion

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Clausal subjects could no longer be licensed.

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Evidence:

Supporting evidence for this view includes (1) the measurable increase of rigid SV order

Conclusion

Proposal:

Expletives with finite clause associates developed in English as a consequence of the development of rigid SV order

Clausal subjects could no longer be licensed.

This is an example of grammar “tension” between different incompatible constraints imposed by different grammatical components (syntax vs. the lexicon).

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Open Questions:

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Open Questions:

Non-finite complementation.

That's all folks ...

Thank you for your attention!!!



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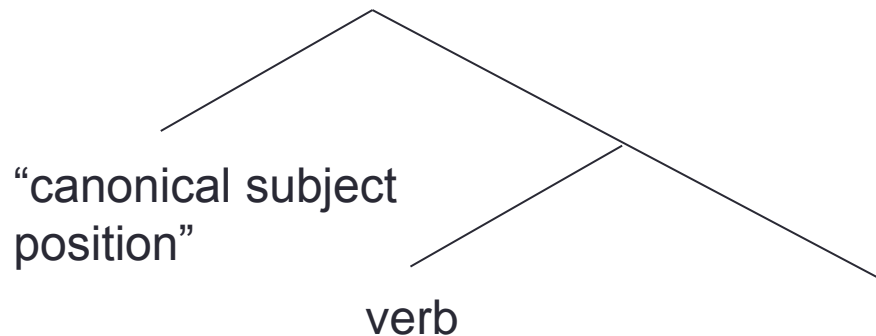
(ii) a. [That John has blood on his hands] proves that Mary is innocent.

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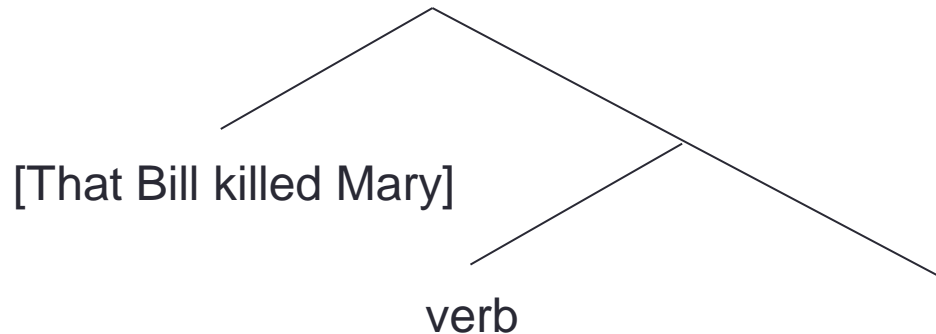


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- (i) a. [That Bill killed Mary] (*it) upset Paul.
 - b. *Did [that Bill killed Mary] upset Paul?
 - c. *He claimed that [that Bill killed Mary] upset Paul.

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 - b. [That John has blood on his hands], that (fact) proves that Mary is innocent.

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- (iii) a. She said about Paul [that he is nice].
 - Context: A: She said about Paul that he is nasty. B: No, no, no.
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A possible object of a prepositional phrase subjects in Modern English that occur in the “~~prepositional phrase~~” position.

- (i) a. [That Bill killed Mary] (*it) upset Paul.
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- c. *He claimed that [that Bill killed Mary] upset Paul.

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A possible object of a ~~relative clause~~ subjects in Modern English that occur in the “~~relative clause~~”, pre-verbally, in that position.

- (i) a. [That Bill killed Mary] (*it) upset Paul.
- b. *Did [that Bill killed Mary] upset Paul?
- c. *He claimed that [that Bill killed Mary] upset Paul.

- (ii) a. [That John has blood on his hands] proves that Mary is innocent.
- b. [That John has blood on his hands], that (fact) proves that Mary is innocent.

- (iii) a. She said about Paul [that he is nice].
 Context: A: She said about Paul that he is nasty. B: No, no, no.
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