

LEXICAL V-TO-I RAISING IN LATE MODERN ENGLISH *

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1. INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of *do*-insertion that is necessary in certain contexts of Modern English is accounted for by the impossibility of the English lexical verb to raise out of the VP and carry the bound inflectional morpheme in the IP or the CP domain as it is required by certain constructions, i.e. questions or negation for example. The semantically void *do* is inserted in these cases in order to host the inflectional morpheme outside the VP.

It is a well known fact of the evolution of the grammar of English that *do*-insertion is a relatively new phenomenon and is the result of a change that has taken place in the syntax. Old English did not have *do*-support. It is with the continuous change of the language that a need for a dummy *do* developed by Early Modern English. More precisely, *do*-support is closely related to the loss of lexical V-to-I movement during the Middle English period. Starting from the hypothesis, then, that the presence of *do*-support should be in complementary distribution with a structure that involves V-to-I movement, in this paper we will be interested in any residual lexical V-to-I movement that can be observed after that period, i.e. in Late Modern English, by which time, presumably, *do*-support had already established itself as the norm at the expense of V-to-I raising.

Rohrbacher (1999), among others, argues that with the impoverishment of verbal agreement morphology by the end of the sixteenth century, and the parallel regularisation of *do*-support, V-to-I movement had no longer any reason to continue to exist. Strangely enough, we can observe the occasional recurrences of lexical verb raising in some literary works of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, most notably in the newly born genre of the novel. It has been noted by historical linguists that some lexical verbs on certain occasions resisted being imprisoned in the VP longer than others. The most commonly observed verbs that could still undergo V-to-I movement once *do*-support has taken over were *know*, *say*, *think*, *come*, or *mistake*, among others. It is important to stress nevertheless that in parallel, and in fact far more frequently, these same verbs also obeyed the rules imposed by the new structure, i.e. they remained *in situ* and *do*-insertion was necessary for their derivation. Nonetheless, we would assume that by the beginning of the Late Modern English period (c. 1700) only the emerging dominant structure, *do*-support, would be grammatical. Looking at a small sample of novels of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries however, we can notice the sporadic appearance of a lexical verb before the negative marker *not* or the former raised to C° in questions. This observation follows the proposal of Warner (1997) that V-to-I movement must have been lost much later than the disappearance of agreement morphology, probably sometime in the nineteenth century.

By looking at the evolution of English V-to-I movement and the related emergence of *do*-support, we would like to see if we can explain the occurrence of raised lexical verbs at so

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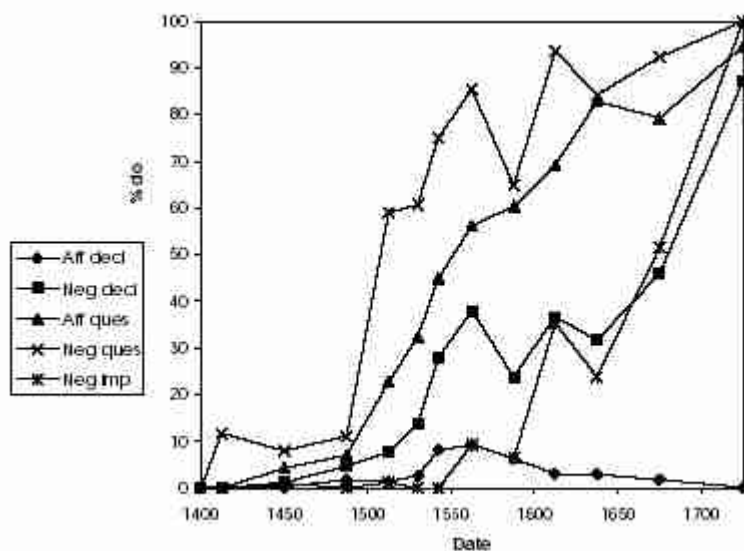
late a period. It may well be the manifestation of the natural pace of language, which evolves from a verb-raising to a non-verb-raising structure. More particularly, it could be explained by the fact that the introduction of *do*-support does not necessarily entail an abrupt cease in the use of V-to-I movement within the same timeframe. If *do*-support needs quite some time to establish itself, it may also be the case that V-to-I raising takes a considerable time to die out, and the process cannot be complete before the categorical employment of *do* has been entirely generalised, since the mechanisms of the derivation require a process fully integrated into the language. In order to observe these phenomena more precisely, we shall be looking at the frequency of residual V-to-I movement in some texts of this period and see if their appearance can be attributed to tangible properties of the evolution of English syntax.

2. THE REGULARISATION OF *DO*-INSERTION

By the middle of the Early Modern English period (the works of Shakespeare for example would be a good representative) it is clear that *do*-insertion in questions and negative sentences is a phenomenon to be reckoned with. Ellegård's well-known graph (Figure 1 below) shows the evolution of *do*-support up to around 1725. By that time, his graph indicates that negative questions and negative imperatives have completely adopted *do*-support (100%), but also questions show *do*-insertion in more than 90% and negatives a bit over 80% of all cases. Historical linguists estimate that it is around 1700 that questions, negatives and negative imperatives started categorically using *do*. These figures have led most of them to presume that it can be safely stated that V-to-I movement has completely died out from English by the end of the eighteenth century.

Ellegård's (1953:162) graph (reproduced in Han & Kroch 2000) shows the rate of *do*-support through Late Middle English to Early Modern English:

FIGURE 1:



The data in Figure 1 show us the proportion of the use of *do*-support, however, it remains a point of debate as to how this can be linked to, and to when exactly we can date the loss of V-to-I movement. For the syntax, the availability of *do*-support suggests that V-to-I movement will have a legitimate alternative and hence, a decrease in their number should not be unexpected. Linguists working in this domain will admit that the use of *do*-support does not

necessarily signify the immediate loss of V-to-I movement, although it is very difficult to determine when exactly it was lost once *do*-insertion was preferred. If Kroch (1989) suggests that it was around the end of the sixteenth century, Lightfoot argues for the end of the seventeenth and Warner (1997) proposes that it is even later than that.

A number of linguists have looked extensively at the emergence of *do*-support in English (Ellegård (1953), Roberts (1985,1993), Kroch (1989, 1994, 2000), Lightfoot (1979, 1995, 1997), Denison (1993), etc.) and have noted in the period of 1550-1575 “a major reanalysis of the auxiliary system” (Kroch 1989:222). Kroch goes on to suggest that it is precisely at the same time that English lost lexical V-to-I movement from its grammar. The second half of the sixteenth century must have been then a sort of transition period, when speakers possessed both systems and used both structures: raising of V to I°, and leaving the lexical verb in the VP. Kroch (1989) also reproduces evidence from Ellegård (1953) that the regular increase in the use of *do*-insertion was accompanied by the gradual loss of lexical verb raising (in the same rate) even in contexts where *do*-support is not relevant, i.e. with VP-adjoined (negative) adverbs. Over the period ranging from 1425 to 1600, a decrease can be observed in the number of instances when the lexical verb is fronted before the adverb *never*. (see also Kroch 1989:223-26). (1) is steadily replaced by the construction in (2), coinciding with the current usage:¹

- (1) Quene Ester looked never with swich an eye.
 (2) Queen Esther never looked with such an eye.

At the time of the emergence of *do*-insertion in English the language also underwent numerous other phonological, morphological and syntactic changes, many of them concerning the verb, most notably the disappearance of most of the verbal agreement morphology and a major shift in the syntactic behaviour of verbs with the emergence of the auxiliary and modal categories. Nonetheless, it is difficult to say how and in what degree these changes had an influence on each other, and more precisely, which change started to emerge first. Lightfoot (1979), Kroch (1989), and Roberts (1993) draw our attention to the fact that the auxiliary and modal system of English in the Middle English period has undergone a significant change with the most important aspect that modals have lost their lexical-verb-like property to retain behaviours that we can observe today.² As modals no longer undergo V-to-I movement, the language loses a construction that would be evidence for learners that English has V-to-I movement (Lightfoot 1999). Accompanied by evidence for the possibility of *do*-insertion (questions and negation), gradually, there might be enough evidence for learners to think that V-to-I movement in English is replaced by *do*-insertion. A change in the parameter setting will prevail after a lengthy transition period.

As English changed, there were less and less reasons for the verb to move out of the VP: the possibility of *do*-insertion, the evolution of the strength of the agreement and the syntactic development of the modal category have all contributed to the diminution of the number of occasions that would be triggers for V-to-I movement. Consequently, we see the prevalence of *do*-support and its subsequent generalisation along with the complete disappearance of V-to-I movement by the end of the Early Modern English period.

¹ Examples reproduced from Kroch (1989), taken from Chaucer, *Merchant's Tale*, line 1744.

² Modals are no longer inserted under V° but under I° and thus they no longer manifest a V-to-I movement from Middle English onwards.

3. A RESIDUE OF V-TO-I RAISING IN ENGLISH IN THE 18TH - 19TH CENTURIES

Modern English does not allow for lexical verbs to raise out of the VP, only auxiliaries and modals can be found in the IP-domain. However, we can come across examples of lexical verb raising as late as the eighteenth but also well into the nineteenth century. Periphrastic *do*-insertion can already be attested from the fourteenth century and it has been presumed that four centuries later in the eighteenth century, after a transition period in which the two grammars were competing with one another, English does not allow for the lexical verb to raise out of the VP. Some written texts of the nineteenth century however, make us think that the transition period lasted somewhat longer as we can find numerous examples of V-to-I raising (and the subsequent absence of *do*-support) in negation, and less frequently, in questions.

Negation:

- (3) a. Anne knew not how to understand it. *Persuasion* (1818:208)
 b. Captain Benwick came not, however. *Persuasion* (1818:113)
 c. Oh! no, I think not. *Persuasion* (1818:142)
 d. And then there came an illness upon me, and I know not what passed.
The Last Chronicle of Barset (1867:333)
 e. If I mistake not, a strong sense of duty is no bad part of a woman's portion.
Persuasion (1818:213)

Negative imperatives:

- (4) Tell me not that I am too late. *Persuasion* (1818:205)

Questions:

- (5) a. What care they to die, that cannot tell how to live? *Moll Flanders* (1721:219)
 b. Why hesitates my Pamela? *Pamela* (1740:190)
 c. What say you, Mary? *Pride and Prejudice* (1813:55)
 d. How came you to know the secret? *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851:242)

These sentences, of course, coexist with *do*-insertion constructions that are far more important in number. We may wonder how speakers of the nineteenth century perceived such instances of V-to-I raising and whether they already found the above examples completely ungrammatical (as a speaker of today would find them), or if they could still accept them without *do*-support. We can be fairly certain though that writers of the time did not have the intention to sound ungrammatical, though we may wonder whether they used it as a sign of more formal or archaic speech.

There are some striking examples of particular verbs that only ceased to have V-to-I movement very late in the course of the change. Such verbs are usually those that we can connect with the action of the mind: *know*, *say*, *mistake*, *doubt*, *think*, etc. Visser (1963-73) and Roberts (1993) have proposed that *say not* or *know not* could be easily considered as fixed expressions that resist change more vigorously. Visser (1963-73:1529, 1538) also suggests that complement-less verbs in expressions like *I think not*, and *I doubt not* are in this same category, and that there are still a few commonly used instances of such fixed expressions today in the form of *I hope not*, *I guess not*, *I thought not*, *I suppose not*, *I suspect*

not, etc. where *not* stands for a whole clause and cannot be followed by an overt argument or an adjunct.

Many linguists (Roberts (1993), Rohrbacher (1999)) dismiss V-to-I raising in eighteenth and nineteenth century texts as an extra-grammatical phenomenon which is the result of wanting to maintain a “more literary” style that resembles the texts of Shakespeare and the St. James Bible (1611); both of which retain ample structures of this kind. Constructions with V-to-I raising are considered to be intended archaisms that do not reflect the syntactic reality of their time. However, the same linguists also point out that finding V-to-I raising “imitations” after it was completely lost from English is common in literary texts, and it is something that they have to treat in their analyses (exclude them that is). But as historical linguistics is based on written evidence, we have no information as to how long these constructions may have survived in everyday speech. Following this line of thought, we may also point out that it is often in dialogues that we come across such “imitations”, not a very likely context for archaisms.

We have looked at about a dozen randomly chosen novels dated between 1719 and 1867. Therefore, they cover the major part of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century. The different texts vary as to the number of V-to-I constructions they use and the verbs that participate in such type of raising. For instance, in one of the first novels of the English language, Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), out of 30 V-to-I raisings (negation and questions), 26 are with the verb *to know*, which represent nearly 87 % of all cases.³

On the other hand, later novels may show more variation on their choice of lexical verbs that they will raise, e.g. *Frankenstein*, written a century later, has a wider range of lexical verbs that will be moved out from the VP: *know*, *think*, *doubt*, *close*, and *seek* (besides *have*, *dare* and *need*).

- (6) I closed not my eyes that night. *Frankenstein* (1816:47)
- (7) I doubted not that I should ultimately succeed. *Frankenstein* (1816:52)
- (8) At that moment I knew not that my only remaining friends were safe.
Frankenstein (1816:187)
- (9) Think you that the groans of Clerval were music to my ears?
Frankenstein (1816:208)
- (10) Yet I seek not a fellow feeling in my misery. *Frankenstein* (1816:209)

Similar is the case of *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) that we shall come back to in detail in section 4. Thus, we cannot conclude in a straightforward manner that the group of verbs that could be raised became more and more restricted as the years went by. It seems that individual authors will themselves decide on the frequency and the list of lexical verbs that they will employ in V-to-I movement. It is clear though that these constructions are a minority and for most verbs there will be more instances in which they remain in the VP (and get *do*-support) than those in which they undergo V-to-I raising. It remains unexplained from a

³ The other instances are: two times *to see*, and *care* and *forget* once each, with the exception of *have*, *dare/durst* and *need* that are not included in this total.

- a. [...] as for food, I yet saw not which way to supply myself (*Robinson Crusoe* 1719:57)
- b. I saw not the least signal [...] of such thing. (*Robinson Crusoe* 1719:184)
- c. I cared not if I was never to remove from the place. (*Robinson Crusoe* 1719:207)
- d. I forgot not to lift up my heart in thankfulness to heaven. (*Robinson Crusoe* 1719:267)

strictly syntactic point of view as to why these authors would choose to vary whether they raise or not the same lexical verb within the same text.

From about the middle of the nineteenth century, by a very abrupt turn, residual V-to-I movement becomes extremely rare, or even inexistent in texts of English literature, especially for positive questions, with a very few exceptional instances of a raised *know* (in negative declaratives) in works from the 1850s onwards.

(11) [...] expecting I know not what disastrous communication. *Villette* (1853:2)

(12) What you have been doing I know not. *The Professor* (1857:1)

(13) [...] expecting she knew not what comfort from the change.
The Claverings (1867:472)

(14) [...] that he knew not from whence the money had come to him.
The Last Chronicle of Barset (1867:106)

There are also the very rare occasions of another lexical verb raised after the 1850s:

(15) I doubt not you will agree with me in this.
The Last Chronicle of Barset (1867:131)

Visser (1963-73:1536) gives the last example of another lexical verb besides *know* raised out of V from as late as 1934 from F.T. Jesse's *A Pin to See the Peepshow* (p. 106):

(16) Julia and Alfie cared not at all if a meal of bacon and eggs was all that they could obtain.

The reasons for the sudden cease in the employment of V-to-I movement seems just as puzzling as its survival through the first half of the nineteenth century, a time by which V *in situ* was incontestably the norm.

4. A CLOSER LOOK AT THE PHENOMENON IN A SPECIFIC TEXT

It is difficult to evaluate how long is needed for a syntactic change to be complete in a language, and more precisely in our case, how long V-to-I movement persisted in English once *do*-insertion has been introduced and taken over. We have seen that we can find examples of residual V-to-I raising in various texts from different authors of the nineteenth century. They recur on a more or less regular basis within the same text, and we may assume then, that structures involving V-to-I movement may still have a place in the grammar of nineteenth century English. It remains to be determined how often V-to-I raising still appears, what significance, if any, could be attributed to their frequency and how we can fit their appearance into the gradual evolution of English. We would like to assess whether the examples of V-to-I raising are rare exceptions of this kind in the works of that period, or whether they occur fairly commonly, and thus, must be considered as still mention-worthy part of the grammar of English used in these and similar texts. If it is the case that V-to-I movement is still used in a significant percentage along with the 'normal' V *in situ*, then it may be supposed that the two structures existed side by side much longer than it has been first proposed and the change might not have been complete by the eighteenth century.

Ellegård's (1953) graph is based on very extensive data, but his analysis ends with Swift's *Journal to Stella* written in 1710, which has 10 % of questions and 13 % of negatives not using *do*-support (Warner 1997:391). In an attempt to have a more precise overview of their number in later years, we have chosen to study a later text more closely and see how many of these, and related constructions there are in it. For this purpose, we have taken the most well-known novel of Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice (P&P)*. If our choice has been relatively random, we also expect the work in question to be more or less representative for novels in general at that period. It is of fairly significant length (350 pages) and was written in the last decade of the eighteenth century, a period when we may assume the phenomenon of residual V-to-I raising to be the most important. Ellegård has omitted from his calculations all recurrent verbs, i.e. not taking into consideration a raised *know*, for example, more than once. Hence, a deliberate choice of ignoring or including data in the analysis may lead to very different conclusions about the rate of V-to-I movement during the period under scrutiny. For the purpose of our study, we have looked at declarative sentential negation and questions with main verbs, including recurrences, but leaving out questions and negative sentences formed with auxiliaries and modals from our totals. We have also not taken into account other uses of *do* in negation and questions, i.e. anaphoric uses, nor the emphatic *do*, or negative imperative constructions for our study.

4.1. Positive questions

4.1.1. *Lexical verbs*

Questions have always involved I-to-C fronting in English, and this aspect has not been lost.⁴ However, the fronting of the lexical verb to C° is no longer possible as it cannot move out of the VP and therefore can never be under I°. Instead *do* is inserted to bear the bound inflection morpheme and they undergo I-to-C movement.⁵ *Do*-insertion in questions started to appear earlier than in negation, from around the fourteenth century, and therefore the transition period does not correspond to that of negatives, though we assume that the transition period would be fairly similar in length. Consequently, we expect residual raising of the lexical verb in questions to have died out earlier than they did in negation. We expect then fewer occurrences of V-to-I raising in questions than in negation in *P&P*.

We may also mention that there are certain question formations that clearly reject *do*-support even today, in particular questions with a subject *wh*-constituent as for example in *Who called you?*, *What happened to her?*, *What made you think that?*, etc. Today, the verb will stay in the VP, as we can see by VP adjoined adverbs. However, we do not have much information as to the surface position of the verb in Late Modern English. We shall leave such questions aside for the purpose of this paper.⁶

⁴ Often referred to in the literature as Residual V2 in Modern English (cf. Rizzi 1991).

⁵ An alternative option is that the inflection morpheme moves from I° to C° on its own, and *do*-insertion takes place in C° to satisfy the PF requirements of the derivation.

⁶ Other structures of *wh*-questions without *do*-support are of the type *How come?* and *Why risk losing all your money?*

TABLE 1: QUESTIONS IN *P&P*

	raised		<i>do</i> -support		Total
lexical verbs	6	6.6%	85	93.4%	91
'to have'	6	100%	0	0%	6

The data from *P&P* coincide with the findings of Roberts (1993), based on Jespersen (1909-49), that by the seventeenth century, lexical verb raising in questions was in its dying phase because as we supposed, a century later in *P&P*, we can only find 6.6 % of lexical verbs undergoing V-to-I movement. We may note though that it is highly surprising that the frequency still has not reached zero percent yet. But the verbs that can still show up under C° in questions in *P&P* are the ones that are known to have resisted change much longer, i.e. *say*, *think* and *come*.

- (17) What say you Mary? (p.55)
- (18) "What think you of books?" said he, smiling. (p.135)
- (19) What think you of this sentence, my dear Lizzy? (p.159)
- (20) But how came you to tell us that he was so disagreeable? (p.278)
- (21) What say you to the day? (p.352)
- (22) And pray, Lizzy, what said Lady Catherine about this report? (p.373)

4.1.2. *The verb 'to have'*

Besides "regular" lexical verbs, we also need to mention the case of *have* since it shows a particular behaviour in the 18th and 19th centuries, and as a matter of fact, sometimes even today. In parallel to the auxiliary uses of *have*, we can also find *have* without another lexical verb in the construction and in this case, *have* seems to retain more semantic content than just an auxiliary accompanying a lexical verb. As far as its semantics is concerned, one may argue that *have* in such instances is a lexical verb because it expresses more than just a grammatical function (of tense, mood etc.). It assigns theta roles to an external and an internal argument. However, its syntactic behaviour poses some problems. We would not expect to find a grammatical V raising of a lexical verb today as we can find the verb *have* raised to C° in questions or preceding *not* in sentential negation (mainly in British English). Quirk et al. (1985:131-32) identify three main stative meanings for the use of the lexical verb *to have* in raised contexts: possession (23a), relationship (23b) and health (23c):

- (23) a. We haven't any butter.
 b. Have you any brothers?
 c. I haven't a headache any longer.

In the above sentences, the word *have* clearly functions as more than an auxiliary as it has semantic content and assigns theta-roles. That *have* in these cases should be treated as a main

verb and not an auxiliary, can further be seen by the strategy employed by other English dialects (Standard American English) that require obligatory *do*-insertion. *Do*-insertion would be impossible if *have* were a normal auxiliary.

- (24) a. We don't have any butter.
 b. Do you have any brothers?
 c. I don't have a headache any longer.

Strangely enough, in some other semantic uses, the raising of lexical *have* is ruled out even in those dialects that allow for it to raise as in examples (23). It is impossible to raise *have* in dynamic senses such as 'receive', 'take', 'experience', in expressions with an eventive object (25a-c), or in causative constructions (25d-e). In all these cases, *do*-support is obligatory. (Quirk et al. (1985:132))

- (25) a. Does she have cake with her tea?
 b. Did you have any trouble finding a new apartment?
 c. Did you have a good time in Paris?
 d. Did they have the car repaired?
 e. Did they have you do the washing up?

This would indicate that the raising of lexical *have* is only possible in very restrictive contexts in Modern English (23).

The raising of the possessive *have* in Modern English is the continued possibility to do so since V-to-I movement was lost, as this lexical verb seems to have resisted the transformational process when English moved from a V-to-I raising to a V *in situ* language. Examples with raised *have* could also always be found in Early Modern English of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

(26) Whom have you upstairs in the parlour? *Shirley* (1849:7)

(27) Have you a wish to see England? *The Professor* (1857:112)

As a matter of fact in British novels of the centuries that we have looked at for the purpose of this study, we could not find any instances of the possessive *have* used with *do*-insertion, indicating that most probably only the option of V-to-I raising was available for speakers at that time in the British Isles. In *P&P*, all the six examples of the possessive *have* use V-to-I-to-C movement in positive questions.

(28) Have you any thing else to propose for my domestic felicity? (p.97)

(29) Has she any family? (p.112)

(30) Had they no apprehension of any thing before the elopement took place? (p.306)

(31) Now what have you to say? (p.364)

(32) Mrs. Bennet, have you no more lanes hereabouts in which Lizzy may lose her way again to-day? (p.383)

- (33) "Have you any other objection," said Elizabeth, "than your belief of my indifference?" (p.384)

It may be speculated that the reason behind this phenomenon is the fact that *have* is also an auxiliary in English which obligatorily moves from V° to I° (and to C° in questions) in contexts where it is finite. We may make the hypothesis that it just might be the case that the homophonous lexical verb *have* retains the same possibility as the result of an over-generalization of this characteristic. Since speakers always raise the auxiliary, they will do so too for the phonetically identical lexical verb⁷.

4.2. Negatives

4.2.1. *The syntax of negation*

It is argued that in today's English, *do*-support will have to take place in negative sentences because the head of NegP will block Affix Hopping. When looking at negation from the point of view of historical syntax, it is important to point out that the current structure of negation did not develop before 1660 (Kroch 1989, Roberts 1993). Besides getting *do*-support, negation has undergone a considerable change with *not* having a different position and role than today, and the introduction of the negative contraction *n't* also taking place later.

Before the fourteenth century, English sentential negation was expressed, similarly to today's French, by the marker *ne* which could be accompanied by the negative adverbial *not*. For Kroch (1989) the disappearance of *ne* coincides with the first appearance of periphrastic *do*, i.e. from the fourteenth century onwards *not* starts to function on its own as the sentence negator (though in a VP-adjoined adverbial position). We may safely presume that with the disappearance of *ne*, the negative adverbial *not* cannot take *ne*'s place in the structure as the head of NegP without a transition period. The NegP then will function for sometime without an overt head. Supporting the argument that *not* acted for some time as a negative adverb even without the presence of *ne* is the fact, according to Kroch (1989), that in the transition period (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) *not* did not (always) block Affix Hopping.⁸ It is with the gradual reanalysis of *not* from a VP-adjoined negative adverb to an element of NegP (presumably with a [+neg] feature under head NegP) that Affix Hopping will be blocked and obligatory *do*-insertion will only start to develop from the middle of the seventeenth century and be completely established by the nineteenth century. Consequently in negation, we see V-to-I raising persisting longer than in questions, as this latter construction did not undergo an independent evolution besides getting *do*-support. Negation on the other hand, first needed to establish the property of its markers and only then was it "ready" to adopt *do*-support more consistently.

As for the case of *n't*, today it is often analysed as the overt manifestation of the negative head (Haegeman 1995) and its bound-morpheme property will therefore make it move to an overt head and cliticize to the auxiliary in I°⁹ and must move up to C° in the derivation of negative questions. This is not the case of *not* which is often analysed as

⁷ We might expect the same phenomenon to arise in the other case of a homophonous lexical verb and auxiliary in English, namely *do*. However, the lexical verb *do* behaves as a "normal" lexical verb and cannot undergo V-to-I movement.

⁸ Example from Kroch (1989):

[...] he that filches from me my good name robs me of that which not enriches him.
(1604, Shakespeare, *Othello*, III:iii:161)

⁹ Or get *do*-support under I° presumably.

occupying the specifier of NegP and hence will not be able to target a head position like C°. The fact that the full negative marker *not* cannot move to C° yields the difference in word order in today's English between the surface position of the negative markers *not* and *n't* in negative questions.

- (34) a. Did he not read Hamlet?
 b. * Did not he read Hamlet?

- (35) a. Didn't he read Hamlet?
 b. * Did he n't read Hamlet?

Roberts (1993), based on Jespersen (1909-49) puts the first appearance of *n't* at the same time as the full negative marker started to undergo a syntactic reanalysis, i.e. the late sixteenth century. As *n't* started to appear in writing, we may safely presume that it already had a well-established place in oral speech. They also point out that for some reason, there has not been a period in the evolution of English verbal behaviour and negation when the head *n't* could adjoin to the lexical verb. English had lost systematic V-to-I raising of the lexical verb before any instances of *n't* were observed. Thus, we cannot find examples of lexical verb+*n't*, not even with those verbs that were the last to lose V-to-I movement (**known't*, **mistaken't*). The option that *n't* could ever lower itself into the VP, like the inflectional morpheme, is not attested in English. Adopting then the hypothesis that two competing grammars existed for sometime, we may presume that in the structure where the verb moved to I°, *n't* had probably never been introduced. Hence, texts from the 18th-19th centuries that still have some instances of V-to-I raising, and already use *n't* with auxiliaries, are the manifestations of the fact that two different structures coexisted in the language.

4.2.2. *Negative declaratives*

The following table shows the distribution of different verbs in clauses negated by *not* in *Pride and Prejudice*.

TABLE 2: NEGATIVE DECLARATIVES IN *P&P* (FULL FORM *NOT*)*Lexical verbs*

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Raised</i> ¹⁰	<i>Do-support</i>
admit	1	0
care	2	3
doubt	4	1
hear	2	2
hesitate	1	0
know	19	38
lose	1	1
make	2	1
say	4	2
think	1	14
venture	1	1
OTHER	0	176
Total	38 (13.7%)	239 (86.3%)

Auxiliary-like verbs

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Raised</i>	<i>Do-support</i>
have	22	0
dare	12	0
need	10	1
Total	44 (97.8%)	1 (2.2%)
Total all verbs	82 (25.5%)	240 (74.5%)

Ellegård's graph shows us that the development of *do*-support in negation was lagging behind the change in questions. If by the end of the seventeenth century *do*-support occurred in more than eighty percent of questions, it was only around fifty percent in negative declaratives. It is only after the period of 1650 that the curve of declarative negatives takes a steep climb, something similar to what happened to questions from the 1520s. Therefore, it is not that surprising that negative declaratives should retain a higher percentage of residual V-to-I raising even at the beginning of the nineteenth century. As we can see from our data collected from *P&P* (Table 2), still nearly fourteen percent of all lexical verb declarative negative clauses do not have *do*-support, a figure that climbs up to twenty-five percent if we also include the auxiliary-like lexical verbs such as *have*, *dare* and *need*, which, with the exception of one example, seem to resist *do*-support completely at that time. But the lexical verbs that can raise to I^o generally also have *do*-support on other occasions.

It can also be observed that the contracted negative form *n't* is nearly inexistent in *P&P*, there are only two instances with *do*-support in negatives (representing less than one percent of all declarative negative clauses with lexical verbs) and four others with modals. We may wonder if this low occurrence is not a deliberate choice on the author's part, since if

¹⁰ Note that in a small number of cases included here, the question might be raised as to whether they would have to be interpreted as involving sentential negation or constituent negation. This is illustrated by (a):

a. But of this answer Lydia heard not a word. (p.249)

Roberts and Jespersen are right, *n't* has been introduced two centuries before, and therefore, other than for stylistic motives, there would not be a reason why such constructions would have been avoided. We may speculate on the discourse characteristics of the very rare sentences in which *n't* appears. We may be inclined to conclude that Jane Austen only uses them when she wants to represent lower class speech and uttered by characters whose education is of a lower level. This seems to be confirmed by the author's choice of the characters who utter the total of eleven examples of *n't* in *P&P* (negatives and questions). Such is the case of Mrs Bennet and of her two youngest daughters Lydia and Kitty, who are all presented as simple in mind and vulgar in speech; of a housekeeper Mrs Hill; of a young female neighbour of the Bennets; and of Mr Bingley, a very influenceable person, who uses it once to address Kitty and when we may presume he intends to meet the discourse habits of the former. It may also be possible that it took longer for *n't* to make its way from oral speech to the grammar of written English as it was first developed by the lower classes in vernacular usage, and authors chose to extensively use it only once it has been completely accepted in the grammars of all classes. Besides, interestingly, there is still a tendency today to avoid using the contracted form in formal written texts.

4.1.2. *The verb 'to have' and other auxiliary/modal-like lexical verbs*

In the case of negatives, similarly as for questions, the lexical verb *have* behaves differently from other main verbs in the fact that it moves out of the VP and shows up before the negative marker, and this very consistently in our data (all the occurrences of possessive *have* are raised in *P&P*). In negative declaratives in *P&P*, we can also find other auxiliary/modal-like verbs raised out of the VP, namely the verbs *dare* and *need*. The use of these two verbs appears complex since they showed, and still show, a differing behaviour from other lexical verbs both in their evolution over the centuries and their syntactic behaviour. If they can today be observed to follow the syntactic, morphological and semantic properties of lexical verbs in some cases, they may also have auxiliary-like or modal-like behaviour in the sentence. However, unlike for *have*, it is difficult to pinpoint a clear semantic difference between the various syntactic uses of *dare* and *need*. *Need* is often paraphrased by 'should' or 'have to', and *dare* is by 'to have the courage to', especially in their modal use.

On the one hand, as typical main verbs, they are followed by *to*-infinitive, bear inflection and require *do*-support (36)-(37), or on the other hand, as modal auxiliaries they take the bare infinitive, are not inflected and occupy positions outside of the VP (38). This latter usage, unlike its lexical verb version however, is mainly restricted to questions and negative sentences. (*?He dare/need come.*) Consequently, they can both still appear before *not* and without *do*-support or bearing the contracted negative marker under *I°* (*daren't* and *needn't*). It is interesting to note that *dare* and *need* do not attest an auxiliary-like behaviour in the sense that they, contrary to the auxiliaries *have* and *be* (*He has not come.* and *He is not coming.*), cannot bear agreement inflection preceding the negative marker *not* (39).

- (36) a. He does not need to come.
 b. He does not dare to come.
- (37) a. He needs a new pair of shoes.
 b. He does not need a new pair of shoes.
 c. He dared to interfere.
 d. He did not dare to interfere.

- (38) a. He need not come.
 b. He dare not come.
 c. Need he come?
 d. Dare he come?

- (39) a. * He needs not come.
 b. * He dares not come.

Dare can also show mixed properties of being a modal followed by a bare infinitive, or taking *do*-support with a bare infinitive to mean the same (40), a contradiction as lexical verbs have *do*-support but also would take a *to*-infinitive. This use is sometimes treated as a sort of ‘blend’ between modal and main verb use.

- (40) a. He dared not carry out his threat.
 b. He does not dare carry out his threat.

Since both lexical verb and modal usage of *dare* and *need* can be observed today, it is unclear as to at what stage of the grammaticalisation (i.e. bearing modal-like properties) or de-grammaticalisation (i.e. losing their modal-like properties and becoming a lexical verb) process they are. It is also noteworthy that there is perhaps a slightly bigger tendency in Standard American English to use *dare* and *need* as a lexical verb than in British English. However, linguists disagree on the frequency of the use of *dare* and *need* in the modal form today. Whereas Quirk et al. (1985:138) qualify their use as “quite rare” even in British English, Taeymans’ (2002) study shows that the use of the modal is still quite high: between 40-60% depending on the construction and whether the speaker speaks British or American English.

In the Early Modern English period they have in the vast majority of cases modal-like syntactic behaviour, they can not only be found under I° preceding the full sentential negative marker *not* and moving out to C° in questions, but they can also support the contracted negative form *n’t* in the form of *daren’t* and *needn’t*.

- (41) a. Dare you put yourself into my hands? *Moll Flanders* (1721:139)
 b. I need not remind you that I could not keep you yesterday morning.
The Claverings (1867:201)
 c. You needn’t shrink away from me, as if I were your greatest enemy.
The Tenant of Wildfell Hall (1848:321)

Both diachronic and synchronic syntacticians disagree on the class of verbs that *dare* and *need* belonged to over the centuries and the class they belong to today. From the moment that English started to undergo a change in its verbal properties, *dare* and *need* also started to change in various ways (Taeymans 2002). They began to take up auxiliary but also modal-like behaviour along with other verbs of the same class (*can*, *may*, *shall*, etc.). Unlike in Modern English (see examples (39)), *dare* (and *need* even less frequently) could on very rare occasion behave like auxiliaries, i.e. carry agreement inflection before the negation.

- (42) He dares not miss a new play.¹¹

In our texts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with a very few exceptions, they both only show the syntactic behaviour of modals (i.e. preceding the negative marker *not*, or bearing *n't*, and never carrying agreement inflection). It is difficult to say whether this grammaticalisation process has ever been completed or not. However, over time and in other instances, they also began to acquire the property of lexical-verbs, i.e. taking *do*-support. In *P&P*, *dare* and *need* are nearly exclusively used as modals, and these two verbs are continued to be used solely as modals in other novels that date from the late 19th century. For instance, *need* in *The Last Chronicle of Barset* (1867) occurs 42 times as a modal over 866 pages with no counter examples with *do*-support.

4.2.3. Negative questions

TABLE 3: NEGATIVE QUESTIONS IN *P&P* (FULL FORM *NOT*)

	raised		<i>do</i> -support		<i>do</i> -support		Total
			postsubject 'not'		presubject 'not'		
lexical verbs	0	0%	6	33.3%	12	66.7%	18
'to have'	0		0				0

The case of negative questions in the evolution of *do*-support seems to be the most peculiar. We have seen that negation resisted *do*-support much longer than questions.¹² However, negative questions seem to follow the evolution pattern of questions rather than declarative negatives. We have found no examples of V-to-C raising in negative questions in *P&P* (lexical verbs or *have*, *dare*, *need*, etc.). As a matter of fact, looking at Ellegård's graph, this is hardly surprising as it is negative questions that appear to have been the first to categorically use *do*-insertion before all other constructions (more than sixty percent already at the end of the fifteenth century). This is also supported by certain negative questions which show us that *do*-insertion in negative question has been well-established before sentential negation obtained its current form with the full form *not* in spec NegP and the contracted form *n't* moving out to the head C°. In the early nineteenth century we can still find a significant rate of examples where the full negative form appears instead of *n't* in C° following *do* and thus, in contrast with the current usual derivation, *not* is raised in front of the subject.

- (43) Did not you say you resolved to have Mrs Betty? *Moll Flanders* (1721:44)
- (44) Did not my good mother desire me to take care of you? *Pamela* (1740:45)
- (45) Do not you fear the fierce vengeance of my arm [...]? *Frankenstein* (1816:95)
- (46) Do not you think, Miss Elliot, we had better try to get him to Bath?
Persuasion (1818:149)

¹¹ From Visser (1963-73:1437) from Johnson, Ben (1616) *The Devil is an Ass* (p. 271)

¹² Roberts (1993), following Kroch (1989), places the categorical use of *do*-insertion in declarative negatives from the 1650s.

- (47) Did not she know, and did not her friend know that the world was a great liar?
The Claverings (1867:128)
- (48) When did not the world believe the worst of the poor?
The Last Chronicle of Barset (1867:143)

Although there are only eighteen examples of negative questions with lexical verbs in *P&P*, our study shows that two-thirds of them still have the full form *not* raised out of the IP.

- (49) Do not you want to know who has taken it? (p.51)
- (50) Why did not you tell me so before? (p.55)
- (51) Did not you? (p.62)
- (52) Perhaps you mean what I overheard between him and Mr. Robinson; did not I mention it to you? (p.65)
- (53) Did not you think, Mr. Darcy, that I expressed myself uncommonly well? (p.71)
- (54) He studies too much for words of four syllables. — Do not you, Darcy? (p.93)
- (55) Do not you feel a great inclination, Miss Bennet, to seize such an opportunity of dancing a reel?" (p.96)
- (56) Why did not you seek legal redress? (p.123)
- (57) Do not you know that Mr. Collins wants to marry Lizzy? (p.167)
- (58) But does not Jane correspond with the sister? (p.179)
- (59) Why did not you all learn? (p.199)
- (60) And do not you think him a very handsome gentleman, Ma'am? (p.269)

On the subject of *not*-fronting, Quirk et al. (1985:809) suggest that such sentences may simply be the printed equivalent of the attached *n't*-clitic.¹³ The sought intention being the formalisation of a *n't*-clitic construction that is deemed more informal. This would mean that English here resorts to the option of expressing negation with *n't*, which following I-to-C movement gets separated from the auxiliary to transform itself into *not*. This in order to satisfy a print convention of formality. However, this explanation does not provide us with an insight as to why declarative sentences would favour the insertion of the *n't* clitic over *not* in

¹³ Quirk et al.'s analysis is for the same possibility in twentieth century English where they note that in some rather formal contexts, where the subject is lengthy, some speakers accept a construction in which the full negative marker *not* is in the position of the *n't* clitic.

- a. Is not history a social science?
b. Does not everything we see about us testify to the power of Divine Providence?

However, note that most of our findings of the same phenomenon in *P&P* do not involve lengthy subjects but are pronouns (SubjPro). Thus, it seems that *not* was fronted not only in contexts of "lengthy subjects", as Quirk et al suggests for today's English, but very often with SubjPro.

the first place. This latter could remain grammatically *in situ* in NegP, an option that seems more economic.

There are only two examples in *P&P* of *n't* in negative questions, but only one with *do*, the other concerns an auxiliary (*won't*).

- (61) "Dear madam," cried Mrs. Hill, in great astonishment, "don't you know there is an express come for master from Mr. Gardiner?" (p.316)
- (62) Won't it, Kitty? (p.383)

The use of *n't* seems to be avoided by every means: either leaving *not* within the IP (33% of all cases), or by raising it in front of the subject (in all other instances). As we have pointed out in the above section on negative declaratives, the contracted form *n't* would normally have been available from the end of the sixteenth century, and thus, there seems to be no real syntactic reason why *not* be used instead of *n't* in nearly seventy percent of all cases. It may have been the case that the full form *not* still retained some properties that allowed it to raise in front of the subject. It remains to be determined what position could host a head or a specifier between the fronted auxiliary and the subject. It has often been proposed in the literature that there is evidence to believe that there might be more than one subject position in the structure (cf. for instance Cardinaletti (1997)). It may then be presumed that if the subject stays in a lower subject position, then there might be enough available positions that the negative marker could target, regardless as to whether it is analysed as a head or a maximal projection. This subject needs to be further investigated though.

On the fronting of *not* into a presubject position, Rissanen (1999) suggests, based on data from the Helsinki Corpus, the Oxford Shakespeare Corpus, the Archer Corpus, the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus and the London-Lund Corpus, that the first occurrence of [V/Aux, *not*, SubjPro] does not appear before the Late Middle English period (1350-1500) when the frequency of this order is around 4.5%. In Early Modern English, Rissanen finds that the same order is around 30% (but mainly with auxiliaries and not with lexical verbs), whereas in the Oxford Shakespeare Corpus he can only find an average of 15% of all auxiliaries and lexical verbs, with 22% in *do*-support constructions. Rissanen relates this phenomenon, i.e. *not* showing up before the subject in negative questions, to a "weakening and cliticisation" of the negative marker (1999:198). He goes on to propose that the possibility of a presubject *not* will give rise to, and will be completely taken over by the contracted form *n't* in the position before the subject.

What is of real interest for us is that Rissanen gives statistics for the occurrence of presubject *not* from the Archer Corpus from 1650 to 1800 and from 1800 to 1900 where he finds an average of 18% during the former period and only 3% during the latter. These numbers are interesting to compare with our findings from *P&P* where in negative questions with *do*-support alone, 66.7% of all cases still had a presubject *not* (Table 3). There are also ample examples of presubject *not* with other auxiliaries.

- (63) Are you quite sure, Ma'am? — is not there a little mistake? (p.66)
- (64) My dear Miss Eliza, why are not you dancing? (p.72)
- (65) The country is a vast deal pleasanter, is not it, Mr. Bingley? (p.89)
- (66) What an agreeable man Sir William is, Mr. Bingley — is not he? (p.89)

- (67) Is not general incivility the very essence of love? (p.178)
- (68) Is not this an agreeable surprise? (p.246)
- (69) Should not you like to see a place of which you have heard so much? (p. 265)
- (70) Are not you curious to hear how it was managed? (p.331)
- (71) And if I am that choice, why may not I accept him? (p.365)
- (72) Have not you always hated him? (p.384)

If Rissanen's numbers are for pronominal subjects, our initial number of 66.7% (Table 3) includes both pronominal and DP subjects and does not take into account our single example of *n't* in negative questions. If we exclude DP subjects (one example out of 19), and include the example with *n't*, we still arrive at 61% (Table 4). The data from *P&P* seem to be in contradiction with Rissanen's findings on the very low frequency of [Aux, *not*, SubjPro], though our findings coincide with his frequency of around 30% for the order [Aux, SubjPro, *not*]. The main difference, then, lies in the fact that for Rissanen, 67% of negative questions in the Archer Corpus between 1800-1900 use the contracted form *n't*, whereas in *P&P* those cases would be spelled out as a presubject *not*. Looking at Rissanen's results between the period 1650-1800, we do not find any corresponding numbers either, although his frequency for the use of *n't* is also significantly lower.

TABLE 4: RISSANEN'S FINDINGS FROM THE ARCHER CORPUS (1999:198), AND FROM *P&P* (ONLY WITH *DO*)

	<i>not</i> + SubjPro	<i>n't</i> + SubjPro	SubjPro + <i>not</i>	Total
Archer 1650-1800	29 (18%)	37 (22%)	98 (60%)	164
Archer 1800-1900	9 (3%)	175 (67%)	78 (30%)	262
<i>P&P</i> (1813)	11 (61%)	1 (5.5%)	6 (33%)	18

The discrepancies between the two results give rise to further issues that would be worthwhile looking at in future research. Among these points are (i) whether the results from *P&P* would also come out of other texts of the same period; (ii) whether the fact that only 18 cases of negative questions with *do*-support make up our statistics represents too few examples and misguides us in our figures, and whether taking into consideration negative questions with all auxiliaries would bring down our percentages for the occurrence of presubject *not*; (iii) whether the observed contrast in the figures, i.e. the lack of *n't* occurrences in *P&P*, must perhaps need to be considered as a reflection of Jane Austen's particular style; and (iv) whether we do not run into statistical misrepresentations and try to compare the incomparable by the fact that the writing of the novel is on the turning point of the two periods which Rissanen decided to establish, and his numbers are an average of data over a much larger period, a period which saw significant changes in the syntax of sentential negation and hence, heavily influences his percentages by having to consider data from the two extreme points of his periods.

Whatever the reasons may be, in *P&P* there is a clear relation between the absence of *n't* and the fronting of *not* into the CP domain. Consequently, we expect with the appearance of *n't* in mass numbers the gradual fading away of *not*-fronting in English. This seems to be attested in later works of the nineteenth century. As a matter of fact, by the end of the nineteenth century, we can observe a significant rise in the use of *n't* in novels, even in contexts that are not very productive any more.

- (73) But, however, that shan't prevent my asking him to dine here.
Pride and Prejudice (1813:343)
- (74) No, you mightn't, if you weren't silly.
Middlemarch (1871-72:277)

On the whole, there seems to be no clear reason why negative questions show a rate of 100% in the use of *do*-support by the time of Jane Austen, when positive questions and negation have not yet reached the 100% stage in their evolution. If Ellegård's graph shows us that negative questions started to productively use *do*-support before positive questions and negatives, it is not entirely unexpected though that the evolution process also ends earlier. It remains to be seen what motivation there might have been for negative questions to start the evolution process sooner than the other two constructions in the first place. The strange phenomenon of *not* raising to a pre-subject position may perhaps also be a visible indication that negative questions have not completed their transition period either at this stage. Moreover, Ellegård's graph and our statistics also indicate that negative questions seem to have undergone an evolution that was different from their declarative counterparts, the very sentences that they are presumed to be derived from. The derived negative question will obligatorily have *do*-support, whereas its declarative version may raise the verb to C° for a much longer period. This observation will raise the problem as to where *do*-insertion takes place in negative questions. If a declarative negative sentence with V-to-I raising will necessarily have a negative question derived from it which has *do*-support (100% of all cases), then it must be concluded that *do*-support for negative questions takes place under C° rather than under I°, or that *do* just enters the derivation to satisfy PF.

5. CONCLUSION

The object of this paper was to look more closely at residual V-to-I movement in negatives and questions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for which evidence can be found in numerous texts. V-to-I raising has been replaced by *do*-support from Old English to Modern English and we set out to understand how complete this evolution was by the Late Modern English period, i.e. from 1700. Our data show that contrary to what one might presume, and what some have proposed (Rohrbacher 1999), the link between rich agreement morphology and V-to-I movement is not so obvious to establish since, even though only in some low frequencies, V-to-I movement subsisted for three to four centuries after the time when the morphological aspect of the verbal paradigm had become impoverished in English. The empirical evidence seems to go along the lines of Warner (1997) who suggests a much later date for the complete dying out of a structure involving V-to-I movement. We may presume it to be well into the second half of the nineteenth century.

Our more detailed study of sentences used in *Pride and Prejudice* has allowed us to see that the unexpected residual lexical verb raising in nineteenth century texts can be explained by the evolution of English and in fact our statistics have shown us that the phenomena observed, i.e. that the evolution was not yet fully complete, corresponds to what

we could have expected based on earlier tendencies during the course of language change. *Do*-insertion started to appear and get regularised much earlier in questions than in sentential negative sentences: by the nineteenth century even if we could still find 6.6% of them not using *do*-support, in negatives the same percentage was more than the double (13.7%). We have followed Kroch (1989) and Roberts (1993) in their claim that an independent change in the syntax of negation retarded the start of the process of the regularisation of *do*-support in those constructions. In negative questions, the possibility of placing the full negative marker in front of the subject also supports this hypothesis. The observable difference in the number of V-to-I raisings in questions and negation at this period can then be accounted for by a divergence in their respective evolution processes. In a broader perspective, our findings show us that the evolution of language is a very long process in terms of human life, it takes many generations of speakers for a change to be complete: around four centuries in our case study. During this time, two competing structures seem to be available in the language. It needs to be further investigated as to how individual speakers use the two different constructions and to what extent they would employ and/or accept both of them.

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