

Remnants of Verb Raising in 19th Century Dialectal Speech

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6 July 2020

Words: 5848

Abstract

A corpus study on the retention of verb raising was performed on the novel *Mary Barton* (Gaskell, 1848) and found that 7.4% of verbs in questions and 3.9% in negation could still be raised to the complementizer phrase (CP) and inflectional (IP), respectively. If the verb-like auxiliaries *have*, *dare* and *need* are included, then the percentage in negation rises to 14.3%. Interestingly, the only examples of V-to-I and I-to-C movement that were found in this study come from lower class speakers. This suggests that verb raising might have been retained longer within this socio-economic class. High frequency verbs such as *know* and *think* were raised more often than low frequency verbs. The findings indicate that there is conditioning at both the syntactic environment and lexical level and that verb raising survived long after the loss of verbal morphology, particularly in non-standard (dialect) speech.

Keywords: verb raising, *do*-support, syntax, lexical diffusion, positive questions, negation

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Introduction

Raising a lexical verb out of the verb phrase (VP) and inserting it under the inflectional (IP) or Complementizer phrase (CP) domain in negation and questions, respectively, used to be grammatically correct in Old and Middle English. The rise of *do*-support in syntactic environments where an auxiliary was originally absent is viewed as the result of the decline of verb raising (Rohrbacher, 1999, p. 158). Ellegård (1953) cites the impoverishment of verbal agreement morphology and the reanalysis of *do* as an auxiliary during this time period as the cause of loss of raising (p. 161).

Kroch (1989), Roberts (1993) and Rohrbacher (1999) all place the loss of verb raising in the 16th century. Haeberli & Ihsane (2016), in contrast place the loss in the 18th century (p. 522). This study drew inspiration from Varga (2005), who finds a significant percentage of verbs raised in questions and negation in the 18th century and in the early 19th-century novel *Pride & Prejudice*. Roberts (1993) and Rohrbacher (1999) do not include these residual verb raisings in their data set because they believe that their use was a deliberate result of authors wanting to sound more literary (p. 87). Varga (2005) disagrees and points out that these ‘imitations’ are found in dialogue, which is an unlikely context for the imitation of literary forms. Varga uses her findings to conclude, in line with 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” (Varga, 2005, pp. 261).

The present study attempted to find examples of verb raising in questions and negation in the mid-19th century. The novel *Mary Barton* (Gaskell, 1848), which is a generation later than *Pride & Prejudice*, was used to test Varga’s hypothesis that verb raising was lost in the nineteenth century. If sufficient examples were found, then it would disprove the notion that verb raising beyond the 17th century was just an idiosyncrasy of a particular author wanting to sound more literary, but rather evidence of a change in grammar that was

still incomplete. The existence of verb raising long after the disappearance of verbal agreement morphology and the introduction of *do*-support may suggest that the strict association between these events and the decline of verb raising is weaker than previously believed.

1. Theoretical Background

1.1 Verb Raising in Modern English

English is unique among the Germanic languages in that unlike German and Dutch for example, the main lexical verb stays *in situ* in the verb phrase. Raising the verb in questions and negatives, as in examples (1) and (2) are grammatical in these languages, but not in Modern English.

1a. Spreek je Nederlands?

1b. Sprichst du Deutsch?

1c. *Speak you English?

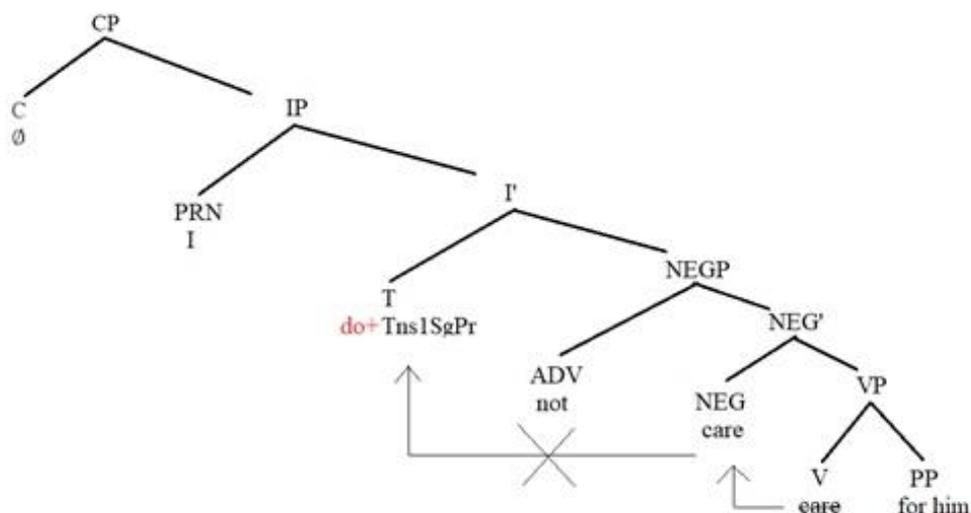
2a. Ik zie haar niet

2b. Ich sehe sie nicht

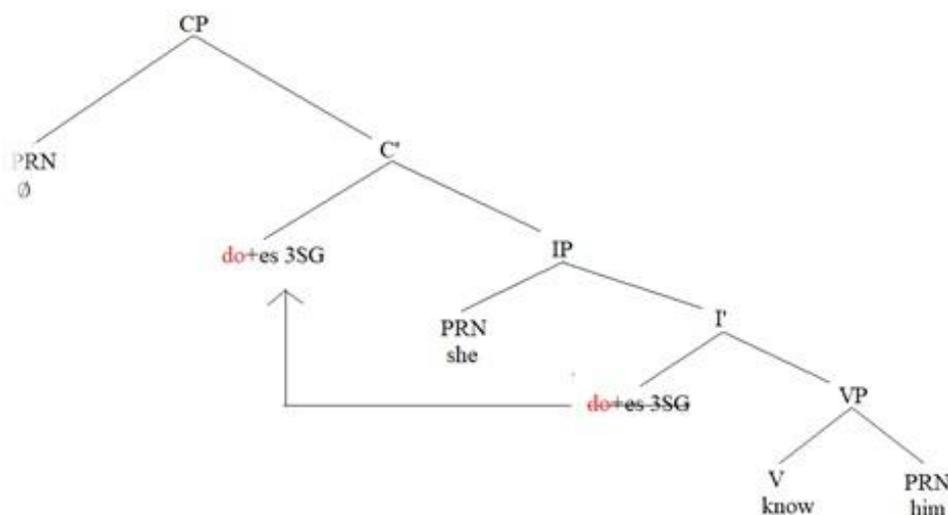
2c. *I see her not

Verb raising, the process of moving lexical verbs into a higher position in the inflectional phrase or complementizer phrase, will sound archaic or ungrammatical to speakers of English in most instances today. However, verb raising was, for a long period, the norm or an acceptable alternative in English syntax. English lexical verbs, in Modern English, can no longer raise out of the verb phrase and carry the bound inflectional morpheme as required in questions and negatives. Instead, semantically void *do* is inserted so it can host the inflectional morpheme out of the VP. Lexical verbs cannot move in the IP or CP domain and are restrained in their movement. Auxiliaries and modals do not share this feature and may be positioned in these places in negation and questions. As shown in the tree diagrams in (3) below, dummy *do* is inserted, since the verb stays *in situ*, to host the inflectional morpheme.

3a.



3b.



1.2 Verb Raising in Old and Middle English

In Old English, *do*-support was non-existent. It was only after changes in English syntax that a need arose for a dummy *do*. This need first appeared in Early Modern English, after a period of great change in the language (Varga, 2005, p.261). In Old and Middle English, the raising of lexical verbs, or V-to-I movement, was grammatical. In late Middle English, the finite auxiliary was raised to I and the negative adverb *not* would be in front of the main verb in negation, as (4) and (5) show (Radford, 2004, p. 87).

(4) Thou hast not left the value of a cord.

(5) She shall not see me.

However, not only auxiliaries but also lexical verbs were raised, as (7) illustrates (Radford, 2004, p. 88).

(7) I care not for her.

Besides negation, verbs were able to rise from V to C in questions. This is depicted in (8), taken from the 19th-century novel *Pride & Prejudice* (Varga, 2005, p. 264).

(8) What say you, Mary?

Auxiliaries, modals, and lexical verbs could thus function in the same way in Middle English. Postverbal *not* orders remained quite common through the 17th and 18th centuries, notably *say not* and *know not*. These can perhaps be treated as fixed expressions (Roberts, 1993, p. 253).

1.3 The Rise of *do*-support and the Decline of Verb Raising

An important question is the cause of the close relationship between *do*-support and the loss of lexical V-to-I movement during the Early Modern English period. Toward the end of the Middle English period (c. 1400), the grammaticality of verb raising was on the decline. In contrast, the use of *do*-support was on the rise. This has led to the hypothesis that the latter was a replacement of the former and the two grammars were most likely in complementary distribution (Varga, 2005, 261). Rohrbacher (1999) argues that the impoverishment of verbal agreement morphology at the end of the 16th century and the increasing use of *do*-support led to the decline of verb raising, since it had no use in the grammar anymore. Due to an impoverished verbal agreement morphology, a need arose for another word to fill in the inflectional (tense) to govern the verb so it could assign nominative case to the subject. A nominative case identifies the subject as an argument of the verb and therefore the case-assigner has to be linked to the verb via government. This forms what Rohrbacher calls: an ‘identification-chain’ between the subject, inflection and verb (p. 162).

Ellegård (1953) carried out a quantitative study on the rise of *do*-support from the year 1400 to 1700 by analyzing various works in that timeframe. His work is extensive and the basis for most subsequent studies dedicated to the subject. His data, as illustrated in figure 1, has led to the argument that the loss of V-to-I movement in English must have been a reflex from the rise of *do*-support (Kroch, 1989, p. 21).

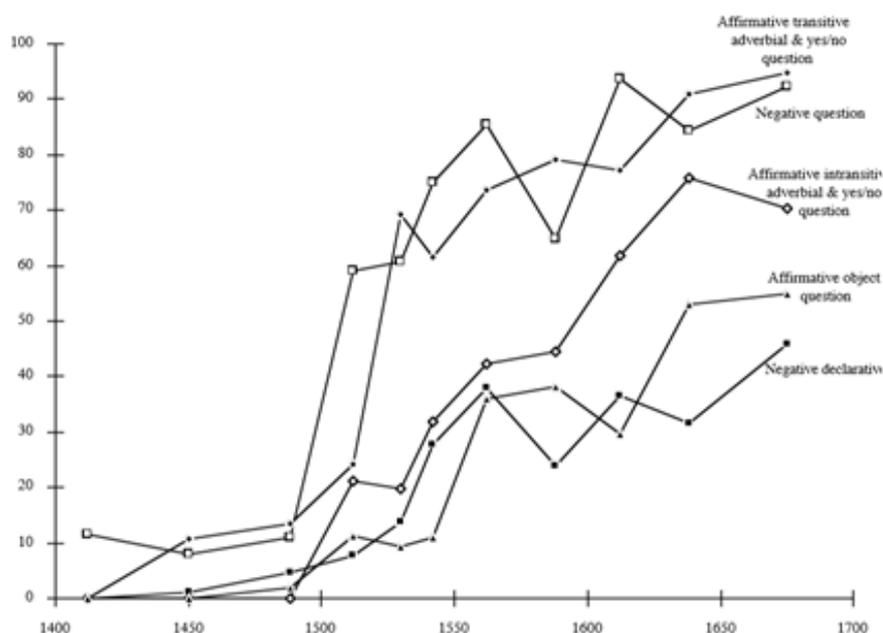


Figure 1: the rise of *do* support in Kroch (1989, p.22), adapted from Ellegård (1953)

Roberts (1993), using Ellegård's data from figure 1, took 1550-1575 to be the period when V-to-C movement, or verb raising in questions, was largely lost. The rest of the 16th century is seen as a transitional period in which the speaker had internalized the two grammars. Roberts found some raised verbs in the 17th century, but deems this usage ungrammatical and attributes it to the archaic influence of Shakespeare and the Bible (p. 249)

By the year 1500, the forms for the 1st and 3rd person referential inflectional feature were no longer identical, and with this, a trigger for verb raising might have been lost.

Rohrbacher (1999) refers back to Ellegård's graph (figure 1), which shows that during two periods (1475-1500, 1550-1575) *do*-support increased dramatically. Between these periods, verb raising must have seen a large decrease in usage. In this case, it followed the loss of the

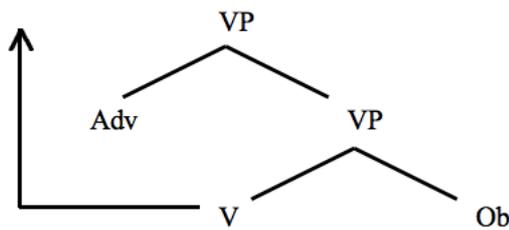
distinctive marking of the person feature (1st) by 1500. In conclusion, he writes, if verb raising needs distinctive marking of all referential inflectional features, including the 1st person singular marker, then V-to-I movement should have been lost from the English grammar around or shortly after the year 1500 (p. 158).

Kroch (1989) and Roberts (1993), using Ellegård's data, place the loss of verb raising between 1550 and 1575. During this time, the development toward modern restrictions on verb raising started and thus it marked the end of lexical verb movement. Based on Ellegård's data, Lightfoot (1979) argues that this is only the time when the decline of verb raising began. In his study, he notes that while the loss of rich agreement morphology was necessary for the decline of V-to-I, it did not cause an abrupt end to it. Based on the absence of evidence for verb raising in the written record, Lightfoot places the end of V-to-I movement in the early 17th century (p. 263).

Warner (1997) argues that learners, after the emergence of *do*-support, had to deal with competing grammar systems. Instead of favoring one grammar system over another, language users at the time would have internalized subgrammars which competed with each other for a long time in different syntactic environments. The fact that certain verbs as late as the 19th century could undergo verb movement, suggests that movement was lost after the disappearance of verbal agreement morphology. Therefore, Warner believes the complete takeover of *do*-support to have taken longer than other linguists believe. He places the complete loss of verb raising between the late 18th and early 19th century (p. 391).

Another feature that is shared by languages which allow V-to-I movement is the ability of an adverb or negation marker to intervene between a verb and an object that is not heavy because the verb moves as indicated in (9) (Haeberli & Ihsane, 2016, p. 498).

(9)



Rohrbacher (1999) presents possible evidence on the absence of V-to-I movement in the 15th century by looking at the role of the changing distributional properties of sentential adverbs like *never*. Between 1475 and 1535, in two distinctive periods, the usage of preverbal *never* rose from 35% to 88% in all instances. This is a reflection of the absence of V-to-I movement (p. 161). Based on a study of the changing distributional properties of adverbs, Haerberli & Ihsane (2016) argue that *do*-support, which is often cited as the cause of the loss of V-movement, may just as well have been the result of it. They noticed that there were two major phases of decline in the Subject-Verb-Adverb word order. The first was around the year 1500 (which overlaps with Rohrbacher's claim) and the second in the year 1700. This means that a second decline in V-to-I and V-to-C movement could have happened two centuries after the supposed disappearance of verb raising (pp. 500-516). Haerberli & Ihsane continue by concluding that the major decline of V-movement appears to occur from 1650 onward. They suggest that this phasing out of the old grammar system was completed in the 18th century (p. 522). This decline happened then in two distinct phases. The first, which was centered around the movement of adverbs, was most likely completed in the 16th century. The second, affecting movement beyond negation, persisted until the 18th century.

1.4 Residual Verb Raising after 1700

Ellegård (1953)'s graph shows (see figure 1) that V-to-I and I-to-C movement were in their final phase at the beginning of the 18th century and that *do*-support had been firmly

established. But in 1700, 10% of the lexical verbs in questions and 13% in negation were still raised out of the VP without the use of *do*-support. This pattern suggests that verb raising is sensitive to syntactic environment with negatives retaining verb raising for longer than questions.

Varga (2005) looked at a dozen novels written between 1719 and 1867. The goal of her research was to look beyond the data collected by Ellegård. She observed that from the middle of the nineteenth century, residual verb raising became extremely rare. Based on her data, she argues that structures involving V-to-I movement still had a place in the grammar of nineteenth century English. In the study, which based itself primarily around the novel *Pride & Prejudice* (Austen, 1813), she found evidence for her claim. In sentences without an auxiliary, she found that 6.6% of verbs were raised in questions and 13.7% in negatives. This is in line with Ellegård's findings that show that negatives lag behind questions in adopting *do*-support. What is significant in Varga's data is that once the auxiliary-like verbs *have*, *dare* and *need* are included in the search, then the total number of verbs raised in negatives in *Pride & Prejudice* increases to 25.5%. Examples in (10) illustrate how the author used these constructions in her novel (Varga, 2005, p. 268-74)

10a. What think you of this sentence, my dear Lizzy?

10b. Has she any family?

10c. He need not come.

Interestingly, when looking at the contracted negative form *n't*, Varga (2005) found that only one percent of declarative negative clauses with lexical verbs uses *do*-support. She argues that it might have been the author's way to represent lower class speech, since only lowly educated characters in the novel use this construction (p. 273). *Pride & Prejudice* has more upper-class speakers than *Mary Barton*, and therefore it was interesting to find out

whether there is a significant difference in the use of verb raising between lower- and upper-class speakers in the novel.

Varga (2005) mentions that the verbs *have*, *need*, and *dare* in the 18th and 19th centuries differ in behavior to other verbs when used as main verbs. Varga finds no instances of possessive *have* with *do*-insertion in questions or negative declaratives in *Pride & Prejudice* (p. 269). Haerberli & Ihsane (2016) found only two examples of *do*-support in negative declaratives where *have* functioned as the main verb in their corpus (p. 521). One explanation why *have* behaves this way, might be because it is also an auxiliary in English. Varga (2005) makes the hypothesis that the verb retains the same properties as the auxiliary due to an overgeneralization on the speaker's part. The auxiliary-like verbs *dare* and *need* are difficult to categorize and their behavior in the decline of verb raising has been complex. Contrary to the auxiliary *have*, these 'verbs' are unable to bear agreement inflection when they precede the negative marker *not*. Over time, they began to adopt *do*-support, just like other lexical verbs. Varga finds that they are only used as modals in *Pride & Prejudice* (pp. 270-273).

As mentioned above, Roberts (1993) and Rohrbacher (1999) do not think that V-to-I raising as late as the 18th and 19th century was grammatical. They argue that the authors that produced such utterances used them to maintain a more literary style resembling the texts of Shakespeare and the Bible. Sentences that still used verb raising were not the syntactic reality of their time, but rather, intended archaisms. Finding residual V-to-I movement in literary texts of the time is common, they admit, but they do not include them in their analysis (p. 87).

Varga (2005) argues that excluding these data from the analysis is not justified. She argues that, since historical linguistics is based on the written form, it should be treated as valid data. There is no evidence as to what extent these grammatical constructions were used in everyday speech and therefore dialogues in novels and other texts provide the only

alternative. Since most examples of verb raising in the 18th century are found in dialogues, it might counter the claim that these are archaisms, since this is an unlikely context for them (p. 265).

Her study found residual lexical verb raising in Late Modern English, long after *do*-support had firmly established itself. The verbs that were seen to still undergo V-to-I movement in this time period were, among others, the cognitive verbs *know*, *think*, *come*, or *mistake*. Even though these verbs could still be raised, they were also found in other contexts where they remained in the VP and *do*-support was needed for their derivation. These results are in line with Ogura (1993), who uses data from Ellegård (1953) to discuss the diffusion of *do*-support in English. Diffusion is described as a process in which a change is lexically gradual and does not affect all lexical items in a language at the same time (Wang, 1969, p. 9). Ogura argues that this diffusion, instead of progressing linearly, followed an S-curve (p. 52). In her study, she finds that if a word begins to change later, then the rate of change will be greater. Furthermore, word frequency seems to be an important indicator on the rate of change. Verbs that are less frequent start changing slower and later, whereas the more frequent ones change at an earlier stage and a faster rate.

Ellegård (1953) noticed that some verbs in negative declaratives and questions were very slow to adopt *do*-support. Ogura (1993) came to a similar conclusion and added that the rise of *do*-support in each syntactic environment happened sequentially and not simultaneously in all environments. According to her calculations, verb raising was lost in the year 1885 in questions first and this will come to completion in the year 2227 with negative declaratives (p. 70). Ogura classifies verbs into two groups. The *say*-group, consisting of the verbs *say*, *mean*, *do* and *think*. This is the group with highly frequent verbs in questions. These resisted *do*-support for much longer. The other group consists of all the other main verbs, which are lower in frequency. Ellegård also considered lexical conditioning and used a

classification system comprising a *know*-group, which includes *know, do, doubt, care, list, fear, skill, throw* and *boot*, and a main group consisting of the rest of the verbs. Ogura's study found that verbs from the Ellegård's *know*-group were 200 years behind in adopting *do*-support in negative declaratives (p. 76).

Varga's work supports Warner's (1997) claim that verb raising was lost much later than the disappearance of agreement morphology. Varga observed that the introduction of *do*-support did not necessarily mean that speakers suddenly stopped using V-to-I movement within the same time. She argues that, if *do*-support needed time to establish itself, then verb raising may have taken longer to die out as well. Furthermore, V-to-I raising could not have disappeared before *do*-support had been entirely categorized in the learner's grammar. In her discussion she notes that results from other texts could confirm or abrogate this. She also acknowledges that the examples she found in *Pride & Prejudice* could be due to Jane Austin's writing style or the fact that the novel was written at a time when significant changes in the syntax of sentential negation occurred.

2. Research Aims

2.1 Research Questions

This study aimed to answer the following question: was the usage of verb raising in questions and negative declaratives still widespread in mid-19th century Lancashire dialect?

Sub-questions:

1. If verb raising exists, are there differences in frequency between verb raising in questions and negation that are indicative of syntactic environment conditioning?
2. Are there indications of lexical conditioning?
3. Does verb raising occur more frequently in non-standard (working class dialect) speech?

2.2 Hypotheses

The present study builds on Varga (2005) and aims to establish to what extent verb raising prevailed in the mid-19th century and in what contexts. The study's data have been derived from the novel *Mary Barton*, written by Elizabeth Gaskell (1848). This author uses Lancashire dialect in her texts and therefore has no reason to appear literary. Varga (2005) found some examples of verb raising in *Pride & Prejudice*. Instances of residual V-to-I and I-to-C movement in *Mary Barton* would suggest that the examples Varga found were not just some idiosyncrasies of one particular author but simply remnants of an older grammatical movement.

Based on Varga's (2005) early 19th-century findings, I expect to find instances of raising in *Mary Barton*, and for these instances to be sensitive to syntactic environment, given numerous studies have found that raising in negation prevails for longer than in than questions (Roberts, 1993, p. 308). Lexical conditioning is also expected given that previous

studies have found that V-to-I and I-to-C movement was lost much later with verbs such as *know, say, think, come, or mistake* (Ogura, 1993, p. 53).

Varga (2005) found that verb raising occurred in the novel *Pride & Prejudice* in the speech of both standard and non-standard speakers, but she also found that lower-class speakers, in contrast to the well-educated characters in the novel, did not use *do*-support in negative declarative clauses with the contracted negative form *n't* (p. 273). Speakers, now and then, use the speech of others to determine their social class and project power and strength (Mugglestone, 2010, p. 51). Similar class stratification is expected to affect the retention of verb raising in *Mary Barton* but higher rates of raising are expected given that the novel features predominantly lower-class workers

3. Methodology

To address the aforementioned research question, a corpus-based study was performed to see whether any residual V-to-I and I-to-C movement still existed in positive questions and negation in mid-19th century English. The novel *Mary Barton* (Gaskell, 1848) was chosen to carry out this search. Varga (2005) found evidence of V-to-I movement in novels and thus this study has used this genre too, since it attempted to replicate the author's corpus study in a later time period. Other kinds of texts, such as religious prose, were excluded as a source due to their unusually high rate of V-*not* orders (Haeberli & Ihsane, 2016, p. 521).

Elizabeth Gaskell's book *Mary Barton* has over 9000 different words and hundreds of lexical verbs in its word list. A selection had to be made as to stay within the scope of this research. The 19 verbs included in this study are based on Ogura (1993) and Varga (2005) and comprise *say, mean, do, think, know, doubt, care, list, fear, admit, hear, hesitate, lose, make, venture, have, dare* and *need* (p. 262-72).

Like Varga (2005), this study did not take into account other uses of *do* in questions and negatives. This includes anaphoric uses, the use of emphatic *do* or negative imperative constructions. Furthermore, declarative sentential negation and questions with main verbs were used in this dataset. Questions and negatives formed with auxiliaries and modals were excluded from the results.

The story of *Mary Barton*, which takes place in Manchester, makes extensive use of the Lancashire dialect. Although Elisabeth Gaskell was born in London, her family hailed from the Manchester area, and she was well versed on the Lancashire dialect, which she used extensively in all her novels. She argued in her letters that some concepts could only be correctly expressed in dialect (Chapple & Pollard, 1997). It can therefore be assumed that her representation of Lancashire dialect is accurate.

For this study, a quantitative approach was used because it is an advantageous method to gather a large amount of data to see the relative frequency of a word being used in a specific context. The gathered data was analyzed by using the program Antconc [version 3.5.8] (Anthony, 2019). This concordancer was used for its availability and user-friendliness. First, I uploaded the txt file of *Mary Barton* (Gaskell, 1848). Subsequently, I counted the tokens of lexical verbs raised in negative declaratives and positive questions. Then, the frequency of verb raising in comparison to the use of *do*-support in a construction was calculated. This was done to get a percentage of verbs raised in a specific context.

The first step consisted of searching for the three words preceding the adverb *not* in negation. Subsequently, the data was analyzed by compiling a frequency list that includes the number of lexical verbs that involved raising compared to lexical verbs that used *do*-support. The total number of hits was divided into instances on verb raising and *do*-support. Questions in the dataset were defined by searching for interrogative pronouns and using the concordance tool to gather data about which words succeed them in a question. The second method was to search for questions with the tokens from the verb list in a construction without an interrogative pronoun. Again, two more words were included in the search.

Verbs were also coded according to belonged to the group of cognitive verbs (*know, think, say, mistake*) or auxiliary-like verbs (*have, dare, need*). Fixed expressions like *I hope not*, where *not* stands for a whole clause and cannot be followed by an overt argument or adjunct were excluded from the data set (Varga, 2005, p. 265). After the analysis was completed, the results were compared in an overview in an attempt to answer the research questions.

4. Results & Discussion

4.1 Positive Questions

In *Mary Barton*, instances of verb raising in positive questions were found, supporting the theory put forward by Warner (1997) and Varga (2005) that some verbs could still undergo V-movement in 19th century English. Looking at the examples that were found (11), it is remarkable that these questions still did not use *do*-support in the year 1848. The first two lines come from Margaret Jennings, a seamstress who turns singer later in the novel. Interestingly, the third example comes from Job Legh, Margaret's grandfather. Job is a self-taught naturalist and lives with Margaret in a tiny house. The last example comes from Jem Wilson, who is a factory worker. Thus, all examples come from working class people.

- 11a. What have ye gotten there? (p. 20)
- 11b. Have you much to do? (p. 23)
- 11c. What think yo of a lawyer? (p. 157)
- 11d. Thou knowest where Canada is, Mary? (p. 222)

Table 1: Postive questions in *Mary Barton*

	Raised	<i>Do</i> -support	Total
Lexical verbs	2 7.4%	27 92.6%	29
'to have'	2 100%	0 0%	2

Ellegard (1953) found that in the year 1700, 10% of lexical verbs were raised. Varga (2005) reported that 6.6% of the main verbs in questions underwent I-to-C movement in *Pride & Prejudice* (p. 268). As shown in Table 1, this percentage (7.4%) is higher in *Mary Barton*, but the difference might be explained by the fact that Varga (2005) found 91 tokens in *Pride & Prejudice* as opposed to the 28 that were counted in this study. The lexical-like verb *have* is raised in both questions in Gaskell's novel. This falls in line with the results in Varga (2005, p. 262). As Table 1 further shows, only two examples could be found within the lexical verbs under scrutiny where V-movement occurred. Many more instances were found with *do*-support, as (12) illustrates.

(12) Oh! do you think we may ring for tea? (p.119)

This line comes from Helen Carson, the daughter of a rich factory owner. So far, the only examples of verb raising with lexical verbs in questions, have come from the lower class.

4.2 Negatives

In Ellegard (1953), 13% of verbs were raised in negation in the year 1700. Varga (2005) found 13.7% in her study. If she adds the auxiliary-like verbs, then this percentage goes up to 25.5%. In *Mary Barton*, as Table 2 shows, 3.9% of lexical verbs ($N = 4$) were raised in negative declaratives. This number goes up significantly to 14.3% ($N = 11$) if the auxiliary-like verbs are taken into account.

Table 2: Negative declaratives in *Mary Barton* (full form not)

Lexical Verbs	Raised	<i>Do</i> -support
admit	0	1
care	1	12
doubt	0	1
hear	0	1
know	3	48
lose	0	2
make	0	2
say	0	4
think	0	28
OTHER	-	-
Total	4 (3.9%)	99 (96.1%)

Auxiliary-like verbs	Raised	<i>Do</i> -support
have	5	0
dare	1	3
need	5	0
Total	11 (78.6%)	3 (21.4%)

Total all verbs	15 (14.3%)	105 (85.7%)
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The findings support the idea that verb raising was much more common in negation in mid-19th century English than in questions. Not only is verb raising sensitive to syntactic environment but there is also lexical conditioning. Verb raising occurs with auxiliary-like verbs and the cognitive verb *know* (Ogura, 1993).

The four examples in negation were, interestingly, not all found in working-class speech. As illustrated in (13), *know* was found to be raised twice.

- 13a. Ye know not what ye do (p. 121)
 13b. They know not what they do (p. 228)

The first line came from Mrs. Heman, who used to be the nurse in the household of the Carson family. The second came from Mr. Carson, the head of the wealthy family. This seemed to contradict the hypothesis that lower-class speakers retained the structure for longer. However, the context is important here. Mr. Carson thought back about his life in poverty and recites a line from his gospel, a text that is notorious for retaining archaisms (Haeberli & Ihsane, 2016, p. 521). Thus, it might be assumed that he would not use this kind of construction in his colloquial speech.

Based on her corpus study, Varga (2005) believes that *do*-support and verb raising were in complementary distribution for a long time. Warner (1997) proposed a theory of subgrammars, where learners have internalized different systems that are competing with each other in different syntactic environments. Both these linguists theorize that verb raising must have been lost in the 19th century. The results of this study seem to contradict the hypothesis that V-movement was lost in the 16th century (Kroch, 1989; Roberts, 1999; Rohrbacher, 1999). The data gathered from *Mary Barton* supports Varga's (2005) and Warner's (1997) theory that verb raising remained a viable alternative, particularly in questions and negative declaratives. As in Varga's search, almost all examples of verb raising could be found in dialogue, an indicator that this grammatical movement was still part of realistically spoken English. The examples in *Mary Barton* are fewer than in *Pride & Prejudice*, showing that verb raising was still declining in the 19th century.

The results of the present study are also in line with Ogura (1993) and Varga (2005) in showing that verbs expressing cognitive states (*think, know*) and auxiliary-like verbs like *have, dare* and *need* retained raising for longer.

5. Conclusion

This study attempted to answer the question of whether verb raising in positive questions and negative declaratives was still found in the Lancashire dialect in mid-19th century English. The results from this study confirm the hypothesis that residual V-to-I and I-to-C movement can still be found in this late time period. As expected, the frequency of verb raising in negation was higher than in positive questions. This falls in line with the theory of Ogura (1993), that change happened at different rates in different syntactic environments. The results of this study also seem to support the hypothesis that lexical conditioning was an important factor in the decline of verb raising. As Ogura (1993) predicted, based on her calculations, the highly frequent lexical verbs were more likely to retain V-movement than other verbs. Varga (2005) mentioned that certain verbs that display auxiliary-like behavior were more likely to resist *do*-support. Again, the sample from *Mary Barton* seems to support this when taking into account the verbs *have*, *dare*, and *need*.

Lastly, this study was interested in gaining some information about whether verb raising occurred more frequently in non-standard (working class) speech. Interestingly, all-but-one of the examples found in negatives and declaratives came from characters who had a trade job or no education at all. The one instance where a wealthy factory owner uses V-to-I movement is when he is reciting the gospel. Lancashire dialect in the mid-19th century was mostly spoken by the working class and is known to have retained older forms of English in its grammar and lexicon (Hickey, 2018). Based on the results of this study alone, it provides some evidence that verb raising in mid-19th century Northern English might have been more common in non-standard speech.

The results from this study support the idea (Varga, 2005; Warner, 1997) that verb raising took much longer to phase out than suggested by Rohrbacher (1999), Kroch (1989), and Roberts (1993). Thus, V-to-I movement must have been lost much later than the

disappearance of verbal agreement morphology. The present research has some limitations. First of all, only one novel from the 19th century was looked at. Secondly, only a sample of verbs was used in this corpus study. Had more novels be used from a wide variety of northern dialects, then a different outcome might have been produced. Lastly, this study only looked into whether verb raising still existed in a novel that uses the mid-19th century Lancashire dialect. It did not go into detail on the differences between this dialect and other varieties of English.

This research has expanded upon the work of other linguists such as Varga (2005). Despite the extensive work on this subject, the decline of verb raising and its definitive cause are still inconclusive. Furthermore, the precise date of the end of V-to-I raising remains to be determined. Following the predictions made in Ogura (1993), future studies may want to look into novels written between the second half of the 19th century and modern times. If her calculations are accurate, then some sporadic examples, beyond fixed expressions, are expected to be found in negative declaratives.

6. References

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