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Parameter Typology from a Diachronic Perspective: The Case of Conditional Inversion

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Theoretical Approaches to Linguistic Variation
Ermenegildo Bidese, Federica Cognola & Manuela Caterina Moroni [eds.]
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OBJECTIVE OF THE PAPER

To show that it is meaningful to think of parameters and their synchronic robustness and consequent diachronic stability in "size" terms. ☞ PARAMETER HIERARCHIES

PARAMETERS & AVAILABILITY OF VERB-MOVEMENT OPERATIONS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

① *Old and Early Middle English*:
a parameter activating a Verb Second (V2) grammar requiring verb movement into the finite C-domain (Force or Fin) in matrix clauses
= MESOPARAMETER

② *Early Modern English*:
a parameter activating a grammar with verb movement triggered by a smaller class of finite Cs and affecting a smaller class of verbs
= MICROPARAMETER

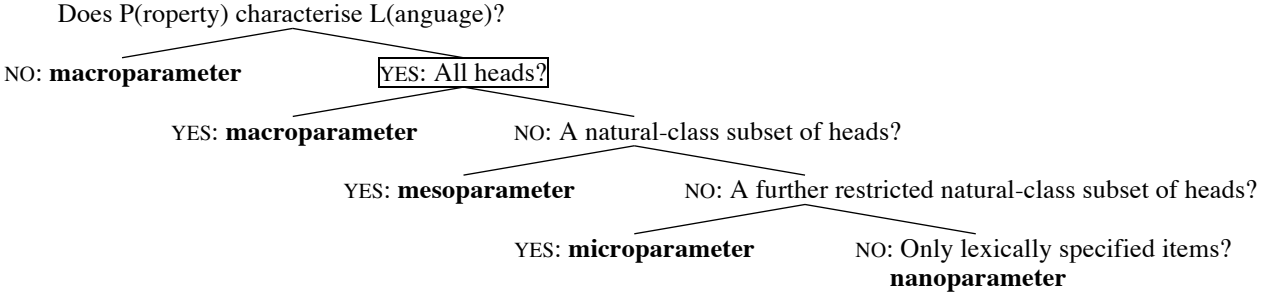
③ *Modern British and American English*:
a parameter activating a grammar with Conditional Inversion (CI) triggered by only *had*, *should* and certain uses of *were* ☞ UNSTABLE
= NANOPARAMETER

1. INTRODUCTION

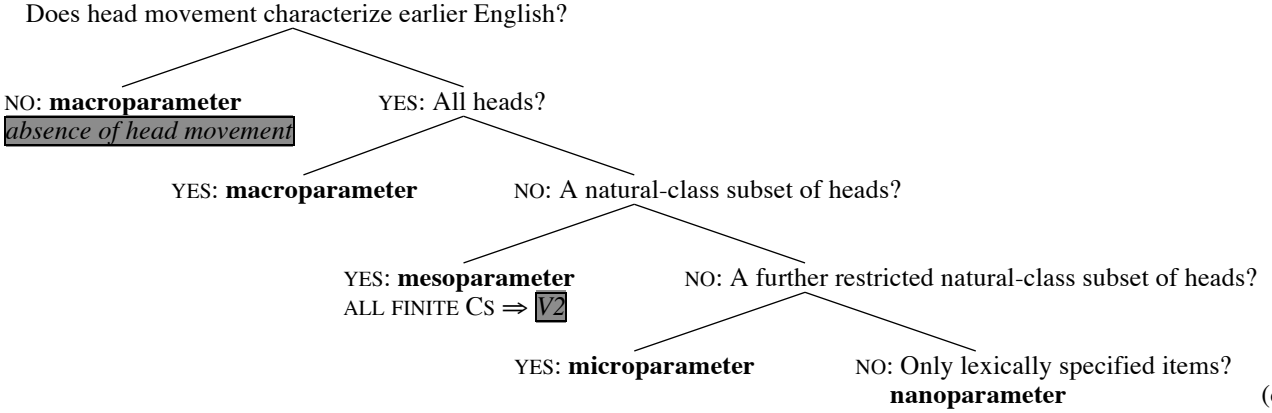
[I] PARAMETERS MAY VARY IN "SIZE" AND THEY SHOULD BE THOUGHT OF AS EMERGENT ENTITIES.
☞ MORE ARTICULATED TAXONOMY OF PARAMETER TYPES ---> (1)&(2')

(1) For a given value v_i of a parametrically variant feature F:
a. **Macroparameters**:all functional heads of the relevant type share v_i;
b. **Mesoparameters**: all functional heads of a given naturally definable class (e.g. [+V]) share v_i;
c. **Microparameters**: a small subclass of functional heads (e.g. modal auxiliaries) shows v_i;
d. **Nanoparameters**: one or more individual lexical items is/are specified for v_i.

(2') Does P(roperty) characterise L(anguage)?



(2'') Does head movement characterize earlier English?



(cf. (30))

[II] UNDER THE GENERAL VIEW OF PARAMETRIC CHANGE AS INVOLVING REANALYSIS OF PLD THROUGH LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

a. Macroparameters: evidence in all/most structures (easily set) ☞ RESISTANT TO REANALYSIS AND STRONGLY CONSERVED
b. Mesoparameters:
c. Microparameters: } less salient in the PLD ☞ LESS RESISTANT TO REANALYSIS AND LESS STRONGLY CONSERVED
d. Nanoparameters: ☞ EVEN LESS RESISTANT TO REANALYSIS AND MORE PRONE TO CHANGE

⇓ HOWEVER (cf. Biberauer & Roberts (2012b))

With high-frequency, lexical items likely to retain what become, over time, irregularities in the context of the system as a whole.

cf. English irregular verbs: INVOLVING ITEM-SPECIFIC SPECIFICATIONS OVERRIDING THE SYNCHRONIC DEFAULT
⇒ SYNCHRONIC IRREGULARITY ≒ EARLIER REGULARITY

⇓ HOWEVER

Nanoparametric setting is distinct from parametric "fossils" and ablaut (i.e. irregular verbs).

☞ ACTIVE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PRESENT-DAY SYSTEM, BEING MANIPULATED BY THE COMPUTATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE SAME WAY AS THE LARGER CLASS OF ELEMENTS AT EARLIER STAGES IN THE LANGUAGE'S HISTORY

→ CHANGES IN THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF PARAMETER CRUCIALLY INVOLVE TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION WHAT DOES NOT CHANGE, AS MUCH AS WHAT DOES.

[III] SYNCHRONIC COROLLARY OF THE DEGREES OF RESISTANCE TO SYNTACTIC CHANGE

a. Macroparameters
   ⇒ HOLDING ACROSS LARGE LANGUAGE FAMILIES IN A FAIRLY UNIFORM WAY
   e.g. rigid head-final order across categories in (almost) all attested Dravidian languages
   cf. head finality ☞ all heads
b. Mesoparameters
   ⇒ CHARACTERISTIC OF LANGUAGE FAMILIES AT THE LEVEL OF THE MAIN SUBGROUPINGS OF INDO-EUROPEAN
   e.g. Germanic.
   cf. head finality ☞ [+V] or [−V] heads
c. Microparameters
   ⇒ CHARACTERISTIC OF VARIATION AMONG MORE CLOSELY RELATED SYSTEMS
   e.g. individual Romance languages and dialects
   cf. head finality ☞ smaller subset of [+V]/[−V] heads
d. Nanoparameters
   ⇒ IDIOSYNCRATIC PROPERTIES OF SUBSYSTEMS OF INDIVIDUAL LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS
   cf. head finality ☞ specific lexical items

[IV] CHANGE FROM A MESOPARAMETER TO A MICROPARAMETER TO A NANOPARAMETER

CI in the history of English ☞ NO CHANGE FROM OLD ENGLISH ⇒ { T-to-C movement / a feature marking the clause as irrealis }

cf. clause-type feature associated with C: interrogative, imperative, exclamative, irrealis, etc.

⇓

Range of elements affected by T-to-C movement
Relation with other forms of head movement into the C field } ☞ CHANGE

① *Old English*: CI = part of the V2 system ☞ MESOPARAMETER
② *15th Century English*: productive V2 lost ⇒ "residual V2" (e.g. interrogative inversion & CI)
③ *Early Modern English*: movement of lexical verbs to T lost ⇒ CI with only auxiliaries ☞ MICROPARAMETER
④ *Contemporary English*: CI restricted to *had*, *should* and *were* in high registers ☞ NANOPARAMETER

2. CI IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH

[V] RESTRICTIONS ON CI IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH ---> (3)

(3) a. Had **I** been rich, everything would have been ok. ☞ *HAD* POSSIBLE
    b. Should **he** do that, everything would be ok. ☞ *SHOULD* POSSIBLE
    c. *Did **I** do that, everything would be ok.
    d. Were **I/he** to do that, ... ☞ *WERE* POSSIBLE IN THE MODAL *BE-TO* CONTEXT
    e. Were **I** rich/??a rich man/??in London, ... ☞ *WERE* POSSIBLE WITH A PREDICATIVE ADJP
    f. If **I** were rich, ...

[VI] FEATURES ON C IN CONDITIONAL PROTASES

a. irrealis feature on C = unvalued [Pol(arity)] in conditional structures
   ⇒ THREE VALUES OF [POL]: AFFIRMATIVE, NEGATIVE & OPEN (= VARIABLE WHICH REQUIRES BINDING)
   (Holmberg (2013: 38); cf. Biberauer (2017: 90f))
   ☞ non-veridical interpretation in the sense of Giannakidou (2000)

> negation, non-assertive speech acts (questions, imperatives, exclamatives), the protasis of conditionals, the scope of strong intensional verbs like *want* and *hope*, the future, the habitual, and the restriction of universal quantifiers
> (Giannakidou (2000: 468))

b. initially unvalued T(ense)-feature on conditional C in the spirit of Ritter & Wiltschko (2009, 2014)
   i. *T-domain*: It signals whether the time of the *v*P situation (event, etc.) does or does not coincide with the time of the utterance.
   ii. *C-domain*: It signals whether the proposition expressed by TP does or does not coincide with the speaker's here-and-now.
   e.g. T-feature on C valued [past] = [Tense:past]
   ☞ "non-coincidence" reading of *had-*, *were-*, and *should*-conditionals
   ⇓ REASON
   CI is synchronically associated with past-tense forms. = *"fake past"*
   (The auxiliaries able to undergo CI, *had*, *were* and *should*, are just those that are lexically endowed with [Tense:past], alongside [Pol:__].)

cf. *if*-conditionals ☞ WIDER CLASS OF AUXILIARIES ⇒ IN THEIR UNRAISED POSITION
① *if*: lexically encoding [Pol:__]-bearing C
② epistemic modals: above the position of the INFL/T-domain associated with (past) Tense
③ root modals: below the position of the INFL/T-domain associated with (past) Tense
} ---> (4)

(4) $\text{Mood}_{\text{speechact}} > \text{Mood}_{\text{evaluative}} > \text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}} > \mathbf{Mod}_{\mathbf{epistemic}} > \textit{Tense}_{\textit{past}} > \text{Tense}_{\text{future}} > \text{Mood}_{\text{irrealis}} > \text{Mod}_{\text{necessity(alethic)}} > \text{Mod}_{\text{possibility(alethic)}} \ldots > \text{Mod}_{\text{volitional}} \ldots > \mathbf{Mod}_{\mathbf{obligation}}$ (>) $\mathbf{Mod}_{\mathbf{ability/permission}}$
---> [VII] (Cinque (1999: 81, 130))

[VII] ASSUMPTIONS

a. [Tense] is interpreted relative to the domain in which it is located.
b. The height at which a feature is introduced/represented determines its interpretive properties
⇓

> $\text{Mood}_{\text{speechact}}$, $\text{Mood}_{\text{evaluative}}$, $\text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}}$ & $\mathbf{Mod}_{\mathbf{epistemic}}$ ☞ CP-/DISCOURSE-LINKING DOMAIN ABOVE $\text{TENSE}_{\text{PAST}}$ = SPEAKER-ORIENTED DOMAIN ABOVE TP

⇒ *"fake past" modals with epistemic interpretations = past-marked epistemic modals with "non-coincidence" meanings*

[VIII] INTERIM SUMMARY I

a. epistemic modals in C (CI)
b. epistemic modals in the first-merged position (*if*-conditionals)
} ☞ NO "TRUE TENSE" INTERPRETATION

[IX] ROOT (DEONTIC/DYNAMIC) MODALS

> $\text{Mood}_{\text{irrealis}} > \text{Mod}_{\text{necessity(alethic)}} > \text{Mod}_{\text{possibility(alethic)}} \ldots > \text{Mod}_{\text{volitional}} \ldots > \mathbf{Mod}_{\mathbf{obligation}}$ (>) $\mathbf{Mod}_{\mathbf{ability/permission}}$
> ☞ DOMINATED BY TP PROJECTIONS

⇒ *"true tense" interpretations*
⇓ HOWEVER
NOT CONSISTENT ---> (5) vs. (6)

(5) DYNAMIC MODALS

a. **She** can speak really good French now that she's eighteen. ☞ PRESENT ABILITY
b. **He** could speak French when he was six. ☞ PAST ABILITY
⇒ *tense change*

(6) DEONTIC MODALS

a. **You** shall/may not pass through these gates! ☞ PRESENTLY RELEVANT PERMISSION
b. **You** should/(*)might not pass through these gates! ☞*PREVIOUSLY EXISTING PERMISSION
⇒ *no tense change*

(6') DEONTIC *MUST* LACKS A PAST-MARKED COUNTERPART.

[X] ORDERING OF PERMISSION AND ABILITY MODALS: $\text{MOD}_{\text{PERMISSION}} > \text{MOD}_{\text{ABILITY}}$ ---> (7)&(8)

(7) *Dutch*: a. **Iedereen** mag_{perm} van mij $\text{kunnen}_{\text{ab}}$ lezen wat er staat.
everybody may of me can.INF read what there stands
'Every is allowed (by me) to be able to read what it says.'
b. $\text{Mod}_{\text{vol(itional)}} > \text{Mod}_{\text{obl(igation)}}$ *moeten* 'have to' > $\text{Mod}_{\text{perm(ission)}}$ *mogen* 'be allowed to' > $\text{Mod}_{\text{ab(ility)}}$ *kunne*n 'be able to'

(8) *Scottish English*: **He** may$_{perm}$ can$_{ab}$ tell you.
'He may be able to tell you.' (Bour (2014: 152))

[XI] RESOLVING (5) vs. (6)
ASSUMPTION: DISCOURSE-ORIENTED LEFT PERIPHERY = THE EDGE OF ALL PHRASES
⇒ CP-EDGE & *v*P-EDGE WITH [POL] (i.a. Poletto (2012), Cognola (2013), Biberauer (2013, 2017))
a. epistemic modals: [Pol:__] ⇒ CP-edge elements
b. root modals: [Pol:aff] (affirmative) or [Pol:neg] (negative)
i. deontic modals (permission/obligation modals): [Pol:aff] & [Tense:past] ⇒ *v*P-edge elements
☞ "NON-COINCIDENCE" READING
ii. dynamic modals (ability modals): [Pol:aff] & [Tense:past] ⇒ in their low first-merge positions
☞ "REAL PAST" READING

[XII] INTERIM SUMMARY II
① three forms undergoing CI in modern English
⇒ *had* (counterfactuals)
were (hypothetical conditionals)
should (open conditionals) ☞ GRAMMATICALIZED INTO A NEW CONDITIONAL MARKER
② [Pol:__] & [Tense:past]
⇒ defective goals in the sense of Roberts (2010) = proper subsets of the formal features of C
☞ DRIVING HEAD-MOVEMENT

[XIII] ① CONTRACTED NEGATION IMPOSSIBLE IN CI-STRUCTURES ---> (9)-(11)
a. [Pol] on C in CI structures = [Pol:__] ☞ COMPATIBLE WITH CI
b. [Pol] on contracted negation forms = [Pol:neg] ☞ CI NOT INTERPRETED AT THE LF INTERFACE AS A CONDITIONAL
② CONTRACTED NEGATION PERFECTLY GRAMMATICAL WITH INTERROGATIVE INVERSION ---> (12)

(9) a. *Hadn't **I** done that, everything would have been fine.
b. Had **I** not done that, everything would have been fine.
c. If **I** hadn't done that, everything would have been fine.

(10) a. *Shouldn't **he** do that, it will be a shame.
b. Should **he** not do that, it will be a shame.

(11) a. *Weren't **he** to do that, it would be a shame.
b. ?Were **he** not to do that, it would be a shame.
c. ??If **he** weren't to do that, it would be a shame.
c'. If **he** were not to do that, it would be a shame.

(12) a. Hadn't **he** finished when you got back?
b. Shouldn't **he** have finished when you got back?
c. Weren't **they** to have finished when you got back?

[XIV] INTERIM SUMMARY III
① *had*, *should* & *were*: [Pol:__] & [Tense:past] ☞ UNDERGOING CI
⇒ formal feature specification of heads in terms of the Borer-Chomsky Conjecture maximally broadly interpreted, with parametric variation

THE BORER-CHOMSKY CONJECTURE
All parameters of variation are attributable to differences in the features of particular items (e.g. the functional heads) in the lexicon. (Baker (2008: 353))

☞ NANOPARAMETER
② *may* in contemporary English ☞ UNDERGOING OPTATIVE INVERSION ---> (13)
a. CONTRACTED NEGATION IMPOSSIBLE: *Mayn't* is independently absent.
b. ONLY *MAY* COMPATIBLE: C is able to probe some form of optative-related feature ([optative]) on T.
c. CI IMPOSSIBLE: *May*'s tense specification is [-past]

(13) a. May **you** rot!
b. May **all your dreams** come true!
c. May **you** be very happy!

3. PRE-20TH-CENTURY MODERN ENGLISH (1700 ONWARDS)

[XV] a. DENISON (1998: 298-300):
CI AFFECTING AUXILIARIES OTHER THAN *HAD*, *SHOULD* AND *WERE* IN 19TH- AND EARLY 20TH-CENTURY ENGLISH
---> (14)
b. CI AFFECTING *WOULD*, *COULD* AND *MIGHT* FROM 18TH- AND 19TH-CENTURY ENGLISH
---> (15)

(14) a. My dear friend, did **I** want your aid I would accept it. (1840 Bulwer-Lytton, *Money* Viii, in 19*c Plays*, ed. Bowell, p. 112)
b. And could **I** read yours [sc. face], I'm sure I should see. (1863 Hazlewood, *Lady Audley's Secret* I.i p. 241)
c. And were **she** a little less giddy than she is...
(1843–4 Dickens, *Chuzzlewit* ed. Cardwell (Clarendon, 1982) xviii. 305; Visser 1963–73, II:801)

⇒ DENISON'S SURVEY ON CI IN THE "MORE INFORMAL GENRES" OF BRITISH TEXTS IN THE ARCHER CORPUS ---> Figure 1

	have (perfect aux)		*were*		*should*		*could*	
	CI	*If*	CI	*If*	CI	*If*	CI	*If*
1650–99	28 (57%)	21	11 (41%)	16	10 (38%)	16	1 (25%)	3
1700–49	21 (51%)	20	17 (57%)	13	6 (25%)	16	4 (17%)	19
1750–99	13 (41%)	19	12 (43%)	16	2 (10%)	19	2 (13%)	13
1800–49	9 (38%)	15	7 (30%)	16	13 (46%)	15	6 (26%)	17
1850–99	11 (30%)	26	0	20	3 (60%)	2	0	8
1900–49	2 (17%)	10	0	9	2 (67%)	1	0	12
1950–	2 (7%)	28	1 (5%)	19	0	3	0	15

CLEAR POINT OF INFLECTION

Figure 1. The relative distribution of CI and *if*-clauses with *had, were, should* and *could* during the period 1650–1950 (cf. Denison 1998: 300)

☞ CI RESTRICTED TO CERTAIN AUXILIARIES IN ROUGHLY THE 19TH CENTURY:
Individual auxiliaries lost the capacity to undergo CI on an item-by-item basis.

① all auxiliaries (epistemic and dynamic modals, past-tense forms of *have* and *be*, and uninflected *be*):
[Pol:__]/[Pol:aff] & [Tense:past] ☞ UNDERGOING CI ⇒ MICROPARAMETER
② three auxiliaries covering the three core conditional types (counterfactual, hypothetical and open conditionals):
[Pol:__] & [Tense:past] ☞ SPECIALIZED FOR CI ⇒ NANOPARAMETER
---> §4

(15) a. Would **you** be really... a man of honour... you would... restore that parchment to Lord Evandale.
(1816, Scott, Old Mortality (Tauchn.) 435; Visser 1963–73, III: 1730)
b. This was a very prudential resolution, could **he** have kept it.
(1751, Smollett, Peregr. Pickle II, xix; Visser 1963–73, III: 1748)
c. Might **I** kiss those eyes of re, A million scarce would quench desire.
(1807, Byron, Hours of Idleness: To Ellen; Visser 1963–73, III, 1778)

4. EARLY MODERN ENGLISH (MID-15TH TO 18TH CENTURY)

[XVI] §4 ESTABLISHING:
① CI applied to all auxiliaries at some point in the Early Modern period.
② CI ceased to apply to main verbs during the Early Modern period. } ☞ PARALLEL TO INTERROGATIVE INVERSION
⇒ RISSANEN (1999: 308): SELECTION OF VERBS MORE VARIED IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH ---> (16)&(17)
DENISON (1993: 451): INVERSION WITH DUMMY *DO* IN THE NEGATIVE CONTEXT ---> (18)

(16) CI
a. Wist **I** that it were trewe... I woulde well thynke, that... he hanged himselfe.
(1528 More, *Heresies*, 327; Rissanen 1999: 308)
b. Would **I** haue my flesh Torne by the publique hooke, these qualified hangmen Should be my company.
(1603 Ben Jonson, *Sejanus* II.ii; Rissanen 1999: 309)

(17) INVERSION IN CONCESSIVES
For how can that subject please his Liege Souerain, kepe **he** neuer so well his laws, obserue **he** neuer so exactly his statutes, if with all this he acknowledg him not for his Prince (1565 Stapleton 5v; Rissanen 1999: 309)

(18) INVERSION WITH DUMMY *DO* ⇐ LOSS OF V-TO-T MOVEMENT AROUND 1600
for did **I** not consider you as my Patron, I have little reason to desire you for my Judge
(1664 Dryden, *Dedic.* to *Rival Ladies* VIII 96.13; Denison 1993: 451)
☞ INTERROGATIVE INVERSION WITH LEXICAL VERBS & INTERROGATIVE INVERSION WITH *DO* IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH
---> (19)&(20)
☞ CI WITH LEXICAL VERBS & CI WITH *DO* IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH
---> (21)&(22)

CI patterns with interrogative inversion.
① 16th century: conservative grammar ☞ ALLOWING LEXICAL VERBS TO INVERT
② 17th century: innovative grammar ☞ RESTRICTING INVERSION TO AUXILIARIES AND FEATURING "DO-SUPPORT"
⇒ until around 1850

⇓ ANALYSIS

CI interrogative inversion } ☞ INVOLVING T-TO-C MOVEMENT
① conservative grammar: V-to-T movement of lexical verbs & first-merger of auxiliaries with T
⇒ T-TO-C MOVEMENT POSSIBLE WITH BOTH LEXICAL VERBS AND AUXILIARIES
② innovative grammar: only first-merger of auxiliaries with T (due to the loss of V-to-T movement)
⇒ T-TO-C MOVEMENT POSSIBLE WITH ONLY AUXILIARIES

(19) INTERROGATIVE INVERSION WITH *DO*
a. What didst **thou** loose Iacke? (1597 Shakespeare *1Henry IV* III.iii; Rissanen 1999: 244)
b. What do **you** call him? (1599 Shakespeare *Henry V* III.vi; Rissanen 1999: 244)

(20) INTERROGATIVE INVERSION WITH LEXICAL VERBS
a. Alas wherefore lyghteth me **the sonne**... [?] (1503–5 *Val. & Orson* (W) 24.23; Denison 1993: 462)
b. Of whom receyueth **the sonne** his course? (1509–21 Fisher *English Works* 195.16; Denison 1993: 462)

(21) CI WITH LEXICAL VERBS & CI WITH *DO*
a. he hath sworn there by his god/come **ye** not/or brynge **I** yow not with me for tabyde suche right and sentence as shal be there gyuen/it shal coste you your lyf (1481 CMREYNAR, 13.237)
b. Can **he** that subtylte in suche wise that he stamer not in his wordes/and may thenne be herde/neuew/this man may doo wonder (1481 CMREYNAR, 61.689)
c. Do **he** what somever he wyll, no man doth blame hym. (1497 CMINNOCE, 5.64)

(22) CI WITH LEXICAL VERBS & CI WITH *DO* IN THE SAME SENTENCE
what became of the kynge of Castell... made **he** ony recovery, or dyd **he** close hymselfe in ony of his townes.
(1523 Berners *Froissart* IV 282; Rissanen 1999: 244)

[XVII] DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CI AND INTERROGATIVE INVERSION I: FEATURAL DIFFERENCE
a. interrogative inversion = root phenomenon ☞ BAND IN SELECTED CONTEXTS
⇒ *selected C lacking the inversion-triggering features*
b. CI = subordinate clause (conditional protasis) phenomenon ☞ UNSELECTED ENVIRONMENTS
⇒ *unselected C bearing the inversion-triggering features*

[XVIII] DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CI AND INTERROGATIVE INVERSION II: SEMANTIC DIFFERENCE
different kinds of illocutionary force
⇓ HOWEVER
general notion of non-veridicality ---> (23)

(23) A propositional operator *F* is veridical iff *Fp* entails *p*: *Fp* → *p*; otherwise *F* is nonveridical.
☞ C IN CONDITIONALS & INTERROGATIVES = NON-VERIDICAL PROPOSITIONAL OPERATORS
⇓ TECHNICAL ANALYSIS

① conservative grammar with an inversion microparameter in Early Modern English:
C involved in inversion = non-veridical operator: [Pol:__] ([Interrogative]/[Irrealis]) & [Tense]-probe
T and elements that raise to it: [Tense] ☞ DEFECTIVE GOAL ⇒ UNDERGOING HEAD MOVEMENT
② innovative grammar with a further differentiated inversion microparameter in (Late) Modern English:
conditional C = non-veridical operator: [Pol:__] & [Tense:past] required ⇒ SPECIAL CASE ---> (24)
interrogative C = non-veridical operator: [Pol:__] & [Tense] compatible with all specifications
T (and elements that raise to it): [Tense]

☞ PREDICTION: OPTATIVE INVERSION WITH ALL AUXILIARIES AND LEXICAL VERBS IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH
---> (25)

(24) CI STRUCTURES WITH UNINFLECTED (SUBJUNCTIVE) *BE* ⇒ SPECIAL CASE
a. Brief is the word; not without significance, be **it** true or untrue (Carlyle, *The French Revolution* 1837)
b. ... and, although the rapidity of these vibrations varies immensely, they are recognisable in all our acts, be **they** voluntary or involuntary (Poore, *Nervous Affections of the Hand and Other Clinical Studies*, 1876)

(25) OPTATIVE INVERSION IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH

a. Would that he were gone! (1595-1596 Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, i, 45)

b. Though not by Warre, but by Surfet dye **your King**, Dye in his youth, by like untimely violence.
As ours by Murther, to make him King. Thy selfe a Queene, for me that was a Queene,
Edward thy Sonne, that now is Prince of Wales, Out-live **thy** glory, like my wretched selfe.
For Edward our Sonne, that was Prince of Wales, (1593 Shakespeare, *Richard III*, I, iii, 199)

☞ SURVIVED INTO CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH IN FIXED EXPRESSIONS AND FORMULAIC CONTEXTS

5. OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH (450-1150CE AND 1150-1550CE)

[XIX] ALL KINDS OF INVERSION WITH LEXICAL VERBS IN OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH ---> (26)

V2 in declarative clauses in Old English

a. topic-initial V2: coexistence with V3 orders ⇒ V-TO-FIN MOVEMENT
☞ LOSS OF "FULL V2"

b. true V2 (with *ne*, a *wh*-phrase and one of a small set of discourse adverbs) ⇒ V-TO-FORCE MOVEMENT
☞ LOSS OF MESOPARAMETRIC V2

---> [XX]

(26) a. CI IN OLD ENGLISH

Gewite **þæt ungesewenlice** ut þonne fylð adune þæt gesewenlice
depart.SUBJ that invisible (soul) out then falls down that visible (body)
'If the invisible soul departs, then the visible body falls down.' (*ÆHom* I, 10: 123–4)

b. CONCESSIVE INVERSION IN OLD ENGLISH

don **ða yfelan** þæt þæt hi don,...
do.SUBJ the evil that that they do
'Though the evil ones do what they do...' (Boethius (Cardale) 292, 18; Visser 1963–73, II: 908)

c. CONCESSIVE INVERSION IN LATE MIDDLE ENGLISH

Bi this maner, with good lyuyng and greet trauel, men moun come to trewe and cleer translating, and trewe vndurstonding of holi writ, seme **it** neuere so hard at the bigynnyng. (*CMPurvey* I: 60.2366)
'By this manner, with good living and great labor, men may come to a true and clear translating and understanding of the scriptures, however hard it may seem at the beginning.'

d. INTERROGATIVE INVERSION IN EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH

wenst **þu** þat ic ne cunne singe?
'Do you think that I can't sing?' (*The Owl and the Nightingale* l.47)

[XX] PRODUCTIVE V2 SYSTEM UNTIL ABOUT 1450 ⇒ GENERAL GERMANIC V2
involving raising of v into C-system skipping T

triggering of V-movement into the C-domain ⇒ QUITE GENERAL
⇓ HOWEVER
① difference between veridical and non-veridical Cs for V2: [Pol:__] ≠ Probe
  a. declarative V2
    ⇒ veridical Fin: obligatory [EPP] ☞ OBLIGATORILY TRIGGERING XP-MOVEMENT
  b. interrogative inversion, CI & optative inversion = V1 ⇒ similar to CI in German ---> (27)
    ⇒ non-veridical Force: optional [EPP] ☞ OPTIONALLY TRIGGERING XP-MOVEMENT
② similarity between veridical and non-veridical Cs
  a. veridical Fin: [Pol:aff] & [Pol:neg] = Probe ☞ TRIGGERING V-MOVEMENT
  b. non-veridical Force: [Pol:__] = Probe ☞ TRIGGERING V-MOVEMENT

⇓ LOSS
reanalyzed as V-to-T movement ☞ AUXILIARIES NOT FIRST-MERGED IN T AT THIS PERIOD: MODALS = LEXICAL VERBS

a. veridical Fin: [Pol:aff]/[Pol:neg] (& obligatory [EPP]) ⇒ loss around 1450 ☞ UNABLE TO ATTRACT *v*/V
... [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ Force ... [$_{\text{FinP}}$ ___ [$_{\text{Fin'}}$ Fin<Pol:aff|neg/EPP> ... [$_{\text{TP}}$ T [$_{v\text{P}}$ V+*v* [$_{\text{VP}}$ t_{V} ... XP ...]]]]]]
⇓ GAINING
T: [Pol:aff]/[Pol:neg] ☞ ABLE TO ATTRACT *v*/V ⇒ TRIGGERING V-TO-T MOVEMENT (NON-V2 SYSTEM)
... [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ Force ... [$_{\text{FinP}}$ Fin ... [$_{\text{TP}}$ T<Pol:aff|neg> [$_{v\text{P}}$ V+*v* [$_{\text{VP}}$ t_{V} ... XP ...]]]]]

b. non-veridical Force: [Pol:__] (& optional [EPP]) ☞ ABLE TO ATTRACT *v*/V ⇒ TRIGGERING V-TO-T-TO-FORCE MOVEMENT
i. ... [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ Force<Pol:__/V> ... [$_{\text{FinP}}$ Fin ... [$_{\text{TP}}$ T<V> [$_{v\text{P}}$ V+*v*<V> [$_{\text{VP}}$ t_{V} ... XP ...]]]]]
*⇐ LOCALITY CONDITIONS
ii. ... [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ Force<Pol:__/V> ... [$_{\text{FinP}}$ Fin ... [$_{\text{TP}}$ T<V> [$_{v\text{P}}$ V+*v*<V> [$_{\text{VP}}$ t_{V} ... XP ...]]]]]

(27) V1 CI IN GERMAN

a. Wäre **Hans** gekommen, dann wäre Susanne abgefahren
were Hans come then were Susanne off-driven
'If Hans had come, Susanne would have left'

b. Kommt **Hans**, dann geht Susanne
come Hans then go Susanne
'If Hans comes, Susanne will leave'

6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

[XXI] SUMMARY: DEVELOPMENT OF INVERSION IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

PERIOD	C-SYSTEM	INVERSION
Old English – Late Middle English	non-veridical Force: [Pol:__] & [Tense] (& [EPP]) ☞ MESOPARAMETER	true V2 V1: CI, interrogative inversion, optative inversion & concessive inversion ⇒ V-TO-FORCE MOVEMENT
	veridical Fin: [Pol:aff]/[Pol:neg], [Tense] & [EPP] ☞ MESOPARAMETER	topic-initial declarative V2 ⇒ V-TO-FIN MOVEMENT
	T: [Tense]	----------
c1450 – Early Modern English	non-veridical Force: [Pol:__] & [Tense] (& [EPP]) ☞ MICROPARAMETER	true V2 V1: CI, interrogative inversion, optative inversion & concessive inversion ⇒ V-TO-T-TO-FORCE MOVEMENT
	veridical Fin	----------
	T: [Pol:aff]/[Pol:neg] & [Tense] (& [EPP])	⇒ V-TO-T MOVEMENT
c1700 – c1850	interrogative Force: [Pol:__] & [Tense] (& [EPP]) ☞ MICROPARAMETER	true V2 & interrogative inversion ⇒ T-TO-FORCE MOVEMENT
	conditional Force: [Pol:__] & [Tense:past] ☞ MICROPARAMETER	CI ⇒ T-TO-FORCE MOVEMENT
	optative Force: [Pol:__] & [Tense] ☞ MICROPARAMETER	optative inversion ⇒ T-TO-FORCE MOVEMENT
	veridical Fin	----------
	T: [Tense] (& [EPP])	----------
c1850 – Contemporary English	interrogative Force: [Pol:__] & [Tense] (& [EPP]) ☞ MICROPARAMETER	true V2 & interrogative inversion ⇒ V-TO-T-TO-FORCE MOVEMENT
	conditional Force: [Pol:__] & [Tense:past] ☞ NANOPARAMETER	CI (*had*, *should* & *were*) ⇒ T-TO-FORCE MOVEMENT
	optative Force: [Pol:__] & [Tense:present] ☞ NANOPARAMETER	optative inversion (*may*) ⇒ T-TO-FORCE MOVEMENT
	veridical Fin	----------
	T: [Tense] (& [EPP])	----------
South African English	interrogative Force: [Pol:__] & [Tense] (& [EPP]) ☞ MICROPARAMETER	true V2 & interrogative inversion ⇒ T-TO-FORCE MOVEMENT
	conditional Force	----------
	optative Force	----------
	veridical Fin	----------
	T: [Tense] (& [EPP])	----------
Singlish (basilect) ---> (28)&(29)	non-veridical Force	----------
	veridical Fin	----------
	T: [Tense] (& [EPP])	----------

(28) NO INVERSION IN SINGLISH

a. You put there, then how to go up?
b. Disturb him again, I call Daddy to come down. (= If you disturb him again...)
c. **I** sit here talk, can hear also. (= If I sit here and talk, the microphone can still hear my voice)
d. **You** take pink flower is more nicer. (child. 5;11) (= If you take the pink flower...)
e. **You** tell me earlier I can find so many people for you. (= If you had told me earlier, then I could have found so many people for you). (Gupta 1994)

☞ SINGLISH LACKING [POL:__]-BEARING AUXILIARIES

(29) [TENSE:PAST]-BERING AUXILIARIES OMISSIBLE IN SINGLISH

a. You go where? (= Where did you go?)
b. Got so many car! (= He had so many cars!)
c. Then bicycle go first ah. (= So the bicycle went first)
d. What happen yesterday? (= What happened yesterday?)
e. You know what happen *lah*. Fine. (= You know what happened? I got fined.) (Gupta 1994)

☞ SINGLISH LACKING SYSTEMATICALLY [TENSE:PAST]-BEARING VERBAL SYSTEM