**A Modal Cycle and thoughts on third factors**

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Data to go with ppt; both available at: <http://www.public.asu.edu/~gelderen/lect.htm>

Dynamic, deontic, epistemic

(1) a. *Ic sceal hraðe* ***cunnan*** *hwæt ðu us to duguðum gedon* ***wille****.*

I must swiftly know what you us to benefit do want

`I must know quickly what you want to do to benefit us.’ (Andreas 341, Vercelli Book)

 b. *No þe laðes ma þurh daroða gedrep gedon* ***motan****.*

Not you harm more through spear stroke do may

`No more injury will they be allowed to do to you through the stroke of darts.’ (Andreas 1443, Vercelli Book)

 c. *Þis* ***mihte*** *beon geseald to myclum wurþe & þearfum gedæled*.

this might be sold for many worth and poor given

`This might have been sold for much and given to the poor.’ (Corpus Christi MS, Matthew 26.9)

Early modal + schwa

(2) a. *þat* ***wald a*** *don me o mi lijf*

 that would have done me of my life

 `that would have taken my life' (a1300, Cursor Mundi, Cotton 5284).

 b. *Syr, in good fayth Y am sory therefor, for and Y had west that ye* ***would a*** *taked so sor y*

`Sir, in good faith, I am sorry for it, if I had known that you would have taken it so badly '

(*Cely Letters*, William Maryon, anno 1480).

 c. *there* ***xuld*** *not* ***a*** *be do so mykele.*

`There should not have been done so much'

(*Paston Letters,* I, #205, anno 1469, Margaret Paston).

 d. *þat he* ***myght an*** *sowlde all yowr woll*

`that he might have sold all your wool' (Cely Letters, George Cely, anno 1478).

New modals

(3) a. And it's not like I **coulda not have** killed a gastropod.

(2015 <https://steamcommunity.com/app/105600/discussions/0/530646080846937998/>)

 b. I **shoulda** just **have** kept her as a friend. (Twitter 2019)

 c. This research **musta have** been made just after sehri. (Twitter 2018)

 d. it **mighta have** created the trolling (Twitter 2017)

 e. **Woulda have** missed it if not for this tweet! (Twitter 2018)

(4) a. I **woulda be** mad if I was going to heaven and y’all bring me back (Twitter 2019)

 b. **Woulda** do good wid 2 barbeque zingers right now. (Twitter 2019)

c. Hah, do ye think that I **woulda** be doing all for yous if I didn'ta care?

 (2008 <https://books.google.com/books?isbn=0595486738>)

 d. Don't know which country I **woulda** have to go hide for Berris not to find me.

(2011 <https://books.google.com/books?isbn=1851687629>)

e. Yes, I **woulda** agree its time for Laura Hoffmiester to get off the council (iWEB)

 (5) a. i **shoulda** be in Las vegas (Twitter 2019)

 b. **Shoulda** be able to tap it the same as the leap card machine. (Twitter 2019)

 c. Kylie you **shoulda** go have a feast! (Twitter 2019)

d. He **shoulda** be the one taking yous home.

 (<https://books.google.com/books?isbn=0595607691>)

 e. *I* ***Shoulda*** *Be On My Merry Way*

 `I should be on my merry way.’ (lyric title, Earl Hines)

(6) a. wish my dawg **coulda** be here. (Twitter 2019)

 b. She **coulda** be toxic as hell lol (Twitter 2019)

c. Then... playing with the shots you **coulda** obtain " certain " effects (iWEB)

 d. How you **coulda** ever face her and say … (COCA 2017 Fiction)

(7) a. I **mighta** get a backpack instead, it'll make …(Twitter 2018)

b. Look like a regular beating to me.. and ya never know what he **mighta** do or say

(Twitter 2017)

c. u **mighta** see me smilin but em cryin inside. (Twitter 2015)

d. the fact that we MIGHTA go to disney for ashleys birthday in november is filling me up with joy and excitement (Twitter 2017)

(8) a. hello **musta** see you feb 20 (Twitter Jan 2018)

b. And stop altering my post, you **musta** think is a joke, I’m very serious.

c. You **musta** think that …? (iWEB)

d. Manholes **musta** be constructed of two-course brick masonry laid in cement mortar … (1911, City Council of the City of Bloomington, Illinois)

Movement to T and on

(9) a. What would you attempt to do if .ou knew you **wouldanot** fail? (Twitter 2016)

b. Today I learned two valuable lessons: 1) Petting an animal can lower your heart rate. 2) That animal **shouldanot** be a .olverine. (Twitter 2017)

c "What would you attempt to do if you knew you **couldanot** fail?" Robert Schu.ler (Twitter 2016)

d. Your customers **mightanot** be on Twitter. Use raplemf to find them. (Twitter 2016)

e. You **mustanot** lose faith in humanity. (Twitter 2017)

(10) Harden **coulda** probably be a pinch runner for the Astros (Twitter 2015)

(11) a. When **shoulda** I expect your call? (Twitter 2019)

 b. What “**shoulda**” he be doing? (Carol Adams, Living Among Meat Eaters)

 c. what **coulda** he have done to prevent someone from just walking tho?

 (<https://www.reddit.com/r/.../to_the_person_who_walked_out_on_their_700_tab>)

Movement of core modals to T

(12) a. I **could probably** help you market your app. (COCA spoken 2017)

b. I **probably could** have been dead that night. (COCA spoken 2015)

(13) a. the only way that he **could possibly** guarantee that his son avoided jail time

(COCA spoken 2017)

 b. So we **possibly could** be looking at not guilty by reason of insanity (COCA spoken 2017)

Semi-modals

(14) a. Do I really **hafta** wait TWO MORE HOURS to see this? (Twitter 2018)

 b. That **oughta** distract them. (Twitter 2018)

c. cause I didn't **wanna** scare him like that. (COCA spoken 2017)

 d. I **needa** get one of these British accents (Twitter 2012)

(15) a. Yep, it's **gonna** be good stuff. (COCA spoken 2017)

 b. We have an overcast day today that looks like it **wants** to rain. (Nesselhauf 2012:115).

c. Do you have coolers? … They **wanna** be on the top shelves somewhere.

(Krug 2000: 149-50)

(16) something she **wanna** tell me (COCA fiction 2013)

(17) She **gonna** have problems, right? (COCA spoken 2011)

Others are following

(18) a. Weed n alcohol **seemsta** satisfy us all (Twitter 2010)

 b. Well everything **seemsta** be gettin better (Twitter 2009)

 c. he **seemsta** stay pretty upbeat (Twitter 2017)

(19) a. I'd **likta** smash this blackberry with a hammer. (Twitter 2016)

 b. I **likta** move it move it, she **likta** move it move it, he **likta** move it move it (Twitter 2013)

Competition –a and other forms

(20) a. he **wouldav** dropped it anyway (Twitter 2015)

b. he **should av** called her to order (Twitter 2018)

 c. Chicken! .. the least u **could av** done was apologize. (Twitter 2019)

 d. so i **mightav** just ruined mine and elainas friendship. (Twitter 2017)

 e. U mustav screamed on top of your voice. (Twitter 2018)

(21) a. They **wouldof** crucified you if not for this being exposed. (Twitter 2019)

b. She **should of** kept her mouth closed (Twitter 2018)

 c. I wish Erick didn't have work today so I **couldof** had my first New Years kiss.

(Twitter 2018)

 d. I THINK I **MIGHT OF** EXAGGERATED ?! (Twitter 2019)

 e. he **must of** had the loneliest Birthday in the lab (Twitter 2019)

And doubling

(22) He inconsistent as hell..**shouldof** not **have** been that #3 pick years ago. (Twitter 2012)

(23) @TaskVoris I **shouldav have** beaten you that last game. (Twitter 2012)

Q-float

(24) And he was hoping we could **all** spread the message (COCA spoken 2017)

(25) they could **all** be celebrating this weekend (COCA spoken 2017)

(26) it might have been better if somehow it could **all** have been kept quiet? (COCA spoken 2003)

(27) they could **all** be executed for it. (COCA fiction 2017)

(28) in that moment we could have **all** come together. (COCA spoken 2017)

(29) how easily it could have **all** been prevented (COCA spoken 2011)

(30) Can you imagine if we would have **all** been sitting there and listening (COCA spoken 2012)

(31) we were **all** talking about Scott Walker as someone who (COCA spoken 2015)

(32) you were **all** supposed to go back? (COCA spoken 1997)

(33) a. %We could have been **all** celebrating. Spec v\*P

 b. %We could have been **all** poisoned. Spec vP

(34) \*The flowers may have been **all** being destroyed Spec vP