Contents

Preface vii
List of figures xii
List of tables xiii
List of maps xv

1 Introduction 1

1.1 Subject-matter and central claims 1
1.2 Emerging modals and emergent grammar 4
1.3 Organization of the individual chapters 5

2 Theoretical, methodological and empirical foundations 7

2.1 Chapter outline 7
2.2 Functionalism, economy, frequency 7
2.3 Grammaticalization 11
2.3.1 Early proponents of grammaticalization theory 12
2.3.2 The Cologne project: Lehmann, Heine and associates 13
2.3.3 Recent developments 15
2.4 Contact-induced change and sociolinguistic dialectology 18
2.5 A corpus-based approach 21
2.6 Scope and aims 22
2.6.1 Scope 22
2.6.2 Aims 28
2.7 The sources of the present study 29
2.7.1 Historical corpora 30
2.7.2 Corpora of contemporary English 33
2.7.3 Methodological caveats 37
2.8 Defining modality and auxiliarihood 39
2.8.1 Definitional issues 39
2.8.2 Properties of English auxiliaries and modals 43
2.9 The relevance of the history of English central modals to the study of emerging modals 44
2.10 Previous research on emerging modals 45
2.10.1 Largely descriptive approaches 46
2.10.2 The contraction debate 47

3 HAVE GOT TO/GOTTA and HAVE TO/HAFTA 53

3.1 Chapter outline 53
3.2 History and grammatical (re-)analysis 53
3.2.1 HAVE TO 53
3.2.2 HAVE GOT TO 61
3.3 Increase in discourse frequency 74
3.3.1 Long-term trends: ARCHER 76
3.3.2 Short-term trends 83
3.4 Syntax and semantics of HAVE TO and HAVE GOT TO 89
3.4.1 Mechanisms of grammaticalization 89
3.4.2 Present-day properties 103
3.5 Stylistic variation 109
3.6 Regional variation 111
3.7 Summary 114

4 WANT TO and WANNA 117

4.1 Chapter outline 117
4.2 The rise of WANT: Increase in discourse frequency and changing patterns of complementation 118
4.2.1 Old and Middle English: From impersonal to transitive use 119
4.2.2 Early Modern and Modern English 127
4.2.3 Present-day English 134
4.3 Semantic developments 141
4.3.1 The evolution of volitional modality 141
4.3.2 Extension to other modal meanings 147
4.4 Phonological and morphosyntactic developments within present-day English 152
4.4.1 Variation and concomitant obscuration of infinitival *to* 152
4.4.2 Abnormal time reference and ellipsis in co-ordination 155
4.4.3 Further emerging properties 157
4.5 Social and stylistic variation in the British National Corpus 161
4.6 Regional variation in the British National Corpus 163
4.7 Summary 165

5 Models and motivations for emerging English modals 167

5.1 Chapter outline 167

5.2 Frequency 168
5.2.1 Early Modern English to present-day English 168
5.2.2 String frequency and grammaticalization 174
5.2.3 Autonomous discourse? 178
5.2.4 String frequency and the contraction debate 181
5.3 Mechanisms and pathways of change 183
5.3.1 Reanalysis 183
5.3.2 Semantic changes 184
5.3.3 Regional diffusion 185
5.3.4 Sex 192
5.4 Towards a model for natural change in spoken and written text types 194
5.5 The marginal modals NEED (TO), OUGHT (TO) and DARE (TO) 199
5.5.1 DARE (TO) 200
5.5.2 NEED TO 202
5.5.3 OUGHT TO 204
5.6 Motivations 206
5.6.1 Expressivity, layering, processing constraints 206
5.6.2 Iconicity and economy: Competing motivations? 208
5.7 Gravitation and categorization 214
5.7.1 Why introduce a new category? 214
5.7.2 An 'Iconicity of Grammatical Categories Principle' 217
5.7.3 Categorization in grammaticalization and related frameworks 222
5.7.4 Gravitation theory 225
5.7.5 Operationalization of the gravitation model 228
5.8 Some implications of the gravitation model 239
5.8.1 DO support for BE GOING TO and HAVE GOT TO 240
5.8.2 Why WANT? 242
5.8.3 Implications for grammaticalization theory 242
5.8.4 Inadequacies of the model, possible refinements and wider applications 245

6 Conclusion 249

Notes 259
Appendices 291
References 299
Index 327