

Contents

Acknowledgements — V

List of Tables — XI

Abbreviations — XIII

1	Introduction — 1
1.1	Aims — 1
1.2	Method — 1
1.3	Theoretical considerations — 3
1.4	Results in a nutshell — 4
2	Modal verbs: A class struggle — 8
2.1	Traditional criteria — 9
2.1.1	Morphological criteria — 9
2.1.2	Syntactic criteria — 20
2.1.3	Semantic criteria — 25
2.1.4	Conclusions — 33
2.2	Case studies — 37
2.2.1	<i>können</i> — 38
2.2.2	<i>müssen</i> — 75
2.2.3	<i>wollen</i> — 95
2.2.4	<i>dürfen</i> — 113
2.2.5	<i>dürfte</i> — 122
2.2.6	<i>sollen</i> — 129
2.2.7	<i>mögen</i> — 147
2.2.8	<i>möchten</i> — 165
2.2.9	<i>brauchen</i> — 176
2.2.10	<i>werden</i> — 220
2.2.11	<i>scheinen</i> and <i>dünken</i> — 229
2.2.12	<i>drohen</i> , <i>versprechen</i> and <i>verheißen</i> — 238
2.2.13	Summary — 250
2.3	The origin of the term <i>Modalverb</i> — 256
2.3.1	Early grammars: A morphological classification — 257
2.3.2	Karl Ferdinand Becker (1836): From a morphological classification to a grammatical one — 260
2.3.3	Blatz (1896) — 264

2.3.4	George O. Curme — 265
2.3.5	Braune, Paul and Behaghel: The decline of the semantic motivation — 266
2.3.6	Gunnar Bech (1949) — 268
2.3.7	The <i>Duden</i> grammar — 270
2.3.8	Summary — 273
3	The nature of epistemic modality — 280
3.1	Types of modification — 280
3.2	Circumstantial modal verbs as event modifiers — 286
3.3	The case of <i>can</i> — 287
3.4	Ambiguities across categories — 289
3.4.1	Conditionals — 289
3.4.2	Causal clauses — 294
3.4.3	Causal <i>wo</i> -clauses — 298
3.4.4	Corrective uses of <i>obwohl</i> , <i>wobei</i> and <i>wiewohl</i> — 299
3.4.5	Contrastive <i>während</i> -clauses — 301
3.4.6	<i>so lange</i> -clauses — 302
3.4.7	<i>bevor</i> -clauses — 303
3.4.8	Final <i>damit</i> -clauses — 304
3.4.9	Addressee-oriented free relative clauses — 306
3.4.10	Adverbial infinitives — 306
3.4.11	VP adverbs — 309
3.4.12	Locative modifiers — 313
3.4.13	<i>noch einmal</i> — 314
3.4.14	Past operator — 317
3.4.15	Meta-communicative <i>why</i> — 318
3.4.16	Declarative questions — 319
3.4.17	Summary — 320
3.5	Ambiguities across languages — 323
3.6	Critical data — 329
3.6.1	Quantificational modal verbs — 329
3.6.2	Intensional subjects — 330
3.6.3	Veronika Ehrich's counter example — 331
3.6.4	Summary — 333
4	Twenty-one commandments for epistemic modality — 334
4.1	No infinitives — 338
4.2	No past participle — 342
4.3	No past tense — 348

4.4	Excluded from the scope of a counterfactual operator — 355
4.5	Excluded from nominalisations — 357
4.6	No verbless directional phrase complements — 360
4.7	No VP-anaphora — 361
4.8	No separation in <i>wh</i>-clefts — 364
4.9	May not bear sentence accent — 368
4.10	Excluded from the scope of negation — 372
4.11	Excluded from polarity questions — 380
4.12	Excluded from <i>wh</i>-questions — 389
4.13	Excluded from imperatives — 395
4.14	Excluded from optatives — 396
4.15	Excluded from complement clauses — 398
4.16	Excluded from event-related causal clauses — 415
4.17	Excluded from the antecedent of an event-related conditional — 425
4.18	Excluded from temporal clauses — 433
4.19	Excluded from restrictive relative clauses — 441
4.20	Excluded from the scope of a quantifier — 444
4.21	No assent/dissent — 459
4.22	Objective and subjective epistemic modality: A reassessment — 460
4.22.1	Lyon's original motivation — 461
4.22.2	Further advancements in the study of 'objective' epistemic modality — 466
4.22.3	The role of public evidence — 469
4.22.4	Objective epistemic modal verbs do not constitute a consistent class — 470
4.22.5	'Objective' modal verbs that are practical possibility or quantificational modal verbs — 475
4.22.6	'Objective' epistemic modal verbs that are 'subjective' — 476
4.22.7	Conclusions — 478
4.23	Summary — 480
5	Reportative and evidential modal operators — 484
5.1	Reportative <i>wollen</i> and <i>sollen</i> — 484
5.1.1	Infinitives — 485
5.1.2	Past participles — 488
5.1.3	Nominalisations — 489
5.1.4	Optatives — 491
5.1.5	Past tense — 491

5.1.6	Questions — 495
5.1.7	Event related conditional clauses — 499
5.1.8	Summary — 500
5.2	So-called ‘evidentials’ <i>drohen</i> , <i>versprechen</i> and <i>scheinen</i> — 502
5.2.1	Past participles — 502
5.2.2	Event related conditional clauses — 509
5.2.3	Past tense — 512
5.2.4	Summary — 515
6	Anchoring the deictic centre — 517
6.1	The speaker, the addressee and arguments — 517
6.1.1	Declarative speech acts — 518
6.1.2	Interrogative speech acts — 518
6.1.3	Complement clauses — 519
6.1.4	Reportative modal verbs — 520
6.1.5	Summary — 521
6.2	The deictic centre — 521
6.2.1	The modal source — 522
6.2.2	The Condition on Deictic Centres — 523
6.2.3	A subtle refinement — 529
6.3	A unified analysis for epistemic and reportative modality — 532
6.3.1	Hierarchy of Salience — 532
6.3.2	Operators which impose selectional restrictions — 533
6.4	Alternative analyses — 536
6.5	Summary — 539
7	On black magic: A diachronic explanation — 540
7.1	Epistemic modal verbs in Early New High German — 541
7.2	The Rule of Accommodation as a driving force of language change — 548
7.3	Summary — 549
8	Summary — 551
Primary sources — 555	
References — 559	
Author index — 577	
Subject index — 583	