

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	Page	xvii
<i>Preface</i>		xxi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>		xxiv
<i>List of Abbreviations and Special Symbols</i>		xxv
Introduction		1
I MODES OF MODALITY		11
1 Pragmatics: Modality and Speaker Orientation		13
1.1 The Human as an <i>Animal Catoptricum</i>		13
1.2 Modality, Deixis, and Orientation in Displaced Worlds		15
1.3 Simple and Double Displacement as Basic Building Blocks of Modality		18
1.3.1 Cognitive and Linguistic Perspectivization: The Viewpoint Constellation		18
1.3.2 Simple and Double Displacement		21
1.3.3 Viewpoint vs. Displacement: Two Different Frameworks?		23
1.4 Modal Verbs and Modal (Discourse) Particles: Their Derived Double-Displacement Status		24
1.5 The Fundamental Pragmatic Nature of Modality		27
1.5.1 Modality, Displacement, and Theory of Mind		27
1.5.2 Displacement of the Origo		27
1.5.3 ATMM and Double Displacement		37
1.5.4 Modality and the Grammatical Category of Person		41
1.5.5 Modality and the Development of Theory of Mind		43
1.5.6 Lexical Deixis vs. Grammatical Deixis		44
1.6 Modality and Certainty		45
1.7 Modality and the Different Qualities of Double Displacement		48
1.8 Wrap-Up: Subjectivity Warranting Certainty?		51
		ix

x *Contents*

1.9	Different Types of Long-Term Memory and the Coding of Different Grammars of the Possible	54
1.10	Summary and Outlook: The Linguistic Basis of a Non-naive Realism	57
2	(Inter)Subjectification and Foreign Consciousness Alignment	60
2.1	Modality and Others' Minds	60
2.2	Theory of Mind and Foreign Consciousness Alignment	61
2.3	Foreign Consciousness Alignment on Modal Particles, Modal Root, and Epistemic Verbs	65
2.4	Intersubjectification and Foreign Consciousness Alignment on Hidden Modality	69
3	Modality as Distance: From Aspect to Modality	72
3.1	Methodological Caveat	72
3.2	Once Again: What Modality Is About	72
3.3	Brief Exposition of Von Wright's Modal Logic	74
3.4	Graded Modality (Relative Modality)	78
3.5	Concepts and Terminologies	81
3.6	The Modal Verb in a Special Class of Verbs	84
3.6.1	Modalization in the Modalized V-Complex	85
3.6.2	Modality and Future Topic Time	86
3.7	Aspectual Selection Restriction on MV-Modality	89
3.7.1	The Contextual Perfective-Imperfective Choice	89
3.7.2	MVs as Prototypical Non-Progressives	93
3.7.3	The Aspect-Modality Link in Languages without Modal Verbs	94
3.7.4	On the Covert Link between Imperfectivity and Epistemicity	99
3.8	Memory Affinities of Modalization	102
	II VERBAL MODALITY	105
4	The Syntax–Semantic–Pragmatic Interface of Modal Verbs	107
4.1	Root Modality vs. Epistemic Modality	107
4.2	Sentential Readings under Negation	109
4.3	Modal Verbs, Aspect, and Negation in English	111
4.4	The Scope Differential	112
4.5	The Logical and Syntactic Relations between Negation and Modality	114

4.6	Scalar Relations: Scope Reach and Negation	116
4.7	The Practical Usage of the Scope of Negation	118
4.8	Are Epistemics Different from Evidentials?	119
4.9	The Evidential and Epistemic Differential: Constraining Criteria	121
4.10	Criteria of Person Origo	122
4.10.1	Grammar vs. Lexicon: Modal Verbs vs. Modality Adverbials	122
4.10.2	The Source Evidence Differential: Person Shift in Epistemicity	125
4.11	Summary: Epistemics, Evidentials, and Negation	127
4.12	Aspectual Contingency of the Root-Epistemic Distinction	128
5	The Perspectival Specifics of Verb Modality in German	132
5.1	The General Characteristics of Modal Verbs?	132
5.2	Modal Verbs under Negation: Fundamentals	134
5.3	Negation Contexts in Verbal Modality	136
5.4	Marked Scoping: The <i>Not-Only</i> Cases in Verbal Modality	137
5.5	Morphosyntax	137
5.5.1	First Status Complements	138
5.5.2	Compactness – ‘Strong Coherence’	138
5.5.3	Compactness: Right-Branching vs. Left-Branching	140
5.5.4	The Infinitivus-Pro-Participio Effect (<i>Ersatzinfinitiv</i>)	145
5.5.5	IPP-Effects and the Status 1 vs. Status 3 Difference	146
5.5.6	Inflective Morphology	147
5.5.7	Syntax-Semantics	148
5.5.7.1	Covert Subject PRO	149
5.5.7.2	Extraction from the V-Cluster	149
5.5.7.3	Control Constructions Mapping Full (Infinitival) CPs – Disallowing MVs	150
5.5.7.4	Raising Constructions Mapping Theta-less MV-Clusters – Allowing MVs	150
5.5.7.5	Scope Relations	151
5.6	What Do ECM-Verbs and Modal Verbs Have in Common?	152
5.6.1	ECM-Verbs and Modal Verbs	152
5.6.2	The Constraints at a Glance	153
5.6.3	Final Remarks on MV-Syntax in German and Other Languages	156
6	The Syntax of Modal Verbs in German, Dutch, and English	157
6.1	Again: What Are Modal Verbs across Languages?	157
6.2	The Major Distributional Differences	158

xii *Contents*

6.3	Syntactic Reflexes of the Root-Epistemic Distinction in German and Dutch	162
6.4	Deontic Modal Verbs, Full Verb Status, and Finite Auxiliaries	165
6.4.1	The Event Structure of Modal Verbs	165
6.4.1.1	Inchoativity as the Central Aspectual Property of DMV	165
6.5	On the Volatility of the Aspect-Modality Relation	168
6.6	The Deeper Interaction between Aspect, or Aktionsart, and Modality	171
6.6.1	Aspect Determines the Semantics of Aktionsart	171
6.6.2	The Principled Link between Modality and Aspect	172
6.6.3	The Aspect-Modality Correlations in Languages without Modal Verbs	175
6.6.3.1	Typological Sources	175
6.6.3.2	Slavic Correspondents of German of Voluntative Modality: <i>Wollen</i> ‘Will’	175
6.6.3.3	Slavic Correspondents of German of Weak Deontic Modality: <i>Sollen</i> ‘Shall’	176
6.6.3.4	Slavic Correspondents of German Possibility: <i>Können</i> ‘Can’	176
6.6.3.5	Slavic Correspondents of German Strong Deontic Modality: <i>Müssen</i> ‘Must’	176
6.6.3.6	Slavic Correspondents of German Voluntative Modality: <i>Mögen</i> ‘May’	177
6.6.3.7	Slavic Correspondents of German of Permissive Modality: <i>Dürfen</i> ‘May, Be Allowed To’	177
6.6.3.8	On the Interdependence of the Thematic Properties of Modal Verbs and the Root-Epistemic Distinction	179
6.7	Comparative Syntax	181
6.8	Wrap-Up	183
6.9	Modal Interpretation by Phase	184
6.10	Properties of Modal Verbs: The Main Criteria	185
6.10.1	Word Order	185
6.10.2	Scope	185
6.10.3	Modals Yield Asymmetric Predicates	186
7	Modal Verb Semantics	188
7.1	Origo Perspectives of Modal Verbs and Their Complexes	188
7.2	Conceptualizations: ‘Viewing Distance’	197

7.3	Imperfectivity Does Not Always Link with Epistemicity	200
7.4	The Copula as a Complement	207
III ADVERBIAL MODALITY		211
8	Modal Particles: The Enigmatic Category	213
8.1	Modal Particles as an Illocutionarily Distinct Type of Discourse Marker	213
8.2	Modality in the Narrow Sense	221
8.3	MP-Source Categories and Their Underspecified MP-Results	224
8.4	Modal Particles as Free Grammatical Morphemes in German and in Other Languages	228
8.5	Word Order Options for Modal Particles under Finiteness and Non-finiteness	232
8.6	Serialization Options and Constraints between Modal Particles	233
8.7	Conclusion	237
9	The Attitudinal Force of Modal Particles	238
9.1	Strong Modality and Truth Valuability	238
9.2	The Category of German Modal Particle – and Its Merging Property	240
9.3	What Is Topic Reference of Modal Particles?	241
9.4	Modal Particles in Independent Sentences	244
9.5	Modal Particles in Dependent Sentences	245
9.6	MP-Selection: Speech Act Prerequisites	247
9.7	External Syntax of Adverbial and Other Dependents: Force as an Extension of CP	250
9.8	Autonomous or Inherited Force?	252
9.9	Phase and Edge Conditions: Clausal Dependency and Root Qualities	255
9.10	How Do Dependent Clauses Receive Force Potential?	258
9.11	Speaker Deixis and the Subjunctive: Liberalizing the Left Periphery	262
9.12	The Special Architecture of the Force Phase: Phase Motivation	264
9.13	The Internal Phase Architecture	264
9.13.1	Intact vs. Defective Left Phase Edges	266
9.13.2	Quote Prosody and the Factive/Non-factive Distinction	267
9.13.3	Bridge Test	267
9.14	Autonomous Speaker-Deixis Potential on Non-factive Complements	268

xiv *Contents*

9.14.1	The Speaker-Deixis Potential	268
9.14.2	No Speaker-Deixis Potential on Factive Complements	269
9.14.3	No Speaker-Deixis Potential for Temporal-Locative Adverbial Clauses	269
9.14.4	The Speaker-Deixis Potential for ‘Logical’ Adverbial Clauses	270
9.14.5	Adnominal Dependency: Restrictive vs. Non-Restrictive Relative Clauses	270
9.15	Phase-Anchoring Speaker Deixis	271
9.16	What Makes Non-factive Predicates Structurally Stronger than Factive Ones?	274
9.17	Speaker Deixis: Edge Features	275
9.18	Interim Summary	276
9.19	MP-Selection and Felicity Prerequisites	276
9.19.1	Felicity Conditions	277
9.19.2	The Source–Target Relation of MPs and Their Stressed Variants	282
9.19.3	Root Non-finites and MP-Selection	284
9.19.4	Relative MP Order	286
10	Modal Particles between Context, Conversation, and Convention	290
10.1	Modal Particles and Conventional Implicatures?	290
10.2	From MP-Lexical to Attitudinal MP-Status	290
10.3	How Does Mirativity Come About?	292
10.3.1	Mirativity under Accent-Free Focus	293
10.3.2	VF, MP, and Mirative Unexpectedness	296
10.4	On the Specific Relation between Verum Focus, Sentence Type, and MP-Selection	298
10.4.1	Verum Focus – Distributed on Grammatical- Functional Components	299
10.4.2	Focused MPs: The MP/MP-Focus Differential	301
10.5	The Mirative Import Due to Unexpected Emphasis and Modal Particles	303
10.5.1	Formal Assumptions	303
10.5.2	Mirative Import Specified by MP-Source Legacy	304
10.6	Modal Particles as Grammatical Functions	305
10.7	Modal Particles and Grammaticalization	307
11	Modal Particles outside of Finiteness	311
11.1	Modal Particles at the Word Level	311

11.1.1	The Phenomenon	311
11.1.2	The Attribute-DP Restriction for DP-Internal MPs	312
11.1.3	Expressive Content	314
11.1.4	MP-in-DP and Intersectivity of the Attributive Adjectival	316
11.1.5	Epistemic Force Scope in DP	317
11.1.6	Time Reference vs. Tense Inside DP	318
11.1.7	Wrap-Up	320
11.1.8	MP-Attraction to <i>Wh</i> -Pronominals	320
11.2	Root Non-finites and the Selection of Modal Particles	322
11.2.1	Root Non-finites	323
11.2.2	Conclusion: MP and Finiteness	325
11.3	Once Again	327
11.3.1	Thoughts Do Not Simply Travel from Speaker to Addressee	327
11.3.2	Derivation: From Surface to Covert Scope Position	328
IV	COVERT MODALITY	331
12	Covert Patterns of Modality	333
12.1	Phenomena: Modality behind the Scenes	333
12.2	Forms of Covert Modality	334
12.3	Modality Covertly Coded by Phrasal Prepositional Infinitives: Foundational Issues	338
12.4	The Phrasal Prepositional Status of Infinitivals Eliciting Modal Denotations	347
12.4.1	Subject Relative Infinitive: Illustrations	347
12.4.2	Object Relative Infinitive	352
12.4.3	Subject Relative Infinitive: The Structure	354
12.4.4	Subject Relative Purpose Infinitive after Directional	354
12.4.5	Subject Raising Infinitival	355
12.5	Subject Raising Infinitive on <i>iV</i>	355
12.6	Object Infinitive – Decausative <i>iV</i>	357
12.6.1	Covert Modality in Subject Infinitive – Unaccusative Verbs	358
12.6.2	Covert Modality in Infinitival DP Relatives	359
12.6.3	Covert Modality in Infinitival (Object-)DP Relatives	361
12.7	Overt Modal Form, but No Modal Meaning	362
12.7.1	Inverse Environments	362
12.7.2	Anaphoricity and Modality (Deontic-Root/ Epistemic Modal Verbs)	363

xvi *Contents*

12.8	Covert Modal Logic: The Root Alternatives and Epistemicity	364
12.9	The Root Modalities on the Gerund: <i>Zu(m)</i> + Infinitive	365
12.10	Transitivity-Intransitivity	367
12.11	What Is behind Covert Modality and Its Epistemicity Gap?	367
12.12	Perfective Aspect and Tense	368
12.13	Covert Modality and Diathesis	369
12.14	Necessity on <i>Haben/Have</i> + <i>Zu/To</i> + V	371
12.15	Summary: Covert vs. Overt Modality	374
12.16	Form and Morphologically Explicit Modality Early On: <i>HAVE/BE(+DP)</i> + <i>Zu</i> -Infinitive	377
12.17	Conclusion	378
	<i>Bibliography</i>	381
	<i>Index</i>	416