

Grammaticalisation in the lexicon – accounting for the distribution of negative polar uses of need verbs in Germanic languages

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The present study focuses on the development of different modal interpretation of need verbs in Germanic. Proto-Germanic had the need verb **burān*, which was either lost or re-interpreted in most Germanic languages except for Icelandic. In all the remaining languages, it was replaced by new lexical items which gradually developed modal semantics.

This talk presents synchronic and diachronic corpus data from various Germanic languages (*Deutsches Textarchiv*, *Nordic Dialect Corpus and Syntax Database*) including Gothic (*Wulfila Project*), illustrating that need verbs in Germanic languages behave differently with respect to negative polarity: at the one end of the scale, there are verbs such as Dutch *hoeven* which are NPIs in any use, at the other end there are verbs such as English *need* + *to*-infinitives which have no negative polar uses at all (cf. Duffley 1994, van der Wouden 2001). In between, there are verbs such as German *brauchen*, whose transitive and impersonal uses are no NPIs but whose uses with clausal complements are or Swedish *behöve*, which only behaves as NPI when used as an epistemic modal, as shown by Teleman, Hellberg, and Andersson (1999: 290–291). The data suggest that if use of a need verb is an NPI, all other uses which grammaticalised out of this use have to be NPIs too.

The data here illustrates that grammaticalisation does not necessarily replace a more lexical use by a more functional one but that a lexeme may have different uses from different stages of grammaticalisation at the same time.

In split category analyses, each single use would be considered as a distinct lexicon entry. In doing so, they fail to explain the distribution of the NPI feature across uses of need verbs. The data presented here suggest that the uses can be subsumed into different subgroups which are ordered in type hierarchies with feature inheritance as known from HPSG. Apart from that, these type hierarchies reflect the diachronic development of the lexical item in question. Grammaticalisation can be considered as a process of *Type Differentiation* in the lexicon as suggested by Green (2011). At the initial stage a need verb comes with a feature MODAL BASE specified for circumstantial modality. As soon as it is reanalysed as an epistemic modal by some new language learner, the feature MODAL BASE loses its initial specification allowing for both values circumstantial and epistemic. At the same moment, the original type acquires two daughters: one where the feature MODAL BASE is specified for the value circumstantial and another where it is specified for epistemic. Thus, in HPSG, grammaticalisation can be modelled as a process that takes place in the lexicon, which is more in line with current theories of acquisition of semantic structures and thereby serving a more sound foundation to adopt Kratzer's view that different modal interpretations are derived from the same semantic core.